



Discovering migration between Visegrad countries and Eastern Partners

Ágnes Erőss - Dávid Karácsonyi

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Present volume aims summarizing the research has been carried out in the frame of EASTmig project.

The research funded by IVF V4EaP Programme was designed to study the features, recent processes and probable future trends of migration between Visegrad countries and Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia.

In former socialist bloc migration was strongly controlled by the state, border crossing was limited and even militarized along the iron curtain. After 1990 mobility has rapidly increased in the region generating mass (out)migration. EU integration of Visegrad counties, especially the implementation of Schengen border control system, has installed new boundaries between the EU member V4 countries and their Eastern partners. Recently the global crisis has also redrawn the migratory processes in the region.

International research consortium made an attempt to draw the migration profile of related countries additionally emphasize recommendations for policy makers.



Ágnes Erőss – Dávid Karácsonyi
(edited by)

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Discovering migration between Visegrad countries and Eastern Partners

Czechia, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Belarus, Georgia, Ukraine and Moldova
on the eastern edges of the Schengen area

Edited by

Ágnes Erőss – Dávid Karácsonyi

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Edited by
Ágnes Erőss, Dávid Karácsonyi

Authors
Ekaterina Antipova, Andrei Crivenco, Dušan Drbohlav, Ágnes Erőss, Dávid Karácsonyi,
Áron Kincses, Liudmila Fakeyeva, František Križan, Viliam Lauko,
Magdalena Lesińska, Giorgi Meladze, Kostyantyn Mezentsev, Anna Mydlová, Grygorii
Pidgrushnyi, Joseph Salukvadze, Béla Soltész, Ladislav Tolmáči, Ondřej Valenta

Revised by
Andrea Hübner Four Skills Ltd., Mária Sándori

Cover design
Balázs Bradák

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Introduction

Ágnes Erőss

Present volume aims to summarize the research carried out in the framework of EASTmig project. The acronym EASTmig stands for the title „Migration between Visegrad countries and the Eastern Partners (Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine) – On the Eastern edges of the Schengen Area”. The twenty-months-long research was carried out as a Flagship Project of the International Visegrad Fund Eastern Partnership Programme which is especially designed to enhance international cooperation in fields of strategic importance in the broader Eastern neighbourhood of V4 countries. Undoubtedly, one of the essential issues is migration, which has had a major impact on the overall political, economic and sociological conditions in the broader region (Fig. 1).

In former socialist countries migration used to be strongly controlled by the state, border crossing was limited (and regulated) by strict administrative measures and was even militarized along the “iron curtain”. After 1990 mobility has rapidly increased in the region generating mass (out)migration and intense internal movements. The overall economic downturn following the transformation, in some cases events of war or unfavourable political conditions contributed to the evolvement of new life styles based on the novel freedom of movement. Hundred thousands of Eastern Europeans has left their homeland seeking better opportunities in life beyond their homeland. Although people have been relatively free in making their decisions about migration the state, the administrative bodies and the whole legislative and policy environment have had substantial impact on migratory processes. Laws can regulate who is desired and who is not in terms of work or study, what sort of occupations are there available for migrants, what rights they have and what rules they are to obey. To control and monitor migration is crucial for states of both the sending and the recipient countries. In order to efficiently execute policy towards migration reliable data and in-depth researches are needed on local, country and regional levels. This is the point where geographers can effectively contribute by summarizing available data, presenting the major spatial trends and pointing out the discrepancies as well as the missing information.

EASTmig project was created to reveal major trends of migration between eight former Socialist countries many of them sharing traditional migration linkages. While the main direction of migration from Central and Eastern European countries is towards the

older member states of the EU, V4 countries have also been effected by migratory movements as target (partly due to certain historic and ethnic linkages) and transit countries. EU integration of Visegrad counties, especially the implementation of Schengen border control system has installed new boundaries between the EU member V4 and their Eastern partners, hampering free movement and already existing personal, institutional and economic relations. Moreover, the global crisis has also redrawn the migratory processes in the region, inducing novel movements, some of them difficult to catch by statistics.

In order to get deeper insight in numbers and trends of international migration between Visegrad countries and Eastern Partners, EASTmig project was focusing on three objectives:

1. to estimate, (if it is possible, to measure), the size of migrants in the involved countries applying statistical data;
2. to present the processes and characteristics of migration in the given state applying document analysis with special emphasis on evaluating visa policies and border-crossing procedures along with reintegration policies, if any.
3. to summarize the different states' positions, expectations and policies in relation with migration and migrants.

The research report consists of country reports and three summarizing chapters focusing on available statistical datasets, spatial pattern of regional migration and recommendations for policy makers.

In Chapter 2 authors evaluated a broad range of dataset from each country and made attempts to pinpoint discrepancies, parallelisms or missing data.

Chapter 3 contains the country reports of V4 (countries are arranged in alphabetical order). Among V4 countries Czechia plays the most important role as a recipient country as it is revealed by the report written by Dušan Drbohlav (leader) and Ondřej Valenta (researcher) in Geographic Migration Centre (GEOMIGRACE) Department of Social Geography and Regional Development, Faculty of Science, Charles University in Prague (Chapter 3.1).

In case of Hungary (Chapter 3.2) the migration of ethnic Hungarians from neighbouring countries is the dominant migration process. The report was written by researchers from two institutes. Béla Soltész and Áron Kincses are researchers in the Hungarian Central Statistical Office while Dávid Karácsonyi and Ágnes Erőss are affiliated with Geographical Institute RCAES Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Poland (Chapter 3.3) attracts immigrants from eastern neighbours in great numbers but at the same time the out migration of Polish working age citizens is also present according to the analysis written by Magdalena Lesińska, Deputy Director in Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw.

The size and effect of migration is very limited in Slovakia where internal migration is much more important than international as it is detailed in the report prepared by Viliam Lauko, Ladislav Tolmáči, František Križan, Anna Mydlová working at Department of Regional Geography, Planning and Environment Comenius University Bratislava (Chapter 3.4).

Country reports of the involved Eastern Partner countries can be found in Chapter 4.

Ekaterina Antipova and Liudmila Fakeyeva, representing the Geography Department, Belarusian State University summarized the trends in migration in case of Belarus, that maintains closer relations to CIS countries, especially to Russia although Poland is also attractive for educated Belarusian migrants (Chapter 4.1).

Among the researched countries Georgia is the only one where IDPs and refugees are present in great numbers. In their chapter Joseph Salukvadze and Giorgi Meladze from Department of Human Geography, Tbilisi State University summarized the demographical trends following 1990 pinpointing the important role of migration in population dynamics (Chapter 4.2).

Moldova is admittedly in a delicate geopolitical situation suffering also from unstable economy. These factors contribute to the great volume of outmigration and general phenomenon of dual or triple citizenship, as it is described in the report written by Andrei Crivenco from Natural and Geographical Faculty of Sevchenko Pridnestrovian State University, Tiraspol (Chapter 4.3).

In Chapter 4.4 migration situation in the Ukraine is presented by Kostyantyn Mezentsev, Grygorii Pidgrushnyi researchers in Human Geography Department of the Institute of Geography of Ukrainian Academy of Science and Kyiv Taras Shevchenko National University. Among the Eastern partner countries Ukraine has the biggest share of migrants in V4 countries and due to the instable political situation and unfavourable economic environment this trend might be developing.

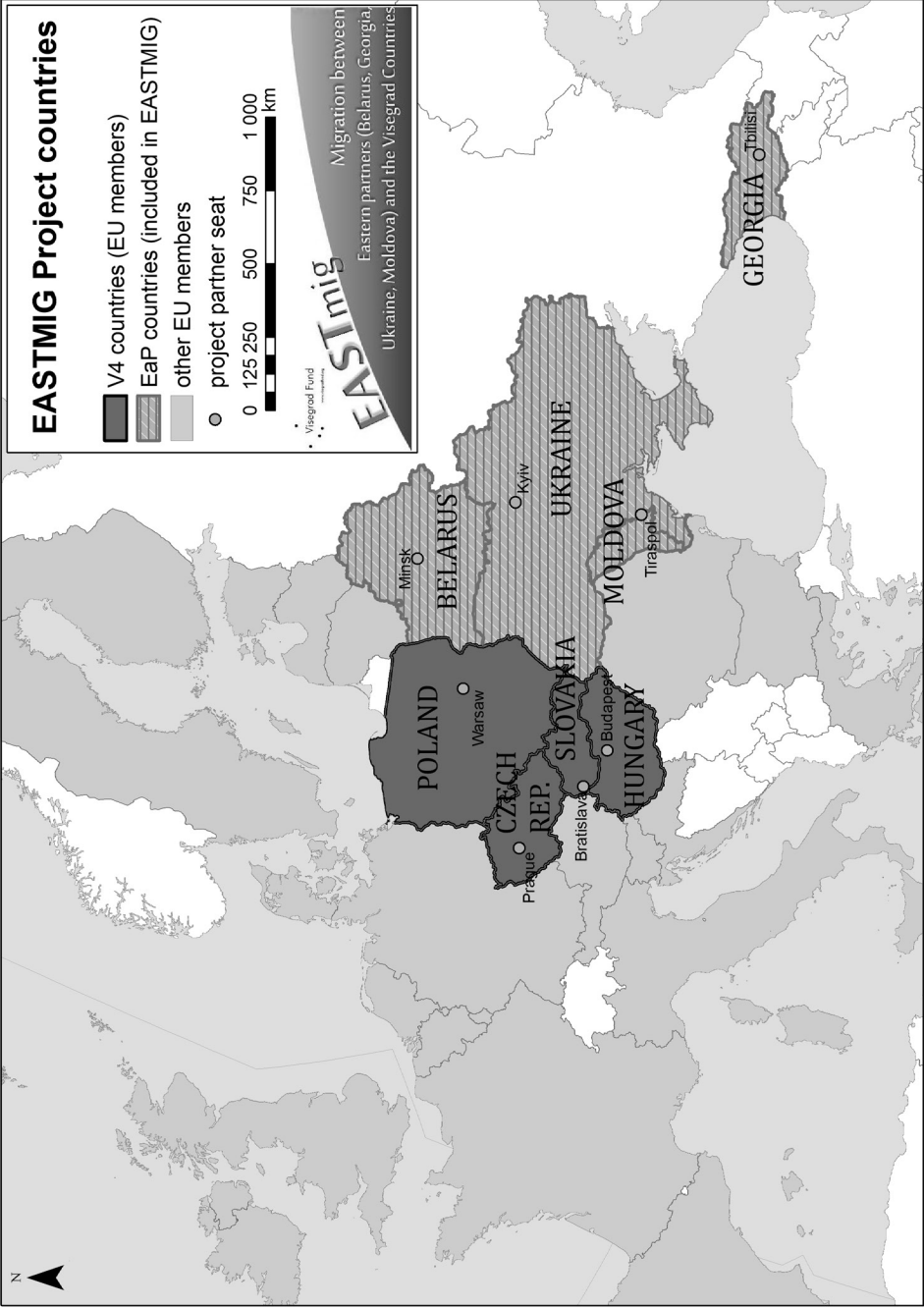
Based on spatial data on migration Dávid Karácsonyi depicted some spatial peculiarities of migration between V4 and Eastern Partner countries (Chapter 5).

Finally, in Chapter 6 Magdalena Lesińska and Dušan Drbohlav drew some important conclusions and emphasized recommendations for policy makers concerning recent problems of migration in V4 and EaPs. Harmonization of datasets both on country and on regional levels seems necessary in order to adjust the regulation and policies in the most effective way. The authors also articulate the possible fields of intervention.

We hope the present volume together with the project information available on the website, will contribute to get an overall picture of migratory movements in the region.

Last but not least we would like to thank for the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hungary, to Edit Szilágyiné Bátorfi V4 coordinator and the assistance of the International Visegard Fund, especially to Ms. Lenka Buckova and Mr. Ferenc Jári who always had quick and helpful answers to any questions.

The editors



2. Data Sources on International Migration in the Eastern Partnership and the Visegrad Countries

Béla Soltész

Contributors: Ekaterina Antipova, Liudmila Fakeyeva (BY), Dušan Drbohlav, Ondřej Valenta (CZ), Béla Soltész (HU), Andrei Crivenco (MD), Magdalena Lesińska (PL), Viliam Lauko, Ladislav Tolmáči, František Križan, Anna Mydlová (SK), Kostyantyn Mezentsev, Grygorii Pidgrushnyi (UA)¹.

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an evaluative overview of the migration-related data sources and data production systems in eight countries: Belarus, Czechia, Georgia, Hungary, Moldova, Poland, Slovakia and Ukraine, respectively, organized according to the nature of the data production (administrative or statistical). Administrative data sources are further divided by their scope, i.e. whether the purpose of the data collection has been alien registration or it measured economic performance and social characteristics of the total population. In all three cases the description presents all the eight countries separately in alphabetical order. The descriptive part is followed by an evaluative analysis of the existing statistical data along with a set of recommendations for further improvement.

As a general rule, both immigration- and emigration-related data sources are presented here. However, these data sources are rather different as far as their accuracy is concerned. Data on emigration are either very inaccurate or even missing which is a significant problem if we take into consideration that most of these countries are net migrant-sending ones and for policymaking purposes accurate data on emigration seem more important to dispose of, than data on immigration.

Definitions regarding migrants and migration in this chapter, if not noted otherwise, follow the definitions enumerated in Article 2 of the Regulation (EC) No 862/2007 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 July 2007 on Community statistics on migration and international protection and repealing Council Regulation (EEC) No 311/76 on the compilation of statistics on foreign workers.

¹ Besides the input from EASTMIG project's country profile authors, the migratory data system analysis papers of three further projects are referred to here: CARIM-EAST, PROMINSTAT and SEEMIG. References are given by the name of the author(s) of the respective project outputs.

2.2 Data sources by category and country

Statistical data can be collected in different ways. Full-coverage data is usually collected by public authorities with the purpose of registering the population. Typically, these data are recorded on official forms when a person becomes subject of a procedure instituted by a public authority. These forms are processed with regard to the public authority's objectives, instead of statistical purposes. Therefore data might exist without being compiled into statistical tables. Rather strict laws on data protection regulate the use of administrative data.

Survey data, on the other hand, are registered for statistical purposes. The only full-coverage survey data is the population and housing census. The census is, therefore, the most accurate data source for scientific analysis. However, traditional census data are always outdated, as it takes two or three years to process and publish the results, and most countries hold a census only once every ten year. Other surveys do not cover the whole population, not even the large-scale and representative Labour Force Survey (LFS), the second most accurate survey data source for migration-related issues. Finally, small-scale and not representative surveys can yield important additional information regarding specific questions but they always have to be used having their lack of statistical representativeness in mind.

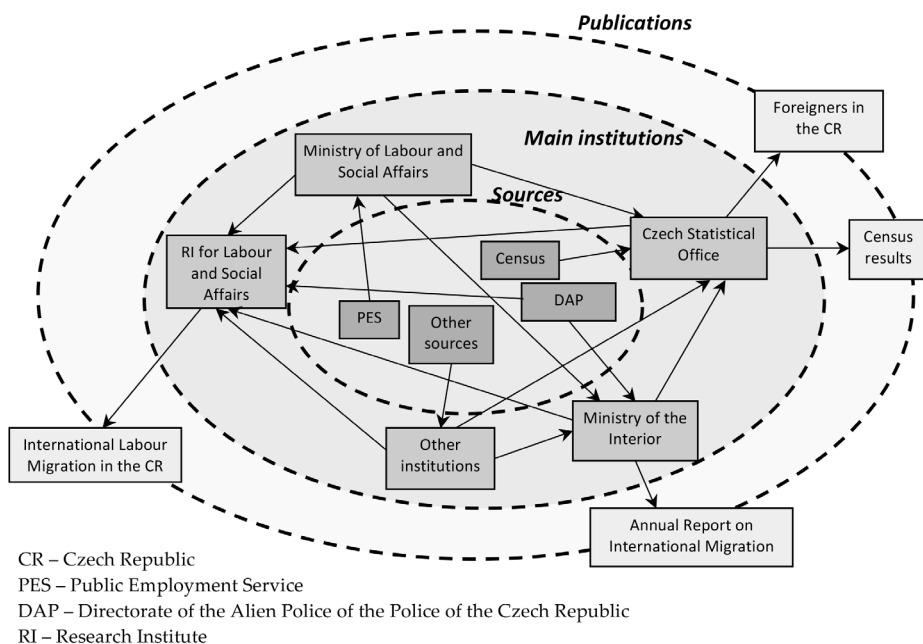


Figure 1. Basic Scheme of Statistical Context of International Migration in the Czechia

Source: Drbohlav & Valenta, elaborated for the EASTMIG report (2014)

Presenting statistical data sources, data production systems and the availability of data can focus on either the process or the results. The data production process described above is important to understand the reliability the representativeness and limitations of the data. However, policymakers and the general public are interested in the results of the data production, i.e. what sort of information can be extracted from the different data sources.

A model presenting the process of data production is compiled by the authors of the EASTMIG country report for the Czechia (Drbohlav and Valenta, 2014) which shows in a flowchart approach how the migration-related data in the Czechia (inner circle) gets processed by institutions (intermediate circle) and are made available for the general public (outer circle).

Another model presents data sources in Hungary in a cross-table approach focusing on the actual data to be retrieved from these sources in turn (Hárs, 2009). It is worth noting that ‘availability’ does not mean open and public access in this case as individual record data are, as already mentioned above, protected by strict laws. It is therefore the data collector institution that disposes of the detailed data, however, it does not necessarily mean a detailed and regular publication of them.

Table 1. Major data sources and available migration-related data content in Hungary

Databases	Data source	Residence permit	Population register	Labour permit	Social security register	Tax register	Census	Labour Force Survey
	Data collector	OIN	COAEPS	NES	NHIF	NTCA	HCSO	HCSO
	Data type	Admin	Admin	Admin	Admin	Admin	Survey (full)	Survey (sample)
<i>Does it contain data on migrants' characteristics?</i>	Citizenship	yes	Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
	Place of birth	no	Yes	no	no	no	yes	yes
	Economic activity	no	No	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>Does it contain data on these migrant groups?</i>	Resident migrant	yes	partially	no	no	no	no	no
	Circular migrant	no	No	partially	no	no	partially	no
	Daily commuter	no	No	yes	yes	yes	no	no
	Regular migrant	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
	Irregular migrant	no	no	no	no	no	no	no

OIN – Office of Immigration and Nationality (BÁH)

COAEPS – Central Office for Administrative and Electronic Public Services (KEKKH)

NES – National Employment Service (NFSZ)

NHIF – National Health Insurance Fund (OEP)

NTCA – National Tax and Customs Administration (NAV)

HCSO – Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH)

Source: Hárs (2009), p. 18.

In this chapter a simplified model will be used which synthesizes the two approaches.

Data sources are presented together with the institution which is the primary data collector (flowchart approach), with a focus on the data content to be obtained from a given data source (cross-table approach).

Main data collector institutions include in every country the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Labour. Within the ministries specialized and/or autonomous bodies can be in charge of migration-related activities such as the Office of Immigration and Nationality in Hungary or the Civil Registration Agency in Georgia. In other countries migration-related issues are handled in regular structural units of the responsible ministries.

Every country analysed here has its own Statistical Office which is responsible for collecting, processing and publishing the data received from administrative institutions. Furthermore, they conduct their own surveys, the two most important ones being the population census and the Labour Force Survey (LFS).

The census is held generally every 10 years (or 12-15 years in case of Eastern Partnership countries). It is operated on the basis of universal coverage and of compulsory participation.. Out of the eight countries analysed in this chapter, six have a traditional (survey-like) census and two, the Czechia and Poland, a register-based census combined with other sources. (Valente, 2010)

The Labour Force Survey is a regular, large sample survey that includes several thousands of households in a representative way. It is conducted monthly or quarter-yearly in a rotating sample and it contains questions on labour- education- and social protection-related issues. It is believed to be one of the most valuable sources on labour migration. Every EU member country plus some other countries (including Moldova, for example) conduct the LFS.

Main data collector institutions and characteristics of the two most important statistical surveys (population census and LFS) are synthesized in Table 2.

2.2.1 Administrative data on entry, stay and exit

Belarus

The Department of Citizenship of the Ministry of Interior is the responsible authority for issuing permits on inward and outward migration. These include residence permits for migrants in Belarus, permits for employing foreign labour force, acquisition of Belarusian nationality, permits granted to people for permanent residence abroad and renunciation of Belarusian nationality respectively.

Foreigners staying in Belarus for more than 90 days are entitled to receive a temporary residence card which can be changed for a permanent residence card after one year of stay. Besides these permits, the State Customs Committee collects information on border crossing on the basis of migration cards foreigners are requested to fill in on arrival to the country. However, this card is rarely filled in by those who arrive to the country by means other than airplane.

For foreign nationalities from outside the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and for those Belarusian nationalities who move abroad (outside the CIS), the registry is

Table 2. Main data collector institutions and characteristics of the two most important statistical surveys

Country	Administrative data sources (collected by institutions of public administration)		Statistical data sources (collected by the Statistical Office)		
	Entry, stay and exit	Economic and social	Census type	Last census	LFS
Belarus	Department of Citizenship of the Ministry of Interior	Ministry of Labour and Social Protection	Traditional	2009	No
Czech R.	Ministry of the Interior, Directorate of the Alien Police	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs	Registers combined with other sources	2011	Yes
Georgia	Ministry of Internal Affairs, Civil Registration Agency	Ministry of Education and Science, Central Bank	Traditional	2002	No
Hungary	Office of Immigration and Nationality, Central Office for Administrative and Electronic Public Services	National Employment Service, National Health Insurance Fund, National Tax and Customs Administration	Traditional	2011	Yes
Moldova	Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Information Technologies and Communications (Moldova), Migration Service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Transnistria)	Ministry of Labour, Social Protection and Family	Traditional	2004	Yes
Poland	Ministry of Interior, Border Guard	Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, Ministry of National Education, Social Insurance Institution, Ministry of Finance	Registers combined with other sources	2011	Yes
Slovakia	Bureau of Border and Alien Police of the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs	Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family, Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport	Traditional	2011	Yes
Ukraine	State Department of Citizenship, Immigration and Registration of Individuals at the Ministry of Interior, State Border Service, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	State Employment Service	Traditional	2001	No

Source: own compilation.

rather accurate although it does not contain data other than citizenship (not even sex or age). Border crossing data include sex and age but their collection is not comprehensive

Most inward and outward migration to and from Belarus, however, happens within the CIS and remain unregistered. As there are no visa requirements for CIS citizens many of them stay in Belarus without temporary or permanent residence cards although they could have the right to apply for one (Shakhotska & Bobrova, 2012)

Czechia

The Ministry of the Interior is the main state body in the field of international migration and collection of administrative migratory data. The central database containing data on all foreigners residing in the Czechia is called the Alien Agenda Information System (AICS). It gathers data on the basis of issued residence visa or permits, which are in the first instance produced by the Directorate of the Alien Police of the Police of the Czechia, which, in turn, also administers the register itself. The register also contains data on persons apprehended for illegal/irregular migration (i.e. for illegal border crossings and irregular stay in the Czechia) and on those expelled from the country. The Ministry of the Interior also runs a special information system on asylum seekers and on those who acquired asylum (Leontiyeva & Chytil, 2012)

The most relevant indicators recorded in the AICS are the following: sex, citizenship, date of birth, marital status, place and country of birth and type of residence respectively. Selected data from AICS are periodically issued by the Ministry of the Interior available in an aggregate form in publications of the Czech Statistical Office; the availability of the datasets for scientific purposes is however limited as these registers were established primarily for internal purposes of the Ministry and are utilized predominantly for national security reasons. (Drbohlav & Lachmanová-Medová, 2009)

Georgia

The strict registration of internal and international migration characteristic of the Soviet Union was still in effect in the early 1990s in the newly independent Georgia. However, political and economic disruptions reached the state administration and registration of arrivals and departures became unreliable as a result. Until very recently the only source of migratory flows was the border crossing statistics which was compiled based on data collected at official border crossing points by taking a photocopy of the person's passport entering or leaving Georgia. Only citizenship was processed as a variable in yearly statistics by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Furthermore those who entered or left the country on roads without an official checkpoint (and many people did so) were not included in any statistics.

In the past few years, several attempts were made to improve the data production on the entry, stay and exit of people. A Civil Registration Agency was founded to record the changes of residence, granting and renunciation of citizenship along with the natural increase or decrease of the population. Furthermore, as refugees and internally displaced people are an important issue in Georgia due to the civil wars' legacy there is a Ministry of Refugees and Accommodation operating in the country to collect official registrations on

refugees and internally displaced persons (only in terms of citizenship). Also, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has recently created a database on the Georgian diaspora abroad based on information obtained from consulates (Tukhashvili, 2012).

Hungary

The main institutional body for immigration-related issues in Hungary is the Office of Immigration and Nationality (OIN), an autonomous institutional body under the auspices of the Ministry of Interior. It has operated an own statistical system since 2009 running a PHP programming language and uniting the sub-registers of the OIN. It contains data in a manner which does not allow the identification of the specific individuals, with access to four separate databases: IDTV System – third-country nationals database; EEA System – EEA nationals database; Asylum System – asylum seekers database; Visa Register System – visa issuance database.

The statistical system contains the subsystems' data, updated on a daily basis, except for IDTV which is updated once a month. OIN does not collect information on seasonal workers, as this data is collected and stored in a database maintained by Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Blue Card holders are not registered separately. Using data received from the OIN, it is the HCSO that regularly produces and publishes statistics on migration (flow), and on foreign residents (stock) (Urbán, 2013).

Besides the OIN it is the Central Office for Administrative and Electronic Public Services (COAEPS) a specialized body of the Ministry of Justice and Public Administration which provides an important data source on those foreigners who stay in Hungary. The COAEPS maintains a full coverage population register which contains the personal data and address of Hungarian citizens, immigrants with immigration or settlement permit, refugees, EEA citizens with residence permit, citizens with the right of free movement obtaining registration certificate or permanent residence card and persons granted international protection. Data are transmitted to the HCSO twice a year on the basis of which the Statistical Office produces flow data of emigrating and returning Hungarian citizens and data on new citizenships as well as on granted refugee status. Individuals with permanent address in Hungary are included in the population register, while third-country citizens residing in Hungary with residence permit are not. (Gárdos & Gödri, 2013)

Moldova

The Republic of Moldova and its de facto independent part, the Republic of Transnistria have a complex and rather contradictory system for data production. In the official statistics of Moldova people entering/leaving to/from the country through the Transnistrian sector of the border (454 km) with Ukraine are not counted. The fact, that Moldovan citizens possess passports of different foreign countries (mainly Russia, Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria) along with national identity documents makes registration difficult (Chudinovskih, 2011).

The Republic of Moldova has several databases of administrative sources, primarily the Ministry of Information Technologies and Communications (State Information Resources Center, SIRC "Registru") and the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Bureau of Migration and Refugees, SIIAMA).

SIIAMA is an integrated automated information system and its data is further integrated to the State Register of Population, managed by the SIRC the data owner of “Registru”. This complex system contains information of migrants’ citizenship, country of previous residence in case of immigrants and country of destination in case of registered emigrants (Ganta, 2012).

Over recent years however the number of visits of Moldovan citizens abroad has been much higher than the number of entries into the country the Border Police of the Republic of Moldova indicated. Over the recent years this figure has fluctuated between 80 thousand and 125 thousand, the year 2009 being an exception as the peak of the economic crisis, when the number of entries of Moldovan citizens into the country exceeded the number of exits by 90 thousand (Mosneaga, 2013).

The Migration Service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Transnistria started to use in 2005 a different information technology system allowing to record and register foreign citizens and stateless persons in the region with individual migration cards, including, in addition to passport data, the photo of the person’s face. Nonetheless, detailed data collected by this service on persons crossing the Transnistrian section of the border are not available for researchers.

It must be taken into consideration that the data provided by the statistical services of Moldova and Transnistria do not give a full picture as far as the extent of emigration is concerned. Deregistration is scarce and around 60,000 persons registered in the State Register of Population do not have a registered place of residence (Ganta, 2012).

Poland

The Ministry of Interior of Poland operates three registers relevant to international migration: PESEL (population register), “System Pobyty” – set of registers concerning foreigners and Border Guard datasets.

“System Pobyty” includes datasets concerning residence permits for third-country nationals, EU citizens and their families, refugees, acquisition of citizenship, repatriation and irregular migration.

Border Guard datasets contain information on persons stopped by the Border Guard for crossing or attempting to cross the national border illegally and persons readmitted and expelled.

As far as foreigners are regarded in Poland the scope of data is also rather limited. The number of foreigners is calculated directly on the basis of the data from the PESEL register. It is a population register to register all the persons resident in Poland (both Polish nationals and foreigners). Although this population register is not an appropriate source the other dataset “System Pobyty” (which is a tele-informatic system composed of a number of registers concerning all types of foreigners’ residence permits, including EU citizens and third country nationals) is of a good quality with data input from several sources such as voivodeships, the Ministry of Interior, the Office for Foreigners Border Guard and Police. However, only selected statistics based on this system are published. Data on foreigners and foreign workers employed in Poland are also very limited and the scale of foreign workforce is generally described as underestimated (Kupiszewska, 2009).

Slovakia

The main source of data within the Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Republic is the Bureau of Border and Alien Police, which is a department of the Police Corps performing tasks in the field of border control as well as the struggle against illegal migration and smuggling, border control, risk analysis (it cooperates with FRONTEX agency), the analysis of travel documents, granting of residence permits to foreigners, control of aliens, expulsion of aliens, visa issues and in limited extent, in the asylum procedure and the implementation of the Dublin Regulation. It publishes basic statistics on a semi-annual basis and provides data on legal and illegal migration. Additional institutions under the Ministry jurisdiction include the Alien Police Department and the Migration Office.

The Alien Police Department is authorized to decide on the granting of residence permits and their renewal, withdrawal or cancellation in cases of foreign nationals. This Institution represents the first contact for foreigners in Slovakia. The competence of the institution covers both the control of legality of residence and residence rules compliance.

It is the responsibility of the Migration Office, organizationally under the Ministry of Interior, as a first instance institution to decide on granting asylum and subsidiary protection to foreigners. It is to represent the Ministry in the courts in matters of asylum, subsidiary protection and temporary shelter and it also operates asylum facilities for asylum seekers in Slovakia (Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Republic, 2013).

The Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Slovak Republic is responsible for tasks associated with visa issues and admissions to Slovakia through consulates and embassies abroad. Above these functions it provides assistance in cases of voluntary returns of migrants, deportations and the preparation of readmission agreements. It does not publish statistical data separately but the information is provided to other state institutions.

Ukraine

The main system of data collection in Ukraine is based on the register of the State Department of Citizenship, Immigration and Registration of Individuals at the Ministry of Interior (data collector, processed by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine). The register, called Registration of population at the place of residence, previously known as *propiska*, contains monthly and annual numbers of arrival from abroad according to country of previous residence. No further data (sex, age etc.) are collected, but it is registered at the municipal level, thus providing a geographically accurate picture on immigrants' distribution in the Ukrainian territory. On the other hand immediate registration is impossible given the freedom of movement in the CIS area.

The Ministry of Interior has recently created a specialized body called the State Migration Service of Ukraine. It collects and compiles a dataset on temporary residence (immigration permits), a dataset on Permission for permanent residence and a dataset on refugees in Ukraine. These datasets are not published.

Another relevant institution is the State Border Service of Ukraine which collects and compiles a dataset on crossing the national border. Although it is of universal coverage it records entries and exits and not the actual number of people inside and outside of the country.

Regarding outward migration, the *propiska* and the crossing-border statistics are the main sources of administrative data, the former seriously underestimating the number of migrants. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also holds record of the Ukrainian citizens abroad, i.e. of migrants temporary or permanent having registered on the consulates. Since these data can include both irregular migrants and those who did not de-register when leaving Ukraine it is suitable to show a more realistic picture of the Ukrainian citizens living in a given country of destination than official statistics. However, registration at the consulates is not compulsory, and neither the data is published regularly and in a systematic manner (Kupets, 2012).

2.2.2 Administrative data on economic and social characteristics of the migrant population

Belarus

Labour-related data collection in Belarus is scarce. A' propos entry and exit statistics migratory movements within the CIS mentioned above to remain largely unregistered.

Labour data on emigration is therefore completed by a large scale survey. The Ministry of Labour and Social Protection in cooperation with the National Statistics Committee and the National Bank, prepare a "Balance Sheet of Labour Resources". The objective of this survey (covering 28,000 households per year) is to provide information on Belarusian citizens working abroad. Results, however, are not disseminated and data remain within the data collector institutions (Shakhotska & Bobrova, 2012).

Czechia

Data on foreign citizens of employee status are collected and administered by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MLSA) fed into the database by local and regional offices of Public Employment Service. The MLSA thus gathers the following information: employment permits, Green Cards (since January 1, 2009) and Blue Cards (since January 1, 2011), information on employment of EU/EEA citizens and third-country citizens of no employment permit requirement.

Up to 2011 the database on employment at the MLSA covering all economically active persons was registered at the local and regional Public Employment Service offices including foreign citizens and was collected into an information system called "OK Práce" (Drbohlav & Lachmanová-Medová, 2009).

Since 2012 OK Práce has been replaced by an Agenda Employment Information System (AIS ZAM) (Štěpánková, 2013). Due to difficulties in transposition of the data between the two databases the statistics on foreign employment are not available "in a standard form" for the year of 2012.

The Agenda Employment Information System (AIS ZAM) contains, for the registered foreign citizens (employees), the following information: citizenship, district of economic activity, sex, age, employment over 12 months, first employment in the Czechia, type of residence, type of employment permit, required education, achieved education, type of economic activity – NACE (sections A-U), and classification of occupations (ISCO).

The principal publication informing about immigrants' economic activities is the annual bulletin "International Labour Migration in the Czechia" published by the Research Institute for Labour and Social Affairs (Horáková, 2012), built upon the data mainly from MLSA and Ministry of Industry and Trade.

Georgia

The Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia holds record of the foreign students in the country, as well as of Georgians studying abroad. The small amount of data collected concerns the country of citizenship and the country of residence.

There is no detailed register of labour migration although the Central Bank of Georgia keeps record of the remittances sent to the country. It covers only the private account-to-account transfers sent from abroad calculated from the statistical accounts of the commercial banks (Tukhashvili, 2012).

Hungary

In Hungary there are three major sources of data providing information of foreigners' economic activities: the National Employment Service, the National Health Insurance Fund and the National Tax and Customs Administration, respectively.

The National Employment Service (NES) registers data from permits and notifications at the county-level employment centres and data are collected at the National Labour Office (NLO), except for the Blue Card procedure where OIN is the data collector and it sends the data directly to the NLO. The NES's register of foreign workers was, until Hungary's EU accession, the main source of statistics on labour migration in Hungary, but this is no longer the case since EEA citizens are no longer included in the register. The registration of work permits for third country nationals (issued for two years but with the possibility of prolongation) is accurate, however, notification about the termination of the employment is usually neglected. Due to this factor the number of third country nationals working in Hungary is overestimated and EEA nationals are not covered in the data. From 1998 till 2010 the HCSO received regularly the data from NES's register of foreign workers but this practice ended in 2011 (Gárdos & Gödri 2013).

The National Health Insurance Fund (NHIF)'s register of social insurance includes foreign citizens only if they are entitled for health insurance and (either personally or through their employer) they apply to be included in the register. The entitlement is related to employment, thus its termination does not mean that the migrant has left the country. Individuals with a registered place of residence in Hungary are considered as "domestic" in the register including settled third country nationals, refugees and EEA nationals. As most foreign citizens living and working in Hungary are not considered foreigners from a social insurance point of view it is only the data on citizenship and place of birth, both included in the register that makes it possible to track migratory backgrounds. People who leave the country permanently, should de-register themselves at the NHIF, which they often do not accomplish, thus the register overestimates the number of citizens either Hungarian or foreigner residing in Hungary. The HCSO from 2014 onwards will receive full data files from the NHIF with record level (individual) data (Gárdos & Gödri 2013).

The, National Tax and Customs Administration (NTCA), an autonomous body controlled by the Ministry of Economy collects data on income and revenue from natural and legal persons as well as data on VAT, purchases and real estates. Foreign citizens either with usual residence in Hungary or with a source of income from Hungary (e.g. property) are included in the tax register, independently of their status (EEA citizens, third country nationals with work permit or Blue Card holders) if they pay their personal income tax in Hungary. Thus third country nationals with valid permit but no income are not included in the data. Data on the income tax of migrants has become available since 2005 transferred from the NTCA to the HCSO once a year (Gárdos & Gödri 2013).

Moldova

In Moldova labour-related information is collected mostly from the Labour Force Survey (see chapter 2.3.). Moldova is the only CIS country to conduct this survey regularly. However, administrative data on the immigrant and emigrant population's economic activity is almost non-existent. A private company, CBS-AXA collected information on labour migration and remittances through a sample survey (Ganta, 2012).

Poland

The Ministry of Labour and Social Policy collects datasets on work permit, on registered cases of illegal work and on illegally working foreigners (historical data). It also compiles labour market statistics, statistics on social help benefits, and statistics on Poles working abroad within bilateral intergovernmental agreements (historical data). There is no central register for work permits as they are administered on the voivodeship level.

The Ministry of National Education operates an Information System on Education, containing data on every student enrolled in Poland including foreign citizens.

The Social Insurance Institution operates the Central Register of Insured Persons, the Central Register of Contribution Payers and the Pensions Pay-out Systems, the latter not being centralized in one register but operated on the voivodeship level. None of these registers is accessible for research purposes.

The Ministry of Finance operates the National Register of Taxpayers and it maintains a database on PIT (Personal Income Tax) payers (Kupiszewska, 2009).

Slovakia

In Slovakia, the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family, and the Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport are the main sources of data on foreigners' economic and educational characteristics.

The Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of the Slovak Republic provides information on the basis of two institutions. The first is the Central Office of Labour, Social Affairs and Family. The Office operates in relation to the integration of foreigners and handles tasks associated with granting of work permits to foreigners and evidence of employed foreigners. Further fields of responsibility are granting and payment of social assistance benefits to foreigners and providing information and advice about employment opportunities. The second institution is the Center, an organizational part of the Ministry

of Labour, Social Affairs and Family to coordinate the integration of foreigners covering functions of the Department in matters of integration of foreigners: it coordinates the application integration measures arising from the concept of integration of foreigners, manages interdepartmental expert committee on Labour Migration and Integration of Foreigners and coordinates issues of employment, social security and health care.

The Central Office of Labour, Social Affairs and Family regularly publishes data on employment of foreigners by nationality, employment of an EU / EEA and Switzerland and their family members, employment of foreigners with information cards without a work permit by nationality, and employment of foreigners in the territory of the Slovak Republic by districts.

The Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport of the Slovak Republic provides information on the education of foreigners in the territory of the Slovak Republic. It covers fields like acquisition of Slovak language, the question of recognition of education documents as well as the recognition of professional qualifications acquired in the country of origin or any other country where the foreigner was educated or gained professional experience and practice. The main source of data on the number of children in schools by nationality and citizenship is the Institute of Information and Prognoses of Education, but it does not distinguish between children of foreigners from the EU / EEA and those of third world countries. It only states the total number of children with different nationalities highlighting the number of those who reside in the territory of Slovakia (Katerinková et al, 2010).

Ukraine

The State Employment Service of Ukraine (a special body of the Ministry of Social Policy) keeps records of foreign nationals temporarily working in Ukraine. Citizenship and socio-demographic indicators are recorded but the register only covers foreign nationals legally employed.

Besides this register, the State Employment Service publishes a set of statistical compilations, such as the Analytical and Statistical Yearbook “Labour Market in Ukraine”, the dataset “Registered Labour Market” and the list of business entities licensed for mediation in employment for work abroad. It also keeps record of the Ukrainian citizens officially working abroad.

The State Statistics Service published special volumes (in 2008 and 2012) on the observations of labour migration issues in Ukraine: it can be considered the most exhaustive source of related data in the country, based on sample surveys and estimations. Regarding remittances the National Bank of Ukraine publishes a regular review on its estimations (Pozniak, 2012).

2.2.3 Statistical data on migrants from census and surveys

Belarus

Statistics in official statistical collections of the National Statistical Committee of the Republic of Belarus is the main source of information about international migration in the

Republic of Belarus. The official statistics are presented on two spatial hierarchical levels – at the level of the state (macro data) and at the level of administrative regions (meso data).

Among the sources of data, the Population census is of crucial importance. The last census was held in 2009. It contained questions on country of birth and country of citizenship together with socio-economic characteristics. Based on the census results, an adjustment of the data on migrants was carried out to correct inaccuracies coming from low rates of registration and deregistration in the case of intra-CIS migration. There is no regular Labour Force Survey in Belarus (Shakhotska & Bobrova, 2012).

The statistical information about international migration at the micro level of the administrative hierarchy (administrative district) is collected in the archives of the National Statistical Committee of the Republic of Belarus in a primary form. Data presented at the national level have been available since 1989, at the micro level of the administrative districts they are available for the period from 1994 to 2012 years. General data includes volume of inflow and outflow, net migration in country, regions, districts and towns. The structure of migrants include age and sex structure, nationality, place of residence, place of previous residence, education, marital status, nationality, and purpose of stay. Main data about migration are presented for total population with a separation of urban and rural population.

The structure of international migration with regard to the causes and economy sectors statistical data are not standardized in the National Statistical Committee. Migration data are presented and examined in special sociological researches of national experts.

Illegal migration and refugee statistics are presented in the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Belarus at a state level.

On the whole, careful monitoring of the migration structure on state, regional and local levels is necessary both for migration management and for migration forecast. A standardization of data bases related to foreign migrants in Belarus is highly required.

The most important series of periodical statistical publications are the following: Main results of migration in the Republic of Belarus; Population of Belarus: Statistical Yearbook; Republic of Belarus: Statistical Yearbook; Regions of the Republic of Belarus: Statistical Yearbook; Population census of the Republic of Belarus, 2009, Volume 7. Migration of the Republic of Belarus; Population census of the Republic of Belarus, 2009, Volume 8. Spatial representation of the results of census of Republic of Belarus, 2009 (Section 6 Migration); Annual reference analytical report of the Department of Citizenship and Migration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Belarus, respectively.

Czechia

The Czech Statistical Office conducts its own survey every ten years – the Population and Housing Census. The Census collects data at three basic levels: individual, dwelling and a building level. At the individual level the Census identifies non-Czechs on the basis of their citizenship, as well as declared national or ethnic (not obligatory) affiliation. Other relevant information gathered is as follows: place of residence, place of residence one year prior to the Census, place of residence of mother at the time of person's birth, mother tongue, religious belief (information is not obligatory), educational attainment, field of

education, economic activity, occupation, status in employment, industry and location of place of work or school.

The latest Census took place in the Czechia in 2011. There are some shortcomings of the Census such as for example, incomplete data concerning these foreign nationals. Thus, for example, only about 60% of foreigners who should have been counted (according to the register of the Ministry of the Interior) were counted in the 2001 Census (Drbohlav & Lachmanová-Medová, 2009). On the other hand, the 2011 Census offered much more reliable numbers of foreign citizens (it represented 97% of the counts gained by the Ministry of the Interior within their registration mode).

The process of conducting the Census is always accompanied by anti-census campaigns, calling attention to issues of protection of personal data and their possible misuse. Also for this reason, Census 2011 made increased efforts to secure data protection; moreover, the questionnaire was made available on-line.

There is a regular Labour Force Survey held in the Czechia just like in other EU member states.

The Czech Statistical Office publishes yearbooks focusing on various aspects of foreign citizens' lives in the Czechia. Hence, the yearbooks represent a collection of selected data from the primary databases administered by the institutions stated above.

Georgia

The National Statistics Office of Georgia organized the last census in 2002. It is a data source with universal coverage. It covers also the immigrant population (by country of birth and country of citizenship) if they have lived in Georgia for one year or more.

The Georgian census also contains data on emigration, i.e. on former household members of the respondent who currently reside outside the country. There is also a question on the reason of departure.

There is no regular Labour Force Survey in Georgia. Large gaps of knowledge on international migration were somewhat bridged by two ad hoc surveys conducted by the TACIS program and by the National Service for Statistics in 2008. The former reached 3,700 people and the latter, 7,000. Based on these results, the number of Georgians abroad and their countries of destination, sex, age, educational attainment, marital status and professional activity were estimated (Tukhashvili, 2012).

Hungary

The Hungarian Central Statistical Office (HCSO) is the central body to elaboration statistical data. As mentioned above, it receives data from all relevant administrative bodies on a regular basis, and processes these data. Furthermore it conducts its own data collecting activities. From the point of view of international migration three categories of HCSO-collected data are relevant: census (and microcensus), Labour Force Survey (LFS), and other data collecting activities with a special focus on migration.

The population and housing census is one of the most important and most reliable data sources on migration, as a wide range of information is collected and it can be disaggregated according to country of birth and country of citizenship. The census covers all

Hungarian and EEA citizens, as well as third country nationals officially residing in the country or staying temporarily outside of it (for a period of less than 12 months). It has questions on citizenship and place of birth, and for those who indicate foreign citizenship and/or place of birth, questions are put on previous place (country) of usual residence, date of arrival in Hungary and additional address abroad. Concerning emigration questions are put whether and where the respondent ever resided abroad (for at least one year) together with the date of return in Hungary. Persons staying abroad temporarily (for a period expected to be less than 12 months) are included in the census, while those staying abroad for a longer time period are only recorded on the dwelling questionnaire, but no further data is collected on them. (Gárdos & Juhász, 2010)

Another important source of information is the Labour Force Survey (LFS), a representative international household survey on the economic activity of persons aged 15–74 years in the EEA and EU candidate countries. In Hungary it has been conducted since 1992, four times a year, in a rotating sample of approximately 38 thousand households. It features a wide range of socio-demographic and employment-related questions as well as information on citizenship, country of birth and country of previous residence (if relevant). Ad hoc modules were incorporated specifically on immigration (in 2008) and on emigration (in 2013).

Finally, other data collecting activities of the HCSO with a specific focus on migration include: 1) the statistical survey on people acquiring Hungarian citizenship (a form to be filled by all persons who took either a citizenship oath or pledge of allegiance), 2) the statistical survey on foreign citizens with settlement document (the same as above, for foreign citizens obtaining residence card, permanent residence card or settlement permit), and 3) the Immigrants 2002–2006 survey by the HCSO's Demographic Research Institute (DRI), a two-wave representative panel survey on immigrants' socio-demographic characteristics (Hárs, 2009; Gárdos & Gödri, 2013).

Institutions other than the Hungarian Central Statistical Office have also conducted small sample surveys on immigration-related issues. Including, but not limited to three research projects of the Institute of Ethnic and National Minority Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences should be mentioned: 1) the Immigrant Citizens Survey in 2011–2012, funded by the European Integration Fund (EIF) and conducted in Budapest on a sample of 1200 immigrants, with the objective to evaluate the migrant integration policies and their effects on individual immigrants, 2) LOCALMULTIDEM, funded by the European Commission and implemented in Hungary on a sample of 900 immigrants, with the objective to measure immigrants' political integration on the local level, and 3) Immigrants in Hungary, 2009, financed by the European Integration Fund (EIF) and conducted on a sample of 1244 persons, investigating the composition, economic and cultural situation, and integration strategies of six immigrant groups in Hungary (Gárdos & Gödri, 2013).

Moldova

Given the de facto independence of the Transnistrian part of the country currently there are two statistical bodies that organize separate population census. The National Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Moldova organized the last census in 2004 and for 2014

a new round is scheduled. The State Statistics Service of the Ministry of Economic Development of Transnistria also organized and conducted a population census of the region in 2004, apart from the population census carried out in Moldova. Both provide valuable information on the extent of migratory movement and the structure of inward and outward migrants, containing data also on resident permanent population including both permanent resident immigrants and temporary emigrants.

Moldova is the only CIS country which has its own regular Labour Force Survey, conducted according to ILO's methodological recommendations (excluding Transnistria). As in the case of the census the LFS covers the resident permanent population, including both permanent resident immigrants and temporary emigrants. It contains questions concerning the reasons for staying abroad and the destination country (asked from the household members). The sample size is 4,000 households per month. In 2008 an ad hoc module on migration was included in the LFS.

Studies related to emigration and remittances sent by migrants are of great interest. Several of such research projects have been carried out with the help of funds provided by international organizations (the International Organization for Migration, the World Bank, the European Commission, etc.) (Ganta, 2012).

Further important sources of information about migration processes are sociological studies. Such sociological companies as CBS AXA and CIVIS, and sociologists of the State University of Moldova have accumulated extensive experiences in conducting research on labor migration. CBS AXA has experience in conducting monitoring sociological studies in 2004, 2006, 2008 and in 2009. The studies are funded by international organizations (the International Labor Organization, the International Organization for Migration, the World Bank, UNICEF, etc.). The Barometer of Public Opinion having been conducted twice a year since 1998, has added labor migration questions since 2004 (Mosneaga, 2012).

Poland

The key institution involved in the collection of data relevant for research on migration and foreigners' integration in Poland is the Central Statistical Office (CSO), the main body responsible for producing and disseminating official statistics, collecting, storing and analysing statistical data. Publications of the Central Statistical Office constitute the main source of aggregate statistics. Some data are collected and analysed by the appropriate ministerial bodies such as the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Higher Education and Science, the National Health Fund, the Social Insurance Institution and the National Labour Inspectorate.

Among the most reliable and relevant sources of statistics related to migration are: 1) National Population and Housing Census (carried out every ten years- the last one took place in 2011), 2) population registers (such as PESEL, Electronic System of Population Registration having functioned since 1979), and 3) sample surveys such as the Labour Force Survey (LFS) (Kaczmarczyk, 2011). The CSO is responsible for carrying out all of them. One of the most important characteristics (and weaknesses) of population related public

statistics in Poland is due to the definitions: immigrants are defined as persons who have arrived from abroad and have been registered as permanent residents of Poland; whereas emigrants are defined as persons who moved with an intention to settle down abroad and deregistered themselves from their permanent place of residence in Poland. As a result, there is a difference between population of Poland *de iure* (number of officially registered as residents in Poland) and *de facto* (number of persons actually residing on the territory of Poland). The difference between these two data could be significant, due to the fact that Poles commonly avoid the duty of deregistration while living temporarily or permanently abroad. It means in practice that there is a significant number of persons who are counted in official statistics as permanent residents of Poland even if *de facto* they have left Poland (i.e. who are *de iure* residents and *de facto* migrants) (Kaczmarczyk, 2011).

Besides the national census the crucial points from the aspect of migration research and analyses are the data related to registration and deregistration of permanent residence (flow data); datasets on persons registered for temporary stay and temporary absence due to their stay abroad (stock data as of 31 December collected by the CSO once a year from all local and regional communes); Labour Force Survey, including the datasets on persons abroad (prepared quarterly); dataset on births, marriages, divorces and separations; datasets on primary and secondary schools and on tertiary education institutions. (Kupiszewska, 2009)

The availability of data on migration and integration in Poland is described generally as very poor. (Kupiszewska, 2009) One of the reasons is that official data refer only to permanent migration whereas the data on the characteristics of migrants are also very limited. For example, there is no reliable information concerning employment rate, housing conditions or access to healthcare in relation to foreigners. Immigration flow data capture mainly Polish return migrants and foreigners who arrive for a long-term stay but not those coming for temporary stay. The LFS is an important source of emigration trends, however emigration of entire households is not captured in this survey and due to the scarcity of households with emigrants in the sample, its results should be treated with some care. (Anacka, 2008; Kaczmarczyk, 2011) Nevertheless, the LFS is currently probably the only source that can be used to investigate basic characteristics of emigrants. (Kupiszewska, 2009)

The number of foreigners in Poland is very small and the surveys such as the Labour Force Survey are not designed to capture them, therefore the annual results of sample surveys are not suitable for drawing general conclusions about the population of foreigners.

To conclude, there are serious gaps and weaknesses in the availability of proper and reliable data needed for research on migration processes. Except the regular publications of Central Statistical Office concerning population of Poland (such as the Demographic Yearbook of Poland published annually) and occasional reports on varied subjects related to migration and foreigners, a compilation of the most important aggregate statistics in the field of migration out- and inflows could be found in SOPEMI Reports prepared annually for OECD by the Centre for Migration Research University of Warsaw. Most of the SOPEMI Reports are available online as CMR Working Papers.

Slovakia

Statistical data on foreign migration to Slovakia and some data on foreigners residing on the territory of Slovakia are being processed by the statistical Office of the Slovak Republic. Data are published on its website and publications dedicated to the phenomenon of international migration. The source of data on international migration of foreigners and citizens of the Slovak Republic are the census, the LFS and regular migration-related surveys.

Slovakia has a traditional census conducted every ten years and each foreign person who is temporary or permanent resident at the time of the census is included. Between censuses, the Statistical Office uses the report on change of address of permanent residence (Obyv 5-12) to update data on foreign residents.

There is a regular Labour Force Survey held in the Slovak Republic as in other EU member states. Due to its sample size the indicated number of migrant population is very low, moreover, as it covers households, not lodging houses, Ukrainian and Vietnamese migrant population is largely underestimated. (Katerinková et al, 2010)

Besides the census and LFS statistical surveys are conducted regularly on the migrant population. It is organized as a full survey annually by the Statistical Office under the “Programme of State Statistical Surveys, provided through the collection of statistical reports” Migration Report. The Slovak Ministry of Interior is the source on data about granting and neglecting of the citizenship. It provides and archives data on migrants at regional level using databases of Slovstat and Regional database.

Tables provided by Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic are the following: International immigrants in the territory of the SR by citizenship, sex and age group; by sex and single year age: nationals and non-nationals; by country of birth, sex and age group; by sex and single year age: native-born and foreign-born; by previous usual residence, sex and age group. The same breakdowns are available for international emigrants and usually for resident population. Acquisition of citizenship is registered by former citizenship, sex and age group, while in the case of losing Slovak citizenship the new citizenship and sex are recorded.

Ukraine

The key institution involved in the collection of data on migration is the State Statistics Service of Ukraine which is responsible for collecting, producing and disseminating of the official statistics. Yearbooks, reports and other publications of State Statistics Service of Ukraine are the main sources of migration statistics. Some data are collected and analysed by other bodies, first of all – State Migration Service of Ukraine, Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine, State Employment Service of Ukraine, State Border Service of Ukraine, National Bank of Ukraine.

The most reliable and relevant source of statistics related to migration is the All-Ukrainian population census conducted by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine. But the last one was conducted in 2001 and the running of the next all-Ukrainian population census is expected only in 2016. There is no regular Labour Force Survey in Ukraine.

Main reports on international migration in Ukraine include: Statistical Yearbooks of Ukraine, Statistical publication “Regions of Ukraine” (dataset), Demographic Yearbook

“The population of Ukraine”, Statistical Yearbook “Labour in Ukraine”, Datasets “Demographic situation”, “Labour Market”, Report “Ukraine External Labour Migration” (2009), Report on the Methodology, Organization and Results of a Modular Sample Survey on Labour Migration in Ukraine (2013).

Surveys and analytical reports are also important sources of information on migration. For example, in Ukraine comprehensive studies were conducted: the National sample survey “Foreign Labor Migration in Ukraine” (2008, Ukrainian Center for Social Reforms in conjunction with former State Statistics Committee of Ukraine), research projects “The Labor Market in Ukraine: Challenges of Migration” (2008, Institute for Economic Research and Policy Consulting), “Studies of Needs of Ukrainian Labor Migrants” (2008, Center “Social Indicators”), etc. Additional source of data on migration are international databases and reports, in particular statistics of the Söderköping Process (that in 2011 was integrated into the Eastern Partnership Panel on Migration and Asylum), MIRPAL (Migration and Remittance Peer-Assisted Learning network), UNESCO Institute for Statistics databases, projects’ reports of IOM, ILO, UNHCR regional representation.

These sources provide data on labour migrant population structure by sex, age, marital status, place of residence, legal status in the host countries, jobs and professional groups, educational level, skills, forms of contract, size of average wages, level of social protection, the frequency and duration of labor migration, attitudes towards Ukrainian migrants, etc.

It should be noted that official data and data from surveys differ significantly, especially concerning the number of migrants temporarily working abroad. The comparison of data by countries is sufficiently conditional. Different sources provide different estimations of the number of migrant labour. Consequently, there are no fairly reliable data of the number of circular migration in Ukraine.

2.3 Evaluation of statistical data

Statistical data collection on international migration is a rather difficult issue all over the globe and the Visegrad and Eastern Partnership Countries are no exception to this rule. There are three types of drawbacks that hinder the completion of reliable datasets: 1) non-statistical, 2) objective and 3) operational, the latter two defined by Drbohlav and Valenta (2014) as two separate aspects of the problems concerning gathering and processing statistical data.

First, *non-statistical drawbacks* are related to historical, political, economic and cultural circumstances under which migration statistics operates, and the legislative bases thereof exists. In the post-Soviet area border issues are a very important hindering factor for reliable border crossing statistics: the non-recognized states of Transnistria, Abkhazia and South Ossetia have their own management of borders which makes it almost impossible for Moldovan and Georgian officials to compile a proper dataset on border crossings. Although in a very different legal and political framework, intra-EU mobility is also a drawback for migration statistics’ coverage. Countries within the Schengen area do not have a full coverage of entry and exit statistics as people are only registered when

entering or exiting the area of free movement. Similarly, free movement within the CIS, although recorded in border statistics, is not further refined according to length of stay since many intra-CIS migrants do not apply for permanent residence cards. To sum up, there are circumstances in every analysed country which lie outside the competence of statisticians and which make the compilation of proper inflow and outflow statistics very difficult if not impossible.

Besides these non-statistical problems statistical data collection's *objective drawbacks* are those that are related to the methodology of data collection. Most importantly, the data gathered by the respective data collector institutions (Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Labour etc.) concerning foreign citizens, also as employees and entrepreneurs, cannot be exhaustive by legal definition and practice. This fact also influences the official numbers of foreign residents in migrant-receiving countries which differ from real stocks. The reason for this difference is that the numbers provided are in fact numbers of issued permits (either residence or employment permits or trade licences), and not the number of foreign citizens holding these permits. This fact comes from the general (and to some extent comprehensible) effort of the state administration to divide the migrants into different exhaustive categories. The reality, however, is too complex to be captured in "two-dimensional tables". In this sense, systems of data collection (in the Czechia but also in other migrant-receiving countries) do not allow insight into the extent of foreign citizens falling into several categories of migrants (e.g. when a foreign citizen is a student and entrepreneur at a time), and changes in time in terms of "moving" within the given categories.

There might also be an overestimation of the numbers of foreign residents with employment permits or trade licences. The employment permits and trade licences are issued while a migrant is still in his/her home country. Therefore there is a certain possibility that the migrant will eventually never arrive to the country of destination. The more suitable indicators reflecting reality in case of employees there are the bigger number of permanent residence permits and employment permits with extended duration there might be (more in Schováňková & Drbohlav, 2012).

Another important factor to influence how extensively the number of foreigners can be counted is the limited interconnectivity of different registers often actively promoted by advocates of data protection. In Hungary, for example, every citizen used to have a Personal Identification Number (PIN), a single number identifying the citizens in different registers. However, in the political climate of the transition to democracy it was regarded as a tool of excessive surveillance. The Constitutional Court of Hungary in its Resolution 15/1991 declared the PIN unconstitutional. In the 1990s a complex system evolved in which a citizen was registered under three different identification numbers, namely the identification document number, the tax identification number and the social security number (Kerényi 1998). Although there is a widely shared consensus among statisticians that the present system causes unnecessary administrative burden and loss of data, the social and political climate favours data protection instead of database unification. An interim solution seems to be the interoperability that is aimed by Law CCXX of 2013, which states that different national and local databases should be connected in a way

that aggregate, and anonymous data could be transferred among them (SEEMIG 2014). In other countries there is an existing PIN but migrant employees, migrant entrepreneurs and/or selected professionals (e.g. doctors, dentists etc.) are accounted in separate labour databases. Linking of databases which were established for different purposes is usually forbidden by the law protecting personal data.

Another problematic issue is the institutional collection of data and its procedural circumstances. Administrative data collectors are not specifically interested in adding new items to their forms only for statistical purposes, thus – even if every administrative body has a regular data transfer mechanism to the HCSO – incoherences in categories may occur. Institutions also generally provide data in aggregates. Adding new items and providing more detailed breakdown would enable statisticians to create a consistent migration database with little or no additional costs.

As far as emigration is concerned it is very important to note that only an underestimated set of data that is available in all countries covered by the present analysis. Citizens, who leave their country of citizenship, should report it to different authorities which they rarely do. Deregistration, although in many countries it can be performed via internet as well, has no incentives, thus official emigration statistics is by no means reliable. There is a solid conviction that the data on emigration are significantly underestimated. This fact does not allow any thorough analysis of flows and dynamics of migrants travelling out of the region. Mirror statistics and survey data are available but they are far from being accurate (SEEMIG 2014).

Third, *operational drawbacks* are connected with actual practices which contribute to the final incompleteness of the data. First and foremost, no databases are able to comprise unregistered residents and workers. Although informing the respective employment authority about the employment of foreign worker is a legal duty for employers, there is a solid assumption that the duty is often not fulfilled and the real numbers of foreign workers (especially those of EU/EEA also in terms of residency) may be different from what is presented. This is the situation especially in case of seasonal workers who obtained employment permit but are not registered by the databases focusing on residence. In predominantly migrant-receiving countries as the Czechia the existence of irregular economic migrants' activities especially in construction, agriculture as well as accommodation and food services have permanently been maintained at a certain level by a constant demand for cheap and flexible labour force as well as by the complicated and demanding process of acquiring legal employment permit. (Drbohlav & Lachmanová, 2008)

Regarding the actual data entry, i.e. the administrative forms and survey questionnaires, the language issue is more than problematic. Most forms are available in national languages only, causing problems for the migrant population with little or no knowledge of that language. Treating this problem would require additional efforts and financing, but it would ensure better quality and more representative data. The Hungarian Central Statistical Office's Survey No. 1970, launched in 2003, could be an example. The questionnaire was designed for foreigners with residence permits but it was available only in Hungarian. The nonresponse rate was high until a Hungarian – English dual language

questionnaire was introduced in 2013. Training for responsible staff, translation of the questionnaire for other relevant languages and/or the development of an online questionnaire is planned as further steps.

2.4 Conclusion and recommendations

All eight countries analysed in this chapter rely on data collector institutions for entry, stay and exit statistics, as well as for labour market and social protection data. All countries have a population census and five of them hold a regular, large scale Labour Force Survey. Smaller sample surveys are conducted on migrant-specific issues, such as integration or remittances. Statistical data are regularly published in yearbooks and publicly available cross-tables. Data production on migration therefore has a solid institutional base in all eight countries, although Georgia and Moldova faces very serious problems in keeping a record of its population due to the differences of the *de iure* and *de facto* territory and the large emigrant stock with foreign passports. *Non-statistical drawbacks*, as exposed above, also include the lack of compulsory registration of entries and exits in the case of intra-EU and, in practice, also in the case of intra-CIS mobility. As these drawbacks are natural consequences of the border regimes held by these countries, they lie outside the scope of the recommendations of the present analysis. However, there are many ways in which migration statistics could be improved in the Visegrad and Eastern Partnership countries assessing either the objective or the operational drawbacks of the existing systems of data production

Regarding *objective drawbacks*, a rather urgent set of reforms should point towards the harmonization of definitions in datasets concerning migration in line with the definitions enumerated in Article 2 of the Regulation (EC) No. 862/2007 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 July 2007 on Community statistics on migration and international protection. The harmonization of time periods of permit categories (and the statistical nomenclature thereof) would also be crucial for compiling cross-country datasets. This would require the creation of statistical working groups with experts from each country, and an exchange of metadata for all relevant statistical publications in a regular manner.

Besides harmonization in definitions and time periods the legal authorization for the access of the statistical offices to administrative datasets would largely enhance the circle of reliable data sources. Either through one central database or through a set of sub-databases connected by processes which ensure interoperability among these registers would certainly be a step forward. In countries where data protection laws do not make it possible to interconnect databases effectively, a statistical identification number for migrants (without ever revealing information concerning its holders to institutions other than statistical offices) would help keeping track of foreign citizens, as well as of citizens who are reportedly living abroad. The problem with these proposals is that the general public is getting more and more hostile against centralization attempts of databases even if these would serve only a rationalization of already existing data collection processes.

Very much connected to this issue, is that incentives for deregistration would help improve the reliability of emigration statistics. Currently emigrants are not motivated to declare officially their departure – on the contrary, they feel suspicious for losing social security benefits or other entitlements. By providing positive incentives (e.g. tax exemptions) for those citizens abroad who declare their absence, de-registration would be a much more effective way of calculating the migrant stock abroad.

There are many *operational drawbacks* as well to cope with. One of the most promising fields to improve the quality of migration statistics is the improvement of data entry. By trainings and provision of informative material, personnel of administrative bodies could learn more about specific data registration procedures for migration-related issues. Increasing the coverage of the collected data could also be fulfilled at a relatively low cost. For all these actions building a partnership of statistical offices with main data collector institutions (Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Labour) would be the most important step completed with continuous funding for the increased workload of administrative staff.

Not only administrative workers but migrants themselves would need professional assessment to provide higher quality information. Questionnaires and forms should be translated to main immigrant languages and at the office spaces where migrants are generally attended (Office of Immigration, for example) mediators and translators could help the administrative process. The language issue is also relevant in the case of the census, the LFS and other survey-based data collection.

Finally, new and innovative methods should be used for boosting the migrant sample in representative surveys. Compilation of mirror statistics for data on emigrants should also be implemented on a regular and transnational basis. A network of statistical offices, together with regular regional conferences on the issue, would help professionals in the Visegrad and Eastern Partnership countries to understand better sociological and statistical realities of international migration in the region.

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MIGRATION PROFILES OF THE RECEIVING (VISEGRAD) COUNTRIES

3.1 Czechia: the main immigration country in the V4

Dušan Drbohlav, Ondřej Valenta

3.1.1 Introduction

Czechia is a country within CEE which has undergone fundamental changes in virtually all areas of human life since the collapse of the communist bloc at the very beginning of the 1990s (HAMPL M. 1999). The rapid and dynamic transition processes can be partly interpreted as a reversion from the distorted economic and social patterns of the communist era and partly as the result of the shift from modern to post-modern economies and society. The shift and transition to democracy and market economies often increased unemployment and socio-economic hardships. At the same time, CEE countries have undertaken different development trajectories and socio-economic differences have significantly increased among them. This resulted in the emergence and further progress of extremely complex migration patterns, especially within the CEE region; the pace of the change was exceptional (OKÓLSKI M. 2004). Western economies also experienced a rapid temporary increase in the number of predominantly economic and also ethnic immigrants from the CEE region, especially throughout the 1990s.

Such economically more advanced countries in the CEE region as Czechia subsequently became immigration lands. A significant milestone affecting international migration patterns and regulations was the accession of the eight CEE states into the European Union in the middle of 2004 (CASTLES S., MILLER M. J. 2009). So far the latest marker was the economic downturn, having an impact on the international migration reality since the middle of 2008 in Czechia.

3.1.2 General Social, Economic, Political and Demographic Trends and International Migration

Ignoring here all discussions as to how the post-communist transformation is interpreted, despite many problems, Czechia has gone through the whole complicated transition rather successfully (as compared to many other post-communist countries of the region). Because of the relatively stable political (with the exception of more recent developments) and economic (with the exception of the ongoing global crisis) settings, during the phase of the robust political and economic transition Czechia became a country of immigration

in a short time (CASTLES S., MILLER M. J. 2009); emigration (although statistically more difficult to grasp) has never become a prevailing migration movement. In absolute numbers and via net migration, Czechia has consequently taken the highest position among all CEE countries; even in recent years, just before the global economic crisis started, Czechia had become one of the most attractive countries of immigration within the whole EU (DRBOHLAV D. 2011). There is no doubt that economic reasons, such as employment and entrepreneurship, dominate over other migratory motives for immigration to Czechia.

The broader framework for international migration was created by a concurrence of specific developments of major political, social and economic trends:

- Czechia experienced a relatively stable political and economic setting during the phase of the political and economic transition (along with similar conditions in other CEE countries). This favourable climate created a so-called buffer-zone and, to some extent, prevented a massive migratory influx to western European countries from the CEE region. This positive climate resulted in a significant increase in the number of international migrants in Czechia (DRBOHLAV 2003).
- Demographic changes with their impact on the Czech labour market also played a significant part. Since the 1970s, there has been a decrease in the birth rate, resulting in a decrease in natural growth. This pace of development was further accelerated during the 1990s, with the first sign of an increase to be observed only after 2005. The demographic situation thus resulted in a natural decrease in the Czech population between 1994 and 2005 and a continuing overall ageing of the population. As far as the pool of population in a productive age (i.e. 15-64 years) is concerned, the size (in absolute numbers) was increasing during this period, especially in the 1990s.
- The demand-side of the labour market can be characterized by the development of the GDP. Its growth during the first half of the 1990s was replaced by stagnation in the second half of the decade (with a decrease in 1997 and 1998). The GDP did not significantly grow until 2005 and then decreased again in 2008, when the global crisis hit the Czech economy. The trend was more or less the same in terms of unemployment, too. In summary, the labour market increasingly demanded foreign workers during the first half of the 1990s as well as after 2005 until 2008 (DRBOHLAV D. 2010).
- The migration reality in Czechia was also influenced by the nature of the migration policy. During periods of economic growth, the policy was rather liberal, resulting in an easy recruitment of foreign workers. For example, due to a very liberal or rather non-existent migration policy and with, de facto, no restrictions limiting the movements of people, the number of foreign citizens grew substantially in Czechia after 1989 (BARŠOVÁ A., BARŠA P. 2006) (see also Chapter 5 below). In times of economic stagnation and decline, a number of restrictive measures were taken aiming to protect the Czech labour force from a competition coming from abroad.
- When explaining the attractiveness of Czechia for foreign labour, one cannot ignore another important factor. Besides strong “pulls” on the side of the Czech society/economy, there were important “pushes” in other, economically weaker post-Soviet countries. Thus, in Czechia the “pushes” and “pulls” coincided (see also e.g. OKÓLSKI M. 2012).

The main trends briefly described above formed a basis for the specific character and development of the migration reality in Czechia. In terms of numbers, the number of foreign citizens grew through the entire period (1989 – 2008) until the start of the economic crisis. Throughout the period, the dominant economic factors of international migration seem to have gradually lost some of their significance, as especially family motives grew in importance. Czechia was also facing the long-term problem of illegal/irregular and transit migration. Due to historical circumstances as well as new migratory patterns, three types of international migrants can currently be distinguished in Czechia (DRBOHLAV D. 1997), see a very simplified picture below:

- “Eastern” immigrants, migrating to Czechia from less advanced countries in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics. They are characterized by a higher proportion of men, and they tend to be less educated. Even if highly educated, Eastern migrants tend to be economically active in manual jobs, especially in the construction industry and some other industries.
- “Western” immigrants, coming to Czechia from advanced countries of Western Europe and North America. In comparison with the former group, Western migrants tend to be more heterogeneous in terms of gender, age as well as the purpose of stay. They are generally highly qualified and often work in knowledge-intensive professions.
- Asian immigrants (mostly from Vietnam, China and Mongolia), active in specific economic segments, especially retail, business and food services.

Regarding the geographical distribution of immigrants in Czechia, the main characteristics are the following (e.g. VALENTA O. 2006):

- The migrants are distributed along an east-west gradient, i.e. the numbers and shares of immigrants grow when moving from eastern to western regions of Czechia.
- The metropolitan area of Prague proves to be the most significant destination of international migrants, where approximately between 30% and 50% of the immigrants are concentrated depending on individual migratory statuses.
- Higher proportions of ethnic and immigration groups can be found in regions sharing borders with the “mother” countries. This is the case with German, Slovak and Polish minority groups.

As in any other immigration country, Czechia also faces and struggles with irregular migration. The presence of irregular migrants in Czechia is caused by several reasons. As mentioned further, the demanding process of obtaining employment permits in combination with a constant demand for cheap and flexible labour are some of the fundamental causes. To some extent, this is also caused by an inefficient state policy regarding the legal recruitment of foreign labour. Irregular economic activities gain different forms (STRIELKOWSKI W. 2012).

The irregular economic practices within the employment of foreigners are thought to go on spreading further due to the impacts of the economic crisis. The first group of employees who were made redundant by their employers, employment agencies or unions

were foreign workers, who, in turn, were to leave Czechia if they did not manage to find a new job in two months. In combination with the introduction of restrictive measures taken by the state administration regarding immigration and foreign employment, one of the survival strategies of foreign workers was to gain a different economic status (e.g. to obtain a trade licence), to enter the informal sector and undertake irregular economic practices (e.g. via fictitious membership in cooperatives or management of limited liability companies), or – if qualified – to apply for a permanent residence permit.

3.1.3 Legislative Context of International Migration

The current legislation on international migration and foreign employment in Czechia is based on several acts. The legislation towards foreign workers has been so far based on the distinction of residence permits and employment permits. However, the two permits are closely related to each other, especially in the case of third country nationals. The employment agreement is a necessary precondition upon which the residence permit is granted. Thus, when an economic migrant loses his job, his residence permit may expire after a certain time-period (usually two months), if the migrant does not manage to find new employment.

Nevertheless, a new approach based on the transposition of the EU Directive 2011/98/EU is soon to be introduced into Czech migratory legislation, which unifies the residence and employment permits into a single document.

The changes in the legislative framework have undergone through major milestones since the beginning of the 21st century. Major amendments to the Act were implemented in the context of accession of Czechia to the European Union in 2004 as well as the Schengen Area in 2007 (CIZINCI 2004) and have been in force until today (see below section 3.3.1). At the same time, a more conceptual approach to migration policy began to be implemented, resulting in the formulation of six basic principles as a basis of a complex national migration policy. However, these principles have been of rather declarative and symbolic value (DRBOHLAV et al. 2010).

A more pro-active approach by the state administration in the area of migration policy and management was represented also by launching a pilot project “Selection of Qualified Foreign Workers”, aimed at attracting qualified foreign professionals to settle in Czechia. The selection of the professionals was based on score evaluation and the number of participants was limited by annual quotas and the scope of eligible citizenships. However, although the conditions of eligibility were gradually modified, e.g. by the extension of the eligible citizenships, the project did not manage to attract a sufficient number of foreign workers and was terminated in 2010. The state administration then launched other pro-active measures (e.g. Green cards or Blue cards), which are described in more detail in section 3.3.2.

In general, besides the beginning of a more pro-active approach by the state towards international migration, the migration legislation in the mid-2000s can also be characterized as shifting towards a more liberal approach, mainly due to the rapid economic growth which Czechia experienced at that time period. The Act on Employment was amended,

defining the conditions of foreign employment more precisely and in a more liberal manner. In 2006, the time limit for foreign residents to apply for a permanent residence was reduced from 10 to 5 years, representing a more liberal approach to the process of acquiring the Czech citizenship, too, which is to be obtained after 5 years of permanent residence in Czechia. In 2008, the notion of the “preference period” was introduced. Its aim was to provide foreign workers with a 60-day protection period in case of loss of employment, so that they can continue to reside in Czechia and in this way have some time to find a new job. On the other hand, more restrictive measures were implemented in relation to the conditions of family reunions (DRBOHLAV et al. 2010).

The economic downturn began to have an impact on Czech economy during 2009. The state administration introduced a set of restrictive measures, targeted both at foreign citizens in general, and at economically active foreign workers in particular. The primary aim of the measures was to protect the Czech labour force and thus limit the access of foreign labour to the Czech labour market. The most important measures were as follows (DRBOHLAV et al. 2010):

- The issue of visas to citizens from certain important source countries was temporarily halted. These countries were Mongolia, Ukraine, Moldova, Vietnam and Thailand. Consequently, the issue of visas and residence permits has been restricted to a limited number.
- The Employment services (Labour offices) were instructed to watch the situation carefully at regional labour markets and to issue the employment permits to foreign citizens with “special caution”. At the same time, the number of labour inspections of employers and recruiting agencies increased.
- A project of “Voluntary returns” was introduced, with the aim of encouraging foreign workers who had lost their jobs to return to their home countries. They received assistance with e.g. flight arrangements, or purchase of travel tickets. The project’s duration was 8 months (MINISTRY 2010) and some 2,300 foreign workers took part, 70% of which were from Mongolia (DRBOHLAV et al. 2010).

3.1.4 Legislation on Residence

The current legislation on international migration to Czechia is principally based on Act no. 326/1999 Coll., as amended, on Residence of Foreign Nationals in the Territory of Czechia. The Act sets up the conditions and requirements for several types of residence, based on the duration and purpose of the stay.

According to Act no. 226/1999, the basic division of international migrants is as follows (MINISTRY 2013a):

- European Union (EU) citizens
 - Temporary residence – granted to migrants with a residence exceeding 3 months;
 - Permanent residence – granted to migrants after 5 years of continuous residence in Czechia; in case of family reunification, there is an opportunity to apply for this status after 2 years of continuous residence.

- Third country nationals
 - Visa with a validity up to 90 days;
 - Long-term visa (over 90 days), with a maximum duration of 1 year for specific purposes (employment, business, study, scientific research, or family reunification);
 - Long-term residence – issued in case of residence exceeding 6 months for one of the specific purposes mentioned above;
 - Permanent residence – usually after 5 years of continuous residence in Czechia, a foreign national can apply for permanent residence.

3.1.5 Legislation on Economic Activities

The conditions and practices of employment for foreign citizens in Czechia are defined in Act no. 435/2004 Coll. on employment. The legal conditions of economic activities in the form of entrepreneurship are covered in Act no. 455/1991 on licence trades. International economic migrants are thus of two types, as described below.

3.1.5.1 Employment

The Czech accession to the EU created two distinct groups of foreign citizens also in relation to their employment. According to the Act on employment,

- EU and EEA citizens and their family members are not regarded as foreigners, thus they possess the same legal status as Czech citizens, resulting in a free access to the Czech labour market. No employment permit is required; the employers of EU/EEA citizens only have to inform the regional Public Employment Service (job centre) about the employment.
- Third country citizens (i.e. non EU/EEA country citizens) are only eligible to work if an employment permit (based on the employment contract), and a long-term visa or a long-term residence permit for purposes of employment are acquired. These are issued by the state authorities (residence permits by the Ministry of the Interior, employment permits by the regional Public Employment Service). The employment permits are issued with respect to the situation on the local/regional labour market (CIZINCI 2012).

The Act on employment also defines the conditions when the issue of an employment permit is not required for third country citizens and the employment procedures are very similar to those for EU/EEA citizens. This applies to third country citizens who are predominantly (MINISTRY 2013a):

- Asylum holders;
- Permanent residence holders;
- Long-term residence holders for the purpose of family reunification with an EU citizen, asylum holder or permanent residence holder;

- Secondary and tertiary graduates of Czech educational institutions;
- Performers, members of educational staff, academics in an institution of higher education, pupils or students (until the age of 26), sportsmen/sportswomen, media-credited staff, military personnel, etc.

If these “special types” of international migrants are employed, the employer – according to the Act on employment – has no obligation to inform the Public Employment Service; these migrants are therefore not registered in any database regarding the economic activity of foreign citizens.

3.1.5.2 Entrepreneurship

As for entrepreneurs, the Act on licence trade does not distinguish between an EU/EEA citizen and a third country citizen as regards the requirements in the procedure of obtaining a trade licence (MINISTRY 2013a). Nevertheless, the procedures of getting a residence permit remain different for the two respective groups of citizens. According to the Act, the trades are classified as:

- Notifiable trades, which may be carried on once they have been notified, provided that the conditions described in the Act are met. These can be further divided into:
 - Vocational trades;
 - Professional trades;
 - Unqualified trades.
- Permitted trades, which may be carried on pursuant to a concession issued when specifically defined conditions are met.

Vocational and professional trade licences can be obtained mainly through certified educational and professional competences. Unqualified trade licences are under no such obligation and are therefore obtained more easily. It is, therefore, no surprise that about 80% of the trade licences issued to foreign citizens are in the unqualified trade category. This figure has, nevertheless, to be viewed with caution (see section on statistical data evaluation). It is also possible to carry out a business on the basis of more than one trade licence (ČERMÁKOVÁ D., SCHOVÁNKOVÁ S., FIEDLEROVÁ K. 2011).

3.1.5.3 Green Cards

Besides the types of residence described above, there is also a special long-term residence permit for employment purposes in Czechia called Green Card, which can be issued to citizens from certain third countries (MINISTRY 2005). This measure was introduced in 2009 with the main aim of enhancing the immigration of economic migrants with the qualifications needed to fill certain job openings in the Czech labour market. The Green Card also simplifies the entry to the job market by combining a residence permit and an employment permit into one document.

Three types of Green Card can be issued:

- Type A: for skilled personnel who attained higher education and key personnel

- Type B: for workers occupying jobs for which an apprenticeship certificate is required as a minimum
- Type C: for other workers

The Green Card can be issued by the Ministry of Interior for a maximum period of 2 years, with the possibility of extension (this does not apply to Type C).

3.1.5.4 Blue Cards

According to the transposition of EC Directive 2009/50/EC into the Czech legislation, a new measure was introduced in order to attract highly qualified workers from all third countries to potentially fill specific job positions in the Czech labour market. Foreign citizens eligible for the Blue Card are required to have completed a tertiary education course (Master or Bachelor graduates) (MINISTRY 2013b).

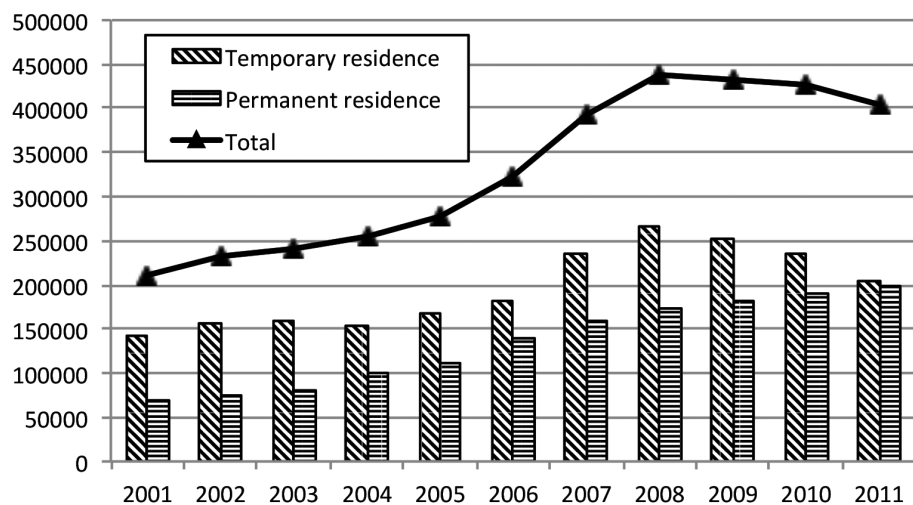
3.1.6 Figures on International Migration

From 2001, the number of international migrants continued to grow and doubled from 210,794 to 438,301 in 2008 (Graph 1). The economic crisis hit Czechia in 2009, which resulted in the decrease in the number of registered migrants from 2008 to 2011, however, only in the case of migrants with temporary (long-term) residence permits. According to the data of the Alien Information System presented in Graph 1, the number of foreign citizens holding a permanent residence permit was gradually growing also throughout the period of the economic crisis, and in 2011 it nearly equalled the number of temporary residence holders. At the end of 2011, the number of registered foreign citizens was 403,709, which accounted for about 3.8 % of the total population.

On the other hand, there was a remarkable drop in the number of foreigners officially employed in the country – this number declined from 361,709 in 2008 to 310,921 in 2011 (as of December 31) (HORÁKOVÁ M. 2012). For example, the respective number of Ukrainians decreased from 102,285 to 68,950 (HORÁKOVÁ M. 2012).

However, the data referring to the change in the number of foreign citizens have to be considered with caution as they partially fail to reflect the reality. This, to some extent, is due to methodological adjustments in the process of data gathering and processing. For example, the decline between 2010 and 2011 was partly caused by the statistics not including such foreign citizens with a terminated residence permit who found themselves in the process of acquiring a new permit. There are also suggestions that the number of foreign citizens did not actually decline after 2008; the migrants affected by the economic crisis may have just changed their formal or legal status: they may have either become entrepreneurs, permanent residents, or they may have become irregular migrants (ROZUMEK M. 2012).

The largest group of immigrants in Czechia was Ukrainians by citizenship (Table 1, 2). Their prevailing residence status is of a temporary residence, which is connected largely with the economic purposes of their stay. Nevertheless, the ratio of the temporary



Graph 1. Changes in the Number of Foreign Citizens in Czechia, 2001-2011

Table 1. Top 5 Immigrant Groups in Czechia

Year	Type of residence	Ukraine	Slovakia	Vietnam	Russia	Poland	Total	Share on total no. of foreign citizens
2008	temporary	91 291	50 626	25 463	15 038	10 573	192 991	72,70%
	permanent	40 674	25 408	34 795	12 138	11 137	124 152	71,80%
	Total	131 965	76 034	60 258	27 176	21 710	317 143	72,40%
2009	temporary	88 250	46 712	25 347	17 416	8 277	186 002	73,80%
	permanent	43 727	26 734	35 779	12 977	10 996	130 213	71,90%
	Total	131 977	73 446	61 126	30 393	19 273	316 215	73,00%
2010	temporary	77 499	42 707	23 667	18 319	7 283	169 475	72,00%
	permanent	46 840	29 073	36 634	13 620	10 959	137 126	72,20%
	Total	124 339	71 780	60 301	31 939	18 242	306 601	72,10%
2011	temporary	53 811	50 178	17 430	12 418	8 198	142 035	69,30%
	permanent	50 368	31 067	37 576	14 290	10 855	144 156	72,60%
	Total	104 179	81 245	55 006	26 708	19 053	286 191	70,90%
	Share¹	25,80%	20,10%	13,60%	6,60%	4,70%		

Source: Zpráva 2012

Note: the figures are of 31 December of the respective year

¹ Share on total number of foreign citizens

and permanent residence holders among Ukrainians became gradually balanced. Slovaks form the second largest immigrant group with more than 81,000 registered migrants in 2011. The prevalence of temporary residences held by Slovaks is even more evident and

the two types of residences did not level off. On the other hand, Vietnamese, and also Polish citizens were characterized by a higher proportion of permanent residence permits, connected closely with family reasons/family based migration.

Among the top 5 groups of immigrants, one can also observe some common trends. The first one is the gradual increase in the ratio of permanent residences. The second one is the decline in the ratio of these immigrant groups relative to the total number of immigrants in Czechia (with the exception of 2009), indicating a growing diversification of immigrant backgrounds. The third, partial trend is that the number of immigrants was stagnating or even declining from 2008 to 2011. This trend does not seem to apply to Slovaks and Poles as their numbers were increasing from 2010 to 2011, even in the case of temporary residences. One of the explanations can be that Slovaks and Poles are established as “historical immigrant groups” in Czechia and, therefore, are more embedded in the Czech institutional setting as well as in the labour market.

The following table (Table 2) shows the number of foreign citizens from V4 and EaP countries. In comparison to the previous table, there is a slight difference in the methodological approach, resulting in a somewhat higher number of foreign citizens, although they come from the same source (CIS). The numbers, however, are suitable for the purpose of describing general volumes of foreigners with their specific citizenships being our focus. Moldovans represent quite a numerous immigrant group; the majority of Moldovans are temporary economic migrants. Belarusians reached almost 5,000 in 2011, while Hungarians and Georgians are the least numerous among the presented citizen groups. Unlike the Moldovans, the three latter mentioned immigrant groups show – an even rate of temporary and permanent residents.

The number of foreign citizens coming from V4 and EaP countries over time is shown at Graphs 2 and 3. The countries were split into two groups, presented, in fact, in two

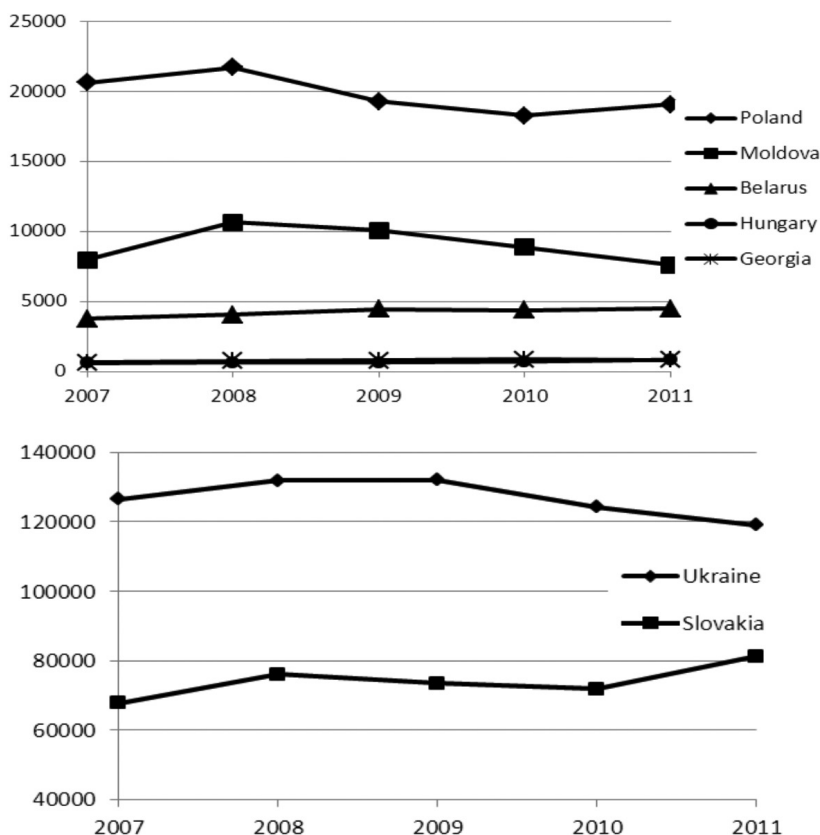
Table 2. Number of Foreign Citizens from V4 and EaP Countries as of 31st December 2011

Citizenship	Total number	Share ¹	Type of residence			
			temporary	permanent	temporary	permanent
			Numbers		Percentage	
Ukraine	119 025	27,30%	68 809	50 216	57,80%	42,20%
Slovakia	81 253	18,60%	50 182	31 071	61,80%	38,20%
Poland	19 058	4,40%	8 203	10 855	43,00%	57,00%
Moldova	7 608	1,70%	4 752	2 856	62,50%	37,50%
Belarus	4 498	1,00%	1 849	2 649	41,10%	58,90%
Hungary	839	0,20%	439	400	52,30%	47,70%
Georgia	836	0,20%	489	347	58,50%	41,50%
Total no. of foreign citizens	436 389	53,10%	238 338	198 051	54,60%	45,40%

Source: Policie 2013

¹ Share on total number of foreign citizens in Czechia

separate graphs due to the large differences in the number of immigrants from the given countries. The graph shows the changes since 2007; and, in general, the figures correspond to the development of the overall number of immigrants presented in Graph 1. This is the case with Ukrainians, Moldovans and partly Poles, in particular. On the other hand, the number of Slovaks and Belarusians increased despite the economic downturn which hit Czechia during 2009.



Graph 2 and 3. Changes in the Number of Foreign Citizens from V4 and EaP Countries

The explanation for the divergent developments between the given immigrant groups is that the economic downturn affected primarily economic migrants, i.e. groups with prevalent temporary residences (Ukrainians, Moldovans). The case of Slovaks seems to be more complex and has already been explained above.

As noted above, the dominant reasons for immigration into Czechia were economic; and they materialized mostly in the form of employment (see Table 3). The ratio of economic reasons was, nevertheless, declining (at least until 2007 – no data on the reason for immigration have been available from public databases since then), while other reasons

gained more significance. This is the case especially with family reunification purposes and settlement. A steady increase in the number of immigrants with study and training purposes is also notable.

Publicly available statistical data on the purpose of residence of V4 and EaP citizens are limited only to four countries: Ukraine, Slovakia, Poland and Moldova (Table 4). Again, the latest available data are from 2007.

Table 3. Purposes of Residence in Czechia

Purposes of residence	2000	2005	2006	2007
Economic purposes	55,40 %	56,00 %	47,70 %	49,70 %
Entrepreneurship	25,40%	11,20%	8,30%	16,70%
Participation in legal person	10,90%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
Employment	19,00%	39,30%	39,30%	32,90%
Other economic activities	0,10%	0,10%	0,10%	0,10%
Family reunification	26,20 %	28,00 %	31,30 %	28,20 %
Settlement (permanent residence permit)	14,10 %	10,30 %	16,20 %	16,10 %
Study and training	1,40%	2,10%	2,20%	2,20%
Refugees	0,30%	0,60%	0,60%	0,60%
Humanitarian status, temporary protection	0,00%	0,10%	0,10%	0,10%
Others	2,60%	5,70%	4,80%	6,00%

Note: the categories of purposes of residence are based on international taxonomy
Source: Drbohlav D. 2004, Cizinci 2006, Cizinci 2007, Cizinci 2008

Table 4. Purposes of Residence of Selected Countries as of 31st December 2007

Purposes of residence	Ukraine	Slovakia	Poland	Moldova
Economic purposes	68,80 %	57,50 %	44,20 %	73,60 %
Entrepreneurship	28,90%	3,70%	0,80%	30,30%
Participation in legal person	–	–	–	–
Employment	39,90%	53,80%	43,40%	43,40%
Other economic activities	0,00%	0,10%	0,00%	0,00%
Family reunification	16,10 %	28,20 %	45,80 %	13,80 %
Settlement (permanent residence permit)	14,10 %	10,40 %	9,40 %	11,30 %
Study and training	0,50%	2,00%	0,10%	0,90%
Refugees	0,10%	–	–	0,10%
Humanitarian status, temporary protection	0,00%	–	0,00%	0,00%
Others	0,30%	1,80%	0,60%	0,20%

Source: Cizinci 2008

According to the table, Ukrainians and Moldovans migrate to Czechia predominantly for economic purposes – both nationalities produce the highest numbers in both the employment and entrepreneurship group. Also Slovaks are frequently employed in Czechia; they also reach relatively high shares in family reunifications and also study and training purposes, partly because of the special policy to Slovaks in relation to education. Poles reached the highest ratio in family reunification purposes as well as employment in 2007.

The gender distribution of immigrants from the selected countries is presented in Table 5. Generally, immigrant males accounted for about 57% of all immigrants in Czechia in 2011. The ratio of males is even higher among temporary residents; the proportion of immigrant women is growing among permanent residents, but still does not form a majority.

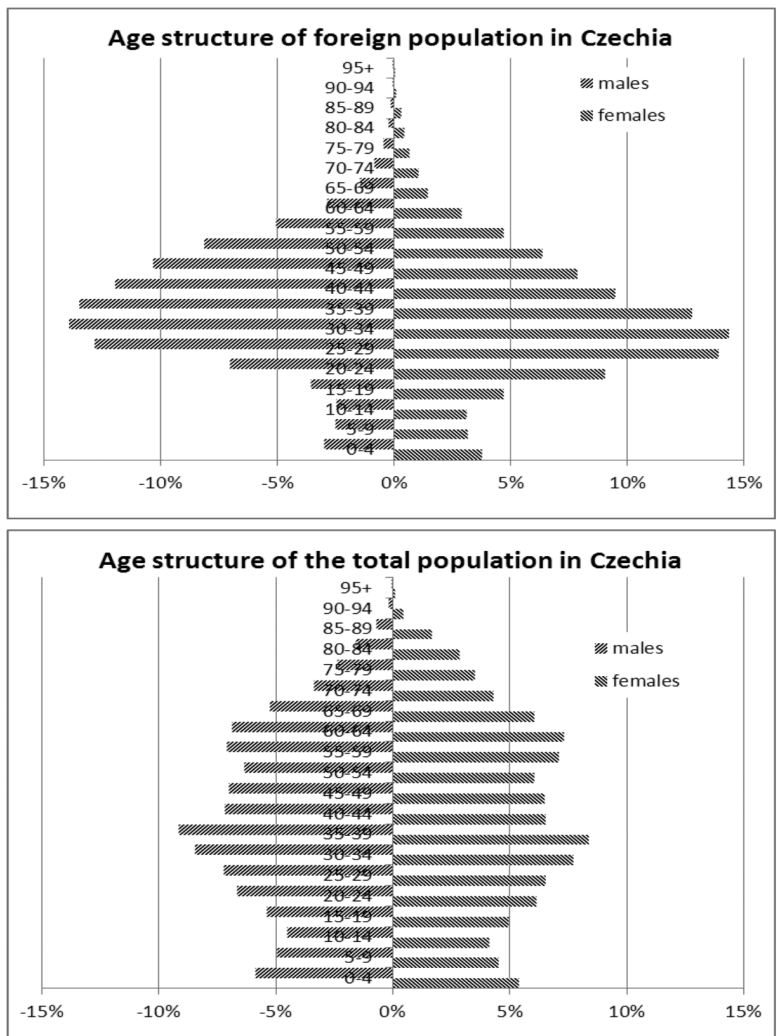
Table 5. Gender Balance of Foreign Citizens from Selected Countries as of 31st December 2011

Citizenship	Share of females		
	Share on total	Type of residence	
		temporary	permanent
Ukraine	43,70%	38,60%	50,00%
Slovakia	45,20%	41,20%	51,70%
Poland	51,20%	27,80%	69,50%
Moldova	40,60%	37,60%	43,80%
Belarus	58,40%	44,80%	62,80%
Hungary	39,50%	41,20%	37,50%
Georgia	44,10%	34,20%	45,10%
Total number	42,70%	36,00%	47,30%

Source: Cizinci 2012

A significantly higher proportion of men can be found also among temporary residents arriving from the selected countries (with the exception of Hungarian immigrants). In general, women outnumber men in case of Poles and Belarusians; this fact is connected to the prevailing share of permanent residents among these nationalities. The lowest proportion of women is typically among Moldovans and Ukrainians (being predominantly temporary economic migrants), and also Hungarians.

The comparison of Graph 4 and 5 shows (not surprisingly) some differences in the age distribution between the foreign population and the total population in Czechia. The age pyramid of foreign citizens shows that the dominant age group is between 25-39 years. Men reach the highest proportions in the age groups of 30-34 and 35-39, while women are dominant in slightly younger ages (30-34 and 25-29). Figures on the age distribution by individual citizenships are not publicly available.



Graph 4 and 5. Age Distribution of Foreigners Relative to the Total Population in Czechia
Source: Cizinci 2012

3.1.7 Economic Migration

As described above, economic migrants are basically of two types: employees and entrepreneurs. The statistics on the number of economic migrants in Czechia can never be complete due to both “objective” and “operational” reasons described in the section dedicated to data evaluation. Nevertheless, if one wants to show patterns of economic activities of migrants, one has to proceed from what is available. In case of economic activities, one

has to rely on databases managed by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs focusing on immigrant-employees and those of the Ministry of Industry and Trade on trade licences. These two databases are “integrated” in the annual bulletin called “International Labour Migration in Czechia” (HORÁKOVÁ M. 2012), issued by the Research Institute for Labour and Social Affairs. Therefore, data from this bulletin will be predominantly used in this section of the country report.

The latest general figures on economically active foreign citizens divided by gender in Czechia are presented in Table 6. The table indicates that there is a higher ratio of men among economically active foreign citizens, compared to the gender distribution of all foreign citizens. The majority of economically active foreign citizens find themselves in the position of employees, registered by labour offices. In 2011, the number of entrepreneurs reached 93,059; there is, however, a legitimate suspicion, described more thoroughly in Chapter 2.2, that a certain proportion of these entrepreneurs actually work as employees as well.

Table 6. Economic Activities of Foreign Citizens as of 31st December 2011

Economic activities of foreign citizens	Total number	Males	Females	Share of women
Total number of foreign citizens registered by labour offices	217 862	141 352	76 510	35,10%
Employment permits	36 640	23 638	13 002	35,50%
EU/EEA citizens registered by labour offices	154 560	104 162	50 398	32,60%
Foreigners from third countries who need no work permit	26 510	13 456	13 055	49,20%
Green Cards	148 ¹	93	55	37,20%
Blue Cards	4 ²	4	0	0,00%
Entrepreneurs – Foreign citizens holding trade licences	93 059	64 231	28 828	31,00%
Total number of economically active foreign citizens	310 921	205 583	105 338	33,90%

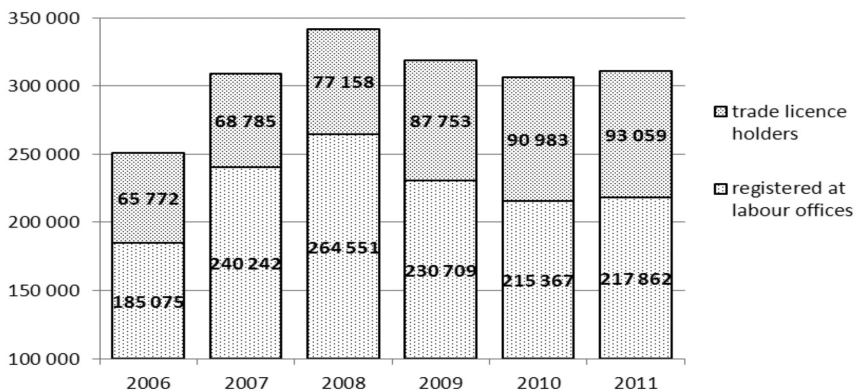
Source: Zpráva 2012

¹ Up to 31 December 2012, 415 Green Cards were issued

² Up to 31 December 2012, 92 Blue Cards were issued

Graph 6 shows the changes in the number and ratio of foreign employees and entrepreneurs, covering also the period when the global economic crisis started. As it is shown on the graph, a steady increase in the number of economically active foreign citizens was broken in 2009, when the effects of the economic downturn began to influence the Czech economy. Since then, the number of employees declined considerably, since the first group of employees who were made redundant by their employers, employment agencies or unions were foreign workers, who in turn had to leave Czechia if they had not mana-

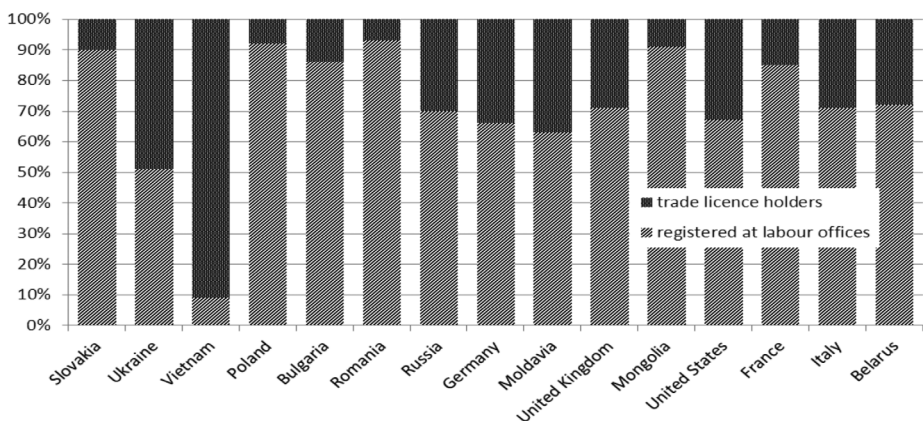
ged to find a new job in two months (STRIELKOWSKI W. 2012). On the other hand, the number of entrepreneurs continued to grow. The explanation is that gaining a different economic status (e.g. obtaining a trade licence) became one of the survival strategies for foreign employees. Other options were entering the informal sector and undertaking irregular economic practices (e.g. fictitious membership in cooperatives or management of limited liability companies), or, if qualified, applying for a permanent residence permit.



Graph 6. Numbers of Economically Active Foreign Citizens (2006-2011)

Source: ČSÚ 2012

Graph 7 shows the ratio of entrepreneurs and those registered at the labour offices (i.e. employees) within the 15 most populous immigrant groups. In total, there is no general trend when comparing “Eastern” and “Western” migrants in terms of their economic activity or entrepreneurship (Graph 7). Instead, one has to take into account the specific



Graph 7. Ratio of Entrepreneurs and Employees within the Top 15 Foreign Citizenships as of 31 December 2011

Source: ČSÚ 2012

nature of each foreign citizen and the characteristics of his/her community (ČERMÁKOVÁ D., SCHOVÁNKOVÁ S., FIEDLEROVÁ K. 2011). The majority of economically active immigrants have an ‘employee’ status in case of nearly all of the examined citizenships. The only exception is Vietnamese immigrants; 91% of the economically active Vietnamese hold a trade licence –which is due to the character of their economic activity in combination with strong intra-community ties and social networks. On the other hand, economically active Polish immigrants are predominantly employees. A possible reason for that may be the fact that Poles today follow a traditional within the Polish labour force, being employed mainly in the mining industry (DRBOHLAV D. et al. 2010).

According to citizenship (Table 7), Ukrainians form the largest group in terms of general figures. However, due to the unrestricted access of EU/EEA citizens to the Czech labour market, Slovaks outnumber the largest immigrant group (Ukrainians) regarding the number of economically active immigrants. Moreover, the geographical proximity of Slovakia results in higher numbers of economically active Slovaks in the Czech labour market. This number is even higher than the number of Slovak residents in Czechia. Similarly, this is also the case with Polish workers.

Table 7. Structure of Economic Activities of Immigrants from Major Source Countries as of 2011

Citizenship	Employment permits	Employees who need no work permit		Entrepreneurs	Total number of economically active foreign citizens	Total number of residence permits
	Blue Cards	Green Cards	EU/EEA citizens	Third country citizens		
Ukraine	22 441	–	12 809	33 700	68 590	119 025
Slovakia	0	106 425	–	11 406	117 831	81 253
Vietnam	922	–	1 854	29 369	32 145	58 265
Russia	1 460	2 471	–	1 713	5 644	32 708
Poland	0	19 718	–	1 712	21 430	19 058
Germany	0	3 194	–	1 636	4 830	15 763

Source: Horáková 2012

Table 7 does not include two immigrant groups which are less populous in terms of the total number of residents, but exceed Russians and Germans in the number of economically active foreign citizens; these are Bulgarians (8,148 economically active immigrants), and Romanians (6,871) (HORÁKOVÁ M. 2012), taking advantage of their unrestricted access to the Czech labour market as EU citizens.

The situation of Hungarians is also notable (Table 9); according to the data, 99.3% of all the Hungarian immigrants in Czechia are “employees” – registered in labour offices.

Ukrainians and Moldovans seem to be “typical” groups of economic migrants – in their case the ratio of economically active immigrants relative to the total number of resi-

dents reaches nearly 60%. Ukrainians, in comparison to Moldovans, seem to work under the scheme of trade licences to a larger extent, perhaps due to the fact that it is much easier to obtain a trade licence than a work permit.

In line with the prevailing permanent residents among Russians (Table 8) and Belarusians (Table 9) there is their lower ratio of employees and the higher proportion of those who do not need to have a work permit – this may indicate frequent family reunification purposes for their residence in Czechia. The proportion of economically active persons is the lowest in case of Georgians – their dominant scheme is that of trade licence, similarly to Ukrainians.

Table 8. Structure of Economic Activities of Immigrants from V4 and EaP Countries as of 2011

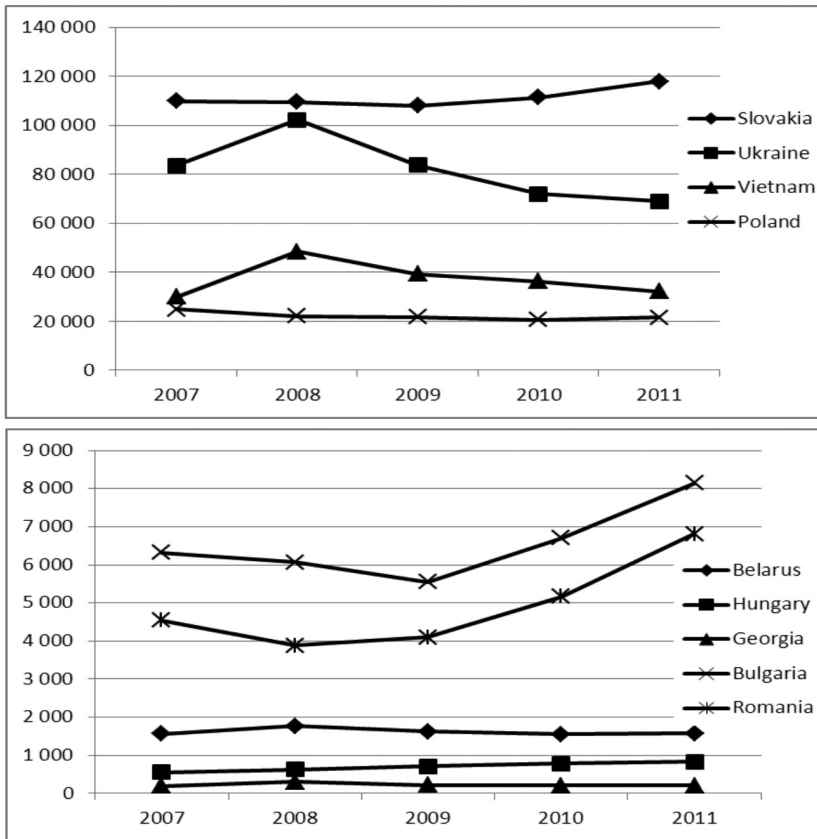
	Employment permits Green Cards	Employees who need no work permit		Entrepreneurs	Total no. of economically active foreign citizens of residence permits	Total number	Share ¹
	Blue Cards	EU/EEA citizens	Third country citizens				
Ukraine	22 441	–	12 809	33 700	68 590	119 025	57,60%
Slovakia	0	106 425	–	11 406	117 831	81 253	145,00%
Poland	0	19 718	–	1 712	21 430	19 058	112,40%
Moldova	1 757	–	886	1 585	4 428	7 608	58,20%
Belarus	330	–	799	441	1 570	4 498	34,90%
Hungary	0	709	–	124	833	839	99,30%
Georgia	58	–	66	84	208	836	24,90%
Total	36 792	181 070		93 059	310 921	436 389	71,20%

Source: Horáková 2012

¹ Share of economically active immigrants on total number of immigrant residents

The changes in the number of economically active foreign citizens are shown in Graphs 8 and 9. The impact of the economic downturn, which is apparent from the frequent breaks in the trends presented in the graphs, resulted in basically two different pathways. The figures show that foreign citizens from EU countries were less intensively affected by the crisis than citizens from third countries, basically due to uneven legal conditions and rights as to employment and residence are concerned. The number of economically active Slovaks, Romanians, Bulgarians and Hungarians managed to grow steadily since 2007. On the other hand, the number of Ukrainians, Vietnamese, Belarusians and Georgians fell since the economic crisis hit Czechia in 2009.

When examining the distribution of economic sectors and industries in which foreign employees work, the division of the foreign employees into those coming from EU countries and those from third countries is apparent and, indeed, logical. As seen in Graph 10, there are significant differences in the distribution of employment between the two groups of foreign employees themselves and the Czech population.



Graph 8, 9. Numbers of Economically Active Foreign Citizens
Source: Horáková M. 2012

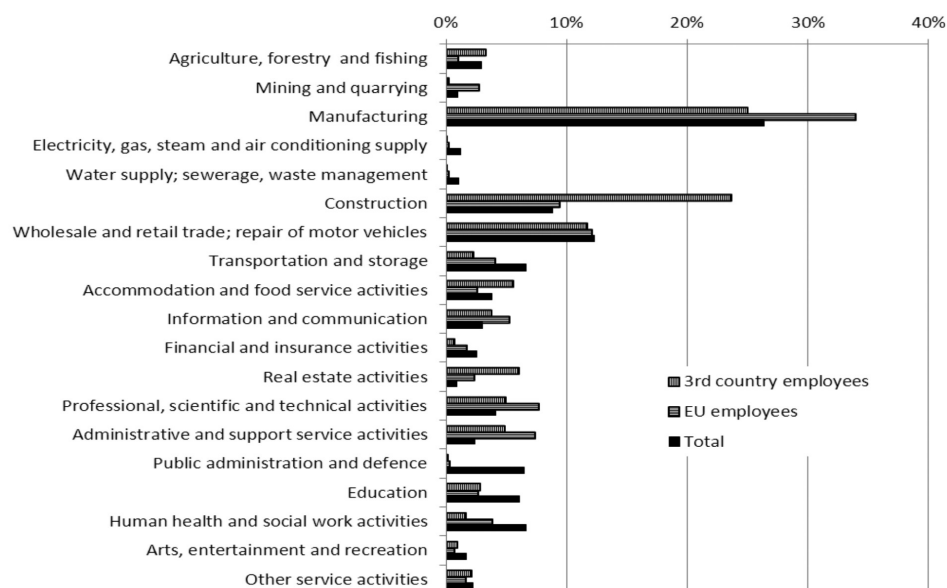
However, it has to be noted that both third countries and EU member states represent by themselves a highly heterogeneous group of countries; that is, a third country might be the United States of America as well as Ukraine; an EU member state might be Germany as well as Bulgaria. This fact makes any interpretation of the distribution of foreign employment at this level rather difficult.

The most striking differences can be detected in the construction sector, which seems to be heavily dependent on foreign employees, especially those from third countries (particularly from Ukraine). Foreign employees are overrepresented also in the information and communication sector, real estate, administrative and support service activities.

The comparison of the occupational distribution of non-EU immigrants to the general picture in Czechia (Graph 11) provides evidence for a significant “waste of immigrants’ human capital”. In line with other authors (e.g. LEONTIYEVA Y. 2012), it suggests that well-educated foreign employees are not always better off in the labour market. This is particularly true when a foreign employee starts at the bottom rung of the career ladder in the

Czech labour market, which is shown in Graph 11 – a significant ratio of both EU and third country employees hold, regardless of their educational status, elementary occupations.

When taking a closer look at the employees from Visegrad and Eastern Partnership countries, it is no surprise that the highest proportion of immigrants from the majority of these countries find employment on the lower rungs of the occupational ladder. Almost



Graph 10. Economic Activities of Foreign Employees in Economic Sectors as of 31st December 2011. Source: Internal data of MLSA



Graph 11. Distribution of the Employment Status of Foreign Workers according to the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) as of December 2011
Source: Internal data of MLSA

Table 9. Structure of Status Employment (ISCO) of Foreign Workers from Visegrad and EaP Countries as of December 2011

	Ukraine	Slovakia	Poland	Moldova	Belarus	Hungary	Georgia
Managers	1,60%	3,80%	1,40%	0,90%	4,70%	2,30%	6,10%
Professionals	4,80%	18,30%	11,10%	4,20%	16,50%	18,20%	30,60%
Technicians and associate professionals	5,00%	17,10%	10,60%	6,20%	12,60%	18,20%	16,30%
Clerical support workers	4,10%	5,70%	4,90%	3,30%	5,50%	11,40%	6,10%
Service and sales workers	13,40%	12,20%	13,20%	11,70%	10,00%	11,40%	18,40%
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	3,20%	0,30%	0,30%	2,30%	0,60%	0,00%	0,00%
Craft and related trades workers	20,60%	13,40%	15,90%	23,90%	15,60%	13,60%	10,20%
Plant and machine operators, and assemblers	19,80%	18,50%	23,30%	25,40%	22,50%	20,50%	4,10%
Elementary occupations	27,40%	10,80%	19,40%	21,80%	11,80%	4,50%	8,20%
Armed forces occupations	0,10%	0,00%	0,00%	0,30%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%

Source: internal data of MLSA

70% of Ukrainians are to be found on the three lowest levels of occupations. The same applies to Poles and Moldovans. As stated above, these minorities represent the “classical” economic group of immigrants. On the other hand, even if sharing similar characteristics, Slovaks, Hungarians and also Belarusians tend to be employed more in professional positions. A special category is formed by Georgians with specific employment categorization, perhaps due to the limited size of this immigrant group in Czechia.

3.1.8 Specific Characteristics of International Migration in Czechia

As described above, the nature of social, economic and political development directs Czechia to catch up with the advanced economies of Western Europe. Along with this progress, international migration patterns, formulating within a changing institutional and legislative environment, also resemble those in economically advanced countries. Nevertheless, in Czechia we can also identify some distinct features or characteristics regarding the international migration reality. These are as follows:

3.1.8.1 International Students

Czechia has become an attractive destination for foreign university students, due to the traditionally high quality of academic education and the historical ties connecting her to the relevant countries. In 2012, almost 40,000 international students attended courses at

Czech universities. The number of international students has been gradually increasing since the beginning of the 21st century.

The majority of the international students at Czech universities are Slovaks (Graph 12). The main reason for this is the affinity of Czech and Slovak languages, allowing Slovak students to take regular courses in Czech language and thus having no obligation to pay for studying in another (predominantly English) language. Russian students form the second most numerous group of foreign students.

As for the regional distribution of international students, the highest concentration is in Prague (ca 50%) and its universities, both public and private ones. Universities in Brno take about 17% of the total number of international students.

3.1.8.2 Vietnamese Minority

For a long time immigrants from Vietnam represented a particular minority group in Czechia. Vietnamese migrants started moving to Czechoslovakia in the late 1950s on the basis of international agreements. The first migrants were predominantly Vietnamese children affected by the Vietnam War. In the late 1960s, about 2,500 Vietnamese workers, students and interns moved to Czechoslovakia. Their number gradually increased to approximately 30,000 at the beginning of the 1980s (BROUČEK S. 2003); then, through arrangements and agreements, this number decreased to about 3,500 in 1992 (ČERMÁKOVÁ D. 2002). After that the number of Vietnamese immigrants in Czechia increased up to about 62,000 (official figures) in 2008 (ZPRÁVA 2012). Due to the impact of the economic crisis, the number of Vietnamese migrants officially decreased and in 2013, the Ministry of the Interior registered roughly 58,000 Vietnamese residents in Czechia (MINISTRY 2013a).

The migration of Vietnamese people into Czechia has thus been in place for a long time. Their migration is predominantly economic, but family reasons play an increasingly high role. Unlike the other major minorities, the Vietnamese have a higher ratio of permanent residents in Czechia, and almost 90% of the economically active Vietnamese hold a trade licence (see section 3.4 above). This is connected to the overall economic and social constitution of the Vietnamese population in Czechia. Although relatively dispersed throughout the territory of Czechia at the level of municipalities, the Vietnamese generally create rather isolated communities which provide self-supporting services to fellow members: the communities have their own translators and interpreters, advisory and intermediary services, etc. A significant proportion of Vietnamese migrants work in wholesale and retail (MARTÍNKOVÁ Š. 2003).

3.1.8.3 Marginal Role of Refugees

Compared to the total number of predominantly economic migrants in Czechia, asylum seekers and refugees form a negligible part. The principal reason is geographic: Czechia does not lie on the border of either the European Union or the Schengen area and therefore does not act as a “buffer-zone” to receive an influx of asylum seekers or refugees. The secondary reason might be linked to the fact that the Czech administration has never allowed any organized immigration of a massive number of refugees from countries or

regions affected by armed conflict or other catastrophic events. The third reason is the demanding nature of the procedure to obtain asylum, as the Czech administration experienced numerous attempts by illegal economic migrants to take advantage of the asylum status. Although the legislation on asylum (Act no. 325/1999 Coll. on Asylum) is harmonized with the respective EU regulations, the status of a person applying for asylum (or international protection) is insecure and legally very “bound” (for example the applicant is not allowed to work).

From 2006, asylum was granted to almost 1,000 applicants. The most frequent citizenship was Belarus, followed by Russia. Asylum holders from Asia actually constituted a majority of the asylum holders in Czechia (ca 43%), though their proportion is decreasing. Recently, a considerable increase was recorded in the number of asylum applicants arriving from European countries (around 42% in 2012) (CIZINCI 2013).

3.1.9 International Migration Policy Review

Czechia has been receiving immigrants for more than two decades; and during that time period, it has been facing the challenge to define its approach towards international migration and the integration of foreign citizens, institutionalized in a coherent migration policy. The actual formation of an international migration policy after the collapse of the communist bloc can be dated back to the early 1990s. It can be regarded as a constant shift from a passive to a more active and systematic engagement from the part of the state administration. However, so far the international migration policy-making process has not been based on a systematic provision of comprehensive and detailed socio-economic analyses of trends and issues occurring in the Czech labour market. At the same time, there is a permanent lack of suitable and available characteristics that would effectively map the development of the integration of immigrants in various spheres of Czech society (DRBOHLAV et al. 2010).

There are three types of institutions which are considered to be key policy stakeholders influencing the final design of the international migration policy in Czechia. Firstly, it is the European Union, applying its influence through transposition of Community regulations in certain aspects of international migration. EU determines the conditions of immigration and residence of EU citizens and their family members, permanent residents, asylum seekers and holders and immigration in the sphere of science and research (KUŠNIRÁKOVÁ T. 2013). It can be stated that the influence of EU regulations enhances the rights of immigrants in general.

The bodies of the Czech state administration represent the second type of institutions, having a decisive influence on the design of the migration policy (mainly the economic aspects of this policy) towards e.g. foreigners from third countries, the conditions of acquisition of Czech citizenship as well as the integration policy. There are altogether three ministries whose competences interfere with international migration: the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and the Ministry of Industry and Trade, all with different approaches and interests as to international migration.

- Nearly all the competences as to the formation and implementation of a national policy for foreign migration (both immigration and integration policy) are the responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior, more specifically the Department for Asylum and Migration Policy. The decision-making processes and activities connected to the international migration policy are therefore considered to be highly centralized in Czechia. The general aim of the Ministry of the Interior is to control international migration as it is seen principally from the point of view of national security. The Ministry therefore favours a restrictive type of international migration policy (KUŠNIRÁKOVÁ T., ČIŽINSKÝ P. 2010).
- The Ministry of Labour And Social Affairs applies its competences in the area of the employment of international migrants. During the last decade, the Ministry enforced several pro-active measures attracting foreign workers in a selective way. The Ministry's primary aim is, however, to protect the Czech labour market by giving employment priority to Czech citizens. Of course, during the global economic crisis it led to the implementation of restrictive rather than pro-active measures.
- The Ministry of Industry and Trade generally calls for a liberal approach to international policy with unrestricted entrepreneurship activities and easy recruitment of foreign labour in vision. The Ministry's standpoint is to a large extent a reflection of the interests of the Czech industry.

The third type of institutions is represented by both governmental and non-governmental bodies, accentuating the dimension of ethics and human rights within the international migration issues. From the governmental organizations the following institutions are the most influential: Institute of The Public Defender of Rights, Government Council for Human Rights and Department of Office of Government for Human Rights and Equal Opportunities. The non-governmental organizations include e.g. Multicultural Centre Prague, Counselling Centre for Integration, Association for Migration and Integration, and Society of Citizens Assisting Immigrants (see e.g. ČIŽINSKÝ P. 2009).

The Czech migration policy is primarily framed by the above described position of Czechia in the broader global development process. Also institutional constraints play a substantial role; Czechia as a member of EU adopts a large proportion of Community regulations in relation to managing international migration movements; it is also to observe the international standards of human rights. Still, there are various aspects of the migration reality which Czechia can manage within its national competences (see above). Among them in particular is a policy affecting temporary (thus predominantly economic) third-country residents, integration policy and naturalization (KUŠNIRÁKOVÁ T., ČIŽINSKÝ P. 2011, KUŠNIRÁKOVÁ T. 2013).

3.1.10 Development of the international migration policy in Czechia

As implicitly noted above, the international migration policy is generally divided into a policy aiming at the regulation of entry and residence of foreign citizens (i.e. immigration

policy), and integration (and naturalization) policy, with the aim of managing the legal, social, economic and cultural aspects of residing foreign citizens.

The Czech accession into the European Union in 2004 is considered to be one of the major events influencing the migration policy of Czechia. The EU membership created two major groups of foreign citizens as for their legal status: citizens of EU countries, the European Economic Area and Switzerland in one group, and third-country citizens in the other (JANSKÁ E., DRBOHLAV D. 2008). Citizens of EU, EEA and Switzerland no longer had the obligation to apply for a residence or work permit; after a one-year residence in Czechia, EU citizens were entitled to receive a long-term residence permit.

In 2005, a novel concept of integration was introduced, which represented a gradual shift towards a “civic approach” to the integration of foreign residents. This approach is in harmony with changes in many other developed European countries receiving immigrants. The main principle is that the focus should be on an individual migrant as a member of the society. This approach favours an integration policy where individual migrants “are obliged to learn the language and to respect the values and norms of the receiving country without the necessity to lose their ethnical culture” (LACHMANOVÁ L. 2007). The target group of the policy were foreign citizens from third countries residing for more than one year in Czechia (MLSA 2006).

Czechia itself started playing a more pro-active role also in migration management; a pilot project called “Selection of qualified foreign workers” was launched in 2003, with the aim of attracting foreign professionals and highly qualified workers (and their family members) from selected countries to settle in Czechia. The project, however, did not offer any interest-worthy benefits (it was rather difficult to meet all the criteria which were to be met) and the number of applicants remained rather low at the time the project was terminated (2010).

Other pro-active measures attracting foreign workers were introduced in 2009; it was primarily an initiative by the Ministry of Industry and Trade: the so-called Green Cards program (section 3.3.2). At EU level, a Blue Card initiative was implemented into the Czech migration legislation, too. The main benefit for the applicants in both initiatives is the easier process of acquiring the necessary permits and, in that way, less administrative burden. The problem is that both card schemes were launched during the global economic crisis, at a time when, in fact, the economic opportunities in the Czech labour market including those for immigrants significantly shrank. Therefore, it is no wonder that the impact of the Green and Blue card programs is very limited (for example, until 2012, 415 applicants were registered within the Green Card scheme and the Blue Card program registered 92 applicants between 2011 and 2012).

In 2008, a partial readjustment of the integration policy took place taking effect from 2009, with an updated set of targets which can be summarized as the prevention of the formation of closed ethnic communities as well as the social exclusion of immigrants. The definition of the target group was extended and so it also included newly arriving immigrants. Nevertheless, the citizens from EU countries are excluded from the target group, as the policy is exclusively aimed at third-country citizens. The four principal objectives of the integration policy remained unchanged in comparison with the concept of MLSA:

- Knowledge of Czech language: enhancing the knowledge of Czech among migrants and their descendants, introduction of certified Czech language courses;
- economic self-sufficiency: enhancing the economic self-sufficiency of migrants by restraining the administrative burden connected with their economic activities;
- orientation of migrants in the host society: supporting the awareness and knowledge of Czech society, values and institutions among migrants;
- relations between migrants and host society members: supporting the building of relationships between foreign residents and members of the host society and raising public awareness as to the presence of foreign citizens (MLSA 2006).

In order to achieve the above defined objectives, the Ministry of the Interior as the main management body of the integration policy proposed a set of measures and initiatives, giving an active role to regional and municipal authorities; special offices were established providing consultancy and information services as well as language and socio-cultural courses. The resources for funding various social and cultural projects at local and regional levels predominantly come from the European Fund for the Integration of Third-country Nationals 2017-2013, the European Social Fund and the state budget. Various non-governmental organizations have also been intensively involved in the main tasks (ZPRÁVA 2011).

3.1.11 Conclusions and Recommendations

The picture and characteristics of international migration in Czechia has been a reflection of overall economic and (geo)political progress of both Czechia itself, and the international (mainly European) context as well. Czechia quickly became a country of immigration within CEE region and comparing to the other countries of the Visegrad region, it hosts the majority of international migrants in the region. The immigration into Czechia is predominantly economic; yet, throughout the pace of time, the migration becomes more family-based, and immigrants tend to settle in Czechia for a longer period of time too. The major immigrant groups are Ukrainians, Slovaks and Vietnamese.

With increasing number and complexity of migrants and migration flows, Czech administration – with a certain time-delay – started to consider international migration from a more systematic and conceptual perspective. Despite unquestionable progress in this area, the migration reality in Czechia is still subject to significant deficiencies, especially at the level of management of international migration and integration.

Generally, vis-à-vis some other social phenomena the state (represented by governmental structures) still pays little attention to international migration and migrants' integration issues. Despite some positive shifts over time from more passive and reactive approaches to more pro-active and more systematically organized ones, there is still a need to establish more coherent and comprehensive migration/integration policy framework with related sub-policies (and practices). Thus, a vision should be defined and, consequently, a long-term strategy should be applied when coping with international migration and migrants' integration issues. After formulating a general strategy, making specific decisions

regarding economic, demographic, cultural, and social aspects of diversity should follow. This basic task is related to other issues, which call for improvement:

The limited attention of bodies of state administration results in rather limited coordination between, on one hand, migration and integration policy, and, on the other hand, migration/integration and other social policies (namely social, health, economic, and development). There is a need to harmonize policies as to “prevent contradictions” as much as possible (while supporting synergy effects). Similarly, there is a need to improve cooperation among (and within) state bodies, NGOs, and international organizations that are responsible for dealing with migration/integration issues.

The whole management of migratory and integration issues is not sufficiently open and too much centralized in hands of the Ministry of the Interior. The responsibilities should be partly decentralized and, for example, responsibilities for economic migration should be retaken by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. Moreover, there is a strong need for a higher involvement of social partners (employers, labour unions, employment services) into the process of economic integration of foreign workers, including the foreign workers themselves. As for the policy towards the most important inflow – that of labour migrants – more pro-immigrant rather than anti-immigrant activities should be launched. The policy (and practice) should be concentrated upon how to attract mainly skilled/educated foreign labour force and/or short-term/temporary economic migrants to saturate, in a highly flexible way, particular (targeted) deficits on the labour market. This must be done while leaning on sophisticated analyses and assessment of the Czech labour market (its development, needs, shortcomings, advantages etc.). Probably, the key issue is to identify and then “harmonize” domestic labour force demand with foreign supply.

As for the migrants’ integration, local and regional administration bodies have so far played rather a limited role. Therefore, it is necessary to define their competencies in terms of migrants’ integration in legislative framework, support them with relevant institutional framework and adequate financial means. Furthermore, EU migrants should not be excluded from projects and any other kinds of support but they should become recipients of possible assistance within the integration policy too.

The Czech migratory administration puts an excessive administrative burden on foreign citizens applying for both residence and employment permit, and maintains them in rather insecure position in Czechia. There is a need to increase a transparency and rapidity of the administrative system of obtaining various visas and permits (including their extension)

Besides the deficiencies at the level of state administration, also the public is not well informed about international migration and migrants’ integration processes and their impacts upon Czech society. It is a must to initiate broad discussions in migration/integration issues and to systematically provide the public with objective information on migration/integration issues.

A special focus is placed on recommendations as regards statistics on international migration. The existing statistics has many shortcomings. The primary need is to establish a system of monitoring and data collection, which would be more sophisticated, detailed, and capable to reflect the reality to a higher degree (e.g. to differentiate between number

of permits and number of real persons, to “combine data” coming from more data sets etc.). This general recommendation is valid both for statistics of international migration, and statistics of integration. Necessary is also a closer cooperation of the main institutions that keep databases focused on particular aspects of migrants’ lives in Czechia.

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3.2 Hungary: cross-border migration in a fragmented ethnic space

Béla Soltész, Ágnes Erőss, Dávid Karácsonyi, Áron Kincses¹

3.2.1 Introduction

A region of complex migratory background, Central and Eastern Europe has experienced large-scale population movements many times throughout its history. The 21st century is no exception to this general rule. In our times, it is mostly east-to-west labour migration that prevails – however, in the context of globalization and an increasing interdependence of European economies and societies, migratory movements show a diversity of social and geographic patterns.

Migratory trends have been changing in Hungary over the past three decades. Once the 'happiest barrack' of the Eastern Bloc with a relatively stable economy and acceptable living standards, though limited personal and economic freedom, Hungary was a rather closed country until the late 1980s. The turmoil of the transition to democracy made Hungary an attractive destination for citizens of neighbouring countries, most of them ethnic Hungarians. As the economic situation in the region normalized, intra-regional migration decreased, and a new wave of small but economically active non-European immigrants (most importantly East Asians and Middle Eastern nationalities) arrived in the country. With the lift of the restrictions for Hungarian citizens to work in the EU countries and being pushed by the unfolding of the global economic crisis, emigration started to rise in the past years. These movements together form the migratory landscape of Hungary in the second decade of the 21st century: an open economy with two-directional migratory flows.

The objective of this report is to present the historical background and the relevant statistical, sociological and geographic data on migration in Hungary, as well as the legal and policy framework concerning international migratory flows. The report observes the place of Hungary in the framework of migration between two country groups, the Visegrad countries (Czechia, Poland, Slovakia and Hungary) and the countries of the Eastern Partnership (Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia). Due to geographic proximity and historical ties, the two most important focal points of this complex phenomenon are the limitrophe migration from Ukraine's Transcarpathia region to Eastern Hungary, and the very diverse patterns of labour migration from different Eastern European countries to Budapest, the capital city of Hungary.

1 Bolyai scholarship of the HAS supported Áron Kincses' contribution to this study.

3.2.2 Legislative Context of International Migration

The effective legislation on international migration and foreign employment in Hungary is the result of the country's integration process into the European Union. Hungarian immigration legislation (Tóth 2009, 2012) is in line with EU directives, the Schengen acquis and the relevant instruments of the Hague Program. These were implemented into Hungarian law in 2007:

- Act on the Entry and Residence of Persons with the Right of Free Movement and Residence (Act I of 2007) and
- Act on the Entry and Residence of Third-country Nationals (Act II of 2007).

These acts refer to the relevant Directives, such as

- Council Directive 2003/86/EC, on the right to family reunification;
- Council Directive 2003/109/EC, concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents;
- Council Directive 2004/114/EC, on the conditions of admission of third-country nationals for the purposes of study, student exchange, unremunerated training or voluntary service; and
- Council Directive 2005/71/EC on a specific procedure for admitting third-country nationals for the purpose of scientific research.

3.2.2.1 Legislation on Residence

EU and EEA citizens in Hungary enjoy the same rights as Hungarian citizens. Before the EU accession, the Act on the Entry and Residence of Foreigners (Act XXXIX of 2001) made a distinction between the legal status of EU citizens with free movement and that of third country nationals (foreigners). It contained the requirements for settlement permission such as three years of working and living in Hungary with a residence permit in order to have a settlement permit (immigrant status), and eight years of residence in order to be applicable for naturalization. Upon the EU accession (2004), all EU regulations were integrated into the national regulations, Council Directive 2004/38/EC in particular. The Act on the Entry and Residence of Persons with the Right of Free Movement and Residence (Act I of 2007) provided the implementation of the Directive at legislative level (Gellérné – Illés 2005).

Third-country nationals, according to Act II of 2007, can apply for: 1) a long-term visa for a given specific purpose and, before it expires, 2) a residence permit. Entry to and stay in the territory of Hungary may be allowed for the following purposes: visits, family unification, employment, seasonal work, study, research, medical treatment, official visit and voluntary work. The issuance of long-term visas (for over 3 months) and residence permits fall within the competence of the Office of Immigration and Nationality (OIN), while the border patrol, formerly belonging to the Hungarian Border Guard Services, from 2008 onwards is a duty of the Police (Gödri et al 2013).

The immigration procedure can only be started if the applicant holds a long-term visa. This can be granted for an explicitly stated purpose, such as employment, study or family reunification. The issuance of residence permits also falls within the competence

of the OIN and its regional units, while the issuance of work permits is a task of the regional unit of the Labour Office. Having continuously resided in Hungary for three years, a foreigner becomes eligible for a national permanent residence permit (Act II of 2007, Art. 35). Act I and II of 2007 regulate family reunification issues in line with the EU *acquis*. The spouse of a foreigner holding a permanent residence permit obtains a work permit automatically (Gödri et al 2013).

3.2.2.2 Legislation on Economic Activities

The employment of EU/EEA citizens falls under the scope of Government Decree 355/2007 on interim regulations of free movement of labour, which was modified several times. According to this Decree, from 1 January 2009, citizens of EU, EEA countries and Switzerland can work in Hungary without a specific work permit. However, they are subject to registration by the employer at the local Labour Office.

The employment of third country nationals requires a procedure of authorization for one year, launched by the employer while the potential foreign worker is still outside Hungary. The process for prolongation is almost identical. Article 7 of Act IV of 1991, on the employment of and benefits for unemployed persons, allows the Minister of Employment to specify, year by year, the maximum number of foreigners to be employed in individual occupations. A third country national can also be self-employed in case of holding a long-term visa for the purpose of gainful employment (Act II of 2007, Art. 20(1)) (Gödri et al 2013).

Further specifications are made by Decree 16/2010 of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour. According to this, labour offices can issue an employment permit if the employer has reported a vacancy before the third country national's request and no Hungarian or EEA national (or family member of a Hungarian or EEA citizen) has been found suitable to fill in the vacancy. The third country national applicant should, furthermore, meet the requirements for employability under Hungarian law.

Labour offices can also issue employment permits without the above described procedure and without taking into account the labour market circumstances in the case of key personnel, invited scholars or artists, and a maximum 5% of the personnel of private companies with a foreign majority ownership.

There is no active national program in Hungary for highly skilled foreign workers. A highly skilled third country national can, however, apply for the EU Blue Card, at the Office of Immigration and Nationality. This instrument was introduced by Council Directive 2009/50/EC and implemented into Hungarian regulations by Act CV of 2011. (National Employment Service 2013)

3.2.3 General economic and social trends in the 1980s-2010s

In the late 1980s a radical political and social transformation began in Central and Eastern Europe. The fall of the Iron Curtain changed the political landscape in every country of the region. Compared to many of its neighbours, in Hungary the transition to democracy and market economy went peacefully, on the grounds of negotiations and with no blood-

shed, no territorial disruptions and no mass emigration. However, economic, social and demographic problems arose, many of them having their roots already in the previous decades.

Before the transition, Hungary was seen within the Eastern Bloc as a relatively prosperous country with an ideologically mixed, partially market-oriented system dubbed as “Goulash Communism”. However, consumerism had been partly financed by foreign loans and by the 1980s Hungary had become highly indebted to its – mostly Western – creditors. Foreign capital was also invested in the light industry, which was producing for the socialist countries’ market (Melegh 2011). These markets were lost with the fall of state socialism in the region, and the re-adjustment of the productive industries took the form of a rather quick privatization of state property, which dismantled the former production chains. Foreign direct investment first came as portfolio investment and resulted in an immediate backdrop in the production.

As a consequence of the above, in the period between 1989 and 1993 a sharp decrease in GDP was recorded in Hungary, with the biggest drop immediately following the fall of communism in 1990. Thanks to economic restructuring and the inflow of mostly German and Austrian capital, the Hungarian GDP climbed back to its pre-transition level by 1994. After a comprehensive austerity package in 1995, it kept on growing during a period of economic expansion that lasted 14 years, until 2008. However, 1.5 million workplaces that had been lost during the transition were never recovered: the dependency ratio has been very high in Hungary since the 1990s. The global economic crisis hit the country heavily, causing a 1.5 year long recession and a consequent stagnation period (Gödri et al 2013).

The transition also had high social costs. Hungarian society was, under state socialism, an egalitarian one, in which full employment and many social transfers were compensating for the lack of individual entrepreneurial perspectives and the scarcity of consumption opportunities. With the transition to democracy and capitalism, a sudden growth of the Gini coefficient took place, starting already before the political changes of 1989. From a very low 0.21 in 1982, the coefficient rose to 0.31 by 2003. There have been several social groups which, following a seminal essay (Ferge 1996), are named commonly in both scientific discourse and everyday talk as “the losers of the transition”: the Roma, the rural population and the ageing (born between 1930 and 1945).

Although it can be stated that at a political level the transition was beneficial for every Hungarian citizen, as it has granted everyone the access to human and civil rights, the negative structural and individual processes regarding economic and social security led to the common statement of “life was better under Kádár¹”, echoed by many Hungarians as early as 1995, a phenomenon commonly known in the region as post-socialist nostalgia. In a survey carried out 20 years after the transition (Hack-Handa 2009), 56% of the respondents stated that things “got worse” since then. On the other hand, Hungarian upper and middle classes are still enjoying a relatively high standard of living. As opposed to the previously mentioned categories, urban, younger, higher educated and better-off

1 General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party between 1956 and 1988.

Hungarians managed to take advantage of the structural transformation of the economy, thus becoming the “winners of the transition” (Gödri et al 2013).

3.2.4 General demographic and migration trends in the 1980s-2010s

International migration was a politically sensitive issue during the time of state socialism and studies on the issue were scarce until 1989 (Rédei 2001). Since the transition to democracy, several research papers, summaries and yearly reports have been published about international migration trends in Hungary (some examples: L. Rédei M. 2001, Kincses Á. 2009, 2012, Hablicsek L. 2004, Gödri I. 2012). Hablicsek (2004) summarized that international migration has had an increasing role in the population change since the 1990s. This process widened the scope of demographic research in Hungary, from the natural reproduction (fertility and mortality) with migration-related topics (Rédei 2001).

Hungary is an ageing society with a net population decrease. A popular saying in the 1970s, “kicsi vagy kocsi” (kid or car) revealed the dilemma that young couples were facing during state socialism, where consumerism was possible to some extent but it often led to the postponement of child-bearing and an ever-lowering fertility rate. The decline in the total fertility rate began in the early 1970s and it stabilized in the 2000s at a very low 1.3 (Gödri et al 2013).

The total population of Hungary has been declining since 1981 (10.7 million, 1980). The rapid loss happened due to the decrease in the crude birth ratio since the mid-1970s, after the age of the so called OTP-children. (Families who signing the agreement to get cheaper loans for a private apartment had to have 1 child in 3 years’ time, 2 children in 6 years’ time. There were annually 30-40 thousand more births in the mid-1970s because of this regulation.) The crude birth ratio halved in the past four decades (18.4 in 1975, 9.1 in 2012). However, the mortality rate increased in the early 1990s (14.5‰ in 1993), and it stabilized around 13‰ since 2000. The main causes of death (cardio-vascular diseases and lung cancer) are associated with unhealthy lifestyle. The suicide rate has also become high, not independently from the social anomie that followed the transition. The natural decline has been growing constantly, it reached -3‰ in 1993, and -4‰ since 2010. The total population loss since 1980 was 0.8 million, the population of Hungary was 9.9 million in January 2013.

International migration trends have been thus evolving in a quite unfavourable demographic and social climate where outflows from and inflows into Hungary were conditioned mostly by “push” factors. Between 1980 and 1989, 192.4 thousand people left Hungary (Hablicsek 2004), and the natural population change was -145.6 thousand in the 1980s. On the other hand, between 1990 and 1999, 174.3 thousand people arrived in Hungary. Even so, the natural population loss was 331.6 thousand, more than the double of the respective figure in the 1980s.

Hungary became a net immigration country after 1990, largely because of the political conflicts in the neighbouring countries. Romania, in the last years of the repressive Ceauşescu regime, was the source of the first massive flow of illegal migration (or over-

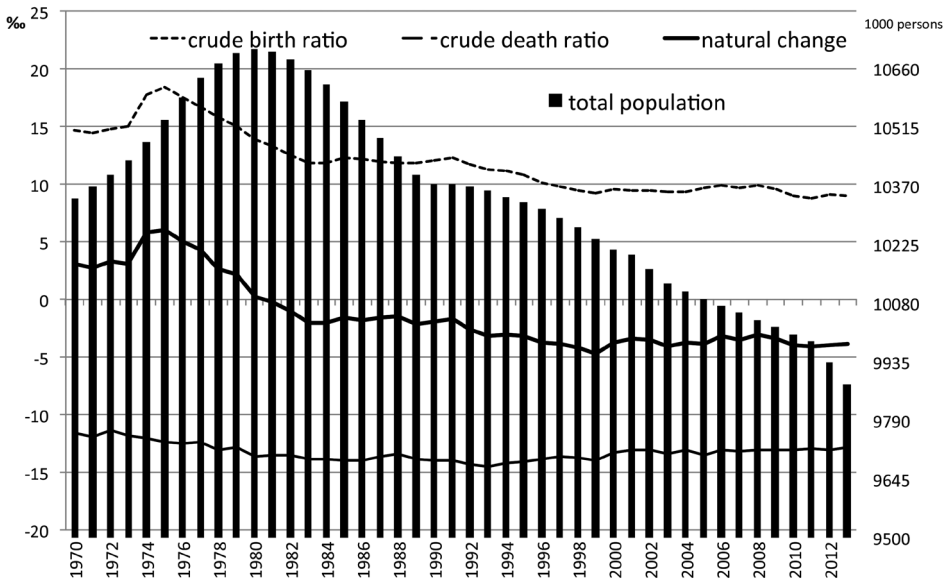


Figure 1. Demographic trends in Hungary

staying) across the Hungarian border in 1988–90, following the Romanian revolution in 1989. With the unfolding of the Balkan war, ex-Yugoslav citizens (Croats, Bosnians, Serbs and Albanians) also arrived in Hungary and many of them applied for asylum. Between 1988 and 2007, approximately 200,000 foreign citizens received a settlement (long-term or open-ended residence) permit (Póczik et al 2008). The migratory balance of Hungarian citizens became positive in 1993, because of the favourable political changes that fostered return migration (Hablicsek 2004, Gödri – Tóth 2010).

Because of the historical situation, the largest share of the immigrant population in Hungary is made up by the ethnic Hungarian citizens of the neighbouring countries, and 50–60% of the migration is related to the Carpathian Basin (Kincses 2012). The number of ethnic Hungarians was 1,603.9 thousand in Romania, Transylvania, 339.5 thousand in Voivodina and 20 thousand in Croatia in 1991 (Kocsis et al. 2006). The close cultural, ethnic and linguistic relationships were the pull, the political uncertainties and the armed conflicts in the sending countries were the main push factors in this migration. Later, from the mid-1990s the economic situation became the major push factor, and due to the large number of ethnic Hungarians, Romania became the main sending country. Because of the disadvantaged economic situation, the third largest sending area was Transcarpathia in Ukraine during the 1990s, however, since 2004 it has become the second most important source area, with a Hungarian population of 155.7 thousand in 1991.

In the meantime, non-European immigrant groups also appeared, most notably the Chinese and to a lesser extent, several Middle Eastern nationalities. Most of them were small entrepreneurs who took advantage of the collapsing socialist economy and founded successful new businesses, especially clothing shops and fast food buffets.

As a consequence of these inflows, Hungary gained a positive migratory balance, gradually turning Hungary from a net migrant-sending into a net migrant-receiving country (Melegh 2012). The international migration balance was the highest in 1990 (25.3 thousand), then it was decreasing until 1996, to 11.3 thousand (Hablicsek 2004). Since the mid-1990s the migration balance began to increase, in 2000 it was already 19.2 thousand. The total immigration was 37.2 thousand in 1990, which decreased to 12.8 thousand in 1994 (Gödri 2012). Because of the favourable economic situation and the EU accession, there was a rapid increase in the total number of immigrants from 13.3 to 35.6 thousand between 1997 and 2008. There were peaks after 2004 (the year of the EU accession) (25.6 in 2005) and in 2007-2008 (Schengen accession). At the same time, many migratory channels have been set up, transiting Hungary from ex-Soviet republics and the Balkans in the direction of Western Europe, but these migrants only stayed in Hungary if they were caught by the police and consequently chose to apply for asylum (Gödri et al 2013).

Even if the migration balance was positive, from the mirror statistics of the receiving countries it is clearly visible that there were more emigrants from Hungary, than immigrants to Hungary already in 1994 (Gödri 2012). The EU accession (01.05.2004) did not immediately change this outmigration trend, as an annual average of 20-25 thousand people left Hungary to other countries of the EU. The large change happened after 2006 due to a political and economic instability. In the meantime, member states of the European Union gradually opened their labour market for Hungarian citizens (United Kingdom, Ireland and Sweden already in 2004, others, such as Spain, Italy and the Netherlands in 2006 and 2007, while Germany and Austria only in 2011). In 2007 35.5 thousand, in 2008 39.8 thousand, in 2010 43 thousand Hungarians left the country, so emigration increased by 60% after 2006. A large part of this migration is just temporary emigration to other EU countries, or it is circulation between Hungary and other EU-members. Emigration has become a politically sensitive question, similarly to how it had been before the collapse of state socialism. It is widely believed that the current outmigrants are younger and more skilled than the Hungarian average, although reliable and detailed data are still missing. Outward migration is especially high among doctors and healthcare professionals, engineers, technical workers and students (Gödri et al 2013).

3.2.5 Labour market and migration in the past 25 years

During state socialism, Hungary was characterized by full employment. After the transition in 1989, unemployment appeared as a new phenomenon, reaching a peak of 12% in 1992. However, as many workers retired at an early age, a significant part of the population became inactive. In the mid-1990s, the Hungarian labour market structure stabilized at a low employment rate and relatively high unemployment. The latter further increased during the economic crisis and peaked around 2010. From 2011 onwards, a slow recovery of the labour market began, mostly based on a communal work program and not on real economic recovery (Cséres-Gergely et al, 2012).

Hungary's employment rate is among the lowest in the European Union, ranking fourth from the bottom. The number of unemployed persons was twice as high in 2011 as 10 years before. Curiously, the activity rate has been increasing from 2001 onwards – however, this is due to the ageing of the population, as the number and proportion of the active population (aged 15–64) have been rising constantly, and so has the official retirement age (Gödri et al, 2013).

Economic activity shows noteworthy differences when it comes to geographic and demographic variables. The highest activity rate is observed in Central Hungary (62.4%), the region where Budapest is found, while the lowest activity rate characterizes the two poorest (and easternmost) regions: Northern Hungary and the Northern Great Plain (49.1%). Youth (aged 15–24) shows an unfavourable unemployment rate, which increased from 11 to 26.1% between 2001 and 2011. When it comes to gender differences, it is interesting to note that the employment rate of women remained constant in the past decade, while the employment rate of men has been decreasing continuously since 2007. Regarding the various economic sectors, the share of services has been increasing since the transition, while the share of agriculture and industry has been decreasing (Gödri et al, 2013).

3.2.5.1 Emigration and the labour market

Emigration from Hungary was less intensive after the country's accession to the European Union than in most neighbouring countries. However, the region adjacent to Austria started to send circular migrants and daily commuters to Austria, and the United Kingdom – particularly London – became an attractive destination for young emigrants (Hárs, 2010).

With the crisis, the employment situation of the youth became increasingly difficult, especially in terms of entry to the labour market and finding the first full-time job. It is a major push factor for Hungarians in their twenties, while wage differences are decisive among the motivations of the emigrants in their thirties. The low employment rate in Hungary is in sharp contrast with the high employment rates in the three main destination countries for Hungarians – Germany, Austria and the United Kingdom. Recent cutbacks in the welfare system may have served for many people as a final push for deciding on emigration (Hárs, 2012).

Regarding professions, a shortage of qualified workers has already been detected in the health care system. As Hungarian medical qualifications are automatically recognized in the European Union, destination countries are in a desperate need of health professionals and the wage gaps are huge, the migration of Hungarian doctors and nurses has become a massive phenomenon (Girasek et al, 2013). There are signs indicating that there will be other professional groups following them: according to a recent survey the migration potential is higher than average among younger age groups, especially among university students (Sik, 2013).

3.2.5.2 Immigration and the labour market

Based on census and LFS data, the employment rate of foreigners is higher than that of the average Hungarian population, and so is their education attainment. As the majority of immigrants in Hungary have been ethnic Hungarians from neighbouring countries in the

past decades, their language skills and cultural proximity have not hindered their integration into the country's labour market. In general, among foreign citizens, the share of the employed in the service sector and that of intellectual workers are higher than among the natives (Gödri et al, 2013).

A specific group of immigrants own private enterprises at a considerably higher rate than the native Hungarian population. It is especially the Chinese, but other nationalities as well (Vietnamese, Turkish etc.), who are owners of small and medium enterprises. These migrant groups are also very different from the native population regarding the gender distribution of the economically active: among East Asians, women have an employment rate almost as high as men, while among immigrants from predominantly Muslim countries, women are employed at a much lower rate than men or Hungarian women (Gödri, 2011).

It is a noteworthy phenomenon that the employment rate of Ukrainian citizens is below the average of the total population, and their unemployment rate is the highest among migrant nationalities. This is due to two factors: their relatively low educational attainment, and their geographical distribution. As opposed to almost every other immigrant group who are concentrated in Budapest and its urban agglomeration, many Ukrainians live in poor and deprived areas of Eastern Hungary, and they are characterised by an unemployment rate higher than the population of the host society. Also, many of them work in Hungary on the basis of a work permit, not a permanent settlement permit, which hinders their labour market mobility (Gödri et al, 2013).

3.2.6 Main sources of immigration in Hungary

In 1995 there were 138.1 thousand foreign residents in Hungary, but the number is permanently increasing. In 2011 it reached 200 thousand and in 2012 it was 205.2 thousand, 2.2% of the country's total population. As it has already been mentioned, the majority are ethnic Hungarians. Since 2011 the number of foreign residents began to decrease, because of the simplified naturalisation of ethnic Hungarians².

In Hungary, the sending countries of Romania, Ukraine and Serbia account for the largest proportion of foreign migrants, but around 10% of the immigrants – mainly Germans and Austrians – arrive from the pre-2004 EU member states. In Hungary, migrants from the countries of the Carpathian Basin, who surpass migrants from outside the Carpathian Basin in how their number increases, account for a dominant proportion. This is in connection with cross-border ethnic, linguistic and cultural connections. Among migrants from more distant sending countries, the Chinese have a larger number in Hungary – the largest Chinese Diaspora in the region (OECD 2009).

2 Since 2010, ethnic Hungarian citizens of other countries can apply for Hungarian citizenship if they can prove that any grandparent of theirs had been Hungarian or Austro-Hungarian citizen, and if they can speak the Hungarian language at intermediate level.

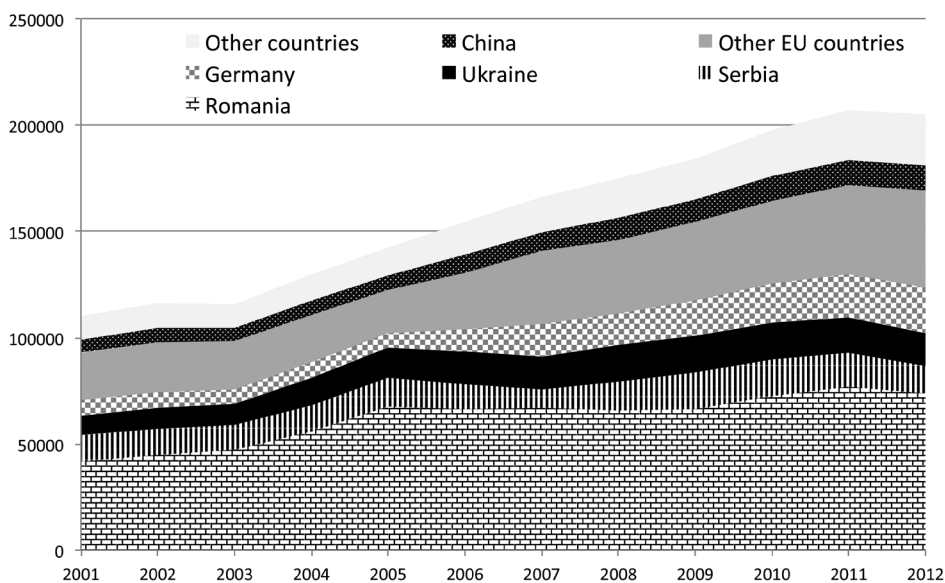


Figure 2. Foreign residents in Hungary by citizenship (2001-2012)

The biggest part of EaP migrants in Hungary are also ethnic Hungarians arriving from Transcarpathia, Ukraine. Only approximately 10% of these migrants are ethnic Ukrainians, Belarusians, Moldavians or Georgians. The number of foreign residents from Belarus, Moldova and Georgia is less than 200, however their number increased slightly.

3.2.7 The spatial characteristics of the migration from EaP to Hungary

The number of EaP citizens in Hungary is increasing although their number – except citizens from Ukraine – is still small (Table 1). The ratio of EaP citizens in the foreign population is 8% (2012). Approximately 80-90 % of them are ethnic Hungarians. The ratio of non-ethnic-Hungarian immigrants from EaP is between 1-1.5%, so we are speaking about a very small number, about 1000-1500 people from all EaP countries (Ukrainians, Belarusians, Moldavians, Georgians, Armenians and Azeri people).

The ratio of non-Ukrainian EaP citizens also increased between 2001 and 2009 from 3% to 3.6%. Since that time the number of Ukrainian citizens began to decline because of the simplified naturalization of ethnic Hungarians, so the ratio of non-Ukrainian EaP citizens reached 5% in 2012. The most rapid increase was in the case of Azeri citizens, due to their small initial number and probably because of the Eastern opening policy of Hungary. One of the main targets of this policy is Azerbaijan.

In Hungary – following the Romanian citizens – the Ukrainian citizens are the second most important foreign citizen group (Halmai et al. 2006). Foreign citizens are those Hungary-based people who have a residence and an immigration or a settlement permit

Table 1. Number of foreign residents in Hungary from EaP countries

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Ukraine	8947	9835	9853	13096	13933	15337
Moldova	48	77	102	118	117	140
Belarus	77	88	82	109	118	136
Georgia	71	65	67	82	90	99
Armenia	73	64	59	99	96	127
Azerbaijan	11	21	20	25	27	32
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Ukraine	15866	17289	17610	17241	16537	15362
Moldova	156	181	177	237	243	196
Belarus	139	150	155	185	189	168
Georgia	101	126	153	159	174	195
Armenia	115	114	127	128	139	149
Azerbaijan	52	42	44	71	71	103

as of 1 January of the reference year. On 1 January 2008, there were 17,289 Ukrainian citizens in Hungary (Figure 3), furthermore, since 1993 10,299 people have been granted Hungarian citizenship (an overwhelming part of these are ethnic Hungarians). On the whole, over a period of 15 years nearly 30 thousand Ukrainian citizens moved to Hungary according to the official statistics, which exerted a positive influence on the demography of our country and a highly detrimental one on that of the Transcarpathian ethnic Hungarians. These 30 thousand people roughly correspond to the annual natural population decrease in Hungary.

Ukrainian citizens living in Hungary may be classified into three groups according to their original (Ukraine based) place of residence.

The first group is from the border area districts of Berehovo, Mukachevo, Vynohradiv and Uzhhorod. This area is the Transcarpathian Plain, the continuation of the Great Hungarian Plain, and it is the major sending area for the migration to Hungary. Ethnic Hungarians show the highest number and proportion here in Ukraine, (Molnár-Molnár 2005, Fodor 2005, Kocsis et al. 2006) and also the majority of the Ukrainian Hungarians live in this area. These four districts account for around 74%, while Transcarpathia for around 90% of the migrants coming to Hungary.

The members of the second group are from our areas of Transcarpathia. The third group is from the inner areas of Ukraine, lying beyond the Carpathian Mountains, mainly from the metropolitan areas of Kyiv, Donetsk and Lviv. The number of migrants coming from this area was over one hundred per town in 2008. In addition to this, the major county seats – Cherkasy, Kharkiv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Odesa – and bigger industrial towns – Alchevsk, Mariupol – play a major role. The small significance of these migrants is shown by the fact that none of the inner settlements or big cities sent as many migrants as Uzhhorod or e.g. Chop.

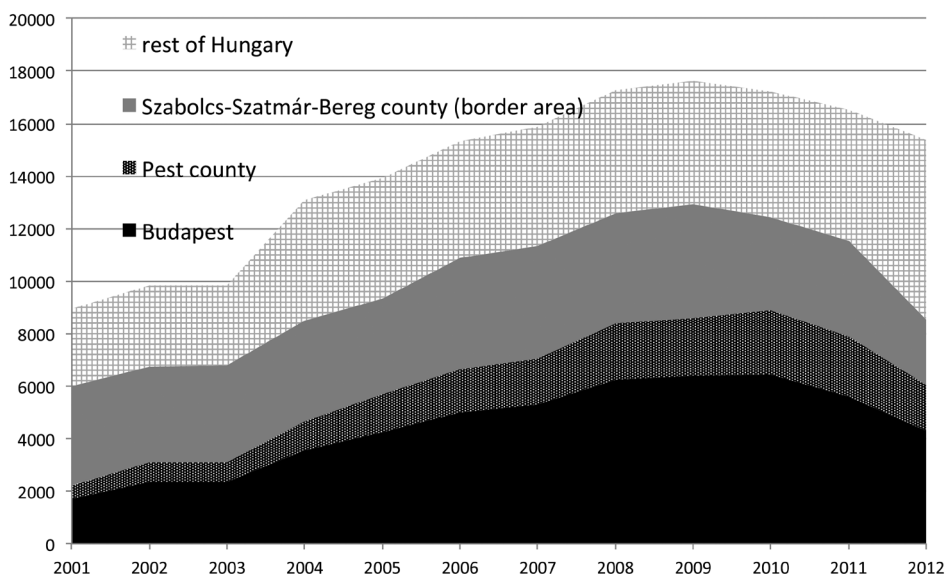


Figure 3. Number of Ukrainian residents in Hungary (2001-2012)

Budapest, Nyíregyháza, Debrecen, Kisvárd and Miskolc are the major destinations for settlement in Hungary; namely the counties of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Pest and Hajdú-Bihar, where more than 77% of these migrants live. Those coming from Ukraine mainly prefer the agglomeration of the capital and the areas along the Ukrainian border. Ukrainian citizens also show a high concentration by place of residence. As for their regional distribution, by 2008, they were present in all settlements along the Ukrainian border and in most settlements in the agglomeration of the capital. However, they increased in number mainly in the larger host settlements. That is why the Ukrainian citizens, in spite of an increasing regional spread, showed an increase in concentration in Hungary between 2001 and 2008, as a result of an increase in the number of those living in major towns and a proportional decrease in that of those living in villages – mainly in areas along the Ukrainian border. The weight point of the Ukrainian citizens living in Hungary showed a significant westward shift, which shows a growing appreciation of the capital city region as well as a decreasing significance of the areas along the border (Rédei-Kincses 2008).

Regarding the areas of settlement, three distinct groups can be identified in Hungary, too: the counties near the Ukrainian border (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Hajdú-Bihar, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg), the core area of migration (Budapest and Pest County), and the other counties (Figure 4). In 2008, migration from the Transcarpathian Plain (with a dominantly Hungarian population) to Central Hungary played a major role in the migration between the two countries with a flow of 6,172 people accounting for 39% of all migrants, i.e. the migration showed a strong regional concentration. The Ukrainian citizens, irrespective of their original place of residence, mainly prefer Central Hungary, which is underlined by the fact that Central Hungary accounts for around half of those coming

from different areas of Ukraine. In the Hungarian counties that are near the border, those coming from the other side of the border (from the Transcarpathian Plain) account for the largest proportion. However, these border areas are less attractive for those coming from the mountainous areas of Transcarpathia. Those coming from other areas of Ukraine, as they are mainly from big cities, do not prefer the border areas and more than one third of them may not be connected to either the regions near the border or to the central region, that is why they show the most scattered – most random – spatial distribution out of these three groups. On the whole, the most intensive movement is generated by those coming from the Transcarpathian Plain, outnumbering those from the mountainous areas of Transcarpathia and from the inner areas of Ukraine.

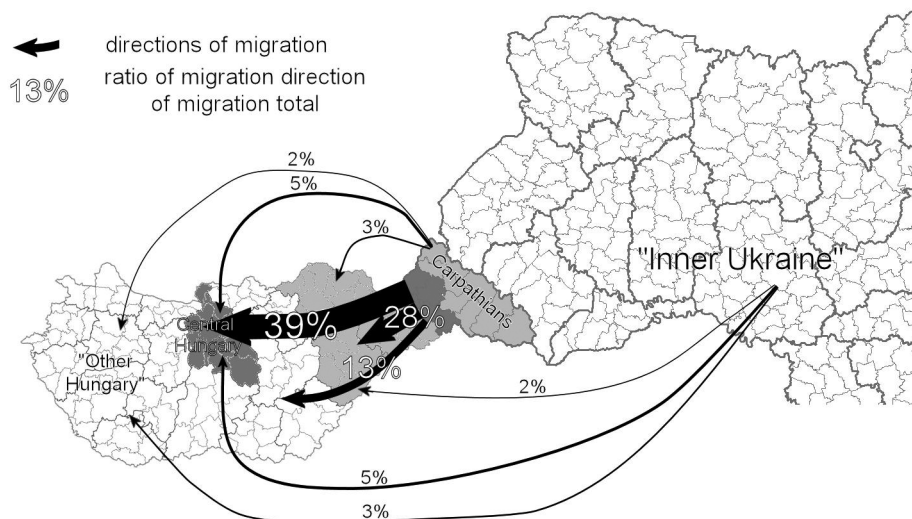


Figure 4. Main directions of the migration from the Ukraine to Hungary, 2008
 Edited by: Dávid Karácsonyi based on OIN data

3.2.8 Social characteristics of migrants from Ukraine

Ukrainian citizens living in Hungary, in terms of their distribution by age group, show a significantly different regional picture for both the sending and the host side. Working age people account for the highest proportion of Ukrainian citizens living in Central Hungary and for the lowest proportion of those living in border areas, because the lack of job opportunities makes the border region less attractive for this age group.

Those aged between 19-24 and coming mainly from Transcarpathia's lowland areas account for a higher proportion in areas near the border and in Central Hungary. This group mainly pursues higher studies in Hungary. Students, by their places of residence, account for the highest proportion in the counties near the border and in Central Hungary as well, as nearly one fifth of those who come from the Transcarpathian Plain and are aged

over 18 are students. Nearly one fifth of Ukrainian citizens living in Hungary arrived to study. According to Kész's estimate (2008), nearly three quarters of the Ukrainian citizens who settled down in Northern Hungary are graduates or undergraduates studying in higher education. However, this ratio seems to be irrational if we take into account either the age distribution of the residents who came from Ukraine (10% of those aged between 19-24) and the proportion of higher education graduates (20-25%).

Educational attainment shows a stronger correlation with the original place of residence in Ukraine than with the present one. Among those from the inner areas of Ukraine – who mainly live in Budapest – university and college graduates account for the highest proportion, which results from the higher rate of urbanization of these groups. However, Fodor (2004) emphasizes the fact that in Transcarpathia the Hungarians account for a lower proportion of university and college graduates relative to the Ukrainians. Having said this, in case of migrants from Ukraine secondary school and higher education graduates account for a higher proportion than in the Hungarian resident population aged over 18 years. According to Fodor (2005), from among Transcarpathian Hungarians mainly higher education graduates, i.e. higher status individuals (engineers, physicians, lawyers) move to the mother country. However, those with primary education accounted for more than one-fifth of those who arrived in Central Hungary from Transcarpathia's lowland areas. Taking into account the distribution of those who came from Ukraine, their number is at least as high as that of migrants with higher education. In Central Hungary, slightly more than one-third of the Ukrainian citizens work in unskilled (manual) jobs or in the manufacturing and construction industries.

Concerning occupations, in the Ukrainian group as a whole, manual jobs – manufacturing, construction workers, unskilled workers, machine operators, vehicle drivers – account for the highest proportion. This category accounts for one-fourth of residents with Ukrainian citizenship. Intellectuals – in jobs that need higher qualifications, office workers, lawyers, other service activities – have the second highest proportion (23%). However, in border areas intellectuals account for the highest proportion of Ukrainian citizens in employment. Other service activities as well as agricultural and forestry jobs have the lowest proportion.

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3.3 Poland: on the way towards becoming a country of immigration

Magdalena Lesińska

3.3.1 Introduction

Poland, although still being a net emigration country, is becoming more and more attractive as a destination for foreigners. Since the accession of Poland to the EU in 2004, an increasing inflow of foreigners has been noticeable. The economic growth in the post-accession period and the boom of foreign investments entailed the rising demand for labour force. At the same time, a massive outflow of Polish citizens took place. Emigration reached its peak in 2007 when more than 2.3 million Poles (6.6% of the total population) were registered as temporary residents in other EU states (Fihel 2011:25). As a result of mass emigration on the one hand, and intensive economic development on the other, in some sectors of economy (especially agriculture and construction) labour shortages were identified. It brought about a state response in the form of gradual liberalization of the rules regarding the access of foreigners to the Polish labour market (with the growth of labour immigration as a consequence).

The migration profile of Poland is determined by a few important external and internal factors. Among the external ones the geopolitical position as an EU member and an EU border country should be mentioned in the first place. The EU membership determines the fact that Poland (together with other V4 countries) became an integral part of the EU migration regime. It meant the adoption of the legal framework of the EU migration policy together with the basic rule of freedom of movement for persons, workers and services (which allowed thousands of Poles to move and take up employment in other EU countries. At the same time, however, being a member state of the EU (and from 2007, of the Schengen zone) involved also the implementation of the external dimension of the EU common policy, including the introduction of visa procedures and strict border controls for third country nationals. These instruments were also applicable to citizens coming from Poland's neighbouring states in the East (Ukraine, Belarus and Russia), which remain the top source countries, and these steps proved to be a serious obstacle for the traditional trans-border flows between these countries and Poland.

There are also a few internal factors determining the migration profile of Poland. First of all, the economy and the labour market have a crucial role as a driver (or breaker) of foreigners' inflows. The economic competitiveness of Poland in comparison to other EU countries is still very limited, especially taking the level of wages and welfare systems into

account. On the other hand, Poland has been an attractive country for short term (seasonal) workers in some sectors where there is a growing demand for foreign workforce, especially since the simplification of the rules regarding access to the labour market in 2007. In the case of neighbouring countries, the geographical, cultural and linguistic proximity of Poland and Polish society is a key advantage. An additional powerful pulling factor is the migration networks, which are especially strong in the case of Ukrainians. Therefore, the dominant type of migration into Poland from the Eastern countries can be described as temporary, (circular, seasonal) not settlement, personal (not family), and labour-oriented. The prevailing personal strategy of immigrants is “earn here-spend there”, which means that foreigners are ready to work hard for a short period of time to maximize their earnings, which are then transferred to their family left in the country to pay for daily expenses or to cover household costs.

When analyzing its migration profile, Poland's migration policy is particularly interesting. The latest steps such as the announcement of an official government decision considered to be a state migration strategy, or the liberalization of foreigners' access to the labour market can be described as a slow and controlled open-up process of Poland towards immigration. However, this process is limited to a specific type of inflow, as authorities are interested first and foremost in encouraging short-term labour migration (not settlement).

The main aim of this study is to give a general overview of the migration profile of Poland. It consists of a few sections, the introductory one focusing on the main trends and the scale of emigration and immigration flows. Later on, we move on to the statistical sources and the critical review of accessible databases. In the next section, the main migration corridors are described, with special attention to labour mobility and the role of Eastern neighbours as source countries. To complete the picture, the state migration policy and its recent developments are presented, as a factor influencing the inflows of foreigners to Poland. The final section concentrates on some additional processes, namely return migration, ethnic and asylum seekers flows.

3.3.2 General overview of demographic and migration trends in Poland

Poland is a country with a negative migration balance. Nevertheless, since 2006, registered immigration has been increasing, firstly due to the inflow of foreigners, and secondly, due to the return migration of Poles (those who left the country in the period after Poland's accession to the EU, in particular).

Predominantly, Poland is and has always been a country of emigration, and its history has been marked by successive waves of emigrations. There are many estimates about the number of Poles living abroad. Data from the Central Statistics Office suggest that there are ca. 2 million Polish emigrants (Poles living temporarily abroad). The latest wave of emigration, the so called post-accession wave, is a really significant phenomenon in the post-war history of Poland, incomparable to previous ones because of its magnitude, dynamics and new directions. With the accession, Poles became citizens of the EU and were

granted the right of free movement and employment in other member states. It was a mass outflow of unexpected dynamics, unforeseen by both Polish authorities and society, and the receiving countries. In absolute numbers, Poles form the largest group among migrants from the eight CEE countries which accessed the EU in 2004. This is partly due to Poland having the largest demographic potential resulting from the size of its population, and partly the traditions and culturally rooted patterns of migration.

The post-accession emigration chose different destinations from the previous waves. Until then, the main receiving countries had been Germany, the US, Canada, and Italy. However, since 2004, the UK and Ireland, which were the first to open their labour markets to citizens of the new member states, have become the main destinations of the 'new Polish diaspora' (see figure 1). This group is young (the average age of post-accession migrants was 31.4 years), predominantly male (64.7 per cent) and better educated than their predecessors.

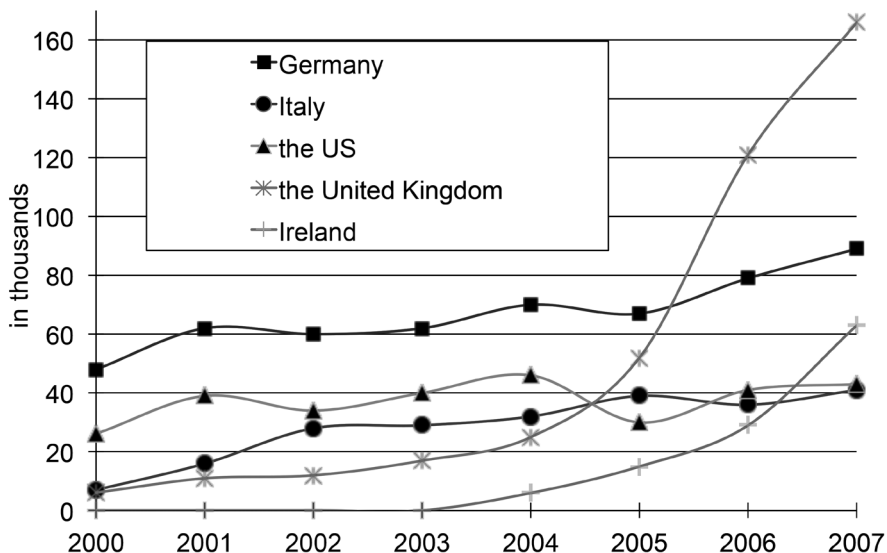


Figure 1. The outflow from Poland to main destination countries in 2000-2007 (in thousands)

Source: Central Statistical Office

Compared to the migration in the transition period, post-accession migration was characterised not only by a higher intensity, but also a greater diversity of migrant strategies. A certain part of post-accession emigrants seem to be more likely to return after some time spent abroad, some others seem to be regular long-term and permanently settled migrants (they are often accompanied by their whole families). Therefore, the intensive, long-term and permanently settled migration in the post-accession period is expected to lead to serious and permanent changes in the socio-demographic structure of the Polish society.

Statistics for the past two decades show small numbers of registered, long-term immigrants living in Poland. The most up-to-date source, namely the latest National Population and Housing Census (2011) shows that among the permanent residents of Poland, 99.7% are people having Polish citizenship, which means that the population of Poland is one of the most homogenized in terms of ethnic and national diversity. The number of foreigners with a permit for a fixed period or for settlement in Poland is still small (63 thousand). In the 2011 census, foreign-born residents were asked to indicate their country of birth. According to these figures, 674.9 thousand of the permanent residents in Poland were born abroad (1.8%). The major groups of foreign-born residents originate from today's Ukraine (227.5 thousand), Germany (84 thousand), Belarus (83.6 thousand) and Lithuania (55.6 thousand), all of which are neighbouring countries of Poland (SOPEMI Report 2012:32-33). The great majority of these people are now over 60 years old, which suggests that they are Polish citizens who were born either in pre-war Poland or abroad, and were relocated or displaced during or after World War II.

According to the last census, from the 38.5 thousand inhabitants 36.1 thousand (94%) held a single Polish citizenship, 327.4 thousand (0.9%) held dual (Polish and foreign citizenship), and 55.4 thousand (0.1%) were citizens of other countries. From the latter group, 13.4 thousand were the citizens of Ukraine (24%), 5.2 thousand citizens of Germany (9%), 4.2 thousand citizens of Russia (8%), 3.8 thousand citizens of Belarus (7%), and 2.6 thousand citizens of Vietnam (4.7%). The category of "foreign citizens" used in the census does not include temporary migrants. Therefore, the total number of immigrants in Poland is larger than registered in the census.

It is worth noting that in 2013 (on 31 December) almost 121 thousand foreign citizens held some kind of valid residence permit in Poland (see table 1).

Table 1. Number of foreigners with a valid residence permit in Poland (as of 31 December 2012) acc. to different residence statuses (selected countries only)

Country of origin	Complementary Protection	Long term residence permit	Long term stay permit of EU residents	Tolerated stay	Refugee status	Residence on fixed term	Total
Ukraine	7	17 959	2 198	142	1	17 372	37 679
Vietnam	1	4 340	1 947	368	4	6 744	13 404
Russia	2 243	4 813	425	610	530	4 024	12 645
Belarus	15	7 077	367	38	92	3 570	11 159
China	4	514	259	16	-	4 223	5 016
...
Moldova	-	338	71	11	1	455	876
Georgia	2	199	31	101	-	302	635
All nationalities	2 446	51 027	7 490	1 838	888	57 529	121 218

Source: Office for Foreigners

Similarly to previous years, they were mostly permits for a fixed period (57.5 thousand, 47%). Among the most important nationalities were: the citizens of Ukraine (37.6 thousand), Vietnam (13.4 thousand), Russia (12 thousand), and Belarus (11.1 thousand). Around half of the foreigners holding valid residence permits can be described as settled immigrants (those who possess a long term residence permit or a permit as an EU resident).

The information on temporary migrants can be obtained from the Central Population Register. The numbers presented in table 2 concern people (both foreigners and Polish nationals) who arrived from abroad and registered in Poland for a temporary stay of over 3 months. This is an important note because these data do not only include immigrants, but also Polish nationals (the PESEL register does not distinguish between nationals of Poland and foreigners). In 2011 (data from 2012 are not available yet) almost 66 thousand people were registered for a temporary stay (see table 2). The main countries of origin included Ukraine (18.2 thousand, 27% of all), Germany (5.5 thousand), Belarus (4.3 thousand), Vietnam (3.2 thousand), Russian Federation (2.2 thousand), and China (2.7 thousand).

Table 2. Polish and foreign nationals who arrived from abroad and who registered for temporary stay above three months since 2006 by sex and nationality. Poland 2006-2009, 2011 (as of December 31).

Continents and countries	2006	2007	2008	2009	2011	<i>Of which women:</i>		
						2008	2009	2011
Total	40 695	46 778	57 560	59 233	65 943	23 985	25 241	28 082
Polish nationals	3 061	3 915	4 721	5 648	:	2 286	2 693	:
Foreign nationals	37 585	42 824	52 804	53 552	:	21 687	22 540	:
Of which from:								
Europe	26 821	30 128	36 327	36 322	46 085	16 071	16 678	20 717
Albania	100	:	167	175	97	40	37	20
Austria	317	361	438	427	752	155	152	300
Belarus	3 107	3 306	4 103	4 007	4 317	2 055	2 158	2235
Belgium	222	262	323	289	338	86	62	88
Bulgaria	670	846	870	1029	1 209	311	409	482
Croatia	84	:	71	74	106	17	20	29
Czechia	191	:	313	307	497	155	148	237
Denmark	236	299	339	293	292	99	81	84
France	1 142	1 210	1 311	1 174	1 365	385	332	439
Germany	2 900	3 345	3 483	3 247	5 506	799	746	1813
Greece	75	:	121	130	193	19	20	36
Hungary	94	:	145	142	217	63	49	73
Ireland	66	:	115	138	261	21	28	71

Continents and countries	2006	2007	2008	2009	2011	<i>Of which women:</i>		
						2008	2009	2011
Italy	661	851	1 104	1 202	1 572	110	116	238
Lithuania	285	344	430	417	466	288	277	288
Moldova	394	748	769	472	520	249	206	215
Netherlands	561	726	942	679	769	185	109	167
Norway	68	:	117	127	148	19	26	47
Portugal	80	:	184	206	249	41	38	37
Romania	198	:	261	386	547	120	169	206
Russian Federation	1 909	1 804	2 342	2 579	2 289	1 362	1 519	1380
Serbia and Montenegro	162	:	160	176	134	43	50	45
Slovak Republic	186	261	335	343	485	187	14	219
Spain	200	:	326	319	554	104	93	147
Sweden	327	341	416	380	517	147	143	218
Turkey	765	971	1 439	1 654	1 901	271	350	456
Ukraine	10 660	11 370	13 885	14 206	18 216	8 235	8 702	10326
United Kingdom	785	995	1 193	1 143	1 789	285	234	535
Other	283	2 088	507	507	629	136	283	178
Africa	1 305	1 553	1 904	2 144	2 180	287	293	333
Algeria	84	:	122	126	158	6	5	15
Cameroon	73	:	99	117	94	24	16	12
Egypt	154	:	247	316	387	10	10	18
Kenya	71	:	48	48	54	21	25	32
Morocco	70	:	127	152	135	9	11	12
Nigeria	257	385	455	475	443	52	49	44
South Africa	65	:	88	87	89	29	26	29
Tunisia	182	:	275	341	380	21	22	30
Other	349	1 168	443	482	440	115	129	141
America	1 912	1 926	2 001	1 972	2 685	739	670	986
Brazil	284	158	169	209	202	66	72	74
Canada	180	221	184	176	313	74	63	119
United States	1 109	1 164	1 219	1 079	1 565	452	355	581
Other	339	383	429	508	605	147	180	212
Asia	7 458	9 112	12 431	12 996	14 791	4 547	4 857	5978
Armenia	1 205	1 364	1 650	1 501	1 520	815	772	781
Azerbaijan	66	:	86	78	70	36	35	23
China	665	953	1 826	2 170	2 776	654	800	1133

MIGRATION PROFILES OF THE RECEIVING (VISEGRAD) COUNTRIES

Continents and countries	2006	2007	2008	2009	2011	Of which women:		
						2008	2009	2011
Georgia	107	:	214	215	204	70	92	93
India	661	1 066	1 278	1 270	1 236	272	325	321
Iraq	99	:	122	176	241	29	46	74
Israel	110	:	144	147	191	50	50	72
Japan	485	601	734	697	668	295	265	283
Lebanon	63	:	52	50	66	3	4	18
Mongolia	303	322	392	403	368	215	222	203
Nepal	82	:	271	405	315	44	35	75
Pakistan	100	:	141	134	140	11	10	11
Philippines	72	:	147	239	195	88	97	120
South Korea	548	:	839	860	947	347	360	392
Syria	144	:	156	166	182	25	36	44
Taiwan	91	:	167	202	225	61	72	91
Uzbekistan	96	:	284	224	277	62	65	56
Vietnam	1 645	1 800	2 596	2 523	3 226	982	1001	1368
Other	585	2 728	1 035	1 233	1 547	284	358	564
Oceania	45	105	141	118	191	43	42	191
Stateless	23	26	26	28	:	9	7	:
Unknown	26	13	9	5	11	3	1	5

(:) no data available

Source: SOPEMI Report 2013 (based on Central Population Register PESEL).

According to data collected by the authors of the SOPEMI Report (2013), regarding the age and sex distribution of immigrants arriving in Poland, the temporary immigrants are more often men (57%) and they are relatively young (61% aged 20-44); (see table 3). Moreover, they are concentrated mostly in urban areas (82%), particularly in the central region of Poland (Mazowieckie voivodship with the capital city of Warsaw). As the main reason for coming to Poland, immigrants predominantly named work, followed by family related reasons and education (SOPEMI Report 2013:36).

It is worth mentioning that the age and education structure of foreigners staying temporarily in Poland is a very favourable characteristic, particularly if the quickly ageing Polish population is taken into account (SOPEMI Report 2013: 33-34). Approximately 1/3 of immigrants are people with secondary education (33% in case of males and 30% of females). Taking people with post-secondary and tertiary education into one category, the ratio is almost the same (29% for men and 30% for women). Only around 11% of migrants had only primary education, however, it has to be added that in case of 1/5 – 1/4 of all immigrants, the level of education was not specified.

Table 3. Polish and foreign nationals who arrived to Poland from abroad and who registered for temporary stay above three months by sex and age (as of 31 December 2011).

Age group	Total	2011	
		Men	Women
Total	65 943	37 861	28 082
0-4	2 422	1 263	1 159
5-9	1 801	935	866
10-14	1 659	821	838
15-19	4 325	2 008	2 317
20-24	8 142	4 253	3 889
25-29	9 881	5 843	4 038
30-34	8 853	5 375	3 478
35-39	7 294	4 402	2 892
40-44	5 959	3 736	2 223
45-49	4 625	2 838	1 787
50-54	3 625	2 102	1 523
55-59	2 489	1 441	1 048
60-64	1 874	1 099	775
65-69	1 251	813	438
70-74	877	512	365
75-79	401	205	196
80+	465	215	250

(-) no data available

Source: SOPEMI Report 2013

3.3.3 Main statistical sources and available data regarding migration flows in Poland

The key institution involved in the collection of data relevant for research on migration and foreigners' integration in Poland is the Central Statistical Office (CSO), which is the main body responsible for producing official statistics, collecting, storing and analyzing statistical data, as well as for their disseminating. Publications of the Central Statistical Office constitute the main source of aggregate statistics. Some data are collected and analyzed by the appropriate ministerial bodies, such as the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Higher Education and Science, the National Health Fund, the Social Insurance Institution and the National Labour Inspectorate (see table 4.).

Among the most reliable and relevant sources of statistics related to migration are: 1) the National Population and Housing Census (carried out every ten years, the latest one in 2011), 2) population registers (such as PESEL, Electronic System of Population Registration existing since 1979), and 3) sample surveys such as Labour Force Survey (LFS) (Kaczmarczyk 2011:15). The CSO is responsible for carrying out all of them. One of the most important characteristics (and weaknesses) of public statistics in Poland related to the population lies in the definitions applied: immigrants are defined as people who have arrived from abroad and have been registered as permanent residents of Poland; emigrants are defined as people who moved out of the country with the intention of settling down abroad and who deregistered themselves from their permanent place of residence in Poland. As a result, there is a difference between the population of Poland *de iure* (the number of people officially registered as residents in Poland) and *de facto* (the number of people actually residing in the territory of Poland). The difference between these two can be significant due to the fact that Poles commonly avoid the duty of deregistration of residence while living temporarily or permanently abroad. In practice, it means that there are a sizeable number of people who are counted to be permanent residents of Poland in official statistics even if, *de facto*, they have left Poland (i.e. who are *de iure* residents and *de facto* migrants) (Kaczmarczyk 2011:14-15).

Besides the national census, the most important sources from the point of view of migration research and analyses are the following:

- data related to registration and deregistration of permanent residence (flow data);
- datasets on people registered for temporary stay and temporarily absence because of staying abroad (stock data as of 31 December, collected by the CSO once a year from all local and regional communities);
- Labour Force Survey, including the datasets on people abroad (prepared quarterly);
- datasets on births, marriages, divorces and separations;
- datasets on primary and secondary schools and on tertiary education institutions (Kupiszewska 2009:4).

The availability of data on migration and integration in Poland is generally considered to be very poor (Kupiszewska 2009:25). One of the reasons for this is that official data only refer to permanent migration, and the data available on the characteristics of migrants are very limited. For example, there is no reliable information regarding foreigners on the employment rate, their housing conditions or access to healthcare. Immigration flow data capture mainly Polish return migrants and foreigners who arrive for a long-term stay, but not those coming for a temporary stay. While the LFS is an important source of information on emigration trends, the emigration of entire households is not captured in this survey and due to the scarcity of households with emigrants in the sample, the results should be treated with care (Anacka 2008; Kaczmarczyk 2011). Nevertheless, the LFS is probably the only source that can be currently used to investigate basic characteristics of emigrants (Kupiszewska 2009:26).

Regarding foreigners in Poland, the scope of data is also rather limited. The number of foreigners is calculated on the basis of data from the PESEL register. It is a population

Table 4. Key datasets relevant to migration research in Poland

Responsible institution	Dataset/ Database system
Central Statistical Office	Dataset on births Dataset on marriages Registration/deregistration of permanent residence Dataset on persons registered for temporary stay over 3 months (as of 31 December) Dataset on persons temporarily absent due to stay abroad above 3 months (as of 31 December) National Population and Housing Census (every ten years, including Long-term migration survey and Female fertility survey) Labour Force Survey Labour Force Survey – Dataset on persons abroad Datasets on primary and secondary schools and on tertiary education institutions
Ministry of Interior	PESEL (population register) “System Pobyt” – set of registers concerning foreigners; includes datasets concerning: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Residence permits for third-country nationals – EU citizens and their families – Refugees – Acquisition of citizenship – Repatriation – Irregular migration Border Guard datasets: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Persons stopped by the Border Guard for crossing or attempting to cross the national border illegally – Persons readmitted and expelled
Ministry of Labour and Social Policy	Datasets on work permits Datasets on registered cases of illegal work and on illegally working foreigners (historical data) Labour market statistics Social help benefits Statistics on Poles working abroad within bilateral intergovernmental agreements (historical data)
Ministry of National Education	Information System on Education
Social Insurance Institution*	Central Register of Insured Persons Central Register of Contribution Payers Pensions Payout Systems
Ministry of Finance*	National Register of Taxpayers Database on PIT (Personal Income Tax) payers

* None of the registers maintained by this institution is accessible for researchers

Source: Kupiszewska 2009:5-6

register in which all residents in Poland should be registered (both Polish nationals and foreigners). The population register is not an appropriate source, although the other data-

set called “System Pobyt” (which is a tele-informatic system composed of a number of registers concerning all types of foreigners’ residence permits, including EU citizens and third country nationals) is of good quality. However, only selected statistics based on this system are published. Data on foreign workers employed in Poland are also very limited and the scale of foreign workforce is generally thought to be underestimated. The availability of data on foreigners in other administrative sources is very limited. The number of foreigners in Poland is very small and surveys such as the Labour Force Survey are not designed to capture them, therefore the annual figures produced in sample surveys are not suitable for drawing general conclusions about the size of the foreign population. To conclude, there are serious gaps and weaknesses in the availability of proper and reliable data needed for research on migration processes. Apart from the regular publications of the Central Statistical Office on the population of Poland (such as the Demographic Yearbook of Poland published annually), and occasional reports on various subjects related to migration and foreigners, a compilation of the most important aggregate statistics in the field of migration out- and inflows can be found in SOPEMI Reports prepared annually for OECD by the Centre for Migration Research University of Warsaw.

3.3.4 Legal and political framework as a factor influencing immigration processes in Poland

As it was mentioned at the beginning of this study, Poland’s membership in the EU migration regime practically determined the development of the national migration policy in terms of institutional structure, harmonizing the legal framework and practical tools. To some extent, as several authors suggested the migration policy in Poland has become a top-down process characterized by a highly bureaucratic style (Kicing 2005; Lesińska 2010; Weiner 2006). Immigration is not yet a topic of any serious and wider-scale debate in the public or political realm, it is absent from the programmes and struggles of political parties, which is – at least in the eyes of decision makers – a positive fact which allows in practice a more efficient implementation of the state policy.

Resulting from the extensive and thorough analysis of documents and policy makers’ statements, a normative essence of the immigration policy in Poland can be formulated as a set of normative assumptions (Duszczuk, Lesińska 2010:61). The first one is of key importance; the subsequent ones are all its offshoots: 1) The growing immigration into Poland is perceived as an inevitable phenomenon that may eventually constitute a threat to social cohesion; it can be gleaned from the experience in Western Europe that this is mostly due to irregular migrant inflows and to problems with the integration of immigrants. 2) It is the duty and primary responsibility of the state to control its borders and to regulate the residence and employment of foreign nationals. 3) With regard to economic immigration, the free flow of labour is a key priority within the EU, though immigrants from third countries, especially from neighbouring ones in the east, are generally accepted within the confines of short-term (seasonal, contract) immigration schemes and not for permanent settlement. 4) Long-term or settlement inflows are encouraged only in the

case of ethnic Poles, where ethnicity, not economic usefulness, seems to be the major concern (Duszczuk, Lesińska 2010).

This set of statements can be considered the normative basis of the state's approach towards immigration. Recently, however, the need to encourage labour migrants from Eastern countries (more precisely, Eastern Partnership states and Russia) has been strongly underlined by the authorities and in the official documents. The inflow of foreign workers has been regarded as an inevitable occurrence, but settlement migration, especially of migrants of non-European origin, is perceived as problematic – or even undesirable. The experience of Western European countries, especially related to problems with migrant integration, constitute the primary reference points for Polish authorities.

The slow and controlled opening up is mainly related to and derived from the growing labour market demand, which is a direct consequence of the processes already mentioned in the introduction – mass emigration of Poles, modernization and economic growth (marked by a more than 5% annual GDP growth in the years 2005-2008). As a response by the state, a, one could experience dynamic progress of the migration policy in Poland over the last years. To have a more complete picture of the current developments, besides the already mentioned legal changes related to the simplified access of foreigners to the Polish labour market based on the employers' declaration in particular, there are a few others worth mentioning. The most important appear to be (in chronological order):

3.3.4.1 Regularization programme in 2012

In the first half of the year 2012, the third regularization (status legalisation/abolition) programme was implemented in Poland (following two similar programmes in 2003 and 2007), and it was definitely the most extensive one. As requirements were reduced in comparison to previous programmes, more than 9.5 thousand people took this opportunity to apply for the legalization of their stay, of whom around 4.5 thousand succeeded. The successful applicants could gain a permission to stay in the country for two years. In the list of the nationalities who applied for regularization, citizens of Vietnam (23% of all applications) and Ukraine (21%) were on top (Ministry of Interior 2012b:35).

3.3.4.2 Liberalization of naturalization rules

In 2012, the new Act of Polish Citizenship came into force. Among the changes implemented in the new naturalization law, the most important were the shortening of the qualifying period of residence from five to three years (or two years in the case of privileged categories of foreigners, such as spouses of Polish citizens, stateless persons, refugees and persons possessing a permit to settle down obtained in connection with their Polish origin), and allowing dual or multiple citizenship. The waving of the former requirement to renounce citizenship of another country may induce more immigrants to naturalize in Poland. On the other hand, the new law introduced the requirement for foreigners seeking naturalisation to have a certain command of the Polish language. This follows a trend observed in other European states for migrants to demonstrate their socio-cultural integration before being naturalized.

3.3.4.3 Changes in the state migration strategy

In July 2012, the Council of Ministers adopted the document entitled 'Polish Migration Policy – the Current State of Play and Proposed Actions' (Ministry of Interior 2012). It includes an overview of the present migration policy and a normative basis for further policy development, as well as practical recommendations related to law, institutions and practical issues of immigration and integration policies. The growing immigration to Poland is perceived by the authorities as an inevitable phenomenon due to global processes taking place in Europe and worldwide, as well as to the growing need for foreign workforce as a result of mass emigration and negative demographic trends. Immigration is, however, also perceived as a possible threat to social cohesion mostly due to irregular migrant inflows and to problems with immigrants' integration – a lesson drawn from the experience of more mature 'immigration countries' of Western Europe.

3.3.4.4 Slight progress in integration policy

In 2013, the Working Group on Integration of Foreigners was established within the Department of Aid and Social Integration (Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs). The main aim of the group is to prepare the document "Polish integration policy of foreigners – assumptions and guidelines", which, at present, is in the process of being discussed with non-governmental partners. However small it is, it is still a step forward in the area of integration policy in Poland, taking into account the fact that the issue of the integration of foreigners has been of little interest to the policy makers over the last few decades. Until 2005 for example, there was no official document dealing with the issue of integration and its scope other than simple, general statements. In the 'Proposals of Actions Aimed at Establishing a Comprehensive Immigrant Integration Policy in Poland' issued in 2005 by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy (officially responsible for integration policy) it is clearly confirmed that 'at present, integrative measures in Poland, within special individual integration programmes, only focus on one group of people, namely those having refugee status'. Since then, the scope of the beneficiaries of state integration programmes has not changed. In practice, the NGOs sector is a partial substitute for the state when it comes to the implementation of the integration policy. The interest in the implementation of projects aimed at migrants and supporting their integration is strictly related to the opportunity to apply for financial support from the EU (e.g. EIF – European Fund on Third Country Nationals Integration), which has been present in Poland since 2007.

3.3.5 Labour mobility and foreigners in the Polish labour market

Important information related to the scale and characteristics of immigration flows to Poland is gained from data on foreigners present in the labour market. The number of work permits granted constantly increased from 2007 and exceeded 38 thousand in 2012. Also the number of work visas issued (on the basis of a simplified procedure described in detail in the next section) reached 243 thousand in 2012.

Overall, it can be assumed that there are around 100 thousand foreigners in Poland, and half of them can be described as settled migrants. Additionally, the number of foreign seasonal workers is around 250 thousand a year. From this, the conclusion can be drawn that at present the temporary (seasonal) inflows constitute a predominant type of immigration to Poland.

The scale of foreign workforce in Poland is estimated by the Labour Force Survey to be less than 1% of the total number of employed (Górny et al. 2010:95). It has been too marginal in scale to influence the labour market as a whole. Moreover, the presence of foreigners in the Polish labour market is generally of a complementary character.

As it was already mentioned, the general approach to the presence of foreign workers in the labour market in Poland started to change after the country's accession to the EU. A growing demand for workforce in sectors which are traditionally popular among foreigners, such as agriculture and construction, led to significant changes and the simplification of admission rules and employment procedures addressed to foreigners. The authorities decided to gradually liberalize the legislation on the employment of third country nationals, which is manifested in the facilitation of work permit regulations on the one hand, and in the extension of the catalogue of foreign groups allowed to take up employment in Poland without the need of a work permit, on the other.

There are two main formal schemes enabling foreigners to take up legal employment in Poland: a work permit system and a simplified scheme addressed to short term workers (so called employers' declaration scheme). Both of them will be briefly presented below.

The data related to work permits (which is the major instrument applied by the state to regulate the access of foreigners to the national labour market) clearly show that the overall number of work permits issued in Poland grows dynamically year by year (see table 5). In 2004, the number of work permits issued was 12.3 thousand, while since 2011 it went up to 40 thousand permits a year (which means an almost fourfold growth in the period of a few years).

The citizens of Eastern Partnership countries prevail in the statistics regarding work permit recipients as more than half of all work permits are issued for them every year. A steady growth of nationals from the Balkan states and Asia (mainly from China) is noticeable over the last years. As far as the number of permits issued is concerned, the leader position belonged to Ukrainians for a long time. In 2011 the largest number of permits (almost 30%) was issued to Chinese workers and this growth was related to the several infrastructural investments of Chinese companies in Poland. In 2012 Ukrainians regained the first place among the work permit recipients (Duszczyk et al. 2013:20).

It is also important to note that the statistics on foreign employment in Poland clearly indicate that the global economic crisis did not affect the inflow of foreign workers. When analyzing the data related to the number of work permits issued to foreigners in the consecutive years, a steep growth can be noticed since 2009 (over 60% rise compared to the previous year), with a gradual, but rather stable growth in the following years.

In 2007 a complementary scheme to the work permit system was introduced to support and foster short-term circular labour migration. The simplified scheme is based on employers' declaration of intent to employ a foreigner and it allows citizens of six coun-

Table 5. Work permits issued to citizens of the Eastern Partnership countries, years 2007-2012

Year	Country					
	Ukraine	Belarus	Moldova	Georgia	Azerbaijan	Armenia
2007	3 851	855	971	62	21	304
2008	5 400	1 325	1 218	109	19	441
2009	9 504	1 669	601	143	37	619
2010	13 150	1 958	682	95	45	452
2011	18 523	1 385	1 042	173	53	465
2012	19 357	1 723	609	171	70	433
2013	21 252	2 061	726	245	105	503

Source: Own elaboration based on the data from the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy

tries to perform work in Poland for up to six months within twelve consecutive months without a work permit. Initially the employers' declaration scheme was intended to be a pilot programme addressed to citizens of neighbouring countries (Ukraine, Russia and Belarus). Since then, it was extended also to Moldavians and Georgians (in 2009) and Armenians (in 2014). The procedure to employ foreigners in this simplified scheme is simple, fast and inexpensive. The employer wishing to offer temporary seasonal employment is obliged to submit the declaration of intent to employ a foreigner to the local employment agency. The process of registration does not entail any costs. After registration, the declaration has to be given over to the person to whom it was issued and with this declaration he/she can apply for a visa and take up employment in Poland. The complete procedure from the registration at the local employment agency to getting the visa shall not take more than a month.

The aim of this system was to encourage employers to employ foreigners on a regular basis, and lead immigrants to use a legal option when working in Poland. Since then, the scheme has evolved into statistically the most significant form of employment of foreigners in Poland and become one of the most popular corridors for short-term (usually seasonal) foreign workers. The number of declarations of intent to employ a foreigner registered at the local employment agencies has been growing gradually since the introduction of the scheme. A visible growth was noticed in 2011 when more than 259 thousand declarations were submitted (it means approximately a 44% increase relative to the previous year). In the following years, the number of declarations became stabilized (243 thousand in 2012, and 235 thousand in 2013). Ukrainians constituted the vast majority of foreigners using this scheme (more than 90% of all declarations are issued for them every year), followed by citizens of Moldova and Belarus. The number of Russians and Georgians has remained very moderate.

The data shown in figure 2 reflect the rising popularity of this simplified procedure. Just within 2-3 years, this opportunity became the entry gate for thousands of immigrants. The data presented below indicate that the employers' declaration scheme proved to be an efficient migration corridor and it allows irregular immigration to be channelled into legal forms.

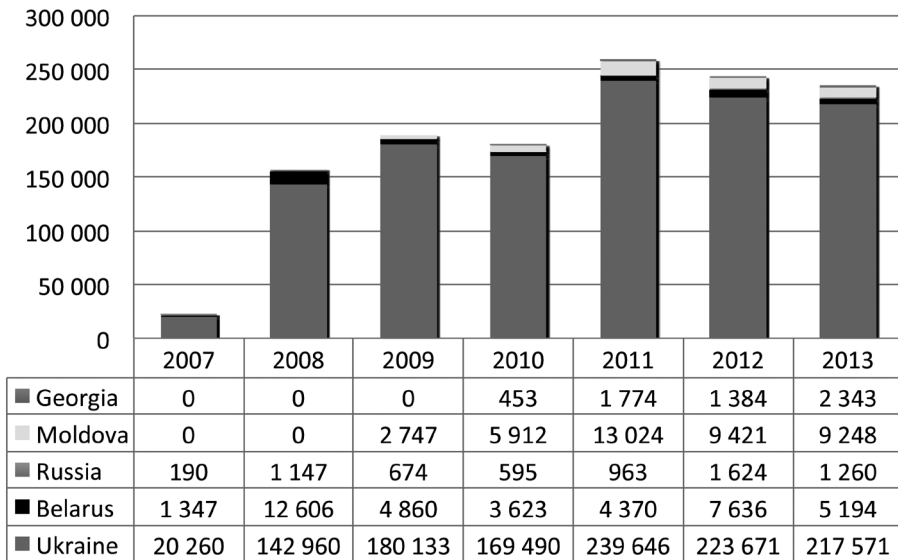


Figure 2. The distribution of employers' declarations of intent to employ a foreigner by country of origin (years 2007-2013)

Source: Own elaboration based on the data from the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy

The statistical data related to the employers' declaration scheme show that foreigners taking up temporary employment in Poland are concentrated particularly in the agricultural, construction and service sectors (around 2/3 of all declarations are issued for employers representing the first two of these sectors).

The Eastern Partnership countries and Russia are, and will most probably be in the future, the main source countries of labour migrants. Poland (together with Sweden) initiated and advocated the idea of the Eastern Partnership with one of the aims being the liberalization of the rules of movement of people between those states and the EU (visa-free regime included).

3.3.6 Specific issues related to migration processes in Poland at present

In this section a few important issues will be briefly discussed to draw the attention to the present dynamics in the trends related to migration processes. In recent years, return migration became a highly relevant topic in time of the global economic crisis and the negative demographic prognosis for Poland. Similarly to the massive emigration in the post-accession period, which was a subject of political and public debate at the time, also return migration became a matter of common concern and were present in political campaigns. The problem of repatriation, especially the ethnic inflows based on the 'Card of the Pole' scheme together with the recent increase in asylum seekers arriving in Poland, were also interesting issues related to migration processes recently.

3.3.6.1 Return migration of Poles in the post-accession period

As Ravenstein noticed in 1885, each main wave of migration produces a compensating counter-current, which means that any mass outflow of people generates a return wave later. It also applied to Polish post-accession migrants who left the country after 2004. Some of them decided to return, however, despite prior expectations, a mass return of Polish citizens during the global downturn did not happen. Those who returned home were reportedly doing it for different reasons (e.g. family) and they often declared that their stay in Poland has a temporary character. It confirmed the theory of a “fluid” type of migration, where return to homeland is often perceived as a recurring temporary phase in a multi-stage process of migration (Grabowska-Lusińska, Okólski 2011; Lesińska 2013b). The economic situation in destination countries, however, did lead to a shift in the preferred direction of labour migration – Ireland and the UK (the main destination countries for post-accession Polish emigrants) became less popular, and the Netherlands, Germany and Norway became new favourites. It is very difficult to estimate the scale of returns, but some authors calculated the number of returnees to be 580 thousand in 2008 (based mainly on LFS – Labour Force Survey) (Anacka, Fihel 2012:148).

The Polish government neither stimulates nor restricts the international movement of Poles. As it is written in the government strategy on migration policy, the Polish state accepts the fact that there is no legal or political instrument available to encourage or discourage the labour emigration of Poles, and moreover, the most important factor influencing the decision to return is the economic and social situation of Poland (Ministry of Interior 2012a: 18). It means that the government officially accepted the fact that emigration is an inevitable social process and the state has limited power to prevent it or restrict its scale.

As a result of such approach, there are no special programmes addressed to potential Polish migrants (those who are planning to emigrate) or real ones (those already residing abroad). As for the potential migrants, the existing activities are mainly aimed at providing them with information on the working and living conditions in the EU countries, including the potential risks involved, in order to protect Poles abroad against threats occurring because of the often unprepared labour emigration. The information campaigns and advisory services are the main responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs via the network of Polish consulates abroad, whose number significantly increased in the new destination countries in particular. Some measures were taken in order to minimize the possible negative consequences of emigration, too. They were mostly targeted at Poles considering the possibility of return to their mother country. A special manual for returnees called *Powrotnik* (‘The Returner’) was distributed among Poles abroad via the network of consulates and Polish organizations. Additionally, an official website (www.powroty.gov.pl) was created with the main objective to provide detailed information about the most relevant issues for returnees regarding taxes, the social security and social benefit system, the education of children, starting own businesses, recognition of diplomas and many others. This online tool is aimed at providing potential returnees with practical information, which might facilitate their possible return to Poland and their successful reintegration into the labour market. The problems with employment after return, which could result in a higher unemployment rate and increasing burdens for the social system,

are perceived as the most challenging effects (in negative terms) for the Polish labour market and the economy in general. In 2011, the website was incorporated as an integral part of a special service called 'Green Line', set up by the Polish Public Employment Service as an official online information and consultation centre for employers and individuals searching for a job. The website provides an opportunity for the public to submit any questions and receive a reliable official response online within 14 days (Lesińska 2013a:86).

3.3.6.2 Ethnic inflows and the Card of Pole

There is a long-lasting tradition of repatriation schemes implemented by the state authorities for Polish nationals and individuals of Polish origin who are willing to resettle in Poland. Until now there have been several waves of repatriation since the early years after World War II. It means that the Polish state has some experience in stimulating and facilitating return flows. However, the latest one, which started in the early 1990s, is very specific and, therefore, difficult to compare with the return migration taking place in the past. The recent data show that the interest in the repatriation scheme is marginal. The main reason for that is the low interest among Polish nationals on the one hand, and the financial constraints related to repatriation, on the other. The local authorities willing to invite repatriates are obliged to provide proper accommodation and job offers and the costs can be partly reimbursed later from the state budget. Thus, after a certain peak in the period 2000-2002, the number of repatriation visas issued dropped significantly. Since 2009 fewer than 200 repatriation visas have been issued every year, for example in 2012 the number was only 120 (see table 7). The largest group of incoming repatriates returned from four countries: Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Belarus.

Due to problems with the financing of the repatriation scheme and its limited effectiveness, another procedure was implemented in 2007, addressed to foreigners of Polish origin. The Card of the Pole (*Karta Polaka*) is addressed directly to ethnic Poles who are citizens of the former states of the Soviet Union (its geographical scope is limited to 15 countries). The main necessary condition to obtain the Card of the Pole is to prove one's Polish origin and a living relationship with Polishness by the fact that one has at least a basic knowledge of the Polish language, and by proving that at least one of the parents or grandparents or two great grandparents were of Polish nationality or had Polish citizenship, and finally an active involvement in Polish linguistic and cultural activities within the Polish community of their region for at least the past three years. The Card of the Pole entitles its holder to apply for a visa of multiple entrances to Poland (the visa costs can be reimbursed by the Polish state). It provides also a set of practical rights to its holders, such as exemption from the obligation to have a work permit, a right to set up a company on the same basis as citizens of Poland, a right to study, and participate in other forms of education. In practice, this card eliminates the most difficult legal obstacles, such as the obligation to have a work permit and frequent visa application procedures, and therefore can serve as a pull factor to come and work in Poland.

Certain states put forward a strong reaction to the implementation of the Card of the Pole. The Belarusian authorities heavily protested against this institution as being contradictory to Belarusian national interests. Some restrictions were introduced to diminish

Table 6. The number of employers' declarations of intent to employ a foreigner, by nationality of worker, years 2007-2012

Category	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Repatriation visas issued	316	281	278	662	804	613	301	269
Persons who arrived within repatriation	267	399	362	944	1	832	455	372
Selected countries of previous residence								
Belarus	–	10	15	45	140	127	43	39
Georgia	–	–	–	–	–	1	3	–
Kazakhstan	316	245	172	361	216	194	156	122
Moldova	–	1	2	10	9	5	2	–
Russian Federation	–	7	8	10	36	31	11	35
Ukraine	–	15	69	210	381	245	77	56

Category	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Repatriation visas issued	252	239	248	204	164	139	178	120
Persons who arrived within repatriation	335	327	281	260	214	175	229	139
Selected countries of previous residence								
Belarus	30	25	18	13	5	8	18	14
Georgia	3	3	3	–	8	4	3	1
Kazakhstan	155	125	161	143	90	84	92	60
Moldova	2	1	–	–	–	–	1	–
Russian Federation	32	40	38	25	32	23	31	26
Ukraine	23	27	16	8	13	15	20	13

Source: Own elaboration based on the data from the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy

its potential influence. Since 2013 possessing the Card of the Pole has been prohibited for civil servants, and very recently this prohibition has also been imposed upon the people working in state institutions such as the army and internal affairs. Unlike Belarusian authorities, the Belarusian society has received the Card of the Pole very positively, as it enables people to freely visit their Western neighbour (Chubrik, Kazlou 2012:67).

The Card of the Pole became more and more popular among people of Polish decent willing to arrive and live in Poland. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from 2008 till the end of 2012 more than 100 thousand cards were issued, including 46 thousand to Ukrainian citizens and 42 thousand to Belarusians. Approximately 90% of the applications are submitted by these two nationalities, far fewer by Lithuanians, Russians and others. The majority of applicants are young, often students, descendants of Polish nationals who use the card as a tool simplifying the procedures related to arrive, stay and study in Poland (Fihel 2011:36).

The inflow of asylum seekers to Poland

The number of foreigners seeking asylum in Poland is small: 5.1 thousand people having some form of protection or a valid stay permit were registered at the end of 2013 (including 888 refugees, 2446 with the status of tolerated stay, and 1838 with the status of complemen-

tary protection). In the last two years a significant increase in the number of applications for refugee status was noticeable (from 6.8 thousand in 2011 to 14.9 thousand in 2013). Similarly to previous years, the Russian Federation constituted the main country sending asylum seekers to Poland (almost 85% of all applications), followed by Georgia (8%), Syria (2%), Armenia (1%) and Kazakhstan (1%) (see table 7). Among those with Russian citizenship the largest group was the ones who claimed to be of Chechen nationality.

Table 7. Repatriation visas issued in Poland and selected countries of previous residence of repatriates in years 1997-2012

Nationality	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Total	10 587	6 534	6 887	10 753	14 981
Afghanistan	14	25	36	103	49
Algeria	11	4	6	2	3
Armenia	147	107	216	413	205
Azerbaijan	10	10	2	5	3
Bangladesh	13	18	10	21	25
Belarus	37	46	81	69	38
Cameroon	12	11	13	5	3
China	16	9	7	1	2
Egypt	-	11	8	102	5
Ethiopia	1	1	0	0	0
Georgia	4 214	1 082	1 735	3 234	1212
India	16	17	9	8	7
Iran	5	7	11	17	15
Iraq	21	27	28	25	29
Kazakhstan	5	11	26	121	91
Kyrgyzstan	13	37	43	41	59
Moldova	6	5	5	5	8
Mongolia	15	19	10	14	7
Nepal	14	17	29	8	6
Nigeria	23	19	15	18	7
Pakistan	19	27	20	43	34
Russian Federation	5 726	4 795	4 305	6 084	12 659
Sierra Leone	3	1	1	0	0
Somalia	2	5	9	7	25
Sri Lanka	11	6	6	3	5
Sudan	1	1	2	1	2
Syria	7	8	12	107	248
Turkey	11	19	17	9	15
Ukraine	36	45	67	72	41
Uzbekistan	19	14	6	18	15
Vietnam	67	47	31	57	40
Stateless	19	21	23	41	34

Source: Office for Foreigners

Most applications are denied as manifestly unfounded. In 2013 only 200 people were granted refugee status in Poland according to the Geneva Convention (87 in 2012 and 153 in 2011). It means that only fewer than 1% of applicants were successful in 2013 in being granted refugee status according to the Geneva Convention (additionally, 1.5% of applicants were granted the status of tolerated stay and 0.5% – complementary protection). 85% of all decisions were denied as unjustified and/or the proceedings were discontinued. They were mostly citizens of Russia and Belarus, some of the Georgian citizens were granted a refugee status in the last two years. In 2013 only 131 foreigners got supplementary protection (140 in 2012), whereas 392 foreigners were allowed to stay in Poland on the basis of tolerated status (292 in 2012); again, the vast majority of these were the citizens of Russia. According to Office for Foreigners data, 2013 seems to be a record year in terms of the number of applications for refugee status. It is important to note that the vast majority of the applications were submitted by first time applicants.

3.3.7 Conclusions

The present dynamic of migration flows in Poland is a direct consequence of Poland's accession to the EU in 2004. It was a turning point which still has a powerful impact on many areas of life and significantly shaped the recent economic situation of the country. The early years after the EU expansion witnessed a spectacular – in terms of scale and dynamics – increase in the international mobility of Poles. On the other hand, the period of economic downturn noticeable in Europe since 2008 seriously influenced the situation in key destination countries (particularly in the United Kingdom, Ireland and Spain) and shaped the scale and structure of outflows from Poland as well as the return migration of those who either achieved their expectations abroad or were forced to return due to the economic situation in the other country. The number of Poles staying (temporarily) abroad, which reached 2.3 million in 2007, still remained relatively high despite the economic crisis and recession, which suggests that the outflows have stabilized and Poland has already entered into a “mature” phase of emigration processes.

Poland is still a country of net-emigration, however, it is increasingly important in terms of incoming flows of foreigners. The statistical data show that the number of foreigners arriving in Poland increases every year and the geographical scope of source countries has widened. Nevertheless, immigration has a rather short-term, circular character (not settlement) and Poland is an attractive destination mostly to its neighbours, such as Ukrainians and Belarusians. This situation can change in the future, however, because of the fact that firstly, the economic growth and demand for foreign workforce will continue, and secondly, more open and encouraging legislation and political measures related to foreigners will be implemented.

It is particularly interesting to observe the migration dynamics taking place in Poland at present. It is influenced by various internal and external factors originated in vital geo-political and socio-economic processes taking place across the continent. An intensive internal EU mobility, a growing demand and competition for professionals and

highly-skilled foreign workers, slow economic progress after the recent recession period, a negative demographic prognosis in most European countries – these are the common features of the Visegrad Group and Eastern Partnership countries – just to mention a few of the key background processes having an impact on international human flows taking place currently at the Eastern edge of the EU.

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3.4 Slovakia: silent, steady and regulated immigration

Viliam Lauko, Ladislav Tolmáči, František Križan, Anna Mydlová

3.4.1 Legislation and Statistics on International Migration in Slovakia

3.4.1.1 Legislative Context of International Migration

Migration is not a widely discussed topic in Slovak society. The issue of migration is largely restricted to state agencies, preparing the legislation to implement the migration policy and actively working with migrants in the asylum procedure. The Slovak Republic started to create its migration policy since 1993. It accepted the Geneva Convention and the New York Protocol. The first milestone in the development of asylum and migration legislation in Slovakia was the adoption of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, which provides primary laws, freedoms and security also for foreigners in the country. The document entitled Principles of Migration Policy (1993) determined the content, form and methods of dealing with the issue of migration. The concept of the current immigration policy is derived from this document. The entry of Slovakia into the EU necessitated the convergence of Slovak legislation to the EU legislation. Therefore, the current legal standards are the result of the harmonization of the Slovakian migration legislation with EU law.

In recent years, however, the activity of nonprofit organizations has been increasing and new research projects dealing with migration issues have been launched seeking solutions to specific tasks. Since migration in Slovakia is not such a burning issue as in Western Europe and in other developed parts of the world, we still do not pay enough attention to it. In recent years, however, the need to review the situation and intensify the monitoring of migration and its causes arose. Slovakia is not without migration flows, especially after its accession to the EU. It is necessary to actively deal with the issue of immigrants regarding their entry into the country and integration into society. The legal framework is in line with European legal standards, but it is still necessary to improve the implementation of the migration policy according to all European regulations. Raising awareness of citizens concerning issues of migration will facilitate the integration of foreigners into the Slovak society and enhance mutual coexistence without discrimination against any of the parties.

3.4.1.2 Basic documents of the Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic

Slovak asylum law is based primarily on the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its Additional Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. The Slovak Republic joined the Geneva Convention and New York Protocol in 1993 as a suc-

cessor country of Czechoslovakia. Since 1 May 2004 Slovakia has been subject to the Dublin Regulation, which is applicable in all EU countries. Under the Dublin Regulation, the Slovak EURODAC was introduced as a mandatory identification system for asylum seekers in the EU. On 21st December 2007 Slovakia joined the Schengen acquis. In practice, only the country's eastern border with Ukraine is under Border Police control at present.

The basic document for the entire migration policy is Agenda Slovakia, which was accepted in 1993. The document identified the content, form and methods of dealing with the issue of migration. Agenda Slovakia, however, was restricted to the essential requirements arising from international treaties. In 2005, The Concept of Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic broadened and deepened the original document especially with regard to the entry of Slovakia into the EU and the resulting position of Slovakia in the international arena.

In the concept are formulated the basic policies and guiding principles of the migration policy in Slovakia. Six principles can be divided into two groups. The first group is related to the protection of the interests of the Slovak Republic and procedures to ensure the interests of the various parties in the implementation of the objectives and priorities in the field of migration. The second group defines the institutional framework necessary to protect the interests of the Slovak Republic, the coordination of activities in this area and the harmonization of Slovak legislation with European law.

The six guiding principles applicable in migration policy are the following:

- principle of sovereignty – the Slovak Republic reserves the right to protect its national interests and to regulate migration, i.e. the reception, stay and return of foreigners, to maintain social stability, to protect traditional ways of life, based on the economic and social opportunities of the Slovak Republic, while respecting the obligations resulting from international treaties and documents and creating the necessary conditions for stepping up the fight against illegal immigration and terrorism.
- principle of legality – it is based on respect for the Constitution, international treaties and documents, the rights of the European Communities and the European Union and the Slovak legislation governing the matter in question, with emphasis on guaranteeing, observance and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- principle of regulation of legal migration – establishing the statutory procedures for the regulation of migration in accordance with the interests of the Slovak Republic, in particular with regard to the economic, political and cultural stability of the country and the situation in the labour market and the structure of employment
- principle of active participation in the EU – after the accession of the Slovak Republic to the European Union, the emphasis is on providing an integrated policy of asylum and creating long-term solutions to the implementation of this policy in cooperation with international organizations and NGOs.
- principle of non-discrimination – it is to provide equal opportunities for all foreign nationals who reside legally in the territory of the Slovak Republic, excluding the possibility of discrimination and any privileges and benefits to certain individuals.
- principle of flexibility – creating space for innovation regarding the measures and procedures in the field of migration policy.

The final document entitled the Migration Policy of the Slovak Republic was created with a perspective to 2020 and was approved by the government on 31 December 2011. It is the basic document and starting point for building a modern, distinct migration policy in Slovakia. It is a clear expression of readiness and willingness to contribute to the harmonization of national migration policies in the European Union.

3.4.1.3 The legislative framework

The Constitution of the Slovak Republic was the first milestone in the development of asylum and migration legislation in Slovakia. It provides primary law, freedom and security.

The issues of migration in the Slovak legislation are based on two major acts, namely:

- Act no. 404/2011 Z. z. On Aliens and amending certain laws
- Act no. 480/2002 Z. z. On Asylum and amending certain laws

The most important act containing the regulations referring to the residence of aliens in Slovakia is Act. 404/2011 Z.z. On Aliens and amending certain laws (the “Law on Aliens”). This act defines the possibility of legal residence for foreigners and how to obtain a legal status to stay in the Slovak Republic. The stay of EU citizens, who are also foreigners by law, shall be governed by special arrangements. Third country nationals can apply for one of three types of legal residence in the territory of Slovakia – temporary residence, permanent residence and tolerated residence.

A temporary residence permit allows a foreigner to stay in Slovakia for the specific time period which he/she was granted by the police department. It can only be granted for the purpose of business, employment, study, special activities, research and development, family reunification or service in civil forces. Temporary stay falls under the scope of the blue card system of the European Union.

Permanent residence allows a foreigner to remain in the territory of Slovakia for the length of time for which he was granted a residence permit by the police department. The indefinite license can be issued for a third country citizen recognized as a long-term resident of the European Union. The residence permit with an at least 5 year validity shall be issued to a foreigner if: he/she is the spouse of a Slovak citizen or the dependent relative under 18 years of age entrusted to the custody of an alien who is the spouse of a citizen of Slovakia, an unmarried foreigner under 18 years of age.

Tolerated residence is granted for specific reasons (e.g. a minor found in the Slovak Republic, cases, temporary protection) and during its validity the foreigner must not engage in any business activity. This is a relatively rare type of residence awarded in Slovakia as it does not appear to be very attractive to foreigners. The stay for these foreigners can be tolerated in the country for 180 days and the permit can be extended repeatedly.

Act. 480/2002 Z.z. Asylum has undergone certain changes and the present form of the act is the result of an approximation effort taking place before and after accession to the EU. It defines the basic concepts of asylum issues in Slovakia. Asylum seekers are “aliens who declared to the police department that they are seeking asylum or subsidiary protection in the Slovak Republic.” Asylum seekers are subject to an asylum procedure, which can conclude in the granting or the denial of a refugee status in the territory of the

Slovak Republic. In case of asylum it is a permanent permit allowing a foreigner to stay in the country, in case of subsidiary protection it is only a temporary residence for a period of one year, which can be extended again by another year on reasonable grounds. The aim of this entirely new law was to harmonize Slovakian law with the EU legal standards and achieve a standard compliant with that of the EU on granting asylum. The law states that the Ministry shall grant asylum to an applicant who faces persecution on racial, ethnic or religious grounds, political opinion or membership of a particular social group or he/she is persecuted for exercising political rights and freedoms in his/her native country, and in view of these concerns is unable or unwilling to return to that country. There are three institutions involved in the procedure of granting asylum: the Migration Office, the Regional Court in Bratislava and Kosice and the Supreme Court of the Slovak Republic.

3.4.1.4 Institutional care for migrants

In Slovakia, state operated, international and non-governmental organizations deal with migrants. In some cases they are linked and they can cooperate with each other. The main bodies in the field of international migration in the Slovak Republic include:

The Migration Office of the Ministry of Interior is the primary administrative body ruling the issues of asylum and providing additional protection to foreigners. A governmental organization is the Ministry of Interior. It was the creator of Act no. 480/2002 Z.z. on the concepts of asylum and migration policy. It is responsible for providing comprehensive care for asylum seekers and refugees. It manages the integration of refugees into society, providing assistance with accommodation, employment, language training, education, social and health security. It collaborates with the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and NGOs.

The Bureau of Border and Aliens Police is the most important institution for granting a residence permit in the Slovak Republic. The Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family is also directly involved in immigration and alien issues. It determines the legal conditions foreigners have to meet in order to join the Slovakian labour market, it is responsible for the issuance of work permits, and it participates in the fight against illegal employment of foreigners. It is responsible for managing the European Social Fund, which is used, among other things, for the integration of migrants (asylum seekers, foreigners). It also deals with the practical issues of the social welfare of foreigners, who can apply for social assistance benefits, similarly to Slovak citizens.

Other state agencies that are involved in the issue of foreign migration and the residence of foreigners in the country are the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Slovak Intelligence Service, the Slovak National Centre for Human Rights, and local and regional governments.

International organizations operating in Slovakia monitor the situation of refugees and their access to fair asylum procedures, coordinating the return of migrants to their country of origin or facilitating their integration into society. These include the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in the Slovak Republic and the International Organization for Migration (IOM).

3.4.2 Figures on International Migration in Slovakia

3.4.2.1 General demographic trends

After 1990 a new period started in the development of the Slovak population (Table 1, Fig. 1). It is marked by a strong decline in the growth rate of the population until it came to a complete stop. There are several reasons behind this phenomenon. These include unemployment, social insecurity, the implementation of the consumer lifestyle of developed countries, and, last but not least, the sharp reduction in the construction of residential buildings. These circumstances caused a reduction in marriages, reduced the fertility rate (it first increased, then decreased the number of abortions and thus ultimately reduced natural growth).

Table 1. Selected characteristics of the population of Slovakia in 1991–2011

Year	Number of inhabitants	Density of population per km ²
1991	5 274 000	108
1995	5 364 000	109
2000	5 401 000	110
2005	5 387 000	110
2010	5 431 000	110
2011	5 398 000	110

Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic 2013

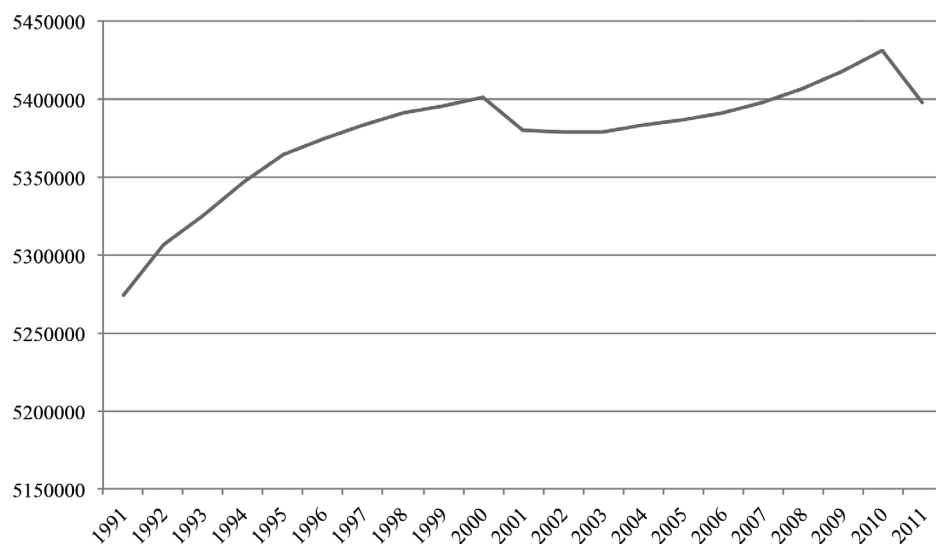


Figure 1. Development of the population of Slovakia in 1991–2011

Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic 2013

In 2001, 2002, 2003 the natural growth in Slovakia produced negative values (-0.2 ‰, -0.1 ‰, -0.1 ‰) (Table 1, Fig. 1). The year 2004 was demographically better, when the population decrease halted, and there was a natural growth, albeit small, of around 0.4 ‰. Since then, the natural growth has been slightly positive. In 2004, the natural population increase was 1,895 people, which, added to the 2,874 immigrants caused a total increase of 4,769.

In the context of migration, the number of people annually immigrating into Slovakia is a few hundred or thousand higher than that of those who emigrate from the country. The positive net migration compensates for the natural population decrease during the years of negative natural increase. In 2011, the natural population growth was 8,910 inhabitants and 2,966 new immigrants arrived, which resulted in the total increase of 11,876 inhabitants in Slovakia.

3.4.2.2 The current state of migration in Slovakia

In 2011, the number of immigrants moving to Slovakia was 4,829 while that of emigrants leaving Slovakia was 1,863. In 2011, most immigrants came from Europe, followed by Asia and America. The major sending countries are the Czechia, Hungary, Romania, Germany and the United Kingdom.

According to data from 2011, most Slovakian emigrants left for other countries in Europe and America. These countries are the Czechia, Austria, Germany and the United Kingdom.

The Slovak Republic is primarily a transit country. Slovakia as a member of the EU and a fast-growing, post-communist economy is becoming increasingly attractive as a final destination of migrants. At the same time, however, it is a country from which many people commute to work abroad. These are all challenges which call for the setting up of an efficient migration management, particularly in order to minimize irregular migration and promote desirable migration. Slovakia is the host country for thousands of immigrants. The intensity of their inflow varies, depending on the political changes and economic situation in Slovakia. Although Slovakia is among the economically developed countries, the interest of foreign migrants in Slovakia, compared to other EU countries, is still low. The motives for migration are mainly economic. The arrival of asylum seekers and refugees is dominated by migrants from the developing regions of the world, especially Africa, Asia and such non-democratic states like China, Cuba, Vietnam etc.

3.4.2.3 Figures of legal migration in the Slovak Republic

After entering the country, a foreigner who wishes to stay in the Slovak Republic for some time and for a specific purpose set out in the Law on Aliens is required to apply for a residence permit in any department of the Border and Aliens Police in Slovakia. A residence permit can be temporary, permanent or tolerated. Data on such legal migration are gathered and evaluated by the Border and Alien Police of the Ministry of Interior (hereinafter UHCP), who is responsible for the issuance of residence permits. It also publishes an annual statistical survey of the legal and illegal migration in the Slovak Republic.

A major breakthrough in the development of legal migration in the Slovak Republic was the country's accession to the EU. The number of foreigners with a residence permit in the Slovak Republic nearly tripled between 2004 and 2010 (Fig. 2). While in 2004 the number of foreigners legally living in Slovakia was 22,108, it increased up to 62,584 people by 2010. Slovakia's membership in the European structures resulted in significant changes in terms of quantity of migrants: Every year the number of foreigners increased by 3000-10000 new arrivals. The highest annual increase was recorded in the years 2007-2008, almost 30 %. According to the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, most foreign residents registered in the year 2011 came from the 27 EU states (76 %). Traditionally, the highest representation is mainly from neighbouring countries, namely the Czechia, Hungary, Poland and Austria. Among other EU countries the highest representation is of citizens moving from Germany, Romania, Italy, Bulgaria and the United Kingdom. The strong growth in the number of citizens coming from EU countries is a typical input for the period 2004-2008. The dominance of these citizens in the total number of immigrants has continued till today. Citizens of third countries accounted for 23 % of the total number of foreigners in 2011. The highest number of third country nationals came from Ukraine, Russia, Vietnam, the United States, China, Serbia, the Republic of Korea, Norway and Croatia (not yet an EU member at that time).

In terms of the demographic structure of registered foreigners residing in the territory of the Slovak Republic, the gender distribution showed a dominance of men (more than 59%). In terms of age, the highest number of foreigners was in the 25-59 age groups, which indicates that it can be mainly regarded as labour migration.

The most dynamic component of international migration in the Slovak Republic became immigration for work purposes. The country's accession to the EU radically affected the volume, structure and attributes of the labour force towards better employment and business opportunities. The migration of students has also been an important component of foreign immigration in recent years. In Slovakia, student mobility is a phenomenon

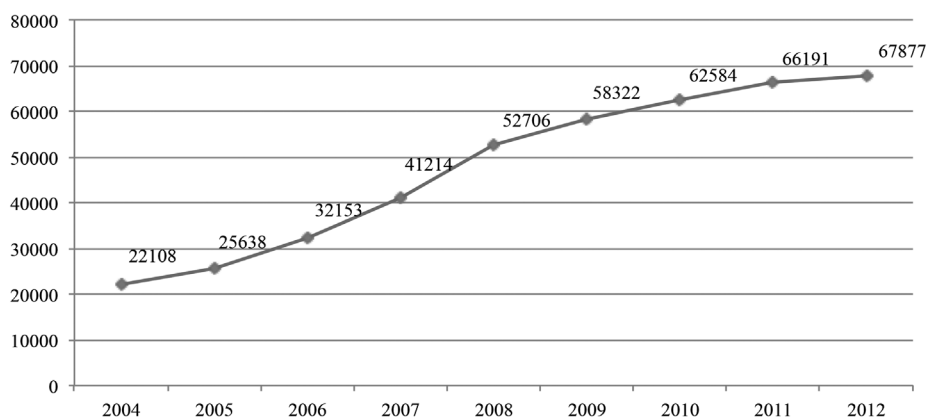


Figure 2. Total number of legal migrants in the Slovak Republic in the period 2004 to 2012

Source: Bureau of Border and Aliens Police of the Ministry of Interior, Annual Reports 2004-2012

which greatly affects the number of legal foreign immigrants granted temporary residence. Another very common reason for applying for a residence permit is family-related.

Until 2008, the number of residence permits issued was increasing (Fig. 3) and its decline started at the time of the global economic crisis. The stagnation of the economy resulted mainly in labour immigration, which led to a sharp fall in the total legal foreign immigration. Since 2011, the number of residence permits issued has started to gradually increase again.

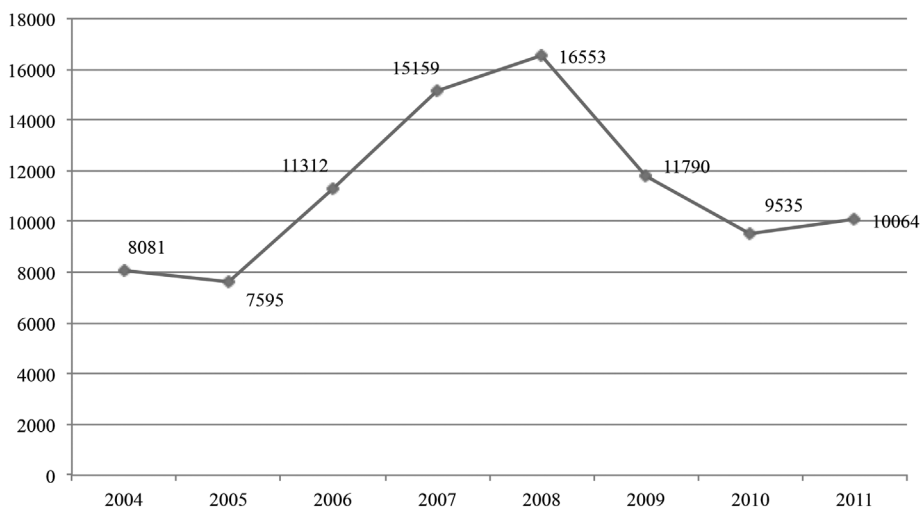


Figure 3. Number of "new" residence permits granted to foreigners in Slovakia between 2004 to 2011

Source: Bureau of Border and Aliens Police of the Ministry of Interior, Annual Reports 2004-2011

Divinský and Mihály et al. (2011) attempted to forecast the development of legal migration in Slovakia based on current immigration trends, the current international situation and future predictions regarding Central Europe. According to the authors, it can be assumed that:

- Until the years 2015-2020, the quantitative and qualitative trends from the previous period will continue in the field of legal immigration.
- The number of foreigners with legal residence in the country will continue to grow every year, at a rate of about 5 to 10%, depending on the economy.
- The number of foreigners in Slovakia in 2015 can reach 100 thousand, i.e. less than 2 % of the total population.
- The proportion of the citizens of EEA countries of the aggregate number of foreigners will be stabilized at around 65%, and the structure of the countries of origin will remain unchanged.
- Legal immigration to Slovakia will remain mostly masculine.
- The proportion of working age immigrants will be 85-90% of the total number.

- The number of foreigners with a residence permit in Slovakia in 2020 can reach about 150,000 people, i.e. approximately 2.7% of the country's total population.
- Slovakia will remain attractive for legal immigrants from third countries, whose number and relative share will rise significantly. Settling the large number of immigrants from culturally, linguistically and religiously diverse backgrounds and ensuring their integration into Slovak society will be challenging tasks for the immigration policy of Slovakia.
- In the years 2020-2025, it is expected that the unification of migrant families will gain significance, as immigrants from third countries will be more widely followed by adults and children (relatives).
- The structure of immigrants will change: the proportion of women and children will increase, while there will be a decrease in the proportion of working age immigrants.

3.4.2.4 Asylum seekers and refugees

The number of asylum seekers rose dramatically in the pre-accession years (2000-2004) (Fig. 4). Interest in Slovakia as a destination country increased due to the possibility of gaining asylum in a new EU member state. During this period, the Slovak asylum legislation approximated the European legal standards. However, Slovakia was not part of the European identity EURODAC database, so asylum seekers could only submit an application in one of the EU member states. In 2005, after Slovakia joined the European area, the number of asylum seekers dropped dramatically, and it continued to fall almost till 2011, which was due to the tighter control of the eastern borders and stricter measures against illegal migration. In 2012, the number of asylum seekers rose slightly.

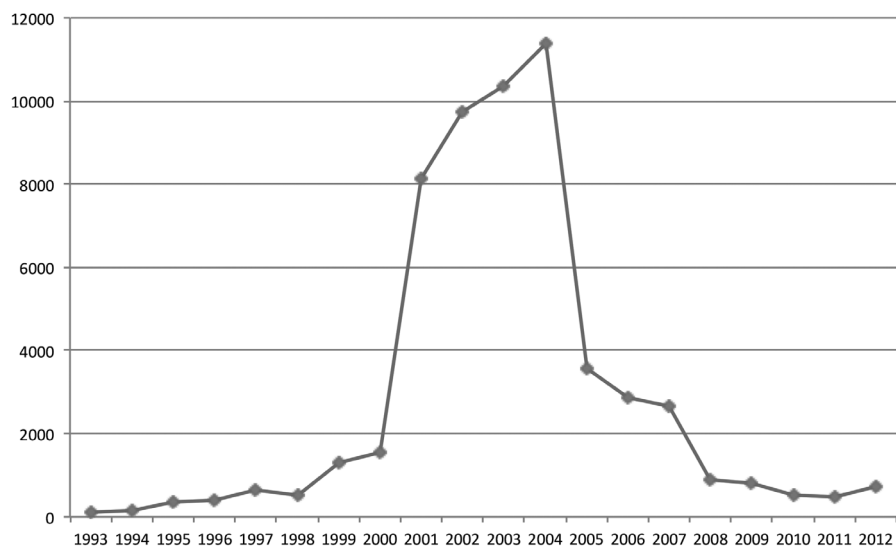


Figure 4. The number of asylum seekers in the Slovak Republic in 1993-2012

Source: Migration Office, Statistical Report for 2012

The majority of asylum seekers in Slovakia arrived from Africa (374 immigrants from 19 different African countries). The second largest group were Asians, while the third were citizens of European countries – last year there were 71 of them and they were from economically less developed parts of Europe (from Belarus, Ukraine, Serbia, Macedonia, Moldova, Russia, but also from Poland and Croatia). As for the country of their origin, the highest number of asylum seekers was ethnic Somali, followed by immigrants from Afghanistan. Afghan people have had family ties in Slovakia since the period of the communist regime, so this explains the reason for choosing Slovakia as their destination country. During the last year, a surprisingly high number of applicants (62) arrived from Georgia.

For migrants from developing countries, the Slovak Republic is less attractive than some countries in Western and Northern Europe.

Figure 5 reflects the age structure of the asylum seekers. The highest number of foreigners seeking asylum is in the age groups 18-25 and 26-39. It is a young and economically active population with the best chance to leave their country of origin and with suitable abilities to succeed in the host country. In both age groups men outnumber women.

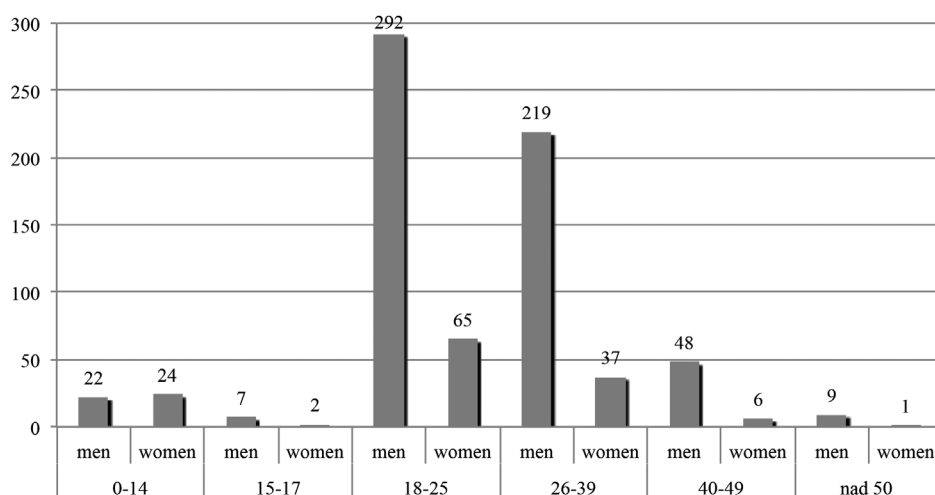


Figure 5. Age structure of asylum seekers in Slovakia in 2012

Source: Migration Office, Statistical Report for 2012

The distribution by gender is generally dominated by men who accounted for more than 82%. Both the age structure and the gender structure is stable, following the same trends that apply for the whole EU. Fleeing is physically and mentally demanding, so those who decide to escape are mostly young and single men. Women usually arrive later, when the men have already established some background for them. Forecasts for the future predict that the number of women will gradually increase.

The Slovak Republic, which, in the past, experienced illegal emigration as a socialist country, is not currently attractive enough for foreign migrants as a target country. But it

cannot be stated that it would not attract migrants at all. However, Slovakia is not facing such an influx of immigrants as other economically developed European countries. The migrants mainly stay in Slovakia just with a temporary residence permit for the purpose of work, business and study. A significant percentage of the requests for permanent residence and citizenship is aimed at family reunification. The number of foreigners who chose Slovakia as the ultimate country in the hope for a better life is lower. Most migrants from third countries are economic migrants and stay in Slovakia for a temporary period and later move on to another, more developed country in the European Union. In the future it will be necessary to alleviate the current migration rules in line with European standards, because the ageing population and the demands of the labour market will require a massive inflow of non-nationals.

3.4.2.5 Development of the number of foreign citizens living in Slovakia in 2004-2011

The evolution of the number of foreign citizens living in Slovakia in 2004-2011 shows that the number of residing foreign citizens is closely related to the number of foreign residents with habitual residence (Figure 6). The lowest number of foreign residents with permanent residence was 4,460 in 2004 (when Slovakia joined the EU), and then gradually went up to 8,765 by 2008, when it reached its highest number. Since then, it gradually declined again reaching 4,829. The number of foreign residents with habitual residence – 10,390 in 2004 went down to 9,410 in 2005, but then grew again after 2008, when it reached a peak with 17,820 and then also declined after 2011, dropping to 4,829.

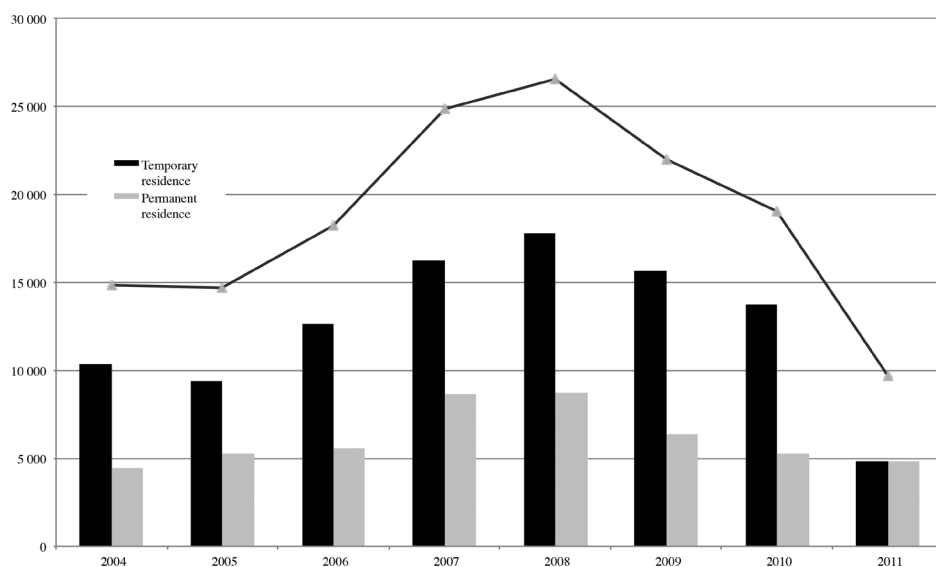


Figure 6. Development of the number of foreign citizens in Slovakia, 2004-2011

Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic.

Note: the figures are of 31st December of the respective year

The trend of the decrease in the number of foreign residents living in Slovakia is quite visible when taking into account the 5 countries with the most numerous immigrants (Table 2) in 2008-2011. (Figure 7). Particularly noteworthy is the number of Romanians in 2008, which Divinský (2009, p. 39) attributes to Romania's accession to the EU in 2007.

It is interesting to note that Bulgaria, which also joined the EU in that year, is the only country from where the number of immigrants has increased despite the economic crisis since 2008, although it is only a slight rise.

The Czechia had logically the largest share of foreign immigrants (16.5%) in 2011. This can be attributed to a long history of not only economic but also social relations, originating from the former common state (Table 3). Besides the close interrelationship, the cultural proximity and linguistic similarity between the two countries is also of great importance.

The second highest number of immigrants in 2011 was those, who came from Hungary (14.0%). The fact that Slovakia shares the longest border with Hungary, with Hungarian nationals living along the border, often causes Hungarian immigrants to come to Slovakia to join their family members and other relatives, their move made easy by speaking a common language. In the border areas Hungarian immigrants have an option to use Hungarian schools, cultural and other institutions.

Table 2. Top 5 immigrant groups in Slovakia

Year	Type of residence	Czechia	Hungary	Romania	Germany	Bulgaria	Total
2008	temporary	1400	1108	2300	1146	450	17820
	permanent	1405	924	924	902	352	8765
	Total	2805	2032	4433	2048	802	26585
2009	temporary	1633	1065	840	594	208	15643
	permanent	1440	806	806	517	126	6346
	Total	3073	1871	1426	1111	334	21989
2010	temporary	1214	1082	915	452	248	13770
	permanent	1160	708	708	355	136	5272
	Total	2374	1790	1331	807	384	19042
2011	temporary	600	662	458	191	205	4829
	permanent	989	691	691	188	210	4829
	Total	1589	1353	923	479	415	9658
	Share ¹	16,50%	14,00%	9,60%	5,00%	4,30%	

Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak republic 2013.

Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic.

Note: the figures are of 31 December of the respective year

¹ Share from the total number of foreign citizens

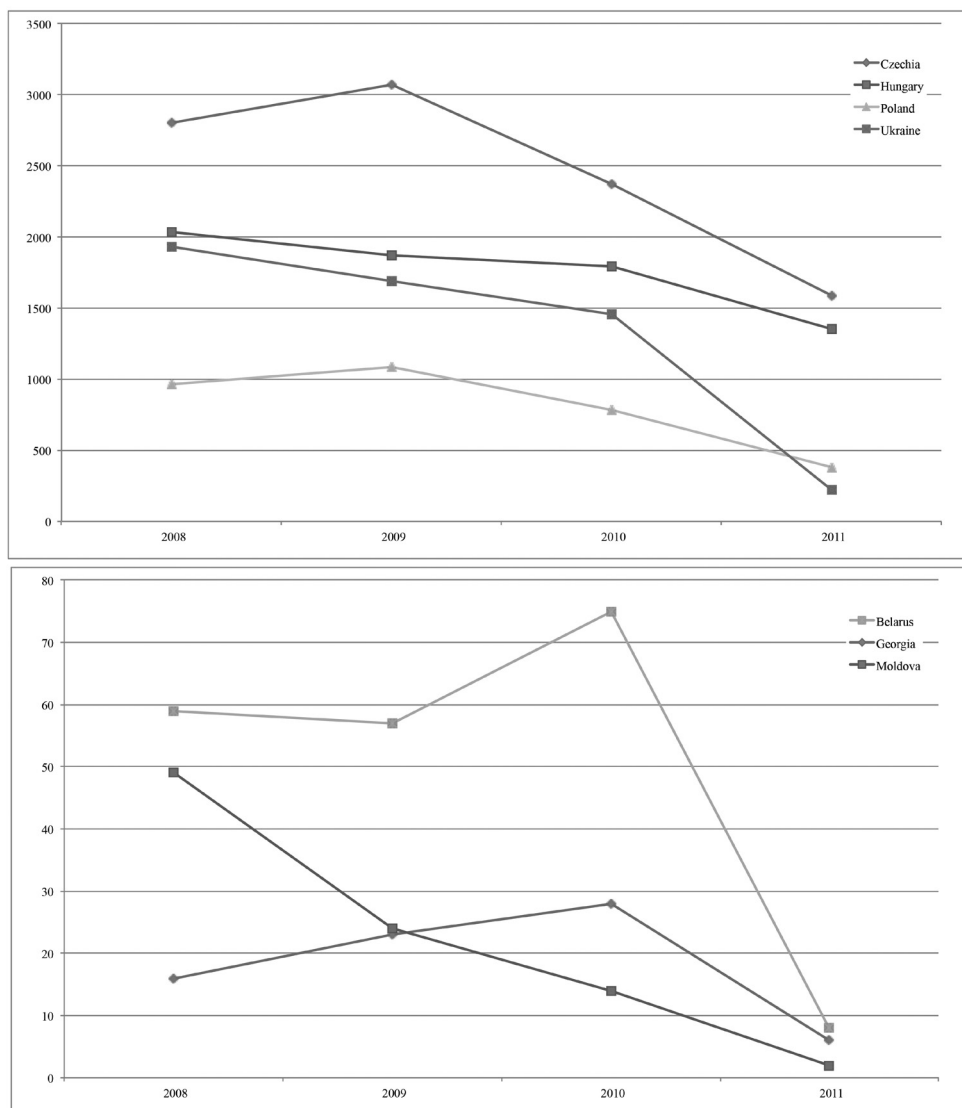


Figure 7. The number of foreign citizens from V4 and EaP in Slovakia (2008-2011)
Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic.

In 2011, citizens of Romania ranked third in the list of countries sending the most immigrants into Slovakia (9.6%). A high proportion of immigrants of Romanian nationality were influenced by the worse economic conditions in the home country, which is reflected also in the fact that they accepted such unattractive and unskilled labour opportunities, as for example mining.

Table 3. Number of foreign citizens from V4 and EaP countries as of 31st December 2011

Citizenship	Total number	Share ¹	Type of residence			
			temporary	permanent	temporary	permanent
			Numbers		Percentage	
Czechia	1589	16,50%	600	989	12,40%	20,50%
Hungary	1353	14,00%	662	691	13,70%	14,30%
Poland	381	3,90%	190	191	3,90%	4,00%
Ukraine	221	2,30%	105	116	2,20%	2,40%
Belarus	8	0,08%	4	4	0,08%	0,08%
Georgia	6	0,06%	3	3	0,06%	0,06%
Moldova	2	0,02%	1	1	0,02%	0,02%
Total no. of foreign citizens	3560	36,90%	1565	1995	32,40%	41,30%

Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic.

¹ Share from the total number of foreign citizens in Slovakia

Although Poland is a neighbouring country and a member of the EU, its share of immigrants is significantly lower than that of the countries mentioned before (3.9%). Surprisingly, it is even smaller than the proportion of German immigrants (5%) and also that of Bulgarians (4.3%).

From non-EU countries, Ukraine has a significant number of immigrants (2.3%). Other countries affected by immigration to Slovakia are Belarus, Georgia and Moldova, but they account for a very low percentage of immigrants (0.08%, 0.06% and 0.02%, respectively).

3.4.2.6 Population residing in the territory of the Slovak Republic by nationality

According to statistical data, altogether 5,410,836 inhabitants lived in Slovakia. 5,337,911 of these were Slovak citizens, 1,553 had no citizenship and 24 belonged to some other nationalities. It means that 71,348 residents of non-Slovak nationality lived in Slovakia, representing 1.32% of the total population.

Among them, the highest number was the 14,744 people of Czech nationality -, representing up to 20.7 % of the population with non- Slovak citizenship. The second most populous group were the Hungarians with 9,920 people, representing 13.90%, while the third place was taken by migrants from Poland (another neighbouring country of Slovakia) with 7,005 people (9.81%).

The next place in the order of foreign residents was taken by Romania, which is not a neighbouring country.. The inflow of Romanian migrants was the highest after Slovakia joined the EU, with a peak in 2008. Their total number at the end of 2012 was 5,962, which accounted for 8.36% of all foreign residents (figure 8).

Citizens of Ukraine came sixth, whose greater representation was prevented by the fact that Ukraine is not a member of the EU. The number of legally registered Ukrainians was 3,915, representing 5.49%.

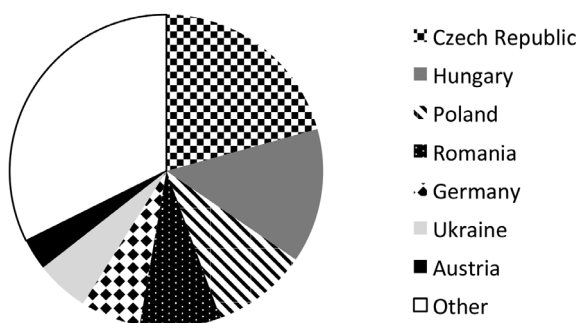


Figure 8. The proportion of permanent residents in Slovakia by citizenship of all residents with other than Slovak nationality

Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic.

3.4.2.7 Spatial distribution of immigrants and their employment in Slovakia

Figure 9 shows the spatial distribution of immigrants in Slovakia in 2012. Values are calculated as the number of immigrants / population in the district x 10,000.

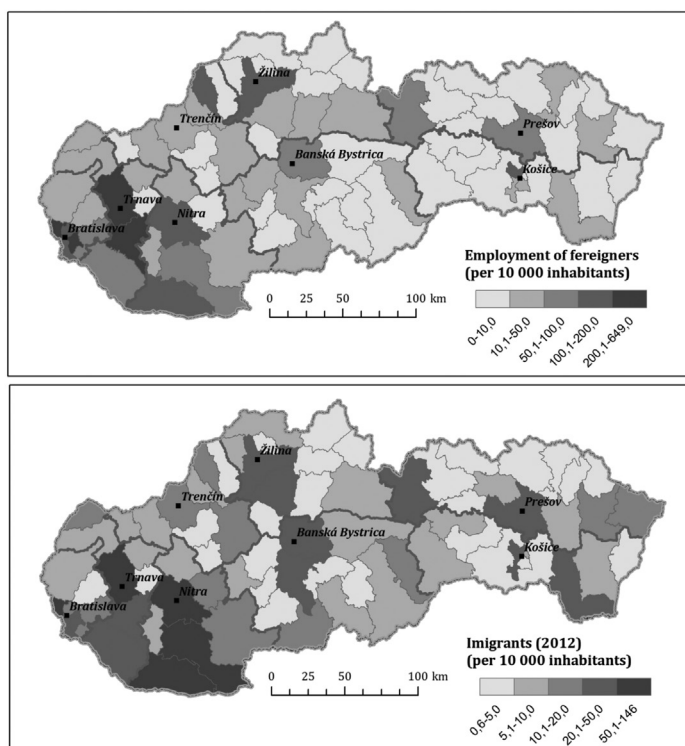


Figure 9. Selected indicators of the spatial distribution of immigrants in Slovakia in 2012

Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic

The spatial distribution of immigrants shows some major differences. Immigrants have the highest representation in the western region, where their presence reaches the highest values. This is typically the case in the districts of Nitra (145.99), Nové Zámky (107.15), Komárno (79.06) Bratislava IV (78.50) and Trnava (58.33). Furthermore, the increased presence of immigrants can be observed in regional cities and their surroundings.

The representation of immigrants in the various districts of Slovakia is largely linked to employment opportunities. Most of the available vacancies are in the western and northwest part of the country. The largest share of employment for foreign residents can be observed in the districts that have greater opportunities for overall employment, particularly with foreign investors. Such districts include Bratislava Trnava (649.08 – maximum value) with the largest company PSA Peugeot Citroën, Galanta (283.99) with Samsung Display Slovakia, Nitra district (196.41) with Foxconn Slovakia, Komárno district (188.83) with Rieker shoes, Púchov (130.95) with Continental Matador Truck Tires, district Žilina (112.44) with KIA Motors Slovakia.

On the other hand, the lowest proportion of employed foreign residents is in counties that do not have enough job opportunities and have been suffering from high unemployment for a long time. These are primarily districts in central and eastern Slovakia.

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MIGRATION PROFILES OF THE SENDING (EASTERN PARTNER) COUNTRIES

4.1 Belarus: integration in the international migration space

Ekaterina Antipova, Fakeyeva Liudmila

4.1.1 Introduction

The Republic of Belarus has had the profile of “donating” country in the context of international migration processes for a long historical period. The population of the Republic of Belarus under the influence of political and socio-economic factors emigrated to the republics of the former Soviet Union or to the countries of Europe, North America and Asia. As a result, the balance of international migration has traditionally had a negative trend.

The Republic of Belarus has become a full participant of the global migration space since the independence. Significant shifts in international migration have occurred during more than twenty years of socio-economic development in the new economic conditions – the factors, volume and structure of migration have changed. Belarus has become a corridor for international migration both legal and illegal. At the same time, due to relative social and economic stability within the post-Soviet states Belarus has become an attractive destination in terms of temporary and permanent employment for the citizens of CIS and other foreign countries.

International migration balance of Belarus in 2000s was positive for the first time during the long history of migration. However, from the aspect of scale and share in the total migration of the Republic of Belarus international migration is not significant with about 5% of the total migration. The volume of international migration is reducing indicating as it does the position of low migration activity of the country. The dominant flows of international migration are directed to and from the CIS countries. The main migration partner is Russia – the major donor and recipient of international migrants. Visegrad countries in the structure of international migration of Belarus have no significant volume either in emigration or in immigration. Within Visegrad countries Poland has the highest level of migration mobility of the population.

International migration in Belarus can be considered as an element of the natural decrease replacing and eliminating the deficit on some specialties in the labour market in the conditions of the depopulation. Problem fields of international migration in Belarus are:

- the emigration of labour force, the so-called “minds and hands” (highly skilled ICT staff, university professors, skilled workers, construction workers, drivers, etc.) as a result of which branches of the economy with deficit of the labour force were formed,
- low-skilled labour force immigration from Asia: these flows are not always registered but definitely change the social climate in some regions of the country.

The main driving forces of labour emigration from Belarus are: higher wages, higher living standards and a much higher quality of life in the EU.

To enhance the prestige of scientific sphere in Belarus is a complex problem: motivation of employment in the home country, material stimulation, rewards and approaching wage levels to the average European level are all to be solved to stop the outflow of highly qualified intellectuals presently forced to leave Belarus because of the gaps in wage levels.

Taking into account the transit and border position of the country with the European Union it appears expedient to develop a monitoring system of illegal migration and regulation of immigrant's structure (including age, income, marital status, education, skills, etc.)

Migration policy in the country is of utmost importance on the basis of a realistic evaluation of the current impact and prospects of international migration in Belarus. Legislation in the field of legal labour migration, struggle with illegal migration, the refugee problem, human trafficking, etc. is actively being developed in the Republic of Belarus. Along with this, bilateral acts between individual states that stipulates preferential conditions for registration and employment of foreign workers are developed to solve the shortage of labour force in rural areas in the country.

4.1.2 General demographic trends and the role of international migration

Demographic development of Belarus in the late 20th-early 21st centuries is characterized by evolutionary trends appropriate for the most advanced countries showing specific capacities of the second and third demographic transitions. Due to the change of fertility behaviour of the population there is a decline of the birth rate in the country whereas the increase of socio-economic development determines demographic ageing and the increase of life expectancy. Natural loss and annual population decline along with migration influence the formation of the demographic balance in the Republic of Belarus. During the period 1991-2012 the population size has declined for 7%: from 10189, 9 to 9465, 2 million people. The character of natural population movement in Belarus has not changed a lot as the mortality rate has exceeded the birth rate in the country since 1993. Whereas in 1991 in Belarus a natural population growth could be observed (1, 8%) in 2012 natural decline was 2.8%. Today the determining feature in the Belarus demographical balance is the natural decline of population (Antipova 2008).

In the 21st century multidirectional trends of demographic dynamics are typical for urban and rural population. The annual growth of population (0.4%) and its natural increase (0,7‰, 2012) is characteristic in the urban area, but in the rural area there is a stable tendency of depopulation with annual decline (2.6‰), mortality exceeding birth rate and a natural decline in the population (13.1‰).

Having acquired independence The Republic of Belarus became a full-fledged participant of the migration space of the world system. For more than two decades under new economic conditions some significant spatio-temporal changes in both domestic and international migration have taken place in the socio-economic development of Belarus. During 1991–2012 the rate, reasons and the issue of migration and the migrants have

changed cardinally. In addition to this fact The Republic of Belarus relatively stable in socio-economic terms in the post-soviet space has become attractive as a temporary and permanent employment opportunity for CIS and other foreign citizens.

In the period from 1991 to 2010 the total volume of international migration in the Republic of Belarus amounted to approximately 1.5 million people. The maximum value of migration reached in 1990 was 256.1 thousand people followed by a steady decline. The international migration proportion in the overall migration throughout the period varies in the interval of 5%. The main trend in the volume of international migration of the population of Belarus for 1991–2012 was a reduction which amounted to 90% for the period and shows the tenfold decrease. Having examined the trends and the volume of arrival and leaving processes of international migrants reduction as a main trend can be stated as typical for both. At the same time the rate of leaving reduction is higher than that of the arrival. The total number of international migrants arrived in Belarus has been reduced by 85%, the number of those who have left by 95%. Whereas in 1990 the intensity of inflow was 11.39%, and outflow rate was 13.74%, in 2010 the arrival decreased to 1.81%, and the outflow reached record low values – less than 1 (0.72%) proving of a sharp decline in the activity of international migration in the Republic of Belarus (Table 1, Fig. 1).

Table 1. Dynamics of main indexes of international migration in the Republic of Belarus

Year	Migration volume, persons	Migration balance, persons	Intensity of inflow,‰	Intensity of outflow,‰	Net migra- tion,‰
1990	256072	-23948	11,39	13,74	-2,35
1995	69937	-205	3,41	3,43	-0,02
2000	39755	12131	2,59	1,38	1,21
2005	24113	1949	1,34	1,14	0,20
2010	24035	10303	1,81	0,72	1,08

Source: author's compilation based on National Statistical Committee of the Republic of Belarus data

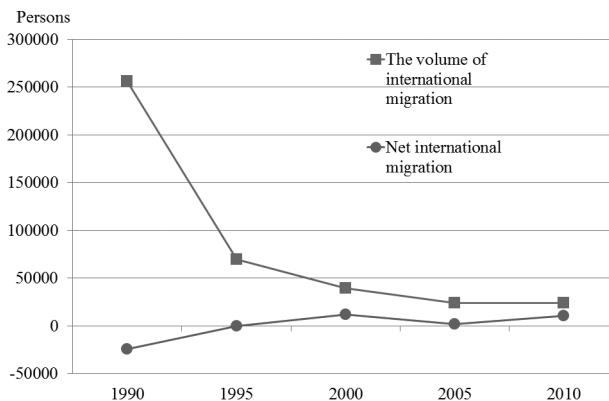


Figure 1. The nature and volume of international migration in the Republic of Belarus

Transformational nature of the trend is typical for the international net migration of the population of the Republic of Belarus in 1991–2012. At the beginning of the studied period in 1990 Belarus permanently kept the position of a “giving country” in the world market with the negative balance value 2,35‰ as a consequence of the processes after the fall of the Soviet Union. During the first independent years of Belarus for the first time in the long-term demographic history the net international migration was positive and its value doubled from 31 to 68 thousand, or in relative terms with 3.08‰ to 6.65‰ in two years – 1991–1992. In the following years (except the period 1994–1995) up to the present time the balance of international migration in Belarus has been and is still positive at the level 10 thousand, which means 1.08 per 1,000 inhabitants (Antipova et al 2013) (Fig. 2).

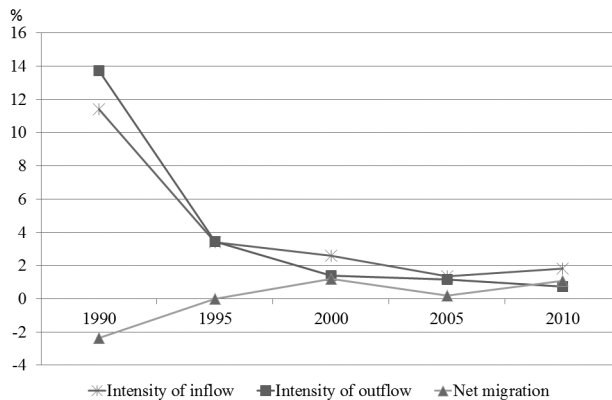


Figure 2. The international migration intensity of the population of the Republic of Belarus

For the detailed analysis of the international migration dynamics in the Republic of Belarus during the period 1991–2010 researches suggest three sub periods.

- First years after the breakdown of the USSR (1991–1995). The largest migration flows in Belarus had been observed in the early 1990s, when labour migration to a large extent was caused by transformational changes in the economy and in politics. After the fall of the USSR ethnic Belarusians returned to Belarus. At the same time there was a growth of refugees and a return of migrants. For the first subperiod the total migration volume amounted to 711.9 thousand people, which is 58.2% of the total number of labour migrants for the period 1991–2010.
- Stabilization of socio-economic development in Belarus (1996–2006). There was a decline in migration population growth particularly as a result of the reduction of the flow of the people arriving in the country whose number statistically lower the rate of those who leave the country. It's necessary to mention the decline of migration exchange of the countries outside the CIS. During this subperiod the total number of migrants was reduced to 407.7 thousand people, or 33.3% of the total number of migrants in the period 1991–2010.

- The realization of The National program of demographic security of the Republic of Belarus (2007–2010). Through the implementation of the program a number of measures were taken that facilitated the procedures for obtaining citizenship and residence permits, for example, for the former inhabitants of Belarus. It gave the opportunity for more migrants to come back to the country officially. However, the effect of these measures did not last long. For the third subperiod the total number of migrants amounted to 101.8 thousands, that is 8.5% of the total number of labour migrants for the period 1991–2010.

In the Republic of Belarus migration exchange with the countries of the CIS is prevalent with 966 thousand people, or 79.1% of the total volume of international migration during 1991–2010. The proportion of international migrants from the countries outside CIS in 1991–2010, was 20.9%, or 259.0 thousand people (Table 2).

Table 2. The dynamics of international migration in the Republic of Belarus during 1991–2010 (thousand people)

Period	Migration volume	Immigration volume	Emigration volume	Migration balance	The arrivals from CIS	The arrivals from non CIS countries	The left to CIS	The left to non CIS countries	Balance with CIS countries	Balance with non CIS countries
1991–1995	712	424,3	287,7	136,6	338	86,3	226,8	60,9	111,2	25,4
1996–2006	407,8	255,5	152,3	103,2	229,1	26,4	88,4	63,9	140,7	–37,5
2007–2010	101,9	68,6	33,3	35,3	56,8	11,8	24,1	9,2	32,7	2,6
1991–2010	1221,7	748,5	473,3	275,1	623,9	124,5	339,3	134	284,6	–9,5

Source: author's compilation based on National Statistical Committee of the Republic of Belarus data

The total number of new arrivals from CIS countries is 623.9 thousand people. The number of new arrivals from non-CIS countries is almost 6 times less than with the countries of the CIS 124.6 thousand people.

The analysis of geographical data on international migration shows that the main exchange occurs with the CIS countries: Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan, which is 72.3% of the total volume of the international migration for the period. Russia is the primary destination. The Ukraine and Kazakhstan, which were on the second and third places consequently in 2000, in 2010 seem to have swapped in the rating. In 2000 the fourth and fifth places were occupied by Uzbekistan and the Republic of Moldova, with a share of 1.5% and 1.7%. In 2010, their places were taken by Turkmenistan with 3.2% and Azerbaijan 1.9%. The introduction of these states in the rating data is to be associa-

ted with more than one aspect: the employment of specialists in the sphere of construction and trade, as well as the increase of foreign students admitted to the universities of Belarus (Antipova et al 2013).

According to the distribution of new arrivals from non-CIS countries the first place in both 2000 and 2010 is occupied by Lithuania, the share of which increased from 1.5 to 4.6% in 2010, which is an indication of the return of the ethnic Belarusians. The number of legal migrants from China for 10 years was reduced by approximately 1/3, which may prove the growth of illegal migration in the country as well as the fact of specialists employed in the sphere of construction from the P.R. China.

Latvia has changed its place from the third to the second one with almost double increase in the proportion of migrants, with 1.1% to 2.1%. The reasons for this growth are identical to Lithuania – the return of Belarusians to their homeland. Leading position in the rating of countries of immigration to Belarus is occupied by Poland, Lebanon and Israel. This can be explained by return migration from the countries where mass emigration took place in the early 1990s, after which a considerable number of migrants returned to Belarus as repatriates.

During 1991–2010 the number of drop-outs from the CIS countries was 342.1 thousand people. The most active exchange with the countries of CIS was carried out in 1991 and 1995: 226.8 thousands or 66% of the total number moved from Belarus. In the following periods the emigration declined: from 226.8 thousand people in 1996–2006 to 24.4 thousand people during 2007–2010.

The number of drop-outs from the countries outside CIS for the period 1991–2010 was nearly 1/3 of the immigration flow from the countries of the CIS for the same period: i.e. 134, 4 thousand people. For the period 2007–2010, there was a sharp reduction in the number of emigrants up to 9.5 thousand people, which means a reduction in comparison to the level of 1991 was 84.4%.

The emigration level of countries was also analyzed with a rating method. The share of Russia from 2000 to 2010 increased from 42.3% to 61.7%, the share of Ukraine and Kazakhstan remained approximately the same, at the level 8.0% and 1.0%, respectively.

The indicator reflecting the character of international migration is the migration balance of flows to CIS and non-CIS countries. For the period 1991–2010 the countries of the CIS maintained a positive balance, which reached 281.8 thousand people, 40%, or 111.3 thousand people of whom 50% were in 1991–1995, or 138.2 thousand people were in 1996–2006, the remaining 10%, or 32.3 thousand people were in 2007–2010.

In contrast to the positive value balances with the CIS countries, with non-CIS countries during the period 1991–2010 there was a negative migratory balance in Belarus amounting to 9.5 thousand people which is a summarized value of the following subperiods: +25.4 thousand people – 1991–1995, -37.5 thousand people – in 1996–2006; and +2.6 thousand people in 2007–2010. As we can see, the migration balance during different subperiods varies, it is positive during the first and the last phases, during the second, the longest one, it is negative.

Regarding the characteristics of migration in different regions in Belarus both general and distinctive trends have been identified. Firstly, there is a certain dynamics in the mig-

ration volume decline in all the regions during 1998–2010 from 5.5–8.8 thousand people to 2.3–4.4 thousand people which means an average 0.4–0.5% per year.

Secondly, positive balance is still present in all the regions even in their reduction. In 2010, a maximum balance of migration was in Gomel region – 2195 people (1.53‰), followed by the western area of Belarus (Brest: 1907 people, 1.36‰ and Grodno: 1555 people, 1.45‰), which traditionally has been more attractive from the migration point of view. Central Minsk region is ranked in the middle of the list of international migration balance in 2010 of 1526 people (1.08‰). The list is ended by Vitebsk (1311 people, 1.07‰), and Mogilev (678 people, 0.62‰) regions. Among all the cities according to international migration balance size in 2010 Minsk occupies the leading position (1461 people), that is almost twice as much as the following Brest (893 people) and Gomel (811 people) (Antipova et al 2013) (Fig. 3).

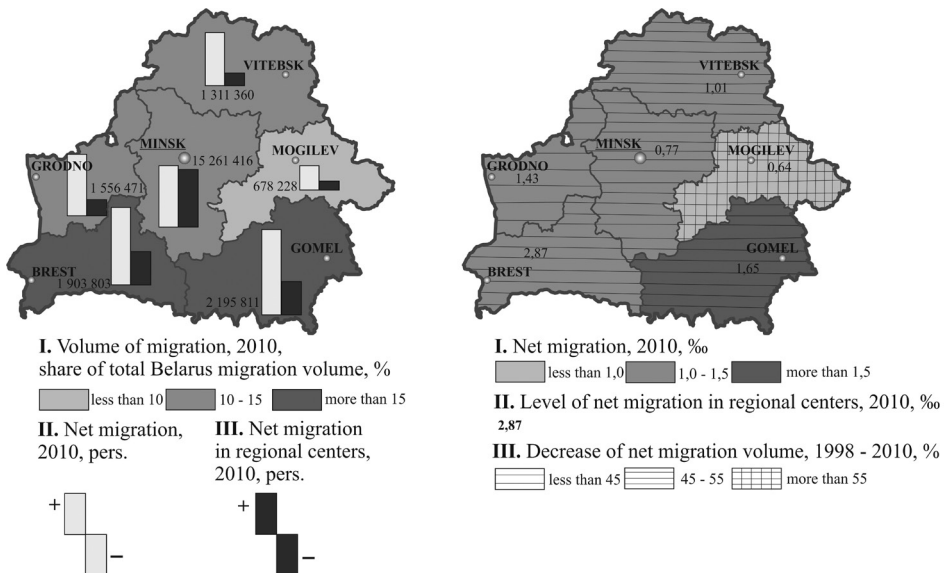


Figure 3. Regionalization of international migration of the population of the Republic of Belarus.

Thirdly, the differentiation of regions according to their contribution to the total international migration process has been determined. Gomel and Brest regions are leading; their share in the international migration volume in 2010 was 19.0 and 16.6% correspondently. During the period 1998–2010 this index was permanently stable – over 15% of the whole migration rate. The share of the capital, Minsk, was 17.3%. The intermediate position according to the share of the total rate of the international migration in 2010 was occupied by Vitebsk, Minsk and Grodno regions – 15.5%, 12.0% and 11.2% correspondently. The minimum contribution, less than 12%, is from eastern Mogilev region (8.9%) as it is the least populated area.

When assessing the international migration in the Republic of Belarus, one of the key issues in the context of globalization to be underlined is the structure of migrants, and to a greater extent, the structure of the labour force and labour resources.

In the period from 2000 to 2011 in the structure of labor migration economically active population (70-80%) and young people under the age of 24 years (more than 60%) dominated, which is largely due to their participation in international education and working projects during the summer holidays. The main countries, receiving migrant workers from Belarus are Russia, the United States, Poland and Germany, respectively. The share of these countries in the labour emigration from Belarus in 2008-2011 was 97%. In contrast to the temporary migrants, 90% of those, whose departure from the country involves a change of permanent residence, received higher or secondary education.

The most attractive market for Belarusian emigrants is Russia. According to some evaluations, more than 90% of labour migrants leave for Russia. Currently many workers in the spheres of construction, agriculture, and oil production are temporarily working in Russia. The labour market of the Ukraine is less popular among Belarusian emigrants. However, in the recent years, both by economic and political reasons some professionals (journalists, businessmen, mass media and culture stuff, etc.) have moved to Ukraine. The flow is relatively small, but for Belarus, this is a loss of skilled workers (Shakhotska, Bobrova 2012; Tsitarenko 2012).

The labour markets of Europe are divided into several categories of Belarusian migrants according to the spheres of employment. In Poland, for example, there are two groups. The first group is highly educated professionals (professors, PhD, university lecturers, doctors), and there is a need of them in Poland, as they substitute Polish professional, who have migrated to other EU countries. The second group is skilled workers (for example truck drivers). Belarusian migrants either permanently live in Poland throughout the contract term or regularly come home each month for 1-2 weeks.

On the labour market in Lithuania Belarus target group of migrants is composed of four categories of the population: (1) university professors, (2) young, well-educated scientists, (3) students, (4) journalists and opposition politicians.

The labour markets of other countries of the European Union are represented by significantly less categories than Belarusian workers. These are mainly scientific researchers and IT professionals. And at the same time almost all EU countries benefit from Belarusian labour migrants, since most of them have a vocational or higher education (or scientific degree) and comply with laws of the host country (Shakhotska, Bobrova 2012; Tsitarenko 2012).

In general, the major motivation factors for labour migrants from Belarus are: higher wages, higher standards of living and much higher quality of life in the EU countries.

4.1.2.1 Results of questioning “Potential migration activity of young people in capital city”

Potential migration activity of young people in the capital city, the attractiveness of cities and countries for permanent and labour migration was investigated by questioning students of leading universities in Belarus.

Students of the Belarusian State University, the Belarusian National Technical University and the Belarusian State University of Informatics and Radio Electronics were interviewed. The total number of respondents was 282 people aged 18 to 25 years.

Exploring the potential of international migration mobility showed that the most attractive countries for living are European states with Germany on the first place (0.51), followed by the United Kingdom and Italy (0.35 and 0.32 respectively). Within the countries of the Visegrad Group Czechia occupies leading positions (the fifth position in the ranking (0.27) after France). Within the countries outside Europe a statistically significant coefficient of repeatability can be shown only in the United States (0.26).

Socio-economic factors that form the potential migration mobility have very high values of the coefficients of repeatability (average 0.80). The determining factor is the possibility of self-fulfillment (0.82), followed by access to the cultural environment and satisfaction of spiritual needs (0.83). Moreover, these factors are in leading position due to the answers of female respondents. Men mentioned as important factors opportunity to find a high-paying job and career prospects.

Willingness to change residence in the future expresses about 27% of respondents. And respondents for which Minsk is not currently a permanent place of residence in 53% of cases indicate that they are ready to move elsewhere in the future.

As external probable directions to move were noted primarily Germany and Russia (repeatability coefficients of 0.11 and 0.09 respectively). The third place has Poland with a level of coefficient about 0.08. Other countries of the Visegrad Group as planned external migration directions in the responses were not marked.

A small share of the students has the possibility for such a migration now (12%). However, the proportion of those who will take all the effort to have such an opportunity in the future, is large enough (39% of all those who are planning to move).

Respondents have relatively high propensity for temporary labour migration. 11% of respondents reported that they plan to take part in temporary labor migration, and 35% – with a high probability. The main direction for temporary labor migration is Germany (0.11), followed by Poland (0.10) and Russia (0.8).

Thus, our survey has revealed that potential of external migration remains relatively low. In the formation of potential migration flows the most important factors are geographical neighborhood and common historical development (Russia, Poland), as well as the level of socio-economic development of country (Germany).

4.1.3 Main receiving and sending countries, the role of V4 countries in international migration, special migrant groups (age, gender, education)

There are two groups, clearly identified in the structure of states participating in the international migration of Belarus. The first is composed of the states, which historically and traditionally constitute a significant flow of international migration. The second group (new-comers) consists of the countries which are new participants in international migration. The evaluation of the countries which receive foreign migrants and from which

migrants come to the Republic of Belarus, taking into consideration the specific feature of National statistics, was held for the two groups of states – CIS and non-CIS countries. In the structure of the CIS countries where an active emigration takes place and which are the most attractive for foreign residents, traditional ones are Russia, the Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. In this case the absolute keynote for emigration of Belarusian people was in favour of Russia, its share in 2000 – 2010 increasing significantly, from 42.3% to 61.7%. The proportion of the Ukraine has remained stable – 8%, the share of Kazakhstan has increased almost twice (Table 3).

Table 3. Rating of the first three countries in terms of emigration from the Republic of Belarus

Place	CIS countries		Non CIS countries	
	2000 yr	2010 yr	2000 yr	2010 yr
1	Russia – 5854* (42.3%)	Russia – 4237 (61.7%)	Israel – 2500 (18.1%)	Germany – 433 (6.3%)
2	Ukraine – 1137 (8.2%)	Ukraine – 555 (8.1%)	USA – 1560 (11.3%)	Israel – 351 (5.1%)
3	Kazakhstan – 110 (0.8%)	Kazakhstan – 93 (1.4%)	Germany – 918 (6.6%)	USA – 221 (3.2%)

* 5854 – number of emigrants, persons, 42.3% – emigrants' share

Source: author's compilation based on National Statistical Committee of the Republic of Belarus data

The receiving countries of Belarus migrants, members of the top-10 of the CIS, but having a small share (from 0.3 to 0.1%) in 2000 were Moldova, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, respectively. In 2010, these countries remained in the rating with the increase of volumes of emigration to Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, and Moldova.

In the structure of non-CIS countries there has also been a historically stable triplet – Israel, Germany and the United States. However, if in 2000, the first position was occupied by Israel (18%), the second – by the USA and the third – by Germany, currently, in the structure of the international migration there has been a significant decline in the share of Israel (up to 5.1%) and the US (up to 3.2). The first position is for Germany with a stable proportion of about 6%. Traditional receiving countries of Belarusian migrants among non-CIS countries are Lithuania, Latvia and Poland. In addition, in 2000 the top-10 of Belarusian emigration, but with insignificant share, included China, Canada, Afghanistan, and Lebanon. In 2010 the proportion of Poland in the structure emigration, increased, and Vietnam became a part of newcomer countries (Antipova et al 2012) (Fig. 4).

To evaluate the emigration to V4 countries we used materials from the consular departments of these countries concerning the number of issued Schengen visas to the citizens of the Republic of Belarus for 2012, as well as the materials on migrants' account of regional statistics in Brest, Gomel, Grodno and Minsk regions.

The geography of emigration to V4 countries is characterized by two distinguishing properties; the first is the absolute predominance of Poland in the structure. According to

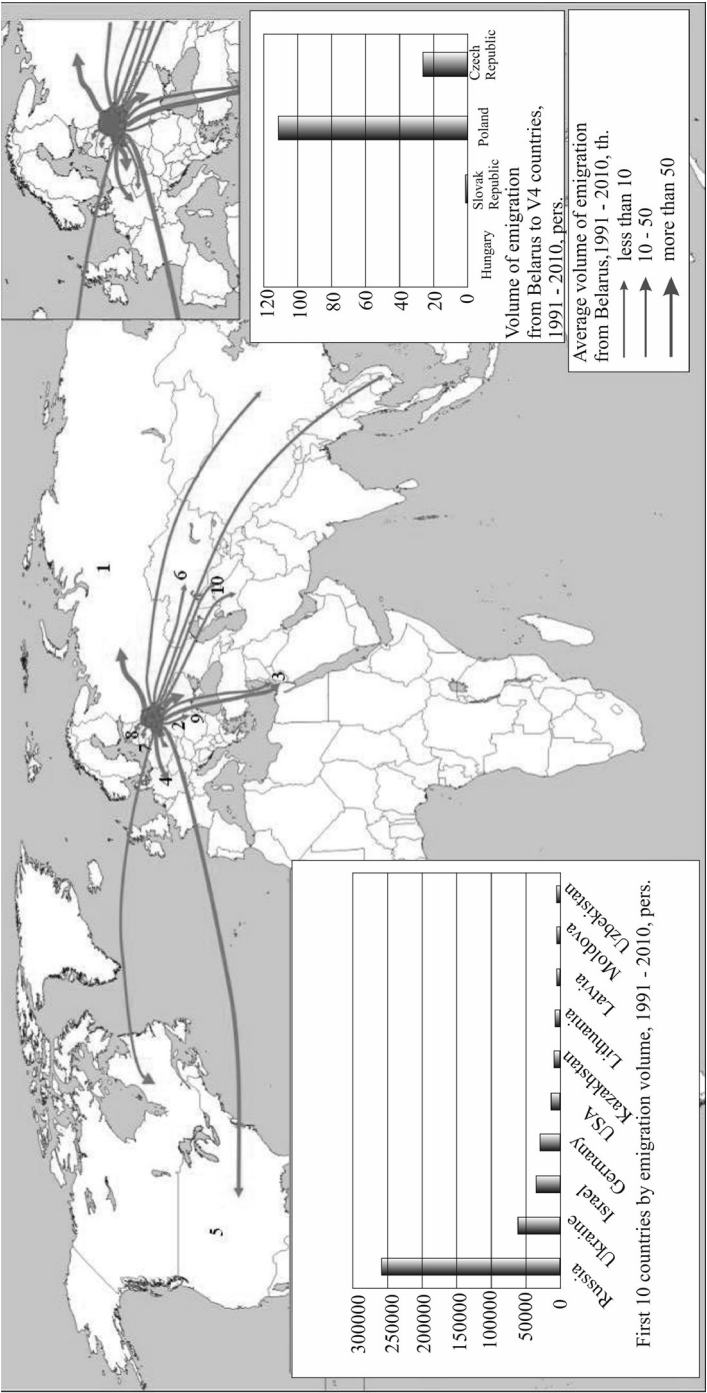


Figure 4. Geography and range amount of emigration in the Republic of Belarus

the official information on the number of received visas to the Visegrad group countries in 2012 the absolute leader was Poland. 350 thousand visas were issued to its visitors, 80% of them were so called “shopping visas” to visit Belostok, Kuznitsa and Sukulky’s malls.

The second position is occupied by the Czechia. The Czechia annually generates about 15–16 thousand short-term visas, about 60% of which are for tourists, 20% – for travels with cultural and sporting purposes and 20% – for business and private travels on invitation. In 2012 there were 15.4 thousand short-term Schengen visas issued.

The second feature is the presence in the structure of states, the share of which is unessential and statistically minimal. In particular, this is the Slovak Republic. For the same period the Consulate of the Slovak Republic has issued 4.2 million short-term Schengen visas, the consulate of the Republic of Hungary issued 11.3 thousand visas. As a rule, most trips are short-term; their aims are tourism, conferences, other business, scientific activities and, visiting relatives abroad.

According to the materials of regional statistics offices, received for 2012, we studied migration with a longer term aiming to receive a permanent place of residence, or leaving for a job study. We have collected the information about four areas: Brest, Gomel, Grodno and Minsk.

Emigration to the countries of Visegrad group from Grodno region is mainly to Poland: 94.8% of the total number of migrants has left the country in 2012. 5.2% have migrated to the Czechia, and the total number of emigrants to Visegrad countries amounted to 58 people. Mainly citizens of large regional centres (Grodno, Lida) and border areas tend to leave the country. Distribution of emigrants on a monthly basis can be seen on the example of Poland where the migration activity summer peak is in July, whereas the spring peak is in March. As far as the gender structure of the emigrants is concerned more men migrate to Poland (64.2%), and the Czech Republic is attractive for women (66.2%). The vast majority of migrants are the people of working age, in the structure of the Czechia there are 100.0% emigrants. As for the family structure about 50% of migrants to Poland and the Czechia are married. According to education level those who have higher education dominate (50% in Poland and 1/3 in the Czechia). We would also like to mention that 80% migrants to Poland and 100% who leave for the Czechia go to have a permanent place of residence. In these cases the situation can be labelled “brain drain”.

In the structure of states, people from the Republic of Belarus arrive at there is a historically and economically determined similarity.

Among CIS countries Belarus is the most attractive for Russia, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan (this is true the other way round as well). Hence, the share of Russia remains relatively stable and dominant (over 50%). The share of the Ukraine has increased a little and reached 15.4%, while the share of Kazakhstan has been reduced by more than twice (Table 4).

Among the countries outside the CIS, Lithuania, Latvia and Poland immigration has been historically motivated (see the emigration pattern); mainly due to ethnic repatriation. While keeping the sustainability of the triad countries of immigration, the share of Lithuania has increased more than 3 times, the share of Latvia has increased more than twice.

Table 4. Top-3 countries by the volume of immigration to the Republic of Belarus

Place	CIS countries		Non CIS countries	
	2000 yr.	2010 yr.	2000 yr.	2010 yr.
1	Russia – 14424* (55.5%)	Russia – 9268 (53.9%)	Lithuania – 384 (1.5%)	Lithuania – 799 (4.6%)
2	Kazakhstan – 3590 (13.8%)	Ukraine – 2640 (15.4%)	China – 348 (1.4%)	Latvia – 363 (2.1%)
3	Ukraine – 3546 (13.6%)	Kazakhstan – 698 (4.1%)	Latvia – 291 (1.1%)	Poland – 242 (1.4%)

* 14424 – number of immigrant, persons, 55,5 % – share of immigrant

Source: author's compilation based on National Statistical Committee of the Republic of Belarus data

The repatriation factor of Belarusian population is the basis of immigration from Germany (0.9%) and Israel (1%).

Recently, China has become an active participant of immigration (1%), which can be connected to economic reasons (work in the construction sector), as well as to student mobility. New countries where migration to Belarus takes place are Vietnam (labour migration), Estonia (ethnic migration of Russian population), and Afghanistan (transit migration). It should be noted, however, that the share of these countries in the immigration structure is extremely small and sometimes does not reach 1% (Fig. 5).

Immigration trends from the countries of Visegrad group are similar to the emigration to these states.

The geography of immigration to V4 countries is to be characterized by two distinct features. The first is the predominance by a wide margin in the structure of migrants from Poland. Total number of immigrants in 2010 amounted to 242 people. The second in line is the Czechia with 10 people. Unessential and statistically minimal is the share of immigrants from the Slovak Republic – 5 people, and Hungary – 2 people. As a rule, most visits are also short-term in nature, either for tourism or for business and scientific activities.

In terms of regions the total volume of immigration to Brest region was 84 persons, 81.0% of them (68 pers.) have come from Poland, 16.6% came from Hungary and 2.6% came from the Czechia. Migration from Slovakia to Brest region in 2012 has not been recorded.

As far as the total population is concerned the intensity of arrival is insignificant. It is explained by traditionally active migration exchange with the countries of the CIS. The arrival from Poland on month's basis is fairly proportional with the excess in the spring months, which may be because of seasonal migration of the labour force. As for other countries there have been bursts to be associated with the arrival of professional groups (e.g. the arrival of the group of mechanics to Hungary in January). It cannot be considered as a sustainable trend to be observed for a long period. The structure of arrival by gender, men take the leading position (from 83.5% of migrants from Poland up to 100.0% of migrants from the Czechia and Hungary). They are mainly workers, coming for seasonal jobs.

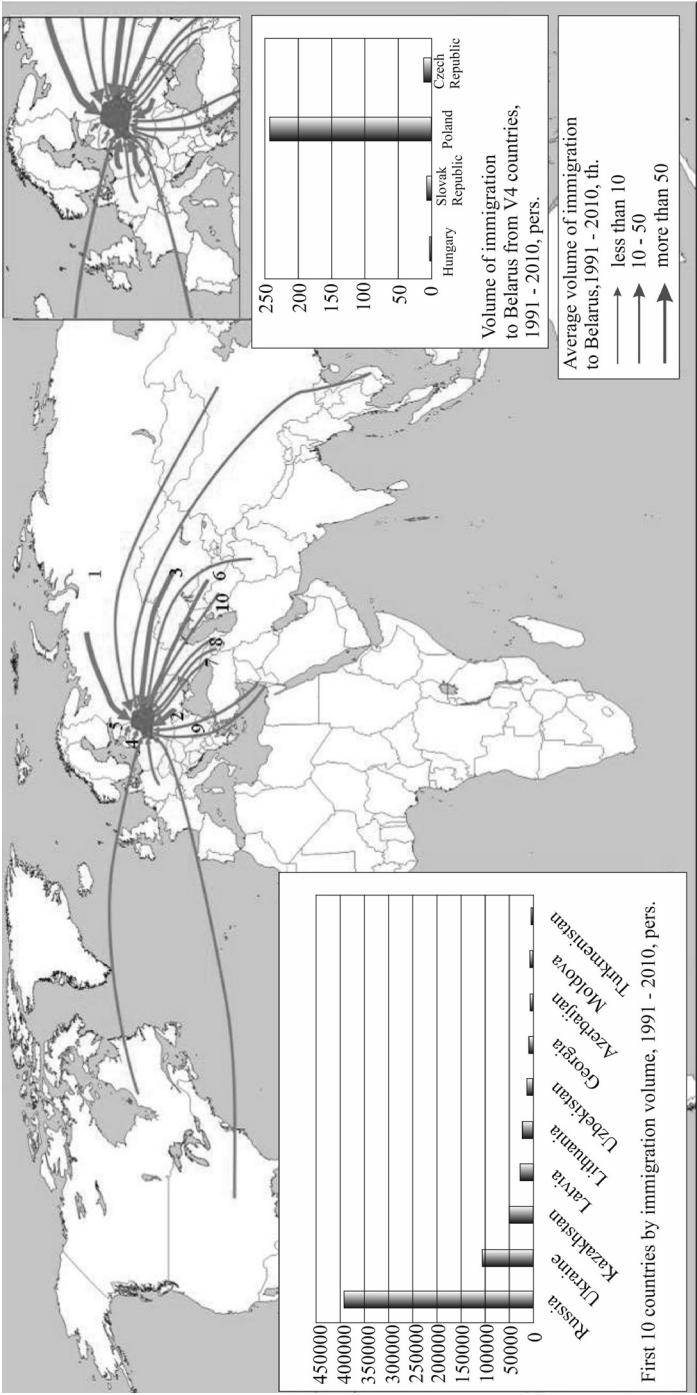


Figure 5. Geography and volumes of immigration to the Republic of Belarus

There is a wide variation of the level of education among immigrants of the region, with predominantly vocational and technical ones (from 30.0% to 100% of countries), 1/3 of migrants from Poland are people with a higher education coming after long-term traineeships. In this case the phenomenon of people returning after a long-term study period is actually a trend opposite to the so-called “brain drain”.

There are several groups to be separated in the professional sphere: those who are employed in the service sector (47.1% of the migrants from Poland and 100% – from the Czechia), those employed in the industry (100.0% migrants from Hungary) and the unemployed: 1/3 of the migrants are from Poland.

The international immigration volume of the population to Grodno region, bordering one of the countries of Visegrad group, Poland is higher and amounted to 80 people in 2012. The majority of them – 88.8% came from Poland, 7.5% came from the Czechia, 2.5% – from Slovakia, and 1.3% came from Hungary. Among the regions of arrival Grodno, Lida and Slonim take leading positions as well as border districts such as Berestovitsa, Lida. In general it is necessary to notice low activity of migration of Belarusian citizens to all the countries of Visegrad group except Poland.

4.1.4 Special characteristics influencing international migration in Belarus

Over a long historical period, Belarus had been a country that “gave” population, which was caused by a number of factors. Political factor consistently dominated until the end of the nineteenth century. Socio-economic factor has prevailed since the mid-nineteenth century, when the migration was linked with the voluntary leaving of employable population for a job search.

The emergence of new international migration factors in the 20th century was due to the rapid growth of the population of Belarus, industrialization and building of industrial enterprises for the Soviet Union, urban development movement in 1960-1980 and the impact of Chernobyl disaster in 1986 as well as the emergence of the legal framework governing the international migration of population in the nineties. As a result of the independence of the Republic of Belarus a range of factors in international migration have started to make impacts on the tendencies among them demographic, institutional and legal factors are of an increasing role. Since the middle of nineties, Belarus has gradually become a “host” country with predominating immigration (Manak 1992).

In addition to deep political and socio-economic transformations resulting from the initiated reforms and the opportunity of free travel abroad huge changes have occurred (in 1990 more than 33 thousand people left for Israel, in 1991 – 15 thousand people left for Israel and 6 thousand people for the United States). In late 1980s a new migration factor – environmental – appeared in the Republic of Belarus. Because of the Chernobyl catastrophe in 1986 and its consequences people of the most affected regions (Gomel, Mogilev) migrated to less affected regions and outside Belarus. 1990 year was the peak, when 12287 people left Gomel region for a permanent place of residence and 5759 people moved from Mogilev region. Later the migration flow because of this reason declined (Antipova 2008).

The period of 1990's can be characterized by dominant political and socio-economic factors, determining quite a broad geography of international migration, with several prevailing countries to receive Belarusian migrants (Russia, Ukraine, the USA, Israel, Germany).

In the 21st century along with socio-economic factors the institutional and legal factors also have started to make effects as a result of a legislative and regulatory framework governing population migration in the territory of Belarus, and by a scientifically determined migration policy of the state. The impact of demographic factor, caused by natural decline of the population and the emergence of areas of labour deficiency in the territory of Belarus, increased.

The correlation method and factor analysis were used for quantitative evaluation of influencing factors in 1998-2010 at the level of administrative regions. The initial data for composing the correlation matrix were the data which were divided into three sections:

- 1) Migration:
 - Migration volume, persons;
 - Migration balance, persons;
 - Migration net coefficient,%;
- 2) Demographic:
 - The population of district, thousand people;
 - Urbanization,%;
 - Natural population increase,%;
- 3) Socio-economic:
 - Indexes of the total volume of industrial output according to districts in comparable prices; in per cents to the previous year;
 - Nominal charged wages of worker according by districts, thousand rubles;
 - Provision of living accommodation at the end of the year, square meters of the total square per 1 inhabitant.

The analysis has shown almost direct dependence, close to 1.0 which is seen between the number of population and the international migration volume. This connection has not become weaker for the studied period (0.99 and 0.97). Migration balance and population number are less dependent, at the level 0, 8-0, 9, however, the correlation coefficient shows their rather strong interdependence. Urbanization level influences the population migration movement less, but it is significant as the correlation indexes show. So, the interdependence of this index with the migration volume is 0.54-0.59 which corresponds to the average level. The same is true for the correlation coefficient of the migration balance. The interdependence of natural population growth and the population migration of Belarus for the studied period intend to increase. In 1998 correlation indexes were 0.3. It shows the absence of connection; in 2010 the indexes of the balance and the migration volume is about 0, 5. It shows a medium level of connection between these phenomena. The following process can be explained by the reduction of the natural decline from 4.4% in 1998 to 3.1% in 2010.

At the republic level there is a stable positive correlation between migration and demographic factors with the indexes 0.93-0.97; it shows almost direct interdependence.

In 2010 the correlation is direct with the coefficient 0.3. For the studied period the influence of the nominal charged wages to the migration activity has declined from 0.56-0.67 in 1998 to 0.46 – 0.48 in 2010. The size of wages used to influence the migration activity of the population at the average level. However, the dynamics of correlation importance for the studied period is negative.

At the regional level the distribution of the correlation coefficients and consequently the connection between them has a significant difference. So, in 1998 there was a direct in-terdependence between migration and demographic factors in all 118 districts and the city of Minsk. The absolute majority of districts (108 of 118) were characterized by a strong connection – over 0.7. In 2010 the situation differs largely as we can see the indirect connection between phenomena in four districts (Khoyniki, Dribin, Klimovochy, Khotimsk); 13 with a weak connection (mostly outlying districts with a low migration activity), 20 with a medium connection and in 81 districts as well as in Minsk with a strong correlation of factors. Such dynamics testifies the reduction of influence of the population demographic characteristics in terms of migration activity at the microgeographic level. It is connected with the intensity of the demographic periphery of some districts and the reduction of their migration attractiveness on the one hand, and the depletion of demographic potential for the migration at the territory of Belarus on the other hand. To characterize the correlation connection between migration and socio – economic factors we should notice, that in 1998 there was a medium or strong indirect connection among factors in all regions. Here we should take into consideration the general economic background with crisis phenomena. In 2010 the interdependence in all regions is direct, but its tightness varies: it is weak in Bragin district, in 38 districts it is medium and in 80 districts it is strong. It all shows the importance of the socio – economic factor (along with others as well) in the migration movement of the population in the regions of Belarus. At the microgeographic level for the studied period the influence of the socio-economic factor for migration activity of the population of Belarus has considerably increased.

4.1.5 Short migration policy review

In the early 1990s, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Belarus had to face the problem of migration management and, in particular, of international labour flows. The development of the Belarusian legislation regulating social relations in the field of labour migration took place against the background of significant social, economic and political changes (Zagorets 2000). Belarus became both the host country for labour migrants and their country of origin. It should be noted that the Republic of Belarus had no experience in the field of legal regulation of international labour migration. Therefore, the development of the Belarusian legislation operated, on the one hand, in this area in accordance with international law. On the other hand, Belarusian legislation took over many provisions from the regulations of the former Soviet Union, with all their advantages and disadvantages (regulation gaps).

In the first half of the 1990s laws were passed, which established the basis of the legal regulation of migration. Belarusian legislation however still lacks comprehensive solutions

regulating labour migration, integration of migrants and refugees as well as return and reintegration. Its particular feature is also that it tries to regulate extensively the entries and exits of its own citizens.

Chronological development of legal and political framework governing migration and mobility:

- 2010 Law On the Legal Status of Foreign Nationals and Stateless Persons
- 2010 Law On External Labour Migration
- 2010 Law On the Legal Status of Foreign Nationals and Stateless Persons
- 2009 Law On the Procedure of Entry and Exit for the Citizens of the Republic of Belarus
- 2008 Law On Refugee Status, Subsidiary and Temporary Protection to Foreign Nationals and Stateless Persons
- 2006 Law On the Legal Status of Foreign Nationals and Stateless Persons in the Republic of Belarus
- 2002 Law On Citizenship of the Republic of Belarus
- 1994 Constitution

At the legal level, the issues of readmission in the Republic of Belarus are currently poorly developed due to difficulties in concluding such bilateral agreements. The only relevant regulation pertaining to this issue is the decree by the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Belarus of 31.12.2010 № 1918 “On the Approval of the Regulations on the procedure of handing over to neighbouring states foreign nationals and stateless persons, who have violated the rules of local border traffic set up by international agreements of the Republic of Belarus or who have lost the documents, according to which they had entered the territory of the republic of Belarus.”

Belarus is a party to the following regional agreements:

- 1998 Agreement on cooperation between CIS Member States in combating illegal migration (entered into force in Belarus in 1999)
- 2010 EurAsEC Cooperation Agreement on Countering Illegal Labour Migration from Third Countries (entry into force on 1 January 2012)

The legal basis for prevention of human trafficking in the Republic of Belarus is ensured by numerous laws, while the principle normative legal act related to labour migration is the Law № 225-3 “On External Labour Migration.” It regulates employment of foreigners in the Republic of Belarus, as well as overseas employment according to labour contracts of citizens and foreigners permanently residing in Belarus (MPC 2013).

Bilateral agreements on labour migration have been concluded with six CIS countries (AM, AZ, KZ, MD, RF, UA) and Lithuania, Poland, Serbia. CIS Convention on the legal status of migrant workers and members of their families, coming from the CIS participating states (2008) and Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Labour Migration and Social Protection for Migrant Workers (1994) apply vis-à-vis certain CIS states.

Russian and Kazakh citizens enjoy a free access to the Belarusian labour market, with the same right as Belarusian citizens. All other foreigners are subject to Law №

225-3. Foreigners permanently residing in the country have the right to engage in labour or entrepreneurial activities equal to that of the citizens of the Republic of Belarus and according to the procedure established by law.

The Department of Citizenship and Migration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Belarus have developed a system of documentation about employment abroad of Belarusian citizens. It includes:

1. The list of documents to be submitted to the Ministry of Internal Affairs for obtaining / renewal of a special permit (license) for activities related to the employment of citizens out-side of the Republic of Belarus.
2. The procedure for approval the information (advertising) announcements about a job outside of the Republic of Belarus.
3. List of legal entities and individual entrepreneurs engaged to activities related the employment of citizens outside the Republic of Belarus

Migration Policy of the Republic of Belarus in the sphere of labour migration is aiming to improve the regulation of export and import of labour force, protection of the national labour market from the uncontrolled inflow of foreign labour force and a mitigation of the situation in domestic labour market by employment of Belarusian citizens abroad.

In the Republic of Belarus a license procedure of activities has been established to attract foreign labour force and employment of citizens of the Republic of Belarus abroad. This type of activity was carried out by legal entities and individual entrepreneurs who have received special permit (license) issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Belarus. 52 licensees have special permission to carry out activities related to the employment of citizens abroad currently.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Belarus in 2011 approved the Regulations about the issuance of a permit to engage to the Republic of Belarus foreign labour force and special permits for work in the Republic of Belarus.

The Department of Citizenship and Migration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Belarus has developed a system of documentation in order to attract foreign labour force. It includes: 1) the order of recruitment to the Republic of Belarus the foreign labour force, and 2) list of accounts for issuance fee / renewal of a permit to engage to the Republic of Belarus the foreign workers, as well as special permits for work in the Republic of Belarus for foreign citizens and stateless persons.

The most popular destinations for employment: Russia, USA, Great Britain, Czechia, Lithuania, Latvia and Japan. The most popular professional spheres in demand are builders, drivers, vendors and health care providers.

Specialties, where migrants from Belarus are employed:

- Republic of Poland: construction workers, agricultural workers;
- Czechia: construction workers, maintenance personnel.

At the same time, foreign workers in Belarus are represented as agricultural workers, construction workers, top managers, athletes, trainers, coaches, cooks, and other professionals.

Fundamental changes in migration policy due to the changes of socio-economic situation in the Republic of Belarus in the field of labour migration have not occurred, the main changes are related to the prevention of illegal migration and management of refugee flows.

There is a tendency to reduce the number of people leaving the Republic of Belarus to work on the basis of signed contracts abroad. This tendency started due to the emerging crisis in the world economy resulting in measures taken at the national level to regulate labour migration.

The changes in socio-economic situation led to diversion of the flows: up to 2008 to the EU and CEE after 2008 mainly to the CIS and Russia.

The peculiarity of international agreements of the Republic of Belarus related to migration is that the greatest progress in developing bilateral agreements has been achieved only in agreements with the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States in general and within the Eurasian Economic Community (Common Economic Space) in particular. The key bilateral agreement related to free movement of people is the Agreement between the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation to ensure equal rights of the citizens of the Republic of Belarus and of the Russian Federation concerning the freedom of movement, free choice of the place of stay and residence and the territories of the member states of the Union State (concluded in Saint-Petersburg on 24.01.2006). Other CIS agreements on labour migration concluded by Belarus mostly doubled complements and specified the articles of the Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Labour Migration and Social Protection for Migrant Workers (concluded in Moscow on 15.04.1994, the version of 25.11.2005). In case there are no bilateral agreements between the Republic of Belarus and a particular CIS state related to the exchange of labour force the countries apply the aforementioned Agreement of 1994, as well as the 2008 CIS Convention on the legal status of migrant workers and members of their families, coming from the CIS participating states, which apart from Belarus has been ratified by Armenia, Azerbaijan and Ukraine.

Specialized migration policy for V4 countries in Belarus is not conducted. However, general legal documents govern the migration situation in the Republic of Belarus, there are separate positions related to migration to V4. The general legal documents are mentioned above.

In the sphere of mutual visits of citizens there are some agreements with Hungary (2002), Slovakia (2003) and Poland (2007) which provide visa-free travel for holders of diplomatic passport.

In order to implement international agreements between the Republic of Belarus and Poland member state of V4, as well as Latvia and Lithuania and to regulate the mutual visits of border residents, the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Belarus in February 2011 approved the Statute of the interaction of law enforcement agencies in order to prevent departures of border residents to the neighbouring countries beyond the border areas of the Republic of Belarus.

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4.2 Georgia: Migration, a main risk towards sustainable demographic future

Joseph Salukvadze, Giorgi Meladze

4.2.1 Introduction

During the era of the Soviet Union the external migration in its classical meaning was negligible in Georgia since there were no population flows outside of the USSR in any direction. However, Georgia took part in inter-republican migration processes that could be considered as external migration. According to the official statistics since 1960 Georgia has predominantly become a country of emigration. In this specific year the out-migrants exceeded in-migrants by 16,800 people. Until 1990 the largest number of out-migration was recorded in 1975 – 25,500, while during the period of 1976-1990 an average negative balance comprised 17,600 people annually. However, due to a quite significant natural growth of population Georgia never experienced the population decline before the independence.

After the collapse of the USSR Georgia found itself in a completely new geopolitical and socioeconomic situation (Gachechiladze, R. 2011). As a transitional country from the South Caucasus and Middle East to Europe and Russia it became an emigration generating and immigrant recipient as well as a transit migration country. Unfortunately, Georgia did not succeed in evolutionary transformation of its political and economic space under the new circumstances. The dramatic and turbulent events such as the abrupt cut of economic links with the former Soviet republics and their enterprises a rapid deconstruction of the industrial sector, a loss of access to all the former Soviet markets, a hyperinflation and an abrupt separation from Soviet Ruble monetary zone accompanied by civil tensions and political unrest inside the country including ethno-political conflicts in two provinces – Abkhazia and South Ossetia had caused tragic collapse of the country almost immediately after the independence. The consequences of these processes were reflected in the patterns and trends of external migration as well.

4.2.2 General demographic trends and the role of international migration in Georgia

After the independence Georgia has undergone the most dramatic and intense decline of economy compared to the other countries of the post-socialist space. The decline was well reflected in the worsening of the major economic indices: from 1990 to 1994 GDP

produced in Georgia diminished almost 5-fold; in 1994 the total industrial product declined to a level of 1958, and total agricultural product to a level of 1945. Whereas in 1990 more than 0.5 million people were employed in the industrial sector (Chikava, L. 1997) 10 years later this number reduced to the tenth which actually means a deindustrialization of the country. (Gachechiladze, R. 2011). A significant part of the population remained unemployed. In 1990 an average monthly rate of inflation reached a 1.7%, in 1992 a 21.3%, and in 1994 a 56.3% (Archvadze, J. 1997). In 1994 the GDP per capita reduced to 500 USD, while before the break-up of the USSR it was as high as almost 6,000 USD – the highest among all the Soviet republics.

In the mid-1990s the process of differentiation of the population by income reached its peak: an income of the top 10% of population (i.e. the richest with the highest income) exceeded a 50-fold of that of bottom 10% (i.e. the poorest with the lowest income). Such a deep unbalance should be considered as somewhat extraordinary and troublesome since even a proportion of 10:1 is considered very critical by experts as. As a comparison in the late 1980s this balance was slightly more than 5:1 (Archvadze, J. 1997).

The above-described socio-economic circumstances have made definite impacts on demographical figures: population number and absolute number of births have significantly decreased; death rate has increased; the process of population aging has increased intensively and emigration from the country has reached frightening dimensions.

According to the data of the National Statistical Service of Georgia (Geostat) the process of population decline was permanent between 1992 and 2004 (see table 1). In the specified period the total population number declined by almost 20%. Such a decline took place mainly among population of active reproduction (20-29 years) and of active working age groups (15-64). Noticeably, the degree of realization of the fertility potential declined from 36.6% in 1989 to 25.5% in 2002 (Meladze, G. 2007).

In the recent years (2008-2012) the country experienced a slight population growth though it turned to decline again in 2013, fixing the total population number of 4,483.8 inhabitants.

Table 1. Dynamics of population number in Georgia during 1990-2013

Years	Population number (‘000)	Years	Population number (‘000)	Years	Population number (‘000)
1990	5424.4	1998	4504.9	2006	4401.3
1991	5453.3	1999	4469.8	2007	4394.7
1992	5467.4	2000	4435.2	2008	4382.1
1993	5345.8	2001	4401.4	2009	4385.4
1994	4929.9	2002	4371.5	2010	4436.4
1995	4794.2	2003	4342.6	2011	4469.2
1996	4674.5	2004	4315.2	2012	4497.6
1997	4558.4	2005	4321.5	2013	4483.8

Source : Geostat

* Without population of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali regions since 1994 and 1993, respectively.

In spite of the increase of birth rate in the particular years a tendency of general decline is characteristic for the entire period between 1990 and 2012 (see fig. 1).

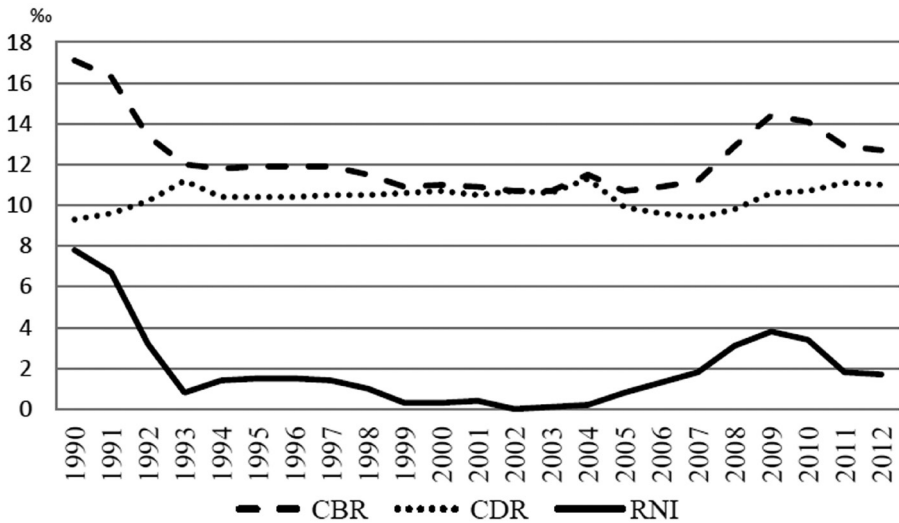


Figure 1. Dynamics of birth, death and natural increase rates in Georgia during 1990–2012

A drastic decline of crude birth rate was permanent during 1990–1994 when its value fell by 5.3 points. The number of the newborn in 2003 was half of that in 1990. However, in the years 2005–2009 a significant increase of absolute number of newborn was fixed, which caused an increase of crude birth rate by 3.7 points and counted at 14.4‰ in 2009 – the highest index since 1991. A part of Georgian society associated this fact with a positive impact of governmental socio-economic policy, and, even more strongly, with an incentive activity of the Catholicos-Patriarch of all Georgia Ilia II in 2008 who declared his willingness to baptize personally every third child and all the further ones if the family wishes it. Such suggestions may be acceptable to a certain extent but to explain significant birth growth only by the above-mentioned reasons does not seem convincing enough to us. Moreover, no comprehensive pro-natal policy has been carried out. The real reason of such growth should be rather searched in a complex and peculiar demographic system: in the specific years an impact on birth rate increase should be explained by structural changes among women in reproductive ages (Meladze, G. 2013). The highest proportion of newborn children in Georgia can be observed among mothers of the ages between 20 and 24. The increase in number of births has been observed since 2006 when women born in the period of 1982–1986 reached the age 20–24. Unfortunately, the potential of the above mentioned demographic wave is about to exhaust soon; consequently, its impact on natality will diminish and a decline of a number of births can be expected in the nearest future. Actually a process of birth decline has already started and the data presented in fig. 1 reveals exactly such a tendency since 2010.

In the meantime death rates have shown a tendency of growth in the recent years. In 2012 crude death rate counted at 11.0‰, one of the highest during 1990–2012.

The process of decrease of birth numbers together with a wide-scale emigration from Georgia strongly determines a growth of population aging index. In 2008 Georgia ranked 14th among the 25 demographically most aged countries worldwide (Kinsella, K. and Wan, H. 2009). According to Geostat data in 2013 the proportion of people of 65 and above this age in the population amounted to almost 14%.

As a consequence of negative demographic processes the natural growth of population has decreased significantly. During 1999–2004 the rate of natural increase was close to 0, and in 2002 was 0. This index was quite low also in 2013 making up only 1.7‰ (see fig. 1).

The tendencies seem equally pessimistic regarding the migration of population. As a result of acute socio-economic crises and instable political situation, a significant number of Georgian citizens have decided to leave the country forever, temporarily or for unknown period in order to secure their livelihood and that of their families. Because of extremely irregular and unreliable statistics regarding migration flows in 1990s, data published by the official statistical institution seems to us and to most experts, quite unrealistic (Meladze, G. 2002 and 2004). For instance, according to the official statistics in 1997 the negative migration balance in Georgia comprised only 500 persons. Such a situation has forced experts and scholars to apply alternative data sources and launch population/sociological polls when studying migration. From the second half of the 1990s there have been several publications (Meladze, G. and Tsuladze, G. 1997; Gachechiladze, R. 1997; Gugushvili, T. 1998) the results of which might be considered somewhat realistic. According to them a negative migration balance in years 1990–1997 counted from 620,000 to 1 million people, while the official statistics reported just about 219,800 emigrants from Georgia in the same period. For adjusting/rectifying migration data, after the population census of 2002 Geostat undertook a complicated process of data correction which resulted in fixing more realistic figures (see table 2).

Table 2. Net migration in Georgia, 1990–2012

Year	Number ('000)	Rate (per 1000)	Year	Number ('000)	Rate (per 1000)
1990	–13.2	–2.4	2002	–27.8	–6.4
1991	–22.6	–4.1	2003	–27.5	–6.4
1992	–139.3	–25.8	2004	5.5	1.3
1993	–140.9	–27.4	2005	76.3	17.5
1994	–142.6	–29.3	2006	–12.1	–2.8
1995	–127.2	–26.9	2007	–20.7	–4.7
1996	–123.1	–26.7	2008	–10.2	–2.3
1997	–59.9	–13.2	2009	34.2	7.8
1998	–39.2	–8.7	2010	18.1	4.1
1999	–36.3	–8.2	2011	20.2	4.5
2000	–35.2	–8.0	2012	–21.5	–4.8
2001	–32.6	–7.4			

Source : Calculations by the authors, based on Geostat data.

According to this statistics the peak of emigration occurred in the period of 1992-1996 when during an only 5-years period the negative migration balance from the country comprised 673,100 persons. As a comparison, in the 32-years period between 1960 and 1991, the negative migration balance in Georgia was only 474,500. The migration balance remained negative during 1997-2003 but its rate declined significantly.

A breakthrough in migration processes was observed in 2004 when for the first time after 1960 the number of visitors exceeded that of out-migrants by 5,500 persons. The next year, 2005, showed a 14-fold increase in positive migration balance, counting at 76,300 people. Such change in migration directions may be explained by an impact of the 'Rose Revolution' of 2003 on emigrant Georgians' hopes about promising perspectives of socio-economic development and possibilities of decent employment in Georgia. Such an attitude/perception of the situation pushed some of them back home. However, the trend of positive migration balance was soon replaced by fluctuation; e.g. in 2006-2008 Georgia the balance was negative again reversing to positive in 2009-2011, and negative by 21,500 people in 2012.

An explanation of such ups and downs in migration flows since 2004 might be explained by a fact that, despite certain economic improvements in the country a systemic breakthrough in enhancement of economic and production sectors was not achieved because of the inconsistency of governmental actions and a lack of well elaborated policy. A government policy of 'modernization' was neither clearly identified and oriented on final goals, nor based on solid in-depth economic calculations and analyses (Saqartvelos ekonomikuri transformacia, 2012).

Among the several reasons of out-migration from Georgia the main one is unemployment. According to Geostat the level of unemployment grew by 2.4 points between 2004 and 2010, and comprised 15.0% in 2012. However, experts assessed unemployment level much higher fixing 32.4% for the same year 2012 (Latsabidze, N. and Tsartsidze, M. 2013).

Affected by the Russo-Georgian war of 2008 and the world economic crises Georgia entered a phase of economic recession. The war caused tremendous economic loss expressed in dramatic reduction of growth rates/indices. In 2008 GDP growth comprised only 2.1%, compared to 12.3% of the year before (2007). The war caused significant ecological damages and aggravation of social background. A number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) rose almost by 160,000 people, and the government became obliged to provide them urgent social aid and newly built houses.

It is remarkable that Georgia is predominantly an importing economy (volume of import 5-times exceeds export), and thus its production system is weakly integrated in the world economic system. Interestingly enough, such an economic underdevelopment helped Georgia to overcome the global economic crises more easily compared to more developed countries. In addition to this, Georgia has received significant monetary aid of 4.5 billion USD, from the international community and financial institutions for reconstructing war damages and stabilizing economy. This donation appeared very efficient for stabilizing the national currency – Georgian Lari (GEL) and for keeping growing economic trends.

Due to the above-described circumstances the fixation of positive migration balance in years 2004, 2005, 2009-2011 causes certain doubts. These doubts are strengthened

by studies of UN experts who report on a negative average of annual external migration balance comprising 30,000 persons in Georgia in the years 2005–2010. The same source indicates even higher negative average annual migration balance during 2000–2005 counting at 62,000 persons. These average figures obviously are deviated from migration rates in the particular years but they clearly indicate that apparently a balance of external migrations stayed negative during the whole period. Interestingly, the studies and assessments of Georgian experts (e.g. Tsuladze, G., Maglaperidze, N., and Vadachkoria, A. 2012) prove the same fact.

According to the UN experts in 2005–2010 among all the post-Soviet countries Georgia had the highest negative average rate of external migration; it comprised -11.5 per 1000 persons (see fig. 2).

The latest Geostat data reports on a negative migration balance in Georgia equals to 21,500 people. In our opinion, taking into consideration the quite unattractive socio-economic conditions with no perspectives in the country retaining of negative trends in external migration can be expected in coming years.

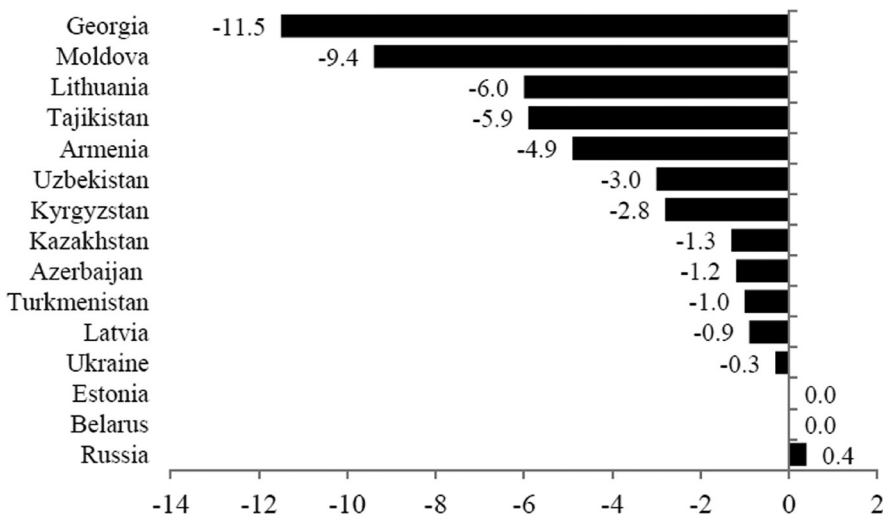


Figure 2. Average annual rate of external migration (per 1000 persons) in the ex-Soviet countries in 2005–2010

4.2.3 Main receiving and sending countries, role of V4 or EaP countries in international migration of Georgia

After the independence migration rates and its geography have undergone dramatic changes; significant shifts occurred in age, sex and social composition of migrants.

According to the first and only population census in independent Georgia, launched in 2002, the largest group of emigrants has moved to Russia (64.5%) which was mainly

determined by geographic vicinity, by traditional links with Russian population, by the ability to communicate in Russian language and understanding the way of life of local population. A proportion of emigrants to Greece was also significant (16.4%). Other attractive countries for Georgian out-migrants were: Germany, USA, Ukraine, Israel, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Spain and France respectively. The listed 10 countries concentrated almost 96% of all Georgian emigrants. As far as the Visegrad group (Poland, Czechia, Slovakia and Hungary) and Eastern neighbourhood countries are concerned (Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova), their total share comprised 2.3%. (see fig. 3).

Based on the Geostat research of 2008, vectors of emigration have significantly changed since 2002. Although emigration to Russia has dramatically decreased (to 40.2%) to be explained possibly by the introduction of visa regime from Russia since 2000, the latter anyway retained leadership among all other countries in receiving Georgian emigrants (see fig. 3).

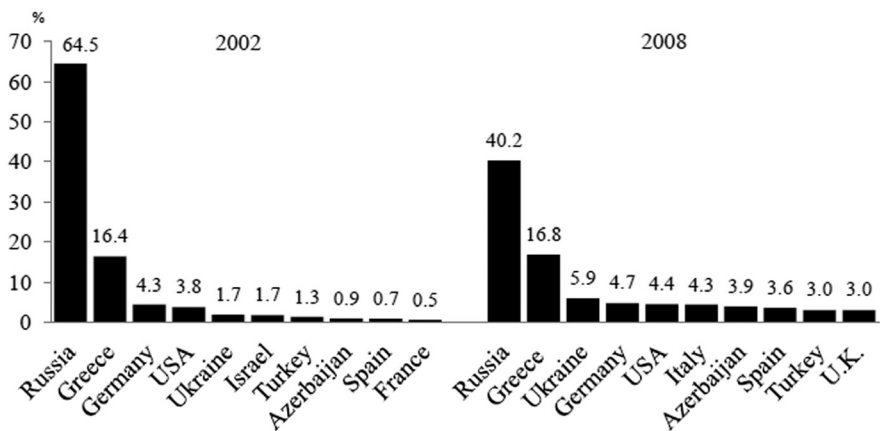


Figure 3. Distribution of emigrants by the countries of destination

After Russo-Georgian war of 2008 the relations between Russia and Georgia further aggravated; Georgia left CIS, cut diplomatic relations with Russia and the visa regime became extremely tough. Actually, Georgian citizens lost their right to enter Russia without special permission. Nowadays, people who wish for some reason to enter Russia but are not allowed to do so, usually use Belarus as a transit country because the latter has visa free regime with both Russia and Georgia.

In the meantime a share of emigration from Georgia increased to Ukraine, Turkey and Azerbaijan. A role of western European countries like Italy, Spain and UK has also become increasingly important. In 2008 a share of Georgian emigrants to the top 10 European countries and USA comprised 36.8%, compared to 25.7% in 2002. A share of Visegrad countries rose up to 6.9% in 2008 which is 4.6 point higher than in 2002. Until recently the Czechia was an exception among Visegrad members in terms of receiving emigrants from Georgia (0.3% of all emigrants), while Ukraine is the leader among the Eastern partnership countries – 5.9%.

Ukraine seems to have partially replaced Russia as an attractive destination for Georgian emigrants especially after tightening a visa regime. In addition, Ukraine for its geographical position is often used by illegal Georgian migrants for entering the European countries. In 2012 10.3% of all illegal emigrants from the former Soviet countries, who stopped at the Ukrainian border, were Georgian citizens.

Since 1990s radical changes in sex composition of external migrants from Georgia have been observed. Georgian emigration during the Soviet period mainly consisted of men migrating to Russia and Ukraine in order to be employed in seasonal or construction works, which lead to reinforced gender norms placing the responsibilities for economic provision upon men and the responsibilities for domestic provision upon women (Hofmann, T. and Buckley, C. 2011). A public opinion of that time did not appreciate women's participation in emigration on the basis of traditional Georgian values.

However, after the independence triggered by grave socio-economic circumstances and total unemployment a share of women out-migrants grew steadily. Interestingly, the society does not consider such a situation as deviation any more. "The number of Georgian women emigrating to Greece, Germany, and USA is significantly higher than that of men..." (Labour Markets and Employability, 2011).

According to the all Georgian population census of 2002 a proportion between men and women emigrants was 58.7% vs 41.3%, and it slightly changed by 2008 – 56.6% vs 43.4%, proving the growth of a share of women.

The above-mentioned census reported that 12.2% of all emigrants were children of age under 15, whereas a study of 2008 revealed a drastic decrease of this age group in external migrations (see tab. 3). This should be explained by a fact that in the 1990s Georgians used to leave the country with the entire family and this trend apparently has seriously diminished. During the recent years people have tended to leave the country for working, studying or for other purposes alone, without families.

Table 3. Composition of Georgian emigrants by age groups

Age group	2002			2008		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
<15	12.2	11.0	13.9	5.5	7.0	3.5
15–49	72.9	75.5	69.1	77.1	78.5	75.3
50–64	11.4	10.9	12.1	15.4	11.8	20.0
65+	3.5	2.6	4.9	2.1	2.7	1.2

Source: For 2002 – calculations by the authors, based on Saqartvelos mosaxleobis 2002 tsilis pirovuli savoveltao agtseris shedegebi. 2004;

For 2008 – Geostat

One should negatively assess a fact that between 2002 and 2008 significantly grew (by 8.2 points) a share of emigrants in working ages (15-64 years), comprising 92.5% in 2008. This fact primarily reveals serious problems in the employment sector of Georgia.

Noticeably, in 2008 a share of men emigrants in working age comprised 90.3% of all emigrants, and that of women – 95.3%; the identical rates in 2002 were consequently 86.4% and 81.3%. Hofmann and Buckley (2008) rightly explain this fact: "the shift in migration destinations towards countries with a higher demand for female work force, such as Europe, Turkey, and Israel marked a significant change with regards to gender and Georgian emigration".

As for the emigrants aged 65 and older, their share in migrations has always been insignificant.

According to the 2002 census data, the major part of emigrants was comprised by persons with higher or unfinished higher education (29.0%) and completed secondary education (32.6%). The study of 2008 phenomena proves that the share of these educational groups has further increased, consequently up to 33.1% and 41.0% (see tab. 4). At the same time the share of people with professional education slightly decreased (by 0.7 points) and, more significantly, the same is true for people with education status lower than secondary.

Table 4. Composition of emigrants by educational level

Education level	2002			2008		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
Higher and unfinished higher	29.0	29.7	28.0	33.1	30.6	36.3
Professional school	15.1	14.8	15.5	14.4	11.9	17.7
General secondary (completed)	32.6	33.9	30.7	41.0	45.0	35.8
Lower than general secondary	20.4	18.8	22.7	7.8	8.5	7.0
Illiterate	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.7	1.1	0.3
Unknown	2.8	2.7	3.0	2.9	2.9	2.9

Source: For 2002 – calculations by the authors, based on Saqartvelos mosaxleobis 2002 tslis pirveli erovnuli sakoveltao agtseris shedegebi. 2004;

For 2008 – Geostat

As far as the educational status of emigrants by gender is concerned in 2002 the difference between male and female population was not significant regarding people with higher and professional education, while the number of women with lower educational status greatly exceeded the same group of men. The situation had somewhat changed by 2008 – a share of men with higher and uncompleted higher education slightly increased (by 0.9 points), while a share of women in the same status group grew drastically – by 8.3 points, and, as a consequence, a share of the latter in this educational group comprised 36.3% exceeding the share of men. A share of emigrant men with professional education decreased between 2002 and 2008 while that of the women increased. Noticeably, a share of both gender groups decreased among emigrants with low educational status.

The official statistics of UNHCR provides a valuable source on asylum seekers for analysing vectors of out-migration flows. According to this source in 1991 for the very first time 8 Georgian citizens applied for asylum to the Czech government; in the early-1990s Georgian emigrants usually used Czechia as a transit country to settle Austria and Germany.

UNHCR reports that during 2000-2012 the number of asylum seekers from Georgia to Austria, Belgium, France, Germany and Switzerland was permanently high. Since 2004 the number of asylum seekers to Greece has also increased (see tab. 5).

Table 5. Number of asylum seekers from Georgia* in 2000–2012

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Austria	34	597	1921	1525	1744	955	564	400	514	975	370	261	300
Belgium	1227	481	313	302	211	256	232	156	222	327	336	347	386
Cyprus	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	759	886	336	352	122	73	41	17	10
Czech Rep.	103	1290	678	319	200	52	41	45	39	33	5	6	6
Denmark	149	34	44	29	32	10	16	6	25	17	15	19	75
France	373	1067	1554	1726	1563	772	283	177	376	471	1354	1646	2546
Germany	801	1220	1531	1139	793	480	235	183	233	560	664	471	1298
Greece	1	0	8	48	323	1897	428	1559	2241	2170	1162	1121	893
Hungary	27	29	91	205	288	114	175	131	165	116	76	21	12
Ireland	55	97	103	133	130	151	171	174	180	88	53	15	18
Latvia	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	17	**	**	176	106
Lithuania	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	13	7	n/a	235	202	296
Netherlands	291	298	216	116	73	213	156	66	64	412	587	189	n/a
Norway	70	205	284	180	82	15	11	**	19	47	85	49	109
Poland	71	92	39	30	47	40	16	14	54	4182	1083	1442	2960
Slovakia	0	27	58	582	985	244	209	134	112	98	66	32	42
Spain	170	99	74	55	43	38	19	14	62	36	48	12	9
Sweden	59	166	439	537	403	183	134	204	211	359	291	280	748
Switzerland	179	273	687	756	731	397	287	221	389	536	531	281	614
U.K.	235	135	225	150	150	125	80	60	85	95	75	41	28
USA	230	196	178	169	146	87	61	42	84	123	58	72	39

Note: * In the countries, listed in the table, more than 100 persons applied for asylum during the specified period.

** 1-4 persons.

Source: UNHCR

The analysis of the table reveals that the Czechia was a main destination for Georgian asylum seekers in 2000-2002, which was replaced by Slovakia in 2003-2007, and Hungary in 2008. Since 2009 up today Georgian asylum seekers in Poland began to prevail and

in 2012 its share in Visegrad countries comprised 98% (see fig. 4). This shift is determined by the decision of the Polish government to ease from 1st January 2011 start-up of employment procedures for the citizens of Georgia, Belarus, Ukraine and Russia. All in all, from 2000 to 2012 16,900 Georgian citizens requested asylum to Visegrad countries, out of which 59.5% applied to Poland, 16.6% – to Czechia, 15.3% – to Slovakia, and only 8.6% – to Hungary.

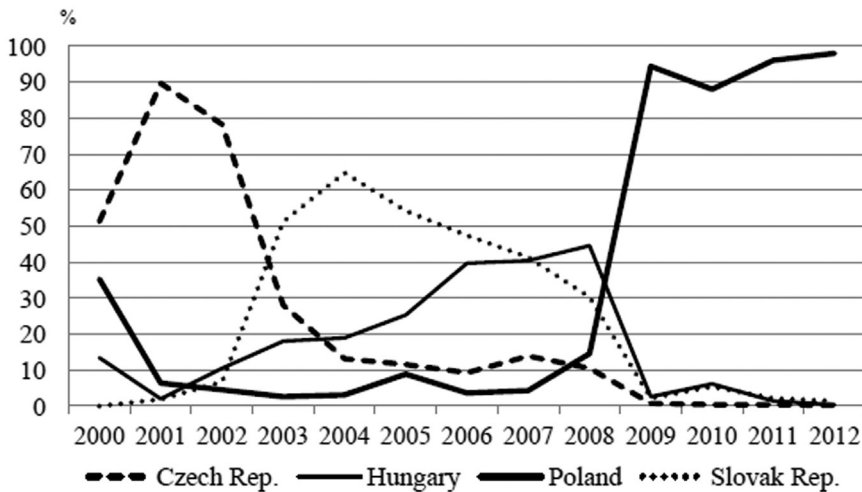


Figure 4. Asylum seekers from Georgia to Visegrad countries in 2000–2012

4.2.4 Special characteristics influencing international migration in Georgia

The hope of the Georgian society in the first years of independence that national economy would grow systematically and there will be a smooth transition towards market system has not met the expectations. In reality, due to the events described above in the introduction, the collapse of Georgia had started almost immediately with the independence and lasted for 5 years. Some experts prove that it was the most overwhelming and deepest crises among all the Eastern European and former-Soviet republics. Statistics illustrate the depth of the crises (see tab. 6) demonstrating that real GDP in 2000 made only 29% of real GDP in 1990. A significant part of economy has moved to shadow sectors.

In 1990–1993 GDP index fell annually on average by 28%, and considering ppp (purchase price parity) per capita, it reduced from USD 4,433 to USD 1,437. After the strong economic fall of 1990–1994 there was a short period of relative recovery in 1995–1998 when the income of population, salaries and pensions grew, small and medium business started to work and unemployment decreased. However, the global currency crises negatively affected the situation in Georgia –the pace of growth reduced and up to 2004 Georgia developed at low speed. Anyway, there was some progress in economic development: if

Table 6. The transition recession in post-Soviet and Visegrad countries

Country	Consecutive years of output decline	Cumulative output decline (percent)	Real GDP, 2000 (1990 = 100)
Central Southern Europe and the Baltics	4	23	107
Czechia	3	12	99
Hungary	4	15	109
Poland	2	6	144
Slovak Republic	4	23	105
Armenia	4	63	67
Azerbaijan	6	60	55
Belarus	6	35	88
Estonia	5	35	85
Georgia	5	78	29
Kazakhstan	6	41	90
Kyrgyz Republic	6	50	66
Latvia	6	51	61
Lithuania	5	44	67
Moldova	7	63	35
Russian Federation	7	40	64
Tajikistan	7	50	48
Ukraine	10	59	43
Uzbekistan	6	18	95

Source: Schulze, C. 2002.

in 1994 the volume of economic production in Georgia comprised only 18.7% of the 1990 level, in 2003 it grew up to 73%; which is, however, still lower than pre-independence rate.

The economy of Georgia didn't prove to be viable and resistant to outside shocks when the currency crises occurred in Russia in 1998 and in Turkey in 2000; both seriously damaged Georgian economy as a result of inconsistent macroeconomic government policies (Saqartvelos ekonomikuri transformacia. 2012), incomplete financial reforms and non-transparent financial system supportive to corruption. It is noteworthy that in 1999 the Transparency International ranked Georgia as low as the 84th on a list of 99 countries according to the Corruption Perception Index.

Poverty reached its peak in 1994 comprising 80%; afterwards it gradually reduced. According to the official data it reached 60% in 1995 and 46% in 1997. In the following years poverty level showed a slight annual increase reaching 52% in 2002 (Ekonomikuri ganvitarebisa da sigaribis dadzlevis programa. 2003).

It is worth mentioning that, according to official statistics hyperinflation three times higher in Georgia than the average level in the post-Soviet countries, and recession had not affected significantly unemployment level. This fact was explained by workforce moving to agricultural sector. Whereas in 1990 a share of agricultural employees comprised 26%,

in 2003 this figure grew up to 51%. However, the main reason for such an increase was definitely the land reform which granted small land parcels (up to 1.25 ha) to hundreds of thousands of families who automatically became recorded as self-employed in agriculture. Curiously, the total share of self-employed among all employed population made up 70%.

In reality the lack of mechanization, the unavailability of fertilizers, seeds and other materials for agricultural production together with the inaccessibility of credits and the predominantly subsistence character of farming on tiny land parcels didn't allow the majority of farmers to generate sufficient income from their land. Consequently, many of them gave up agricultural activities and have "joined" the unemployed population, while others preferred to emigrate from the country.

As Georgian legislation distinguishes self-employed (who is considered as employed in general) from the unemployed in the observed period unemployment rate officially was recorded as low as 11-14%. In the meantime, between 1990 and 2003, mostly because of unemployment, more than 1 million citizens left Georgia cardinally changing ethnic composition of the Georgian population.

According to the 2002 population census Georgians comprised the largest share (60.9%) of emigrants among all ethnic groups followed by Armenians (11.1%), Azeris and Greeks (7.7% each).

For in-depth description of migration process usually Emigration Intensity Index (EII) is used; it shows the number of representatives of particular ethnicity migrated per 1,000 persons of the same ethnic group. In case of Georgia the highest emigration intensity was fixed for Greeks, which 2.7-times exceeded EII of the second-ranked Jews. Quite high index was fixed also for Ossetians (see fig. 5). Although migration data contains serious shortcomings (Tsuladze, G. 2005), we assume that the general trends are correctly reflected in this statistics.

During 1989-2000 the population of Georgia has undergone dramatic changes regarding its ethnic composition. Except for Georgian and Azeri population all other ethnic groups showed decrease in terms of both absolute and relative numbers. Significant reduc-

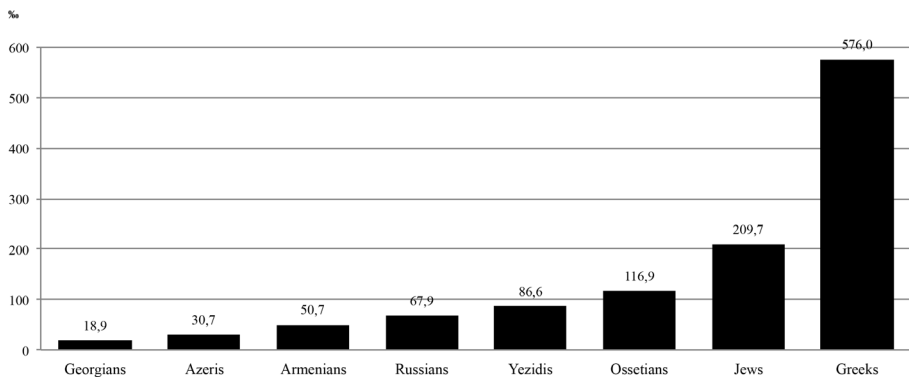


Figure 5. Distribution of emigrants by ethnicity and EII in Georgia, based on the 2002 population census

tion was observed among Greek, Jewish and Russian population. Although an absolute number of Georgians also decreased, their share, due to more dramatic reduction of other ethnicities (in relative terms), grew up to 84%. Such a high share of Georgian ethnicity in the population of the country has never been recorded by the population censuses since the very first one in 1897. Also for the first time, Azeri population became the second largest ethnic group in Georgia (see tab. 7).

Table 7. Ethnic composition of the population of Georgia, according to 1989 and 2002 population censuses

Ethnicities	Number of population		%	
	1989	2002	1989	2002
Georgian	3787.4	3661.2	70.1	83.8
Abkhaz	95.9	3.5	1.8	0.1
Ossetian	164.1	38.0	3.0	0.9
Armenian	437.2	248.9	8.1	5.7
Russian	341.2	67.7	6.3	1.5
Azeri	307.6	284.8	5.7	6.5
Greek	100.3	15.2	1.9	0.3
Jew	24.8	3.8	0.5	0.1
Others	142.5	48.5	2.6	1.1
Total	5400.8	4371.5	100.0	100.0

Source: Saqartvelos mosaxleobis 2002 tslis pirveli erovnuli sakoveltao agtseris shedegebi. 2004

Geography of out-migration of the population of Georgia, who predominantly travelled to Russia in the 1990s, has significantly widened and diversified. Emigration of persons of Russian ethnicity was mainly determined by the economic collapse in Georgia; most of them were employees in the industrial sector, and after stoppage of most of the industrial enterprises the majority of them decided to return to their historical homeland in search of new job opportunities. Another significant factor for emigration of Russians was the inability of the large majority of them to speak any other language than Russian. Already in 1989 the population census showed that 74.1% of the Russians in Georgia spoke only Russian language (Saqartvelos mosaxleobis erovnuli shemadgenloba. 1991), and after the independence of Georgia, in spite of the fact that the Georgian language was declared as the only state language the majority of Russian ethnic origin failed to study the official national language. This circumstance obviously served as an additional 'push factor' for emigration of Russians from Georgia.

In the meantime the main destination of Azeri emigrants was Russia, Azerbaijan and Turkey. For economic reasons most Armenians also choose Russia to emigrate to, while Greeks and Jews preferred returning to their historical homelands. Many of those Ossetians who resided in Tskhinvali region (former South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast) fled to Russia in the early-1990s pushed by ethno-political conflicts, while others, living in the villages of the eastern Georgia, stayed in the country.

In the recent years, as a consequence of the global crises, the working and living conditions of migrants seriously deteriorated in many countries; it became extremely hard to find an occupation with decent remuneration abroad. These circumstances forced many migrants to try to look after better conditions in other countries or return home. Unfortunately, Georgian statistics do not provide official data about return migrants. There is another source – Geostat study of 2008 that reports on 39.5% of return migrants to Georgia because of family reasons, 11.5% because of expiration of work contract, and 7.4% due to accomplished studies abroad.

It should be emphasized that financial situation of return migrants has deteriorated dramatically. Due to unavailability of working places and quite low salaries in Georgia, return migrants have faced difficulties in adapting to local conditions and in integrating into the mainstream society which, in turn may push them to emigrate again.

Based on his researches Tukhashvili claims (Tukhashvili, M. 2013) that 39% of returnees plans and prepares for a new trip abroad, 27% considers such an option realistic, and 34% do not plan to leave Georgia again.

In order to regulate problems existing in the field of migration, since 2003 IOM has assisted Georgian citizens who want to return home voluntarily from EU countries. The assistance package covers free travel, provision of temporary accommodation, support for starting up small businesses, provision of professional assistance and health aid. Up to today 1,600 Georgian citizens have acquired such assistance for reintegration.

Since 16th December 2010 a project „Targeted Initiative for Georgia” has been in progress, aiming at ‘supporting of Georgian returning migrants and implementation of EU-Georgia readmission agreement’. The project is supported by EU and involves 15 institutions from 9 countries (Belgium, Czechia, France, Germany, Italy, The Netherlands, Poland, Romania and Sweden) and IOM. Together with Georgian representatives of IOM and members of local government structures, efforts are being made to enhance processes in the field of external migrations in Georgia. The project is led by the Ministry of Interior of the Czechia, and its total budget counts at 3,020,000 Euros. In the framework of this project on 13th May 2011 in the Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia a Mobility Centre was established. The Mobility Centre has registered 1,159 returnees by now, of which 232 have returned under the readmission agreement, 342 – forcibly, and 585 – voluntarily. This number includes 2 migrants from Switzerland and 4 from Norway who according to the bilateral readmission agreement operating as a part of the Georgia-EU readmission agreement (Chelidze, N. 2013).

The above-described and similar measures (such as projects, programs, ad-hoc events, etc.) might help smoothening the problems existing in the sphere of external migrations in Georgia; however, it could hardly cardinally change the situation. The official statistics of 2012 reported 21,500 negative migration balances from the country: it is most likely that the first measure to stop and reverse this threatening process should be the creation of working places in the economic sector of the country and securing employment for a large number of people. This is the primary task of the State, on the one hand and of the local businesses on the other.

4.2.5 Brief migration policy review

The situation of Georgia in the geographic region, which is characterized by tense and unstable political processes calls for an urgent and intensive monitoring and control of migration flows and management of migration processes in the country.

From the beginning of the 1990s the Georgian government attempts were made to put migration processes in legal frameworks. In 1993 several laws were adopted: 'Georgian law on immigration' (abolished on 1st June 2006), 'Georgian law on emigration' (abolished on 1st February 2009) "Georgian law on temporary entrance, stay and leave for foreigners" (abolished on 1st June 2006). Laws on "Rules on leaving and entering Georgia by Georgian citizens" and "On Georgian citizenship" have undergone multiple changes over the time.

In the Decree of the President of Georgia of 17th November 1997 a conception of migration policy was approved. Although this document defined quite well the purposes and principles planned to introduce an efficient management system of migration process no positive outcomes have been achieved.

The regulation of migration processes is one of the important obligations for Georgia on the basis of the cooperation with EU countries. In this respect the signing of the "Partnership and Cooperation Agreement" between Georgia and 15 EU countries in 1999 was a very important step. In chapter 8 of this agreement measures of control and prevention of illegal immigration is discussed and emphasized. For successful implementation of this agreement the enforcement of European Union Action Plan of European Neighbourhood Policy from 2006 was extremely important as this document defines cooperation priorities between EU and Georgia.

Per request of the Georgian government, IOM in 2007 conducted an assessment of migration management in Georgia. The detailed analysis showed that the existing migration management policy needed strong improvement as 'the current migration realities and trends are at times not adequately covered by the existing legislation of Georgia'... Additionally '... the legal provisions need to be defined in a clearer manner, and, advisably with an enhanced orientation towards EU requirements. These issues call for strong leadership and comprehensive policies supported by appropriate legislation and by-laws, an effective, trained and equipped migration management administration as well as efficient practices' (Review of Migration Management in Georgia. 2008).

Based on the proposal of Euro commission of 16th May of 2007, a program "Partnership for Mobility" was initiated. By the decision of EU Council of 5-6 June 2008, Georgia was nominated as a partner country, and on 30th November of 2009 in Brussels a joint declaration "Partnership for Mobility" was signed. The mentioned declaration was an important document for Georgian citizens for getting legal residence and work in the EU countries. On top of this, it addressed to such important issues as: migration management, readmission, diaspora, reintegration, document security, creation of unified migration database and data exchange with EU, labour market and recognition of professional qualification. In the framework of this declaration the cooperation between Georgia and

EU officially started on 16th February 2010. 16 countries of EU together with Euro commission, expressed their willingness to actively cooperate with Georgia.

The initiative “Partnership for Mobility” helps Georgian citizens in EU countries also by means of „Circular migration”, which envisages legal employment in Europe for a certain period, training and provision of educational opportunities, and eventual return to Georgia. In case of efficient implementation of this program it would promote the mobility of Georgian population, on the one hand, and the integration process between Georgia and EU on the other. As far as the current situation is concerned Georgia signed an agreement on circular migration with France in November 2013. According to the agreement it will be possible to employ legally up to 500 Georgian citizens in France. Additionally it includes an exchange and qualification improvement of up to 150 students and young specialists. In the near future it would be necessary to arrange similar agreements with those countries which are hosting the large numbers of Georgian emigrants (e.g. Russia, Greece, Ukraine, Germany, UDSA, Italy, Turkey).

On 13th October 2010 a Governmental Committee of Migration Issues was created aiming at regulating different acute problems of migration management. The commission is chaired by the Ministry of Justice and co-chaired by the Ministry of Interior. The Committee acts as a platform for discussing current problems regarding migration. The Commission is analytically and administratively supported by a Secretariat that is created in the Agency of State Services Development of the Ministry of Justice recommended and supported by the EU. Several thematic groups are elaborating approaches and strategies concerning reintegration, problem resolution of persons without citizenship, and migration policies. The Commission involves advisors from international agencies active in Georgia and NGOs which provide an additional consultancy.

On 11th March 2011 between Georgia and EU an agreement on visa facilitation and readmission was enforced. It simplifies mobility of the Georgian population with EU countries.

Just recently, on 13th March 2013 the Migration Strategy of Georgia was approved. Its adoption reveals a political will of the Georgian government to better regulate migration processes in the country, and therefore, this achievement must be welcomed. Noticeably, it is the first official strategic document in the field of migration since 1997; it might help a more efficient management of migration processes, as well as the fulfilment of international obligations (Georgia and migration. 2013).

The purpose of the Migration Strategy is an improvement of migration management in terms of providing national security, preventing illegal migration and trafficking, securing rights of migrants and their social defence, and assuring efficient use of positive consequences of migration for socio-economic development, respectively. It aims at implementation of the best international practices for setting up viable national migration policy, and strengthening mutual beneficial international cooperation in the field of migration. The strategy emphasizes the necessity of implementation of a liberal visa regime in the country in order to attract additional foreign investments it wishes to enhance tourist infrastructure and to assure sustainable economic development of the country. At the same time the challenges coming with dramatic increase of number of migrants and risks of uncontrolled migration should be eradicated.

The objective of the Georgian government according to the Migration Strategy is to fully meet demands and interests of the Georgian population regarding migration and to secure interests of international community. It considers gender equality, guarantees involvement of civil sector, academic stratum and other stakeholders in decision-making. The principal objective of the Strategy is a further approximation and integration of Georgia into Euro-Atlantic structures.

It is noteworthy that the Strategy declares recognition of education acquired abroad by emigrants for full-scale reintegration of Georgian citizens in the mainstream society.

The President of Georgia, several ministries and the Governmental Commission on Migration Issues take responsibility for successful implementation of the Migration Strategy.

Citizenship regulations wish to prevent uncontrolled and chaotic in-migration and to support the implementation of desirable migration policies.

Hence, in spite of obvious difficulties and shortcomings the migration policy in Georgia gradually improves. The legal acts adopted during the recent years will help (and has already helped) putting migration processes into legal framework by legalizing migrations and integrating returning migrants in the society. The aspiration of Georgia to harmonize its environment with EU regarding migrations is a part of Georgian Euro-integration policy that has still a long way to go, but already brings some positive results that is crucial for socioeconomic development of the country in the long-run.

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4.3. Moldova: country of mass labor outmigration

Andrei Crivenco

4.3.1 Introduction

Moldova is a country in Eastern Europe, bordered by Romania to the west and Ukraine to the north, east, and south. The territory is 33.8 thousand km², of which about 4.0 km², is under the control of the unrecognized Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic (PMR), internationally known as Transnistria.

According to official figures, the population amounted to 3.56 million at the beginning of 2014. In addition, about 0.51 million people were estimated to reside in the territory of Transnistria. Thus, the total population, according to official figures, is about 4.07 million. However, the number of the actual population residing in the country may be much smaller if we take into consideration the volume of migration flows.

Migration processes have a huge, mostly negative, impact on the socio-economic and demographic situation in Moldova. A mass exodus of the active population leads to the degradation of the human potential of the country due to brain drain and brain waste as well as to the decline and ageing of the population. The loss of young, educated and enterprising professionals has become a serious obstacle to the further progressive development of the national economy and business expansion initiatives.

The aim of this report is to assess the extent and characteristics of migration in Moldova and their impact on the socio-economic situation in the country.

4.3.2 General overview of demographic and migration trends in Moldova

Moldova has been characterized by a natural population decline over the past 15 years. In the first half of the 2000s, the number of deaths, on average, exceeded that of natural births by 4-7 thousand annually. Over the last 2 years, there has been a positive change in the unfavourable demographic trends and the country might be approaching the level of simple reproduction of population.

The National Strategic Program on Demographic Security reveals the following negative demographic trends in recent years:

- The population annually declined by about 8.0 thousand people on average and tends to reduce further (Table 1);

- A sharp drop in the birth rate and the fertility rate, which will continue due to the smaller population of childbearing age and the tendency to delay childbirth to a later age;
- The high mortality rate compared to that in developed countries;
- The reduction of the number of young people in the population and the growth of the elderly population, especially in rural areas;
- The number and share of the working-age population is declining and will continue to decline further;
- A significantly reduced number and share of the economically active population in the total population (National ... 2011: I.1).

Table 1. Resident population (as of January 1), thousands of people

Years	Moldova¹	Transnistria²
1989	4,335.4 ³	680.9
2000	3,644.1	597.9
2001	3,635.1	589.8
2002	3,627.8	580.5
2003	3,618.3	571.6
2004	3,607.4	562.0
2005	3,600.4	554.4
2006	3,589.9	547.5
2007	3,581.1	540.6
2008	3,572.7	533.5
2009	3,567.5	527.5
2010	3,563.7	522.5
2011	3,560.4	518.0
2012	3,559.5	513.4
2013	3,559.5	509.4
2014	3,557.6	505.2

¹ Data (except for 1989) of the National Bureau of Statistics on settlements administered by the official authorities of the Republic of Moldova.

² Data of the State Statistics Service of the PMR on settlements administered by the authorities of the PMR.

³ Data for 1989 refer to the Soviet census and are presented for the whole country.

Besides the demographic decline, figures in the economy also reveal serious problems: the GDP in 2012 amounted to \$12.36 billion, which is 9.2% of the GDP of Slovakia and 1.5% of the GDP of Poland. The GDP per capita, which is \$3,500, is the lowest in Europe.

4.3.2.1 Basic forms of migration processes

Population loss due to migration is the main cause of the decline of the population of modern Moldova. It negatively influences both the age structure of the population and the labour force indicators. In the Soviet period, Moldova was attractive for migrants from

other parts of the Soviet Union, primarily from Russia and Ukraine. The socio-economic crisis, which hit the country during the collapse of the Soviet Union, was not overcome after gaining independence in 1991, which led to the loss of the country's former attractiveness for migrants and continues to serve as the main push factor for active age Moldovans. Over the years of the independence of the Republic of Moldova, mass emigration has become an integral part of the social and socio-economic spheres of the state. The following types of migratory movements can be observed:

Ethnic migration. The first surge of ethnic migration occurred at the beginning of the 1990s. When the strict Soviet migration restrictions were annihilated, Germans and Jews left the country for their historical homelands. This resulted in a sharp decline in the proportion of these ethnic groups in the total population of Moldova. Throughout the whole period, Russian speakers have been leaving for Russia and Ukraine. At the same time, the reverse movement (Moldovan diaspora residing permanently in the former Soviet republics resettling in Moldova) has not been observed. Since the 2000s, Moldovan residents have been leaving for Russia on repatriation assistance programs undertaken by the Government of the Russian Federation. Also a growing number of Moldovans with Romanian identity have been leaving for Romania. The share of the Roma population in the total population of Moldova is small – just over 12 thousand (or 0.4%, according to the census of 2004). The ethnic Roma migration factor is not significant in Moldova.

Forced migration. It appeared during the armed conflict of 1992, when large-scale military actions took place in Bender and Dubăsari District. There were about 100,000 refugees: to Ukraine (61 thousand people, of whom more than 30 thousand were children), to Russia (17,346), to Belarus (859), and to the non-CIS states (about 20,000 people). After the hostilities had ended, many refugees returned to their permanent residence. 51,289 people (including 28,746 children) were registered as internally displaced persons in the Republic of Moldova (Mosneaga, V. 2. 2013: P. 1).

Commercial (shuttle trading) migration. It was prevalent in the first half of the 1990s as a form of periodic visits of merchants (shuttle traders) of varying duration, mainly to Russia, Ukraine, Turkey, Poland, and Romania, with the aim to trade with goods.

Educational migration. Since the late 1990s, a growing number of young Moldovan citizens have been leaving the country to continue their education abroad. Many of them do not return to their home country after finishing their studies.

Research shows that in many cases educational migration does lead to permanent emigration. Often students not only pursue their studies abroad because of the desire to enrich their knowledge with the experience and achievements of other countries but, in numerous cases, educational migration is an exit strategy from the country of origin where there is a shortage in jobs and everyday life circumstances and expectations are far behind those in other countries (Ursachi, M. 2008: p. 9).

The universities of the Republic of Moldova have signed cooperation agreements with foreign universities. In accordance with the contractual terms, students going abroad for a few years are obliged to return home. However, when they experience life abroad and receive grants that are significantly higher than the salaries in Moldova, they often decide not to return. In other cases, students return to Moldova after the expiry of the

contract, a few years later, however, they leave again as soon as an opportunity turns up (Strengthening ... 2010: p. 46).

The Ministry of Education of the Republic of Moldova assists young people to pursue higher education abroad (first of all, by providing information). Most young people leave for Romania, which annually provides ample educational quotas for residents of Moldova (5,500 in 2013). In addition, places for undergraduate and graduate studies are provided by Turkey, the Czechia, Slovakia, Greece, Bulgaria, Poland, and several other European countries. The outflow of students and teachers from Moldova on academic exchange programs is expanding. On the other hand, a reverse flow of students coming to Moldova for education is very limited.

Russia and Ukraine also provide educational quotas for Moldovan residents, focusing on the population in Transnistria. The Ministry of Education of the PMR is directly involved in the distribution of the educational quotas of these countries among the students of the region.

UNESCO data show a high proportion of Moldovan students studying abroad. Among the countries with the largest number of students from Moldova are (according to 2011 data) Romania (cca. 5.5 thousand), Russia (cca. 3.6 thousand, 2009 data), Italy (cca. 1.6 thousand), France (cca. 0.9 thousand), Ukraine (cca. 0.9 thousand, 2012 data), Germany (cca. 0.6 thousand), Bulgaria (cca. 0.5 thousand), and the United States (cca. 0.4 thousand). The number of Moldovan students pursuing higher education in the Visegrad Group countries is small. In 2011, it amounted to 167 students in the Czechia, 88 in Poland, 41 in Hungary, and only 8 in Slovakia.

Labour migration. Labour emigration started to grow in the second half of the 1990s and especially after the financial crisis of 1998. This wave of mass migration was a response to extreme poverty and is still a response to the opportunities offered by the foreign labour market (Strengthening ... 2010: p. 11). The phenomenon of labour migration is a serious problem for the country, involving various social strata and affecting all aspects of life in Moldovan society, including the economy and demography.

Data referring to the period 2005-2010 analysed for the EMP Report show a consistently high annual migration outflow of Moldovan citizens, denoting the involvement in migration of an estimated 25-33% of the working-age population at any given moment during the reference period (Extended ... 2012: p. 26).

4.3.2.2 Push factors of migration

IOM experts believe that the economic situation (poverty, lack of adequate employment opportunities, and low wages) in the country is the main push factor for migrants from Moldova (Extended... 2012: p. 26). The deindustrialization of the Moldovan economy and, as a consequence, a reduction of job opportunities as well as the erosion of the social infrastructure (education, health care and housing), and the deteriorating quality of services and a reduction of their availability especially in villages and small towns, may also be noted as push factors. For example, the so-called “optimization” of the school network carried out by the government has led to the closure of a number of schools, especially in rural areas.

Potential migration, interpreted as “a common desire to migrate in the future” is considered high among the population of Moldova, which is substantiated in the results of different case studies. For example, in a study conducted in 2007 it is noted that 44.2% of the population (mostly young, educated people) wish to emigrate, primarily to the EU (Strengthening... 2010: p. 17).

The results of the sociological research conducted by CBS AXA in 2008-2009 showed that this is still an ongoing trend: people continue dreaming about going to work abroad. Moreover, in times of economic crisis these aspirations get a boost (Mosneaga, V. 2012: p. 2).

The crisis of 2008-2010 showed that there is no mass return of Moldovan labour migrants. Surveys conducted in rural areas by the research centre CASE-Moldova (in July-November 2008) and by CBS AXA (in December 2009) showed that migrant workers are not going to return even if there is a sharp reduction in their wages in the host countries. They will try to continue sending money to their relatives in Moldova (Mosneaga, V. 2012: p. 2).

In times of economic crisis the migration potential is increasing: every third respondent intends to seek work abroad or does not know how to overcome economic difficulties (Mosneaga, V. 2012: p. 12).

Pull factors for Moldovan citizens abroad are higher living standards, broader opportunities for personal development, and the availability of social networks created by successful migrants (relatives, friends). In addition, low-cost and visa-free travel as well as a familiar linguistic environment and common cultural values stimulate migration towards CIS countries (Strengthening... 2010: p. 14-15).

4.3.3 Migration policies in the Republic of Moldova

The current topicality of the problem of mass-migration encourages the authorities of Moldova to explore different measures aimed at minimizing the negative effects of this phenomenon and the use of migration for the benefit of the country. Nevertheless, for a long period of time the migration policy was not among the priorities of the authorities of the republic.

The policy of Soviet authorities encouraged active internal migration within a large Soviet state in order to use labour resources as efficiently as possible. In the 1960-1980, favourable living conditions and a large number of jobs as a result of the strong economic (primarily industrial) development of Moldova contributed to the active involvement of migrants from other republics of the Soviet Union (mainly Russia and Ukraine).

At the beginning of the 1990s, after Moldova gained independence, migration inflows of non-Moldovan emigrants were often subject to severe criticism. However, the socio-economic crisis caused by the disintegration of the USSR made the notorious problem of “excessive” migration flows irrelevant. Moreover, migration outflow expanded rapidly, initially in the form of ethnic migration and eventual repatriation of the Jewish, German, and Russian population, and then in the form of labour migration.

Initially, the problem of emigration did not concern the Moldovan establishment, as they saw it as a tool to reduce the severe ethnic and social tensions within the country (Mosneaga, V. 4. 2,012. P. 3). Furthermore, the growing volume of remittances from abroad was considered by the authorities as a tool to fight poverty, partly compensating for the low efficiency of the state's social policy.

However, subsequently, the increasing internal problems caused depopulation and imbalances in the labour market, and pressure from international organizations and the EU institutions urged authorities to take active measures in the field of migration. In recent years, Moldova has made some progress in various aspects of the state migration policy.

Currently, the most important legislative acts (Ciumas, T. 2011) regulating migration in the Republic of Moldova are:

The law "About the Mode of Foreigners in the Republic of Moldova," according to which the competent authority regarding foreigners is the Office for Migration and Asylum. It regulates the rules of residence and registration of foreigners in the territory of the Republic of Moldova.

The law "About Labour Migration" was elaborated in accordance with the main international conventions of the International Labour Organization. The document regulates the temporary labour of immigrants, the conditions for granting, renewal, and revocation of the right to work and the right of temporary residence, as well as the conditions of temporary employment for citizens of Moldova abroad.

Moreover, the migration policy pursued by the Republic of Moldova is reflected in various national policies, plans and programs that cover sectors that are important for the state. Some of these include the National Strategy for Employment Policies for 2007-2015, the National Strategy in the Field of Migration and Asylum (2011-2020), the National Strategic Program on Demographic Security of the Republic of Moldova (2011-2025), etc.

The priorities of the state policy in the field of migration outlined in the strategic programs are the following:

1. Stimulation of return migration. Creating the conditions needed in order to ensure the positive aspects of this process;
2. More efficient management of migration at the level of government agencies, including improved monitoring of migration flows;
3. Ensuring the rights of Moldovan migrants abroad and improving their social status. Strengthening ties with the Moldovan diaspora.

4.3.3.1 Return and reintegration of migrants

The state (with the participation of the International Organization for Migration, the International Labour Organization and other international organizations) is implementing a set of measures, including: the promotion of the use of remittances as investment in the economy, the expansion of economic opportunities for young people; informing Moldovan citizens on promising opportunities in the national labour market, etc.

A number of programs in this direction have been announced: the Action Plan for the Return of Moldovan Labour Migrants from Abroad, the Program for Attracting Remit-

tances in the Economy “PARE 1 +1”, the National Program for Economic Empowerment of Young People (PNAET). V. Mosneaga provides a list (Mosneaga, V. 2013: p. 4-5) of major projects in this domain that are being implemented jointly with international organizations: the project “Strengthening Moldova’s Capacity to Manage Labour and Return Migration” by the Swedish Public Employment Service (SPES); the project “Effective Management of Labour Migration and Skills in Moldova” implemented by the ILO, the project “Supporting the Implementation of Migration and Development Component of the EU-Moldova Mobility Partnership” (SIMP), implemented by the IOM, the project “Supporting the Readmission Agreements Concluded by the European Union with Moldova, Russia and Ukraine,” the project “Supporting Visa Facilitation and Readmission Agreements between the EU and Moldova and Georgia” (REVIS), and some others devoted to the issue of voluntary return and reintegration. The Moldovan Ministry of Education in collaboration with the European Training Foundation continues its work on creating a mechanism for the recognition of the skills of migrants on the basis of a national concept and validation of informal / formal training (the project “Development of the System of Vocational Education and Training”) (Mosneaga, V. 2013: p. 4-5).

The need to integrate the migration policy into the development strategy of the country is reflected in the strategic document entitled the EU-Moldova Mobility Partnership.

However, these efforts have not led to perceivable results, primarily due to the continually difficult socio-economic situation in the country. In addition, experts point out the weak information component and the incomplete transparency of state institutions working in this area. The vast majority of migrants are not familiar with the migration policy of the Moldovan state and its activities regarding the return and reintegration of migrants (Mosneaga, V. 2013: p. 5).

4.3.3.2 Cooperation with the diaspora

Establishing cooperation with the diaspora and associations of Moldovans abroad are considered to be important at national level. For these purposes, certain activities were outlined within the framework of the Action Plan in support of emigrants from the Republic of Moldova (Moldovan diaspora) for the 2006-2009 period. Those are the National Action Plan for 2008 for the protection of Moldovan citizens abroad, the Action Plan for national-cultural and social support to the Moldovan diaspora in 2012-2014. To improve cooperation with the Moldovan diaspora, the Moldovan Government established the Bureau for Relations with the Diaspora within the State Chancellery (November 2012) (Mosneaga, V. 2013: 5).

Meanwhile, experts agree that Moldovan diplomatic missions abroad are not used by Moldovan migrants efficiently. Moldovan citizens usually turn to these missions with problems with official documents that can be solved only through these institutions. Migrants often accuse diplomatic services of lack of transparency in their work, corruption, and an unprofessional attitude towards their citizens (no fixed prices for services, lack of payment receipts, sale of labour contracts or even false documents, extortion) (Strengthening ... 2010: p. 28).

4.3.3.3 International cooperation

Moldovan authorities are working on the development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation with countries that receive Moldovan migrants. The signing of international agreements in the field of labour migration and protection of migrants' rights is thought to be a significant step in this direction.

In 1994, the Republic of Moldova signed with other CIS countries a Cooperation Agreement in the field of labour migration and social protection of migrant workers. On the basis of this agreement, Moldova has signed bilateral agreements regulating the labour activity and social protection of citizens working abroad with Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Russia, and Belarus. The agreements signed with Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine contain almost the same provisions: work based on contracts and work permits, potential limitations in the employment of foreign workers due to changes in the national labour market, the provision of basic social rights; recognition of degrees and broad interpretation of compensation in case of health damage or death (Ciumas, T. 2012: 3).

Moldova is one of the first countries with which the European Union signed an agreement on mobility and return migration (2008).

An agreement on labour migration, along with the protocol for its implementation, was signed with the Government of Italy in 2011. A similar contract with the Russian Federation is expected to be signed in the future, as the text of the agreement was endorsed by the two governments in 2013.

4.3.3.4 Improved monitoring and accounting of migration flows

The existing methods of collecting data on migration flows are being improved in the Republic of Moldova. The Expanded Migration Profile has been elaborated on the initiative of the IOM. It contains a list of key variables that will contribute to a better understanding of migration processes and their impact on the demographic and socio-economic development of the country. These variables include socio-economic conditions of the state, demographic characteristics, market characteristics, information on the number and types of migrants, migration flows, illegal migration, diaspora and remittances. Using the Expanded Migration Profile will help experts fill the existing gaps in data collection.

Since 2012, the National Bureau of Statistics has been conducting a modular study entitled Labour Migration within the framework of a survey on labour force.

4.3.3.5 Human trafficking

The government will intensify its efforts to combat human trafficking. Since 2012, the Republic of Moldova, demonstrating its commitment to implement international standards and practices to combat human trafficking, has been undertaking its activities in this field in accordance with international principles known as the four P's, i.e. Prevention, Protection, Prosecution and Partnership (Mosneaga, V.3. 2013: p 4).

The prosecution and punishment of organizers of human trafficking are becoming systematic and widespread. The training given to law enforcement officers involved in combating human trafficking is improving. The scale of psychological, legal, and social assistance provided to victims is expanding. Activities aimed at informing the public

about the dangers of this type of crime are being carried out with the help of international agencies and non-governmental organizations.

At least ten Moldovan ministries and agencies are currently involved in various aspects of international migration. In addition, most of the local branches of international organizations, as well as a number of public organizations and foreign embassies regularly participate in programs related to international migration (Ganta, V. 2012: p. 1).

Despite these successes, an overall migration strategy, with a well-articulated national policy, an improved legal framework and effectively functioning state institutions, is still to be elaborated in Moldova.

4.3.5 Assessing the scale of migration

The current emigrant record data provided by the statistical services of the Republic of Moldova (Table 2) and Transnistria (Table 3) do not reflect the real picture of the outflow of the population. These sources record only 3-7 thousand emigrants annually leaving Moldova and nearly 2 thousand emigrants who left Transnistria in 2012.

The data provided by the population census that took place in 2004 separately in Moldova and Transnistria indicate a significant proportion of people who were temporarily absent at the time of the census. In Moldova, this figure constituted 273.1 thousand, or 8.1% of the population of the country. In Transnistria, this figure amounted to 36.3 thousand, or 6.5% of the population of the region.

Temporary labour migration in the Republic of Moldova is poorly covered in statistical accounts. There are significant discrepancies between official statistical data and expert estimates of the scale of migration and its characteristics. This is largely due to the fact that the majority of migrants stay in destination countries illegally, and some even gain illegal entry.

Citizens of Moldova, because of the existing visa regime, can legally travel to Russia, Ukraine, and other CIS countries. However, a significant number of them do not register their stay. According to some estimates, 60% of Moldovan citizens are staying illegally in the territory of the CIS countries (Strengthening ... 2010: p. 18).

Moldovan migrant workers rarely cross the border of the European Union illegally. As a result of tightening EU border controls, Moldovans use more acceptable and safer ways of labour migration. These are citizenship of EU countries (Romania, Bulgaria, and other countries), tourist visas, family reunification, and employment contracts (Mosneaga, V. 2012.3: p. 4).

Data concerning labour contracts cannot be considered accurate, either. They only provide a partial picture of temporary labour emigration and reflect only specific flows of labour migrants. This is due to the fact that only an insignificant number of migrant workers sign work contracts before travelling abroad. The vast majority of migrants go abroad independently and find jobs in destination countries by themselves (Chudinovskih, O. 2011: p. 17). In addition, the number of labour agreements signed between Moldova and the EU remains small.

Table 2. Emigrants by country of destination, persons¹

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Left the Republic of Moldova, total	6827	6685	7172	6988	6663	4714	3920	3062
of them to:								
Poland	5	8	4	3	4	2	3	–
Czechia	9	27	24	40	77	57	43	56
Hungary	–	–	4	1	–	1	–	3
Slovakia	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
V-4, total	14	35	32	43	81	61	46	59
Germany	373	253	253	195	264	220	179	218
Austria	15	42	13	1	10	15	22	21
Romania	15	8	4	5	11	15	14	9
Bulgaria	5	2	4	14	26	19	9	8
Netherlands	3	2	8	–	12	12	2	11
Ukraine	2057	2350	2663	3163	2952	2227	1827	1360
Belarus	184	222	187	122	125	100	74	48
Georgia	–	7	–	–	2	4	2	–
EP (Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia), total	2241	2579	2850	3285	3079	2331	1903	1408
Russia	3310	2890	3110	2663	1866	1162	858	772
Kazakhstan	19	22	20	14	31	33	27	29
USA	568	612	695	588	899	523	538	245
Israel	220	201	140	137	278	232	204	198
Canada	20	18	12	5	10	5	6	6
Australia	3	–	1	–	1	1	–	2
Other countries	21	28	34	38	97	91	114	79

¹ Data of the National Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Moldova.

Table 3. Migratory movement of the population of Transnistria, persons¹

Years	Arrived	Departed	Migration growth (migration loss)	Years	Arrived	Departed	Migration growth (migration loss)
1990	36029	32926	3103	2002	11360	16797	–5437
1991	30359	29095	1264	2003	9457	15418	–5961
1992	21478	32242	–10764	2004	8597	12793	–4196
1993	22658	21539	1119	2005	8364	11660	–3296
1994	18326	20184	–1858	2006	7418	10908	–3490
1995	14513	22777	–8264	2007	6996	10826	–3830
1996	12416	23139	–10723	2008	6883	10226	–3343
1997	14707	20311	–5604	2009	6366	9083	–2717
1998	14507	17239	–2732	2010	6544	8606	–2062
1999	13669	16820	–3151	2011	7260	9531	–2271
2000	12081	17448	–5367	2012	2157	4136	–1979
2001	12000	18090	–6090	2013	2245	3952	–1707

¹ Data of the State Statistics Service of the PMR. In 1990-2011 including internal migration.

The report of the International Organization for Migration contains data provided by the Border Police Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Moldova, according to which approximately 720 thousand people were abroad as of December 31, 2010. This number includes about 285 thousand people who were abroad for more than a year, another 245 thousand who were abroad for a period of 3 to 12 months, and another 90 thousand who were regarded as tourists on the grounds that they were abroad for less than 3 months (Extended ... 2012: p. 28).

World Bank experts estimate the number of Moldovan emigrants at 770.3 thousand, representing 21.5% of the population (Migration ... 2011: p. 191).

The numbers published by the mass media range from 340,000 to 1 million migrants (Mosneaga, V. 2012: p. 1).

4.3.5.1 Spatial features of Moldovan emigration

The current statistical data (Table 2) indicate the predominance of the eastern vector (Ukraine, Russia) of migration aspirations among residents of Moldova. However, they represent only the tip of the iceberg of Moldovan emigration and do not give a clear picture of the geographical distribution of Moldovan migrants. The analysis of the 2004 population census data on the temporarily absent population by host country seems to provide a more objective picture (Table 4).

Table 4. Temporarily absent population, by country of the current location and duration of absence, by sex and area, persons¹

Country	persons	Country	persons
Total	273056	Belgium	660
Russia	153356	Austria	505
Italia	53010	Canada	387
Romania	10515	Belarus	356
Portugal	9467	Poland	234
Ukraine	8582	Switzerland	215
Turkey	8228	South Korea	174
Greece	5584	Netherlands	142
Spain	3868	Serbia	121
France	3504	Kazakhstan	119
Israel	2633	Sweden	81
Germany	1906	Hungary	67
Czechia	1786	United Arab Emirates	64
UK	1399	Slovenia	61
Ireland	1235	Australia	53
USA	1184	Other countries	823
Cyprus	855	Not stated	1184
Bulgaria	698		

¹ Data of the 2004 Census of Moldova

These data highlight Russia as a major host country for migrants from Moldova. According to the Moldovan census in 2004, the temporarily absent Moldovan population staying in Russia constituted 153.4 thousand people. Experts believe that the Moldovan labour diaspora, taking into account those who have stayed in Russia for more than five years, even if they are not registered, reached 240-270 thousand people in 2008 (Ursachi, M. 2008: p. 10). Russia's share in the reception of all Moldovan migrants is estimated at 58-63% (Mosneaga, V. 2012: p. 1-2).

Ukraine is also one of the most attractive countries for Moldovan migrants, even though it is less attractive than some EU countries.

Italy hosts 14-19% of the Moldovan migrants (Mosneaga, V. 2012: p. 1-2). According to the 2009 data listed by experts, out of 167 thousand Moldovan migrants legally staying in the EU, 53.6% were registered in Italy. The total number of Moldovan citizens (including illegal immigrants) in the territory of Italy is estimated to be between 132 and 200 thousand (Moraru, V. 2012: p.105).

Other EU countries attracting a large number of Moldovan migrants are Romania, Portugal, Greece, Spain, France, and Germany. Among the Visegrad countries, only the Czechia hosts a relatively large number of migrants from Moldova: according to estimates 10 thousand Moldovans worked there in 2007. Poland, and to an even lesser extent, Hungary and Slovakia attract only a small number of Moldovan migrants.

Outside the CIS and the EU, the largest number of migrants from Moldova goes to Turkey, Israel, and the United States.

Moldovan migrants are actively involved in circular migration. Sociological studies indicate that this type of migration is popular among rural residents, heads of households, men having secondary and special education, for whom labour migration abroad is seasonal and is only a secondary form of employment. Meanwhile, the long stay of Moldovan migrants in EU countries is due to the visa regime and high costs of the trip. An average stay or a labour trip in the CIS (especially Russia) lasts for about 7 months, while in the EU it is twice as long, i.e. 15 months. It often encourages the no-return character of migration (Mosneaga, V. 2012. 3 p. 1).

Experts (Strengthening ... 2010: p. 12) currently identify three types of international migration in Moldova:

- short-term international migration, mainly to the CIS countries;
- long-term international migration, mainly to the countries of the European Union;
- legitimate, long-term international migration to the United States and Canada.

Most recently, the following trends and changes have been identified in the general structure of Moldovan migration: they are shifting from the CIS towards the EU, from short-term seasonal migration towards long-term stays, and there is increasing migration to the United States and Canada (Strengthening ... 2010: p. 12).

4.3.5.2 Demographic characteristics of emigrants

The ethnic migration factor had a significant impact only in the early periods of the migratory movement of the Moldovan population in the 1990s. Now ethnic and linguistic

factors do not determine the migratory behaviour of the population of Moldova. Instead, it is rather the social network, made up by successful relatives, fellow villagers, and friends, that plays an increasingly important role in choosing the country of destination in international labour migration (Mosneaga, V. 2012: p. 17). The Gagauz, the vast majority of whom speak both the Russian and Gagauz languages, prefer to migrate to Russia and Turkey. Ethnic Moldovans and Romanians are also often bilingual and it allows them to adapt more easily in the CIS, where the Russian language is widespread, as well as in countries such as Italy, Portugal, and Spain, where Latin-based languages are spoken.

Various age and sex groups in the country are involved in international labour migration. The most active are the young and the middle-aged people (more than 70% under the age of 40 and almost 40% under the age of 30). The average age of a migrant worker from Moldova is 35-36 years (Mosneaga, V., 2012: p. 17).

Looking at the age distribution of migration flows, the highest tendency to migrate is observed in the age group of 25–34, which corresponds to 33.4% of the total migration outflow (Extended...2012: p. 147).

Male workers predominate in the total number of migrants from Moldova, although the proportion of women in international labour migration is increasing year by year. It rose from 30% to 37% in the period from 2001 to 2009 (Chesnokova, N. 2011: p. 2).

Male migrant workers are employed in the construction, transportation, manufacturing and agricultural sectors. Migrant women work in the service sector, trade, care for the elderly, the sick or children, as domestic workers or in the sex industry (Mosneaga, V. 2012: p. 18). The employment opportunities of migrants largely determine their sex structure across countries. Thus, the number of men working in Russia, engaged primarily in construction is 3 times as big as the female population. Meanwhile, the proportion of women migrant workers in Italy, primarily engaged in the service industry, is 70%. This percentage is only higher in Israel, where the proportion of female migrant workers is 86.6%, and in Turkey, where female migrant workers constitute 81.5% (Chesnokova, N. 2011: p. 2).

Other examples of the gender division in receiving countries are Ukraine, France, the Czechia, and Portugal being attractive for male migrants and Spain and Greece for female migrants (Mosneaga, V. 2012: p. 1-2).

The profile of Moldovan workforce shows that most migrants have secondary vocational or general secondary education (25.5% and 25.6% of all immigrants in 2010, respectively) (Mosneaga, V. 2012: p. 19).

According to IOM experts, most Moldovan migrants (64.17%) are persons with secondary education, while those with primary or no education constitute less than 1%. IOM experts also note that migrants with higher education account for 10.7% of the total, while their share in the labour force is 22.7%. These data suggest that skilled workers have better labour market opportunities in terms of job search (Extended ... 2012: p. 147).

The studies show that the majority of migrants (70.7%) come from rural areas of the country. This causes serious local social problems. The growth of the share of rural migrants (59.4% in 2000) gives a clear indication of the decline in employment in agriculture (Extended ... 2012: p. 147). The phenomenon of settlements without working-age men is

becoming common, as it was during the world wars. However, in some villages, particularly in the south, there is another dangerous phenomenon, namely the very low number of working-age women (Moraru 2012).

The origin of migrants affects the geography of their destination. Those who go to the EU predominate among migrants from Chisinau, while those who leave for the CIS countries predominate among migrants from other regions of Moldova.

Experts (Strengthening ... 2010: p. 13) have composed a general portrait of Moldovan migrants. They are:

- young people: most of the migrants (79%) are between 18 and 44 years old;
- family people: they constitute 71%, although the scale of family reunification remains relatively low (21%);
- more educated people: 28% of all migrants are university graduates, 63% have general secondary or secondary vocational (technical) education.

4.3.5.3 Immigration

Immigration flows to Moldova, unlike emigration, are more adequately assessed by the state services of the country. The dimensions of registered legal immigration (Table 5) increased slightly in recent years and in 2012 exceeded 3 thousand people, which is comparable with the statistical data on Moldovan residents leaving the country (Table 2).

These data indicate that since 2011 the number of migrants arriving from the EU has exceeded the traditionally prevailing flow of migrants from the CIS. This is primarily due to the growth of migrants from Romania, which accounts for almost half of the foreigners coming to Moldova (Table 6). Such an increase in the share of Romanian migrants can be explained by the fact that Moldovan citizens who also have a Romanian passport use the latter while crossing the Moldovan-Romanian border.

The proportion of migrants from the Visegrad countries is very small, most of them being citizens of Poland.

Among the countries that do not belong to the EU or the CIS, there is a significant influx of citizens of Israel, Turkey, and Syria.

The overwhelming majority of registered migrants from the CIS come from two countries: Ukraine and Russia. Their numbers have fluctuated in recent years from 800 to 1,000 people. However, the accuracy of data regarding migrants coming from the CIS countries, with which Moldova has a visa-free regime, is much lower than that of the data on migrants arriving in Moldova from the EU and other countries holding visas. This clearly explains the existing discrepancy in the data on the number of migrants in Moldova.

IOM experts estimated the total number of foreigners (including stateless persons) dwelling in the territory of Moldova at the end of 2010 at 20,099 people, or less than 0.5% of the total population of the country (Extended ... 2012: p. 30).

World Bank experts estimated the number of immigrants in Moldova at 408.3 thousand people, or 11.4% of the total population (Migration ... 2011: p. 191).

We can assume that IOM experts base their assessments on recorded migration flows, while World Bank experts take into account the number of citizens of foreign countries (primarily Russia, Romania, Ukraine, and Bulgaria) residing in Moldova.

Table 5. Distribution of immigrants by nationality, persons

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Total,	2056	1968	2070	2749	2010	2512	2704	3093
of them:								
EU-28	337	403	453	694	513	670	808	957
post-Soviet countries (without Baltic states)	731	734	864	1119	829	835	807	877
Other countries	988	831	753	936	668	1007	1089	1259

Table 6. Distribution of immigrants by nationality in some countries, persons¹

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
V4, total	16	18	18	22	24	37	54	61
of them:								
Poland	9	10	14	19	18	24	38	50
Czechia	3	3		2	1	6	10	4
Hungary	2		1		3	4	5	4
Slovakia	2	5	3	1	2	3	1	3
EaP, total	424	395	437	638	468	427	437	451
of them:								
Belarus	16	31	27	36	16	24	27	17
Georgia	15	10	16	23	16	28	26	31
Ukraine	393	354	394	579	436	375	384	403
Romania	111	171	197	353	186	309	360	445
Israel	94	72	56	183	278	482	455	407
Turkey	462	443	462	514	224	287	266	337
Russia	168	182	256	300	230	294	240	305
Syria	101	43	31	36	34	34	34	65
Bulgaria	86	75	48	45	28	43	21	25

¹ Data of the National Bureau of Statistics of Moldova

Experts draw attention to the lack of data on internal migration in Moldova (Vladi-cescu, N. 2012, p. 1). Data from the first half of the 1990s and from the 2004 census indicate that the preferred direction of domestic migration is from villages and small towns to Chişinău and, to a lesser extent, to other important regional centres of the country such as Tiraspol, Bălţi, Bender, Ungheni, and Cahul.

4.3.6 Special characteristics of migration processes in Moldova

Migration processes largely determine the socio-economic and demographic features of the country in the future, provoking serious problems, but also creating conditions for development.

Among the most important directions of the impact of migration should be noted:

The impact of migration on the labour market, the phenomenon of brain drain and brain waste.

Despite the low official unemployment rate (about 2%), there is a significant portion of Moldovan labour which is not registered at employment centres. These people find livelihood in the shadow economy or go abroad in search of jobs (Mosneaga, V. 2012: p. 11). The analysis of the labour market in Moldova in recent years reveals a permanent decrease in the main employment indicators. The survey by the National Bureau of Statistics conducted on the workforce shows a decrease in the economically active population, the employed population, and also in the number of employees. The economically active population declined by more than 300 thousand people from 2001 to 2008 (Mosneaga, V. 2012: p. 11). The desire to escape from poverty encourages the migration of people who have a job, but are not satisfied with the wages, working conditions and prospects for professional growth. This leads to the fact that the national economy is being deprived of young, highly skilled and enterprising professionals.

Over the last twenty years, the health care system has lost more than 40% of trained health workers, many of whom have left Moldova for good, so, as a result, Moldova suffers from a severe shortage of health workers in rural areas. The education system in Moldova for many years has been experiencing an acute shortage of teachers, mainly in primary and secondary schools. Many young teachers prefer to go abroad in search of work, as in their home country they are offered low wages, while in other countries they can earn much better salaries (Strengthening ... 2010: p. 22-23).

This extent of mass labour migration leads to the fact that the country has to face a chronic shortage of specialists. There are cases when due to the lack of qualified personnel industrial projects have to be terminated and foreign investors lose interest in the Moldovan economy (Mosneaga, V. 2012: p. 19).

The phenomenon of "brain drain" leads to the loss of the teaching and research capacity of Moldova in various fields, including physics, mathematics, computer science, chemistry (Strengthening ... 2010: p. 46).

It is often the case that professionals who have left their jobs in Moldova and moved abroad are forced to do low-skilled work (for example, in construction or services), losing their previous professional skills. This phenomenon can be called "brain waste".

Demographic imbalances. Negative social consequences of migration

The fact that a significant part of the working-age population leaves the country leads to the accelerated ageing of the population. According to the National Bureau of Statistics, the proportion of people over 60 years of age in the total population was 13.3% at the beginning of 2006. By the beginning of 2013, it had risen to 15.3%. However, over the same period, the proportion of children (under 15 years of age) decreased from 18.3% to 16.1%. These alarming data forecast an excess of the elderly population over children in the total population of the country in the near future.

Children and the elderly are the two age groups that suffer first from the negative effects of mass migration (Luecke, M. 2011, Sandu, V. 2011). Experts citing the National Bureau of Statistics report that in 2011 18% of the total number of Moldovan households consisted only of the elderly, i.e., adults aged 65 or older, and had a poverty rate of 30%. 36% of the households are formed by retired people (the current retirement age in Moldova is 57 years for women and 62 for men). Their poverty rate is estimated at 28% (Mosneaga, V. 2012: p. 23). The number of children who are brought up in families where one or even both parents are migrant workers is growing. These children are in the care of elderly family members. Experts' data reveal that the number of school-age children abandoned by their parents who have left to work abroad reached 177 thousand (1/4 of all students) in 2006 and 200 thousand in 2007 (Mosneaga, V. 2012: p. 22).

Another serious negative consequence for the country is human trafficking for the purpose of forced labour, sexual exploitation, begging, as well as the sale of human organs. According to the Global Index of Slavery, Moldova ranks 6th among countries with the highest prevalence of slavery in 2013. The number of Moldovan citizens who are forced to slavery is estimated at 32-35 thousand people (The Global... 2013: p. 54). Moldovan migrants most often become victims of forced labour in Russia, Ukraine, Kosovo, Kazakhstan, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, Greece, Lebanon, Italy, Spain, and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

Remittances

The biggest visible benefit from migration that Moldova currently enjoys is the earnings that migrant workers are transferring home to their families. In addition to remittances, migrants' savings also play an important role in Moldova (Strengthening ... 2010: p. 5).

According to the National Bank of Moldova, the volume of remittances sent to the country by migrant workers in 2012 exceeded 1.5 billion USD (more than 65% came from Russia), which is closing in on the highest amount so far, which was over 1.6 billion USD, achieved in 2008. Since 2005, the ratio of incoming remittances to the GDP has been more than 30% (in 2006 – more than 38%). The World Bank data show that in 2010 Moldova ranked second in the world of countries which are dependent on remittances (Migration... 2011).

The Trans-Dniester Republican Bank estimates the amount of money sent to the Transnistrian region from abroad by its residents in 2012 at nearly 200 million USD; more than 85% of these funds came from Russia. Besides, an average of 1.5% of money transfers came from Turkey, the USA, Ukraine, and Israel. The ratio of remittances to the regional GDP was assessed by experts of the Trans-Dniester Republican Bank at 18.3%.

The analysis of the structure of the household use of funds received from abroad shows that most of the money coming from migrant workers to poor households is spent on food. Only a small fraction is spent on services such as education, health care or starting a business (Mosneaga, V. 2012: p. 8).

Diversity of citizenship of the Moldovan population

In accordance with the recommendations of the UN and international practice, the main criterion for the assessment of the number of migrants working abroad is their citizen-

ship. However, the use of this criterion comes up against certain difficulties in the case of Moldova. This is due to the large number of Moldovan citizens having dual (and sometimes triple) citizenship. This important factor has not received adequate attention in studies on migration, but has a significant impact on the nature of migration processes in Moldova.

The legislation of Moldova allows its citizens to have dual citizenship and does not prevent persons with dual citizenship from holding various public offices. Public opinion in general does not simply accept persons with multiple citizenship, but the acquisition of citizenship of another country is recognized as an achievement providing a great social advantage.

In such circumstances, Moldovans massively seek citizenship of other countries, often in order to facilitate travel abroad as migrant workers.

This factor complicates the procedure of recording migration flows. At the moment, it is not possible to produce an accurate record of all persons residing in the territory of the country only on the basis of their citizenship. This is largely due to the fact that foreign diplomatic representatives in Moldova often avoid providing information on the number of citizens in the consular register. By using various sources, none of which claim to be complete, it is possible to make an overall assessment of persons with foreign citizenship residing in Moldova. The latest population census revealed a significant discrepancy between the officially listed population of 3,383.3 thousand (October 2004) and the number of citizens registered in 2004 by the State Register of the Ministry of Information Technology and Communications (based on identity cards with an identification number), which is 2,334.6 thousand.

N. Chesnokova, a specialist of the National Bureau of Statistics, attributes the discrepancy to the fact that the state register did not include the majority of children aged 8-15 who did not have identity cards of the new type. However, we can assume that among the inhabitants of the country there are a significant number of person whose Moldovan citizenship is not documented or has been lost as a result of acquiring citizenship of another country. A source referring to a collaborator of the Consular Department of the Russian Embassy in Moldova reports that at the end of 2012 more than 210 thousand citizens of the Russian Federation were registered with the consulate, from which about 170 thousand were living in Transnistria. This number is significantly higher than the number of Russian citizens who are registered at the consulates of Russia in Ukraine and Belarus taken together.

There is no clear information about the number of Russian citizens registered at the consulate in Moldova as to how many of them continue to remain in the country how many have left as migrant workers. Meanwhile, many Russian citizens residing in Moldova fail to obtain a residence permit or any other form of official registration from the Moldovan authorities (this phenomenon is widespread in Transnistria).

In addition, some Russian citizens residing in the territory of Moldova are not registered with the consulate but have an internal Russian passport, bearing their registration at a certain address in the territory of Russia. Among such people, there are a large number of elderly people who receive a Russian pension but live in Moldova (Russian pensions are much higher than pensions in Moldova).

The process of obtaining Russian citizenship by residents of Moldova continues to be significant. In 2012, Russian citizenship was granted to 4,336 people.

The Romanian legislation in 2009 simplified the procedure for granting Romanian citizenship for citizens of the Republic of Moldova. Now it can be granted to descendants of Romanian citizens who resided in the territory of Moldova until 1940, which applies to the vast majority of the population. In order to obtain Romanian citizenship, it is no longer necessary to pass a mandatory Romanian language test administered during the naturalization application interview, which also allows Russian-speaking citizens to obtain a Romanian passport. The process of naturalization allows the retention of other (previous) foreign citizenship and permanent residence outside of Romania.

Many Moldovan citizens with a Romanian passport, which gives them the right of visa-free entry into the EU, do not state their Romanian citizenship for the same reason, underlining that they are citizens of the Republic of Moldova. They believe that the Moldovan passport does not raise such suspicion with the residents of the EU countries as the Romanian passport does (Mosneaga, V. 2012. 2 p. 13). The actual number of Romanian citizens permanently residing in the territory of Moldova is incalculable.

The Ukrainian Ambassador to Moldova, S. Pyrozhkov reported that about 90,000 Ukrainian citizens permanently residing in the Republic of Moldova, mostly in Transnistria, were registered with the consulate of the Ukrainian Embassy in 2008. It is unknown how many of these people actually live in Moldova, and how many of them have migrated from Moldova. Among citizens of Ukraine, as well as among citizens of Russia, there are a high proportion of persons who have not registered their status with the administrative services of the Republic of Moldova. In 2010, the Bulgarian government introduced amendments to the Citizenship Act, thereby simplifying the procedure for obtaining citizenship, which is granted to individuals who can confirm their Bulgarian origin with documents. Such persons in Moldova include Bulgarians (65.7 thousand, according to the census of 2004), a large group of Gagauz (147.5 thousand, according to the census of 2004), as well as persons not included in the aforementioned groups, but who can document the ethnic Gagauz or Bulgarian origin of at least one of the parents.

Obtaining a Bulgarian passport is also often seen by residents of Moldova as an opportunity to leave the country more easily for various purposes, including labour migration.

A source citing data provided by the Vice-President of Bulgaria M. Popova reports 5,705 immigrants from Moldova who received Bulgarian citizenship in 2012. The total number of Moldovan citizens who have been granted Bulgarian citizenship is estimated at more than 20 thousand..

In order to ensure their status abroad, Moldovan citizens are actively seeking citizenship of other countries (Italy, Spain, Portugal, the USA, Canada, Israel, Germany, etc.) through marriage, relocation programs, and naturalization.

Transnistrian section of the border

An important factor influencing the dynamics of migration flows and the accuracy of their accounting by the state services of the Republic of Moldova is the fact that there is an extended section of the border with Ukraine (454 km) under the control of the unrecognized

zed PMR. The authorities of the unrecognized republic, based on the existing legislation, independently carry out different types of border control.

Moldovan authorities are planning to open several points of migration control (regional offices of the Bureau of Migration and Asylum of the Republic of Moldova) along the boundary with the Transnistrian region.

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4.4 Ukraine: stable outflow and changing nature

Kostyantyn Mezentsev, Grygorii Pidgrushnyi

4.4.1 Introduction

The labour market in Ukraine took shape in the early 1990s. It was formed under the influence of organizational, legal, economic, social and psychological factors, under circumstances of permanent economic reforms and the stratification of the population by income level. The specific features of the labour market in Ukraine are a high level of employment in the informal sector and a significant migration outflow.

During the economic crisis in the 1990s, external migration in Ukraine rapidly changed its character: from an ethnic nature it switched to a labour-oriented nature. Permanent migration was replaced by circular migration. Subsequently, circular migration also changed: from shuttle to labour migration, and later also to educational.

The scale of international migration is difficult to assess accurately. Various estimates suggest, however, that the outflow of migrants is stable. From 1994 to 2004 more than 1.2 million people emigrated from Ukraine for permanent residence. A national sample survey on migration showed that from the beginning of 2005 till the middle of 2008 1.5 million Ukrainians worked abroad, and a modular sample household survey on labour migration in Ukraine revealed that 1.2 million people worked or looked for work abroad between 2010 and mid-2012.

4.4.2 General demographic trends, socio-economic and political conditions of international migration in Ukraine.

4.4.2.1 General demographic trends

During the period from 1991 to 2012, the population of Ukraine declined by 6.4 million people and now it is 45.553 million. Since 1993, the average annual population decline has been 335 thousand. During the 1989-2011 period, the urban population decreased by 9.1% and the rural by 16.2%. Over the last years, two cities ceased to be “millionaires” (Donetsk and Dnipropetrovsk). The highest rates of population decline can be observed in cities in Eastern Ukraine and cities with an unfavourable demographic situation and declining industry in Central Ukraine. Due to the depopulation of the rural areas, 641 rural settlements were abandoned between 1991 and 2012. Most of these settlements

can be found in the northern and north-eastern regions, and the fewest in Volyn and Transcarpathia.

During the 1990s there was a decrease in CBD in Ukraine: from 12.6‰ in 1990 it fell to 7.7‰ by 2001. However, since 2002 there has been a slight increase in the birth rate. Now the CBD stabilized at 11.0‰ (2011), but it shows significant differences by region (10.5‰ in urban areas, 12.1‰ in rural). In the period 1991-2001, the crude death rate (CDR) decreased by 1.6 times, and from 2001 to 2011 increased by 1.4 times.

The total fertility rate (TFR) declined from 1.7 in 1991 to 1.5 in 2011 (Fig. 1). The best situation is observed in the north-western regions, while the worst in the eastern and north-eastern parts of the country.

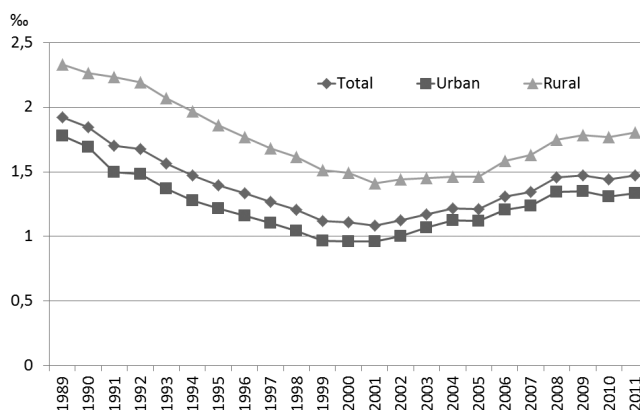


Figure 1. Changes in TFR in Ukraine

Source: Authors' calculation based on State Statistical Service of Ukraine data

The relatively high CDR is a significant demographic issue for Ukraine. It increased till 2001, and it reduced slightly afterwards (14.5‰ in 2011).

Since 1991, Ukraine has seen a natural decline in population. The situation began to improve from 2006 (from -7.6‰ in 2005 to -3.5‰ in 2011), which is primarily due to an increase in the crude birth rate and the implementation of a state demographic policy.

Another substantial demographic challenge in Ukraine is ageing. Over the years 1991-2011, the number of people aged over 65 increased by nearly 1 million people. The age structure has deteriorated in all regions of Ukraine. The share of the population over 65 exceeds the share of younger age groups (0-15) in 14 out of 25 regions. During the 2000s, the proportion of the population over 65+ increased steadily (from 14.5% in 2001 to 15.9% in 2009), but in recent years this volume declined slightly (15.3% in 2011). In 2011, the old-age dependency ratio was 22.0 per 100 working age persons.

4.4.2.2 Socio-economic and political conditions of international migration in Ukraine

During the last century, four emigration waves took place in Ukraine. Each of them was determined by a combination of socio-political and socio-economic factors. The first

wave covered the period from the last quarter of the 19th century until the First World War. Its main causes were the overpopulation of the countryside and, associated with this, the low living standard of a large part of the population and the national oppression of Ukrainians and others. The second and third waves covered the period between the two world wars and the period after World War II. These two waves were mainly determined by socio-political factors.

The fourth wave of emigration began in the 1990s and has continued until now. Among the factors which caused this wave should be named the transition from a planned to a regulated market economic model and the subsequent economic hardship of a major part of the population. On the other hand, the democratization and the establishment of Ukraine as a sovereign state resulted in the fall of the “Iron Curtain”, which provided massive opportunities for the international travel of citizens.

The major economic factor triggering the fourth wave of emigration was the unprecedented drop in the level of economic development in Ukraine. In the development of the economy in the post-Soviet era, three periods can be traditionally distinguished – stagnation and adaptation (1991–1999), growth (2000–2008) and post-crisis rehabilitation (2008–today).

For the social adaptation of the population the first period was the most difficult, which is characterized by the highest rate of GDP decline. Its lowest volume was in 1999, when it reached only 40.8% of the 1990 level. At this stage, beyond economic reasonability, attempts were made to save jobs (both by government bodies and business entities). These attempts were not efficient, but they resulted in incomplete or partial employment, i.e. the growth of latent unemployment. However, hidden unemployment soon acquired an explicit nature. In 1999, 1,175 thousand officially unemployed people were registered. In 1995, this figure was only 127 thousand. All these processes caused a wave of emigration.

The second period was characterized by the fact that inflation was successfully restrained and it ensured the growth of economy with the help of rather tight monetary and fiscal policies. In 2008, the GDP amounted to almost 178% of the 2000 level. In the same period, substantial transformation occurred in the economy, associated with the growth of the tertiary sector and the reduction of the real sector share. Gradually, employment started to increase and unemployment reduced (Table 1). However, the problem was not resolved entirely.

The stratification of the population on the basis of property and social insecurity continued to increase in the country; and an oligarchic economic system took shape, in which the bulk of the nation's wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few financial-industrial groups. The presence of these groups in government led to the widespread occurrence of corruption. Corruption became a serious restraining factor in the development of small and medium-size businesses, which were meant to compensate for the lack of jobs and provide employment. All these facts led to the rise in labour migration from Ukraine.

Because of the global economic crisis, the country has seen a sharp drop in its GDP. In 2009, it accounted for only 85.2% of the 2008 level. It resulted in the devaluation of the national currency (hryvnia) by more than one and a half times and reduced real wages by about 10%. In subsequent years, the economy has started to recover, but it has not reached pre-crisis level until now.

Table 1. Dynamics of employment and unemployment in Ukraine

	2000		2005	
	1,000 persons	% to economically active population	1,000 persons	% to economically active population
Employment	20175	55,8	20680	57,7
Unemployment	2653,8	11,6	1600,8	7,2

	2010		2012	
	1,000 persons	% to economically active population	1,000 persons	% to economically active population
Employment	20266	58,5	20354	59,7
Unemployment	1785,6	8,1	1657,2	7,5

Source: State Statistical Service of Ukraine

Despite a certain decrease in unemployment in general, a deterioration in the labour market can be observed in recent years (Table 2), caused by the rapid reduction of the demand for labour force. While the number of job vacancies reached 186.6 thousand in 2005, the same number was only 48.6 thousand in 2012, and the average number of candidates applying for each vacancy rose from 5 in 2005 to 11 in 2011.

Table 2. Dynamics of the labor market in Ukraine

	2005	2010	2012
The number of registered unemployed citizens, thousand	903,5	564,0	526,0
Necessity of enterprises for workers to fill vacant jobs, thousand	186,6	63,9	48,6
Load on one free workplace (position), persons	5	9	11

Source: State Statistical Service of Ukraine

Thus, the level of the socio-economic development of the country continues to be rather low: in 2013 the Human Development Index in Ukraine amounted to 0.74 (78th place among 186 countries). Among the countries of the former Soviet Union, Ukraine was outrun by Estonia (0.846), Latvia (0.818), Lithuania (0.814), Belarus (0.793), Russia (0.788), Kazakhstan (0.754) and Georgia (0.754). In the Visegrad countries the Human Development Index is higher: it is 0.873 in the Czechia, 0.840 in Slovakia, 0.831 in Hungary and 0.821 in Poland.

Similar differences can be observed in the Gross National Income per capita. In 2012, the value of GNI by purchasing-power parity per person in Ukraine amounted to about 7300 international dollars, which is well below not only the indicators of the Visegrad countries, but of some countries of the former Soviet Union, as well (Table 3).

It is clear that the significant differences in the socio-economic potential of neighbouring countries create the effect of “pull-push” for the economically active population, thereby forming the migration flows from less developed to more developed countries.

Table 3. Production of Gross National Income per capita (PPP), 2012, in international dollars

Rate	Country	GNI per capita	Rate	Country	GNI per capita
1	Slovak Republic	24 770	11	Turkmenistan	9 640
2	Czechia	24 710	12	Azerbaijan	9 200
3	Lithuania	22 760	13	Ukraine	7 300
4	Russian Federation	22 720	14	Armenia	6 990
5	Estonia	22 030	15	Georgia	5 860
6	Poland	21 170	16	Moldova	4 510
7	Latvia	21 020	17	Uzbekistan	3 750
8	Hungary	20 710	18	Kyrgyz Republic	2 260
9	Belarus	15 220	19	Tajikistan	2 220
10	Kazakhstan	12 040			

Source: State Statistical Service of Ukraine

4.4.2.3 Changing role and features of international migration

In general, the net external migration in Ukraine was positive until 1993 (maximum in 1992 with 287.8 thousand people), which was due to the return of both Ukrainians and other indigenous ethnic groups to the country (including the deported Crimean Tatars) (Fig. 2). From 1994 to 2004 there was a migration outflow, when more than 1.2 million people emigrated from Ukraine, mainly from urban areas. In subsequent years the situation changed diametrically, resulting in migration growth in urban areas and reduction in rural regions. In 2012, net migration (61.8 thousand) exceeded the sum of the migration gain of the previous four years (Fig. 3).

The role of international migration varies significantly in the different regions of Ukraine. As seen from Fig. 4, the maximum migration gain during the last decade is typical of Odesa, the Crimea regions and the city of Kyiv. At the same time, a migration loss is observed in regions with relatively favourable dynamics of natural increase (Transcarpathian and Rivne regions).

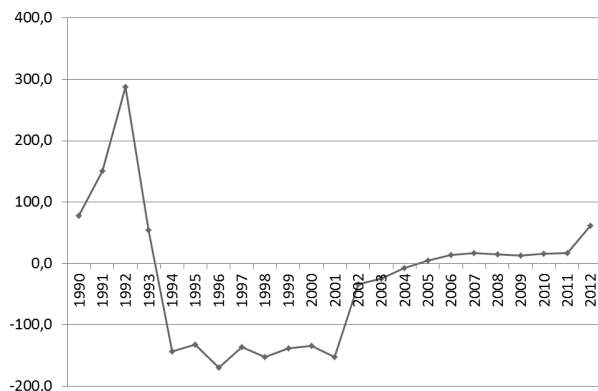


Figure 2. Dynamics of the net external migration in Ukraine, thousand people
Source: State Statistical Service of Ukraine

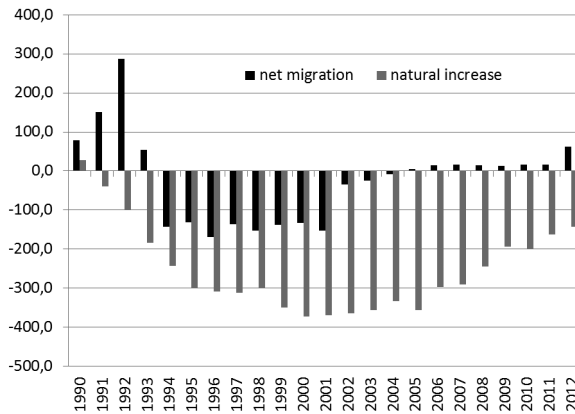


Figure 3. Changes in net migration and natural increase in Ukraine, thousand people
Source: State Statistical Service of Ukraine

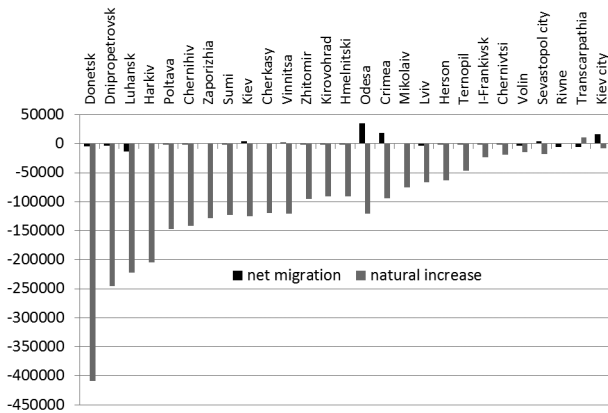


Figure 4. The ratio of net migration and natural increase/decrease in the regions of Ukraine in 2002-2011 (regions are ranked according to the population increase), persons
Source: Authors' calculation based on State Statistical Service of Ukraine data

Over the past 20 years there have been significant changes in the nature of international migration. In the early 1990s, two types of migration dominated: ethnic and “shuttle”. The first one is related to the emigration of the Jews, Germans, Russians and, simultaneously, the return of Ukrainians and other indigenous ethnic groups to the country. It is characterized by a permanent migration pattern. At the same time, circular migration has become quite significant in scale, which is related to the problems of the economic transformation and the increase in unemployment, and its main goal was buying and selling goods in neighbouring countries (especially in Poland and Romania). That is why this kind of emigration was called “zarobitchanska”, because the main reason for this migration was to make earnings (“zarobitok”).

Furthermore, the share of permanent migration decreased and the geographical span of “shuttle” migration expanded. The structure of circular migration changed due to the

gradual increase in temporary labour migration. The nature of illegal labour migration also changed: in the 1990s migrants crossed the border illegally, now they are doing it legally, but take up employment mainly illegally. In the 2000s, educational migration became more and more significant. Thus, currently Ukraine can be regarded as a country of origin, transit and destination for migrants, simultaneously.

Because of the relatively high tolerance of Ukrainians towards “non-traditional” migrants, flows of asylum seekers, refugees and foreign students to Ukraine have increased substantially. At the same time, there has also been a steady growth in the migration flow of young Ukrainians moving to Central and West European countries for education purposes. The length of time temporary migrants stay abroad was extended: in the 1990s less than 20% of circular migrants worked for more than a month, in the 2000s the average period of staying abroad lasted 1-6 months.

The early 1990s were characterized by the “permeability” of Ukrainian borders due to the lack of national legislation in the field of migration. Now the process of labour migration has become more regulated.

4.4.3 Legal framework of international migration

4.4.3.1 Development of the state migration policy: a series of experiments

The migration policy of Ukraine has undergone significant changes in the last two decades. We can identify four stages in its evolution. The first stage (1991-1992) is associated with the formation of the legislative field of international migration: Parliament accepted the two acts “On Citizenship of Ukraine” and “On Employment” (1991). The latter included the right of citizens for professional activity abroad (labour activity during a temporary stay abroad), if it does not contradict either the current legislation of Ukraine or that of the host country. The resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine “On priority measures concerning addressing out of Ukrainian citizens abroad” (1992) lifted the requirement of a permit in travel documents in order to travel abroad. However, the regulations governing border crossing procedures were only put in place at a later date, therefore the legislation standards of the USSR continued to be valid until then.

The second stage (1993-2000) laid the foundation for the institutionalization of a migration policy. In 1993, the Ministry of Ukraine for Nationalities and Migration was established, one of whose functions was to develop and ensure the implementation of a state policy in the field of migration. In 1996, the Ministry was reorganized into the State Committee of Ukraine on Nationalities and Migration, and in 2000 it was merged into the State Department for Nationalities and Migration. So, the “status” of the institution responsible for migration was significantly reduced. An important instance was the approval by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine of a program to combat illegal migration for 1996-1997 and 1999-2000. In 1999, by the Presidential Decree “Issues of immigration control” the responsibility to coordinate efforts to combat illegal migration was transferred to the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine. In 2000, the State Committee for State Border Guard of Ukraine was established.

At this stage, the legal framework for managing international migration had been formed: Parliament accepted the acts “On Refugees” (1993), “On the order of departure from Ukraine and entry to Ukraine for citizens of Ukraine” (1994), “On the Legal Status of Aliens” (1994, which, in particular, regulates the issues of asylum, refugee status, entry and exit of foreign citizens). In 1996, the Ukrainian Constitution was adopted, which defines the main provisions in the field of migration management.

The third stage (2001-2010) is associated with significant changes in the organizational structure and migration legislation. Several state bodies were established in this period, with the aim of regulating and governing migration issues: the State Committee of Ukraine on Nationalities and Migration (2001), responsible for the issues of refugees, (and renamed State Committee of Ukraine on Nationalities and Religions from 2006), Department of Citizenship, Passport and Migration Service in the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine (as an executive authority on immigration, which in 2002 was transformed into the State Department of Citizenship, Immigration and Registration of Individuals), and the State Border Service of Ukraine (2003), which is responsible for combating illegal migration. As a result of such transformations, the issues of international migration were dispersed among various agencies.

In 2001, a number of important acts was adopted: “On Citizenship of Ukraine”, “On Immigration”, “On Refugees”, “On amendments to some legislative acts on the fight against illegal migration”, and also a program to combat illegal migration for 2001-2004 was approved.

4.4.3.2 On the way to a new migration policy

A new stage (from late 2010) was marked by the establishment of the State Migration Service of Ukraine as the central executive body in the field of migration (from the Department for Refugees of the State Committee on Nationalities and Religions and the Department of Citizenship, Immigration and Registration of Persons of the Ministry of Internal Affairs).

It should be noted that in 2008, the Cabinet of Ministers already made an attempt to establish the State Department of Migration Service, thus concentrating all migration issues within the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but the President issued a decree suspending this resolution. The Constitutional Court declared the unconstitutional nature of the decision, so, it was overturned by the CMU in 2009.

In 2011-2012, the newly revised acts “On the Legal Status of Foreigners and Stateless Persons”, “On Refugees and Persons in need of Complementary or Temporary Protection” were adopted.

The third important step was the approval of the Concept of State Migration Policy and the Action Plan for the implementation of this concept (2011). The strategic directions of the state migration policy included the following principles: strengthening the social and legal protection of Ukrainian citizens working abroad, creating favourable conditions and mechanisms for the return of migrants to Ukraine, implementing mechanisms for additional and temporary protection of foreigners and stateless persons, enhancing tolerance towards migrants, setting up immigration quotas taking into account the demo-

graphic situation and the situation in the labour market, improving the system of collection of statistical information on migration, as well as encouraging the rational spatial settling of migrants on the basis of the socio-economic and demographic situation in the various regions.

The main tasks of the State Migration Service of Ukraine (SMSU, <http://dmsu.gov.ua>) as the central executive body are the implementation of the state policy in the field of migration (immigration and emigration, including the fight against illegal migration, refugees and other categories of migrants). The activity of the SMSU is directed and coordinated by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine through the Minister of Internal Affairs. Its responsibilities include the analysis of the migration situation in Ukraine, refugees and other migrants' issues, development of current and long-term forecasts. Its activities are also carried out through territorial authorities – the main migration service in the Crimea, regions, and cities of Kyiv and Sevastopol, as well as migration departments and divisions (sectors) in districts and cities with regional or republican subordination. In the structure of the SMSU, there are two centres of temporary stay for foreigners and stateless persons who are illegally residing in Ukraine (Volyn and Chernihiv regions), as well as three temporary accommodation centres for refugees (Odesa, Transcarpathian and Kyiv regions).

Certain functions related to migration are performed by other central executive bodies:

- the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine (www.mlsp.gov.ua, including Department of Labour Market and Employment), the State Employment Service of Ukraine (www.dcz.gov.ua), and the Council on labour migration of Ukrainian citizens within the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine – issues of external labour migration, temporary employment of foreigners in Ukraine and Ukrainians abroad, social protection of migrants, in particular;
- the State Border Service of Ukraine (www.pvu.gov.ua) – issues of border crossing registrations, control of illegal immigration at the border and in the border areas;
- the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine (www.mon.gov.ua) – issues of training of foreign citizens in Ukraine;
- the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (www.mfa.gov.ua), diplomatic missions and consulates of Ukraine – issues of the provision of visas and permits to stay in the country, consular registration and assistance to Ukrainian citizens abroad, return of migrants.

The migration policy of Ukraine is closely linked to the demographic policy. So, in the Demographic Development Strategy of Ukraine till 2015, which was approved in 2006, the regulation of external migration is seen as a means to reduce the rate of depopulation, emphasizing the need to empower legal employment outside Ukraine, strengthen the control on recruiting companies, as well as the development and implementation of the programs on the social and professional adaptation of returning labour migrants and providing cheaper services for migrants' remittances.

The parliamentary hearings in November 2013 identified the following key issues: the strengthening of social and legal protection of labour migrants and their families, the enumeration of labour migrants working abroad, the prevention of illegal migration and the risks associated with it, the creation of the necessary conditions for the return and

reintegration of labour migrants, the activation of the state policy aiming to create an attractive domestic labour market (Rekomendatsii, 2013).

4.4.4 International migration in Ukraine: patterns, trends and issues

As it was already mentioned, the geographical structure of migration is determined by the differences in the socio-economic development and political stability of countries and regions, the emergence of social cataclysms, etc. This is quite clearly confirmed by the specificity of the migration balance and the geographical migration in Ukraine.

According to the World Bank, the number of immigrants living in Ukraine in 2010 amounted to 5257.5 thousand people (Migration and Remittances Factbook, 2011). This figure corresponds with the results of the Ukrainian population census in 2001, where it was found that 5.2 million immigrants living in Ukraine were born outside the country (Vseukrains'kyi perepys naseleennia). Taking into consideration the scale of illegal immigration, it can be assumed that this figure is at least 1.3 times higher.

The vast majority of immigrants in Ukraine (about 4,850 thousand) are from countries of the former Soviet Union. 65.5% of them arrived in Ukraine from Russia, 5.2% from Belarus, 4.8% from Kazakhstan, 4.7% from Uzbekistan, 3.2% from Moldova and 13% from other former Soviet republics. The majority of these people arrived in Ukraine during the Soviet era. It should be mentioned, however, that about 22% of them arrived after Ukraine gained its independence in 1991.

In addition, about 350 thousand migrants arrived in Ukraine from the countries of the former socialist camp, mainly from Germany, Poland, Hungary, etc. The majority of these immigrants are children of military servicemen, born within the borders of the former Warsaw Pact countries.

Particular attention should be paid to the post-Soviet repatriation processes in Ukraine. These processes do not only involve Ukrainians (their share in the population in the period 1989–2001 increased from 72.7% to 77.8%), but also other nationalities. Also, it is important to mention the return of the Crimean Tatars to their historic homeland. Today, their number in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea is about 265 thousand.

A separate category is formed from immigrants who are not citizens of Ukraine but possess a temporary or permanent permit for residence in the territory of the state. At present, there are more than 210 thousand people holding such permit. The geographical structure of this category of immigrants is presented in Table 4.

The number of immigrants in this category is growing rapidly. During the period 2006–2012 their number increased by more than 1.4 times. In addition, in Ukraine reside about 2.5 thousand people who have been granted refugee status; most of them are from Afghanistan.

During the 2011–2012 academic year, 42.6 thousand foreign citizens attended higher education in Ukraine. They were mainly citizens from Turkmenistan (7,335), Nigeria (3,313), Iran (3,142), India (3,097), China (3,078), Azerbaijan (3,078), Jordan (2,380) and Russia (1,971).

Table 4. Geographical structure of immigrants, who possess a temporary or permanent permit for residence on the territory of Ukraine

Country	1,000 persons	Share in total, %	Country	1,000 persons	Share in total, %
Russia	123,8	59,0	Israel	1,7	0,8
Moldova	12,3	5,9	Lithuanian	1,3	0,6
Armenia	9,3	4,4	China	1,2	0,6
Azerbaijan	8,1	3,9	Turkey	1,2	0,6
Georgia	7,8	3,7	Syria	1,2	0,6
Uzbekistan	7,2	3,4	Poland	1,1	0,5
Belorus	5,9	2,8	Turkmenistan	1	0,5
Vietnam	4,2	2,0	Others	19,5	9,3
Kazakstan	3,2	1,5	Total	210	100,0

Source: Ukraina. Mihratsiinyi profil', 2013.

The following indicators can characterize the scale of illegal immigration. Only in 2012, about 7 thousand illegal migrants were found in the territory of Ukraine; 4,640 foreigners – potential illegal migrants – were not allowed to enter the country, and 1,120 people were stopped when crossing the border illegally.

The possibility of free travel into and out of Ukraine for Ukrainian citizens was created by the adoption of the act “On the order of departure from Ukraine and entry to Ukraine for citizens of Ukraine” in 1994. In fact, this law initiated a mass emigration from Ukraine in the post-Soviet period, which has been changing in intensity and character over the next 20 years.

At its initial stage, emigration had a predominantly ethnic character, which was related to the outflow of Jews, Czechs, Poles, Slovaks, Germans, etc., for permanently settling abroad. The scale of this emigration did not have a mass character.

With the economic crisis, emigration rapidly lost its ethnic traits and turned into a labour-related one, and at the same time it became mass emigration. The exact definition of these scales raises a number of problems caused by the difficulty of assessing the number of labour migrants and migrants residing and engaging in some kind of labour activity abroad.

In recent years, several attempts have been made by a number of agencies to determine the number of labour migrants. The results varied over a very wide range, which was due to the differences in methodological approaches.

The Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine gives a figure of about 3 million labour migrants, while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs counts with about 2.5 million. The State Statistics Service in conjunction with the Ptukha Institute of Demography and Social Research of the National Academy of Sciences, based on the 2012 survey on households found that about 1.2 million people are working or searching for work abroad. It seems that 2.3–2.5 million labour migrants can be considered a realistic estimate. At the same time, about 20% of the total number of labour migrants worked abroad without any legal status.

Due to the lack of visa obligations and that of a language barrier, as well as relatively favourable transport facilities there can be observed a dominance of Russia in the geographical structure of labour migration in Ukraine (more than 53% of the total number of people working abroad). Russia is followed by Italy (9.5%), Germany (7.6%) and Spain (7.0%) (Table 5).

The number of labour migrants in the Visegrad countries is about 225 thousand people (10% of the total). Leaders among them are the Czechia (142 thousand or 6.2%) and Poland (72 thousand or 3.3%).

Table 5. Geographical structure of the labor migration from Ukraine

Country	1,000 persons	Share in total, %	Country	1,000 persons	Share in total, %
Russia	1226,1	53,3	Turkey	8,2	0,4
Italy	218	9,5	Belgium	8	0,3
Germany	175	7,6	Sweden	7	0,3
Spain	161	7,0	Bulgaria	5,1	0,2
Czechia	142	6,2	Argentina	5	0,2
USA	90	3,9	Cyprus	4	0,2
Poland	75	3,3	Ireland	3,5	0,2
Portugal	48,5	2,1	Switzerland	3,4	0,2
Canada	30	1,3	Lithuanian	3,1	0,1
Greece	18	0,8	Lebanon	2,5	0,1
France	12	0,5	Slovakia	2,4	0,1
Austria	9	0,4	Japan	2	0,1
Israel	9	0,4	Other countries	23,2	1,0
Hungary	9	0,4	Total	2300	100,0

Source: Malynovska, 2011

The role of the various regions of Ukraine in the formation of labour emigration significantly varies. The western region of the country is a major donor region of labour migration. About 11% of the working age population is involved in it. In the Southern region, this figure is 1.9%, while it is 1.3% in the Northern, about 1% in the Eastern and less than 1% in the Central region (Ukraina. Mihratsiinyi profil', 2013).

It should be stated that the majority (over 54%) of labour migrants from Ukraine are from rural areas. Only about 46% of them are urban residents. This situation seems quite natural, since the absence of any effective agrarian reforms led to extremely disastrous conditions in agriculture and the lack of job opportunities for the rural population, which undermined their well-being. The unemployed labour force migrates to large cities, especially in Kyiv and other interregional centres, or leaves the country in search of job opportunities abroad.

In view of the above-mentioned facts, it is natural that about 66% of the migrants are men. Their average age is 36.2 years. The corresponding figures for women are 34.4% and 37.9 years (Malynovska, 2011).

Labour emigrants are characterized by a lower level of education than the national average. Thus, those who completed higher education constitute only 15.4%, while the national average is 27.1%. The overwhelming number of labour migrants has completed secondary education (64.9%). Throughout the country, among the employed population, this figure is 44.9%. 15.1% of labour migrants have a basic or unfinished higher education qualification, while the national average is 21.3% (Malynovska, 2011).

We can define two factors that determine the role of the Visegrad countries in the international migration profile of Ukraine. The first factor is the gap in the level and standards of living. The second is related to the specifics of Ukraine's geopolitical situation – geographical proximity and neighbourhood on the one hand, and the presence of a number of preferences, on the other.

In 2010, officially 80.4 thousand Ukrainians worked outside of Ukraine (in 2000 it was 33.7 thousand): 29 thousand persons worked in the Czechia (in 2000 – 3.5 thousand) and in Slovakia – 0 (in 2000 – 0.5 thousand).

The overall number of Ukrainian migrants in the Visegrad countries is estimated to be somewhere between 225 and 940 thousand. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, 156 thousand legal and 72 thousand illegal migrants stay in the Visegrad countries. In particular, between 140 and 400 thousand Ukrainians (132 thousand legal and 10 thousand illegal migrants, according to the MFA estimation) work in the Czechia, between 75 and 450 thousand (15 and 60 thousand, respectively) in Poland, between 8 and 80 thousand (8.4 and 0.5 thousand) in Hungary, and between 2 and 6 thousand (0.9 and 1.5 thousand) in Slovakia.

The most significant pressure of Ukrainian migrants per 100 of the economically active population accounts for the Czechia (more than 2.5), to a lesser extent for Poland and Hungary (under 1.0, primarily illegal migrants). At the same time, Ukrainians are not a threat for the host society, compared to the ethnically and culturally different Vietnamese or Chinese migrants, who put increasing pressure on the Czechia and Slovakia.

The reasons for migration of Ukrainians to Visegrad countries can be represented as a push-pull scheme (Table 6):

Thus, the motives of labour migration from Ukraine to the Visegrad countries are not only economic, but also largely socio-psychological. A considerable part of the migrations is not forced, but conscious.

Another important factor is the various types of preferences for migrants from Ukraine consider. In particular:

- ethnic preferences. For example, citizens who can prove Polish descent and therefore are granted a Card of the Pole (Karta Polaka) are eligible for employment in Poland without any restrictions. A similar situation for ethnic Hungarians (law about Hungarians living in neighbouring countries is the so-called law of status);
- preferences for residents of border areas: agreements on local border traffic between Poland and Ukraine (for those who live in the 50-km zone along the border, except

Table 6. Push-pull factors of the labour migration from Ukraine to V4 countries

Ukraine Push	Visegrad countries pull
<u>Economic reasons:</u> lower wages in Ukraine, the underestimation of the cost of labor (lower payment for the same work), the gap in payment of top-managers and teachers, doctors, etc; unemployment; willing to provide the welfare of children, their education; underdevelopment of small businesses in Ukraine (lack of cheap loans, tax burden, the complexity of business registration, etc.); underdevelopment of the middle class	<u>Economic reasons:</u> unsatisfied demand for labor, particularly in construction, agriculture, services, the outflow of domestic labor, the lack of experts in some fields; employers save on taxes and social insurance through the use of illegal immigrants; „openness” for labor migrants from Eastern Europe
<u>Socio-psychological reasons:</u> discomfort from the political and economic instability in Ukraine (including the negative inflationary expectations); “hopelessness” of rural inhabitants; „social fashion” on migration, positive image of labor migrants, an example of others; “flight” from the social and everyday problems, parenting of children; non-prestigious of the same occupations in the country; desire “to see the world”, „a better life”	<u>Socio-demographic reasons:</u> ethnic, cultural proximity; growth of the welfare, desire to have a maid-servant, unwillingness occupy the low prestige profession; challenges of ageing; emigration to Western Europe
<u>Administrative reasons:</u> corruption (deeply intruded corruption), vulnerability to abuse of power; ineffective migration policy	<u>Administrative reasons:</u> there are a number of regulations aimed at attracting labor migrants from Ukraine; visa liberalization

Lviv), Hungary (for those who have lived in the 50-km zone for three years, affecting 400-450 thousand citizens of Ukraine, of which about 150 thousand Hungarians), Slovakia (for those who live in the 30-km zone, affecting 400 thousand Ukrainians);

- preferences for seasonal workers. For example, in Poland there is a seasonal employment scheme regarding Ukrainians. This means that the agricultural sector is opened for the seasonal employment of citizens from neighbouring states without the necessity to obtain work permits.

The main migration pathways of Ukrainians to Visegrad countries are:

- 1) Through kinship or informal communities (social networks) of migrants. Particularly close ethnic ties exist between Transcarpathia and East Slovakia and North-East Hungary or between West Ukraine and South-East Poland.

- 2) Through recruitment agencies that are licensed by the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine. According to estimates, approximately 10% of labour migrants from Ukraine migrate through recruitment agencies, in particular to Poland 9%, the Czechia 7% and Hungary less than 3%. From the 75 countries with a licensed recruitment agency, Poland is the most popular (22.5%). The share of the Czechia is 5.7%, Hungary 0.4% and Slovakia only 0.2%. However, the activities of recruitment agencies are limited because of the small demand for legal labour (it applies to sailors in particular, so one third of the agencies are located in the Odessa region), the relatively high cost of formal services, as well as the dishonesty of some agencies (when they give incorrect information regarding wages, do not fulfill their obligations, etc.). The so-called migration industry was not yet formed in Ukraine.
- 3) Without intermediaries, by direct contact with the employer. Sometimes companies publish vacancies through the media and on specialized sites.

In 2010, in accordance with bilateral agreements made with neighbouring countries, more than 70% of detained foreigners were at the border of Slovakia, 20% Poland, almost 7% Hungary. Herein more than 40% of detainees are from Moldova, nearly 20% from Afghanistan, 16% from Georgia, 6% from Russia.

The authors of the research project “Circular Migration: new approaches to the old concept” revealed that Ukrainian migrants typologically belong to the circular type of migration: over 80% of them want to return home, about 70% have families in Ukraine and maintain close relationships with loved ones at home while staying abroad, 90% forge plans for the future in Ukraine (buy accommodation, pay for education of children, etc.). At least twice or three times a year Ukrainian migrants pay a visit to Ukraine if it is possible (those having legal status in the receiving state, enough funds or those who come on vacation) (Markov I. et al., 2012).

The main features of the circular migration of Ukrainians as part of the global migration profile are the following:

- embraces almost all European states;
- includes various socio-demographic groups;
- massive scale of female migration;
- accumulation of migrants in urban agglomerations;
- organized through social networks;
- dynamics of labour migration is driven by people with higher education and specialized secondary education;
- significance of illegal migration (Markov I. et al., 2012).

Among the main needs of Ukrainian labour migrants that were revealed as a result of the research project of the Centre entitled “Social Indicators” are the need for legal protection, opportunity to learn the host country’s language, obtain reliable information about the labour market and migration policy, have secure and accessible means for money transfers to Ukraine, a need for psychological support and adaptation programs in order to overcome the considerable psychological stress related to the adaptation

to the life and work in the country of residence, assistance in healthcare (Research of Ukrainian..., 2008).

Because of the predominantly temporary and partly illegal nature of the migration of Ukrainians, they are rather poorly integrated into the host society and maintain close links with the local Ukrainian Diaspora. At the same time, social networks organized by migrants from Ukraine play an increasingly important role. Such social networks accelerate the development of chain migration of Ukrainians in certain countries and regions and simultaneously contribute to their return to Ukraine. Social networks implement infrastructural and informational functions, providing support in the transfer of migrants' income to Ukraine, information support to migrants concerning the situation in labour markets, job and housing opportunities, legal aspects, the specific conditions of residing abroad, etc.

Experts note that due to the well-organized social networks, Ukrainian migrants are flexible and mobile in responding to the quickly changing conditions in the labour market (especially during a period of financial crisis). The self-regulation of labour migration is done through social networks (Markov I. et al., 2012).

Although labour migrants do not have strong relations with the Diaspora, they try to support the cultural and educational activities (especially in Central and Western European countries), in particular via different NGOs. The congregation centres of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church play a significant role in this. In general, the international circular migration of Ukrainians has a dual effect. On the one hand, it contributes to the improvement of the living standard enhancing the formation of the middle class, helps people integrate into the European labour market, gain experience and get to know new technologies, it reduces the level of registered unemployment, and boosts the establishment of small businesses in Ukraine (both by returning migrants personally and by using their remittances). According to the calculation of the experts of the Institute of Demography and Social Studies of NAS of Ukraine, if labour migration did not exist in Ukraine, the unemployment rate would be 1.6 times higher than the actual level (i.e. that at the end of the 1990s – beginning of the 2000s) (Malynovska, 2011).

On the other hand, external labour migration causes a number of threats, in particular:

- Social – threats of family breakdown, social orphanhood (lack of parental care, family values, carefree attitude of children to life, “easy money”, risks of emerging of a new “lost generation”), the formation of the so-called migratory way of life (“I make money, so social and everyday family issues do not interest me”);
- Economic – outflow of workforce, shortage of skilled workers in the domestic labour market, financial problems (labour migrants get free education in Ukraine and claim for a pension at old age, but do not work in the country; no contribution is paid to pension and social funds from their wages, while they and their children are entitled to all social services); – Free education, healthcare, etc.), loss of intellectual potential (“brain drain”);
- Political – negative image of Ukraine as a state that is unable to create worthy living conditions for its citizens, complaints to Ukraine from the receiving states.

4.4.5 Specific issues related to migration in Ukraine

4.4.5.1 Labour and educational migration of the youth

A significant problem in Ukraine is youth emigration, both for temporary employment and for education abroad. According to a survey conducted in 2008, from the 1.3 million Ukrainian labour migrants 567 thousand were young people (under 35 years of age). According to the experts' findings, the annual outflow of young professionals from Ukraine is about 10-12% (Danylyshyn, Kutsenko, 2005). According to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) in 2011, 37.4 thousand Ukrainians were studying at universities in other countries. Compared with 2001, this value doubled since then (Fig. 5). Over 37% of students from Ukraine study in Russia, almost 16% in Germany. Almost 20% study in the Visegrad countries (4.7 thousand in Poland, 1.6 thousand in the Czechia, 1.1 thousand in Hungary, 0.1 thousand in Slovakia) (Fig. 6). 1.2% of Ukrainian students study in Belarus, Moldova and Georgia.

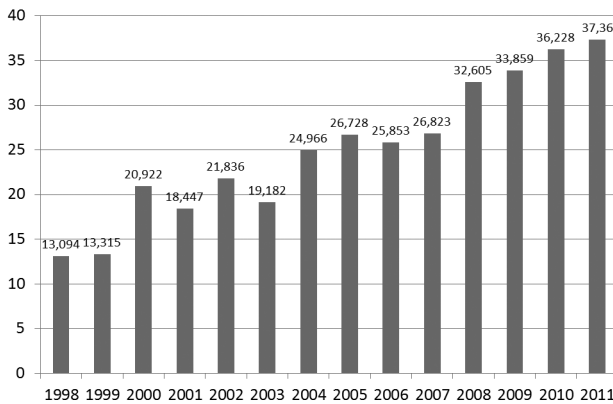


Figure 5. Dynamics of the number of Ukrainian students studying abroad, in thousands

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics estimation, <http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco>

The main reasons for the labour and educational migration of the youth are: an ineffective Ukrainian youth policy, a high level of youth unemployment, impossibility to find professional work (up to 40% of employees with high qualifications are not working in their profession, because the education system in the country does not focus on the needs of the labour market), young people's aim to acquire a degree of European standard.

The fundamentals of a youth policy in Ukraine were laid by the Declaration of the Supreme Council of Ukraine "On the general basics of the state youth policy in Ukraine" in 1992 and by the act "On the promotion of the social establishment and development of the youth in Ukraine" in 1993. In 2003, the act "On the state program of youth support for 2004-2008" was accepted, and in 2009 the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine approved of the state target program "The youth of Ukraine" for 2009-2015. Despite these facts, however, the youth policy does not provide guarantees for youth employment in Ukraine.

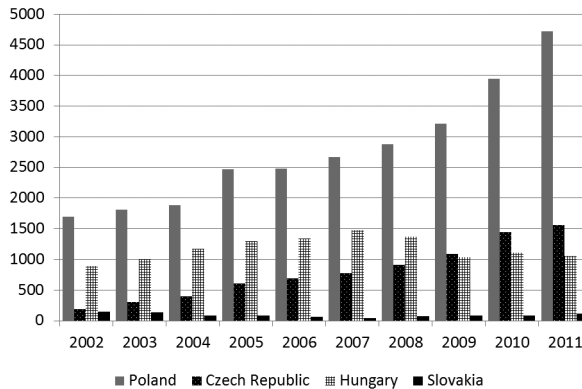


Figure 6. Dynamics of the number of Ukrainian students studying in the Visegrad countries, in persons. Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics estimation, <http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco>

According to the sociological research carried out in 2002, 64% of young people aged 14-28 did not realize the state support (study of the State Institute for Family and Youth Problems). In 2005, 21% of respondents among youth aged 15-23 characterized the state youth policy as inefficient, and another 27% as rather inefficient (study conducted by the Centre of Social Expertise of the Institute of Sociology of NAS of Ukraine in the framework of the UNDP project “Creating a safe environment for Ukrainian youth”). In 2010, 79% of youth aged 15-34 did not perceive the implementation of the national youth policies (socio-demographic survey “Youth of Ukraine, 2010”) (Libanova, 2010).

At the beginning of 2012, unemployed youth (under 35 years of age) accounted for 41.8% of the registered unemployment in Ukraine (more than 200 thousand people). This rate is especially high in the western regions: more than 50% in the Volyn, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv regions. The highest rate of unemployment is in the 15-24 year age group.

The migratory intentions of young people were identified in the socio-demographic survey “Youth of Ukraine, 2010”. Nearly one third of respondents would study abroad if they had the opportunity (more than half of the students). Moreover, from the respondents aged 15-19 every second person would like to study abroad, while from the 20-24 age group – every third, 25-29 – every fourth, 30-34 – every fifth. Temporary labour migration was regarded as attractive for the 45% of respondents. Great Britain, the USA and Germany were named among the most attractive countries for study purposes, while for temporary employment they were the USA, Poland, Italy and the Czechia, and for permanent residence the USA, Canada and Germany (Libanova, 2010).

In the survey conducted in 2013 among students at national universities in regional centres of Ukraine (Kiev, Kharkov, Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, Lviv), it was revealed that about one third of respondents (26% of the students surveyed in Kharkiv, 27% in Donetsk, 28% in Lviv, 33% in Kyiv, 35% in Dnepropetrovsk, 37% in Odessa) are ready for temporary labour migration. The most attractive countries are Germany, the United States (over 10%), Great Britain, Italy, Canada, and among the Visegrad countries – Poland (5%, in Lviv 14%) and the Czechia (3%).

4.4.5.2 Return of Ukrainian migrants

According to the survey “External labour migration of Ukraine” conducted in 2008, 14% of labour migrants from Ukraine were not planning to return home. Those who return to Ukraine face problems of employment and re-adaptation. These two reasons are considered to be the most significant barriers preventing labour migrants from returning.

The project “Development of initiatives for economic reintegration of Ukrainian labour migrants” conducted in 2010–2011 revealed that 45% of respondents from the Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk regions reject the possibility of returning and taking up employment in Ukraine in view of the existing income gaps between their home country and the destination countries (Bogdan, 2011).

Among the factors that lead to the return of migrant workers the most significant are health deterioration in the migrant’s family, approaching retirement age, feeling of fulfillment of own duty in ensuring family security. Young people return from an illegal status to complete education and probably to be legally employed abroad in future (Research of Ukrainian..., 2008).

With the support of the EU, the International Organization for Migration implemented the “Reintegration Program for Ukrainians who Return to Ukraine from EU”, which provides assistance with resettlement, emergency medical care, vocational training, job search, starting an own business. The International Charitable Foundation Caritas Ukraine (Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church) also plays an important role in the reintegration of migrants providing legal, financial, informational or psychological assistance to migrants who have returned to Ukraine from the EU.

4.4.5.3 Remittances of Ukrainian migrants

According to the National Bank of Ukraine, the volume of remittances by Ukrainian labour migrants in 2011 through the international payment system amounted to 7.0 billion U.S. dollars, and in 2012 – 7.5. Compared to 2003, this amount increased by more than 22 times. This volume is comparable with the annual FDI to Ukraine (Fig. 7). During the financial crisis, remittances decreased (in 2008 – 6.2, in 2009 – 5.4, in 2010 – 5.9). The largest volume of transfers comes from Russia, the USA, Germany and Italy. The negative trend can be caused by the tightening of the control over the payment of tax on foreign remittances by individuals, because in accordance with the Tax Code, remittances are treated as foreign income.

On the one hand, the investment of the remittances of Ukrainian labour migrants from abroad into human capital (education, health, improving quality of life) is a positive aspect. On the other hand, investment of the remittances in real estate can have negative consequences. Real estate development in areas with lack of jobs leads to the “immobilization” of capital, as such housing is not used, and the purchase of real estate in the capital and in regional centres stimulates the migration of young people from rural areas and small towns. In addition, the artificial increase in the demand for paid education services, which is stimulated by migrants’ income, led to the growth in the number of higher education institutions and students who do not meet the demands of the labour market (Malynovska, 2011). For example, in the 2000s the number of graduates in the Ternopil region was 4.5 times higher than in the early 1990s.

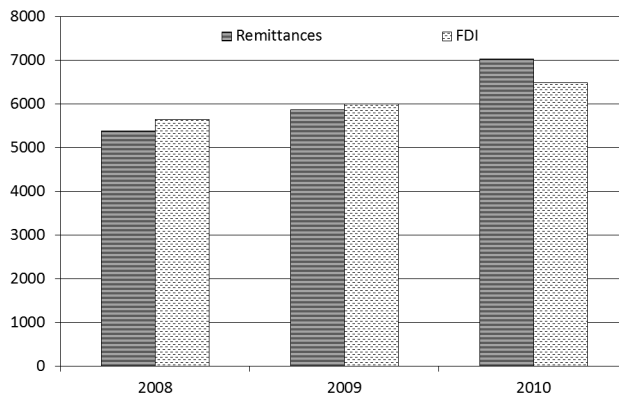


Figure 7. Annual private remittances from abroad through international payment systems and receipts and foreign direct investment to Ukraine, million US dollars
Sources: National Bank of Ukraine, State Statistics Service of Ukraine

4.4.6 Conclusions

In the overall context of migration, Ukraine is a country of origin, transit and destination, simultaneously. Negative demographic changes (natural decrease and depopulation, ageing, etc.) and challenges of economic and political transformations raise the threats of international migration in Ukraine. On the one hand, the scale of Ukrainian external labour migration threatens the sustainable socio-economic development of the country, on the other hand, it contributes to the growth of the welfare of the migrants and their families.

Official statistics on migration are insufficient, and survey results and experts' estimations differ considerably.

We can identify some contradictions regarding the international labour migration in Ukraine:

- encouragement of return migration vs migrants' remittances that are comparable with foreign direct investments providing stable currency inflow (in periods of low investment attractiveness);
- outflow of economically active population, the loss of human, labour and intellectual capital vs outflow of active social elements, which reduces the threat of further social tension (in conditions of unemployment, economic crises, permanent political conflicts);
- encouragement of legalization of illegal migration vs the complexity, bureaucracy and high cost of legal employment.

The substantial differences experienced in living standards stimulate labour migration from Ukraine to the Visegrad countries. But the motives of labour migration from Ukraine to the Visegrad countries are not only economic in nature, but they are socio-psychological as well. A considerable part of labour migration is not forced but conscious. The integration of Ukrainian migrants into host societies is made complicated by the reluctance

of the migrants on the one hand, and insufficient support by the states of origin and arrival, on the other. In addition, the migration infrastructure in Ukraine is underdeveloped.

As a result of the administrative reform taking place in Ukraine, the governing of migration has become more effective but the optimization of the migration policy is still just beginning. The migration policy should overcome the causes rather than the consequences of migration, however, that requires radical reforms of the economic and social security system, pension legislation, educational, medical spheres, real (not only declarative) fight against corruption, shadow economy and insecurity due to abuse of power. Otherwise, “cosmetic measures” only mitigate, but not solve the problem of labour migration.

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5. Migration flows and trends in the region – in the shadow of giants

Dávid Karácsonyi

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we try to describe the absolute number of non-nationals in V4 and in EaP countries, and to compare the situation with figures of neighbouring regions. Non-nationals are defined as citizens of EU or third countries who stay in the territory of a given EU state with a residence permit at a given time.

The scope of the available data we worked with was rather limited. The figures were provided by EASTMIG project partners, namely Dušan Drbohlav and Ondřej Valenta from the Czechia, Magdalena Lesińska from Poland, Vladislav Tolmáči from Slovakia, Áron Kincses from Hungary, Kostyantyn Mezentsev and Grygorii Pidgrushnyi from Ukraine, Ekaterina Antipova, Liudmila Fakeyeva from Belarus, Andrei Crivenco from Moldova and Ioseb Salukvadze from Georgia. We also used the database of Eurostat and the homepage of the Federal Statistical Office of Germany.

5.2 General migration situation of V4 in the EU

Based on the number of foreign citizens in each V4 and EaP states and in some neighbouring countries, main migration flows and trends of the region can be traced and characterized.

20 million foreign citizens (third country and EU citizens living in a country other than their country of origin) lived in the EU in 2012 (Eurostat). The largest foreign population is in Germany (7.7 million), Spain (5.5 million), Italy (4.8 million) and in the United Kingdom (4.8 million) (Figure 1). Most of these migrants are third country citizens, however there is a considerable number of foreigners who originated from the EU (e.g. from Romania or Poland). A higher ratio of non-nationals is typical in smaller countries such as Luxemburg, Switzerland and Cyprus. There are also a large number of non-nationals in Latvia due to the remarkable size of the Russian minority which did not receive Latvian citizenship after the independence from the Soviet Union. A lower ratio of non-nationals characterizes the V4 countries, which shows that these countries are not so attractive for foreign migrants. An exception to this is the Czechia.

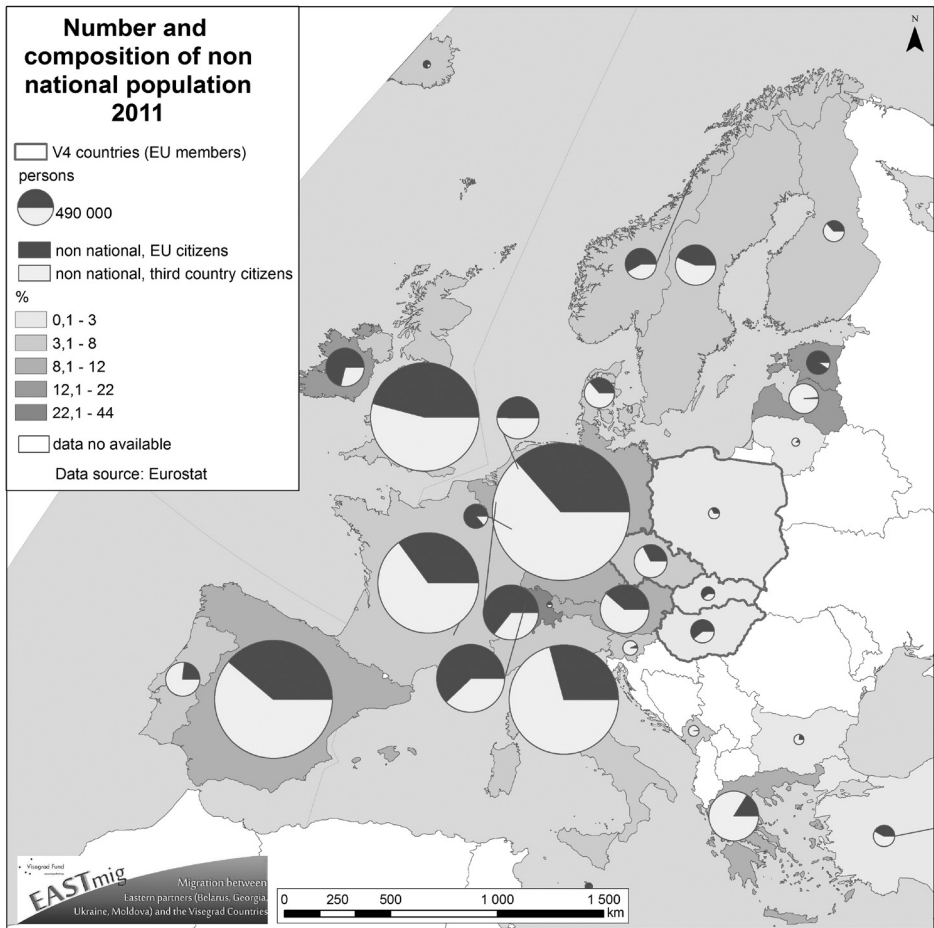


Figure 1. Number of non-nationals in EU and in some other European countries

Since the EU accession, the number of foreign citizens increased rapidly in the Czechia and Slovakia due to the open migration policy. There was also rapid increase in Italy and in Spain mostly because of Romanian immigrants after 2007. While the number of immigrants in the United Kingdom and Scandinavian countries is increasing, the number of foreign citizens declined in Germany and in the Netherlands because many of them received citizenship. The situation is the same in the Baltic states, where the members of the Russian minority gained citizenship (Figure 2).

The Visegrad Countries, due to the political and economic transition and the rapprochement to Western Europe, became host countries by the second part of the 1990s. The new EU member states of Central Europe (Visegrad 4 countries), play only a marginal, intermediary role in intercontinental migration, as most of the migrants arrive from neighbouring countries and regions. 12.7% of the total population of the EU lives in V4

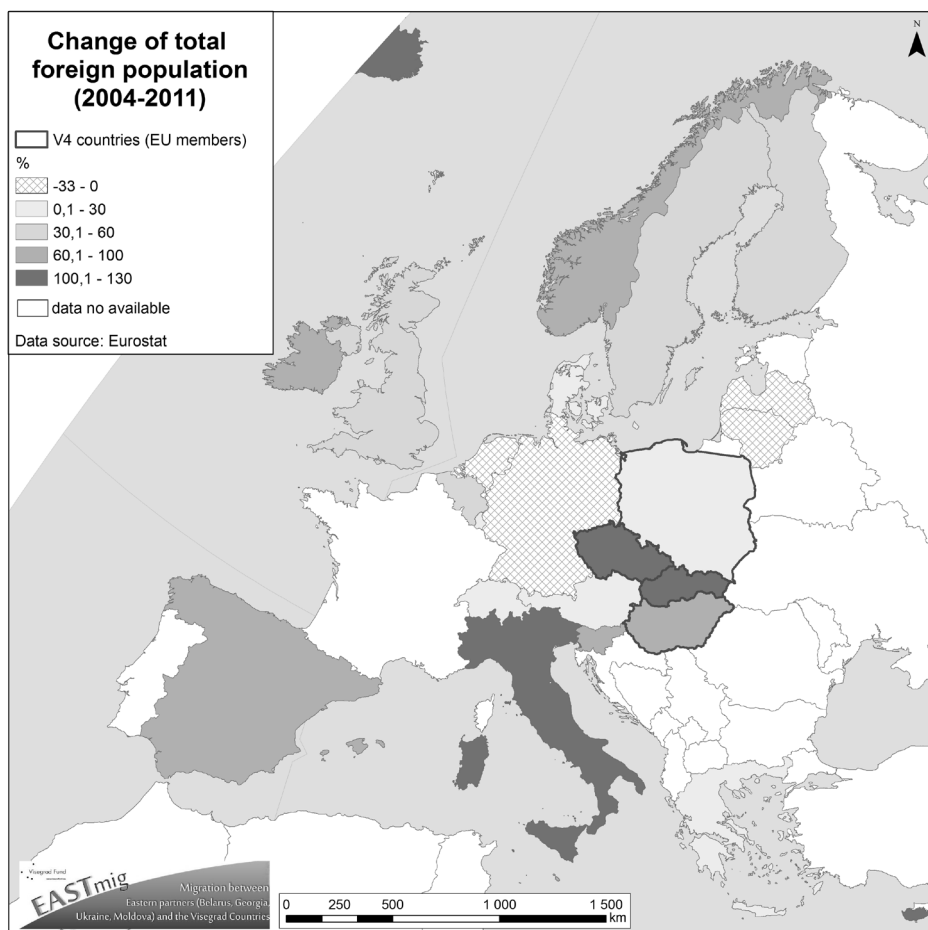


Figure 2. Changes in the number of non-nationals in EU and in some other European countries

countries, but only 3.4% of the total number of foreign citizens staying in the EU lived in V4: 695.2 thousand foreign citizens in 2013, which number has doubled since 2003 (366.5 thousand) (Figure 3). The largest group of foreign citizens lives in the Czechia, 416 thousand people, which accounts for more than half of the total number of foreigners living in the V4. One third, 209 thousand migrants were registered in Hungary and only 5-10% lives in Poland and in Slovakia.

The total number of immigrants in the region began to grow rapidly in V4 in 2006, because of the growth of immigration in the Czechia. However, since 2012 a decline in the total number of foreign citizens can be observed in the region, caused by Hungary's declining immigrant stock. This is due to the simplified naturalization process for ethnic Hungarians, therefore it does not mean a real decline in terms of the resident population.

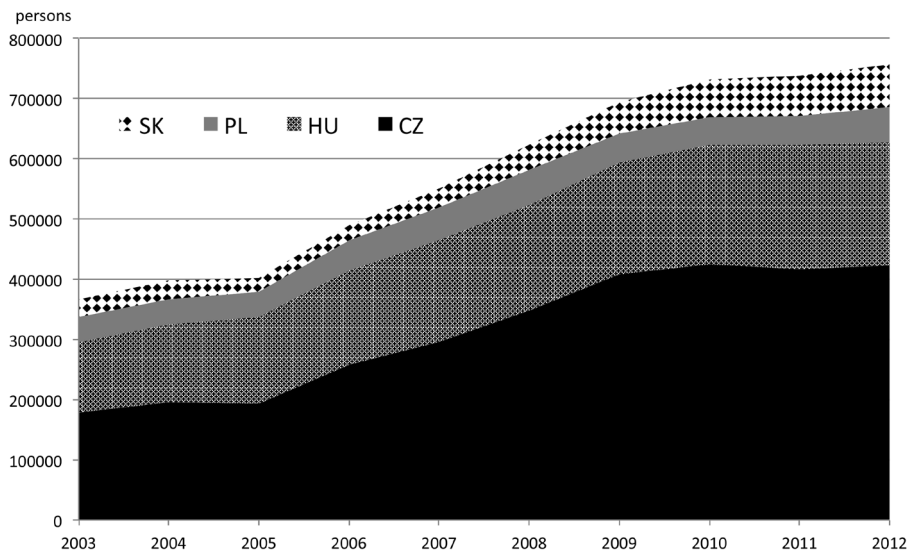


Figure 3. Number of foreign residents in V4 countries (2003-2012)

In the Czechia 4%, in Hungary 2.1%, in Slovakia 1.3% in Poland 0.1% of the total population was foreign citizen in 2012. In comparison, the highest immigrant per domestic citizen ratio in the EU is in Luxemburg (43%), followed by Cyprus (20%).

5.3 Structure of migration in V4 countries

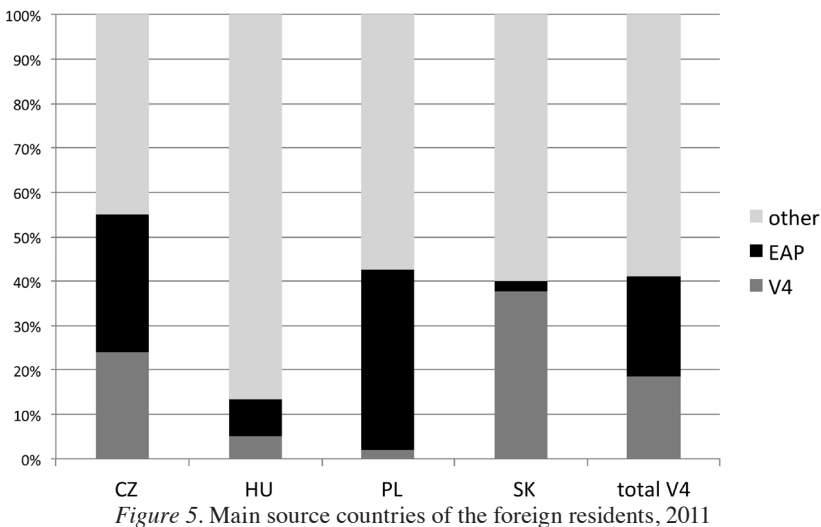
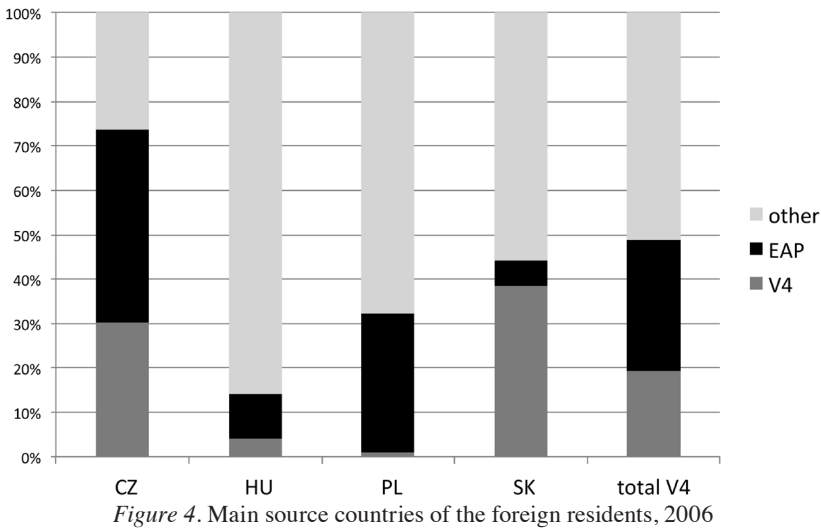
In 2012, the 18.5% of all foreign residents in the V4 country group was from other V4 countries, thus less than one fifth of the migratory flows stayed inside the V4 area. The ratio had been almost the same in 2006 (19.3%). During this time the share of EaP country citizens (Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia) declined rapidly in immigration stock data, from 29.7% to 22.6% between 2006 and 2012, while the number of migrants increased slightly (from 145 to 167.6 thousand). The real increase was due to those who arrived from outside the V4 and EaP countries, mostly from Germany, Russia, Vietnam and China.

The role of other V4 countries as sources for international migration is the lowest in Poland, the role of EaP is the lowest in Slovakia.. Hungary has a special situation in V4, because till 2010 almost 60% of the immigrants were arriving from the neighbouring countries: mostly ethnic Hungarians from Romania, Serbia and Ukraine. 70% of V4 migrants in Hungary are from Slovakia, and they are mainly ethnic Hungarians, and 90% of EaP migrants in the country arrived from Transcarpathia, Ukraine in 2011, also mostly ethnic Hungarians.

Most of the EaP migrants in Poland (40% of total) arrived from Ukraine and Belarus in 2011, which shows a radical change since 2006 (28%). Among V4 countries only in Poland has the role of immigration from EaP increased since the EU accession.

In the case of the Czechia, 19% of all migrants arrived from Slovakia, while 22% of the immigrants in Slovakia arrived from the Czechia. Since the EU accession, the share of Hungarian migrants in Slovakia has been growing and exceeded 13% of the total immigrants by 2011.

Considering the intensity of the migratory movements between EaPs and V4 countries, the role of the Czechia needs to be highlighted. The role of the V4 and EaP countries declined radically, and yet, 55% of the foreign residents arrived from these countries. Especially EaP has a significant share: 43.5% of the migrants were from these countries in 2006 (Figure 4, 5).



5.4 Volume of migration in V4 countries

The largest group of migrants in the V4 countries is the Ukrainian citizens, more than 150 thousand people, $\frac{3}{4}$ of them living in the Czechia. The second largest group is the Slovakian citizens in the Czechia, more than 80 thousand, the third are the Romanian citizens in Hungary, 76 thousand. These data show that most of the migratory movements are realized on an ethnic or on a former territorial base (ethnic Hungarians or the citizens of the former Czechoslovakia), and they are not the result of conscious migration policies. The fourth largest immigrant group in V4 is the Vietnamese, with a stock of 64.5 thousand people, 90% of them live in the Czechia. German citizens (40-45 thousand) are dispersed among V4 countries, half of them live in Hungary. Most of the Polish migrants live in the Czechia, while half of the Chinese population in the V4 country group lives in Hungary (Table 1).

Table 1. Foreign residents in Visegrad Countries (2011)

Foreign resident group	Number (thousands)	Total number in V4 countries	Percentage of total
Ukrainians in Czechia	119	154	77
Slovaks in Czechia	81	89	91
Romanian citizens in Hungary	76	87	87
Vietnamese in Czechia	58	65	89
Russians in Czechia	32	38	84
Germans in Hungary	20	42	48
Polish in Czechia	19	22	86
Germans in Czechia	16	42	38
Chinese in Hungary	12	19	63
Moldavians in Czechia	7.5	8	94
Americans in Czechia	7	10	70
Slovak citizens in Hungary	7	89	8

In comparison to these numbers, we should mention that the total number of V4 citizens residing in EaP countries as accounts for approximately 2 thousand people, half of them are Polish citizens living in Ukraine. The largest number of foreign residents in Ukraine is the Russian citizens, according to official statistics (19.5 thousand in 2011).

At the same time, Germany receives 10% of its migrants from V4 and EaP countries, where a resident population of 787.6 thousand V4 and EaP citizens was counted in 2011. 60% (468 thousand) arrived from Poland, 10% (83 thousand) from Hungary. However, it is worth mentioning that Visegrad countries receive more Ukrainian residents than Germany (123 thousand). The Czechia itself receives almost the same size of Ukrainian migrants as Germany, which shows that the V4 country group is a much more important destination for this nationality than many countries in Western Europe. In the case

of Belarusians, Germany is a much more important destination, 19 thousand Belarusian citizens live there (Table 2).

Table 2. EaP and other foreign residents in Visegrad Countries and in Germany (thousand people) (2011)

Foreign resident group	in V4	in Germany
Ukrainians	154	123
Belarusians	9	19
Moldavians	8	12
Georgians	1	14
...		
Romanians	77	159
Vietnamese	65	85
Russians	38	195
Chinese	19	92
...		
Turks	5	1607
...		
Germans	42	–
V4 citizens	–	620

While Poland and Hungary send a lot of migrants to Western Europe, they receive only a rather low number of migrants from EaP countries, other than Ukrainians. Hungary has more than 200 thousand foreign residents, nonetheless, there are 83 thousand Hungarians in Germany and there are also numerous groups in Austria and in the United Kingdom. Only in the case of the Czechia is the migratory balance more favourable, due to the EaP immigrants (Table 3).

Table 3. Migration “balance” of V4 countries (thousand people) (2011)

V4 countries	receiving from EaP	receiving from Russia, Vietnam, China	sending to Germany
Czechia	131	95	38
Hungary	17	18	83
Slovakia	4	4	30
Poland	23	8	468

To sum up, the Czechia has the largest immigrant population from a global set of countries of origin, while Hungary has immigrants mostly from the neighbouring countries. If illustrated on a map and compared to the immigration flows to Germany, the migration flows between V4 and EaP seem less significant (Figure 6, 7). Although we do not have data on Russian immigration, it is clear that the number of EaP citizens is much higher in the Russian Federation than in the entire EU.

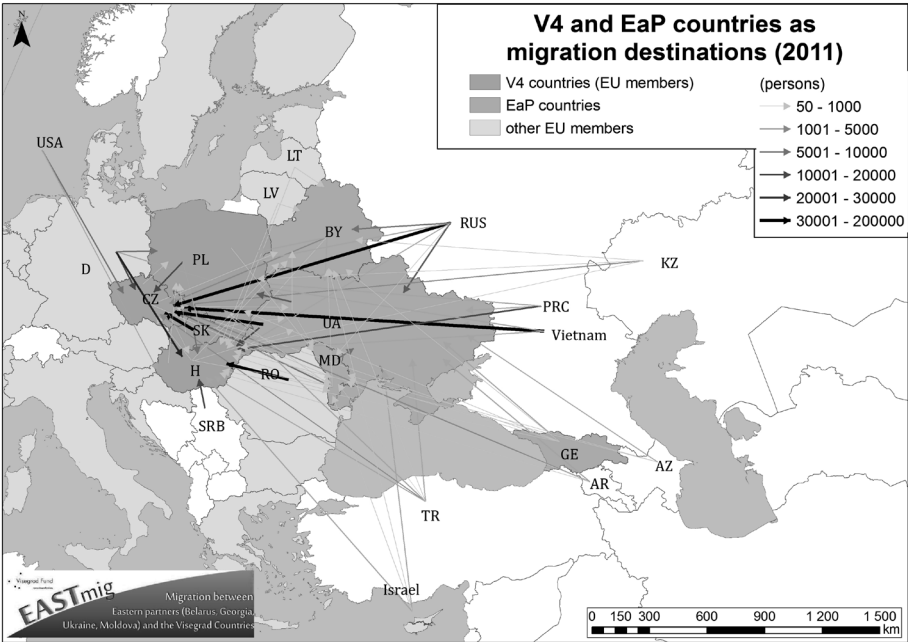


Figure 6. Main sources of immigration in V4 and EaP countries

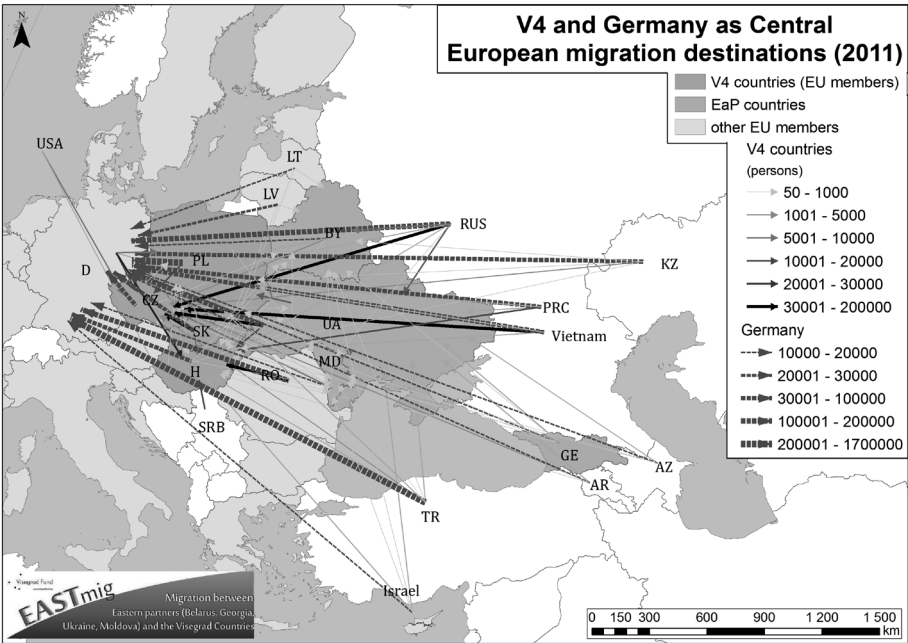


Figure 7. Main source countries of immigration in V4 and the role of these in Germany

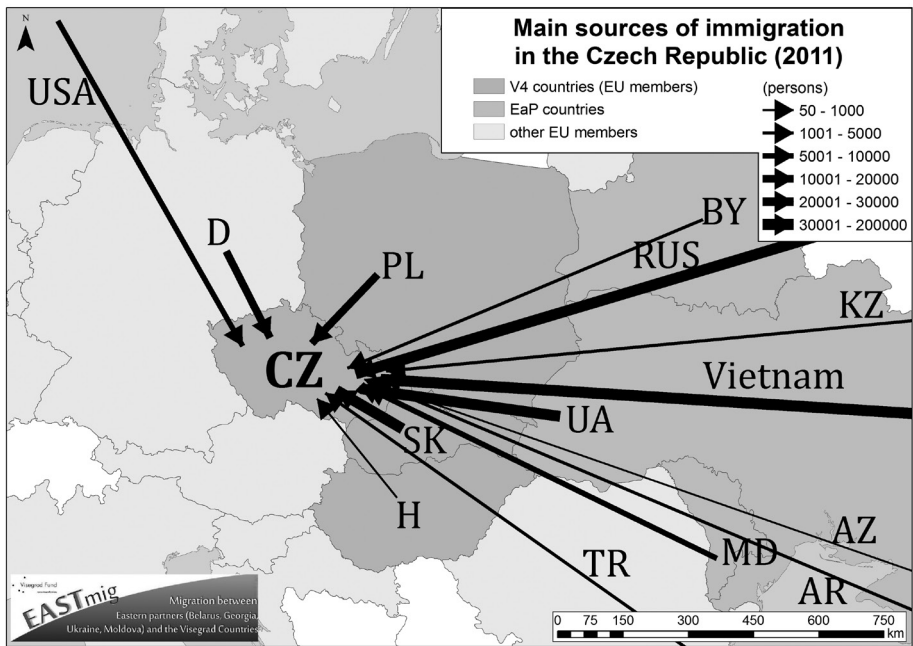


Figure 8. Immigration to the Czechia – a wider global set with large numbers

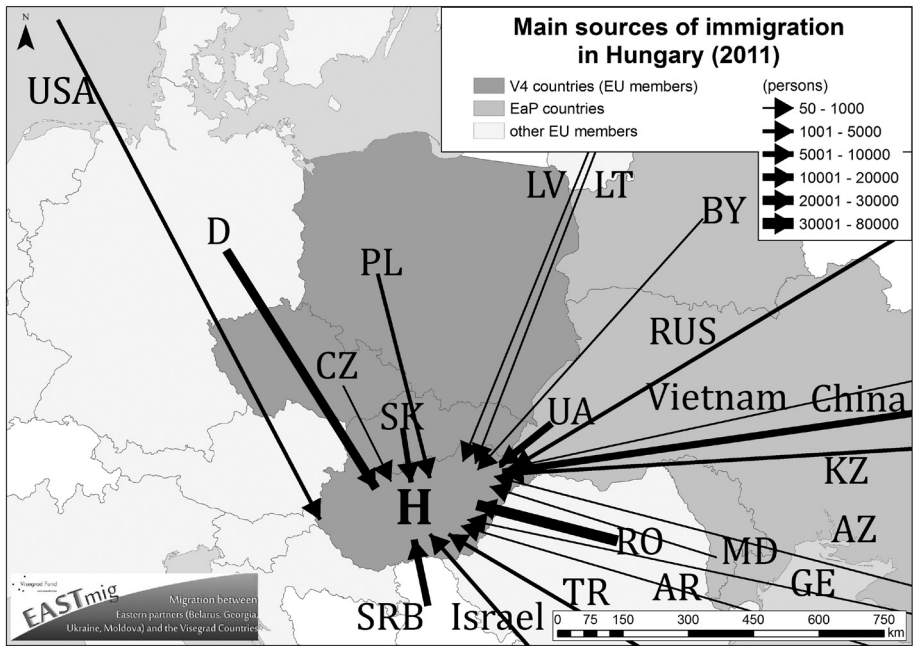


Figure 9. Immigration to Hungary – a regional migration gravity pole

Based on data on immigration to the Czechia, Hungary and Poland, three different migration patterns can be observed: the Czechia is the most open for migration both regarding the number of migrants and their country of origin. Poland plays an important role in east-west migratory movements, while Hungary can be considered a country of limited regional importance, mainly attractive for ethnic Hungarians living in the neighbouring countries (Figure 8, 9, 10).

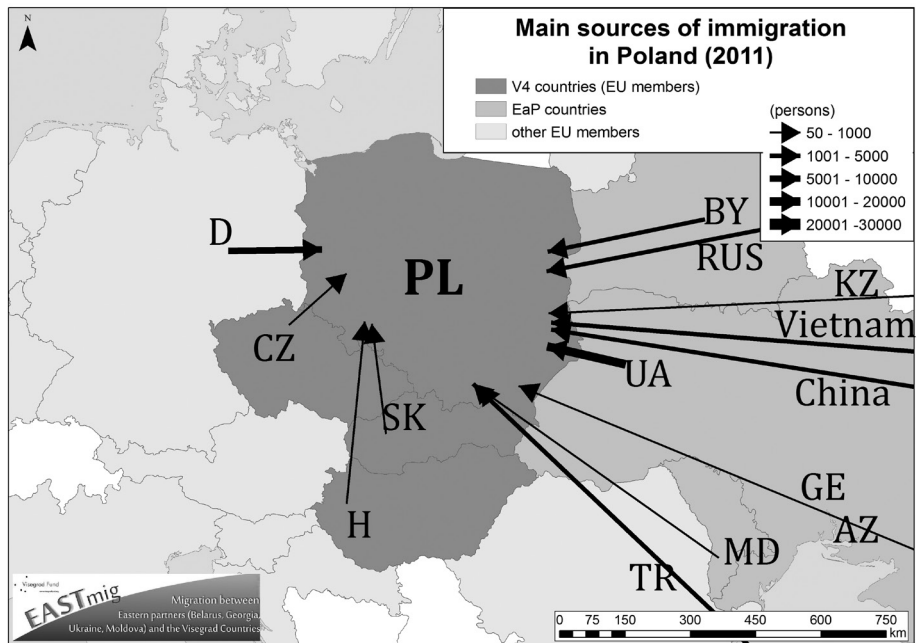


Figure 10. Immigration to Poland – east-west movements

6. The migration nexus of Visegrad and Eastern partner countries: concluding remarks and political guidelines

Dušan Drbohlav, Magdalena Lesińska

Despite the differences which are noticeable between and among the V4 countries and Eastern neighbouring countries related to their migration profile, scale and character of in- and outflows, the legal and political framework regarding migration issues, there are also a few similarities which can be observed. These are independent from the particular country's position at the global map of human flows, and are based on the migration strategy linked to the political agenda, the institutional frame and the practical issues of policy-making. This chapter attempts to summarize the most important challenges which V4 and Eastern partners have to face and deal with, both as a group of countries and also individually as a result of being an integral part of the world on the move, and present some recommendations addressed to policy-makers. They are one of the conclusions of the research completed during the EastMig project¹.

In countries of the former Socialist Bloc, the current democratic period began with a profound transformation process, from centrally planned economies to prosperous democratic systems – coupled with free-market economies. The transition from communist regimes to democratic systems was interconnected to a shift from modern to post-modern economies and society. Overall migratory behaviour was quickly normalized vis-à-vis the developed democratic world. The key events regarding migration were joining the EU in 2004 and the Schengen zone in 2007.

“(...) the Central-European (post-communist) countries opened their borders and soon received both transitory migrants and migrants who decided to remain for longer periods” (Drbohlav 2012, 181). Moreover, the population of these countries itself started migrating “normally”, too. There was, nevertheless, no universal pattern and no specific mechanism underlying such complex transition. The outcome of the transition is different due to the history and varied economic heritage of the different countries, and also because of the various policies they developed and applied during their respective transitions. Accordingly, the migratory patterns of the given Visegrad countries are, to some extent, different, though also sharing some common features.

1 The authors of the chapter thank all the researchers involved in the EastMig Project for contribution to this section.

6.1 V4 countries: the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia. The summary of migration profile.

Firstly, similarly to the EP countries, there are serious shortcomings within the existing migratory statistics in all the given countries manifested mainly in not covering (or covering improperly) some important migratory and integration realities/characteristics (even some key parameters like the number of emigrants), not harmonizing data sets and managerial work among respective ministries/governmental bodies, having almost no interconnections to other non-migratory databases and not releasing all possible data which are gathered.

Secondly, negative demographic developments and prospects such as ageing (low fertility rate coupled with growing life expectancy), losing “core-majority” population and especially labour force (including highly skilled persons) in some branches of economies – these are common features behind migratory movements in the Visegrad countries.

Thirdly, there is a basic legislative migratory framework which all EU countries comply with. There are, however, areas like naturalization, economic migration or immigrant integration models where individual countries, including the Visegrad ones, may and do apply, to some extent, their own approaches.

Fourthly, the main motivation behind migration to these countries is economically driven, thus, mainly attracting labour force to fill in gaps in respective labour markets whilst migrants from EP countries are mostly involved in manually rather than intellectually demanding types of jobs. Besides economic factors (working opportunities in legal as well as black markets) also political stability, geographical, cultural (including linguistic) proximity and already established migratory networks can be identified as other important “pull” factors.

Fifthly, although the spectrum of countries of migratory origin in Visegrad countries is rather colourful (accepting both EU and third-country nationals), all the countries have a remarkable inflow of Ukrainians and, by contrast, out of the EP countries – a quite low number of Georgians.

Sixthly, as the experience of many other immigration countries shows, areas of capital cities or other highly urbanized regions represent important concentrations of immigrants.

Finally, it seems that the presence of foreigners in the respective national labour markets has generally been of a complementary character so far, rather than appearing as competition.

On the other hand, there are important differences among the Visegrad countries related to various aspects of the migratory process.

First of all, only Czechia has got an enormous number of immigrants in its territory, which confirms its more mature position/phase of the migration cycle among the respective countries (Okolski 2012, Drbohlav 2012). Moreover, many of these migrants stay there for a long time or permanently. In other countries immigration is less or much less important (in both absolute and relative terms). Besides European immigrants, Asia is

also represented, mainly by Vietnamese (mostly in Czechia) and Chinese (Poland and Hungary). Currently, Poland attracts, also due to a very effective legislative background, quite important numbers of temporary, short-term immigrants mainly from Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus working mostly in agriculture and construction. Among the Visegrad countries, it is only in Poland that we can observe a very intensive (mass) emigration, or rather long-term migration especially to the United Kingdom, Ireland but also to some other EU countries (the Netherlands, Germany and Norway). This phenomenon importantly contributes to the fact that in some sectors of the Polish economy labour shortages have been apparent (this also applies to other Visegrad countries, though their emigration losses are much less intensive). Important ethnic migration movements only play a significant role in Poland (in relation to compatriots settled mostly in Ukraine and Belarus, and, of course, as for the return of Poles who had emigrated earlier) and Hungary (in relation to compatriots staying especially in Romania, Slovakia and Serbia). On the other hand, Czechia and Slovakia have no similar inflows of their compatriots.

Two other spheres showing a significant difference among Visegrad countries have been identified. Firstly, Poland and Hungary currently pull quite numerous groups of asylum seekers as compared to Czechia and Slovakia. What is common for the whole Visegrad region, however, is the fact that the number of those who are successful (were granted a refugee status) is really marginal. Secondly, while the global economic crisis had an important impact upon migratory movements in Czechia, Slovakia and Hungary (namely, it led to the decrease in the number of immigrants or employed foreigners, at least in official records) it seems that it had no similar effect in Poland.

6.2 V4 countries: guidelines for policy makers

At present, V4 countries are at the stage of becoming immigration countries with increasing numbers of foreigners who arrive with the aim of temporary or permanent stay and work (the Czechia is undoubtedly a leader in this process). At the same time, the outflow of V4 citizens (especially the young) to the “old” EU countries in searching for better job and life perspectives influences the economy and social structure in these countries (in particular in Poland and recently in Hungary). These parallel processes require an active approach by the state to manage migration processes, to take advantage of the benefits and limit their negative consequences. Among the crucial problems, the labour market shortages in particular sectors as a consequence of emigration, the centralized and passive state policy towards human flows, and the lack of integration policy towards incoming foreigners deserve special attention.

First of all, in all V4 countries there is a noticeable need for a more coherent, pro-active and comprehensive migration policy. It requires a more systematically organized and decentralized institutional system and better cooperation between the institutions at central level but also between different levels of public administration (central, regional and local). Moreover, the effective policy making process requires cooperation among (and within) all respective institutions, organizations which are responsible for dealing

with migration and integration issues: state bodies at different levels (central, regional and local), NGOs and international organizations. Migration processes are closely interrelated with other social phenomena, thus the migration policy is integrally connected to other policies, such as social, labour market, health, housing and development and should be implemented in a coordinated way (not separately). All V4 countries are at present in the process of developing their own migration strategies to respond to challenges related to dynamic human flows in the region and in the EU.

Some groups of immigrants are perceived as desirable and particularly useful due to the social and human capital (e.g. foreign students, highly-skilled immigrants, self-supporting legal residents). Special programmes have been launched in order to encourage admission and employment of these groups (e.g. employers' declaration scheme implemented in Poland in 2007, which simplified circular migration and short-term employment of foreigners from six Eastern countries). To promote legal circulation, legal stay and legal employment effectively, serious improvements are required, including the facilitation of visa application processes and border traffic by improving the daily work of consulates and border guards (to expedite the visa registration scheme and to shorten the queues both in front of the consulates and at the border check-points). There should be a serious commitment and lobbying by the political representatives of V4 countries at EU level to liberalize the visa regime with Eastern countries allied in the Eastern Partnership.

In order to implement measures encouraging the desirable groups of labour migrants (skilled/educated and/or short-term/temporary migrants) there is need for an effective system of labour market monitoring to estimate the real demand for foreign workforce (the profiles and numbers of the wanted immigrant workers in particular sectors). There is also a need to design proper instruments or improve the existing ones in order to ensure proper functioning of the system of monitoring and database regarding labour force shortages. The key issue is to identify and then "harmonize" domestic labour force demand with foreign supply, which is a problem of all V4 countries.

Taking into account the increasing population of foreign residents in V4 countries, a more active integration policy is required. The state's activities in this field need to be considered as promotional, encouraging integration efforts in early stages of the immigration process. Consequently, the state's efforts in the field of integration should concentrate on the familiarization of immigrants with living and working conditions, thus supporting them in their everyday lives and helping to counteract potential discrimination and exclusion from the society. An integral part of the integration policy should be an adequate information and educational policy related to foreigners and immigration processes. Immigration should be recognized and presented in a more balanced way, not only as a threat but also as a value and opportunity. There is a need to combat negative myths and unreasonable public fears resulting from ignorance, which are visible also among policy-makers. The role of information policy (issues of immigration and cultural diversity should be more visible in programmes in the media and based on reliable data and facts), as well as a proper educational policy (inclusion of the issue of immigration and foreigners into curricula) is crucial. These steps should be treated in a systematic way as preventive action taken against potential cultural tensions and conflicts related to the inflows of foreigners.

The key role in the integration process is played by the labour market and the workplace. There is a strong need for a higher involvement of social partners (employers, labour unions, employment services) into the process of economic integration of foreign workers, including the foreign workers themselves. As for the migrants' integration, local and regional administration bodies have so far played rather a limited role. Therefore, it is necessary to define their competencies in terms of migrants' integration in legislative framework, support them with the relevant institutional framework and adequate financial means. Furthermore, no one should be excluded from projects and any other types of support, i.e. EU migrants should become recipients of possible assistance within the integration policy too.

6.3 Eastern partner countries: Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine. The summary of migration profile.

The common problem with V4 and Eastern partner countries is the scarcity of reliable migration data. Information on foreigners (inflows and stocks) is collected by different institutions and there is no standardized and transparent system of statistical data. Therefore, a careful monitoring of the migration situation (both inflows and outflows) at central and regional levels is necessary for the realistic assessment of migration processes and preparing a feasible forecast for the future. Databases related to information on foreigners have to be unified and digitalized. The availability of reliable data and projections is a precondition for effective migration management by policy makers.

The description and explanation of the migratory situation in Eastern Partnership (EP) countries is difficult due to the fact that there are no reliable official statistical data that would cover all the migratory movements in terms of quantitative or, even less, qualitative parameters. Moreover, data referring to other socioeconomic characteristics that are closely related to migratory issues, namely, unemployment rates, are also questionable.

The given EP countries (Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia) share one important common feature – their former membership within the Soviet Union and, thus, consequently, specific relations to Russia as a main successor. This long-term historical relationship is still mirrored in many social spheres, whilst political, economic, population and cultural factors play the most important role. On the other hand, since Gorbachov's "Perestrojka" in the middle of the 1980s, a new era has come, within which the given countries have started building their own history as independent states while also trying to transform their societies and coping with its communist heritage. Obviously, a deep, complex transition has not been fulfilled yet, the modernization process is delayed and the overall economic and social changes in these countries also materialized at a standard of living much lower than in the Visegrad countries, not to mention old member states of the EU (see e.g. characteristics of GDP or HDI). This fact is, of course, reflected in the volumes and directions of international migratory movements, too.

Due to the above mentioned specific relations, Russia, often accompanied with some other CIS countries, represents an important migratory region with which intensive mig-

ratory exchange has been occurring – it is true for all the four EP countries. The second important destination region is represented by the EU, including Visegrad countries. Other countries, like the USA (for all the countries) or e.g. Turkey, Canada and Israel (for Moldovans) cannot be ignored either but, in general, their role is less important. Of course, the migratory picture was different at the beginning of the 1990s, when the overall ethnic map was rearranged. People were returning home: to their newly formed countries chiefly among (“from-to”) Post-Soviet countries, or e.g. Jews were moving to Israel, Germans to Germany. With poorly performed political and socioeconomic transitions, accompanied with economic downturns (such as the financial crisis in Russia in 1998 or the recent global economic crisis which started in 2008), however, the international migratory movements in the respective countries lost their ethnic features and started following the requirements of the free labour market. Hence, over time international movements shifted from a predominantly “ethnic” nature via “shuttle” to a mostly “labour” character. Moreover, in harmony with opportunities, and, at the same time, barriers, these migrations create a very rich mosaic of various migratory types regarding the gender, educational level and industrial sector of the migrants (see the reports).

When we take into account the whole period of the Post-Soviet era, all the countries are losing their population via international migration (probably with one exception – Belarus - where losses are, according to the existing statistics, typical only in relation to non-CIS countries). This loss is, in relative terms, the most intensive in Georgia and Moldova. Anyways, also in absolute terms, the outflow figures are enormous in all the countries, with the exception of Belarus again. There are several important pull factors which trigger the movements and which are sought abroad: higher wages within existing work opportunities and a much higher living standard. Of course, geographical position, low-cost and visa-free travel, as well as common historical development and cultural similarity (mainly language) play an important role, but also already existing social networks and support of compatriots abroad are to be taken into account.

Besides “pulls”, there are also important “push factors” which the population is exposed to in their mother countries, such as an unstable political situation, economic impotence, high unemployment (often not reflected in statistics), social disorder, erosion of social infrastructures, corruption, nepotism, huge social/income stratification of the society, poverty etc., all of which considerably contribute to mass migratory outflows. They are accompanied by other, more general processes that these countries suffer from: fertility decline and ageing. Moreover, via the massive international migration movements, these countries are losing their active labour force, often young, talented, or also highly skilled workers, who, in general, create the most valuable human capital for establishing and building a new economy and society (loss of intellectual potential). There is another negative feature of the mass exodus of labour force, namely the break-up of marriages due to the long-term separation of married couples and children. Children with their parents working abroad are being brought up by grandparents, who very often cannot cope with this demanding task. To sum up, depopulation and depletion of the “viability of population structures” is a typical feature accompanying the current international migration mobility within the given countries. As a consequence, this situation also has a detrimental impact

upon the economies, in general, and some branches, in particular, creating deficits of the appropriate labour force (e.g. health care, education, research/science).

Besides many common features, in some countries there are a few migratory specificities which are worth pinpointing too.

Firstly, there are some preferential conditions from which for example Ukrainian migrants can benefit, namely: preferences for residents of border areas and preferences for seasonal workers, thus having a chance to enter, for example, the Polish labour market more easily (see more in reports).

Secondly, there is a very serious negative phenomenon of human trafficking (mainly for the purpose of forced labour, sexual exploitation, begging and possibly also trading with human organs) which is generally associated with irregular migration and migrants' irregular status in the labour market of a destination country. There is some evidence indicating that especially Moldovans might often be victims of human trafficking on a large scale in Europe.

Thirdly, in the aftermath of the Russian-Georgian war in 2008 (along with the global economic crisis) there has been a specific movement of Georgian asylum seekers (despite many internally displaced persons) towards many European, including Visegrád countries (mostly Poland).

Finally, one may deduce that the current Russian-Ukrainian political and regional conflict in Crimea predetermines reflections in terms of some significant international migratory movements.

6.4 Eastern partner countries: guidelines for policy makers

The Eastern countries have recently been facing mass emigration of the economically active population, which leads to the loss of human, labour and intellectual capital. Moreover, young people are leaving both for temporary employment and studies, with the risk of never returning due to the high level of youth unemployment, limited job and career opportunities in their home countries compared to a generally higher level of wages and living standard in countries abroad.

There are several important issues that require political decisions and solutions, among others the insufficient social and legal protection of labour migrants abroad and the negative impact of mass emigration on the social structure, demography and economy (brain drain and youth drain, shortages in the labour market, family breakdown and social orphanhood). The precondition to any political reaction is a will and readiness by policy makers to solve the problems. This could be limited in emigration countries, taking into account the fact that the outflow of citizens who are dissatisfied with their situation in the mother country could be perceived by the government as reducing the threat of potential social tensions (linked to unemployment, economic crises, permanent political conflicts). Moreover, the remittances (sometimes of a huge volume, e.g. in case of Moldova it is estimated at more than 30% of the country's GDP) provide a stable currency inflow, which is seen as a positive effect for the national economy, although they are usually spent on daily expenses, not on long-term investments.

The governments have limited power to curb emigration flows, their attempts are restricted to setting up legal frames by cooperation with destination countries and signing the bi- or multi-lateral agreements on circular (seasonal) migration. Georgia plays a leading role in this respect: in 2009, a “Partnership for Mobility” was signed between Georgia and the EU, and recently an agreement on circular migration with France (in 2013), which allows the legal employment of up to 500 Georgian citizens in France. Similar agreements are being planned also with other countries with a large Georgian diaspora. This kind of far-seeing policy based on close cooperation between source and destination countries should be regarded as good practice.

Another issue which is crucial in Eastern countries and should be treated as political priority is to prevent discrimination and exploitation (especially by employers) and to secure the rights of citizens abroad (labour migrants and their families in particular), especially those related to social security and welfare. This aim is included in the national migration strategies of all countries, however, it requires substantial commitment by the institutional system and close cooperation with destination countries and diaspora organizations abroad.

As a consequence of mass emigration, some of the Eastern countries started to implement political measures to fill the shortages in the labour market in specific sectors and regions, e.g. in Belarus and Ukraine. The National Programme of Demographic Security of Belarus attempts to attract unskilled workers to the country, especially to the rural areas by signing bilateral agreements with some states securing preferential conditions for the registration and employment of the nationals of these countries.

Mass emigration (brain drain and hand drain) is perceived as a serious obstacle to the further development of these countries. The governments are trying various steps to find a solution to this complex problem: from encouraging the investment of remittances into the local economy and small businesses rather than daily consumption (Moldova), to encouraging the employment of foreign workers to fill the gaps in the national workforce (Belarus). The reintegration of returning migrants into the labour market and society is also a problematic issue, which is not a simple task taking into account the structural differences between countries of origin and countries of destination, and high unemployment levels. This problem is recognized by political elites and some countries attempt to formulate political programs targeting potential and real returnees (e.g. in Moldova and Ukraine). The efficiency of these measures is limited in practice without serious reforms taking place in the economy and society, which, in the first place, played a role as “push factors” in the countries of emigration.

In order to stabilize international migration flows, the EP has to go (or continue to go) through a painful purifying process of a deep political and socioeconomic transition where “substitution of capital for labour, the privatization and consolidation of landholding and the creation of markets” will be key determinants also of the future migratory development (see Massey 1988, 391). On the other hand, when characterizing the role of Visegrad countries as to how to assist the EP region in fulfilling these demanding tasks, one can only support Haas’s (2012) words: ...“immigrant-receiving governments can play a significant role in increasing the development potential of migration through lowering

thresholds for legal immigration, particularly for the relatively poor and the lower-skilled, and through favouring their socio-economic mobility through giving access to residency rights, education and employment. By deterring the relatively poor from migrating or forcing them into illegal channels, and by discouraging return and impeding circulation, restrictive immigration policies may damage the poverty-alleviating and development potential of migration“ (de Haas 2012). Obviously, close mutual co-operation between these two regions on various fronts is inevitable.

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