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

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1 Socio-Economic and Political Overview

Overview of political and economic developments in 1989-2010

The Slovak Republic became an independent state in 1993. The 'velvet divorce' between the Czechs and Slovaks enabled for peaceful co-existence of the two nations. The independence brought also several specific problems. The Czech Republic took advantage of established image and operating central government institutions. Slovakia had to cope with some specific problems of statehood (establishing foreign embassies, founding national bank, introducing own currency, etc.). These problems added specific costs to economic and social transition in 1990s. The Slovak economy and society experienced three different development stages in the period 1989-2010:

Changes in the economic and social system after 1989 in Slovakia were rapid and immense. The system of central planning was dismantled almost overnight. The first sharp shock resulted from introduction of economic reforms. These were based on four main constituents: market liberalisation, privatisation, currency convertibility, and trade liberalisation. These were combined with macro-economic stabilisation measures, involving limiting the money supply and budgetary controls. The second shock was generated via the collapse of pre-1989 territorial structures and the creation of a new system of economic centre and periphery. Experiment with 40 years of central planning was over, regional governments were abolished and massive interregional benefit transfers were replaced by a free interplay of market forces. The fundamental weakness in this 'shock therapy' was that while tough budget controls stemmed the flow of public resources to companies, there were few mechanisms (such as modern financial institutions) to redeploy factors of production to new enterprises. The result, not surprisingly, was a collapse in production and living standards, with serious consequences initially for (i) disadvantaged regions and (ii) social groups. The economic recovery in the second phase of the transformation saw increasing social polarisation and changes in living standards and employment opportunities, leading to the new layout of the economic centre and periphery. Dismantling incumbent housing and labour institutions was not followed by introducing new ones. The new class of unemployed could not rely on network of supporting institutions, such as job agencies and/or re-qualification programmes. As for the housing market, public subsidises to housing construction stopped and construction of new housing collapsed in early 1990s (**Figure 1 in Annex 1**)¹. First market institutions (mortgage banks, building societies) established in the late 1990s. Inflexible labour and housing market froze internal migration movements. Liberalisation of travel regulation in Europe, on the other hand, generated new opportunities for international labour migration by Slovak citizens.

Slovakia has a small open economy and is heavily dependent on the foreign direct investment (FDI). There are great regional imbalances in absorption of FDI. The metropolitan regions took the lion's share of foreign capital. The Bratislava Region concentrated some 63.6% and the Košice Region 8.5% of total FDI accumulated in 1990-2009 in Slovakia (source: the National Bank of Slovakia). In the late 1990s the Slovak economy integrated to global production networks of the Multinational companies (MNCs). The (MNCs) favoured Bratislava for its proximity to EU markets, skilled labour force and high density of Universities. Domestic investments accounted for similar territorial patterns. Uneven distribution of the FDI had important consequences for patterns of internal migration in Slovakia (Chapter 4).

The 2000s are likely to be remembered as the golden era of the Slovak economy. The economic boom started in 2001 and peaked in 2007 when the GDP growth rose to 10.4%. Slovak GDP per capita in PPS rose from 50.0% to 73.0% of the EU-27 average for the period between 2000 and 2010 (**Table 1**). The country has rapidly been closing the gap in economic development and living standards with the EU. Increases in per capita GDP were related to a parallel growth in labour productivity, falling inflation and unemployment rates

¹ All referred figures and tables are placed in the Annex 1 to this Report.

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(Table 1). The unemployment rate halved from 18.2 % to 9.5 % in the period from 2004 to 2008. Slovakia entered the EU in 2004 and adopted the euro in 2009. Low wages and a liberal market environment were main drivers of the economic boom. Much less progress was made in building an innovation-driven economy and removing regional disparities. Most of the positive developments in growth in labour productivity referred to technology absorption and diffusion by the MNCs.

Like many EU Member States, Slovakia was hit by the economic crisis in 2008 and 2009. Slovakia's economy is heavily dependent on the export of cars, consumer electronics and other manufactured goods, and was negatively affected by falling consumption across the whole EU. Approximately half of Slovakia's exports go to euro area countries, and 85% of exports to the wider EU. The GDP growth turned negative (-4.8% in 2009) but resurged in 2010 (+4.1%). Economic recovery was led more by increases in labour productivity rather than increases in employment. The situation in the job market worsened after thousands of Slovak migrant workers returned home and swelled the ranks of jobseekers. The unemployment rate increased from record low 9.5% in 2008 to 14.5% in 2010 and then fell again to 13.4% in September 2011.

In 2011, the national average wage was €786 and national unemployment rate 13.6%. Regional values of both the indicators varied significantly. At NUTS II level, the average wage level was € 1,001 and the unemployment rate 5.4% in Bratislava Region, but € 680 and 15.8% in the Stredné Slovensko Region and € 667 and 18.9% in the Východné Slovensko Region in 2011. Similar relations between emigration rates on one hand, and wage and unemployment levels on the other hand operated on the NUTS III level as well.

2 Main emigration and internal migration trends and patterns

International migration is by no means a new phenomenon in Slovakia. There were 3 different periods of international migration. Some half million people (17% of total population) left the Slovak part of the Austro-Hungarian empire and moved to the USA and Canada in period 1899-1913 (first period with reliable data on migration, Bielik, 1980, p. 50). A period of relatively free economically-motivated overseas migration before 1918 was replaced by regulated labour migration inside Europe in period 1918-1938. The World War II started a period of forced and constrained migration, typical with ethnic cleansings, political persecution and numerous travel constraints (Bielik, 1980). Slovaks contributed less to the flow of asylum seekers particularly to Germany and Austria than Czechs. Slovaks tended to be more loyal towards the ruling communist regime, due to rapid increases in the living standards in period 1960-1980. Population losses via emigration were relatively low after 1953 and probably did not surpass 50,000 people or 1% of the Slovak population by 1989 (Source: SOSR, 1950-2010, Table 2).

2.1 Main emigration trends

The best data on temporary labour migration are provided by the Labour Force Survey (LFS) in Slovakia². It contains data on household members who live outside the country for less than a year. The LFS reported some 127,400 Slovaks working abroad in 2010 (some 5.3% of total working population, Figure 2). These numbers are likely to underreport undocumented employment. UK and Ireland attracted 8.3% and 2.8% respectively of total Slovak migrant workers by the end of 2010. Austria (20.0%), Hungary (9.1%) and Germany (4.5%) were other important destination countries for Slovak migrants by the end of 2010.

The World Bank³ estimates the number of emigrants, using data from census, population registers and other sources in the receiving countries. The total number of emigrants from

² The LFS is produced on quarterly basis and a typical sample is 10,000 households.

³ World Bank (2011): Bilateral Migration Matrix (November 2010), in: <http://go.worldbank.org/JITC7NYTT0> (last access 31 May 2011).

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Slovakia was estimated to be more than half a million people in 2010 (emigration rate of 9.6 %). However, more than half of this number is estimated to be living in the Czech Republic, and this includes persons who have moved there internally while both countries were part of one state. Apart from the Czech Republic, the most relevant population groups born in Slovakia live in the following four countries: United Kingdom (about 50,000), Germany (about 40,000), USA (about 25,000) and Austria (about 24,000). The relevance of the UK, Germany and Austria as most relevant EU receiving countries can be confirmed by Eurostat data on population by citizenship.⁴ The aggregation of the most recent data of Slovak citizens in other member states leads to a total of nearly 190,000.

There also were some 29,700 Slovak students abroad, most of whom were likely to perform some occasional and/or part time works in 2009. The real numbers of Slovaks working abroad may stay with 180,000-200,000 in 2010 according to the author's assessment.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Slovak Office for Slovaks Living Abroad estimated some 2.2 million people of Slovak origin living in over 60 countries of the World by 2008⁵. However, data on Slovak Diaspora should be observed cautiously, as they refer to diverse sources and definitions of ethnicity. Large communities in the USA, Canada and Argentina, refer mostly to second and third generation of Slovak emigrants. Slovak communities in Serbia, Ukraine and Romania originate in 18th and 19th centuries. While these data do not refer to incumbent labour migration, they are important for guessing destinations of undocumented labour migration by Slovak citizens. The Labour Force Survey, for example, does not mention non-European destinations of labour migration by Slovaks. Large community of ethnic Slovaks in the USA provides for good migration channel for undocumented migrants.

Official data about emigration seriously underestimate emigration⁶. **Table 2** displays migration flows related to permanent international migration in Slovakia in 1950-2009. It refers to people who lost/acquired status of permanent resident in Slovakia (people who live abroad for longer than 10 years and indicate their absence to some Slovak authorities). Therefore, official data cannot be used for assessing levels of emigration. However, the general trend of a high initial outflow in the transition phase in the early 90s and increasing permanent emigration since the mid-1990s may be correct, although on a different level.

Jobs, earnings, studies, but also the wishes to experience life in a foreign country are major drivers of international migration. Studies show for example the same driving factors for Slovak migrants working in Austria (Williams, Baláž, Kollár, 2001) and the UK (Williams, Baláž, 2004, 2008; Baláž, Williams, Kollár, 2004; Baláž, Williams, 2004, 2005). Economic and social impacts of transition in 1990s generated strong migration pressures in Slovakia. In addition, Long-haul labour migration was considerably assisted by development of the low cost carries (LCCs). The availability of cheaper, more frequent or more accessible air travel connections made new forms of mobility (based on more frequent return visits) possible for

⁴Eurostat (2011): Population by sex, age and citizenship (migr_pop1ctz), in: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>, Statistics Database, Population and social conditions, Population (populat), International migration and Asylum, Population by citizenship and country of birth (accessed 22 May 2011).

⁵ Estimate of numbers of Slovaks living abroad is provided in the Concept of the State Policy on Slovaks Living Abroad. The Slovak Government passed the 'Concept' via Government Resolution No. 625/2008 of 17 September 2008.

⁶ Statistics on international migration by type of resident are computed by the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic and based on data provided by the Office of the Border and Foreigner Police (OBFP). Two kinds of residents are recognized: a) *Permanent residents* are Slovak citizens and/or persons who obtained permanent residence in Slovakia. The latter category, for example, refers to ethnic Slovaks studying and/or living in Slovakia and applying for permanent residence status; and b) *residents by usual place of dwelling* refer to all people residing in Slovakia for at least 12 months. It includes (a) all Slovak citizens living in Slovakia, (b) Slovak citizens living abroad for less than 12 months, plus (c) all foreigners with residence permit for at least 12 months. In theory, both Slovak and foreign citizens should report to Slovak authorities when terminating their permanent or temporary stay. Some foreigners do not bother follow this instruction. Slovaks living abroad for many years (and likely never to return) seldom cancel their permanent residency in Slovakia. Most of them actually continue paying social and health care taxes in Slovakia (Expert interview, Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic).

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individuals who otherwise would have been unable or unwilling to migrate (Williams, Baláž, 2008a).

Main trends in international migration in Slovakia

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

- After the opening of borders in the early 1990s, international emigration for short- and long-term stays increased substantially.
- On 1st January 1993, the former Czechoslovakia split and the Czech and Slovak Republics were established. The 'Velvet Divorce' was accompanied by one-time increases in international migration and referred to exchange of the Czech and Slovak nationals living in the respective republics. The Czech Statistical Office reported some 315,000 thousands ethnic Slovaks⁷ living in the Czech Republic in 1991, but 200,000 by 2007. The rest stayed in the Czech Republic and opted for the Czech citizenship after the split or moved away from the Czech Republic afterwards.
- Details on Slovaks working abroad prior to accession to the EU (2004) are scarce. Receiving country data indicate that there was a considerable increase in registered migration. For example, the number of Slovak residents registered in the German Central Aliens Register increased from nearly 3,000 on Dec 31, 1993, to nearly 20,000 at the end of 2003.⁸ In addition, it is likely that there was a considerable amount of temporary and undocumented migration which was unobserved by Slovak or receiving country statistics.
- Since 2004, several EU Member Countries have opened their labour markets for Slovak citizens fully (the UK, Ireland) or opted for a transitional period until 2011 (Germany, Austria). Shares of Slovak population (legally) working abroad of the total Slovak working population rose from 4.8% in 2004 to 7.5% in 2007, but dropped to 5.3% by end of 2010 (Source: Labour Force Survey). The UK and Ireland became more important destination countries after EU accession. However, it is unclear how many Slovaks moved to these countries after opening their labour market and how many legalised their stay in these countries after 2004.
- Economic recession and change in exchange rates decreased the interest of Slovaks in migration to the UK and Ireland from 2008 onwards. Generally, the economic and financial crisis in 2008-2009 was reflected in decreasing rates of international and internal migration. The numbers of Slovaks working abroad (as reported by the Labour Force Survey) dropped from 185,700 in the last quarter of 2007 to 124,700 in the last quarter of 2010. The share of labour force working abroad dropped from 7.7% to 5.3% in the same period. Economic revival in 2010 was reflected in rising employment rates in the Bratislava Region. The eastern and central Slovak regions remained main regions of emigration.

There were considerable outflows by Slovak au-pairs and University students. There are several contrasting views on the nature of au pair work, according to which au-pairs could be considered cultural tourists, language students, but also servants and victims of poverty in sending countries and target of abuse in receiving ones. Bahna (2005), for example, has noted on a 'latent economy of the au pair cultural exchange programme'. In 2004, the UK opened its labour market for Slovak citizens and there was no need to apply for special au-pair visa since that time (last available statistics refer to 2390 Slovak au-pair visas in 2003; Bahna, 2005). Migrants wishing employment in domestic service enter regular contracts, which offer much higher pay than the au-pair contracts. The OECD data on foreign students indicate that at least 10% of total Slovak tertiary students studied abroad, in the Czech Republic, Austria and UK in particular. Slovakia ranked among countries with the highest

⁷ 'Ethnic' Slovaks are citizens of the former Czechoslovakia who self-identify as Slovak.

⁸ The German Statistical Office provided long-term tables on foreign nationals by citizenship, based on the Central Register of Foreign Nationals, to GVG core team members. This information was provided to the authors.

rates of student emigration in the EU. Numbers of Slovaks studying abroad increased from 3,400 to 29,700 in period 1998-2009 (OECD statistics on foreign students).

Roma labour migration is not marginal though paradoxically, in the beginning of the 2000s, Slovak demographers counted with “zero migration of Roma” in *their Prognosis of demographic development of Slovakia*. In their estimation they relied on assumption that “Roma to not tend to migrate for work” (Vaňo, 2002, p. 8). There were specific migration flows by several thousand members of the Roma minority since mid-1990s. Roma minority members sought asylum in several countries of Europe, namely Belgium, Norway, Sweden, UK and Netherlands. Socioeconomic factors were an important catalyst in the emigration of Slovak Roma. (Vašečka, Vašečka, 2003) Strong impetus for leaving Slovakia and asylum seeking was the significant overhaul of social assistance provision introduced by the 1998 Act on social assistance. It meant the 50% reduction of social assistance for those who had been unemployed more than 24 months. This sharp decline of social protection had aroused conviction of discrimination among Roma without access to labour market and increased incentives to seek better chances abroad.

Hungary and Czech Republic, and partly also Austria are also target of daily cross-border commuting for work by population living in borderline areas. This is especially typical for population of poor southern districts inhabited by the Hungarian minority who has no language barrier to work in Hungary. The amount of this cross-border labour migration based often on daily commuting is not adequately covered by the Hungarian foreign workers registers as a lot of Slovak Hungarians work for transnational companies that are active in both the countries (Jurčová, 2008, p. 49).

2.2 Main internal migration trends

Slovak statistics recognize four principal types of internal migration: (a) between districts (NUTS IV level), long-haul permanent migration, (b) inside district, short-haul permanent migration; (c) short term temporary migration (commuting), and (d) long-term migration. Data for the long- and short-haul permanent migration (between and inside districts) are provided on an annual basis by the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (SOSR) based on changes of the permanent address indicated to the authorities. These data are reliable, but have limited explanation power in terms of labour migration, as they do not reflect commuting flows. Data on the commuting and long-term migration (with no change in place of residence) are provided by the Census and ad hoc surveys only.

Inter-district and intra-district migration have accounted for roughly similar intensity since 1960s (**Figure 3, Table 2**). Migration intensity peaked in 1970s in Slovakia with 26 internal migrants per 1000 inhabitants in 1970s.

Since the early 1980s intensity of internal migration started to decline. There were some 22 internal migrants per 1000 inhabitants in 1989. The transition period saw significant decline in internal migration rates. Internal migration rates hit the bottom in 2000 (14 internal migrants per 1000 inhabitants). There was some increase in internal migration rates in the 2000s. The 2010 rate was 16 migrants per 1000 inhabitants.

Rural-urban migration accounts for some specific trends in Slovakia. Industrialisation was not accompanied by de-population of rural areas. In some rural areas industrialisation actually helped preserving population levels. Slovakia experienced several industrialisation waves. The largest happened in the 1950s and 1960s, the latest finished in the 1970s. Main factors preventing depopulation of the countryside were (a) development of commuting networks; (b) limited housing construction in urban areas and extensive self-help for housing construction in rural areas; (c) higher birth rates in rural areas, and (d) increasing living standards in rural areas. These factors helped to slow down rural-urban migration (**Figure 3**). The patterns of population distributions changed little in the last decades. Rural population accounted for some 45% of total population in 1985. By 2009 some 45% of population lived in rural areas, but agriculture generated just about 5% of total Slovak GDP and employment. Some 18% of Slovak settlements with less than 2000 inhabitants (i.e. rural areas) had an urban structure of inhabitants (above average share of university education, employed in

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services, etc.), and above average share of commuting to work in towns. About 10% of the Slovak population lived in these settlements which can be characterised as suburban. Size of settlement alone thus does not correspond with its rural character. (Gajdoš et al., 2010) It should be noted that the term 'rural' refers rather to location size than character in Slovakia⁹.

The central planning made most rural areas become strongly dependent on regional production centres. Uneven process of Slovak urbanisation has created two kinds of marginal areas (Gajdoš, 1994): marginal regions along Slovakia's borders to Hungary, Ukraine and Poland, and marginal areas inside the country, on the regional borders. Social and economic transition after 1989 was accompanied by rapid growth in regional disparities. Marginal regions (e.g. NUTS IV districts Stará Ľubovňa, Stropkov, Svidník, Bardejov, Humenné) accounted for instant and large increases in unemployment, economic decline and decrease in living standards in 1990s, due to collapse of central planning (Figure 5). Belt of districts with higher unemployment rates had established on eastern and southern borders of Slovakia in the early 1990s. The basic regional patterns of unemployment remained fairly stable since that period.

Regional disparities in quality of infrastructure, stock of human capital, agglomeration effects and inflows of the foreign direct investment (FDI) were enormous, but did not transform to increases in (permanent) internal migration. Employment opportunities concentrated in a small number of metropolitan areas and, when combined with imperfection of housing markets, provided little incentives for migration. The state funding of housing construction collapsed in the early 1990s. After 1990, new housing projects concentrated in metropolitan areas and were financed either by the emergent upper middle class or by relatively prosperous city governments and private developers in the Bratislava and Košice cities (Figure 1). These factors explain decreasing levels of permanent internal migration in the 1990s (Figure 3 Table 2).

Short travel distance and relatively dense networks of local transport provided for high rates of commuting in Slovakia. Share of urban in total population decreased very little, from 55.4% in 2005 to 54.9% in 2009. By mid 2000s, labour shortages in metropolitan regions, improvements in earnings and establishment of housing market institutions (developer firms, mortgage banks, system of state-sponsored housing loans) enabled much higher rates of housing construction, than in previous decade. These developments somewhat increased internal migration rates (Figure 4). Internal migration was typical with commuting rather than permanent change of dwelling. For example, the 2001 Census data showed that in the Prešov Region (NUTS III), 118,665 out of 380,548 economically active (that is, 31.2% of all in economically active age) commuted for work either to another district within the Prešov Region (87,124) or to other Regions (19,019) or abroad (12,522). It means that 22.9% of all in economically active age commuted for work within the region and 8.3% migrated to other regions and abroad. The 2011 Census data are not available yet.

The overall pattern of internal migration flows has been typical with high immigration gains by rural backgrounds of metropolitan areas in the Bratislava (but not the city itself), Trnava and Košice NUTS III regions. The Prešov NUTS III region, on the other hand, was the major loser (Jurčová, 2010, p. 10). Paradoxically, most internal migrants originated in metropolitan centres. Moves to suburbs and adjacent rural areas (Table 3) were motivated by acquisition of new housing. Long-distance internal (East to West) migrants were another important part of total internal migration. Both types of migrants followed job and wage opportunities and/or their spouses. High prices of housing in the Bratislava preclude most migrants but also young generation of Bratislava residents from getting permanent residence in the city. Many people working in Bratislava opted for cheaper housing in sub-urban and rural areas. Rural backgrounds of the Bratislava and Košice cities (districts of Pezinok, Senec, Malacky and Košice okolie) were major beneficiaries of the urban-rural flows and accounted for average annual net gain 5-22 people per 1000 inhabitants in period 2001-2009

⁹ Status of town is awarded by the Government in Slovakia. The candidate municipality usually must have at least 5000 inhabitants. Other important factors considered include availability of secondary education institutions and/or health care and culture facilities.

(Figure 4). The net migration gain also was expressed in above-average rates of housing construction in rural backgrounds of Bratislava (Figure 1).

2.3 Main characteristics of migrants

The Slovstat database refers to some 1,500-1,800 persons per year emigrating **permanently** in period 2004-2008 (Table 1). Statistics refer only to persons explicitly asking for cancelling their permanent residence in Slovakia¹⁰, but do not cover people living long-term abroad and keeping Slovak citizenship. The database¹¹ provides details on gender and age structure of emigrants. Women account for some 60% of total permanent emigrants. Age group 20-35 accounts for some 60% of total female emigrants. Male emigrants are more equally spread among age groups. The Slovstat database does not reveal details on reasons of emigration, but marriage and family reunifications likely account for most of the recorded permanent emigration flows.

Eurostat data on the Slovak population by citizenship indicates that the gender patterns differ in the main receiving countries. While Germany, Austria and Hungary receive predominantly female immigrants, Slovak citizens in the UK and Ireland are predominantly male.¹²

Most recent data on **temporary** migrant profiles are provided by the LFS for the fourth quarter of 2010 (Table 4):

- Men, young people in age groups 15-24 and 25-34 years, and people with lower-secondary education (ISCED 2) were overrepresented in sample of Slovaks working abroad compared to total working population. Females, people older than 35 years and persons with upper secondary (ISCED 3 and 4) and higher education (ISCED 5 and 6) were less likely to engage in labour migration.
- Major sectors of employment included construction, industry, health and social care and hotels and restaurants. Slovak migrant workers were here overrepresented in the abovementioned categories compared to total working population of Slovakia. Shares of industry and health and social care were quite similar for Slovaks working abroad and in Slovakia.
- Slovak migrants were overrepresented in middle-skilled manual jobs and underrepresented in highly qualified jobs. Most typical migrant occupations included craft and related trade workers, plant and machine operators, and assemblers and workers in service and trade. Legislators, senior officials and managers, on the other hand, were underrepresented among Slovak migrant workers.

3 Nation-wide labour market and social development trends under the influence of emigration

3.1 Economic and labour market developments

Manufacturing and construction generate over half of total jobs taken by Slovaks working abroad. Demand on these skills is rather limited and some returnees have difficulties to find jobs in regions outside Bratislava. High unemployment rates and lack of available jobs in

¹⁰ This request is often linked with change of citizenship status (e.g. because of marriage with a foreign national).

¹¹ No data are collected on returnees. Most labour migration has temporary and/or circular character. The main characteristics of returnees are likely to overlap with characteristics of temporary/circular migrants in terms of age groups, gender, marital / family status, education, employment status, etc.

No data on ethnic origin of migrants are collected in Slovakia. Moreover, inhabitants of most deprived and segregated areas are not covered by representative surveys. Anecdotal evidence (provided by the media) points to relatively high rates of migration by Roma population.

¹² Eurostat (2011): Population by sex, age and citizenship (migr_pop1ctz), in: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>, Statistics Database, Population and social conditions, Population (populat), International migration and Asylum, Population by citizenship and country of birth (accessed 14 November 2011).

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regions outside Bratislava are important factors in circular migration by Slovak citizens. There are labour shortages for some specific jobs. The shortages refer to some specific skills, in IT, business and administrative sectors. The Profesia.sk (top webpage specialised in job offers in Slovakia), registered some 5,732 jobs offers in December 2010 in Slovakia, of which 1,241 in wholesale and retail trade, 1,057 in IT sector, 691 in economics and finance, and 625 in administrative positions. The Bratislava region accounted for over half of total job offers in all sectors. Over 60% of the IT staff was demanded by Bratislava-based employers. Physicians and nursing staff (141 offers) were demanded by Bratislava and foreign-based employers (Germany and Austria in particular).

It is a matter of fact that migration mitigates the problem of redundant labour force that could not have been absorbed by the Slovak economy. Labour migration particularly helped easing pressures on regional labour markets in the central and eastern part of Slovakia. Emergence of long-haul circular migration (assisted by political and economic change and technology advance) was a most significant trend in regional labour markets in 1990s and 2000s in Slovakia. The long-haul circular migration, however, was vulnerable to changes in the economic cycle of Western Europe. Surge in unemployment rates partly was generated by large volumes of return migrants in 2009 and 2010 in central and eastern Slovakia. The Labour Force Survey data reveal that there were some 185,700 Slovak migrant workers by the end of 2007, but 124,700 migrant workers by the end of 2010. It indicates that some 60,000 workers (about one third of original numbers) returned to Slovakia. The highest decline of temporary work abroad was between 2008 and 2009 – by more than 31,000. (LFS 4Q 2009) According to LFS 4Q 2009, 27,500 unemployed (10% of all unemployed had their workplace outside the SR). This finding suggests that the majority of migrants who had returned home, did not find job here. The Východné Slovensko Region (NUTS III) accounted for one quarter of total Slovak employment, but one half of total decrease in numbers of Slovak migrant workers in period 2007-2010. We can only estimate that their return has contributed to the increase of regional unemployment as regionally specific information about employment situation of returning migrants is not available.

Data on remittances by the National Bank of Slovakia indicate that remittance receipts peaked with €1243m in 2008. The economic and financial crisis somewhat decreased remittance flows to €1100m in 2009. The remittance receipts were €1200m in 2009 (**Table 5**). Remittance income was about ten times higher than remittance expenditure in period 2007-2009. Net remittances generated about 1.84% GDP in 2008 and 1.44% GDP in 2010¹³. Data on remittances, however, should be observed cautiously¹⁴. Most migrants do not send their remittances via bank transfer, but preferred bringing them back home in cash. There is no systematic evidence on impacts by remittances on the economic and labour market developments and/or investments in business. Anecdotal evidence points to importance of consumption. Williams et al. (2001) made in depth-interviews with 100 Slovak labour migrants working in Austria and found that migrants used about 94% of their earning for consumption (including purchase of housing) and 6% for business investment. Research on

¹³ Source: author's computation based on data on remittances (provided by the National Bank of Slovakia) and gross domestic product (provided by the SOSR).

¹⁴ The National Bank of Slovakia (NBS) applies the International Transaction Reporting System and estimates volume of remittances. Three major problems arise: (a) threshold, (b) classification of transactions and (c) use of informal channels for monetary transfers. Payments under threshold 12500 euros are not classified. The informal channels may account as much as for one half of total transfers of earnings from abroad (Dolnič, 2007). Volume of remittances also is estimated via the models based on numbers of Slovaks working abroad (including illegal workers) and their average earnings (plus estimates of social benefits collected abroad since 2005). Reliability of models is rather difficult to check. Last comparative publication on remittance indicates that Slovak data are confidential. (Eurostat Statistics in Focus 40/2010) The Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (SOSR) (Department of National Accounts) produces statistics on remittances (based on the ESA 95 methodology). The remittances are defined as 'compensation of employees' and include all monetary and non-monetary benefits provided by employers to their employees. The tax residence is key concept for reporting residence. Tax resident is a person whose key economic activities are developed in Slovakia for at least one year. The SOSR follows Slovak tax residents only. Persons developing their economic activities outside of Slovakia (including Slovak citizens) for more than one year are not considered Slovak tax residents. Number of Slovaks working abroad is estimated to be higher than number of Slovak tax residents reporting their foreign economic activities. Official statistics on earnings abroad are therefore unreliable.

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skilled returnees from the UK (Williams, Baláž, 2005) indicated that 'financial cushion against future needs' and purchase of house/flat and/or car were the most important uses of remittances. 'Starting or extending business' was given a low priority. It can be concluded that remittances had an indirect impact on the Slovak economy since they stimulate domestic demand.

The Slovak Diaspora provides a mighty migration network, in the USA in particular. Exact data on migrant numbers do not exist. The role of the Diaspora in economic development seems to be limited. No major investment by a Diaspora member and/or return migrant was reported in Slovakia. There are examples of successful returnees, who established a restaurant, inn, or other kind of small and medium enterprises (Williams, Baláž, 2005). Slovakia, however, is a small open economy and heavy dependent on foreign direct investment (FDI). The majority of FDI has been generated by multinational companies (Volkswagen, Hyundai-Kia, Peugeot-Citroen, Samsung, Siemens, etc.). There are different groups of Diaspora members: (a) second and/or third generation of ethnic Slovaks born abroad plus the pre-1989 emigrants, and (b) post-1989 emigrants. The former group has been long established in host countries and its economic ties with Slovakia were less important than cultural ones. The latter group mainly consists of people with middle education and medium levels of income.

There is no systematic research/data collection on social and economic impacts by return migration in terms of brain drain and brain gain. So far only one study tried to compute effects of brain drain on the Slovak economy (Williams et al., 2004). The study compared survey-based and expert-opinion estimates with authors' own estimates based on reconciling labour market and educational data. It identified a substantial loss of graduate workers from the labour force through migration. The study computed potential loss of economic output via the total factor productivity. It found that potentially a significant proportion of gross domestic product (GDP) growth (about 0.6% per annum) is being lost via migration.

Slovakia used to account for high levels of emigration by young people. The OECD data indicate some 15% of Slovak tertiary students studying abroad in 2009¹⁵. There are no data on emigration by Slovak students and/or young scientists, but brain drain was considered a serious problem (for estimates of brain drain impacts prior to 2004 see Baláž, Williams, Kollár, 2004). Anecdotal evidence points to brain drain by health professionals. Between May 2004 and April 2007, some 3700 Slovak health professionals applied for equivalence confirmations to work in another EU country. Actual numbers of migrating health professionals may be higher. Nurses, for example, do not necessarily need equivalence documents for employment abroad. Higher wages and generating income for purchase of housing were main motives for migration by the Slovak health professionals in the abovementioned period¹⁶.

Some studies on returnees found brain gain effects and improvements in economic and social status after return to Slovakia. Williams and Baláž (2004) found evidence that many of the au pairs have been able to commodify their experiences. Enhanced language skills, self-confidence, personal skills, and occasionally formal qualifications, can be used to achieve better jobs of higher pay. Slovak au-pairs faced markedly different labour market conditions, and opportunities within Slovakia, which contributed to shaping their migration aims and experiences. Au pairs from Bratislava had significantly higher educational qualifications, compared to those from other regions. Most au-pairs from Bratislava were university students or graduates whereas most of the au pairs only had secondary school education.

¹⁵ The Czech Republic (20,057 students), the UK (2,514 students), Hungary (2,357 students) and Austria (1,468 students) were main migration destinations in 2009. Total numbers of the Slovak tertiary students abroad reported by the OECD (29,700) do not include data on the non-European countries, namely USA and Australia (OECD StatExtracts: Education Skills).

¹⁶ For more details on migration by the Slovak health professionals see: Beňušová et al. (2011): Chapter 17, Regaining self-sufficiency: Slovakia and the challenges of health professionals leaving the country, in: Wismar et al. (Eds), Health Professional Mobility and Health Systems, Evidence from 17 European Countries, Observatory Studies Series No. 23, World Health Organization, on behalf of the European Observatory on Health Systems and Policies.

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Bratislava based au pairs also spoke better English and placed less emphasis on higher salaries, and more on education, as motivations for having gone to the UK as au pairs. In other words, the Bratislava based au pairs were more likely to be already well advanced in terms of educational studies, and career development, so that they were more likely to view the living abroad experience as an end in itself, or at most as 'one more line in their CV'. In contrast, some of those from other regions viewed the au pair experience as economically instrumental¹⁷. Positive effects of brain gain on career advancement were reported also by students and professionals (Williams, Baláž, 2005, 2008a, b).

There is only occasional and partial knowledge about impact of emigration on human capital development, mainly from mass media sources. Mass media focus mostly at extreme cases: "warning" stories about doing manual jobs while having university education or unusual careers and advertising "success" stories. Success stories often deal with two categories: successful scientists or low-educated Roma migrants who have been able to find quality jobs and provide well for their families.

3.2 Social security

Social security regulation applying to migrants

As already stated above, the Czech Republic, Austria, Hungary and UK are the main destination countries of Slovak migrant workers.¹⁸ It means that EC social security regulation applies to significant amount of Slovak population.

The Slovak Republic has 20 international bilateral agreements on social security. Bilateral agreement on social security with the Czech Republic as main destination country of Slovak migration was concluded immediately after the division of the common state in 1993. Provisions of bilateral agreements with the states that are EU members have been replaced by the EU Coordination Regulation since EU-accession.

Unemployment benefits

Conditions for entitlement to unemployment benefits (UB) are rather tough in Slovakia: in 2010, the qualifying period in order to be entitled to unemployment benefits has been shortened to at least 2 years of unemployment insurance contributions during the last 3 years (or 4 years in case of temporary employment), but it is still longer than in several Member States. As a consequence, Slovaks who work, for instance in the Czech Republic, where 12 months of insurance within the last 3 years are required, can feel much better protected against the unemployment risk than in their home country¹⁹. Easier access to unemployment benefits (UB) and thus better protection against income poverty comparing to the situation in the home country might facilitate the decision about job migration, especially to the neighbouring country Czech Republic. Transferability of UB is an important advantage in case of job loss. Within the EU, entitlement of Slovak migrants to UB is governed by the law of the member states where they work. Conditions of transferability of unemployment benefits in the case of jobseekers starting to look for job on the territory of other MS (including their home country) are rather clear.²⁰ Permanent residence and "centre of interests in Slovakia" is required for entitlement to UB by Social Insurance Agency in case of

¹⁷ Interest in au-pair job peaked in 2003, where some 2390 au-pair visas were issued to Slovak national by the UK authorities. The UK opened its labour market in 2004 and au-pair visas were no more needed.

¹⁸ This order is however valid mainly for Slovaks working outside the country less than by 1 year. Comparison of the summations of all the Slovak workers registered at respective offices in the target migration countries could lead to slightly different order. For instance, the number of Slovaks registered in the Germany' Central foreigner register at the end of 2010 was almost three time higher than the LFS findings.

¹⁹ The Czech legislation also allows meeting the condition of the 12 months qualifying period with substitute periods of employment (e.g. personal care of a child), http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/missoc/db/public/compareTables.do?lang=en (accessed 10 January 2012).

²⁰ For instance see: <http://www.eures.sk/main/zmeny-v-socialnom-zabezpeceni-tykajuca-sa-osob-migrujujucich-v-ramci-eu-ehp-svajciarska-nezamestnanost-806-1.html> (accessed 10 January 2012).

applying for UB in Slovakia.²¹ It is possible that this condition can cause migrants' concerns and misgivings about reporting their change of residence.

Health care

Internet discussion forums and mass-media articles indicate that mainly before EU accession, there was much confusion about health care insurance of those who migrated to the EU. Some people did not pay health insurance at all (and then they got heavy fines), some paid health insurance both in Slovakia and the country where they worked, some only in Slovakia. It seems that most common deviation from the existing EU rules is two health insurances or individually paid insurance in Slovakia only. In Slovakia two categories of people pay health-insurance by themselves: self-employed and jobless persons who are not registered at labour office as jobseekers (officially called "voluntarily unemployed"). If health-insurance fees (monthly advance payment) for self-employed vary according to their income, the latter category with no income or income below the subsistence minimum pays a fixed fee (in 2009 and 2010 it was € 26.74). For instance many UK migrants assumed (according to internet forums) that "health care is free of charge in the UK". Common practice was to go for all medical examination, especially dental treatment, during vacations in Slovakia and benefit from lower additional charges.²² Since 2004, it is widely known that a person can be insured in one EU Member State only (that of employment) and that those who are employed outside Slovakia are obliged to deregister from public health insurance in Slovakia.²³ The situation is confusing for some types of job contracts even now and people are given legal advices that contradict the EU regulation.²⁴ Some problems could occur when Slovak migrants who are insured in another country and have not been informed about the necessity of possessing a European Health Insurance Card (EHIV) have an accident or need medical treatment during their stay in their home country. In such case they are fully charged for their treatment. These examples show that despite the fact that awareness about the application of EU coordination in the social security sphere has improved with EU accession, there is still a lack of information among Slovak migrants about applicable conditions for health insurance when working on another EU MS. In general, information about these and other conditions of access to (free of charge) medical care are available on the internet, both at the web sides of Slovak public bodies and migrant internet forums.²⁵

²¹ Ibidem.

²² Information from the Slovak advice giving website Porada: <http://www.porada.sk/archive/index.php/t-96885.html> (accessed on 10 January 2012).

²³ Act No. 580/2004 on health insurance. More details at the website of General Health Insurance Company "Všeobecná zdravotná poisťovňa": <http://www.vszp.sk/showdoc.do?docid=399> (accessed 10 January 2012).

²⁴ For instance, the website Právnik ("Lawyer") describes the case of woman who had a contract work in the U.K. while she was a health-care insurance self-payer gave birth to child in Slovakia where she now lives on the parental leave and takes maternity allowance from the English employer. She is given legal advice to continue self-paid insurance in Slovakia during the parental leave, though in general, caring persons on maternity leave are insured by the state in Slovakia. Source (Slovak): <http://www.webpravnik.sk/?p=410> (accessed 11 January 2012).

²⁵ Source (Slovak): <http://www.poistovne.sk/25636-sk/liecba-slovaka-pracujuceho-v%C2%A0zahranici-si-doma-vyzaduje-tpezlivost.php>, for health insurance agencies and www.londyn.sk (?) for migrant forums.

Pensions

Pensions that are paid by foreign social security institutions mostly refer to pre-1989 emigrants who have returned to the home country. There is no data available about pensions paid from abroad; some information can be obtained only if the foreign social security agencies publish this data on their website. For instance, in 2009, the Czech Social Security Administration (CSSA) paid 14,670 pensions to Slovakia (13,336 pensions in 2008). These are mostly pensions of people who were employed in federal-wide firms or organizations of former Czechoslovakia with the headquarters on the territory of the present Czech Republic. The payments of pensions to the Slovak Republic are made regularly once in a month, remitted between the 22nd and 26th day of a month to National Bank of Slovakia (CNB) and credited to accounts of the clients within 5 working days. The conditions for eligibility to pension benefits are verified four times yearly by requesting information to be provided in the form of a "Certificate of living". Personal signature of this certificate by the pension beneficiary is required to continue the pension payments.

Family Benefits

Entitlement to child allowances is secured independently to parents' or children' staying on Slovak territory or abroad. Since 2010, the same applies to parental allowance. The Central Office of Labour, Social Affairs and Family (COLSAF) is informed about the Slovak family benefit claimants in other member states as responsible foreign agencies address COLSAF with the request to check if the claimants do not already take child (parental) allowances in Slovakia.²⁶ The EU Regulation has launched the principle of recovering unduly paid benefits, for instance, child allowances in case migrant workers receive them both in their country of origin and in the destination country.

In other member states there are yearly about 15,000 of new (or repeated in case of circular migration) child allowance claims introduced by Slovak migrants²⁷. Applications are most often submitted in the four member states Austria, Czech Republic, United Kingdom and Hungary. In 2010, most of the Slovak claimants claimed child allowances in Austria (6,817)²⁸. It is assumed that these are mainly Slovak care-givers working in Austria who use the opportunity to claim for higher child allowances in Austria.

Social assistance (minimum income scheme)

Benefits for those in material need (minimum income scheme) are not portable. Residence on the Slovak territory is required not only from the beneficiary himself but from all household members that are jointly assessed²⁹. This provision forces the families that are dependent on minimum income scheme either to avoid reporting the absence of a family member or to migrate together for work. The latter is possible only if family can rely on family and relative ties in destination country (relatives who migrated earlier and already have a housing and income secured) as substitution for social assistance scheme in the beginning. This also explains the fact that Roma often migrate with their whole family.

Sometimes migrating parents also use the legal option to officially entrust their children to the care of relatives who stay home. Though commentators do not associate the increased numbers of children entrusted in substitutive personal care (since 2005) with their parents' job migration, author's research of Roma urban youth has found a clear link of substitutive personal care (by grandparents) and parents' work migration (Kusá et al., 2011). In 2010, there were 5,637 children in substitutive personal care (MLSFAF, 2011) and in 2006 it was 4,289 (SME, 2007). Substitutive personal care (according SME 2007, in 80% provided by grandparents and 16% by other relatives) is considered as a possibility to provide children a better material situation: besides the payments at the start of substitutive personal care and

²⁶ It does not apply to migrant who have not received family benefits before they begun to work in the member state and/or who have become parents only to the country they work (Interview with Ing. Vršanská).

²⁷ In 2008: 16,735; in 2009: 16,625 and in 2010: 15,339.

²⁸ Interview with Ing. Vršanská (Vršanská, 2011).

²⁹ Children under the age 25 living with their parents are jointly assessed too. This condition hampers mobility of young adults considerably.

in its end, when a child reaches adulthood, substitutive personal carers receive higher allowances for children than biological parents can receive³⁰. Substitutive personal care is approved by the Court on the basis of assessment of the adequacy of living conditions and for that reason, poorest families living in separated or segregated settlements are not among substitutive carers. As some observers note, “this tool [substitutive care (author’s remark)] is used mostly by Roma living in urban areas partly integrated” (Jurík, 2011)³¹. As urban Roma tend to look for job outside the country more often (Interview with Ms. Ondrušová), it is another support of our statement about using substitutive personal care as supporting tool for families divided by migration. Though there are not data to support our statement, it is probable that substitutive personal care (of grandparents) is also used by single parents who choose job migration to improve their situation. Single parents’ households belong to the groups with highest risk of poverty.

3.3 Poverty and Social Exclusion

Impact of emigration on the development of poverty

There is a general assumption that labour migration helps to improve the material situation of Slovak families with a migrating member. However, specific impact of emigration on the development of poverty is rather difficult to assess. National administrative and scientific data about relationship between migration and poverty do not exist. The EU-SILC does not survey data about within or outside the country migration of household members. We can rely here only on indirect evidence such as comparison of the data about working abroad and development of monetary poverty and material deprivation indicators in total Slovak population and in various subgroups. **Figure 2** suggests possible positive impact of job migration abroad in 2005-2010: we see that with growing percentage of labour migrants the share of those in risk of poverty is decreasing. However, besides job migration there is lot of parallel factors (increasing offer of jobs and growing employment within Slovakia) and therefore it is not possible to weigh the impact of labour migration on poverty indicators.

Apart from the risk of poverty development of the majority of EU-SILC poverty indicators has also been favourable in the given period. Material poverty (3 items) of population under 18 years of age decreased from 44.7% in 2005 to 28.3% in 2009 (**Table 6**). Poverty of some vulnerable groups has also decreased. Poverty of lone parents decreased from 2005 to 2008 (mainly due to new measure of substitutive allowance that compensate missing alimony). However, monetary poverty of unemployed, households with many children and single households of pensioners have been increasing despite economic growth. Their situation is becoming increasingly worsened as a consequence of an insufficient valorisation (freezing) of the social assistance system³² and they have less opportunity to migrate for better jobs.

There is no research on the role of remittances in specific migration groups and in family budgets. The Slovak Household Budget Survey is a regular survey of income and expenditures of private households does not seek “territorial” source of gross money income from work activity³³. There are data sources neither for the evidence of remittance poverty reduction role in general nor specifically in terms of inequality and distribution of remittances income decile or quintile. There is not any representative research of impact of migration on families and communities. Effects of temporary or circular migration abroad on housing composition are not studied.

³⁰ In 2010, this was 129.29 € of additional allowance + child allowance of 21.99 € for each child. Since 1 September 2011, additional allowance has been increased to 132.39 €. (MLSAF Allowance Information system: <http://www.employment.gov.sk/DIS/dis/index.php?SMC=1&id=201#Obsah>).

³¹ <http://ippr.sk/sk/socialna-politika/87-rozsah-participacie-nastrojov-socialnej-politiky-sprevadzajuci-reprodukne-spravanie-obyvatelov-v-zavislosti-od-ich-socialno-ekonomickeho-statusu>

³² Limited indexation of social assistance and social security has been the result of the austerity measures that have been implemented first due to the Slovak Republic’ preparation on entering the Eurozone and later due to fiscal policy of cutting down deficits.

³³ Household Budget Survey is applying consumption classification standards as required for HBS by Eurostat (COICOP - HBS). In case of income items, the survey followed Regulation (EC) No 1177/2003 of the European Parliament and of the Council concerning Community statistic.

There are however indirect indications that social capital in local communities has been deteriorating. For instance, the 2008 European Value Study (EVS) has found that the involvement of Slovak population in cultural, civic, sport associations and activities has decreased sharply in comparison to 1999 EVS and this decline has been substantially higher in villages up to 5,000 inhabitants. It seems that due to migration of young people (probably of those more dynamic, enterprising ones) many small settlements have sustained serious loss in their social capital and capability of public and social organising (Kusá, Zeman 2010).

4 Labour market and social development trends in net migration loss / gain regions

4.1 Identification of net migration loss / gain regions

The Slovak Republic is divided into 4 oblasts (NUTS II level), 8 regions (NUTS III level and 79 districts (NUTS IV level). According to available data, migration has distinctive regional dimensions in Slovakia³⁴ (a map of Slovakia including NUTS II and III regions is introduced at the beginning of Annex 1). Data by the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (SOSR), based on the Labour Force Survey (LFS), reveal that some 5.7% of total Slovak employees on the national level worked abroad by the end of 2009. There, however, was a significant division between the eastern and western part of the country (**Figure 6**).

Západné Slovensko Oblast (NUTS II, Western Slovakia) neighbours with Austria and Czech Republic that are important target countries of Slovak migration. Despite this proximity it does not exceed the average of emigration rates (5.4% by end of 2010). The Stredné Slovensko Oblast (NUTS II, Central Slovakia) and the Východné Slovensko Oblast (NUTS II, Eastern Slovakia) accounted for emigration rates of 5.2% and 7.6% respectively. Every fourth labour migrant outside Slovakia has come from the Prešov region (NUTS III) in Eastern Slovakia in the 1st Q.2011. Comparison of the average data about the regions (NUTS III) faces some difficulties. Regional averages conceal significant internal differences within some regions in registered unemployment, vacancies, average wages, availability of services, etc.³⁵.

Time series of the migration balances for the Slovak districts (NUTS IV) in 1985-2009 (**Figure 4**) helps identify the districts that are net migration loss areas almost during the whole period under observation. They are located mostly in Eastern and South Eastern Slovakia, especially on the borderline with Poland, Ukraine and Hungary. The belt of poor districts (NUTS IV level) on the eastern borders of Slovakia (Stará Ľubovňa, Stropkov, Svidník, Bardejov, Humenné) belonging to the Prešov region and on the southern border (Rimavská Sobota in the Banská Bystrica region; Rožňava in the Košice region) accounted for an average annual net migration loss of 2-3 people per 1000 inhabitants in period 2001-2009. The regional capital Banská Bystrica's district in the Central Slovakia has lost their position of migration gain district and turned to a net migration loss district. In the last

³⁴ Realistic assessment of social impacts of rural-urban (internal) migration on regional labour market has some limits in Slovakia. As it has been already suggested, data on internal migration reports only inhabitants with permanent change of residence. Commuting and/or other form of migration (long-term working assignments, leisure migration, etc.) are provided by the Census and/or ad hoc studies. LFS only maps temporary work migration (according to instructions, only those household members who work abroad less than 12 months have to be mentioned). These longer staying migrants fall out from the LFS statistics though many of them preserve their permanent residence in Slovakia and logically they should be counted as household members absenting due to working outside the country. Number of Slovaks working abroad is no doubt higher than LFS suggest.

³⁵ For instance, difference in registered unemployment between the best and worst performing districts in the Košice Region is 19 percentage points: the Košice region average was 16,78% in 2010, while the unemployment rate in the Košice IV district was 8,98 percentage points less and the Rožňava district where as 10 percentage points more than the region average (COLSAF, 2010)

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decade, rich metropolitan districts Bratislava I, Bratislava V and Košice III show even higher net migration losses: 6-9 people per 1000 inhabitants³⁶.

The districts and regions with high out-flow migration are characterised by a lower level of urbanisation, high unemployment, less developed transport infrastructure and service infrastructure, low foreign investments and high fertility rates in part of the districts³⁷. Often they were predominantly agrarian areas in the past with limited or no substitution for extinct jobs.³⁸ For instance, the Prešov region is still characterised as an agrarian region though there are no favourable climatic conditions for important agricultural crops and less than 6% of all the employed work in agriculture.³⁹ The most distinctive characteristic of rurality is dispersed and scattered population and prevalence of small settlements (with less than 1,000 inhabitants). The disadvantaged areas in all three regions also account for high shares of population with below-average education levels, long-term unemployment, and early school leavers (in comparison to the SR average).⁴⁰

Banská Bystrica, Košice and Prešov had high unemployment (18.86%, 16.78% and 17.75% respectively in 2010) and significantly smaller GDP per capita in comparison with western parts of Slovakia. (Table 7, Table 8) In some of their districts (such as Rimavská Sobota, Revúca and Rožňava) unemployment rate exceeds 25%. Average nominal wages are lower in areas with high unemployment.

Prešov is both the typical net migration loss region and the region of high share of commuting and circular migration. It is the least urbanised region with historical experiences in labour emigration. Even massive industrialisation organised by the state socialist regime (1948-1989) had not developed enough job opportunities there. Its inhabitants remained dependent on commuting to work in other regions of Czechoslovakia, very often to the Czech part of the country. Economic depression in 1990s dismantled a lot of jobs in industry and agriculture in this region too. For more than a decade, the Prešov Region has had the lowest average wage in Slovakia, highest unemployment, highest share of population dependent on minimum income and highest level of poverty and deprivation.

Banská Bystrica, Prešov and Košice regions do all suffer from the low foreign direct investment that could promote job creation and reduce the number of out-migration. Insufficient developed highway infrastructure contributes to this situation. Košice region is not connected with the capital region via a highway yet.

³⁶ As it has been noted several times in this report, statistics based on the permanent address registers fail to cover significant in-migration flow to the metropolitan districts. According to estimations, about 100-150 thousand people (that is about one sixth of its actual inhabitants) live in Bratislava in rented private accommodation with only temporary address or even undocumented.

³⁷ Prešov has the highest birth rate (and the population increase) despite the highest migration loss. A different situation is in the Banská Bystrica region that has natural decrease in recent years:

http://portal.statistics.sk/files/Odbory/odb_410/el_publikacie/velk_skup_obci_2010.pdf (accessed 11 January 2012).

³⁸ In 1990, more than 300,000 people worked in agriculture and in 2008 there was less than 100,000 jobs; it means that employment in agricultural sector has shrunk three times (Dubcova et al., 2009). In 2006, 10% of all jobseekers with job before start of unemployment were employed in agriculture (Zelená správa, 2007). Due to above the average natality in these regions, the higher out-migration does not staunch their population increase. As a result of high natality and low mortality the main centre of natural increase of population in Slovakia has been in the east part of the country, in Prešovský kraj (3,262 persons) and Košický kraj (2,041 persons). In these regions there was a decrease of population only in the smallest municipalities: http://portal.statistics.sk/files/Odbory/odb_410/el_publikacie/1_demostav.pdf (accessed 11 January 2012).

³⁹ SARIO 2011: http://www.sario.sk/userfiles/file/sario/pzi/regiony/presov/presovsky_kraj.pdf (accessed 11 January 2012).

⁴⁰ Next characteristic of Eastern and South Eastern Slovakia is the rich ethnic profile. In Prešov and Košice region, there live a significant Ruthenian (Rusyn) minority. Hungarian minority is numerous in southern parts of Košice and Banská Bystrica regions. Roma population has above-the average shares in all the three regions. Separated and segregated poor Roma settlements are however most common in the Prešov region. Despite its highest net migration loss, the Prešov region has increasing population (in 2001 790,321 inhabitants and 2010 808,532 inhabitants): migration loss is compensated by above-the-average birth rate in the region, <http://px-web.statistics.sk/PXWebSlovak/> (accessed 11 January 2012).

4.2 Labour market development in net migration loss / gain regions

The difference between labour supply and demand is enormous in Eastern Slovakia but in the whole country as well.⁴¹ High unemployment and high share of long-term unemployment is a serious problem here. The regions of Banská Bystrica, Prešov and Kosice (NUTS III) accounted for average unemployment rates of 16-18% in 2010. The high level of unemployment in the Banská Bystrica region (Central Slovakia) has not led to similar levels of labour emigration as it has been in the other above mentioned Eastern Slovakia regions.⁴²

Some Slovak districts (NUTS IV level) in the eastern (Prešov and Kosice) and the southern part (Banská Bystrica) of the country accounted for unemployment rates of above 25% (**Figure 5; Table 9**). These districts with higher share of agricultural production providing jobs for unskilled or semi-skilled workers before 1990 have been affected by the agriculture (more than 200,000 jobs were lost in agriculture since 1990) and industrial decline (heavy industries and mining in particular). Lost jobs in agriculture were not substituted by new openings in former agricultural rural areas. There are high numbers of unemployed people in 50+ age groups and young adults with low education and no history of employment.

Education structure of labour force

The SOSR does not provide data on educational attainments of migrants and/or the people left behind. As LFS only covers migrants working outside the country for the period less than one year, information about attained education of those working outside the country for a longer period is not available. Some inferences on educational attainment of people who have remained on domestic labour market can be made from the education structure of registered unemployment (COLSAF) and from the geographical structure of internal migration flows.

There are significantly higher shares of people with low levels of education among registered unemployed than in the LFS sample (**Table 10a**) and the demand for unskilled labour is very low in Slovakia. Moreover, data about educational attainments of economically active population (absolute numbers in Table 14a) show that despite overall the rapid increase of shares of university educated in all Slovakia regions, there is also a reverse trend in the last decade: in the Prešov region the number of economically active inhabitants of the Prešov region with primary education or without education has absolutely increased from 27,000 to 35,000 (**Table 10b**) or from 7.5 to 9.1% (**Table 11**). It is apparently the consequence of higher numbers of early school leavers in this region and a lack of systemic tools of preventing early school leaving.

Demographic changes in net migration loss regions

The Východné Slovensko Oblast (Eastern Slovakia: Prešov and Kosice) accounts for high intensity of emigration and for above-average birth rates. Local observations suggest existence of divided families (fathers working abroad and mothers raising children with help of grandparents). The situation with internal migration may be rather different. Many young people from Eastern Slovakia work/study in Bratislava and/or Western Slovakia. Again, the effect of internal migration on population ageing is obscured by absent reporting of habitual place of living. Many internal migrants keep their original permanent residence for many years. It is very probable that if young people keep their permanent residence for many years, they are not available in the home region anymore and population composition significantly differs from its statistical account based on permanent residence registers.

⁴¹ In 3Q 2010 there were only 1,947 vacancies but 137.8 thousand unemployed in Eastern Slovakia. In total, there was 324,000 unemployed and less than 14,000 vacancies in Slovakia (More in Tables 20 and 24).

⁴² Banská Bystrica region belongs to regions with lower work migration outside the country. Within the country migration is also difficult due to its mountain surface, lower quality of roads as well as due to its distance from the "poles of growth" such as Bratislava, Košice or Žilina. Important factor here might be absence of similarly strong tradition of labour migration as it is in Eastern Slovakia. Low level of labour migration outside Slovakia could have had contributed to the fact that during 2004-2009 Banská Bystrica region was the only Slovak NUTS III region where the shares of inhabitants with income under the poverty threshold have not decreased.

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The internal demographic disparities within the region are also remarkable in Prešov and Košice regions. Districts with the lowest ageing rates (Levoča, Spišská nová Ves, Košice – okolie, Vranov nad Topľou, Stará Ľubovňa, Sabinov, Kežmarok) are identical with the poorest Slovak districts. The combination of low ageing rates and poverty is explained by high fertility rates and low labour mobility by the Roma population. On the other hand, it is also possible to find villages that are dying out in Slovakia. These are mainly villages that have lost younger age cohorts already (due to the centrally regulated process of urbanisation under the communist regime described in the part 1). According to the authors of the typology of Slovak villages and towns (Gajdoš et al., 2009), 100 villages (3.41% of all villages and towns of Slovakia) belong to the type of “declining village”, declining both from population, economic and infrastructure aspects. They have low level of social capital due to above the average share of seniors and unemployed and above the average permanent migration. The majority of such villages have less than 200 inhabitants and the east border districts Snina, Medzilaborce and Stropkov (Prešov Region) have above the average share of such villages. Higher share of small declining villages can also be found in Veľký Krtíš, Rimavská Sobota, Poltár, Krupina districts (south central Banská Bystrica region).

4.3 Poverty and social exclusion in net migration loss / gain regions

We have already suggested that low wages, risk of joblessness and poverty are significant push factors of both internal and international migration. The Prešov region has all these characteristics. According to EU-SILC 2009 data, average equivalent disposable household income in the Prešov region reached only 87.1% of average equivalent household income in Slovakia. Average nominal wage in Prešov region falls behind the SK significantly (**Table 12**). Severe material deprivation significantly exceeds the SK average (**Table 14**). The level of severe material deprivation in Prešov is more than 1.4 times higher than the SK average and 2.5 times higher than the level of severe material deprivation in Bratislava region (**Table 14**).

Development in the years 2005-2009 was favourable in the majority of regions both in terms of income poverty (**Table 15**), burden from housing payments (**Table 16**) and material deprivation (**Tables 17, 18**) except for material deprivation in housing (**Table 19**). Though income poverty in the Prešov region is still higher than the national average (13.9% and 10.9%), within the 2005-2009 period the decline in income poverty rate was -7.4 percentage points in the Prešov region and only -2.4 percentage points at national level. There have been significant declines in the two dimensions of material deprivation (enforced lack of possession of durables such as TV, washing machine, and material deprivation in housing (*leaking roof, damp walls; no bath or shower in dwelling, no indoor toilet, dwelling too dark*) in the period of 2005-2009 in all Slovak regions and in Slovak Republic as the whole. In the Prešov region, financial pressure on households and enforced lack of durables diminished and declined to an extent considerably above the Slovak average (**Table 17**). On the other hand, improvement of the financial situation of households and partial relief of perceived burden with basic financial and housing payments has gone hand in hand with increasing indebtedness and perceived burden of paying loans and purchase instalments (**Table 20**). In the Prešov region, every second household perceives heavy burden from loan payments. The increase of financial pressure on households can be explained partly by more intensive housing construction and utilisation of loans and mortgages and partly by borrowing money at disadvantageous interest rate from non-bank subjects. As a rule, Slovak banks are very cautious to give loans to clients with lower or unstable income and as a consequence, households with under the average income have only access to unfavourable overpriced loans⁴³.

On the other hand, the poverty rate has slightly increased and stagnated in the Banská Bystrica region. Though the decrease of material deprivation was more significant in all

⁴³ For instance, one of the non-banking subjects, the Home Credit Company has provided loans to 900,000 Slovaks during the 11 years of activity in Slovakia, <http://www.uvery.sk/tlacove-spravy-o-pozickach/kategoria/pozicky/clanok/home-credit-vlani-pozical-ludom-111-milionov-eur.xhtml> (accessed 11 January 2012).

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regions of Slovakia (Banská Bystrica included) than the decrease of income poverty, it is worth to try to explain stagnation of income poverty Banská Bystrica not only as a possible statistical error.⁴⁴ We think that the difference can be also the outcome of different patterns of migration. Banská Bystrica region has above average number of former agricultural villages with above average permanent migration (cancellation of permanent residence and occurrence of vacant homes). They are located mostly in its south border districts such as Veľký Krtíš, Lučenec, Rimavská Sobota but also Banská Štiavnica and Krupina (Gajdoš et al., 2009, p. 92). Permanent migration to other parts of the country does not seem to have any positive feedback here. On the other hand, the Prešov region (at least some of its parts) seems to benefit from temporary migration and preserved migrants' ties to the region.⁴⁵

Housing is the only dimension of material deprivation in which improvement between 2005 and 2009 did not come about. To the contrary, slight increase of deprivation in housing conditions was recorded. Though this increase does not seem significant from a statistical point of view (maximum of +3.3% in Trnava) we can assume that the improved financial situation was not sufficient for making households capable to invest in their housing maintenance, too. As it has been already suggested, EU-SILC data do not give a sufficiently precise picture of living conditions of inhabitants of the Prešov Region. It is particularly clear when housing deprivation is concerned. In all the EU-SILC surveys, the Prešov region had lower rates of deprivation in housing conditions than the Bratislava region (**Table 19**)⁴⁶. **Table 22** also gives contradictory evidence about the quality of housing in the Prešov Region: In 2009, 56% of inhabitants of Prešov region were connected to public sewerage system compared to 59.4% of SK average and 85.2% of inhabitants of Bratislava region. Similarly, supply of households with water from public ducts has been far lower in Prešov Region than in SK average and Bratislava Region (78%; 86.3% and 95.8%).

Tables 13, 22, 23 and **Table 24** compare access to various kinds of public and social services including basic infrastructure in the Prešov and Bratislava regions and Slovakia as whole and in rural/urban division. Though information about access of inhabitants of different regions to public services is not always available in time-series it gives evidence that inhabitants of the Prešov region as well as inhabitants of other thinly populated areas lack the necessary infrastructure for several kinds of public and social care services. Limited public transport further complicates access to health services.

This insufficient data coverage of Roma communities decreases comparability of material deprivation data among the regions and urban and non-urban areas. Insufficient immunisation of Roma children is evidence of worsened access to health care services in rural areas, especially due to limited public transport connection⁴⁷. Deteriorated access to transport and next services is the consequence of decentralisation of public services and transferring responsibility to Regions without sufficient funding (only costs of services performed in public interest⁴⁸), austerity measures in health care and education and an absenting policy commitment to warrant equal access to public and social services for inhabitants of all territory of Slovakia.

⁴⁴ Difference of 3 percentage points can be attributed to statistical error.

⁴⁵ It is important to keep in mind that the EU-SILC data, similarly to LFS data do not sufficiently cover the poorest population of Slovakia. Levels of poverty and deprivation in Slovakia, particularly in eastern-southern Slovak regions such as Prešov could be significantly higher if destitute neighbourhoods separated and segregated Roma than are the levels indicated by the EU-SILC. They are not fully representative for Roma living in destitute neighbourhoods that are often separated or segregated from the majority population. If Roma are properly included in the EU-SILC, development of poverty indicators would be less favourable as it is now.

⁴⁶ A representative of an important research agency explained in the personal interview that their interviewers as well as interviewers from other research agency refuse to make interviews in distant Roma communities or ethnically homogeneous Roma neighbourhoods. Similar problem with coverage of Roma communities also concerns Košice and Banská Bystrica regions that also have large Roma population.

⁴⁷ In reaction to deterioration in the quality of parents' care for their children's health in poorest communities, 40 health assistants been trained within the project approved in 2003 to improve the access of Roma to health care. In 2007 and 2008, 30 health assistants worked in 127 separated and segregated Roma communities. They have been affiliated with district offices of public health. Besides their education and assistance work they have also been monitoring the health and living conditions of Roma (Kusá and Gerbery 2008).

⁴⁸ In case of railway and bus transport it means repayment of costs for discounts provided for disabled, children, students and seniors.

5 Impact of migration on vulnerable groups

Labour migration exposes families with children to numerous stresses either if they migrate together or they are divided and some members, usually women with children, are left behind at home. At the same time, it brings about resources otherwise unavailable for family members and thus widens their opportunities. A recent survey among Slovak female carers working in Austria has however surprisingly found that only a small share (less than 20%) of carers admitted that family atmosphere and relationships have worsened due to their absence at home. On the contrary, more than half of the interviewed carers have stated that their family atmosphere and relationship have partly or considerably improved (Bahna, 2011)⁴⁹.

5.1 Women

Impact of emigration on situation of women left behind in Slovakia has not been studied yet. There are only snatches of observations, journalistic impressions that are not giving a representative picture of these experiences. There are diverse types of experiences reflected in popular press. In Eastern Slovakia, weekly commuting enforced by the chronic shortage of jobs has a long tradition. Absence of fathers have been commonplace for several generations and for that account mastered and habituated in family ways of living.⁵⁰

5.2 Children

Up till now, no research has been focused on experiences of children who return to Slovakia. Difficulties of migrant families with children after return to Slovakia have not attracted research or political interest. Similarly, up till now, there have been no studies about the impact (e)migration of parents has on children left behind, on their health and well-being, housing and living conditions, school enrolment, attendance and achievements, etc. There is even no information how many children have returned from migration. Only fragmented information is available about children left behind and those after return from migration. Mass-media often dealt with children's irregular school attendance. In case of child's misdemeanour the fact that its parent/s work/s abroad is mentioned as explanation.

There are only sporadic reports in media about poor school results of children who frequently change domestic and foreign schools. Positive observations have been prevalent (returnees are more educated, self-conscious and have "better manners"). Such observations were also obtained during the voluntary returnees program conducted by the IOM during 2005-2010.

5.3 Elderly

Young people up to 35 years of age dominate among job migrants. Parents of this category of migrants are mostly still in working age and less in risk of joblessness like the youngest generation.⁵¹ For this reason, problem of elderly family members living in isolation in consequence of job migration is not yet perceived as topical. Bahna's recent survey of Slovak female carers in Austria (held in November 2011) has found that less than 5% of carers have adult family members who are in need of permanent care. In their absence, care is provided by other family members (husband, siblings). There was not a case of having family member in institutional care. Moreover, the present older generation in Slovakia is fully covered by the old age pension system and the majority is not dependent on financial

⁴⁹ It seems that relief from daily financial constraints and following tensions that could emerged among family members due to their unsatisfied needs has substantially contributed to an improved atmosphere in migrant families documented by Bahna's survey. The next important factor could be that carers in Austria work in the two weeks shift, it means that they return home much more frequently than other groups of circular or temporary migrants.

⁵⁰ We did not manage to get more insight to female experiences of migration.

⁵¹ According to 4Q 2010 LFS, level of economic activity in the 55-59 age group is 80.5% for men and 52% in case of women. Unemployment in this group was 12.6% for men and 11.9% for women in this age group that is less than the SK average (13.8% and 14% respectively) and much less than unemployment in 20-24 years old group where unemployment was 32.4% for men and 29.4% for women.

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assistance of the younger generation. Though average old-age pensions are rather low and reach about 40% of average wage, in the poor districts with high unemployment rate pensioners belong to better situated stratum.

Underdeveloped social services, reduced and expensive public transport, worsened access to medical services, etc. are persistent problems in some areas. These problems are the consequence of underfinanced public sectors and financial problems of village or small town municipalities that do not have enough resources to fulfil their legal obligations to citizens. Original competence and duty of local governments is to provide various services for elderly people, from meal services, caring services, and senior daily clubs to whole day care in seniors' home. The gap in available services for elderly is enormous. In 2010, there have been 18,000 unprocessed applications for residence in old people home with perspective of 1-5 years of waiting time depending on the region⁵².

The Act No. 448/2008 on social services was intended to bring about higher availability of services for seniors and warrant their right to social care. Its provision grants elderly seniors the right to residential care services under condition they have been assessed eligible by medical officers. In the case of entitlement, the local government has the duty to secure the requested service within 60 days. However, on the request of the Municipality Union the validity of this provision has been postponed already twice as municipalities are not capable to fulfil this requirement due to their insolvency⁵³. Private old people homes are rather expensive and only families with above average earnings can afford to pay for senior's residence. There are no data available on relatives abroad paying for the stay of their parents in these private homes.

Slovak legislation encourages family care for severely disabled family members by "caring benefit" that is provided by the district office for labour, family and social issues to a relative who cares for a disabled person on a daily basis. Caring for an elderly family member has been often the only "entrepreneurial opportunity" for the young and middle generation. Though in the last five years, growing number of middle age women and men prefer work as caring persons abroad, the number of family carers has been still high though partly declined during 2005-2008. In average, about 50,000 family carers provided care for immobile elderly in this period. Family caring is funded from the public budget and does not depend on solvency of local municipality. Modest reward (on the level of minimum wage) is attractive mainly in the regions with high unemployment and lack of jobs (Repková, 2008). Above average number of family-carers work in the Prešov and Nitra Regions. Number of family carers in the Bratislava region is three times less than in Prešov (Repková, 2008, 24).

5.4 Roma

The situation of Roma in Slovakia has been already dealt with several times in this report. According to estimates based on the last registers of district administration (1988), between 350,000 and 420,000 Roma (6-7 % of Slovak population) live in Slovakia⁵⁴. At least two thirds of Roma live in Eastern Slovakia and mainly in the Prešov region.

According to the expert estimations, approximately 60% of Roma live mixed with the majority population (though often in specific streets or blocks of flats) and one third live in separated or segregated (mostly) village communities, the so-called Roma settlements. Sociographic mapping of Roma communities (2003) found that almost one third of dwellings

⁵² It is not possible to choose home for seniors. Pravda June 10, 2010. Available in Slovak at: http://spravy.pravda.sk/domov-dochodcov-sa-neda-vybrat-det-sk_domace.asp?c=A100610_115738_sk_domace_p09 (accessed 11 January 2012).

⁵³ Lack of resources threatens elementary functions of municipalities: for example, mass-media inform that small towns lose their capacity to pay electricity bills for their facilities such as kindergartens, schools, etc. and there is the threat of their cut-off from electricity supplies. Lack of resources precludes development of new social services and limits operation of services that are already in operation.

⁵⁴ In the 2001 Census 89,920 people declared Roma ethnicity ("národnosť"): this number amounts to 1.7% of total population. In the 2011 Census 105,738 declared Roma ethnicity, it is 2% of total population. There are estimations that only about one quarter of the Roma population declares Roma ethnicity in the Census (Vaňo, Mészáros, 2004, 5). The majority of Roma declare Slovak or Hungarian ethnicity.

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in Roma settlements are undocumented (these are first of all shanties, modules and various non-residential buildings). Only 39% of Roma dwellings in separated and segregated settlements have connection to public duct and 13% to sewage (Office of the Plenipotentiary, 2004).

The majority of Roma live in former districts with collapsed industry and an extremely high number of jobseekers per vacancy. Unemployment among Roma is very high. The 2010 UNDP survey has found only 13% of Roma employed. Most of Roma households are fully dependent on social assistance. Migration to the countryside seeking cheaper life has appeared in the 1990s. During the housing privatisation, some Roma sold their apartments in towns and returned to their family home settlements.⁵⁵ Housing conditions of Roma, especially of those living in separated or segregated concentrations often do not suffice to fulfil the basic needs. Low quality dwellings without properly installed heating or electricity of heating are susceptible to disasters. As a rule, municipalities do not have resources to provide Roma families with emergency housing. Moreover, it is told that they are even not allowed to invest in reconstruction of dwellings that are not their property.⁵⁶

Besides spontaneous migration, there have been cases of internal displacement. It is not possible to say how frequent there have been because more systematic attention started to be given to them only since 2005. In the 1990s the only strategy of many local governments dealing with troublesome tenants and tenants who had rent arrears was to evict and concentrate them in blocks of lower standard flats usually situated on town margins and separated. Counselling services or social work did not exist in that period. The already mentioned displacement has brought to life the infamous blocks Luník IX in Košice.

Eviction from the flat has been facilitated by the amendment of the Execution Act (2001) that allows evicting the debtor already after three months of non-payment of rents without a court order. Municipality has the duty to offer shelter only to those who have permanent residency. There have been numerous cases that a local government bought an old house in a distant village, reregistered their troublesome tenants for permanent residency in this village and moved them there regardless to their job and kinship ties and obligations to their home town. Displacements have been monitored by Slovak National Centre for Human Rights (SNCHR) and some of displaced families were offered legal aid by NGOs (SNCHR 2006, 2007).⁵⁷ However, such displacements are not considered as violating the law and there are no programmes for displaced families.

At least according to media reports, many displaced families attempt to return to their home town. They usually live with their relative in overcrowded flats in poor sanitary conditions. Demolitions of impaired block of flats or undocumented dwellings are done for hygienic/sanitary reasons without provision of alternate accommodation for their inhabitants.⁵⁸

Neglected housing policy and lack of affordable housing for low income households has also become the main difficulty in integration programmes of voluntary returnees – former Roma asylum seekers in Belgium⁵⁹. The majority of returnees were inhabitants of Košice,

⁵⁵ Hojsík states that the majority of shanties in Roma settlements was built after the fall of the communist regime; in the 2004 Sociographic Mapping of Roma communities in Slovakia, at least 3,500 shanties built since 1990 were recorded (Hojsík, 2010).

⁵⁶ The Roma Press Agency (RPA) systematically collects information of Roma housing problems as well as about other aspects of their situation. This case was taken from their website (Slovak): <http://www.mecem.sk/rpa/?id=housing&lang=slovak&next=6>. Selection of articles is also available in English: <http://www.mecem.sk/rpa/?id=housing&lang=english>

⁵⁷ In 2007, the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) announced Slovakia the winner of the 2007 Housing Rights Violator Award: the award was for their “systematic violations of housing rights and continued failure to abide by their international legal obligations”. More available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7128433.stm>

⁵⁸ Description of the demolitions of dwellings in Somotor (Košice), Krompachy and others are described at the website of the Roma Press Agency www.rpa.sk (accessed 11 January 2012).

⁵⁹ After the Slovakia' EU accession, all members states with exception of Belgium abolished the support for voluntary return for Slovak citizens – asylum seekers. In 2005-2010, on the basis of agreement with Belgium government IOM Slovakia, branch Košice, has provided assistance for families of voluntary returnees from

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former tenants of municipal apartments. As returnees had debts on rent payments, Košice municipality refused to renew tenancy agreement with them. It was also impossible for them to rent a private apartment as private owners due to discrimination by real estate agents. In addition, charitable housing facilities in Košice only provided separate accommodation for men and women and families were forced to divide them to obtain shelter. Many of returned families were forced to move in their relatives' apartments where they lived in overcrowded unhealthy conditions (Interview with M. Ondrušová).

General assessment of effects of Roma migration is positive. Migration abroad is told to improve living standard and social status of Roma families, their general knowledge and self-consciousness. For instance in UK, they did not feel stigmatised by their darker skin and experienced equal treatment, what is beneficial for their self-trust (M. Ondrušová).

It is very difficult to estimate the extent of Roma circular migration.⁶⁰ However, it is apparent that urban Roma tend migrate more often than Roma living in separated and segregated settlements who are deprived of basic capitals (information, social network) that is necessary for migration.

Social workers and teacher assistants estimate that Roma parents migrate more often with children and more often use the scheme of substitutive personal care than non Roma parents (EDUMIGROM research database 2010). However, their observation can be biased by their focus on Roma children and Roma communities. On the other hand, information from the district labour office in Spišská Nová Ves suggest that in 2009 and 2010 only one tenth of the Slovak citizens with permanent residence in Spišská Nová Ves claiming child allowance in the UK have asked for topping up child allowances taken at home. This information suggests that nine tenths of benefit claimants have migrated for work in the UK with children⁶¹.

Benefit of the stay of Roma in Belgium was most visible on children: thanks to individual assistance at school they not only learned French well but managed to have good school results (Interview with Martina Ondrušová). Similar individual approach and care is not provided at Slovak schools.

There is no research on impact of Roma migration on family members or community segment left behind. At present, there is no NGO that would work with Roma families and communities with experience of migration (M. Ondrušová).

Belgium. Assistance lasted 12 months, was organised according to an individual integration plan prepared already in Belgium and covered housing, health, education and other needs. Assistance was fully funded by Belgium government (Interview with M. Ondrušová).

⁶⁰ M. Ondrušová estimates that one third – one half of families in the IOM reintegration programme has moved from Slovakia again.

⁶¹ According to the record, the average number of children in families of Slovak child allowance claimants in the UK was 2.9 in 2009 and 2.2 in 2010 (Kordinácia, 2010).

6 Policy responses

There are only few policy responses and measures conducted by governmental central and local authorities and NGOs in Slovakia targeting at migration processes or their consequences.

6.1 Encouragement of circular migration

Policy responses to internal and international labour migration have been rather limited in Slovakia. Neither the 2011-2014 National Reform Programme of the Slovak Republic nor documents on migration policies refer to international labour migration.

The Slovak Republic established the Migration Office in 1993. The activities of the Migration Office, however, are exclusively aimed at asylum seekers and refugees. Slovakia accounts for one of the highest rates of labour migration, but established no government authority for coping with the problem. In July 2011, the Slovak Minister of Interior declared his intention to create the Immigration and Naturalisation Office. The office should integrate incumbent Migration Office with the Foreign Police department. The new office should deal with regulated immigration flows. No plans for dealing with emigration flows were announced.

The Slovak Government drafted two 'Migration Policy Concepts' (white papers) in 2005 and 2011. The 2011 'Migration Policy Concept for the period 2011-2015 was passed via the Government Resolution No. 67/2011 on 2 February 2011 (Slovak Government, 2011a). It updated the 2005 concept and defines targets and policy tools of migration policies (to be prepared by 2015) in five major areas:

1. **International co-operation.** Policies contained in this chapter cover policy tools for European Partnership on migration mobility and migration missions, transfers of selected third country migrants from EU members to Slovakia and readmission agreements.
2. **Drafting, creating and harmonising national legislation on migration with the EU policies.** Slovakia transposes all incumbent and/or proposed EU directive and regulations on refugees, asylum seekers and third country nationals and/or labour migrants.
3. **Border security.** By 2015 technical infrastructure aimed at border security should be completed. Slovakia actively cooperates with the FRONTEX agency.
4. **Managed migration – active migration policy.** The chapter states need for elaborating national migration policy and supporting active labour immigration to Slovakia. Students and highly skilled migrants are major target group. The immigration should be supported via bilateral governmental agreements on mobility by young people and establishing immigration promotion centres in selected foreign countries by 2014. The government also plans to introduce policy tools aimed at integration of foreign immigrants and creating positive image of immigration among Slovak public.
5. **Organisational and institutional arrangements.** The chapter refers to data provided by the May 2011 Census. The data improve population strategies in Slovakia. A Coordination Committee for Immigration and Integration of Foreigners should be established by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Labour, Social Affairs and Family. The government also considers establishing new Immigration and Naturalisation Office. The office should closely co-operate with the European Asylum Support Office.

On 31 August 2011 the Slovak Government passed resolution No. 574/2011 and approved the first Slovak Migration Policy. The document concentrates on issues of legal and illegal immigration, integration of immigrants, trafficking and border controls. A short chapter on emigration by Slovak citizens recognizes that "the Slovak Republic is unprepared to deal with issues of emigration and return migration". The chapter also recognises needs to draft "policy concept on the emigration and return migration, reintegration programmes" and "start

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discussion by the policy makers, experts and broader public on life conditions by Slovak emigrants” (Slovak Government, 2011b). No specific policy targets and/or instruments related to circular migration were specified in the Migration Policy document. As a matter of fact, there were no special policies targeting circular migration in Slovakia by end of 2011. Instead, standard European regulation applies in international labour migration by the Slovak nationals.

The Slovak Republic passed the Council Regulation No. 1612/68 and opened its labour market for foreigners and, in turn, Slovak citizens are given access to labour markets of all EU Member Countries. Prior to 2004 Slovakia applied bilateral agreements on mutual employment services with selected EU Member Countries (Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Poland, Finland and Hungary) and other countries (Switzerland, Russian Federation, Ukraine and Vietnam). By 2011 agreements with Germany, Russia and Switzerland remained in force.

Slovaks wishing find work abroad may use services of the EURES (European Job Mobility Portal). The EURES had some 23 professional advisors and 37 assistants working in the field of public employment services in Slovakia in 2009. The 2008-2009 EURES Annual Report states that the agency advised some 99,700 clients, of which 6,786 found a job abroad in 2008. Breakdowns are not available (no response to our request).

Migration by the highly skilled

Several Slovak governments tried to introduce policy measures aimed at combating brain-drain. Intentions to combat brain drain were listed also in the government programme statements by Róbert Fico (2006-2010) and Iveta Radičová (2010-2012). The former government passed the “Long-term Objective of the State S&T Policy up to 2015” via the Government Resolution No 766/2007 of 12 September 2007 (Slovak Government, 2007). The “Objective” is a major document on Slovak research policy and contains priorities on “supporting return migration by Slovak scientists”. The priorities were reflected in the “Support to Human Potential and Popularisation of Science” scheme implemented by the Research and Development Agency. The Operational Programme Research and Development for 2007-2013 also contains measures aimed at encouraging Slovak scientists working abroad (including PhD students and post-docs) to return to Slovakia (see the Measure 2.1 “Support to networks of centres of excellence”). The measure continues till 2013 and no interim evaluation has been available so far.

Diaspora

The Slovak Parliament passed the 474/2005 Law on Slovaks Living Abroad and the “Concept of the State Policy Supporting Slovaks Living Abroad up to 2015” in 2008. Following the 474/2005 Law the Slovak Government established the Slovak Office for Slovaks Living Abroad (SOSLA) in 2005. The main task of the SOSLA is to maintain cultural exchange with ethnic Slovak Diaspora. The statute of the SOSLA declares that the office is “the central government authority for relations between the Slovak Republic and Slovaks living abroad, and state support to Slovaks living abroad” (SOSLA 2005). The SOSLA (i) co-operates with associations of ethnic Slovaks in all countries of the world, (ii) provides for documenting life and activities of ethnic Slovaks, (iii) supports ethnic Slovaks abroad via provision of information about life in Slovakia, (iv) co-ordinates the state policies aimed at support to ethnic Slovaks, and (v) issues the “Attestation of a Slovak Living Abroad” to eligible applicants⁶².

Double citizenship is possible in principle in Slovakia, but is regulated by inter/governmental agreements and Slovak law. In 2010, Hungary introduced laws enabling for double citizenship of ethnic Hungarians living abroad. The Slovak Republic accounts for

⁶² Some 763 ethnic Slovaks applied for the attestation document and 648 applications were approved in 2010. Serbia (439 attestations) and Ukraine (178 attestations) accounted for major source countries. Total amount of financial support accounted for €1.437m in 2010. Serbia (€0.302m), the Czech Republic (€0.173m), Poland (€0.150m) and Romania (€0.117m) were main destinations of the support. Source: The Report on the State Policy towards Slovaks Living Abroad, approved by the Government Resolution No. 566/2011 of 24 August 2011.

large community of ethnic Hungarians. Slovakia expressed major reservation towards Hungarian law and passed its own law, which significantly reduced options for double citizenship by all Slovak citizens.

6.2 Encouragement of return migration and support of integration of returnees

There are no specific programmes for returning migrants. The same active labour market measures (ALMP) are eligible for returning migrants under the same conditions as for other population. In addition, returnees can enjoy status of disadvantaged jobseeker eligible to a wider range of employment services (Act No.5/2004 on Employment services in § 8 (g) classifies a citizen who “moves or has moved within the territory of the EU member states or citizen who has residence permit in the EU for work” as disadvantaged jobseeker). This provision is to support reintegration of returnees into the Slovak labour market. Migrants who can submit proof of the end of their last employment fall to this category.

However, as our survey of the ALMP statistics 2009 has revealed, in 2009 no “moving person” (according to § 8g) was reported among jobseekers who took part in some of the ALMP. In 2010, there were only 19 moving persons participating in ALMP. For example, out of 28,909 persons who received transport contribution for commuting to work, only 8 were “moving” persons⁶³. It is probable, that in routine labour offices practice returning migrants are rather approached as advantaged and not as disadvantaged persons (e.g. as they receive unemployment benefits paid from abroad or similar).

Returnees who are in material need can obtain access to benefit in material need, health, education services and housing on the same conditions as other Slovak citizens in material need. Health care is secured. Persons registered at the Office for labour, social affairs and family (OLSAF) as job seekers or material need claimants are insured by the state. Children, students and pensioners are state insured automatically⁶⁴. They are only obliged to have/arrange the insurance card. ID card is condition for its provision.

Entitlement to allowances to basic benefits in material needs is variously preconditioned. It is not possible to get financial assistance immediately. One month is minimum waiting period as the basic benefit is paid in the next month. For entitlement to allowances to basic benefit (such as housing allowance, protective allowance, etc.) it is necessary that those who had been benefit claimants already before they left abroad had officially deregistered themselves. No matter if they took material benefit or not (taking minimum income benefits while working abroad is not probable in Slovakia as minimum income benefits are not sent to personal bank account of benefit claimants in majority case but taken at post office), filled deregistration form is crucial for allowance entitlement.

Assistance with housing is in the responsibility of municipalities. In recent decades, these responsibilities have been considerably reduced. Municipalities are obliged to assist their permanent residents only in case of emergency (natural disasters, etc.). Assistance with housing is primarily expected from the family. Access to education is warranted on the same conditions as for all (EU) citizens. Further, labour offices may reimburse 100% of training costs in the program selected by the job seekers (whose application has been assessed and approved). Access to active labour market policy measures partially depend on the programmes launched by district offices. Basically, jobseekers are expected to play an active role in their education and looking for a job or establishing trade or self-employment⁶⁵.

⁶³ Central Office for Labour, Social Affairs and Family (COLSAF): http://www.upsvar.sk/statistiky/aktivne-opatrenia-tp-statistiky/aktivne-opatrenia-trhu-prace-2010.html?page_id=13325 (accessed 11 January 2012).

⁶⁴ Unemployed who are not registered as job-seeker by COLSAF, are considered to be “voluntary unemployed” and are obliged to pay health insurance by themselves.

⁶⁵ Detailed information about active labour market measures are available on websites of district central offices.

6.3 Development of net migration loss/gain regions (incl. assessment of SF use)

Specific policies addressed to disadvantaged net migration regions

Sharpened regional differences in employment and other structural indicators have necessitated more regular monitoring of their development and preparation of governmental strategies of dealing with regional disparities⁶⁶. In the mid of the 2000s, the Government has introduced several measures designed to support territorial cohesion. Developing of infrastructure (such as building highways) is the dominant form of the state assistance for disadvantaged regions. The next forms are a) social-economic programs; b) active labour market policy measures and c) support of foreign investment.

Social-economic programmes

In 2004, a new governmental structure, the Social Development Fund (SDF) has been established. SDF is intended to coordinate programs more directly targeted to disadvantaged communities and to jobseekers that are far from the labour market and in highest risk of social exclusion. SDF is involved in two major programs: local social inclusion partnerships (LPSI) and development of community field social work (CSW) in municipalities.

Local social inclusion partnerships: Following pilot programs funded by the World Bank in the most depressed non-urban areas, a program of local social inclusion partnerships among public, private and third (NGO) sector has been launched in 2004 to stimulate regional social and economic capital necessary for dealing with social exclusion of socially marginalized groups. Partnerships implemented local micro projects that had to be prepared with participation of for the beneficiaries. Their activities are aimed at increasing employability and the improvement of social inclusion at the local/regional level, the support of community-based action and the development of the social economy. However, complicated and irregular funding (partly drawing on ESF sources), changing governance, limited autonomy of LPSI and support of large-scale projects instead of municipal micro-projects has often led to the opposite effects than it was originally expected. Instead of building social capital (mutual trust), suspicion and mistrust hit disappointed communities. Local Roma started suspect non-Roma NGO of missing programs for their sake (Kusá, Kostlán, 2009).

Community field social work: This program has been run since 2004. Towns and villages that have at least 100 inhabitants who may be classified as belonging to a vulnerable group can apply for the resources to set up community social field worker positions. Community social workers and their assistants provide daily consultations, advice, mediation of information or of contacts to various institutions, accompany on visits of official bodies, proceedings held in the clients' interests, and other professional interventions as necessary. The project has been funded from the state budget and since 2008, EU funds have been utilised. In 2009, SDF has supported more than 700 field social workers and their assistants in 229 towns and villages with Roma communities (Fedačko et al., 2010). However, the evaluation of the project suggests that under the present conditions, field social workers rather supplement and supersede administrative work of local council instead of doing developmental activities with local communities. On one hand, social work provides valuable assistance to local Roma with handling and submitting applications to benefits they are entitled for, on the other hand, little room remain for individualised work with people in communities. Field social workers interviewed in frame of EDUMIGROM research project also talked about their overload (Kusá et al., 2011)

Employment programmes

There have been employment policy measures for supporting commuting and moving for work already in the 1990s. As a tool supporting employment, already in 1995 (Act No. 175/1995) contribution for transport for employers who organised transport for employees

⁶⁶ In 2004, the National Council assigned the Government of the Slovak Republic to prepare regular reports on development of regional disparities. The first report "Report on contemporary state of socio-economic level in the regions of Slovakia" was approved by the Slovak government in September 2005.

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between districts was introduced. This measure was cancelled in the employment service reform in 2004.

The majority of the Active labour market programs set by the Act No. 5/2004 on Employment Services and amendments to this Act are *regionally sensitive*. Higher contributions (for instance start-up grant for self-employment) are offered in the districts with above-average unemployment. Such districts are often identical with source districts of migration. Self-employment status and trading licence even facilitate migration within the EU market. In 2010, higher number of persons supported by start-up employment grants was in Prešov region (Table 25). Involvement in education and training programmes is regionally much more balanced with exception of Košice region, Despite relatively high unemployment level, education and training of jobseekers is continuously very limited here (Table 26).

The Employment services Act has undergone many amendments that tended to widen employment measures, usually based on assessment of pilot projects tested by local labour offices. There are several measures that directly promote territorial mobility (temporary migration, commuting to work) of labour force.

The least successful measure is *contribution for moving for the job* (and change of permanent residence). In 2004, when it was introduced, it was used by only 51 job-seekers. Its low usage resulted from the low amount of support and strict eligibility criteria. Applicants already had to have a job contract, i.e. to be employed from a legal point of view, and his or her place of living should be identical with the place of work. This condition was very restrictive, especially to those interested to move closer to the capital but not directly to it due the excessively high apartment prices. In 2006, this measure was cancelled and superseded by *transport contribution*. Then in 2008 it was renewed again but without greater success.

Transport contribution is a subsidy paid for commuting to work for formerly unemployed. The maximum length of its drawing is 12 months and it has the form of reimbursement of the travel tickets costs. The measure is funded by the ESF. In 2009, 16,000 of commuting workers were supported by the measure. Moreover, contribution has been provided also for employers who secure transport to work. In 2010 some 29,000 commuters (about 1 percent of total working population) was supported with €8.3m.

The 2008 amendment of Act on labour services has reintroduced *contribution for transport for employers* who organise transport for employees.

In 2005-2006, the pilot programme 'Reimbursement of part of travel expenses for job-seekers in the border regions' supported the commuting of those who work in Hungary, Austria and Czech Republic.

The measures promoting territorial mobility pursue the improvement of individual access to the more or less distant labour market and daily commuting of the individuals capable of work. Besides their positive effects, they can have also side effects. They can have negative impact on the prospects of those who provide services in deserted areas by decreasing demand in them.

Support of strategic investments

Provision of state assistance investment stimuli has to promote the economic growth in the country in general, and not only or especially in the disadvantaged regions. The National Referential Framework for 2007-2013 drawing the EU funds is based on the assumption that support should be targeted to dynamic areas, so called *poles of growth*, that are capable to prompt the development of other areas.

The assistance delivered to the disadvantaged regions covers both the direct individual assistance aimed at "rationalisation and the modernisation of the production process or its extension" (75.7% of regional assistance) and the tax relief for entrepreneurs in the disadvantaged regions, including regional foreign capital investors (24.3% of regional assistance). However, the regions with highest unemployment and (temporary) migration for work such as Prešov Region received lowest amount of state support of strategic investments (Kyseláková, Kyselák, 2009). The Prešov region has an inconvenient

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connection to Western Slovakia region, and the overall infrastructure in the Prešov region is also underdeveloped. Further, long-time out-migration of qualified workforce from the Prešov region has also diminished the supply of labour force in this region.

In the state policy of support of strategic investment, there is inbuilt dilemma between knowledge economy and employment: In 2005, amended rules of the provision of foreign investment stimuli⁶⁷ have substantially increased the incentives for investment in disadvantaged regions provided they create jobs with higher education requirements. The state support of less sophisticated production such as building in-store facilities or assembling montage lines that employ mainly the less qualified labour force is preconditioned by five times higher direct investment. Such a differentiation of the state support expresses the commitment to strengthen the competitiveness of the Slovak economy. However, the unemployed in disadvantaged regions have been much less qualified. High-tech investments into the most backward regions will probably fail due to the shortage of professionals and other high-skilled labour force that had quitted such regions long before.

The Slovak government passed new principles for investment stimuli in 2011⁶⁸. Direct grants to foreign investors should be abolished and tax allowances remain the only form of the stimuli since 2012. Two kinds of investment should be supported: (a) high-tech investments with high value added levels in whole territory of Slovakia, and (b) investments with low and medium value added levels in disadvantaged regions.

6.4 Support to vulnerable groups related to migration (incl. assessment of SF use)

There are no policies and measures aimed at mitigation of the negative impacts of migration on vulnerable groups. Inclusion of Roma marginalised communities is the horizontal priority of all operational programmes of the 2007-2013 period and target of Revised Action Plan of Roma Decade for 2011-2015 period and next strategic documents including the approved Strategy of the Slovak Republic in Integration of Roma Communities that represents important framework for integration policies in education, employment, health, housing, antidiscrimination and public opinion.⁶⁹ However, none of these documents deal with support of vulnerable groups related to migration.

Minimum income scheme in Slovakia provides modest protection that is lower than subsistence minimum for most types of households. Benefits are bound to households. Young adults under 25 are not eligible if they live with their parents in the same household.

Measures financed by the EU (ESF, ERDF, Rural Development Fund) are targeted generally at improvement of public services facilities, housing infrastructure and employment opportunities in the districts with higher concentration of disadvantaged groups. ESF is the main resource of financing employment programmes, social field work in disadvantaged communities and also such programmes as deinstitutionalisation of children care.

6.5 Best practice examples of policy responses

After the deliberation of options, we have decided that there are no practices that can be elevated to the good practices examples.

⁶⁷ Ministry of Finance 2005: http://www.rokovania.sk/File.aspx/ViewDocumentHtml/Mater-Dokum-103326?prefixFile=m_ (accessed in 22 December 2011).

⁶⁸ The Slovak Government approved the amended investment stimuli principles via the Government Resolution No. 259/2011 of 20 April 2011.

⁶⁹ The Strategy has been approved by the Government at its first session in January 2012. Document is available in English at: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/files/roma_slovakia_strategy_en.pdf

7 Key challenges and policy suggestions

7.1 Key challenges of the social impact of emigration and internal migration

Though factors and consequences of emigration and migration are often very different, it is clear that social effects of migration can partly turn again into push factors for migration creating a vicious circle.

Lack of available and affordable housing is one of the strongest push factors for temporary or circular migration abroad for young people of different social and economic background. Working abroad is believed to increase their ability to secure (= buy) separate housing. Public housing represents only a small fraction of the housing stock in Slovakia, and price of privately rented housing (not to speak about price for housing ownership) is not affordable for most of young couples who wish to settle down and set up family. Moreover, there is no universal housing subsidy that would help make housing costs more bearable. To sum up: insufficient housing policy and poor support of public housing construction contributes to perpetuation of this migration push.

Low wages is another major push factor that tends to reproduce. If the most agile, the most assertive leave abroad, it means loss of human capital also in the domain of labour bargaining. Moreover, there is calculation that those who have left can be substituted by migrants or surplus labour force from other Slovak regions.

Loss of human capital due to migration is particularly perceivable in smaller villages of east and central south districts of Slovakia. These villages lose stimuli for further development and capacity to preserve younger generation.

Insufficient and improperly set social protection, especially joint assessment of income of all household members, including young adults until 25 years of age, in testing benefit eligibility also forces whole families to migrate together for work abroad.

Emigration and out-migration from rural areas generate many problems in family life and social life of local communities. The main problems are de-population in some areas, changes in age structure of population, disturbances in family lives and reduction of social capital in marginalised areas.

There are also wider problems that hit national and regional economies, such as brain drain from Slovakia to abroad and decreases in stock of human capital in structurally affected regions. The lack of a comprehensive domestic regional cohesion policy (with exception of high-way building and stimuli for foreign investments) helps perpetuate disparities in the access to public and social services and becomes the next factor that propels migration from depressed regions.

Last but not least, the social and labour market (re-)integration of Roma people remains a challenge for Slovakia. In particular high unemployment and poverty, bad housing conditions, especially of those living in separated and segregated communities, frequent changes of schools and school absence of Roma migrants' children, indebtedness of Roma returning migrants etc. seek adequate policy measures and support services at community level.

7.2 Policies to be taken by different actors (national, regional, local governments, Diaspora, EU, host countries' institutions)

The following key streams of actions are recommended to mitigate negative consequences of emigration and internal migration. They are actions targeted at:

- (a) preventing permanent emigration and fostering circular migration;
- (b) combating brain-drain and supporting brain circulation and transfer of knowledge;
- (c) developing new industries and economic activities, and easing pressures on regional labour markets via fostering investment and employment in regions with reasonable development potential;

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- (d) promoting higher investment in transport infrastructure connecting economic core and periphery;
- (e) halting reproduction of social pressures and promoting higher rates of internal migration, from peripheral regions with limited development potential to regions with better development prospects;
- (f) speeding up social inclusion of disadvantaged communities;
- (g) improving international and internal migration policies and social policies; there is an opportunity for creating evidence-based policies via regular data collection and creation of a consistent corpus of data on remittances, re-integration of returnees, diaspora, curricular internal migration and commuting and social situation of vulnerable communities. The data may come from annual and/or ad hoc surveys on relevant target groups; Better diaspora policies require improvements in gathering and analysing data on existing Slovak diaspora, in terms of its size, geographical distribution, gender, age, education, skills, economic activities and membership in various economic, social and culture networks and organizations.
- (h) obtaining realistic assessment of pros and cons of emigration and out-migration from rural areas. These phenomena should not be considered exclusively in negative terms. There was a significant potential for brain gain and transfer of (tacit) knowledge by the returnees in terms of language and social skills, professional expertise, etc.

Policy measures to mitigate the negative impacts of migration and of promoting the beneficial aspects of migration should concentrate on

- (1) turning permanent emigration to circular one, via investments in transport infrastructure, fostering human capital and supporting influx of the foreign direct investment;
- (2) removing poverty and unemployment in source regions of migration via investment in education (for Roma population in particular) and supporting investment in local economies (e.g. sustainable forestry and agriculture, providing vocational training and developing craft skills for disadvantaged population groups).

Implementation of policy measures in the abovementioned areas depends on financial resources provided by the EU institutions, host countries, the Slovak Government and regional and local governments in Slovakia.

It is important to take in regard that resources for policy changes that are further recommended are limited. Local and regional governments have relatively low financial and legislative powers in the Slovak Republic. The total income of the regional governments is planned for about 1.6%, the municipalities' income for 4.7%, but income by central government and social security funds for 26.5% of estimated GDP in 2011⁷⁰. Most activities aimed at mitigating social and economic impacts by emigration and rural-urban migration must be taken by the central government agencies. The EU and host countries may provide for improvements in regulatory framework for international migration and combating brain drain.

7.2.1 National government

Opportunity to look for job abroad and international labour migration has not been considered a threat, but rather a solution for employment problems by Slovak public and policy makers. The same applies to internal migration from structurally affected regions to more developed ones. (Permanent) Internal migration rates in Slovakia are quite low by international standards and contribute to reproduction rather than alleviation of disparities in unemployment and regional income. Significant decreases in regional disparities in employment/unemployment rates are unlikely to achieve in few years. Recommended policies aimed at **decreasing emigration** from Slovakia and **slowing down depopulation**

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of rural areas (in the Prešov, Košice and Banská Bystrica NUTS III regions in particular) should include:

- higher investment in transport interconnections between the rural areas and the national/international markets;
- more universal and more generous subsidies to commuting and reallocation by internal migrants;
- higher support to public housing in economic core regions;
- support to low- and mid-investments with higher potential for job creation in disadvantaged regions;
- support to micro-credit schemes to start small businesses in disadvantaged regions
- allocation of higher budget for ALM measures, especially for support of social economy and motivating employers to create jobs with decent pay.
- Allocation of higher budget for regional education system and for social programmes that would prevent early school leaving and drop-outs.
- Decrease of the age threshold for individual assessment for minimum income entitlement from 25 to 18 years of age (to unify the age of acquiring political and social rights).

Brain drain remains a serious issue for Slovakia. Measures taken to combat brain drain at the country level may include

- reintegration grant and premiums;
- support for temporary return of high-skilled migrants (migrants with higher education and/or selected professionals)⁷¹;
- support to high-tech investment and creation of top-notch jobs by foreign investors;
- improvements in remuneration schemes for public sector workers, in health care and R&D sectors in particular.
- Efficiency of return migration policies, however, is considerably limited by market factors (wage and employment levels, job opportunities for specific occupations, etc.).

Evidence-based migration policies

Migration policies cope with significant problem of missing and/or incomplete data. Data on internal migration, for example, are incomplete, as they originate in population census and otherwise have to rely on records on permanent migration. There is no systematic data on circular migration and commuting in Slovakia. Data on remittances by Slovak emigrants are patchy. The actual volume of remittances is difficult to guess and data on regional dispersion of remittances are not available at all. In this respect, migration policies have to rely more on guesswork rather than consistent corpus of data. Evidence-based migration policies would need systematic data provided via:

- annual surveys of internal migration (volume of flows, major sending and destination regions, circular migration versus commuting, plans for reallocation, etc.);
- improvement of sampling methodology to secure better representativeness of Roma population living in separated and segregated concentration.
- ad hoc surveys of remittance flows targeting particular Slovak regions (volume of flows, use of income for consumption and/or investment) – however, methodology of such

⁷¹ The Operational Programme Research and Development, for example, provides reintegration grants for Slovak scientists and PhD students working/studying abroad.

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surveys should be developed within cross-national EU project in collaboration with EUROSTAT.

- bilateral agreements with host countries on numbers of Slovak migrants and their structure in terms of education, occupation and earnings.

7.2.2 Local and regional governments

Creating job opportunities in structurally affected regions is the best way for curbing high rates of unemployment and outmigration. The challenge is to develop local industries matching advantages of the regions with supply of labour force with specific skills. This is not easy due to the structure of population and skills in the affected regions. For that reason, social economy projects should preferably be supported. Following industries and activities have reasonable chances for absorbing part of unemployed:

- local tourism industries;
- local service industries in field of health care, social care and long-term care for elderly,
- craft skills enterprises;
- public enterprises providing services in environmentally friendly land use (forestry in particular);
- investments in adaptation/improvement of agricultural and forestry systems (including investments in food processing enterprises, support to agro-tourism, promotion and support of creation of common producer groups, investments in harvesting and processing of timber).

The public sector should provide training aimed at increasing skills by the rural population and contributing to the retention of the population in the rural areas. Special attention should be paid to training of young and non-employed Roma population. The training should support establishing working habits and creating employment history.

There should be more social inclusion programmes for children from disadvantaged environment and special programmes focused on children of migrating parents should be launched. Assistance with school attendance of children of migrating parents and provision of the municipal/public housing for migrants (temporary residents) and their families may provide temporary help and mitigate the negative impacts of migration on migrants' families. More ambitious support of social economy, especially in social and public services would be very important contribution.

7.2.3. Diaspora

Promoting dialogue with diaspora via formal and informal channels and building common agenda with diaspora through regular meetings and visits should favour positive communication. The formal channels include the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic and the Slovak Office for Slovaks Living Abroad. The informal channels include media, virtual networks, websites, and activities by the NGO. There are a number of potentially useful initiatives for better involvement by diaspora in economic and social development of Slovakia. Examples include introduction of dual citizenship, granting voting rights, improving access to property rights, simplifying pension and social security benefit transfers and savings schemes, and speeding up issuance of identification cards. Dual citizenship and voting rights, however, are sensitive issues in Slovakia. Removal of administrative hassle, such as being able to register or update papers online and access to a one-stop-shop for studies, investment or business matters seem more workable solutions. Diaspora members should get greater involvement in and existing institutions supporting social and economic development (Ionescu 2006) (chambers of commerce, enterprises clusters, business incubators, social enterprises, women networks, business services, education and training institutions).

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Better diaspora policies require improvements in gathering and analysing data on existing Slovak diaspora, in terms of its size, geographical distribution, gender, age, education, skills, economic activities and membership in various economic, social and culture networks and organizations. The necessary data can be obtained via population census, ad hoc surveys and exchange of data with diaspora's host countries.

7.2.4. The European Union level

Freedom of travel is one of the basic freedoms in the European community. No measure should be taken to limit intra-European migration flows. Measures, however, should be taken for decreasing levels of brain drain and emigration. Harmonisation of entry requirements and professional standards in some sensitive sectors (architecture, health care, law services) may help remove obstacles for migration in selected sectors.

It would be important to initiate the building of information flows in case of migration of children in school age: to secure monitoring of moves of these children among schools and their inclusion in school systems.

Support of development of new methodologies of collecting data on social impact of migration would be important – including stricter requirement of improving coverage of vulnerable groups in current surveys such as LFS and EU SILC. It is worth consideration that financing of these surveys would be centralised, that is that LFS and EU SILC would be directly funded from the structural funds in order to protect them against the austerity measures that also hit statistics and research capacities and resources too (as it is in Slovakia).

7.2.5. Host country institutions

Since 1st May 2011 Slovak citizens have access to labour markets in all Member Countries. Selected segments of labour markets in some European countries, however, remain protected to employment by foreign nationals. There also is a danger of higher brain drain from Slovakia. The host countries may consider following policy measures targeting negative consequences of international migration:

- There are barriers posed by language requirements, divergent professional standards, etc. The host countries' institutions may think adopting measures aimed at equal treatment of domestic and foreign nationals in selected professions (e.g. mutual recognition of diploma on educational attainment). Communication in the domain of health care should be improved and administration simplified: European Health Insurance Card (that it issued on the request free of charge) as well should be provided automatically with their insurance card to MS citizens (that is without the obligation to make a request) to avoid inconveniences and frustration, especially in their home country.

- Cooperation with the migrant home country institutions in areas of earnings, tax and remittance statistics. Better data may help fighting tax evasion;

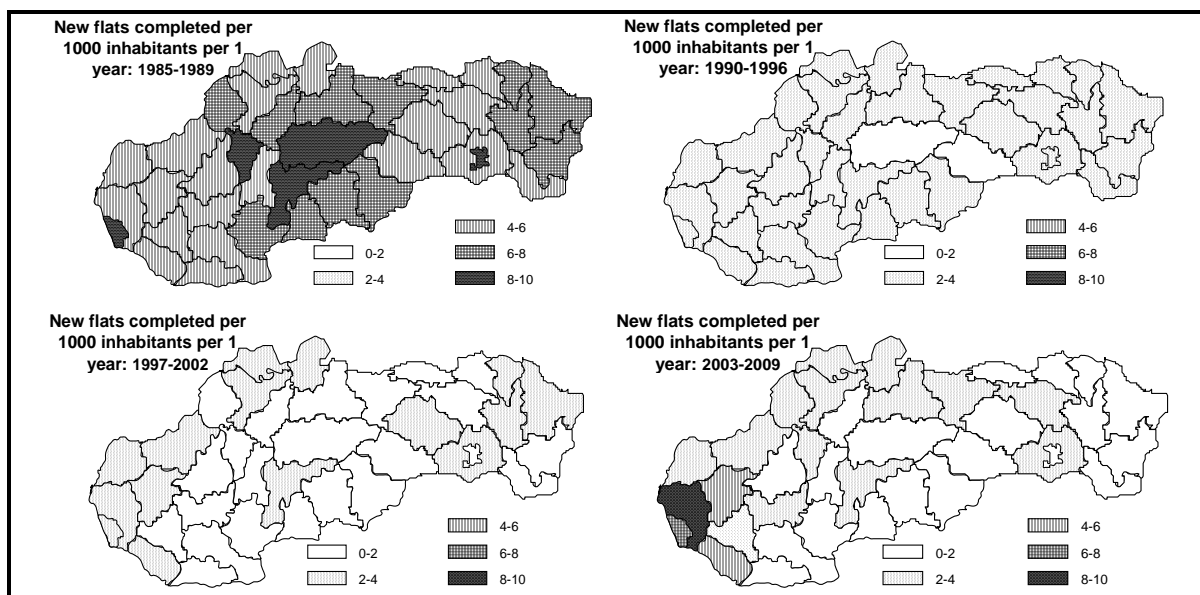
- Labour migration eases pressures on Slovak labour market, but in the same time, contributes to brain-drain. Home countries provide for costly education of certain professionals (e.g. medical doctors, dentists, IT specialists), but benefits are reaped by migrant host countries. Host countries may consider establishing bilateral financial schemes compensating losses incurred by brain-drain in countries of origin.

Annex 1: Figures and tables

Slovak Republic: NUTS 2 and NUTS 3



Figure 1: Housing construction in Slovak districts (NUTS IV) in 1985-2009



Source: author's own computations based on the data provided by the SOSR.

Notes: The housing construction is expressed in new flats completed per 1000 inhabitants per year. Borders of the 38 districts are as in 1985-1996. Territorial reform subdivided some large districts and established 79 new districts in 1997.

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Figure 2: Comparison of development of risk of poverty and share of migrants

Source: Statistical Office of the SR, Labour Force Surveys 2004 – 2011

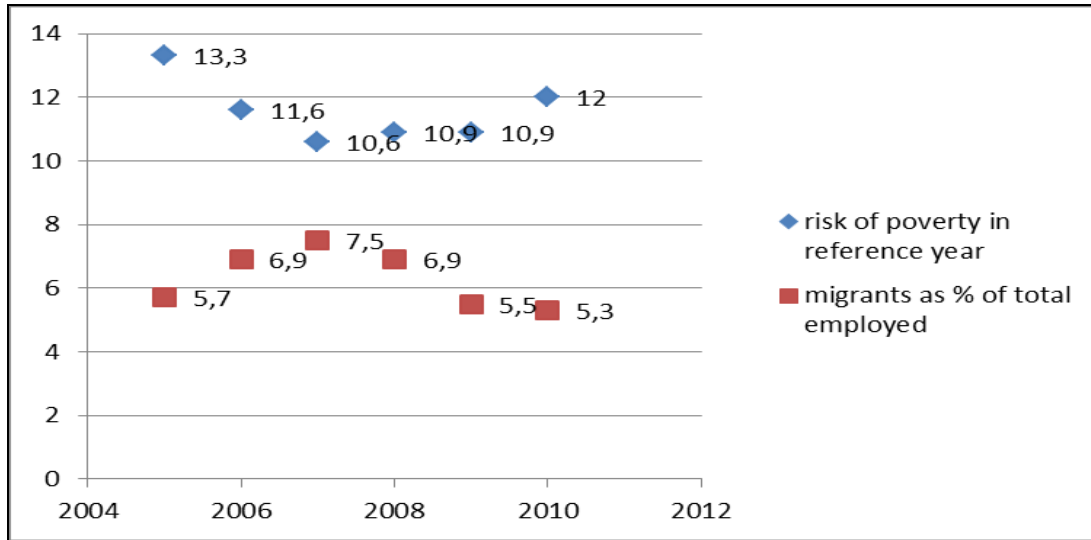
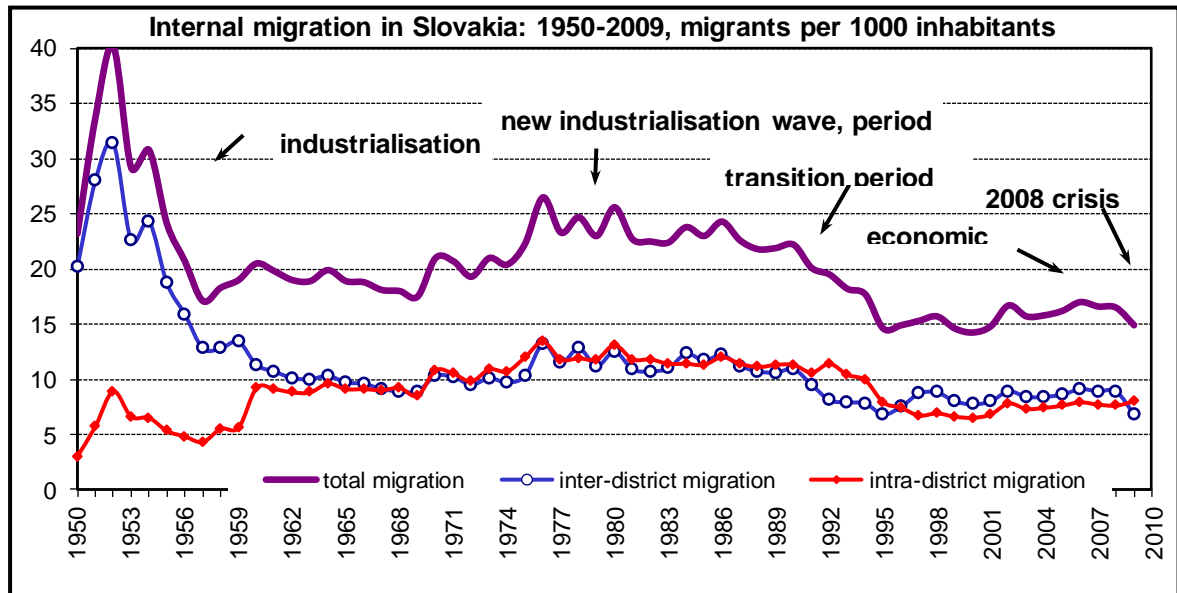
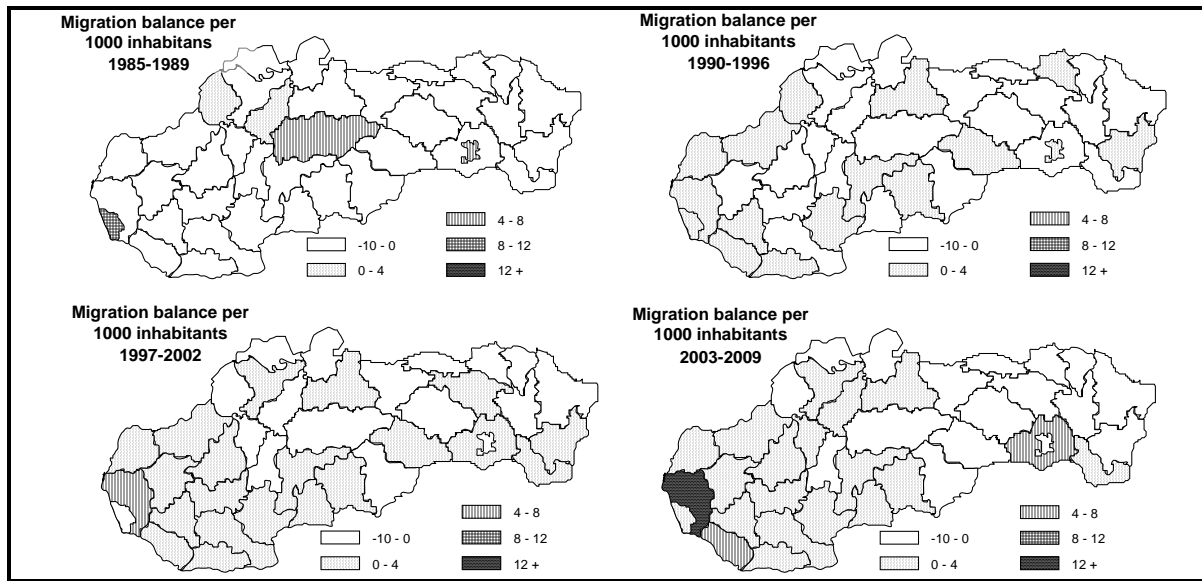


Figure 3: Internal migration in Slovakia in 1950-2010 Source: Statistical Office of the SR



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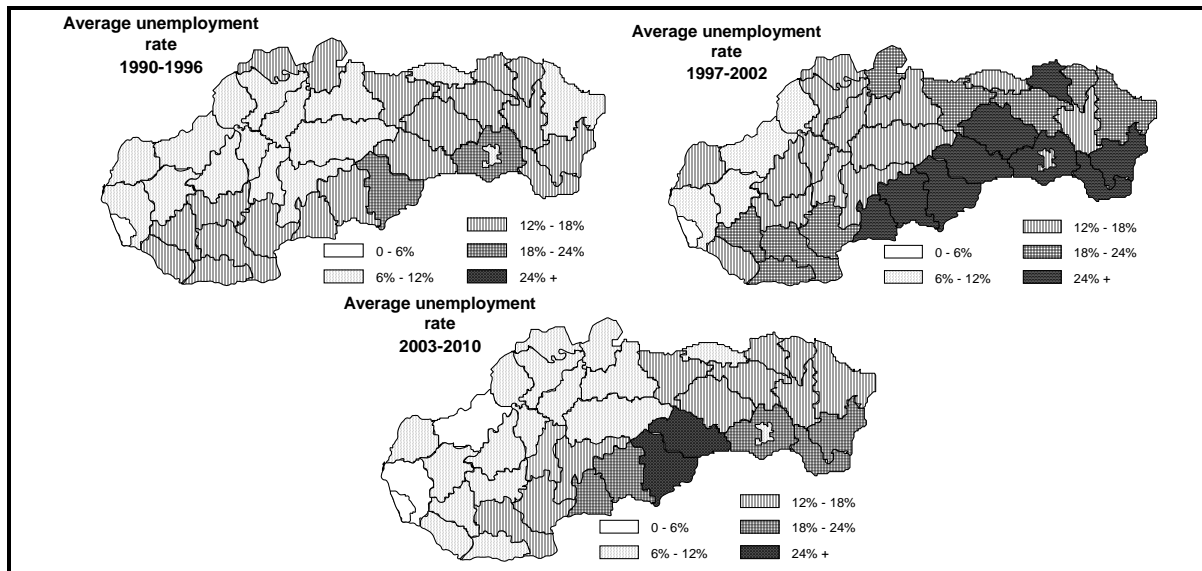
Figure 4: Migration balances for Slovak districts (NUTS IV) in 1985-2009



Source: author's own computations based on the data provided by the SOSR.

Notes: The balance is expressed in migrants per 1000 inhabitants. Borders of the 38 districts are as in 1985-1996. Territorial reform subdivided some large districts and established 79 new districts in 1997.

Figure 5: Average unemployment rates (%) for Slovak districts (NUTS IV) in 1990-2009



Source: author's own computations based on the data provided by the SOSR.

Notes: Borders of the 38 districts as in 1985-1996. Territorial reform subdivided some large districts and established 79 new districts in 1997. No unemployment reported for period prior to 1989.

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Figure 6: Regional and gender patterns in labour migration in 2004-2010 in Slovakia (annual and quarterly data by the Labour Force Survey). Source: SOSR

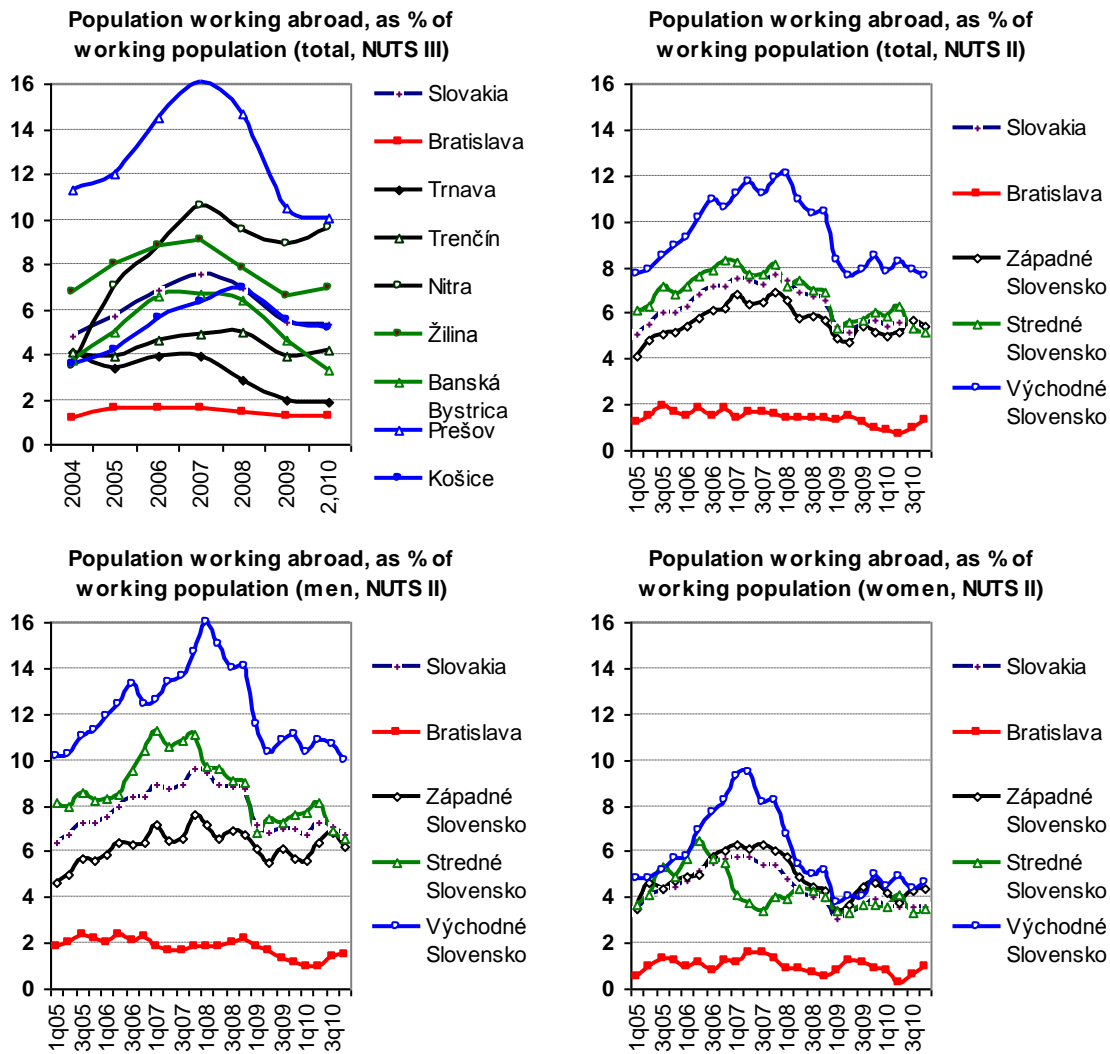


Figure 7: Numbers of Slovak labour migrants in 2000-2010

Source: Statistical Office of the SR, Labour Force Surveys 2004 – 2011

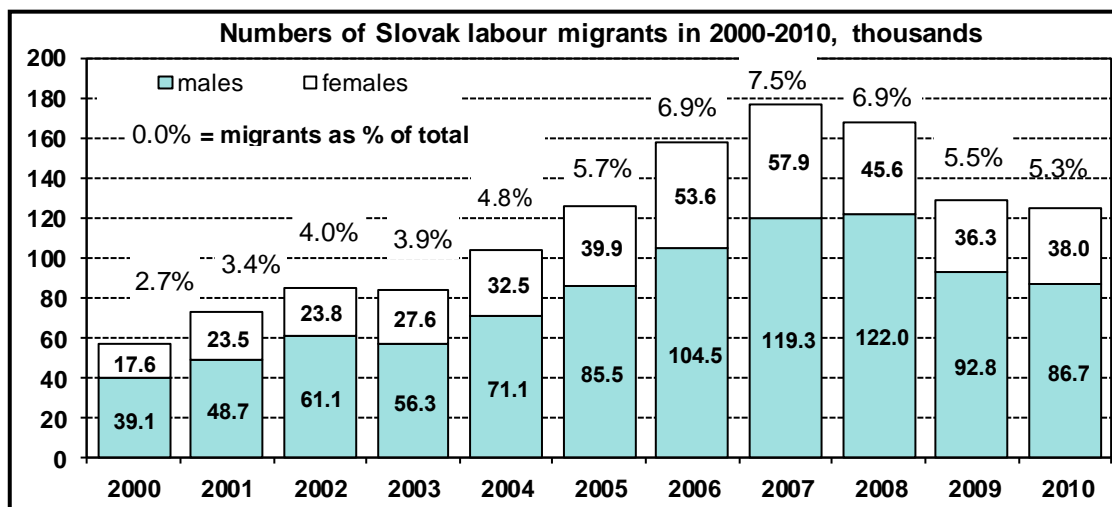


Figure 8: Main trends in international migration in Slovakia 1950 -2010. Source: SOSR

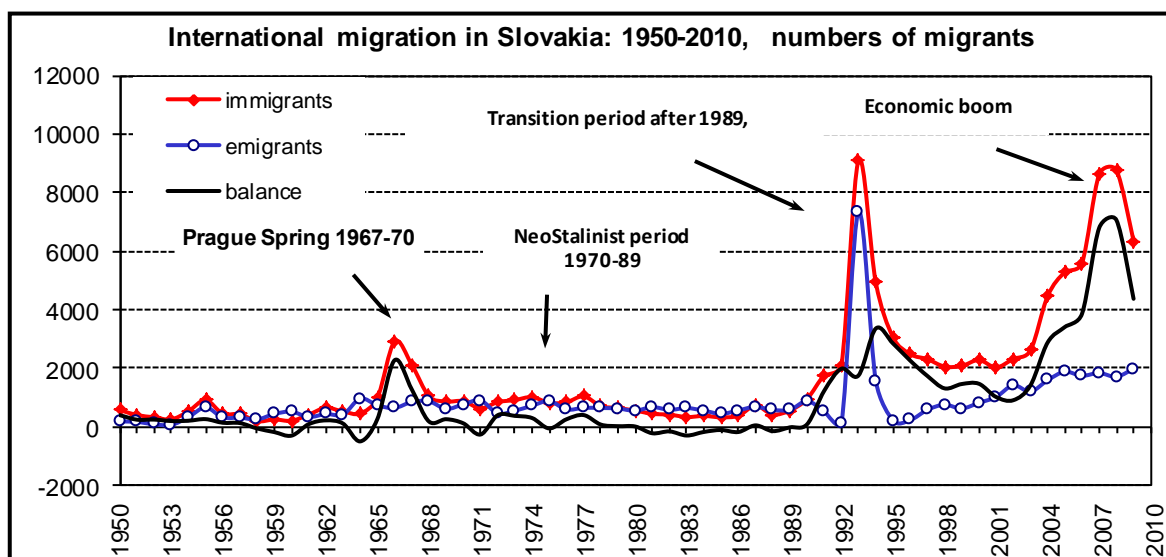


Table 1: Comparable indicators of economic performance

Indicator	Slovakia		EU-27 average	
	2000	2010 ^(a)	2000	2010
GDP per capita in PPS (EU-27=100) (2009)	50.0	73.0	100	100
Real GDP growth rate (% change previous year) (2010)	1.4	4.1	3.9	1.9
Inflation rate (HICP average annual) (2010)	12.2	0.7 ^a	1.9	2.1
Labour productivity per person employed (EU-27=100) (2009)	58.1	80.7	100	100
Total employment growth (annual % change) (2009)	-2.0	-2.5	1.5	-1.8
Unemployment rate (as a % of active population) (2010)	18.8	14.5	8.7	9.6
Population at-risk-of-poverty or exclusion (SK 2002/2009)	21.0	10,6	26.0	23.1
Crude rate of net migration plus adjustment per 1 000 persons (2009)	-4.1	0.8	1.5	1.8
Old-age-dependency ratio (%) (2010)	19.8	23.8	23.2	25.6
Dispersion of regional GDP per inhabitant, in % (2010)	27.7	35.3	35.5	32.7

Source: Eurostat - Structural Indicators and Long-term Indicators.

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Table 2: Permanent migration in Slovakia by type of flow

year	International migration in Slovakia			Internal migration in Slovakia		
	<i>immigrants</i>	<i>emigrants</i>	<i>balance</i>	<i>total</i>	<i>intra-district</i>	<i>inter-district</i>
1980	546	543	3	127763	65321	62442
1981	436	665	-229	114007	59194	54813
1982	407	572	-165	113696	59651	54045
1983	327	633	-306	113809	57981	55828
1984	362	545	-183	121966	58643	63323
1985	317	434	-117	118757	58283	60474
1986	368	554	-186	126106	62552	63554
1987	714	673	41	117850	59504	58346
1988	414	569	-155	114357	58150	56207
1989	549	575	-26	115649	59606	56043
1990	944	867	77	117630	59888	57742
1991	1752	527	1225	106271	56043	50228
1992	2106	128	1978	103705	60743	42962
1993	9106	7355	1751	97072	55169	41903
1994	4922	1571	3351	94419	52875	41544
1995	3055	213	2842	78466	42129	36337
1996	2477	222	2255	80188	39888	40300
1997	2303	572	1731	82513	35858	46655
1998	2052	746	1306	84757	37300	47457
1999	2072	618	1454	78965	35693	43272
2000	2274	811	1463	76898	35243	41 655
2001	2023	1011	1012	79881	36757	43 124
2002	2312	1411	901	89606	41817	47 789
2003	2603	1194	1409	84215	39060	45 155
2004	4460	1586	2874	85020	39915	45 105
2005	5276	1873	3403	87170	40764	46 406
2006	5589	1735	3854	91504	42406	49 098
2007	8624	1831	6793	89718	41772	47 946
2008	8765	1705	7060	89097	40825	48 272
2009	6346	1979	4367	80474	43456	37 018

Source: SOSR (1950-2010).

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Table 3: Balance of permanent internal migration flows by type of settlement

	Urban settlements	Rural settlements
2001	-6 730	7 742
2002	-8 570	9 471
2003	-9 023	10 432
2004	-9 510	12 384
2005	-7 034	10 437
2006	-7 910	11 764
2007	-6 234	13 027
2008	-8 047	15 107
2009	-8 032	12 399

Source: SOSR (2001-2010). Note: data available since 2001.

Table 4: Slovak migrant workers and total working population (% of total in selected category)

	Q42009		Q42010	
	migrant workers	total working population	migrant workers	total working population
Gender				
Male	69.3	55.8	69.5	55.4
female	30.8	44.2	30.5	44.6
Age				
15-24	15.6	7.7	12.3	6.9
25-34	35.7	28.8	33.7	28.0
35-44	23.8	26.5	23.4	26.9
45-54	19.7	25.9	24.4	26.4
55+	5.2	11.1	6.3	11.9
education				
basic (ISCED 0-1)	3.0	3.8	4.6	3.7
lower secondary (ISCED 2)	45.2	33.0	43.4	31.9
Higher secondary (ISCED 3-4)	46.9	45.4	43.1	44.1
Higher (ISCED 5-6)	4.9	17.8	6.3	20.3
major sectors of employment				
construction	30.8	11.0	32.4	11.1
industry	24.8	23.3	28.7	23.2
Health and social care	10.1	6.5	10.8	6.9
wholesale and retail trade	5.7	13.7	4.0	12.8
Hotels and restaurants	9.7	4.6	7.5	4.5
major occupations				
craft and related trade workers	30.1	17.4	30.4	16.6
plant and machine operators	18.8	14.5	18.7	14.1
workers in service and trade	20.0	15.0	20.1	14.5
professionals	2.1	11.0	2.8	11.8
legislators, officials, managers	1.4	5.9	1.9	5.9

Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (Labour Force Survey).

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Table 5: Remittances in Slovakia in 1997-2010, € m

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Receipts	19	21	18	19	25	26	401	424	758	864	1080	1342	1200	1000
expenditures	8	7	7	7	11	12	14	18	31	38	53	99	100	46
Balance	11	14	11	12	14	14	388	407	726	827	1028	1243	1100	954

Source: The National Bank of Slovakia (2011): Balance of Payments Statistics.

Table 6: Material deprivation (3 and more items) of population under 18 years of age (%)

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
SK	44.7	36.6	31.8	29.5	28.3
EU27	22	22	20.0	19.8	19.6

Source: Eurostat.

Table 7: Demographic and socio-economic indicators by regions

Indicator	GDP per capita (2007)	Rate of Employment 15-64 (2009)	Rate of unemployment (2010)	Net migration (2010)	Average Nominal Wage (2010)	Population (2007)	Number of built flats (2010)
NUTS 3							
Bratislava	26 996,2	71,2	4,63	6,98	991	610,850	8,55
Trnava	13 689,8	66,1	8,17	2,83	705	557,151	4,87
Nitra	9 516,1	59,3	11,76	0,56	657	706,758	2,16
Trenčín	10 534,56	62,1	9,51	-0,84	636	599,831	2,81
B.Bystrica	8 463,32	54,4	18,86	-0,75	686	654,668	1,35
Žilina	9 562,62	59,3	10,86	-0,38	635	695,698	3,16
Prešov	7 276,4	56,7	17,75	-1,53	594	801,939	1,98
Košice	10 192,7	55,1	16,78	-0,61	716	774,103	1,59
SK	13 090,2	60,4	12,29	0,62	702,5	5,400,00	3,16

Source: RegDat, own calculations; Note: Number of built flats per 1000 inhabitants, GDP per capita in Euro currency.

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Table 8: Regional distribution of unemployment in thousand and as the% share of total unemployment

	2007	2007 (%)	2008	2008 (%)	2009	2009 (%)	2010	2010 (%)
Bratislava region (NUTS II)	14.1	4.8	12.4	4.8	16.3	5.0	20.9	5.4
Západné Slovensko (NUTS II)	72.9	25.0	63.9	24.8	94.6	29.2	121.4	31.2
Stredné Slovensko (NUTS II)	98.7	33.8	85.4	33.2	95.2	29.4	109.0	28.0
Východné Slovensko (NUTS II)	106.4	36.5	95.9	37.3	118.2	36.5	137.8	35.4
Prešov region (NUTS III)	51.7	17.7	48.7	18.9	62.4	19.3	72.0	18.5
Košice region (NUTS III)	54.7	18.7	47.2	18.3	55.8	17.2	65.8	16.9
Slovakia	291.9	100.0	257.4	100.0	324.2	100.0	389.0	100.0

Source: Statistical Office: LFS RegDat.

Table 9: Registered unemployment rate by territory and year

	Total									
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Slovak Republic	18,63	17,45	15,56	13,07	11,36	9,40	7,99	8,39	12,66	12,46
Bratislava (NUTS III)	5,79	5,18	3,97	3,39	2,60	2,29	1,98	2,27	4,36	4,63
Trnava(NUTS III)	15,51	12,99	11,05	8,83	7,15	5,22	4,30	4,29	8,37	8,17
Trenčín (NUTS III)	12,70	10,91	9,87	8,09	6,80	5,19	4,50	4,95	10,13	9,51
Nitra (NUTS III)	23,12	21,51	19,07	14,80	11,39	9,09	7,10	7,41	11,72	11,76
Žilina (NUTS III)	16,38	14,74	13,23	11,12	9,33	7,03	5,55	6,20	10,89	10,86
Banská Bystrica (NUTS III)	23,59	23,77	22,75	19,50	18,32	16,12	14,10	14,25	19,19	18,86
District Lučenec (NUTS IV)	27,77	28,20	25,00	21,44	20,26	19,80	17,53	17,96	23,29	23,20
District Poltár	26,14	23,50	26,32	24,43	20,86	19,37	16,50	17,67	23,59	22,06
District Revúca	35,06	34,94	29,76	28,41	28,07	25,91	25,80	25,57	30,05	28,83
District Rimavská Sobota	35,45	37,22	30,64	28,66	29,24	28,34	27,05	26,83	33,29	33,64
Prešov (NUTS III)	23,96	23,00	19,57	17,50	15,77	13,68	12,05	12,86	18,29	17,75
District Stará Ľubovňa (NUTS IV)	17,96	16,91	13,60	12,25	10,83	9,30	7,92	8,73	12,92	13,63
District Stropkov	25,04	18,17	15,22	19,90	14,00	13,39	12,59	12,82	17,93	17,14
District Svidník	22,31	20,40	16,25	17,38	16,13	14,48	12,93	15,36	21,75	18,80
District Vranov nad Topľou	28,87	28,43	22,63	18,69	18,34	16,49	14,51	16,12	21,37	19,68
District Bardejov	23,40	24,05	19,98	17,38	15,96	14,05	13,01	15,75	22,00	19,43
District Humenné	23,43	21,18	18,67	14,84	11,99	10,01	9,49	10,76	16,12	15,66
District Kežmarok	29,71	31,36	25,45	25,87	24,38	22,22	19,38	19,75	25,68	26,18

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District Levoča	24,69	22,96	19,49	17,12	17,06	15,76	13,48	12,84	16,91	18,41
District Medzilaborce	24,44	27,06	21,96	20,59	17,10	14,44	15,36	16,71	21,76	19,40
District Poprad	19,63	18,38	15,83	13,39	11,88	8,55	6,86	7,33	10,84	10,65
District Prešov	22,51	21,74	19,45	16,73	15,00	12,93	11,22	10,52	16,26	16,60
District Sabinov	27,51	28,76	24,85	22,33	21,11	19,25	17,55	18,07	25,40	25,71
District Snina	26,36	22,13	18,54	18,39	14,98	13,58	11,50	14,87	22,31	19,38
Košice (NUTS III)	25,55	24,26	22,16	18,89	17,50	15,18	13,02	13,50	17,30	16,78
District Spišská Nová Ves	25,79	24,35	21,98	18,72	16,94	12,95	10,77	11,43	16,14	16,28
District Trebišov	31,89	31,47	27,64	24,60	24,23	21,84	18,60	19,80	25,24	24,42
District Gelnica	27,96	27,29	25,23	21,49	20,25	17,08	15,63	16,51	21,94	19,14
District Košice I	15,39	14,99	13,68	11,01	9,23	7,80	5,85	6,01	8,09	8,07
District Košice II	16,49	15,54	14,03	11,70	10,65	9,07	7,43	7,56	9,87	9,27
District Košice III	19,61	16,19	13,76	11,11	9,90	8,38	6,66	6,00	9,22	8,59
District Košice IV	15,82	15,27	13,15	10,33	8,83	7,05	5,54	5,89	7,82	7,82
District Košice - okolie	29,66	27,40	25,02	22,34	21,51	19,39	16,52	17,37	21,71	21,27
District Michalovce	30,59	26,85	24,50	20,46	18,46	16,48	15,01	14,95	18,32	17,21
District Rožňava	31,96	32,87	29,27	25,58	23,77	21,01	20,14	21,74	27,75	26,82
District Sobrance	30,90	32,11	29,19	24,76	22,49	19,19	16,59	16,09	20,66	20,34

Source: Statistical Office, LFS data: <http://px-web.statistics.sk/PXWebSlovak/> (accessed 11 January 2012).

Table 10a: Education of unemployed by LFS and registered unemployment (COLSF)

	Without education	Primary education	Vocational education	Higher Secondary education	Tertiary education	Total
IVQ 2009						
LFS in thousand	0	72.5	149.7	127.4	24.9	374.6
COLSAF in thousand	17.8	97.4	132.4	108.3	23.7	379.6
COLSAF – LFS difference in thousand	17.8	24.9	-17.3	-19.1	-1.2	5.0
<i>Difference in share (percentage points)</i>	4.7	6.25	-5.1	-5.6	-4.8	-
LFS in thousand	(0.2)	65.3	155.7	125.6	28.9	377.3
COLSAF in thousand	18.8	98.6	127.9	109.1	26.9	381.2
IVQ 2010						
COLSAF – LFS difference in thousand	18.6	33.3	-27.8	-16.5	-2	3.9
<i>Difference in share (percentage points)</i>	4.8	8.6	-7.8	-5.1	-0.6	-

Source: Statistical Office; COLSAF; own calculation

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Table 10b Economically active inhabitants by territory, education and year											
	Total (absolute numbers in thousand)										
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Slovak Republic											
Total	2 608,2	2 652,5	2 628,2	2 634,2	2 658,6	2 645,7	2 654,8	2 649,2	2 691,2	2 690,0	2 706,5
Primary education and without education	242,8	235,9	220,3	223,5	226,2	218,9	206,8	191,3	181,8	159,0	164,0
Vocational	1 051,7	1 056,4	1 047,3	998,5	978,8	926,7	937,6	931,7	928,2	924,1	911,7
Higher secondary	1 054,2	1 080,6	1 078,0	1 105,1	1 122,9	1 138,5	1 131,3	1 144,3	1 179,8	1 181,9	1 154,2
Tertiary education	259,6	279,5	282,6	307,2	330,7	361,7	379,1	381,9	401,4	425,0	476,7
Bratislava Region											
Total	337,2	337,4	332,1	331,9	330,3	330,5	331,8	338,4	345,9	348,2	342,4
Primary education and without education	22,2	22,8	24,7	22,3	19,8	19,3	22,1	20,9	17,6	13,6	14,5
Vocational	76,4	81,8	85,4	75,5	69,6	71,9	72,4	72,8	72,2	70,7	63,0
Higher secondary	160,4	155,0	143,6	149,0	154,9	150,7	148,3	150,4	157,0	157,5	148,7
Tertiary education	78,1	77,8	78,5	85,2	86,0	88,6	89,0	94,4	99,2	106,5	116,3
Banská Bystrica Region											
Total	317,4	327,6	325,9	323,0	326,6	326,7	326,0	324,5	326,9	318,3	325,2
Primary education and without education	31,5	33,3	38,1	34,0	31,8	33,2	34,4	36,7	34,5	29,3	28,4
Vocational	121,8	120,4	115,7	113,6	118,4	107,3	110,2	103,3	98,1	93,0	99,1
Higher secondary	136,6	145,4	142,1	143,2	135,8	139,0	139,1	143,4	146,7	148,8	144,4
Tertiary education	27,5	28,5	30,0	32,2	40,5	47,1	42,4	41,2	47,6	47,2	53,3
Prešov Region											
Total	362,4	366,2	364,5	363,6	373,8	373,7	377,2	375,6	374,8	383,4	386,7
Primary education and without education	27,2	27,2	21,3	31,5	43,8	45,6	39,3	31,9	31,8	32,8	35,1
Vocational	159,8	155,8	161,5	154,3	143,4	139,3	137,4	135,0	133,9	144,3	143,8
Higher secondary	145,3	148,3	149,6	146,2	149,0	151,4	162,0	163,0	159,3	154,6	149,1
Tertiary education	30,2	34,8	32,2	31,5	37,6	37,4	38,7	45,7	49,8	51,7	58,9
Košice Region											
Total	356,7	360,5	358,3	361,0	362,1	353,1	352,3	343,3	350,3	360,4	359,6
Primary education and without education	39,3	34,9	32,2	29,5	31,5	32,3	25,7	19,5	23,3	17,1	25,4
Vocational	143,3	145,3	142,7	142,1	140,1	113,7	117,7	120,9	123,6	128,0	120,1
Higher secondary	147,5	150,4	149,4	152,4	153,5	165,4	159,0	157,7	158,5	170,1	159,1
Tertiary education	26,6	29,9	34,0	37,0	37,0	41,7	50,0	45,4	44,9	45,2	55,0

Source: Statistical Office, LFS data: <http://px-web.statistics.sk/PXWebSlovak/> (accessed 11 January 2012).

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Table 11 Economically active inhabitants by territory, education and year (source: LFS)

	In %										
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Slovak Republic											
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
Primary education and without education	9,31	8,89	8,38	8,48	8,51	8,27	7,79	7,22	6,76	5,91	6,06
Vocational	40,32	39,83	39,85	37,91	36,82	35,03	35,32	35,17	34,49	34,35	33,69
Higher secondary	40,42	40,74	41,02	41,95	42,24	43,03	42,61	43,19	43,84	43,94	42,65
Tertiary education	9,95	10,54	10,75	11,66	12,44	13,67	14,28	14,42	14,92	15,80	17,61
Bratislava Region											
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
Primary education and without education	6,58	6,76	7,44	6,72	5,99	5,84	6,66	6,18	5,09	3,91	4,23
Vocational	22,66	24,24	25,72	22,75	21,07	21,75	21,82	21,51	20,87	20,30	18,40
Higher secondary	47,57	45,94	43,24	44,89	46,90	45,60	44,70	44,44	45,39	45,23	43,43
Tertiary education	23,16	23,06	23,64	25,67	26,04	26,81	26,82	27,90	28,68	30,59	33,97
Banská Bystrica Region											
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
Primary education and without education	9,92	10,16	11,69	10,53	9,74	10,16	10,55	11,31	10,55	9,21	8,73
Vocational	38,37	36,75	35,50	35,17	36,25	32,84	33,80	31,83	30,01	29,22	30,47
Higher secondary	43,04	44,38	43,60	44,33	41,58	42,55	42,67	44,19	44,88	46,75	44,40
Tertiary education	8,66	8,70	9,21	9,97	12,40	14,42	13,01	12,70	14,56	14,83	16,39
Prešov Region											
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
Primary education and without education	7,5	7,43	5,84	8,66	11,72	12,20	10,42	8,49	8,48	8,56	9,1
Vocational	44,09	42,55	44,31	42,44	38,36	37,28	36,43	35,94	35,73	37,64	37,19
Higher secondary	40,09	40,50	41,04	40,21	39,86	40,51	42,95	43,40	42,50	40,32	38,56
Tertiary education	8,33	9,50	8,83	8,66	10,06	10,01	10,26	12,17	13,29	13,48	15,23
Košice Region											
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
Primary education and without education	11,02	9,68	8,99	8,17	8,70	9,15	7,29	5,68	6,65	4,74	7,06
Vocational	40,17	40,31	39,83	39,36	38,69	32,20	33,41	35,22	35,28	35,52	33,40
Higher secondary	41,35	41,72	41,70	42,22	42,39	46,84	45,13	45,94	45,25	47,20	44,24
Tertiary education	7,46	8,29	9,49	10,25	10,22	11,81	14,19	13,22	12,82	12,54	15,29

Source: Statistical Office, LFS data: <http://px-web.statistics.sk/PXWebSlovak/> (accessed 11 January 2012).

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Table 12: Average disposable income in NUTS III Regions as % of SK

EU-SILC 2009	Bratislava region	Trnava Region	Trenčín region	Nitra region	Žilina Region	Banská Bystrica Region	Prešov region	Košice region	SK
Average household income €/month	1189	961	947	883	995	862	929	976	966
as % of SK	123,1	99,5	98,0	91,4	103,0	89,2	96,2	101,0	100
Average household equivalent inc.	681	534	512	497	529	493	457	517	524
As % of SK	130,0	101,9	97,7	94,8	101,0	94,1	87,2	98,7	100

Source: Statistical Office, own calculation.

Table 13: Share of 3-5 years old children attending pre-primary education (kindergarten) out of total children 3-5 years old in Bratislava and Prešov Regions (in %)

	2005	2006	2007	2008
Bratislava region	91,2	87,8	87,8	86,1
Prešov Region	64,0	65,1	65,1	63,6
SK average	91,4	91,7	89,8	90,0

Source: Institute for Research in Labour and Family 2010; <http://www.uips.sk/publikacie-casopisy/analyzy-prognozy-studie> (accessed 11 January 2012).

Table 14 Share of total population with severe material deprivation (4 from 9 items) in %

EU SILC	Bratislava region	Trnava region	Trenčín region	Nitra region	Žilina Region	Banská Bystrica Region	Prešov region	Košice region	Total SK
2008	6.5	6.5	10.7	10.0	10.6	12.4	17.1	17.4	11.8

Source: Ivančíková – Vlačuha 2010.

Table 15 Share of inhabitants with income under (60% of median) in % in the NUTS III Regions

EU-SILC	Bratislava region	Trnava Region	Trenčín region	Nitra region	Žilina Region	B.Bystrica Region	Prešov region	Košice region	Total SK
2005	7.8	10.9	13.0	16.0	12.0	10.0	21.3	13.0	13,3
2006	7.3	8.4	10.7	11.8	11.0	13.3	15.7	13.0	11.6
2007	6.17	7.6	8,0	12,0	8,2	13,0	15,6	12,1	10,6
2008	7.6	6.8	9.5	14.0	9.6	14.1	13.3	10.8	10.9
2009	6.9	6,9	9,9	12,9	10,3	13,5	13,9	11,2	10,9
2005/2009	- 0,9	-4,0	-3,1	-3,1	-1,7	+3,5	-7,4	-1,8	-2,4

Source: Statistical Office 2008, 2009; Želinský 2010: 39; own calculations

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Table 16 Share of households perceiving heavy burden of paying housing costs by NUTS III regions (in %)

EU-SILC	Bratislava region	Trnava Region	Trenčín region	Nitra region	Žilina Region	Banská Bystrica Region	Prešov region	Košice region	SK Total
2005	33,7	33,0	36,5	38,0	35,3	42,0	43,3	40,4	38,0
2006	38,7	34,6	40,8	35,9	39,4	47,0	46,7	44,1	41,1
2007	32,6	35,2	35,0	32,8	32,6	41,7	40,8	38,1	36,2
2008	30,6	31,2	36,8	31,4	32,2	32,6	37,3	36,1	33,5
2009	28,8	29,9	31,0	30,6	29,9	34,2	31,0	29,4	30,6

Source: Statistical Office of the SR

Table 17: Perceived financial pressure by year and region

EU-SILC	Bratislava region	Trnava Region	Trenčín region	Nitra region	Žilina Region	B.Bystrica Region	Prešov region	Košice region	Total SK
2005	32,3	38,5	41,3	40,4	36,9	42,7	49,6	42,9	40,8
2006	28,8	32,1	39,2	35,4	33,3	35,9	44,0	39,6	36,6
2007	23,7	25,7	32,5	31,9	29,0	31,8	45,2	36,7	32,5
2008	20,8	24,3	30,5	31,6	31,8	32,1	40,9	36,3	31,4
2009	20,9	22,3	30,8	30,7	28,3	32,2	34,8	33,8	29,2
2005/ 2009	-11,4	-16,2	-10,5	-9,7	-8,6	-10,5	-14,8	-9,1	-11,6

Source: Statistical Office; Želinský, 2010, p. 45, own calculations.

Table 18: Material deprivation – enforced lack of possession of durables (*washing machine, telephone, colour TV, personal car*)

EU-SILC	Bratislava region	Trnava Region	Trenčín region	Nitra region	Žilina Region	B.Bystrica Region	Prešov region	Košice region	Total SK
2005	13,6	15,8	17,3	14,4	19,3	16,5	21,5	20,0	17,3
2006	15,3	13,0	16,1	12,0	17,1	16,0	19,9	17,0	15,9
2007	10,7	9,1	13,6	11,6	14,8	13,0	16,0	15,5	13,2
2008	8,2	9,7	11,4	8,8	13,2	10,8	12,9	13,3	11,1
2009	8,4	7,3	10,8	9,3	10,3	10,2	10,3	12,7	10,0
2005/ 2009	-5,2	-8,5	-6,5	-5,1	-9,0	-6,3	-11,2	-7,3	-7,3

Source: Statistical Office; Želinský, 2010, p. 46; own calculations; percentage of total population with material deprivation.

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Table 19: Material deprivation – housing (*leaking roof, damp walls; no bath or shower in dwelling, no indoor toilet, dwelling too dark*)

EU-SILC	Bratislava region	Trnava Region	Trenčín region	Nitra region	Žilina Region	B.Bystrica Region	Prešov region	Košice region	SK
2005	17,0	12,8	10,5	12,5	14,4	13,9	11,4	12,1	12,9
2006	14,9	11,9	9,8	10,2	17,3	12,9	10,2	11,9	12,2
2007	16,0	11,9	9,3	9,6	13,9	12,1	10,6	10,5	11,5
2008	14,0	13,1	10,3	11,1	16,8	14,0	9,4	12,0	12,3
2009	18,7	16,1	11,3	12,5	15,7	16,3	12,8	14,6	14,5
2005/2009	+1,7	+3,3	+0,8	+0	+1,3	+2,4	+1,4	+2,5	+1,6

Source: Statistical Office; Želinský, 2010, p. 46; own calculations, percentage of total population.

Table 20 Share of households who perceive heavy burden of paying loans by NUTSIII regions (in %)

EU SILC	Bratislava region	Trnava Region	Trenčín region	Nitra region	Žilina Region	Banská Bystrica Region	Prešov region	Košice region	Total SK
2005	34,6	39,0	36,0	42,0	40,0	53,8	45,8	46,2	42,8
2006	36,7	31,2	41,0	36,9	35,1	41,2	48,2	38,9	38,8
2007	29,9	40,3	37,6	36,0	34,2	43,8	35,7	45,6	38,3
2008	35,6	32,6	38,7	37,4	29,7	40,7	44,4	39,8	37,3
2009	46,9	41,2	42,4	38,1	39,3	44,1	52,0	44,3	43,4

Source: Statistical Office of the SR

Table 21: Average real estate prices for housing by regions (in € for 1 m2)

Year	Slovakia average	Bratislava region	Prešov region	Real estate prices in Prešov region as % of real estate prices in Slovakia average
2010	1 291	1 726	826	64.0%
2009	1 344	1 749	899	66.9%
2008	1 511	1 972	1 051	69.6%
2007	1 238	1 666	747	60,4%
2006	1 000	1 376	612	61,2%
2005	856	1 148	592	69,2%
2004	954	1 285	505	52,9%
2003	827	1 180	465	56,2%
2002	592	779	359	60,6%

Source: National Bank of Slovakia, 2011; own calculations.

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Table 22: Access to basic infrastructure in Bratislava and Prešov Region

% of inhabitants supplied by water from public ducts	1996	2000	2005	2009
Bratislava region	95,2	95,3	98,7	95,8
Prešov Region	71,8	73,8	73,4	78,0
SK average	79.7	82.9	85.4	86.3
% of inhabitants connected to public sewerage system				
Bratislava region	82,3	82,3	85,1	85,2
Prešov Region	50,8	51,2	50,9	56,0
SK average	53.0	54.7	56.3	59.4

Source: Regstat; Statistical Office.

Table 23: Proportion of people with income above and below the at-risk-of-poverty threshold reporting difficulty of access to public transport and compulsory school

	Access to public transport				Access to compulsory school			
	urban areas		Non-urban area		urban areas		Non-urban area	
	Not at risk	At risk	Not at risk	At risk	Not at risk	At risk	Not at risk	At risk
CZ	5.6	=	27.6	24.4	7.6	=	19.0	25.8
HU	9.5	18.8	24.6	26.1	10.8	23.3	13.8	16.5
PL	11.6	11.3	33.5	42.7	9.1	8.1	23.9	31.3
SK	8.1	=	25.4	23.4	8.5	=	22.8	22.4
EU	11.3	13.8	34.0	37.3	11.7	14.4	18.9	24.6

Source: EU-SILC, 2007; EUROSTAT.

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Table 24 Proportion of people with income above and below the at-risk-of-poverty threshold reporting difficulty of access to postal services and primary health care

	access to postal services				Access to primary health care			
	urban areas		Non-urban area		urban areas		Non-urban area	
	Not at risk	At risk	Not at risk	At risk	Not at risk	At risk	Not at risk	At risk
CZ	13.1	7.1	24.9	28.8	11.3	8.0	29.2	34.6
HU	18.8	22.1	12.8	16.8	11.8	16.9	17.1	22.5
PL	12.2	11.0	28.6	41.2	17.0	18.2	35.9	45.0
SK	21.4	17.7	23.6	24.3	19.9	18.2	37.6	37.9
EU	17.1	17.8	23.6	30.5	11.6	15.3	25.0	33.2

Source: EU-SILC, 2007; EUROSTAT.

Table 25: Number of jobseekers who received start-up grants for self-employment (§49)

Year	Bratislava region	Trnava region	Trenčín region	Nitra region	Žilina region	Banská Bystrica Region	Prešov region	Košice region	Total
2009	811	938	1,449	1,318	2,052	2,333	2,924	1,560	13,345
2010	0	355	672	347	608	21	961	562	4,242

Source: COLSAF: www.upsvar.sk; own calculation.

Table 26: Number of jobseekers covered by education and training programmes (§46)

Year	Bratislava region	Trnava region	Trenčín region	Nitra region	Žilina region	Banská Bystrica Region	Prešov region	Košice region	Total
2009	1,439	1,405	1,484	1,076	1,540	2,005	1,592	972	11,513
2010	1,354	989	1,261	743	1,059	1,584	1,106	663	8,759

Source: COLSAF: www.upsvar.sk; own calculation.

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Table 27: Overcrowding rate by the degree of urbanization in Slovak Republic (EU-SILC)

Share of overcrowded households in Slovakia	Densely populated areas	intermediate	Sparsely populated areas
2005	52	44,9	45
2006	52,9	44,2	43,6
2007	50,8	41,4	40,0
2008	51	40,5	39,5
2009	48,3	37,3	36
2005/2009 change	-3,7	-7,6	-9

Source: Eurostat.

Table 28: Average wage in Slovakia and the Bratislava and Prešov regions by year (in euro)

region	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Bratislava (NUTS 3)	770	825	877	944	970	991
Prešov (NUTS 3)	438	468	498	546	573	594
SK average	573	623	669	723	744	769
Prešov as % of SK	76.4	75.1	74,4	75.5	77.0	77.2

Source: Regstat; Statistical Office; <http://px-web.statistics.sk/PXWebSlovak/> (accessed 11 January 2012).

Table 29: Development of number of vacancies 2008-2011

	2008		2009		2010		2011	
	2Q	3Q	2Q	3Q	2Q	3Q	2Q	3Q
Východné Slovensko	2692	2848	1892	1799	1595	1947	2287	1588
<i>Košice (NUTS3)</i>	1423	1468	1104	1044	814	897	1257	716
<i>Prešov (NUTS3)</i>	1 269	1380	788	755	781	1050	1030	872
Bratislava (NUTS3)	11 980	12258	8997	8314	6406	6810	6618	7082
Slovakia	24167	24936	17752	16330	12739	13854	14339	14156
<i>Východné Slovensko as % from Slovak Republic</i>	<i>11,1</i>	<i>11,4</i>	<i>10,7</i>	<i>11,0</i>	<i>12,5</i>	<i>14,1</i>	<i>15,9</i>	<i>11,2</i>

Source: Regstat; Statistical Office.

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Table 30: Employees in agriculture and fishing by year (in thousand)

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Agriculture and fishing	214,4	197,2	198,0	202,3	181,4	157,2	139,8	130,6	131,4	125,3	109,8	105,1	100,8	99,3	98,0

Source: Regstat; Statistical Office.

Table 31: Comparison of sums of benefit and allowances in material need and relevant amounts of subsistence minimum for various types of households (in %.) Situation valid since September 2009

Adults (numbers)	Children in age 6 - 15	BB (€)	HCA (€)	ASA ⁷² (€)	HOA (€)	PA or AA(€)	TS (€)	SM (€)	TS/SM (%)	CA (€)	(TS+CA)/SM (%)
1	0	60.5	2	0	55.8	63.7	182	185.2	98.3	0	98.3
1	1	115.1	4	17.2	89.2	63.7	289.2	269.7	107.2	21.25	115.1
1	2	115.1	6	34.4	89.2	63.7	308.4	354.2	87.0	42.5	99.0
1	3	115.1	8	51.6	89.2	63.7	327.6	438.8	74.7	63.75	89.2
1	4	115.1	10	68.8	89.2	63.7	346.8	523.3	66.2	85.0	82.5
1	5	168.2	12	86.0	89.2	63.7	419.1	607.8	68.9	106.25	86.4
1	6	168.2	14	103.2	89.2	63.7	438.3	692.3	63.3	127.5	81.7
2	0	105.2	4	0	89.2	127.4	325.8	314.3	103.7	0	103.7
2	1	157.6	6	17.2	89.2	127.4	397.4	398.9	99.6	21.25	105.0
2	2	157.6	8	34.4	89.2	127.4	416.6	483.4	86.2	42.5	95.0
2	3	157.6	10	51.6	89.2	127.4	435.8	567.9	76.7	63.75	88.0
2	4	157.6	12	68.8	89.2	127.4	455.0	652.4	69.4	85.0	82.8
2	5	212.3	14	86.0	89.2	127.4	528.9	737	71.8	106.25	86.2
2	6	212.3	16	103.2	89.2	127.4	554.1	821.5	67.5	127.5	83.0

Notes: BB – Basic benefit; HCA – healthcare allowance; HOA – housing allowance; PA – protection allowance; AA – activation allowance; ASA – allowance for school attendance; TS – total sum (BB+HCA+HOA+PA/AA + ASA); SM – subsistence minimum; CA – child allowance (amount of CA is not considered in eligibility assessment). Source: Kusá, Gerbery, 2010.

⁷² Allowance for regular school attendance (ASA) introduced in January 2009 (Act. no. 562/2008, coll.), has significantly contributed to the fact that maximum amounts of benefit reach (or even surpass) now subsistence minimum. Regular school attendance is also precondition of taking child allowance (CA).

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Table 32: Transport contribution, number of supported employees (§53) in the NUTS III Regions

Year	Bratislava region	Trnava region	Trenčín region	Nitra region	Žilina region	Banská Bystrica Region	Prešov region	Košice region	Total	Total
2007	77	431	576	1070	1106	1399	1866	4837	11362	11362
2008	308	2301	3069	5470	4630	8536	9254	10384	43952	43952
2009 individuals.⁷³	267	1792	1471	2131	1735	2529	2708	3419	16052	25836
firms	151	1281	6128	0	2221	3	0	0	9784	
2010 individuals	575	3003	3730	3819	2880	3664	5407	5829	28909	45154
firms	589	1100	598	0	9604	3	0	0	16245	

Source: www.upsvar.sk; own calculation.

Annex 2: Sources of statistics

Primary source of data are reports and time series provided by the **Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (SOSR)**. The main source of data are:

- Electronic publications for download (in English) on labour market and the Labour Force Surveys can be found at: <http://portal.statistics.sk/showdoc.do?docid=23558>

The SOSR also provides (free of charge) on line databases and time series on Slovak economy and social conditions, migration, demography and regional development.

- National time series related to the migration, demography, and economic and social condition are included in the Slovstat database. English version of the Slovstat database is available at: <http://portal.statistics.sk/showdoc.do?docid=3158>,
- Regional data (including data on internal migration) are included in the RegDat database. English version of the RegDat database is available at: <http://portal.statistics.sk/showdoc.do?docid=3159>
- Statistics about registered unemployed, active labour market measures and social benefit claimants have been taken from the website of **Central office of labour, social affairs and family (COLSAF)**: www.upsvar.sk
- Statistics about education have been taken primarily from **the Institute of information and prognosis in education**: <http://www.uips.sk/>
- The **OECD** provides online database StatExtracts. The database includes data on the 'International Students Enrolled' and is available at: <http://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx>

Social Security Agency: Since 1 May 2004, employment of EU citizens on the SK territory is carried out in accordance with the applicable provisions of Communitarian law. Council Regulation (EEA) No. 1612/68 on freedom of movement of labour within the Community, as amended by later regulations, guaranteed the freedom of movement of EU citizens and their relatives. Detailed information about the rules in social security for migrating persons is available on the web page of the Social Security Agency.

⁷³ Since 2009 contribution was provided both to individual applicants and firms that secure transport for their employees.

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We also use data from the research projects such as the 7FP EDUMIGROM database/archive of interviews with Roma families, teachers and social workers (2010) archived at the Institute for Sociology of the S.A.S.

Annex 3: Documentation of expert interviews

Name	Organisation	Function/ Area of expertise	Type of consultation and form of documentation	Date and duration of consultation
Ing. Mária Katerinková	Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic	Department for International Migration	Phone interview	14.2.2011, 30 minutes
Ing. Ivan Vodička	National Bank of Slovakia	Department of Balance of Payments	Phone interview	15.2.2011, 30 minutes
Marta Kulíková	Local partnership of Social Inclusion Kežmarok, Stará Ľubovňa	Work with Roma disadvantaged communities	Personal interview	29.3.2011, 30 minutes
Dr. Katarína Špitzerová	Central Office of Labour, Social Affairs and Family	Department of Assistance in Material Need	Personal interview	7.4.2011 70 minutes
Mgr. Martina Ondrušová	IOM Košice	Migration, integration of voluntary returnees	Phone interview, edited transcript	9. 9. 2011, 40 minutes
Ing. Eva Vršanská	Central Office of Labour, Social Affairs and Family	Coordination of family allowances	Phone interview, written account	20. and 27. 9. 2011, 50 minutes

Annex 4: Research papers, studies and government documents

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