

CURRENT MIGRATION

trends in V4 countries:

focus on
migration
FROM UKRAINE



Edited by:

Vladimír Benč



SFPA
Slovak Foreign Policy Association

**FRIEDRICH
EBERT
STIFTUNG**

**Edited by:
Vladimír Benč**

**CURRENT MIGRATION TRENDS
IN V4 COUNTRIES:
FOCUS ON MIGRATION FROM UKRAINE**



**Prešov
November 2015**

CURRENT MIGRATION TRENDS IN V4 COUNTRIES: FOCUS ON MIGRATION FROM UKRAINE

Editor: Vladimír Benč

Academic review: Juraj Buzalka (Comenius University in Bratislava),
Alexander Duleba (RC SFPA Bratislava)

Graphic design and print: ADIN s.r.o. Prešov



Publisher: Research Centre of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association
Hlavná 11, 080 01 Prešov, Slovak Republic
www.sfpa.sk

© Copyright by Research Centre of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association

Publication was co-financed
by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) Bratislava



ISBN 978-80-89540-63-1

CONTENT

Introduction	5
<i>Vladimír Benč</i>	
Migration to V4 Countries: A Ukrainian Perspective	9
<i>Myroslava Lendel</i>	
Recent trends in Ukrainian migration to Poland	21
<i>Marta Jaroszewicz</i>	
International Migration in the Czech Republic: The current state with an emphasis on Ukrainian migration	31
<i>Markéta Seidlová</i>	
Challenges, opportunities and risks of migration from Ukraine to Slovakia (and the V4)	43
<i>Vladimír Benč</i>	
Policy recommendations.....	63
<i>All Authors</i>	

INTRODUCTION

Vladimír Benč, Editor

The spread of conflicts in a wide range of countries in the Middle East, Sub-Saharan Africa and unfortunately also in neighbouring countries (such as Ukraine) are producing a huge increase in mixed migration flows, which in turn affects the stability of Europe overall. Migration recently became one of the main problems and a key policy priority for the whole EU. And it is clear that there is a need for a radical change in European policies on mobility.

Unfortunately, recent discussions at the European level have gone in a confrontational direction, with EU Member States arguing harshly for the redistribution of newcomers in the European territories while further strengthening repressive policies. They have swung between two poles: on one end the view of migrants as a problem rather than as an opportunity (to create new connections, to move around ideas, goods and services, to create cultural, social and economic relations, and to promote open societies); on the other, the view of migrants as vulnerable people escaping poverty or persecution. And it seems that the first one is dominating, also because the political manipulation of labelling migrants as a threat is dangerously fuelling racism and discrimination towards “aliens”. Migrants are portrayed as a problem rather than as an opportunity. In many European countries they are presented as potential corruptors of the social fabric, inevitably provoking economic disturbance and criminal emergency, which in turn call for repressive and security measures.

The reaction of EU countries, including the V4, has been progressively defensive and increasingly tightened immigration policies. Generally, it has become more and more difficult for would be migrants to obtain the proper documentation required for moving, such as exit and entry visas, passports and so on. The result is that currently a large sector of international migration takes place outside the law and in the absence of legal safeguards. Among the currently estimated 232 million international migrants worldwide there are approximately 30 to 40 million irregular migrants, comprising 15 to 20 percent of the world’s immigrants.¹

¹ Source: UNDESA, International Migration Policies. Government Views and Priorities, December 2013, <http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/policy/International->

Several experts, however, argue that the strengthening of border controls and tightening of immigration policies lead to increases in several risks to migrants. For instance, strengthened law enforcement responses can promote the reorientation of migrant flows and the diversion of some routes. This may in turn increase the risks and vulnerability of migrants (for instance, if the new routes are longer and more difficult).² Cases of wasted lives of migrants trying to reach the coasts of European countries are, unfortunately, such evidence.

To manage a “mixed migration flow” seems to be a very tough task for EU countries today. Persons travelling as part of mixed movements have varying needs and profiles and may include asylum-seekers, refugees, trafficked persons, unaccompanied/separated children and migrants in an irregular situation. Mixed flows generate specific and complex challenges, deriving from the need to treat each category of migrants differently and appropriately, by discriminating among them rapidly and effectively on an individual basis.

Ukraine stands on the edge of the current migration flows from the Middle East and Africa. Despite political unrest and internal conflict, Ukraine thus far does not pose a “migration threat” to the EU. The annexation of Crimea and the armed conflict in Eastern Ukraine has increased the migration of Ukrainians into the EU. However, the main route for Ukrainians from conflict areas seeking well-paid work and asylum is into Ukraine itself or the neighbouring countries of Russia and Belarus, not the EU. But things can change ...

There are approximately 1,505,600 internally displaced people (IDPs)³ in Ukraine and another more than 238,000 Ukrainian refugees (originating from Ukraine) as a direct result of the conflict in eastern Ukraine.⁴ The growing humanitarian needs in Ukraine require an urgent response. Otherwise, there are risks for another migration flow from an EU neighbouring country to the EU.

There are several arguments against the possible huge migration flow from Ukraine to the EU. The Donbass and Luhansk people who were mostly affected by the conflict have a close historical connection with Russia, reinforced by a shared language. Most of them still hope to return to their homes after the end of the conflict. Secondly, the fact is that Ukraine does not satisfy the requirements for asylum. Its citizens, including refugees from Donbass, can stay in Ukraine without any risk to their lives, because the area in which military operations are conducted covers less than 5% of the country. So, there is no reason to give them asylum in the EU.

Some analysis done currently argue that the majority of Ukrainians applying for refugee status in EU countries have had their applications refused. For

alMigrationPolicies2013/Report%20PDFs/z_International%20Migration%20Policies%20Full%20Report.pdf

² See e.g. study: Monzini, P., Aziz, N., Pastore, F. (2015): The Changing Dynamics of Cross-border Human Smuggling and Trafficking in the Mediterranean. Istitut Affari Internazionali (IAI), Roma.

³ by October 2015, data source: UNHCR: <http://www.unhcr.org/>.

⁴ more than 168,000 in Russia.

example, in the first half of 2015, 74% of applications from Ukrainians were rejected and only 5% of applicants received refugee status in the EU. In comparison, the probability of Syrian nationals being granted asylum is over 90%.⁵ Indeed, a significant number of asylum applications from Ukrainians come from workers who are not fleeing conflict, but who want the right to work in wealthy European countries. Ukrainian experts argue that the current situation (if nothing changes dramatically) will not force IDPs and refugees who are settled in Ukraine and Russia to immediately leave their new homes for EU countries.

In this publication, migration experts from the V4 countries and Ukraine analyse the current migration trends in flows of Ukrainians towards the V4 countries. You can read and think of situation on your own ... It is clear that a joint approach of the EU and the V4 towards Ukraine is needed to avoid possible future problems and/or to put measures in place that would prevent problems and enhance joint cooperation with Ukraine in the migration policy.

⁵ Sushko, I., Kulchytska, K. (2015): Is Ukraine a 'migration threat' to the EU?, Europe Without Barriers, Kiev. <http://www.euractiv.com/sections/europes-east/ukraine-migration-threat-eu-318323>

MIGRATION TO V4 COUNTRIES: A UKRAINIAN PERSPECTIVE

Myroslava Lendel

OUTMIGRATION OF UKRAINIANS TO THE EU AND RUSSIA

Migration has never been a policy priority in Ukraine, despite the great socioeconomic impact of this phenomenon, and the simultaneous factors of exit, entry and transit migration. More attention began being paid to migration in 2010 in connection with the Action Plan to liberalize the European Union (EU) visa regime for Ukraine. Therefore, production of a prognosis and recommendations for governments on migration policy has been hindered by the absence or inaccuracy of data, the prevalence of the phenomenon of illegal migration and the lack of monitoring of labour markets in the countries of the Visegrad Four (V4) and the EU.

According to the prognosis for the period 2010-2015, Ukraine is among those societies with the lowest population growth, with an indicator of -0.55%, which puts it in fourth from the end among all world countries. Only Moldova, Bulgaria and Georgia score worse in this indicator. In addition to the natural decrease in the number of citizens, migration is also contributing to this trend. According to expert assessments and reports of international organizations, Ukraine is among the countries with the largest migration potential; it is third among the countries of origin of immigrants, fourth in host countries, and is the second largest migration corridor.

The number of migrants from Ukraine varies from 10-15% of the population, or 20% of able-bodied citizens. Over the last five years the number of illegal migrant workers has increased from 28% to 40%. According to the last national migration survey, conducted in 2012 (such studies were not conducted in 2014-2015), about 1.2 million Ukrainians, or 3.4% of the working age population, were working or looking for work abroad.

TABLE 1. Number of migrant workers by category, sex and place of residence before travelling abroad, 2010-2012

	Total	Women	Men	Urban	Countryside
Number of migrant workers, total thous.	1 181.6	405.9	775.7	540.1	641.5
Including categories, %					
Migrant workers who have returned to Ukraine	37.4	32.8	39.8	37.3	37.4
Short-term migrant workers	48.5	43.1	51.3	44.6	51.8
Emigrant workers	14.1	24.1	8.9	18.1	10.8
Short-term migrant workers	3.4	2.2	4.8	2.2	6.3

Source: *Ukrainian Migration Profile 2010-2014, Kiev (2015)*.

The main reason for searching for work abroad is the low chances of ensuring an adequate level of income in Ukraine. In 2013, Ukraine ranked 111th in the global rating of the World Bank, which uses GDP per population as its criterion. Due to the low level of freedom for business (112th place among 189 countries in 2014), 30% of the employed population works in the informal economy. In addition, the financial crisis and high inflation have forced Ukrainians to seek earnings in the European currency, which does not significantly depreciate. Thus, so-called “pendulum” migration prevails: many people do not intend to stay permanently in the EU and return home after the accumulation of capital to start a business in Ukraine, thus worsening conditions or opportunities for employment in Europe.

Many of the labour migrants from Ukraine work abroad without proper authorization. However, as a result of a number of migration amnesties or the introduction of new legislation (in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Poland, Czech Republic) the situation has slightly improved. According to the International Labour Organisation, in 2012 20.4% of Ukrainians working abroad were doing so without official status. The proportion of workers who go to work in EU countries is the same as the portion going to Russia: approximately 40%. The Russian Federation was attractive to Ukrainians due to the absence of visa and language barriers, although the level of wages has always been lower than in Western countries. However, in the second half of 2015 Moscow introduced stricter rules for Ukrainian employment, particularly sanctions on persons who have not received a work permit for four months. So, it is logical to expect a decrease in the number of compatriots who immigrate to work in the East. At the same time, Poland (14.3%), Italy (13.2%), Czech Republic (12.9%), Spain (4.5%), Germany (2.4%) and Hungary (1.9%) are the main destination countries for Ukrainians in the European Union.

TABLE 2. Migrant workers by host countries, gender and place of residence abroad, 2010–2012

	Total	Women	Men	Urban	Countryside
Number of migrant workers, total thous.	1 181.6	405.9	775.7	540.1	641.5
including host countries, %					
Russian Federation	43.2	20.4	55.2	45.2	41.6
Poland	14.3	19.5	11.5	13.3	15.1
Italy	13.2	30.2	4.3	13.5	12.9
Czech Republic	12.9	9.4	14.8	7.0	17.9
Spain	4.5	5.6	3.8	6.7	2.5
Germany	2.4	2.5	2.3	4.4	0.6
Hungary	1.9	3.0	1.4	1.0	2.7
Portugal	1.8	2.0	1.8	2.5	1.2
Belarus	1.8	2.5	1.5	1.2	2.3
Other countries	4.0	4.9	3.4	5.2	3.2

Source: *Ukrainian Migration Profile 2010-2014, Kiev (2015)*.

By 2014 residents of the western regions predominated among migrants (up to 10.8% of the economically active population, 70% of all migrants), since this region had the fewest employment opportunities and, at the same time, residents had higher material needs compared with residents of the industrial East. Informal Ukrainian social networks, which began to emerge in destination countries, played an important role as a stimulating factor of migration.

A large percentage of people who go abroad belong to the category of so-called “pendulum”, or cyclical, short-term workers. One-third of migrant workers were abroad from 1 to 3 months and 25% from 3 to 6 months. Only one-sixth of them were in the host country from 6 to 12 months or a year or more. The average duration of a stay abroad was 5 months. Migrants to neighbouring countries (Russia, Belarus, Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary) focus on short trips with regular periodic returns to Ukraine, while persons who depart to the countries of Southern Europe and Germany usually remain there to work for the long-term.

TABLE 3. Migrant workers by country and duration of stay during the last trip abroad, 2010–2012.

	Total, thous.	including the duration of stay (months), %				
		Up to 1	from 1 to 3	from 3 to 6	from 6 to 12	12 or more
Number of migrant workers, total	1 181.6	12.3	31.6	23.3	15.5	17.3
Including residence countries, %						
Russian Federation	511.0	12.0	50.1	19.5	9.7	8.7
Poland	168.4	31.3	45.5	18.8	2.1	2.3
Italy	156.0	-	1.8	24.0	30.0	44.2
Czech Republic	153.0	3.9	12.6	54.4	20.1	9.0
Spain	52.6	-	-	6.5	29.5	64.0
Germany	27.8	-	7.2	6.5	70.1	16.2
Hungary	23.0	65.2	14.3	-	-	20.5
Portugal	21.7	-	-	48.4	14.3	37.3
Belarus	21.5	36.3	63.7	-	-	-
Other countries	46.6	5.4	-	17.6	30.7	46.3

Source: *Ukrainian Migration Profile 2010-2014, Kiev (2015)*.

Along with travelling abroad, there was a reverse process of migration back home, stimulated by the following factors: registration of pensions in Ukraine; accumulation of capital for investment in businesses; overseas employment in agricultural work which was of a cumulative character; family circumstances, such as health status, deportation, and a bad experience of migration; and the receiving of planned income to earnings. According to the last survey in 2012, returning migrant workers accounted for 37.4% of all workers. People with a secondary education (65.4%) prevailed. The proportion of people with a complete or incomplete higher education was only 27.4%, due to the fact that this category consists of people leaving mainly for the purpose of permanent resettlement abroad.

Over the past two decades, additional factors that stimulated travel abroad include: social and legal insecurity of citizens, corruption, low level of trust in state institutions and lack of confidence in the future. Since 2013, when Ukraine began to experience internal crises (Euromaidan, Revolution Of Dignity, early presidential and parliamentary elections), and from 2014, when the external crises began (annexation of Crimea and the occupation of

Donbass), additional incentives for migration have been political instability, the weakness of the state and the absence of guarantees of security for both the life and property of citizens.

According to the State Migration Service of Ukraine, 8,932 permits were issued in 2014 to citizens of Ukraine leaving abroad for permanent residence, i.e. 592 persons fewer than in 2013; meanwhile 2,366 people returned to Ukraine. For the first 8 months of 2015 a total of 6,849 permits to travel abroad or for permanent residence were issued, and 1,031 people returned to Ukraine. Please note that the official statistics are inaccurate, because a significant proportion of Ukrainians who have decided to settle abroad has not been removed from the citizenship figures of Ukraine.

However, other data show an increase over the past two years in the number of those wishing to go abroad: for temporary employment or on a permanent basis. For example, in Poland, the right to residence was given to 247,000 Ukrainians – 60% more than last year. On average in the EU, this figure rose to 30%. During January-September 2015, some 1,400 people left the Transcarpathian region alone, mostly to the Czech Republic and Hungary.

AN EVALUATION OF INTERNAL MIGRATION FROM DONBASS, LUHANSK AND CRIMEA WITHIN UKRAINE AND WHAT SCENARIOS CAN BE EXPECTED IF THE SITUATION DOESN'T CHANGE

Political (military-political) factors – threat to life, liberty and property of citizens – have also caused internal migration of citizens of Ukraine who live in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (annexed by Russia in February-March 2014) and the eastern parts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions (the seizure of power structures by terrorists started in April 2014, armed clashes with the military units of the Armed forces of Ukraine in May 2014; the introduction of military units of the Russian Federation in August 2014).

These citizens are classified as internally displaced persons and are subject to international standards of treatment which were developed by the General Assembly in 1998. Internally displaced persons are those persons or group of persons forced to leave their homes or places of habitual residence by the desire to avoid the effects of armed conflict, violence, human rights violations or anthropogenic disasters who have not departed the internationally recognized borders of their State.

International principles stipulate that national authorities are obliged to provide protection and assistance to displaced persons under their jurisdiction and in cases of failure to do so, they may apply for international assistance. Unlike voluntary migration, where social status in most cases improves, the result of forced migration is a significant deterioration in this status.

As of 15 October 2015, approximately 971,300 people (581,300 families) were relocated from the temporarily occupied territories to other regions (950,200 from the Donetsk and Luhansk regions; and 21,100 people from Crimea and the city of Sevastopol). However, other statistics provide even higher numbers of IDPs. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) is counting approximately 1.5 million people that have officially registered as IDPs in Ukraine, but several NGOs reported that aid workers on the ground in Kyiv and many other regions of Ukraine frequently describe the real number as closer to 4 million people. Many who have been displaced may be discouraged from formally registering. Some fear military conscription or taxes. Others weren't able to produce proper paperwork after fleeing their homes. As a result, the number of registered IDPs is a low estimate of the total displaced population. Whatever source, this is the largest number of displaced persons in Europe since the Second World War.

The settlers were mostly relocated to Luhansk, Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhia, Odessa, Kharkiv and Poltava regions and Kiev, i.e. close to the departed regions and the capital. However, the western region that borders Central European countries, but is the most remote from southern and eastern Ukraine, as well as perceived as being radically "Ukraineophile", gets only the slightest of attention from internal migrants, with Chernivtsi receiving 2,731 migrants, Ivano-Frankivsk 3 631, the Transcarpathian region – 3,985, Volyn – 4,299 and Lviv – 11,300 people. This indicates that immigrants still want to maintain contact with relatives who remained in temporarily occupied territories; they want to care for abandoned properties and, therefore, provide for a quick return to their regions. However, note that 60-70% of settlers in neighbouring regions are persons of retirement age; Ukraine mainly moved able-bodied persons westward. The number of overall forced migrants represents more than 3% of all Ukrainians.

Social protection and guarantees are provided to immigrants under the Law of Ukraine "On the rights and freedoms of citizens and the legal regime in temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine" (15 April 2014) and "On the rights and freedoms of internally displaced persons" (20 October 2014, with subsequent amendments). Through these laws, about 95% of families are receiving cash assistance from the state.

Unfortunately, no general Ukrainian official statistics on travelling abroad for the years 2014-2015 are available. According to expert estimates compiled on the basis of a Delphi survey, in 2014 there were about 240,000 workers from Ukraine in Poland, about 112,000 in Czech Republic, 18,000 in Hungary and 16,000 in Slovakia. Thus, if the total number of migrants from Ukraine in EU states amounts to about 1.1 million people, the V4 countries account for approximately 386,000 of them. A specificity of Hungary is that this country is attractive mainly for Ukrainians of Hungarian origin and similarly in Slovakia,

for residents of the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine. The cases of some countries show an increase in the number of migrants from Ukraine to Central European states. Only Poland issued more work permissions to Ukrainians (about a third more) in 2014 than in the previous year.

At the same time, the number of Ukrainians in Russia in this period amounted to 1.3 million people, which according to expert estimates exceeded the number of migrants in European countries. Among Western societies the leading countries have not changed – Poland and the Czech Republic – because of geographical and linguistic proximity.

In 2012-2013 cases of seeking status as a political refugee were becoming more frequent because of the policy of selective justice under the Yanukovich regime, but these were not widespread. The Ukrainian crisis of the past two years, including the deployment of military operations to eastern Ukraine and, therefore, increased uncertainty about the future, led to a significant increase in the number of people seeking protection abroad. Among them were not only those from the East or from Crimea, but also men who wanted to avoid the mobilization of the Ukrainian army. According to the New York Times, 14,040 Ukrainians sought refugee status compared in 2014, after just 1,080 such cases during the previous year. However, different forms of protection (optional refugee status) were given to only 22% of applicants. European countries explain their position by the geographically limited area of conflict in Ukraine, and, therefore, the possibility of internal relocation of refugees. Another reason is the flow of refugees from Syria and Eritrea, where the majority of requests were approved due to the full-scale military operations taking place in those countries.

Most experts agree that the number residents leaving Ukraine from Donbass is likely to increase in the mid-term perspective (2016 and further) in the case of the continuing hostilities, as well as the lack of chances to return home or the absence of favourable socioeconomic and political conditions for sustainable accommodation in regions where internal migrants have already moved. In addition, only persons with sufficient resources – material, intellectual and spiritual – for such a move and subsequent lifestyle changes can migrate over long distances. This is why the result of the GFK Ukraine survey that nearly 3 million Ukrainians are planning to leave for work abroad in the near future confirms their determination to take this step in the absence of positive changes in the socioeconomic development of Ukraine or in further political (military-political) destabilization of society. Telling is the fact that one in five of them is ready to cross the border illegally.

A characteristic feature of the new wave of migration may be the departure of qualified specialists. Thus, adverse legal and financial conditions for the operation of outsourcing campaigns stimulate the migration of IT professionals, and in 2014 they carried out 33% of all such work in Central and Eastern

Europe. It should be noted that in recent years Central Europeans have not seen a significant negative impact of Ukrainian migration to Europe, except possible increased competition in the labour market. An important role has been played by the factor of migrants from Syria, which increases the attitude towards rejection of immigrants from Eastern Europe.

As a result, the V4 countries began to liberalize their policies on migrants from Eastern Europe. In particular, on 9 November 2015 the government of the Czech Republic significantly simplified the procedure for obtaining long-term work visas for professionals from Ukraine and declared its readiness to accept 500 highly qualified professionals with needed skills. This approach is explained by the growth of the Czech economy, the labour market in 2015, which offers 100,000 vacancies and the negative attitude toward migrants from the Middle East and North Africa.

Current migration trends in Ukraine demonstrate the phenomenon of internal migration of citizens from the occupied areas of Donbass, Luhansk and Crimea to neighbouring regions and to the capital Kiev. However, data from various sources show an increase in the number of migrants who want to work or even go abroad.

In November 2015, in the context of preparations for the abolition of the visa regime with the EU, Ukraine adopted the Law "On external labour migration". It first identified social guarantees for workers and their families, including the possibility of social insurance during their stay abroad, guarantees of reintegration after returning from abroad and the provision of protection abroad. Creating a system of legal protection of workers potentially has a positive economic effect: in 2014 alone migrant workers transferred nearly 6 billion dollars to Ukraine as opposed to 230 million USD of foreign investments in the domestic economy during this same period.

Visa liberalization and possible liberalization of EU regulations on the employment of Ukrainians, which are expected in the medium term, will lead to a radical increase in 'pendulum' migrants, given that a large number of Ukrainians already have jobs in Europe. However, it is likely to increase the number of families who wish to unite, leaving young people to study in Central European countries with subsequent employment. An increase in the number of migrants who dare to depart permanently to Europe as opposed to taking temporary employment, or the legalization of Ukrainian citizens working illegally is also expected to occur. Some studies show that in the case of liberalization of the visa regime with the EU, during the first year the number of migrants from Ukraine may increase to 250-300,000 people. In the case of aggravation of the internal political crisis in Ukraine, a lack of progress in resolving the political and military conflict with Russia, potential migrants in neighbouring countries may be not only internally displaced persons from Donbass and the Crimea, but also residents from other regions who are losing

faith in the promise of the Ukrainian state. The lack of a real fight against corruption, increased crime, the failure of political rights to immigrants from the Crimea and Donbass may be additional factors favouring a decision to travel abroad. Potentially, the main targets of such moves may merely be the V4 countries, given the geographical and cultural proximity and the existing social networks created by Ukrainians.

A negative factor that contributes to the formation of migration attitudes may be the deteriorating socioeconomic indicators. In the first half of 2015, a 16.3% decline was recorded in GDP, and consumer price inflation was 39.3% compared with the beginning of the year. The fall in real wages was 23.9%. Inflation from January to September 2015 amounted to 141.4%. There is also an expected exit of citizens from eastern Ukraine to Russia, taking into account the same factors as in the case of Central European states. Barriers may include a mental reluctance to leave the country-aggressor, the economic downturn in the country or the strengthening of migration barriers by Russian authorities. At the same time Moscow is making the rules of entry stricter for the majority of Ukrainians, though it has made an exception for residents of the eastern parts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions that are outside the control of official authorities of Ukrainian territories. According to expert assessments, a decreased number of Ukrainian migrants heading to Russia will lead accordingly to increasing the migration pressure on the EU.

An increase of migration abroad, particularly non-circular migration, is a threat to Ukraine and permanently threatens a further brain drain, and therefore reduces the human potential of the country, which could have negative effects on the quality of public governance, the ensuring of the country's security and thus regional security in Europe.

The potential threats for the Visegrad countries are additional pressure on the labour market, particularly if migrants begin applying for a segment of the labour market which is claimed by citizens of Central European countries themselves but is not limited to low-skilled labour. The potential arrival of large numbers of migrants during an economic recession may cause some social tensions and ethnic conflicts at the micro level, although the probability of this is low.

Thus, despite the liberalization of employment conditions for Ukrainians in the countries of V4, which reduce the social bias among Central European societies, both parties – Ukraine and the V4 countries – are objectively interested in creating incentives that promote employment of Ukrainians at home and in regions to where IDPs have moved, and in case of conflict resolution in Donbass, the return home of the departed community. This is due to depopulation Ukraine and the threatened loss of “brains” and, in general, of skilled labour. At the same time, the labour market of the Visegrad countries is limited compared with the proposal to potential migrants.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Благоприятность ведения бизнеса. Украина. За данными группы Всемирного банка Doing Business [Електронний ресурс]. – Режим доступу : <http://russian.doingbusiness.org>
2. Закон України «Про забезпечення прав і свобод громадян та правовий режим на тимчасово окупованій території України» від 15.04.2014 р. // В ВРУ. – 2014. – № 26. – Ст. 892
3. Закон України «Про забезпечення прав та свобод внутрішньо переміщених осіб» від 20 жовтня 2014 року [Електронний ресурс] – Режим доступу: <http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1706-18>
4. Захист соціально-економічних прав внутрішньо переміщених осіб: першочергові завдання для України [Електронний ресурс] – Режим доступу: http://www.cedos.org.ua/system/attachments/files/000/000/045/original/CSR_IDP.pdf?1400493355
5. International Labour Organisation (2013): Звіт щодо методології, організації проведення та результатів модульного вибіркового обстеження з питань трудової міграції в Україні. Міжнародна організація праці, 2013 [Електронний ресурс] – Режим доступу: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@europe/@ro-geneva/@sro-budapest/documents/publication/wcms_244746.pdf
6. Малиновська О. Міграційна політика в Україні: формування, зміст, відповідність сучасним вимогам: Аналітична записка М1/2014 [Електронний ресурс] – Режим доступу: www.ier.com.ua/files/publications/.../PB_01_migration_2013_ukr.pdf
7. Муромцева Ю.І. Внутрішньо переміщені особи в Україні та їх вплив на ринок праці регіону / Ю.І. Муромцева // Збірник наукових праць Харківського національного педагогічного університету імені Г.С. Сковороди «Економіка», 2015, вип. 15. – С. 124-131.
8. Надрага В.І. Проблеми внутрішньої міграції населення в контексті концепції «суспільства ризику» / В.І. Надрага // Український соціум. – 2015. – № 1 (52). – С. 134-141.
9. Надточій О. Причини зовнішньої трудової міграції та оцінка її наслідків для економіки України / О. Надточій // Теорія та практика державного управління. – Вип. 1 (48). – С.1-8.
10. Руководящие принципы по вопросам о перемещении лиц внутри страны. [Електронний ресурс] – Режим доступу: http://www.un.org/ru/documents/decl_conv/conventions/internal_displacement_principles.shtml
11. Проект Закону про зовнішню трудову міграцію [Електронний ресурс] – Режим доступу: http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4_1?pf3511=55975.

12. Солодько А. Аналіз політики інтеграції біженців та осіб, які потребують додаткового захисту [Електронний ресурс] / Солодько А. – Режим доступу: <http://www.cedos.org.ua/uk/migration/analiz-polityky-intehratsii-bizhentsiv-ta-osib-yaki-potrebuiut-dodatkovoho-zakhystu>
13. Duvell F. (2011), Ukraine – Europe’s Mexico? [in:] Central and Eastern European Migration. Research Resources Report 1/3: Country Profile, http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/files/pdfs/Non_WP_pdfs/Transit_Migration_in_Ukraine/Ukraine_Country%20Report_1of3.pdf
14. Forecasting Migration Between the EU, V4 and Eastern Europe Impact of Visa Abolition: Ed. Marta Jaroszewicz, Magdalena Lesińska, Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich im. Marka Karpia, Centre for Eastern Studies, 230 p.
15. Ukrainian Migration Profile 2010-2014. – Kyiv, 2015. – 76 p.
16. World Bank (2007). Migration and remittances. Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Washington: World Bank.

RECENT TRENDS IN UKRAINIAN MIGRATION TO POLAND

Marta Jaroszewicz¹

INTRODUCTION

Poland is first of all an emigration country, albeit its transformation from an emigration into an emigration-immigration country has been steadily progressing.² The size of the foreign population in Poland is still marginal in comparison with other European Union member states; however, it is slowly growing. In the last national census, conducted in Poland in 2011, foreigners constituted less than 1% of the resident population. At the end of 2013 121,000 foreigners with different kinds of residence permits were registered in Poland.³ On 1 November 2015 this number totalled as many as 194,000.⁴ However, these numbers do not illustrate the full picture of immigration flows into Poland. Foreigners who obtain a residence permit in Poland are usually permanent migrants who stay in Poland for a year or longer, while immigration to Poland has mainly a temporary (often seasonal) character not captured by residence permits statistics. According to Eurostat, which recognizes long-term national visas as residence permits, there were at the end of 2014 as many as 364,652 different residence permits issued in Poland, including labour visas for longer than 3 months.⁵

The majority of migrants from Eastern Europe who come to Poland function under a simplified employment scheme and do not obtain residence permits. Some of them arrive on a short-term tourist visa and work without permission.

¹ Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW), Warsaw, Poland.

² A. Górny et al., *Immigration to Poland: policy, employment, integration*, Warsaw: Scholar Publishing House 2010.

³ The Office for Foreigners of Poland.

⁴ Ibidem.

⁵ Eurostat, *All valid permits by reason, length of validity and citizenship on 31 December each year*; <http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do>.

Therefore, neither the real number nor the dynamic of this phenomenon can be assessed in detail.

The main trait of the Polish migration profile is still emigration, mainly related to Poland's EU accession in 2004 and the gradual removal of restrictions on access to other EU state labour markets for Polish citizens. A massive outflow of Poles occurred in a short period of time after accession. Emigration reached its peak in 2007 when more than 2.3 million Poles (6.6% of the total population) were registered in other EU states as temporary residents. According to some estimates, as many as 1.8 million Poles were residing in the EU-15 in 2013, which shows that return emigration was not considerable. Moreover, emigration has become one of key instrument of coping with low salaries and limited career opportunities in Poland within the young generation of Poles.⁶

The migration policy of Poland can be described as being in *statu nascendi*. Poland has not yet developed more sophisticated migration instruments. However, the recent refugee crisis in Europe has turned the attention of politicians and public opinion and has generated amplified activities among Polish authorities at the EU level, though it has not yet brought any migration policy development at the national level. The most important tool of Polish migration policy has been a simplified labour-market admission scheme for short-term employment, addressed to the citizens of the Eastern Partnership states. The new scheme, introduced in 2007, allows employers to hire employees without a work permit from six Eastern European states for a period not exceeding 6 months.

The majority of immigrants coming to Poland originate from neighbouring Eastern European states. The biggest group is made up of Ukrainians, and other nationalities include Russia, Belarus, Vietnam, Germany and China.

IMMIGRATION TO POLAND: DYNAMICS AND PATTERNS

After regaining independence, Poland was not a country that attracted the major attention of foreigners. What was important, however, was the phenomenon of short-term trans-border commerce-related travels (shuttle trade) between Poland and all of its neighbours. This occurrence had its roots in the differences in prices for certain goods and services on the both sides of the border and touched upon all the borders of Poland, including those with Slovakia, Czech Republic and Germany. Border movement between Poland and the former post-Soviet states (Ukraine, Belarus, Russia, Lithuania) was, however, specific due to the previous total closure of those borders. The

⁶ M. Duszczyc, K. Matuszczyk, *A one-way ticket? Migration in Europe from the perspective of CEE countries*, Central and Eastern Europe Development Institute 2015.

states concerned were 'making up' for the Cold War period, during which human mobility was subject to severe restrictions. Moreover, the intensity of border traffic was stimulated by existing ethnic and family ties, small-scale trade, and work. Many families were divided after 1945 when the new border between Poland and the USRR was finally set. However, these movements lost their dynamics in the process of Poland's EU accession, and the relevant travel restrictions for non-EU citizens finally ended in 2008 when Poland entered the Schengen zone.⁷

The next phase in the immigration to Poland was mostly associated with Poland's EU accession; EU citizens were given the legal privileges of accessing Polish territory and the labour market, and the Polish economy developed in closer connection to other EU economies. The second EU accession-related factor included the outflow of Polish citizens to other EU destinations and the opening up of niches in the Polish labour market. As a result, Poland created the already mentioned simplified scheme to attract seasonal workers from abroad. Moreover, in 2014 it changed its law on foreigners, easing access to residence permits for foreign students. However, up to 2014 the increase in immigration was rather modest. The 2011 population census registered only 63,000 foreigners with a permanent or fixed residence permit, but by the end of 2013 a total of 121,000 foreigners with different type of residence permits were registered in Poland, and as of November 2015 – 194,000 foreigners.

As shown above, since 2013-2014 we can see a stronger immigration increase, mainly due to the intensified migration of Ukrainian citizens. However, the greatest dynamics can be observed in the case of temporary seasonal migration. While in 2012 there were 235,000 employer declarations for short-term labour registered, that number increased to 332,000 in January-October 2014 and may reach as many as 700-800,000 at the end of 2015.⁸

UKRAINIANS IN POLAND: DYNAMICS, MOTIVATIONS, QUALITATIVE DATA

Large cross-border emigration outflows have been typical for Ukraine over many years. However, the reasons for migration have partially changed. At the end of the USSR and the beginning of independence ethnic reasons prevailed. In the mid-1990s and 2000s poverty and unemployment became major push factors for migration. Thus, migration became one of the strategies for Ukrainians to cope with poverty. That motivation appears to prevail until today.

⁷ M. Jaroszewicz, *Consequences of the Schengen area enlargement for the EU's Eastern European Neighbours*, Centre for Eastern Studies, December 2007.

⁸ Data of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy of Poland.

This sub-section presents a summary of the results of a research project carried out in 2013-2014 by the Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW) in cooperation with research centres from seven countries of the region. However, while the eruption of war in Ukraine and worsening of the economic situation influenced the scale of migration from Ukraine, its main mechanisms have remained.

The Delphi survey on migration trends between the EU/V4 and Eastern Europe conducted in Poland in November 2013-April 2014 revealed that according to expert knowledge, the number of migrants from Ukraine to Poland oscillated around the figure of 240,000.⁹ Experts estimated that irregular migrants account for about 45% of all Ukrainian migrants; their irregular status lies mainly in undertaking work without registration while being in possession of a valid residence or permit to stay. Moreover, experts assessed that Ukrainian migrants prefer circular migration, are involved in manual labour (e.g. in agriculture, construction and household services) and do not experience problems communicating with Poles.

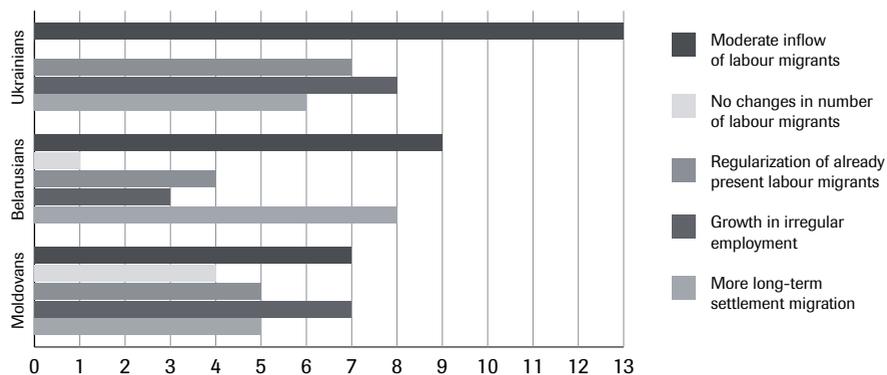
The key advantages of Poland as a destination country influencing the scale, trends and sources of current inflows were described as follows: 1) the growing attractiveness of Poland as a result of its recent economic development, 2) increasing demand for foreign workers in some sectors of the economy; 3) recent liberalization of the rules related to admission and employment of foreigners, and 4) political developments addressed to particular groups perceived as desirable, such as students and foreigners of Polish origin. Although the level of wages in Poland may at first sight be perceived as a pull factor, since they are much higher than in Ukraine, it is not necessarily the most important factor when choosing Poland as a destination country.

In the Delphi survey, migration experts were also asked to give their prognosis of future immigration trends to Poland from Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova. Asked if the dynamics of migration flows are expected to change in the next decade, most of the experts gave an affirmative response, predicting an increase in the case of Ukrainian migrants, while only a few experts foresaw the situation remaining stable. The main arguments for the increase given by experts included: the economic and political crisis in Ukraine coupled with the growing demand for foreign labour in Poland.

⁹ Z. Brunarska, M. Lesińska, "Migration between the EU, V4 and Eastern Europe: the present situation and possible future. The perspective of Poland" (in:) M. Jaroszewicz, M. Lesińska (eds.), *Forecasting migration between the EU, V4, and Eastern Europe. Impact of visa abolishment*, Centre for Eastern Studies 2014, p. 88-109.

FIGURE 1. What do you expect to happen (in a short-term horizon of three years) in Poland if visas for short-term travels for up to 90 days for Ukrainian, Belarusian and Moldovan nationals to the Schengen area are abolished?

The most frequent answers:



Source: Delphi survey Poland 2013-2014.

Experts were also asked about their assessment of the positive and negative impact of Ukrainian immigration to Poland. The respondents rated the possible rise in xenophobia or ethnic problems connected with immigration from Ukraine as unimportant. Similarly, they do not expect any problems with integration of these migrants, nor do they predict that future immigration may lead to the growth of unemployment or place an additional burden on the social services system. An argument often raised in immigration countries – that the presence of migrants drives down wages and that they constitute competition for local workers – was not regarded as an important risk connected to future migration of Ukrainians.

FIGURE 2. Negative impacts of future migration from Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova to Poland; average answers¹⁰

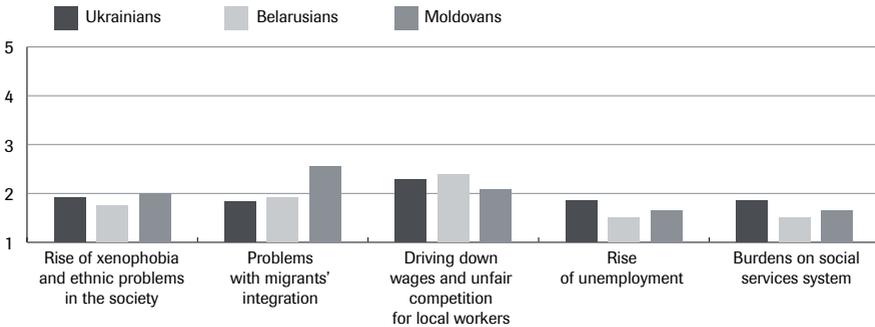
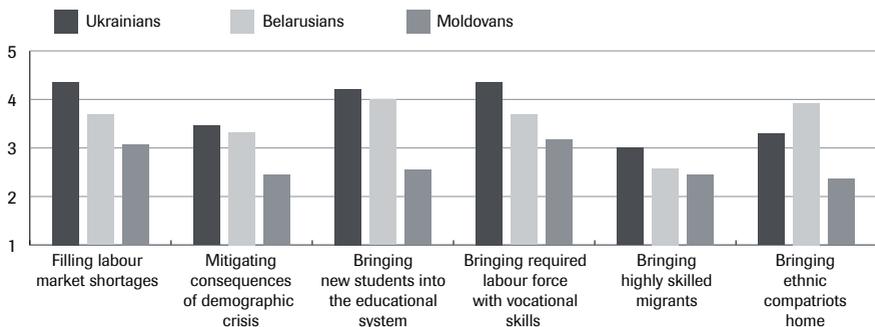


FIGURE 3. Positive impacts of future migration from Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova to Poland; average answers



Source: Delphi survey Poland 2013-2014; 1 – least important, 2 – unimportant, 3 – neither important, nor unimportant, 4 – important, 5 – most important

As far as opportunities connected with Eastern European migration to Poland are concerned, none of the experts surveyed stated that she/he 'does not see any positive impacts'. As the most important positive impact of immigration from Ukraine, respondents identified the fact that it compensates for labour shortages, including the supply of a labour force possessing sought-after vocational skills, and that it attracts new students to the Polish educational system. Also mentioned as being important for Ukraine were: 'filling labour

¹⁰ Each point has been ranked by at least 11 experts, from whose answers the arithmetic mean was calculated.

market shortages' and 'bringing required labour force with vocational skills'. The experts were not overly enthusiastic regarding the chances of mitigating the consequences of the demographic crisis which lies in store for Poland.

NEWEST TRENDS IN UKRAINIAN MIGRATION TO POLAND

Thus far, Poland has been the only EU country to record a significant increase in the scale of migration from Ukraine after the eruption of war in Ukraine and the relevant unfavourable economic situation in 2014-2015. This mainly results from improvement in the Polish economy and simplified procedures for accessing the job market granted to citizens of the Eastern Partnership states, as well as the relatively large demand for workers in agriculture and in private households. The so-called 'system of declarations' has been a particular 'pull factor' for Ukrainians. Other 'pull factors' include linguistic and cultural similarity, as well as the low travel costs. Direct bus connections linking Polish cities with Ukrainian towns, used mainly by migrants, have become particularly popular. As the number of Ukrainians living in Poland increases, migration networks are becoming extended, which makes migrants feel safer due to the fact that they have access to legal, medical and employment assistance in their native language.

In the Polish context, it is very important to differentiate between long-term migration and temporary migration. Long-term migration has recorded an upward trend, even though it is insignificant in absolute numbers, yet at the same time is relatively well described in figures. Temporary migration, on the other hand, has probably been increasing much more rapidly, although it is still difficult to research in statistical terms. As far as long-term migration is concerned, in the 2011 national census in Poland a mere 24,000 individuals claimed that they held Ukrainian citizenship. According to data compiled by the Office for Foreigners, at the end of 2013 Ukrainians held over 37,000 valid residence cards. In October 2015, however, the number was 52,000, including 21,000 permanent residence cards and 28,000 temporary residence cards.¹¹ No data is available as to how many residence cards have been issued to individuals coming from the Donetsk and Luhansk regions.

A major problem involves estimates regarding the current number of Ukrainian migrants working temporarily in Poland. In this case, citizens of Ukraine obtain declarations enabling them by a simplified procedure to take a job for up to six months in a year (however, here the statistics do not show the number of individuals but the number of permits, and one individual may hold several permits) or to work illegally holding only tourist visas. According to

¹¹ Data of Office for Foreigners of Poland.

estimates, currently there are approximately 300,000-500,000 such individuals in Poland. In 2014, 372,000 declarations regarding the intention of employing a foreigner were issued to Ukrainians (an increase of 60% as compared with 2013). In the first half of 2015 alone, as many as 402,000 such declarations submitted by citizens of Ukraine were registered, most of them for jobs in agriculture. As many as 139,000 declarations were issued to women, which is typical of Ukrainian migration to Poland. Also, in this case it is not known whether these declarations are still being issued mainly to residents of Galicia or equally to residents of other parts of Ukraine, in particular the eastern regions.

TABLE 1. The number of declarations regarding the intention of employing a foreigner (a citizen of Ukraine) registered with employment offices in Poland in the first half of 2015

Total	January	February	March	April	May	June
402,674	49,620	75,316	81,895	64,429	62,994	68,420

Source: Ministry of Labour and Social Policy of Poland

CONCLUSIONS

Data compiled for 2014 and the first half of 2015 suggest that in the case of Poland there was a change in the trend regarding migration dynamics and to a lesser extent strategies applied by Ukrainian citizens. Temporary migration to Poland is becoming an increasingly popular method of coping with poverty and instability in Ukraine. It is evident that, unlike in previous years, Ukrainians are increasingly choosing settlement migration to Poland. It is still unclear how popular new migration schemes are among residents of other parts of Ukraine, i.e. other than the western part. Similarly, it is unclear whether the current increase is merely a temporary reaction of Ukrainian society to the unfavourable economic situation and to the military conflict.

Poland is thus becoming a host country for immigrants and is reinforcing its status as the EU's most popular destination country for temporary migrants from Ukraine. It is likely that the upward trend will continue for several more years, as there are no prospects for a quick improvement of the economic situation in Ukraine. Several questions still remain unanswered, however. It is not known whether Ukrainian migrants will develop migration networks in other EU countries and move to states which may offer them higher salaries. Due to the still prevalent temporary nature of immigration to Poland, it is too early to explicitly state that Poland is becoming the EU's permanent main destination for settlement migration for citizens of Ukraine.

As far as possible variables which could impact the dynamics and the nature of migration are concerned, undoubtedly the most important variable is the economic situation in Ukraine. Regardless of the characteristics of Ukrainian migration, one should not lose sight of the fact that in the context of the current migration crisis in the EU migrants are increasingly being treated by EU societies as a burden. Similarly, anti-immigration political movements have been gaining ground. Moreover, states such as Italy and Germany, which are popular with Ukrainians as migration destinations, have been coping with the challenge of integrating hundreds of thousands of refugees from the Middle East and are unlikely to be interested in a greater opening of their job markets to citizens of Ukraine. It is not known, however, in which direction the migration policy of the Visegrad Group countries will evolve. These countries fear migration from the south but at the same time they openly state that they prefer migrants from Ukraine due to their cultural affinity. So far, however, no change in this policy has been observed.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC: THE CURRENT STATE WITH AN EMPHASIS ON UKRAINIAN MIGRATION

Markéta Seidlová¹

Within the last 20 years, the Czech Republic has undergone a very interesting evolution in regard to international migration. From a country with a strong tradition of emigration (from World War Two till the last decade of the 20th century) it has become the most important point of attraction for foreigners among the countries of so-called Visegrad group (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia). At the end of August 2015, a total of 735,237 foreigners lived in these four countries, with nearly two-thirds of them (59.1%; 434,581 persons) living in the Czech Republic. The second most attractive country within this group – well behind the Czech Republic – was Hungary (140,301 foreigners, i.e. 19.1% of those living in Visegrad countries); third was Poland (101,204 foreigners, i.e. 13.8%) and last in the ranking was Slovakia (59,151 foreigners, i.e. 8.0%)².

In 2015, immigrants represent about 4.4% of the population in the Czech Republic. Ukrainians are the most numerous immigrant group, followed by Slovaks and Vietnamese, and there are also significant populations from the Balkans and Africa. This chapter presents current migration patterns in the Czech Republic, with special emphasis on Ukrainian migration through a review of the relevant literature and statistical sources.

¹ Researcher at the Geographic Migration Centre – GEOMIGRACE, Department of Social Geography and Regional Development, Faculty of Science, Charles University in Prague, Albertov 6, 128 43 Prague, Czech Republic, e-mail: mseidlova@seznam.cz.

² Eurostat (2015).

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MIGRATORY CONTEXTS

The main factor in the radical change regarding (not only) migration patterns in the Czech Republic was the “Velvet Revolution” in 1989, which brought in its wake a new political, economic and societal regime based on a free democratic society and a free-market economy. Since the very beginning of the 1990s and onwards, the deep-reaching transformation of society and its globalization (along with the milestones of establishment of an independent Czech Republic by separation from Slovakia in 1993, entering NATO in 1999, and joining the European Union in 2004 and the Schengen area in 2007) have gone hand-in-hand with changing migration flows to this Central European country. Hence, in the course of time the Czech Republic first became a transit country for Western Europe and then an immigration country (overturning the migration balance). A unique combination of factors, such as the speed of economic and political transformation, particular migration policies (between 1993 and 2008) together with good economic performance and demands in the labour market, has maximized the pull force of this country for immigrants³.

COMPOSITION OF THE MIGRANT POPULATION

In terms of numbers, in 1993 only 78,000 foreigners lived in the Czech Republic, making up 0.8% of population. One year later, in 1994, the number of foreigners for the first time exceeded the level of 100,000 (as 104,343 of foreigners were living in the Czech Republic), with foreigners making up about 1% of inhabitants. Almost two-thirds of them (62.0%) came from just five countries: Poland (20,021 persons; 19.2% of foreigners), Slovakia (16,778 persons; 16.1%), Ukraine (14,230 persons; 13.6%), Vietnam (9,633 persons; 9.2%) and Germany (4,195 persons; 4.0%)⁴.

In 2015, the main source countries of foreigners remained the same as in 1994, with the exception of Poland, which has been replaced by Russia in the ranking of the five most represented groups. Obviously, as the previous sentence indicates, the numbers about which we speak today are totally different when compared with the situation just after the establishment of an independent Czech Republic (1993). At the end of September 2015, a total of 461,880 foreigners lived in the Czech Republic, and they made up 4.4% of all inhabitants. Among them, 258,813 (56.0%) resided in the Czech Republic based on a permit for permanent stay and the others (203,067 persons; 44.0%) held a permit for temporary stay (i.e. temporary residence based on

³ Drbohlav, Džúrová (2015).

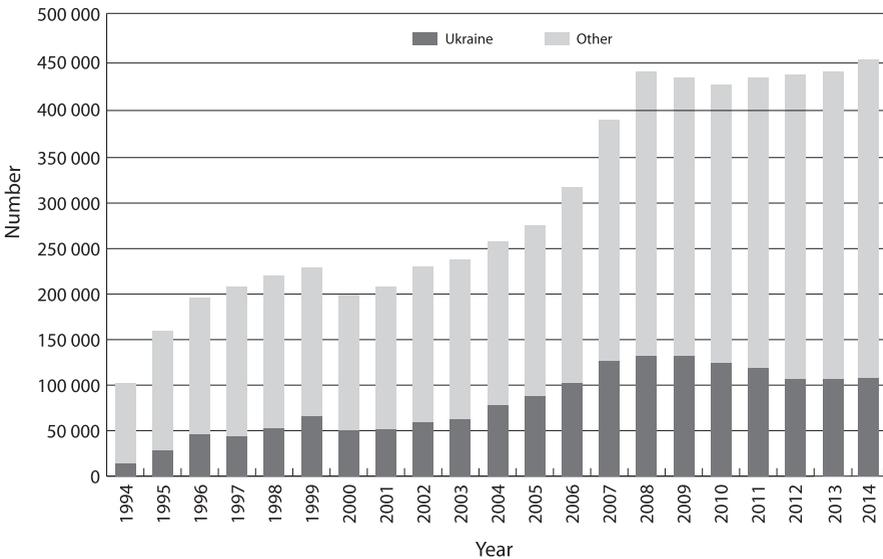
⁴ ČSÚ (2015).

a visa for long stay over 90 days, temporary stay for a family member of an EU citizen who is not a citizen of the EU, citizens of European Union who have been granted a temporary residence certificate).

More than two-thirds of foreigners in 2015 (68.7%) came from five countries, while nearly one-quarter came from only one country – Ukraine (105,153 persons; 22.8%). Thus, Ukrainians are currently the most represented and most numerous group of immigrants in the Czech Republic. Second in the ranking were Slovaks (100,241 persons; 21.7%), i.e. foreigners from the country with which the Czech Republic had a common history in the form of a single state for nearly 75 years. The third most represented group are Vietnamese (56,659 persons; 12.3%); fourth are Russians (34,757 persons; 7.5%) and fifth Germans (20,315 persons; 4.4%)⁵. In other words, nearly half of all foreigners (42.6%) are citizens of three countries outside the EU (Ukraine, Vietnam and Russia); one-third (34.0%) are citizens of two neighbouring countries, both EU member states (Slovakia and Germany), and less than a quarter (23.5%) are citizens of all other countries in the world. The composition of the migrant population is thus obviously reflected in all available statistics concerning the everyday life of foreigners, as we will see in the text which follows.

Fig. 1 presents the evolution of the number of foreigners in the Czech Republic between the years 1994 and 2014, where the evolution in the number and share of Ukrainians in the migrant population can also be seen.

⁵ MV (2015a).

FIG. 1: Evolution of the number of foreigners living in the Czech Republic and their citizenship (1994 – 2014)

Source: ČSÚ (2015).

From the overall point of view (or more precisely, since 2004), the number of Ukrainians reached its peak on 30 June 2009, when 134,456 Ukrainian citizens lived in the Czech Republic. Since then, due to the economic crisis which hit Europe – the Czech economy included – the number of immigrants in the Czech Republic has been slowly and continuously decreasing. The number of Ukrainians has fluctuated in the last two years at around 104,000.

As already stated above, at the end of September 2015, a total of 105,153 Ukrainians lived in the Czech Republic, and 72.9% of them resided in the Czech Republic based on a permit for permanent stay (in another words, 27.1% had a permit for a temporary stay). Among all Ukrainians, 47.0% were women (49.0% among those with a permanent permit, 41.6% among those with a temporary permit). When compared to the situation in August 2015, their number has increased by 287 (0.27%)⁶.

Most Ukrainian migrants come primarily for economic and work-related reasons. They are mostly employed in construction, some industrial sectors, services or agriculture, chiefly taking unskilled, manual, low paid or so-called “3D” (demanding, dirty and dangerous) jobs⁷.

⁶ MV (2015a).

⁷ Drbohlav, Džúrová (2015).

TYPES OF RESIDENCE PERMITS

Act No. 326/1999 Coll., on the Residence of Foreign Nationals in the Territory of the Czech Republic, divides the stay of foreigners in the Czech Republic into two main categories: temporary and permanent residence on the territory. Due to the complexity and extensiveness of this Act, we will present only briefly the main types of residence permits.

In terms of duties necessary for entry and residence in the Czech Republic, two groups of foreigners are distinguished according to their citizenship:

The first group includes citizens of member states of the European Union⁸ as well as other states that are parties to the Treaty on the European Economic Area⁹ and Switzerland (hereinafter referred as “EU citizens”). Family members of EU citizens, even if they are not themselves citizens of the EU, also have similar positions in regard to law, enjoyed under certain conditions stipulated by law. The second group of foreigners thus consists of citizens of other countries, so-called “third” countries.

Foreigners from third countries are required to be in possession of a visa for entry and for a short stay (up to three months) in the Czech Republic, while this rule is not applied to foreign nationals for whom the visa obligation was cancelled within the framework of the single visa policy of the European Union.¹⁰

Third countries nationals must always have a visa for a stay over 90 days or a residence permit if they want to stay in the Czech Republic for a period longer than three months. Based on the visa for a stay over 90 days, a foreigner can stay in the Czech Republic for a period not exceeding 6 months, and then s/he may apply for a permit for long-term residence under the condition that the purpose of residence remains the same.

A specific type of residence permit is then the long-term residence permit for the purpose of international protection.

EU citizens enjoy the right of free movement and residence within the European Union, which is one of the essential freedoms within this Union and a rule based on the Treaty on European Union. Thus, EU citizens may enter the Czech Republic and reside here for an indefinite period only on the basis of their travel document (which can be even only their national identification card), without the necessity of applying for any type of residence permit.

⁸ As of 31 October 2015, there are 28 member states of European Union: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Republic of Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and United Kingdom.

⁹ Norway, Iceland, Liechtenstein

¹⁰ Council Regulation (EC) No 539/2001 of 15 March 2001 listing the third countries whose nationals must be in possession of visas when crossing the external borders and those whose nationals are exempt from that requirement

However, even for this category of foreigners, i.e. for EU nationals, two types of residence permits are issued: a temporary residence certificate and a permanent residence permit. However, applying for one of the aforementioned types of residence permits is not an obligation for EU nationals; it is merely their right. If such an EU citizen wants to reside in the country for more than three months, s/he is entitled to apply for a temporary residence certificate. This certificate aims mainly to facilitate the interacting with public authorities and institutions during the stay of an EU national in the Czech Republic. Family members of EU citizens are therefore a specific group of foreigners, also exercising their right to free movement within the European Union and enjoying, for example, simplified procedures related to visas for short stays (up to three months).

A permanent residence permit can, in general, be issued to every foreigner after five years of continuous residence in the Czech Republic. In special cases stipulated by law, the foreigner may obtain a permanent residence permit even within a shorter period: for example after four years of continuous residence in the Czech Republic after the process on the granting of international protection has been completed (if statutory conditions are fulfilled), or without the need of such a long and uninterrupted stay in the Czech Republic for humanitarian reasons or for other reasons which are worthy of special consideration.

A family member of a Czech citizen can obtain a permanent residence permit after two years of continuous residence in the Czech Republic, if the family link to the citizen of the Czech Republic has already lasted for at least one year¹¹.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGNERS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

In terms of the economic activity of foreigners once on the territory of the Czech Republic, two main types of their status are distinguished: if they are employed (and hence they appear in the statistics of Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs) or if they are self-employed or own a company (and hence belonging to the statistics of the Ministry of Industry and Trade).

On 31 December 2014, a total of 260,999 foreigners were registered as employees by the regional offices of the *Labour Office* of the Czech Republic. From them, 196,345 (75.2%) were citizens of the EU/EEA and Switzerland and 64,654 (24.8%) were foreigners from third countries.

Among the EU citizens, most represented were nationals from Slovakia (129,218 persons), followed by citizens of Poland (19,596 persons), Romania (13,755 persons), Bulgaria (13,685 persons) and Germany (3,376 persons).

¹¹ MV (2015c).

Among the citizens of third countries, the largest group of employees were Ukrainians (35,319 persons), Russians (4,720 persons), Vietnamese (3,981 persons), Moldovans (2,115 persons) and Mongols (1,772 persons).

At the same time, 1,589 employment agencies entitled to find the employment were registered by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, and a total of 61,116 foreigners were employed in the position of agency worker¹².

The *Ministry of Industry and Trade* registered at the end of 2014 a total of 83,569 foreigners as entrepreneurs (i.e. a decrease of 2,318 when compared to the end of 2013) and 105,245 businesses in the ownership of foreigners (i.e. a rise of 3,711).

Among entrepreneurs, the most numerous foreigners were citizens of Vietnam (23,964 persons), Ukraine (23,639 persons) and Slovakia (13,493 persons), whilst the “top ten” countries remained the same as in previous years and reflected the most numerous groups of foreigners in the Czech Republic¹³.

APPLICANTS FOR INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

To the group of (mainly) economic immigrants with allowed permanent or temporary stay, we have to add those claiming international protection (asylum or additional protection). From January to September 2015, a total of 1,115 persons claimed international protection in the Czech Republic¹⁴. Almost half of them were Ukrainian citizens (527 persons; 47.3%). The second and third largest groups of claimants were citizens of Cuba (114 persons; 10.2%) and Syria (73 persons; 6.5%).

In the month of September 2015, a total of 125 persons claimed international protection in the Czech Republic, nearly half of whom were Ukrainians (60 persons; 48.0%). Among the Ukrainians, near half (24 persons; 40.0%) were women, 20.0% (12 persons) came from minors and 18.3% (11 persons) submitted repeated demand for international protection.

The figures for the month of September 2015 were quite similar with those from August 2015, when a total of 106 persons claimed international protection in the Czech Republic, nearly half of whom were Ukrainians (46 persons – 43.4%). Among the Ukrainians, one-third (15 persons – 32.6%) were women, 21.7% (10 persons) submitted repeated demand for international protection and 13.1% of claims (6 persons) came from minors.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ MV (2015b).

The Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic made a total of 110 decisions in this regard in the month of September 2015. Due to the high share of Ukrainians among the claimants, Ukrainians also had the highest share among those who received a decision: 52 (47.3%) out of above-mentioned 110. Nearly two-thirds of them (29 persons; 55.8%) received a negative decision, i.e. international protection was not granted to them. However, additional protection was granted to one-fifth of them (10 persons; 19.2% of Ukrainians subject to a decision in the month of September 2015). For one-quarter of claimants (13 persons; 25.0%) the procedure was stopped.

The distribution of these decisions in September 2015 was also quite similar with the distribution of such decisions made in the previous month: in August 2015, the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic made a total of 92 decisions in this regard. As Ukrainians had highest share among the claimants, they had also the highest share among those receiving a decision: 41 (44.6%) out of above-mentioned 92. Nearly two-thirds of these Ukrainians (65.9% – 27 persons) received a negative decision, i.e. international protection was not granted to them. However, one-quarter of the Ukrainian claimants (24.4% – 10 persons) decided on in the month of August 2015 received the additional protection. For the rest of the claimants (4 persons – 9.8%) the procedure was stopped¹⁵.

CITIZENSHIP

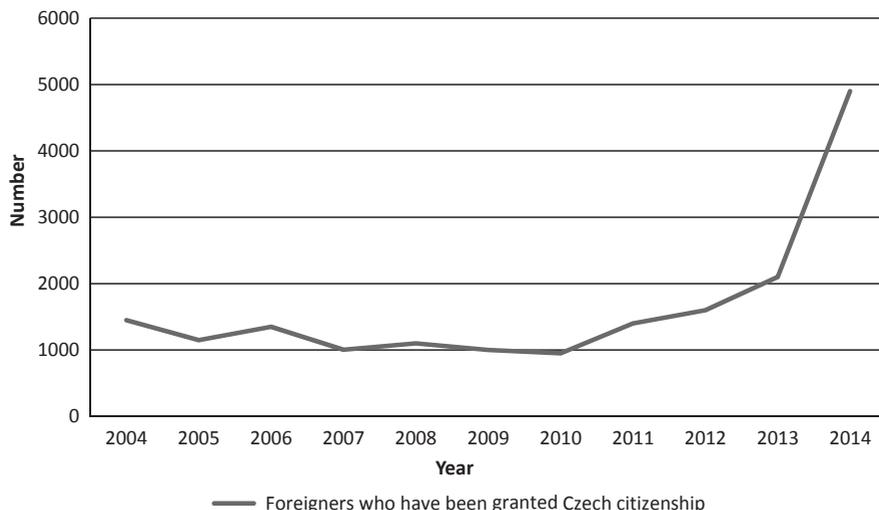
In 2014, Czech citizenship was granted to 4,915 foreigners (79 of whom had been granted international protection in the form of asylum in the Czech Republic). Czech citizenship was granted mostly to nationals from Ukraine (2,077 persons), Russia (481 persons), Slovakia (396 persons), Romania (311 persons) and Vietnam (298 persons).

Fig. 2 shows the evolution of the number of citizenships granted since 2004 (and it has to be stressed that for the years 2004-2013 Slovaks are not included). From this figure, we can clearly see that in 2014 citizenship was granted to the highest number of foreigners so far. The average number of citizenships granted between 2004 and 2013 was about 1,300 per year; so what caused the nearly 4-fold rise in 2014? As is quite common in the area of migration studies, it was a change of legislation. Since 2014, it is possible to have dual citizenship even in the Czech Republic; thus, foreigners do not have to give up, for example, citizenship of their country of origin if they want to become Czech citizens¹⁶.

¹⁵ MV (2015b).

¹⁶ MV (2015c).

FIG. 2: NUMBER OF CITIZENSHIPS GRANTED IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC (2004 – 2014)



Source: MV (2015c).

N.B.: Slovaks are not included from 2004 to 2013.

ILLEGAL MIGRATION

Even if recent development has shown that the Czech Republic has become more of a final destination than a transit country for a significant number of foreigners due to its geographical position, it still continues to be used by foreigners as a transit country when looking for ways of (illegal) migration to other European countries.

Since 2008,¹⁷ two basic categories of illegal (irregular) migration in the Czech Republic are distinguished according to the Ministry of Interior, which collects the annual statistics¹⁸:

- a) *Illegal crossing of the external Schengen border* of the Czech Republic which includes persons (foreigners and Czech citizens) who illegally crossed or attempted to cross illegally the external Schengen border (the airports) of the Czech Republic;

¹⁷ The Czech Republic joined the Schengen area on 21 December 2007.

¹⁸ MV (2015c).

- b) *Illegal (irregular) residence* includes foreigners discovered on the territory of the Czech Republic (including the transit areas at airports) who violated the statutory conditions for the stay of foreigners.

In 2014, 4,822 people were revealed as illegal migrants in the Czech Republic. Only a very small portion of them (181 persons, i.e. 3.8%) were detected when illegally crossing the external Schengen border of the Czech Republic. The largest group of such illegal crossings were found to be citizens of Russia (54 persons), Ukraine (20 persons) and Afghanistan (10 persons).

Almost every illegal migrant (4,641 persons, i.e. 96.2%) was illegal based on his/her illegal (irregular) stay. About one-quarter of them were Ukrainians (1,020 persons), followed by smaller groups of nationals from Kuwait (450 people) and Libya (406 persons).

From people discovered to be illegal migrants in 2014, 13% were caught for the second time, i.e. 632 persons had previously been discovered with illegal status in 2013. Most of these repeat offenders nationals from Ukraine (152 persons), Libya (110 people) and Kuwait (95 persons).

A total of 161 persons were found to be travelling on forged, altered or in other ways invalid or illegal passports. A total of 114 persons presented such document as a residence permit; most of them were nationals from Ukraine (56 persons) and Syria (12 persons). Another 47 persons used one for entering the Czech Republic and in these cases they were mainly the citizens of Afghanistan (10 people), Ghana (7 persons) and Ukraine (7 persons)¹⁹.

COOPERATION OF VISEGRAD COUNTRIES IN MIGRATION ISSUES

Due to their geographical position, the countries of the Visegrad group – and especially Hungary – are affected by the current migration crisis, which unexpectedly hit Europe in the summer of 2015. Under the presidency of the Czech Republic, the ministers of foreign affairs of the Visegrad countries adopted in September 2015 a joint communiqué in which they underline their commitment to a joint approach while dealing with the continuous influx of immigrants. The main aspect to be strengthened in their opinion is the external dimension of this migration stream. In particular, they recommend that the whole EU be more focused on:

- *the Western Balkan migration route*: more balanced distribution of EU financial support, reconfiguration of EU financial tools, better functioning of border control measures in the Mediterranean region;

¹⁹ MV (2015c).

- *stabilization of the European neighbourhood*: among others, address the issue of the migration crisis in the framework of the revision of the European Neighbourhood Policy by introducing new development projects in the countries of origin of immigrants;
- *fighting against human trafficking and smuggling*;
- *development and humanitarian assistance to countries of origin and transit of migration*: increase efficiency and effectiveness of bilateral and EU assistance to particularly vulnerable groups in the conflict-affected countries and regions;
- *international cooperation within the United Nations community and others*: League of Arab States and African Union member states are those that can effectively fight extremist groups and should also be (at least temporarily) helpful in accommodating refugees from conflict areas²⁰.

In the light of the current situation, all of these propositions seem very rational and helpful. We only have to hope that they will be realized quickly and effectively, even if the Czech Republic is one of the countries which has been actually affected only marginally by current stream of refugees coming to Europe in search of a new life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ČSÚ (2015): Cizinci: Počet cizinců - datové údaje. In: https://www.czso.cz/csu/cizinci/4-ciz_pocet_cizincu#cr (10. 11. 2015)

Drbohlav, D., Džúrová, D. (2015): Co ovlivňuje velikost remitencí ukrajinských migrantů v Česku? In: Drbohlav, D. (eds.): Ukrajinská pracovní migrace v Česku. Migrace – remittance - (rozvoj). Praha: Karolinum, pp. 139 - 160.

EUROSTAT (2015): Population on 1 January by five year age group, sex and citizenship [migr_pop1ctz] In: <http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do> (10. 11. 2015)

MV (2015a): Cizinci s povoleným pobytem – stav k 30. září 2015. In: <http://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/cizinci-s-povolenym-pobytem.aspx> (10. 11. 2015)

MV (2015b): Mezinárodní ochrana v České republice - měsíční statistický přehled. Září 2015. In: <http://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/statisticke-zpravy-o-mezinarodni-ochrane-za-jednotlive-mesice-v-roce-2015.aspx> (10. 11. 2015)

²⁰ Visegrad group (2015).

MV (2015c): Zpráva o situaci v oblasti migrace a integrace cizinců na území České republiky v roce 2014. Praha: Ministerstvo vnitra, 193 p.

Visegrad group (2015): Joint Communiqué of the Visegrad Group Ministers of Foreign Affairs. In: <http://www.visegradgroup.eu/calendar/2015/joint-communicue-of-the-150911> (10. 11. 2015)

CHALLENGES, OPPORTUNITIES AND RISKS OF MIGRATION FROM UKRAINE TO SLOVAKIA (AND THE V4)

Vladimír Benč¹

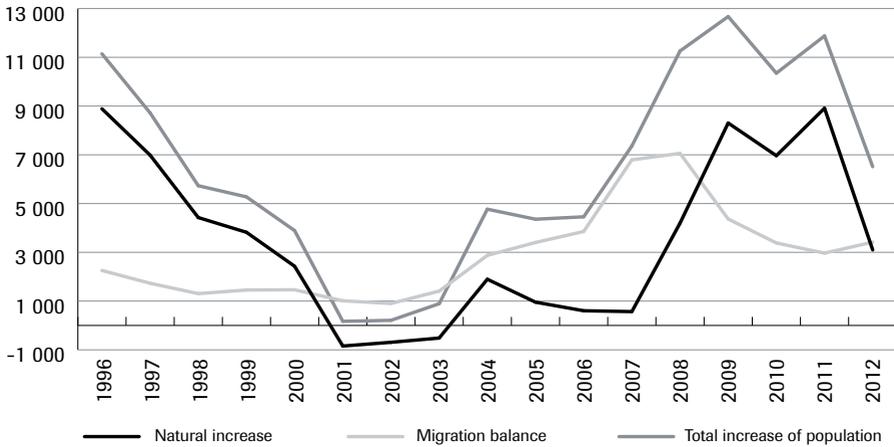
INTRODUCTION

Slovakia is not yet a traditional destination country for migrants – it has one of the lowest proportions of migrants in the population among EU Member States. However, because of economic growth in the last two decades and catching up economically with older EU members states, as well as the inflow of foreign direct investments (Slovakia converged to 73% of the GDP per capital compared with the EU27 average in 2012, while this was 47% in 1995; at the same time the Bratislava region became the 5th richest region in the EU²), Slovakia, and the Bratislava region in particular, is slowly becoming a destination for economic migrants.

Moreover, migration is becoming a very important part of population growth in Slovakia, and if there had not been a positive balance in international migration Slovakia would have experienced in the years 2001 – 2002 its first drop in population in 70 years (see Chart 1).

¹ Researcher at the Research Centre of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association, n.o.
Contact: benc@sfpa.sk, tel. +421 51 7721018, www.sfpa.sk.

² Source: <http://www.aktuality.sk/clanok/248164/bratislava-je-piatym-najbohatsim-regionom-v-eu-informuje-eurostat/> (access on 22 April 2014).

CHART 1: Slovakia: contribution of migration to population growth

Sources: Authors' calculation, based on data from the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (2014).

Immigration will be a major challenge for Slovakia and new EU member states in the foreseeable future. There is on one hand a huge contradiction between the “fear of immigrants” among the majority population that is growing in line with the current migration crisis in the EU and on the other the question of how to maintain economic growth and high living standards in an ageing society.

Growth of radicalisation in society and the fear of immigrants – especially those from so-called “third” countries (outside the EU) – will probably lead to restrictive migration policies. But generally, it is expected that in the coming years the need for a highly skilled workforce will increase along with an overall shortage of such a workforce in EU countries. For this reason, it will be necessary to supplement a part of the workforce with immigration or with temporary migration from third countries. In terms of sustainability and stability, the possibility of simplifying circular or temporary migration and the entire legal procedure related to multiple entries into the European job market comes to the forefront.

Neighbouring regions can be the most suitable providers of mutually beneficial migration, and among them preferably for Slovakia are countries like Ukraine, Belarus, Russia and Moldova. Possible abolition of the Schengen visa towards those countries (except Moldova, which has had this status since May 2014) is an important issue of the foreign policy and migration policy of the Slovak Republic.³ However, according to Slovak experts, the road to a visa-

³ Benč, V. Buzalka, J. (2008).

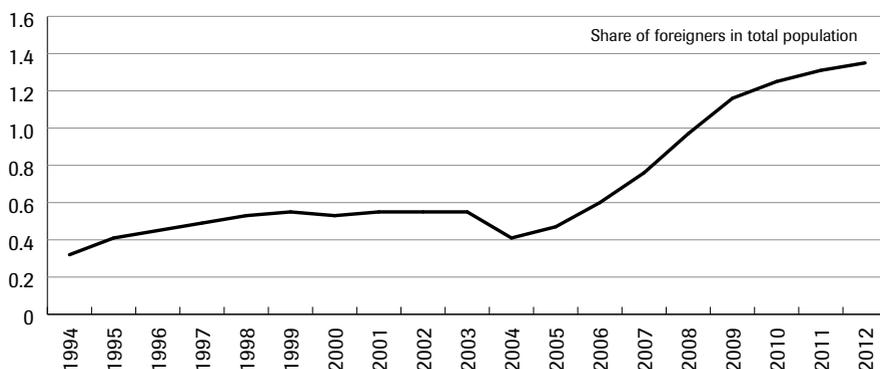
free regime, especially for Ukraine, is going to be a slow one. The hardest task for Ukraine to maintain a visa-free regime will be to meet the EU's expectations regarding values, democracy and the rule of law. Corruption, a weak state and a lack of standards remain important barriers to the country's development and modernization.⁴

In order to make further progress in the EU's visa policy toward Ukraine in particular, it is essential to keep two processes (facilitation and liberalization) distinct and to ratify amendments to the existing facilitation agreement in the near future. The EU should also distinguish more clearly technical benchmarks for progress from political ones in the process of visa liberalization, although any final decision on lifting the EU's visa requirement is likely to be political. The process, however, must be accompanied by a new migration policy that will be able to integrate current and future migrants into society.

REGULAR MIGRATION

Immigration to Slovakia has been gradually rising since Slovakia's accession to the EU in 2004, although its growth has been slowed by economic crises in the recent years. The total share of foreigners in the total population by the end of 2012 reached 1.35%. The portion of immigrants in the total population is relatively small compared to other EU countries, but the number has increased more than threefold since 2004. The number of registered immigrants reached almost 73,000 at the end of 2012, compared with 22,251 in 2004.

CHART 2: Share of foreigners in the total population (Slovakia, in %)



Source: Authors' calculation, based on data from the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (2014).

⁴ Benč, V., Bilčík, V., Duleba, A. (2012).

At the end of 2012, a total of 72,925 foreigners – registered residents – were in the Slovak Republic, 55,909 of whom were citizens of the EU27 (76.7%). Traditionally, the highest representation of this group is mainly from neighbouring countries, namely the Czech Republic (14,744 persons), Hungary (9,920), Poland (7,005), Germany (4,415) and Austria (2,308). Since Romania's accession to the European Union in 2007, the number of Romanian citizens has increased as well – to 5,962 persons at the end of 2012 (e.g. in 2007: 3,005 persons, in 2001: 1,908 persons).

In recent years, the share of migrants coming from third (non-EU) countries has decreased in favour of migrants from the EEC. This trend is related to easier travel and employment opportunities for EU citizens after Slovakia's accession to the EU in 2004. Third-country nationals accounted for 17,016 persons, or 23.3% of the total number of foreigners. The highest number of third-country nationals came from Ukraine (3,915), the Russian Federation (1,835), Vietnam (1,544), China (875), the United States (861), Serbia (716), South Korea (598), Croatia (465) and Macedonia (403). The number of legal migrants from Moldova (57) and Belarus (165) is very small (see Table 1).

The highest concentration of migrants is in western Slovakia mainly due to more employment opportunities in this region (36.7% of registered employed migrants are in the city of Bratislava). Around two-thirds of immigrants are male (59.8% of foreigners) and males dominate even more on the labour market: almost 80% of registered migrants that are legally employed are male (see Table 2). On average, migrants from third countries are in a younger age category (20-34 years) than those from EU countries (35-64 years). In terms of age, the highest numbers of foreigners are in the age group from 25-64, from which it can be assumed that this mainly involves labour migration. A "typical" migrant living in Slovakia is a younger single man with higher education coming from the EU.

TABLE 1: Structure of legal migrants in Slovakia as of 31 December of the relevant year

	2007	2012
Total Population	5 400 998	5 410 836
SK Nationals	5 360 094	5 337 911
Other EU(-27) Nationals	25 909	55 909
Share in the total population in %	0.48	1.03
3rd country nationals	14 995	17 016
Share in the total population in %	0.28	0.32
Most important third country nationals + BY, MD:		
<i>Ukraine</i>	3 745	3 915
Vietnam	1 432	1 544
Serbia	1 418	716
Russian Federation	1 354	1 835
China	1 198	875
Republic of South Korea	1 136	598
United States of America	769	861
Macedonia	651	403
Croatia	328	465
Turkey	171	214
Others	2 595	5 368

Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (2014).

By 30 June 2015, 79,422 citizens of other countries resided in the Slovakia, of which 31,043 were third-country nationals. The highest number of residence permits were issued to Czech nationality residents (9,723), followed by Ukrainians (9,000) and Hungarians (7,435). The number of residence permits issued to Ukrainians is growing, and from the end of 2013, the growth rate is 23.4%. This may be a consequence of the crisis in Ukraine; however, further analysis is needed. Generally, the number of Ukrainians living in Slovakia is very low compared with other V4 and Central European countries.

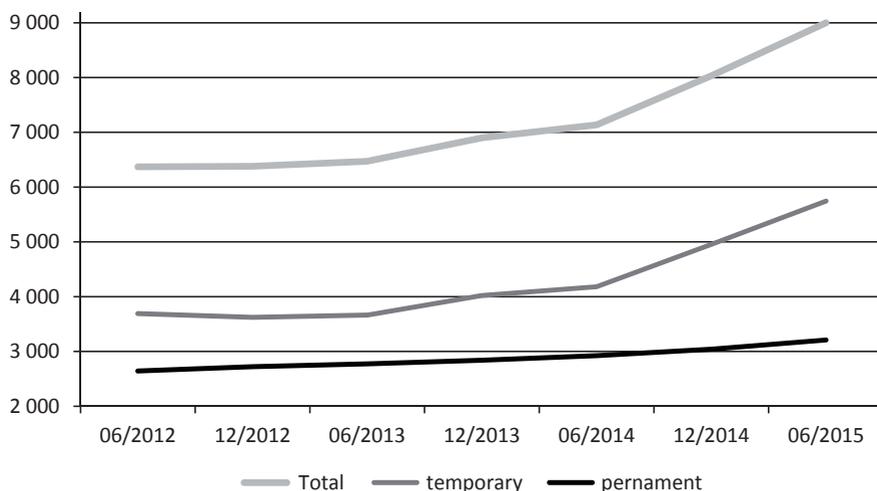
TABLE 2: Number of valid residence permits of third-country nationals in Slovakia (Top 10 countries)

Nationality	2014				2013			
	Total number of permits	Thereof:			Total number of permits	Thereof:		
		Temporary	Permanent	Tolerated		Temporary	Permanent	Tolerated
Ukraine	8 033	4 955	3 040	38	6 898	4 021	2 838	39
Serbia	4 648	4 143	490	15	4 021	3 543	464	14
Russian Federation	2 976	1 395	1 572	9	2 633	1 201	1 426	6
Viet Nam	2 180	528	1 611	41	2 089	539	1 504	46
China	2 024	772	1 250	2	1 926	775	1 149	2
Korea, Republic of	1 557	1 124	433	-	1 528	1 128	400	-
United States of America	903	442	457	4	882	442	436	4
Macedonia	715	305	401	9	656	274	372	10
Turkey	464	266	193	5	418	233	179	6
Israel	312	250	62	-	272	217	55	-
Total (all countries)	29 171	16 642	12 297	232	26 157	14 561	11 342	254

Source: Bureau of Border and Alien Police of the Slovak Republic (2015).

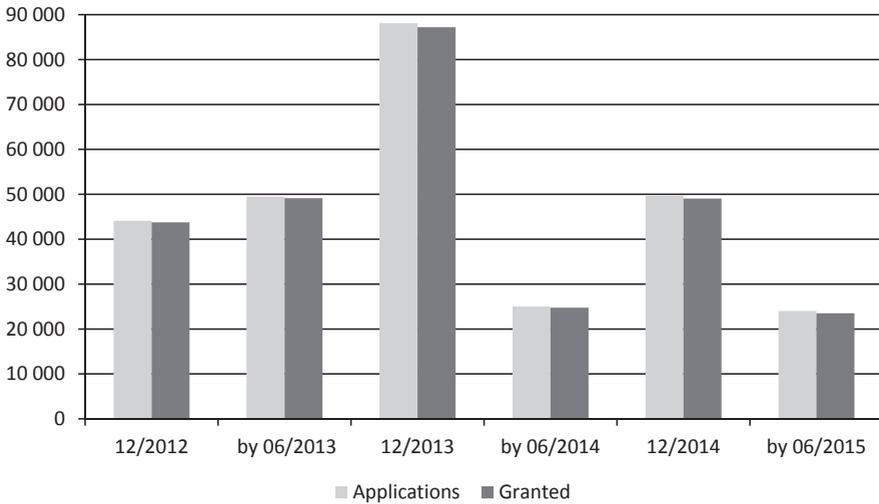
The number of permanent residence permits issued to Ukrainians has been growing steadily in recent years; however, temporary residence permits started to grow quite rapidly in 2014.

CHART 3: Valid residence permits for Ukrainian citizens



Source: Author, based on data from the Bureau of Border and Alien Police of the Slovak Republic (2015).

For many years, Ukrainians have been the most numerous applicants for a Schengen visa at Slovak consulates, representing almost 50% of applications and visas granted. In the first half of 2015, 24,030 Ukrainians applied for the visa, mostly for the C type (23,903 applications). In total, Slovak consulates around the World received 40,351 visa applications in the first 6 months of 2015. The total number of visas granted was 39,303, of which 23,517 went to Ukrainians. The refusal rate to Ukrainians was 2.18%, which is higher than in previous years (1% average for 2012-2014). Generally, Slovakia liberalised (in line with the EU) its visa policy towards Ukraine in 2013, and this resulted in high growth of visa applications, reaching 88,095 applications and 87,206 visas granted in 2013 – the highest number ever. In 2014, there was a sharp decrease in visa applications and visas granted and the same trend continues in 2015.

CHART 4: Visa applications and visas granted to Ukrainian citizens

Source: Author, based on data from the Bureau of Border and Alien Police of the Slovak Republic (2015).

The number of employed migrants surged dynamically after the accession of Slovakia to the EU and it is continuing to grow (from 2,761 in 2004 to 18,247 in 2010 and to 21,265 in 2012). The highest share of registered employed migrants is made up of Romanians, followed by foreigners from neighbouring countries. The high share of employed migrants from France and South Korea is because of the huge FDI into the car industry from both countries (factories located in Trnava – Western Slovakia and Žilina – Central Slovakia). The number of employed Ukrainians reached almost a thousand in 2012 but has since dropped to 837 Ukrainians registered at the end of September 2015, of which 620 were men.

Generally, we can conclude that migrants thus far do not have a large influence on the labour force supply in Slovakia. Most of the migrants from Western European countries work in Slovakia as highly skilled employees in professions as company managers, experts in a branch of the third sector, lecturers at schools or universities, consultants, trade representatives and similar positions. Their work requires skilled and experienced persons, is mostly temporary (e.g. for one year) and concentrated in the largest Slovak cities (Bratislava, Košice) and places – industrial parks where factories, especially those linked to FDI, are located.⁵

⁵ Divinský, B. (2004).

Migrants coming from the countries of the Balkans, Eastern Europe (including Ukraine) and Asia are often employed as small entrepreneurs, retailers, vendors, construction or industrial workers (in weakly paid branches: the textile and cloth industry, shoe industry, food industry and the like), or as agricultural workers and auxiliary workers. There are also differences within this group: Ukrainians and Poles prefer working in industry and construction; Asians prefer retailing and gastronomy, while the Balkan nationalities favour entrepreneurship. The contribution to the national economy can hardly be expressed owing to the lack of any well-founded studies, surveys or estimates and may thus remain on a narrative level.⁶

Migrants help to fill in some gaps on the labour market in the regions of Slovakia and in branches that are not much preferred by the autochthonous population. Nevertheless, in cases particularly concerning illegal work, these persons as well as their employers are committing economic or criminal offences. Estimating the contributions of legal (and also illegal) work of immigrants to Slovak society is quite a difficult task. Notwithstanding, the numbers of legal foreign workers in Slovakia have not yet reached a significant volume. Even when considering the potential extent of irregular migrant work, it probably does not reach a very high level – currently. However, it will certainly be more important in the years to come, when Slovakia should advance economically within the EU and thus become more attractive for foreign labour migrants, either permitted or unpermitted.

⁶ Ibid.

TABLE 3: Employment of foreigners in Slovakia as of 1 January of the relevant year

	2008	2010	2012
Total	10 536	15 324	21 265
- of which from:			
Romania	2 279	2 387	4 134
Czech Republic	1 589	2 246	2 884
Poland	1 011	1 394	2 125
France	802	691	798
Hungary	737	1 422	2 078
Germany	556	750	803
Ukraine	501	929	971
Republic of South Korea	403	579	946
Bulgaria	328	465	743
Great Britain	314	376	427
Austria	314	497	569
Italy	238	392	578
Vietnam	115	375	310
- of which men (no. of persons)	8 420	12 303	16 853
- of which men (in % of total)	79.9	80.3	79.3
- of which registered in Bratislava city (no. of persons)	3 442	5 457	7 803
- of which registered in Bratislava city (in % of total)	32.7	35.6	36.7

Source: Central Office of Labour, Social Affairs and Family (2014).

MIGRATION OVER THE SK-UA SCHENGEN BORDER

In 2014 more than 1.8 million people crossed the Slovak-Ukraine Schengen border via border crossing points (BCP). The crisis in Ukraine had only very limited impact on the flow of persons – regular migration – via the SK-UA border. The number of persons crossing the border fell by 126,000 between the years 2012 – 2014. However, there is a much longer trend of a decrease in the number of persons crossing the border, and the main reason is a decrease in those who travel to do shopping on the other side of the border (reasons: equalisation of prices, custom procedures that limits the purchase of “sensitive” goods like cigarettes, alcohol, etc.)

TABLE 4: Overview of persons and vehicles that crossed the external border legally at border crossing points by the direction of crossing

	2012		2013		2014		1st half of 2015	
	from SR	to SR	from SR	to SR	from SR	to SR	from SR	to SR
Number of persons by direction of crossing in total	921 422	1 022 341	896 348	965 668	890 124	927 529	418 031	450 558
- EU nationals (including Slovak nationals)	524 335	582 539	478 145	496 058	461 852	471 551	216 308	219 306
- Third-country nationals	397 087	439 802	418 203	469 610	428 272	455 978	201 723	231 252
Number of persons in total	1 943 763		1 862 016		1 817 653		868 589	
	from SR	to SR	from SR	to SR	from SR	to SR	from SR	to SR
Total number of vehicles by the direction of crossing	404 529	433 206	397 623	446 920	398 036	432 831	175 710	191 499
Passenger cars (incl. motorbikes)	338 067	351 837	335 972	363 147	343 611	362 498	153 072	162 284
Buses	4 224	4 557	4 226	4 724	4 172	4 440	1 974	2 105
Lorries	55 231	69 709	50 432	72 045	43 381	59 008	17 100	23 547
Passenger trains	1 459	1 459	1 451	1 440	1 459	1 460	724	724
Cargo trains	5 548	5 644	5 542	5 564	5 413	5 425	2 840	2 839
Total number of vehicles	837 735		844 543		830 867		367 209	

Source: Bureau of Border and Alien Police of the Slovak Republic (2015).

IRREGULAR MIGRATION

The Slovak Republic does not make available data and complex overviews of the total number of irregular migrants residing in the Slovak Republic. No Slovak institution has made any estimates or worked out any principles for calculating the total number of irregular migrants residing in the Slovak Republic.⁷ There are only gross estimates in this area, and no in-depth research on these issues has yet been conducted. The only analysis made in this connection is a report compiled by Boris Divinský.⁸ Based on a questionnaire and estimates made by the representatives of state authorities and nongovernmental organisations, as well as research under the project, Divinský estimates that as of the end of 2007 the number of irregular migrants residing in the Slovak Republic was approx. 15,000 – 20,000, which represents 0.3 –0.4 percent of the total population. Divinský estimates that at least half of these irregular migrants are Ukrainians but cannot verify this. It is assumed that due to the significant decline in the number of migrants apprehended the estimated numbers have decreased in recent years.

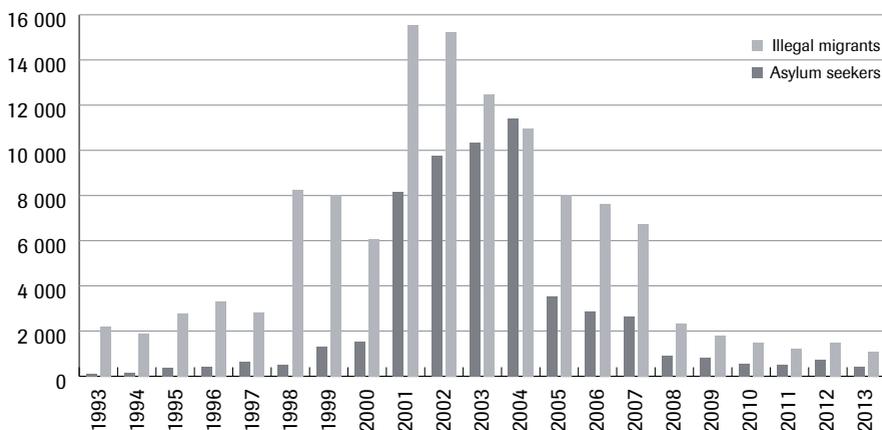
As far as ethnic structure is concerned, the same research states, on the basis of statistics on legal and illegal migration, that irregular migrants come to the Slovak Republic from three main regions – countries of the former Soviet Union (Ukraine, Moldova, Russia, Georgia), some Asian countries (Vietnam, China, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh), and Western Balkan countries (Serbia, including the province of Kosovo, Albania, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia).

Based on data on the numbers of migrants apprehended in Slovakia (especially on the border with Ukraine), data on asylum procedures, as well as data on refusal of entry, it can be stated that the overall reported illegal migration in the Slovak Republic has shown a declining trend in recent years, with the most significant decline recorded in 2008, which was the first year of Slovakia's membership in the Schengen Area.

⁷ Mrlianová, A., Ulrichová, N., Zollerová, M. (2011).

⁸ Divinský, B. (2009).

CHART 5: Slovakia: Illegal migration & Asylum seekers



Source: Authors' calculation, based on data from the Migration Office of the Slovak Republic & the Bureau of Border and Alien Police – UHCP (2014).

Ukrainians do not generally apply for asylum in Slovakia in high numbers, and even a slight increase is notable in the last year and half. In 2014, they represented only 7.3% of asylum applicants, while in the first half of 2015 the share increased to 12.8%.

TABLE 5: Asylum applications submitted

	by 06/2012	2012	by 06/2013	2013	by 06/2014	2014	by 06/2015
Ukraine	6	7	12	14	5	24	14
Total (all countries)	276	730	232	441	155	328	109

Source: Bureau of Border and Alien Police of the Slovak Republic (2015).

The accession of the Slovak Republic to the European Union on 1 May 2004 and to the Schengen Area on 21 December 2007 represented a turning point, with an impact on migration management and, hence, on the combating of illegal migration. As a result, the number of legal migrants grew; on the other hand, the number of apprehended irregular migrants and the numbers of returns and refusals of entry on the border declined enormously. From the point of view of irregular migration, the Slovak Republic has applied rather restrictive policies. In regard to such restrictive measures, examples of good

practices in combating illegal migration include, in particular, measures implemented on the external border – especially modern technical facilities and equipment, as well as an increased number of personnel. Reforms were aimed at stricter measures under the process of preparation for accession to the Schengen Area, more effective actions of the Border and Aliens Police Departments, more intensive fight against organised smuggling groups and the start of application of some key EC regulations.

Cooperation with Ukraine, as the only third country on the external border of the Slovak Republic and the most important country of origin of migrants, was also important. The application of the readmission agreement and the deployment of advisors on documents and operative cooperation among the competent border authorities proved that international cooperation is one of the more important aspects of the fight against the illegal migration phenomenon. Even the cooperation had its “ups and downs”.⁹

Slovakia’s entry to the Schengen Area, besides a decline in reported irregular migration, also resulted in changes in the share of two basic categories: illegal crossing of the state border and unauthorised stays in the territory of the Slovakia. While unauthorised crossing of the state border prevailed before Slovakia’s entry into the Schengen Area, the category of unauthorised stays in the territory of the Slovakia became dominant after Schengen Area accession (see Table 5).

TABLE 6: Number of apprehended migrants in the Slovak Republic in 2005–2013

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	06/ 2015
Total	7 821	7 515	6 662	2 320	1 715	1 140	1 219	1 479	1 091	1 304	943
Illegal crossing of the border	4 958	4 037	3 309	1 020	570	495	390	658	398	240	103
Illegal stay in the SR	2 863	3 478	3 353	1 300	1 145	945	829	821	693	1 064	840

Source: Bureau of Border and Alien Police of the Slovak Republic (2015).

Ukrainians constitute a substantial portion of the irregular migrants to Slovakia, mostly staying over the granted period and being caught on their way back home at the border crossing point, when leaving the Schengen area. The crisis in Ukraine and even the current “EU migration” crisis has not yet had any significant impact on the number of persons trying to cross

⁹ See e.g. Benč, V. Buzalka, J. (2008).

the SK-UA Schengen border illegally. There have only been a few Ukrainians apprehended while illegally crossing the border. In the first half of 2015, 344 Ukrainians were apprehended and accused of illegal migration, and 220 of them were apprehended at the BCPs upon exiting from Slovakia to Ukraine. Another 87 were apprehended inland and 5 were returned from other EU member states. A further 32 Ukrainian citizens were apprehended for an illegal border crossing (only 2 at a green border, 29 at BCPs and 1 at the airport). In total, 943 illegal migrants were apprehended in the first half 2015.

Ukrainians, Russians, Serbians and Vietnamese are typical migrants who usually exceed the period of their permitted stay and remain in the territory of the Slovakia or the EU illegally (overstayers). This sub-category most frequently relates to the performance of illegal work and has a largely seasonal nature, as this group of irregular migrants decreases in the winter months. On the other hand, nationals from Moldova, Georgia or African countries are typical transit migrants and are mostly apprehended upon unauthorised crossing of the external land border (their countries of destination are mainly Italy, Austria or Germany).

TABLE 7: Illegal stays by country of apprehended migrant (selected countries)

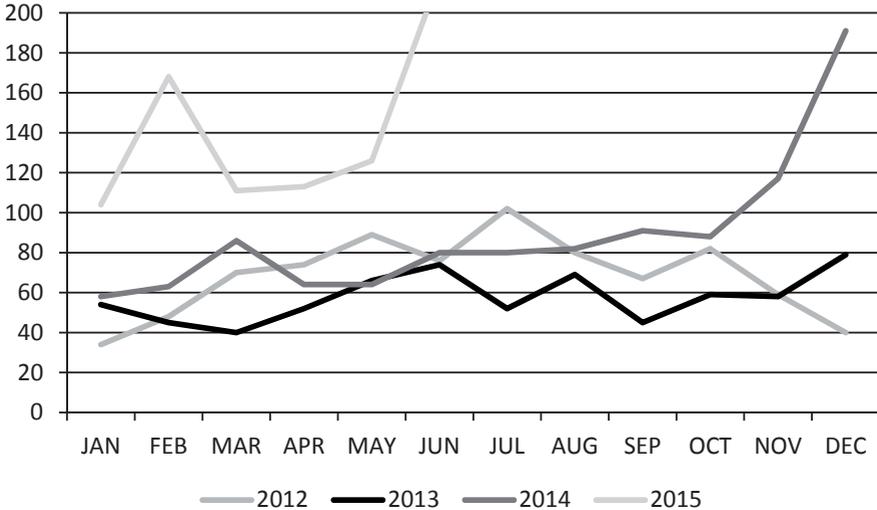
	2011		2012		2013		2014	
	Illegal state border crossing	Illegal stay	Illegal state border crossing	Illegal stay	Illegal state border crossing	Illegal stay	Illegal state border crossing	Illegal stay
Ukraine	47	353	53	327	79	314	47	503
Afghanistan	39	38	64	20	75	45	114	40
Somalia	111	104	256	31	55	6	11	1
Moldova	77	33	55	46	32	26	0	6
Georgia	41	4	48	22	53	4	6	9
Russia	38	26	8	48	11	26	1	32
Eritrea	0	0	32	7	28	6	3	1
Viet Nam	6	39	0	24	0	24	21	35
Serbia	0	14	0	29	0	22	1	32
Syria	4	3	2	8	16	6	11	65
Congo	0	0	49	0	1	0	3	0

Source: Bureau of Border and Alien Police of the Slovak Republic (2016).

Statistics from the years 2014-2015 show a sharp increase in the number of “overstayers” since October 2014, and this is still growing. This means that a lot of Ukrainians who got into the EU legally are staying there for a much longer period than they were approved for (visa validity). We can assume that

this is caused by the crisis in Ukraine, but more “in-depth” research is needed to make such a conclusion.

CHART 6: Illegal stays in the territory of the Slovak Republic



Source: Author, based on the data provided by the Bureau of Border and Alien Police of the Slovak Republic (2015).

POSSIBLE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

Expectations are that migration flows of migrants, especially economic migrants/workers from Ukraine, will increase (depending on the political, security and economic situation). Abolition of the visa could have high impact on the increasing flow of migrants from Ukraine; however, the experience from the Moldova does not support this expectation, at least not in the case of Slovakia.

The fundamental push factors for recent migration are mainly the difficult security, economic and social conditions in Ukraine, the high number of so-called IDPs (internally displaced persons – people moved from regions of conflicts to other regions of Ukraine), the lack of jobs and poverty. The push factors include military conflicts or danger, and then other factors, e.g. natural disasters. The current situation in Ukraine could be a strong push factor for migration from Ukraine and not only in a short term. We remember the Balkan wars and the huge number of refugees from the Balkan states; big immigration waves from the Balkans were seen even until 2005.

The main pull factors for migrants entering the territory of the Slovak Republic and wishing to stay are based on aspirations for a better economic life, intentions to increase job and study opportunities, attempts at initiating entrepreneurial activities, finding shelter for themselves and their families, integration into society and living a normal life in a society that is developing to democratic standards and a better social and economic life. Additional influencing factors may also be cultural, religious and mental affinities of a certain share of migrants to the Slovak environment along with easier language communication. Historically created relations to Slovak minorities in the neighbouring countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Ukraine), or Balkan countries (Serbia, Croatia, Romania, Bulgaria) or overseas countries (USA, Canada, Argentina, Australia) cannot be omitted either, although the numbers of migrants coming to Slovakia with a definite intention to return/settle down in the country are not very high compared to the total number of migrants.

Most Slovak experts are still convinced that only a low percentage of migrants crossing the borders of the country wish to stay in the Slovak Republic for a longer period or to settle down. The essential pull factor for them is rather that Slovakia is a transit country to the EU, geographically quite close to it. Migrants therefore see a good opportunity to continue from Slovakia towards the countries of Western and Northern Europe with a markedly better economic situation and living standard, often with higher care for migrants.

The role of family, friends, acquaintances or migrants' organisations in encouraging international migration is indisputable and may not be different in the case of migrants entering or staying in the territory of the Slovak Republic. Communities of migrants – either official or unofficial – facilitate migrants' stays, assist them in seeking jobs, a place of residence, schools, as well as with many other matters sometimes trivial for the natives. Ukrainian migration can be supported by the quite large minority already settled in Slovakia. Several associations of Ukrainians ensure necessary information on the country and can help migrants from Ukraine in legal consultations, helping with a job search, but also in the organisation of cultural, sports and religious events and so on. Currently, there are really no big obstacles (if not speaking about the labour market) for easy integration of migrants from Ukraine, if the migration policy changes its prioritization for support of migration from Ukraine.

CONCLUSIONS

As can be concluded, the Slovak Republic is currently at a turning point regarding international migration. From a country where immigration in particular has had no mass nature, where the number of asylum seekers along with the quantity of migrants living and working in the country has been low, Slovakia has been undergoing an important transformation in this domain during the past 3-5 years. The inflow of legal migrants has been growing to an unexpected extent, carrying with it a great acceleration of challenges. These challenges concern not only the numbers of migrants proper but are reflected essentially in the phenomena, processes, mechanisms and trends accompanying migration and influencing the life of Slovak society in many dimensions.

In view of globalization and demographic trends it can be assumed that the increase in the number of foreigners in Slovakia will continue over the long term. To what extent and how fast depends on many factors. Slovak society will have to get used to an increasing number of migrants in its territory with all the accompanying phenomena, and it is up to the country to cope with this fact appropriately.

Currently, state migration policy is not very meaningful, and the public is not very informed about it. It is not aimed at a pro-immigration policy and the current situation will probably even worsen the situation. It is more than necessary to change the adverse opinion regarding migrants among the Slovak population in order to mitigate their negative perception and to decrease the degree of xenophobia and discrimination in the country. This will be a very tough task given the recent migration developments in the EU.

Cooperation between state and not-state actors must improve. There are strong feelings – more or less warranted – from the side of NGOs that their position in the sphere of migration matters and care for migrants generally is little appreciated and their activities little respected by the corresponding state authorities. The NGOs are not accepted by them as an adequate partner in the game and the state does not want to financially co-support the migration projects of NGOs in Slovakia.

Most Slovak migration experts are in favour of liberalisation of migration policy, especially towards our Eastern neighbours: Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, Moldova and other countries. Slovakia will need high-skilled experts from abroad. Migration as such can in the future become one of the contributing instruments for resolving the further societal development of Slovakia and other V4 countries. We should not resign to just putting all migrants into “one pack” and building an “EU and/or Slovakia fortress” at the borders with Ukraine, or even with Austria and our V4 neighbours.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bachtíková, I., Bargerová, Z., Grethe Guličová, M.: *Organizácia azylovej a migračnej politiky v Slovenskej republike. Organisation of Asylum and Migration Policies in the Slovak Republic* (Only in Slovak). IOM Medzinárodná organizácia pre migráciu, Bratislava, 2012.

Bargerová, Z., Divinský, B. *Integrácia migrantov v Slovenskej republike. Výzvy a odporúčania pre tvorcov politik. Integration of migrants in the Slovak Republic. Challenges and recommendations for policy makers.* (only in Slovak). IOM Medzinárodná organizácia pre migráciu, Bratislava, 2008.

Benč, V., Bilčík, V., Duleba, A.: *Policy impact of the Eastern Partnership on Ukraine: politics, trade, energy, and mobility.* RC SFPFA, n.o. & FES, Bratislava, 2012.

Benč, V., Buzalka, J.: *Analysis of the visa systems of the Visegrad countries – the case of Slovakia.* Research study for Marta Kindler & Ewa Matejko (eds.): „Gateways to Europe Checkpoints on the EU External Land Border Monitoring Report“, Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw, 2008.

Divinský, B.: *Migration Trends in Selected Applicant Countries. Volume V – Slovakia. An Acceleration of Challenges for Society.* International Organization for Migration, Bratislava, 2004.

Divinský, B.: *International Migration in the Slovak Republic – Current Situation, Trends and Impact on Society.* Friedrich Ebert Foundation & Research Center of Slovak Foreign Policy Association, n.o., Bratislava, 2005.

Divinský B.: *Migračné trendy v Slovenskej republike po vstupe krajiny do EÚ (2004-2008). Migration trends in Slovak Republic after the country accession to the EU (2004-2008) (Only in Slovak).* IOM International Organization for Migration, Bratislava, 2009.

Kaźmierkiewicz, P. (ed.): *The Visegrad states between Schengen and Neighborhood.* RCSFPA, n.o. & Instytut spraw publicznych, Bratislava/Warsaw, 2005.

Kodaj, D., Dubová, A.: *An overview of the migration policies and trends – Slovakia.* Electronic article available at: <http://migrationtothecentre.migraceonline.cz/en/an-overview-of-the-migration-policies-and-trends-slovakia> (access on 10th March 2014).

Letavajová, S.: Predstavy a skutočnosť o utečencoch na Slovensku. Perceptions and reality on refugees in Slovakia (only in Slovak). In: *Etnologické rozpravy*, no.8, # 1, 2001, pp. 40-61.

Mrlianová, A., Ulrichová, N., Zollerová, M.: *Practical Measures for Reducing Irregular Migration in the Slovak Republic*. IOM Medzinárodná organizácia pre migráciu, Bratislava, 2011.

Mytryayeva, S. (ed.): *Visa policy of Hungary and Slovakia in the Consulates located in Transcarpathian region*. (only in Ukrainian). NISS Uzhgorod, 2011.

UNHCR: *Access to Employment for Beneficiaries of International Protection in Bulgaria, Poland, Romania and Slovakia*. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Regional Representation for Central Europe, 2013.

Vašečka, M.: *Attitudes of public toward foreigners and international migration in Slovakia*. (in Slovak only). International Organisation for Migration, IOM Bratislava, 2009.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

All authors

For the EU and the V4 countries policy makers and relevant institutions dealing with migration:

- *Avoid Europe's re-walling*

It is necessary to prevent damages to the Schengen regime of free movement. The fences put in place in some parts of the EU external Schengen border must be just a temporary solution to manage the current mixed migration flow. Quick measures must be taken to restore the conceptual distinction between people travelling for personal reasons (migrants) and people forced to flee for reasons related to persecution (refugees and asylum seekers).

- *Shift the EU's centre of gravity to the outside*

Tackle forced migration as close as possible to its source. The priority should be a stabilization of the European neighbourhood by introduction of new development projects in the countries of origin of immigrants, by increasing funds to foreign aid and foreign policy, including peacekeeping and peace-enforcement capacities. It is also necessary to carry out effective return migration policy, but at the same time put in place reintegration programs.

- *Strengthen development aid and humanitarian assistance*

Increase efficiency and effectiveness of bilateral and the EU/V4 assistance to particularly vulnerable groups in the conflict affected countries – countries of origin and transit of migration. Cross-border cooperation on the EU external Schengen border with neighbours must be also supported and strengthened.

- *Fight against human trafficking and smuggling*

Coordinate anti-trafficking activities and enhance cooperation of countries and relevant institutions, e.g. create a common platform to identify common actions and effective measures to curb the irregular migration phenomenon (in prevention, prosecution, protection of victims, exchange of good practices,

and so forth), with the goal of supporting and enhancing existing anti-trafficking efforts. At the same time, proactive and timely protection measures for the most vulnerable, including those from crisis zones, should be established in order to avoid their having recourse to the services of intermediaries such as smugglers and traffickers.

- *Harmonize migration and integration policies among the V4 countries (and at the EU level)*

One case can be the visa policy: e.g. further coordinate visa policy in Ukraine on the base of local consular cooperation, including attitudes towards visa free regime. Create favourable conditions for circular migration. Elaborate and promote an adequate legal framework identifying feasible, credible and accessible legal channels for searching for a job and accessing economic/studying/internship/apprenticeship opportunities for voluntary and economic migrants from third countries, such as Ukraine. Share good practice experience. Regularly analyse and share labour market needs in V4 and, accordingly, adapt migration/immigration policy (looking for the flexible tools of migration policy). Launch additional programs of cultural and scientific exchanges among the V4 and third-countries, incl. programs for pulling esp. high-skilled immigrants to the V4.

- *Reconcile migration controls and asylum principles*

Restore the individual identity of each person on the move. There is a lack of personalisation of the human side of asylum seekers, refugees and migrants. There is a huge space for further enhanced cooperation between the state actors, international organisation and civil society (NGOs) dealing with migrants in this area.

- *Enhance integration process of migrants in the EU/V4 countries and make it more effective*

Put in place system training and/or retraining; provide education for immigrants, look for possible solutions how to integrate them at the labour market (e.g. social enterprises, public works, but also development of local markets).

- *Improve joint information channels on migration within the V4/EU and with neighbours*

Promote transparency within migration policy and practice. Improve migration statistics. Put in place new information channels esp. with neighbouring countries on migration issues.

And specifically towards Ukraine:

- *Stress the difference in intensity and character of migration from the Mediterranean direction and from Ukraine and other Eastern Partnership countries*

Ukrainians are mainly labour migrants who are interested in finding legal employment and in majority are seasonal or temporary migrants.

- *To publicise in mass media and public discourse pros of Ukrainian migration to the V4 countries*

Promote successful integration examples and avoid xenophobia and anti-immigration moods.

- *Coordinate at the V4 level technical and humanitarian assistance directed towards the internally displaced people (IDPs) in Ukraine*

Improve protection and assistance to the IDPs in Ukraine. The growing humanitarian needs in Ukraine require an urgent response. Provide targeted assistance, promote and develop adaptation strategies of IDPs in Ukraine incl. different assistance programs (e.g. credit schemes, start-ups and business beginning schemes), infrastructure projects (housing, social facilities etc.), community integration projects, employment assistance services and many others.

- *Keep the pace for the visa free regime introduction between the EU and Ukraine*

Assist Ukraine in implementing reforms required for the visa free regime with the EU.

- *Develop programs for voluntary return of Ukrainians to their homeland in the V4 countries, as well as in the Ukraine in cooperation with Ukrainian government*

- *Realise information campaign in Ukraine on migration to the EU/V4*

Provide information on the rights and social guarantees of migrants, on immigration procedures, on the risks of human trafficking and many other issues related to migration.



A series of 25 horizontal dotted lines for writing.



ISBN 978-80-89540-63-1