

## **IMMIGRATION PROCESSES IN SLOVAKIA AND THE CZECH REPUBLIC: PROFILES, SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES**

Artykuł analizuje profile, podobieństwa i różnice w procesach imigracyjnych na Słowacji i w Czechach. Określono ewolucję, strukturę i przyczyny imigracji do tych krajów. Stwierdzono, że na dzień dzisiejszy Słowacja i Czechy (ale te ostatnie w znacznie większym stopniu) są nieuchronnie pozycjonowane jako kraje migrantów, w których rośnie liczba cudzoziemców, którzy przyjeżdżają do nich na czasowy lub stały pobyt i pracę. Jednocześnie, odpływ obywateli (zwłaszcza młodych) do „starych” krajów UE w poszukiwaniu lepszych perspektyw pracy i życia, nadal wpływa na gospodarkę i strukturę społeczną Słowacji i Czech. Te równoległe procesy wymagają aktywnego zarządzania procesami imigracyjnymi, w szczególności w kierunku wykorzystywania ich korzyści oraz ograniczania ich zagrożeń i negatywnych konsekwencji.

*Słowa kluczowe: migracja, imigracja, procesy imigracyjne, profile, podobieństwa i różnice procesów imigracyjnych, Słowacja, Czechy.*

The article is devoted to analyzing the profiles, similarities and differences of immigration processes in Slovakia and the Czech Republic. The author identified the evolution, structure and causes of immigration to these countries. It was argued that both Slovakia and the Czech Republic (but the latter to a much greater extent) today are inevitably positioned as immigrant countries with a growing number of foreigners coming to them for temporary or permanent residence and work. At the same time, the outflow of citizens (especially young ones) of these countries to the “old” EU states in search for better employment and life prospects still affects the economy and social structure of Slovakia and the Czech Republic. These parallel processes require states to actively manage immigration processes, in particular to take advantage of them and limit their risks and negative consequences.

*Keywords: migration, immigration, immigration processes, profiles, similarities and differences of immigration processes, Slovakia, the Czech Republic.*

Immigration has become one of the biggest challenges for different countries since the end of the 20th century, but to a greater extent since the beginning of the 21st century, however migration processes have affected different countries throughout their existence. At the same time, immigration is largely positioned as a favorable phenomenon, because it positively correlates with the socio-economic processes taking place in different countries. Accordingly, the analysis

of immigration processes in different countries of the world and in general is important, if not decisive, then at least important, because immigrants have become an integral, necessary and problematic part of life in different countries and regions, a means of solving demographic and economic (especially from 2008-2009 years) crisis and stimulator of exacerbation of social, religious, political and ethnic problems, etc<sup>1</sup>. However, taking into account internal and external factors of migration processes significantly but variably affects the immigration situation in different countries, including Slovakia and the Czech Republic, which, although largely derived from the consequences of disintegration of the “Warsaw Pact” and once a single state, Czechoslovakia, but still are far from being positioned as homogeneous in terms of immigration. Thus, in total, it argues that the development of immigration processes in Slovakia and the Czech Republic, as in the former components of a single state, shows their significant similarities and differences, and therefore needs clarification and specification in each of them.

The stated problems are partially reflected in the scientific achievements of such scientists as V. Bench<sup>2</sup>, S. Brouček<sup>3</sup>, S. Castles M. Miller<sup>4</sup>, D. Čermáková<sup>5</sup>, B. Divinský<sup>6</sup>, D. Drbohlav<sup>7</sup>, M. Horakova<sup>8</sup>, D. Münich<sup>9</sup>, M. Okolski<sup>10</sup>, V. Patiichukra, K. Lavreniuk<sup>11</sup>, M.

<sup>1</sup> Patiichuk V., Lavreniuk K., Osoblivosti súčasnosti mihratsiinoi situatsii v krainakh Tsentralno-Skhidnoi Yevropy, “Naukovyi visnyk Skhidnoievropeiskoho natsionalnogo universytetu imeni Lesi Ukrainky. Serija: Mizhnarodni vidnosyny” 2013, nr. 10 (259), s. 50–56

<sup>2</sup> Bench V., Mibratsiia mizh krainamy ES, Vyshehradskoi chetvirky ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: potochma situatsiia ta probnoz. Perspektiva Slovachchyny, [w:] Prohnoz mihratsii mizh ES, Vyshehradskoiu chetvirkoiu ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: naslidky skasuvannia vizovoho rehymu. 2014, s. 103–117.

<sup>3</sup> Brouček S., Aktuální problémy adaptace vietnamského etnika v ČR, [w:] Uherek Z. (ed.), *Integrace cizinců na území České republiky*, Wyd. Akademie věd České republiky 2003, s. 7–184

<sup>4</sup> Castles S., Miller M., *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Wyd. Palgrave 2009.

<sup>5</sup> Čermáková D., Mibratsiia mizh krainamy ES, Vyshehradskoi chetvirky ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: potochma situatsiia ta probnoz. Perspektiva Cherkhii // Prohnoz mihratsii mizh ES, Vyshehradskoiu chetvirkoiu ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: naslidky skasuvannia vizovoho rehymu. 2014, s. 79–88.; Čermáková D., Schovánkova S., Fiedlerová K., Podnikání cizinců v Česku: vliv struktury příležitostí, “Geografie” 2011, vol 116, nr. 4, s. 440–461

<sup>6</sup> Divinský B., *Labor market-migration nexus in Slovakia: time to act in a comprehensive way*, Wyd. IOM2007.; Divinský B., *Migračné trendy v Slovenskej republike po vstupe krajiny do EÚ (2004–2008)*, Wyd. Medzinárodná organizácia pre migráciu 2009.; Divinsky B., Mihaly G., *Nové trendy a prognózy pracovnej migrácie v Slovenskej republike do roku 2020 s vyhladom do roku 2050*, Wyd. Trexima 2011

<sup>7</sup> Drbohlav D., Imigrace a integrace cizinců v Česku: Několik zastavení na cestě země v její migrační proměně z Davida na téměř Goliáše, “Geografie” 2011, vol 116, nr. 4, s. 497–517.; Drbohlav D., *Imigranti v České Republice (s důrazem na ukrajinské pracovníky a západní firmy operující v Praze)*, Wyd. Research Support Scheme 1999.; Drbohlav D., Immigration and the Czech Republic (with a Special Focus on the Foreign Labor Force), “*International Migration Review*” 2003, vol 37, nr. 1, s. 194–224.; Drbohlav D., *Migrace a (i)migranti v Česku: kdo jsme, odkud přicházíme, kam jdeme?*, Wyd. SLON 2010.; Drbohlav D., Lachmanova L., *Irregular Activities of Migrants in Czechia: a Delphi Study on Adaptations in a Globalising Economy*, [w:] Dostal P. (ed.), *Evolution of Geographical System and Risk Processes in the Global Context*, Wyd. Charles University 2008, s. 129–156.; Drbohlav D., Lachmanová-Medová L., Čermák Z., Janská E., Čermáková D., Džurová D., The Czech Republic: on its way from emigration to immigration country, “*IDEA Working Paper*” 2009, nr. 11, 124 s.; Drbohlav D., Lesinska M., *The migration nexus of Visegrad and Eastern partner countries: concluding remarks and political guidelines*, [w:] Eröss Á., Karácsonyi D. (eds.), *Discovering migration between Visegrad countries and Eastern Partners*, Wyd. HAS RCAES Geographical Institute 2014, s. 225–233.; Drbohlav D., Valenta O., *Czechia: the main immigration country in the V4*, [w:] Eröss Á., Karácsonyi D. (eds.), *Discovering migration between Visegrad countries and Eastern Partners*, Wyd. HAS RCAES Geographical Institute 2014, s. 225–233.; Drbohlav D., Valenta O., *Czechia: the main immigration country in the V4*, [w:] Eröss Á., Karácsonyi D. (eds.), *Discovering migration between Visegrad countries and Eastern Partners*, Wyd. HAS RCAES Geographical Institute 2014, s. 41–71.

<sup>8</sup> Horakova M., *International Labour Migration in the Czech Republic*, Wyd. Research Institute of Labour and Social Affairs 2012.

<sup>9</sup> Münich D., *A Tumultuous Decade: Employment Outcomes of Immigrants in the Czech Republic*, Wyd. International Labour Organization 2014

<sup>10</sup> Okolski M., *The Effects of Political and Economic Transition on International Migration in Central and Eastern Europe*, [w:] Massey D., Taylor J. (eds.), *International Migration: Prospects and Policies in a Global Market*, Wyd. Oxford University Press 2004, s. 35–57.

<sup>11</sup> Patiichuk V., Lavreniuk K., Osoblivosti súčasnosti mihratsiinoi situatsii v krainakh Tsentralno-Skhidnoi Yevropy, “Naukovyi visnyk Skhidnoievropeiskoho natsionalnogo universytetu imeni Lesi Ukrainky. Serija: Mizhnarodni vidnosyny” 2013, nr. 10 (259), s. 50–56

Privarovara A. Privara<sup>12</sup>, J. Salt<sup>13</sup>, etc. But they have not developed a systematic vision of the profiles, differences and similarities of immigration processes in Slovakia and the Czech Republic as in the former components of the regimes of “real socialism” and once a single state, and today in some countries of the Visegrad Group. Therefore, the aim of the proposed article is to analyze (in the form of case studies and binary comparisons) profiles, similarities and differences of immigration processes in Slovakia and the Czech Republic. This was done consistently and historically in stages – first on the example of Slovakia, and later on the example of the Czech Republic. As a result, it allowed generalizing the features, similarities and differences of immigration processes in both countries, including against the background of other countries, and especially the countries of the Visegrad group.

As for *Slovakia*, this country of the Visegrad Group has not historically and usually now become one of the traditional destinations for foreigners after the disintegration of Czechoslovakia, and is therefore characterized by a relatively small number of immigrants (various types, including legal and illegal), albeit differently determined by their origin<sup>14</sup>. It is, in fact, one of the EU countries with the lowest share of immigrants (especially migrant workers<sup>15</sup> against the background of the traditional industrialization of Slovakia) among the total population of this country. However, during 2004–2008, at least in relative terms, Slovakia experienced one of the largest increases in the number of immigrants among all European countries. In addition, the second largest group of foreigners in Europe after London was recorded in the area around Bratislava. Moreover, the main reasons for such an unexpected increase in the number of immigrants (although with its further reduction and stabilization during and after the financial and of foreign investment and the geographical proximity of Bratislava to Vienna<sup>16</sup>. As a result, as of 2012, the share of foreigners in the Slovak population reached 1.35 percent, and in quantitative terms (relative to registered immigrants) was three times higher than in 2004 and twice as high as in 2007 (see Table 1).

<sup>12</sup> Privarova M., Privara A., Migration Policy Of Slovak Republic: Issues And Challenges, “*Aktuálni problémy ekonomiky*” 2015, vol 10, nr. 172, s. 324–331

<sup>13</sup> Salt J., *Current trends in international migration in Europe*, Wyd. Council of Europe 2007.

<sup>14</sup> Bench V., *Migratsiia mizh krainamy ES, Vyshehradskoi chetvirky ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: potochna sytuatsiia ta prohnoz. Perspektyva Slovacshyny*, [w:] *Prohnoz mihratsii mizh ES, Vyshehradskoiu chetvirkoiiu ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: naslidky skasuvannia vizovoho rezhymu*. 2014, s. 103–117

<sup>15</sup> Salt J., *Current trends in international migration in Europe*, Wyd. Council of Europe 2007.

<sup>16</sup> Bench V., *Migratsiia mizh krainamy ES, Vyshehradskoi chetvirky ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: potochna sytuatsiia ta prohnoz. Perspektyva Slovacshyny*, [w:] *Prohnoz mihratsii mizh ES, Vyshehradskoiu chetvirkoiiu ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: naslidky skasuvannia vizovoho rezhymu*. 2014, s. 103–117.

**Table 1.** Number and origin of legal immigrants in Slovakia (2007 and 2012, total number at the end of the year, in annual terms)

Indicator	2007	2012
Total population, №	5 400 998	5 410 836
Citizens of Slovakia, №	5 360 094	5 337 911
Citizens of other EU countries, №	25 909	55 909
Share of citizens of other EU countries in the total population, %	0,48	1,03
Third-country nationals, №	14 995	17 016
Share of third-country nationals in total population, %	0,28	0,32
Citizens of the most important third countries:		
Ukraine	3 745	3 915
Vietnam	1 432	1 544
Serbia	1 418	716
Russia	1 354	1 835
China	1 198	875
South Korea	1 136	598
USA	769	861
Macedonia	651	403
Croatia	328	465
Turkey	171	214
Belarus	122	165
Moldova	76	57
Others	2 595	5 368

Source: Bench V., *Mihratsiia mizh krainamy ES, Vyshehradskoi chetvirky ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: potochna sytuatsiia ta prohnoz. Perspektyva Slovachchyny*, [w:] *Prohnoz mihratsii mizh ES, Vyshehradskoiu chetvirkoiu ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: naslidky skasuvannia vizovoho rezhymu*. 2014, s. 103–117.

According to similar estimates, the number of foreigners living legally in Slovakia in 2015 was four times higher than on the eve of its accession to the EU, and amounted to 1.56 percent (see Table 2). In addition, the specificity of immigration in Slovakia is explained by the fact that it plays an important role in population growth in the country (against the background of declining population during the years of its negative natural growth), because if not for the positive balance of international immigration, Slovakia would face population decline in 2001–2002. This is due to the fact that Slovakia still receives more immigrants than emigrants leave it, and therefore is still an immigrant or at least a transit country<sup>17</sup>. This is complemented by the fact that the main criteria for accepting immigrants in Slovakia is their potential for the development of the Slovak economy and society, and preference is given to accepting immigrants who have the necessary qualifications and competence to meet sustainable demand for scarce occupations at the national labor market with an emphasis on culturally close countries.

<sup>17</sup> Lauko V., Tolmáči L., Križan F., Mydlová A., *Slovakia: silent, steady and regulated immigration*, [w:] Eröss Á., Karácsonyi D. (eds.), *Discovering migration between Visegrad countries and Eastern Partners*, Wyd. HAS RCAES Geographical Institute 2014, s. 111–127.

**Table 2.** Number and origin of the largest groups of legal immigrants with resident status in Slovakia (as of 2015, year on year)

Temporary residents		Permanent residents		Eligible residents	
Citizenship	Quantity, №	Citizenship	Quantity, №	Citizenship	Quantity, №
Ukraine	7 297	The Czech Republic	9 927	Syria	660
Serbia	4 988	Hungary	7 593	Ukraine	44
Russia	1 814	Romania	6 573	Vietnam	40
South Korea	1 140	Poland	5 333	Moldova	19
China	798	Germany	4 255	Serbia	18
Vietnam	626	Ukraine	3 365	Pakistan	10
Iran	481	Italy	2 458	Sudan	10
USA	440	Austria	2 257	USA	8
Macedonia	352	United Kingdom	1 835	Russia	7
Turkey	282	Bulgaria	1 757	Turkey	6

However, in this context, it is important that Slovak immigration statistics (due to imperfect population registration) are somewhat archaic and therefore do not reflect the full picture<sup>18</sup>, in particular compared to traditional Slovak emigrants, including the Czech Republic, USA, Canada, UK and Germany. But even so, it is known that the main countries of origin of immigrants in Slovakia are the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Germany, Poland, Bulgaria, etc.<sup>19</sup>. It is noteworthy that since Slovakia's accession to the EU, the share of immigrants from non-EU countries, especially from Ukraine, Russia, Vietnam, China, the United States, Serbia, South Korea and Macedonia, has increased<sup>20</sup>.

It is recorded that the highest concentration of immigrants is observed in the western part of Slovakia, mainly due to better employment opportunities in this Region<sup>21</sup>. It was also found that in the past, the gender structure of immigrants in Slovakia was dominated by men<sup>22</sup>, but, for example, as of 2015 – women. Nevertheless, there are still more men in the group of registered immigrants, due to structural needs in the labor market. In addition, it was found that among immigrants from the third countries, as a rule, young people predominate (there are fewer of them in total), and among immigrants from EU countries – mostly middle-aged and older people predominate (there are more of them in total). It has been established that the average immigrant in Slovakia is a person from middle to old age, and the most desirable immigrant

<sup>18</sup> Divinský B., *Migračné trendy v Slovenskej republike po vstupe krajiny do EÚ (2004–2008)*, Wyd. Medzinárodná organizácia pre migráciu 2009

<sup>19</sup> Lauko V., Tolmáči L., Krížan F., Mydlová A., *Slovakia: silent, steady and regulated immigration*, [w:] Eröss Á., Karácsonyi D. (eds.), *Discovering migration between Visegrad countries and Eastern Partners*, Wyd. HAS RCAES Geographical Institute 2014, s. 111–127.

<sup>20</sup> Lauko V., Tolmáči L., Krížan F., Mydlová A., *Slovakia: silent, steady and regulated immigration*, [w:] Eröss Á., Karácsonyi D. (eds.), *Discovering migration between Visegrad countries and Eastern Partners*, Wyd. HAS RCAES Geographical Institute 2014, s. 111–127

<sup>21</sup> Bench V., *Mihratsia mizh krainamy ES, Vyshebradskoi chetvirky ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: potochna sytuatsiia ta probnoz. Perspektyva Slovachchyny*, [w:] Prohnoz mihratsii mizh ES, Vyshebradskoiu chetvirkoiu ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: nasledky skasuvannia vizovoho rezhymu. 2014, s. 103–117

<sup>22</sup> Lauko V., Tolmáči L., Krížan F., Mydlová A., *Slovakia: silent, steady and regulated immigration*, [w:] Eröss Á., Karácsonyi D. (eds.), *Discovering migration between Visegrad countries and Eastern Partners*, Wyd. HAS RCAES Geographical Institute 2014, s. 111–127

is a young person with higher education who is a native of the EU<sup>23</sup>. As for registered working immigrants in Slovakia, in recent years most of them are from Romania and other neighboring countries, but at the same time the number of working foreigners from France and South Korea is increasing<sup>24</sup>.

In general, it can be concluded that today immigrants do not have much influence on the labor supply in Slovakia. Although it is known that most immigrants from Western Europe work in Slovakia as highly qualified specialists: company managers, service experts, teachers in educational institutions, consultants, sales representatives, etc.<sup>25</sup>. Their work requires certain skills and experience, it is mostly temporary and is concentrated in the largest Slovak cities (Bratislava and Košice) and industrial areas<sup>26</sup>. In contrast, immigrants from the Balkans, Eastern Europe, and Asia are often employed as small entrepreneurs, retailers, service providers, builders, etc., or work in manufacturing (in low-paid industries such as textiles, clothing, and food), agriculture and household services. And among the representatives of such groups there are some differences: Ukrainians prefer to work in industry and construction, the Asian population is employed in retail business activities<sup>27</sup>.

As for illegal immigrants, according to various sources<sup>28</sup>, they are mostly (almost in half of the cases) natives of Ukraine. According to Slovak experts, the current share of illegal immigrants (who are in the country illegally or work without registration) is 30 percent of the total number of immigrants from Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova. They estimate that more than 30 percent of Ukrainian immigrants, almost 30 percent of Moldovans and more than 10 percent of Belarusians are illegal. It is also noteworthy that in the context of ethnic composition, illegal immigrants come to Slovakia from three main regions: the countries of the former Soviet Union (Ukraine, Moldova, Russia, Georgia); some Asian countries (Vietnam, China, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh); Western Balkan countries (Serbia, Kosovo, Albania, Macedonia). However, in contrast, the phenomenon of illegal immigration in Slovakia has weakened in recent years (albeit by 2015-2016), which may be due to a significant decrease in the number of detained foreigners and a decrease in the number of asylum seekers. Moreover, more than half of the total number of detained illegal immigrants is accused of violating the rules of stay in Slovakia (informal employment, stay beyond the period set by the visa, etc.) In addition, this

<sup>23</sup> Mihaly, G., Divinsky, B. (2011). Nove trendy a prognóza pracovnej migrácie v Slovenskej republike do roku 2020 s vyhladom do roku 2050. Bratislava: Trexima. ; Domonkos T., Páleník M., Radvanský M., *Saturovanie dopytu po pracovnej sile prostredníctvom migrácie v SR*, Wyd. Medzinárodná organizácia pre migráciu 2010

<sup>24</sup> Bench V., *Mihratsiia mizh krainamy ES, Vyshehradskoi chetvirky ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: potochna sytuatsiia ta probnoz. Perspektyva Slovachchyny*, [w:] Prohnoz mihratsii mizh ES, Vyshehradskoiu chetvirkiou ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: naslidky skasuvannia vizovoho rezhymu. 2014, s. 103–117

<sup>25</sup> Privarova M., Privara A., Migration Policy Of Slovak Republic: Issues And Challenges, "Aktualni problemy ekonomiky" 2015, vol 10, nr. 172, s. 324–331

<sup>26</sup> Divinsky B., *Labor market-migration nexus in Slovakia: time to act in a comprehensive way*, Wyd. IOM2007.

<sup>27</sup> Bench V., *Mihratsiia mizh krainamy ES, Vyshehradskoi chetvirky ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: potochna situatsiia ta probnoz. Perspektyva Slovachchyny*, [w:] Prohnoz mihratsii mizh ES, Vyshehradskoiu chetvirkiou ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: naslidky skasuvannia vizovoho rezhymu. 2014, s. 103–117

<sup>28</sup> Divinsky B., *Migracné trendy v Slovenskej republike po ustupe krajiny do EÚ (2004–2008)*, Wyd. Medzinárodná organizácia pre migráciu 2009

is due to the fact that immigrants have largely legalized their status in recent years, and a strict migration policy has been successful in this regard<sup>29</sup>. This is in line with the trend according to which, since Slovakia's accession to the EU and until 2014, illegal migration has decreased 8 times, but has significantly increased (as a result of the European migration crisis) since 2015.

In general, summarizing the features of immigration processes to Slovakia, we argue that its immigration profile is determined by such factors as: 1) geographical proximity and low transport costs to the countries of origin of immigrants, as well as their relative poverty and social tensions in some of the countries of origin of immigrants; 2) the desire for a better life, better work and better education, opportunities for entrepreneurship; 3) cultural, religious and psychological closeness of a certain share of immigrants with Slovaks and ease of language communication; 4) ethnic determination, because, for example, members of the Slovak minority in Ukraine have the right to the status of foreign Slovaks and receive certain immigration privileges; 5) interest in Slovakia as a transit country on the way to further immigration to other EU countries; 6) the role of family, friends, acquaintances or organizations of immigrants (official and informal immigration networks) both for entry and long-term stay of immigrants in Slovakia; 7) the growing economic attractiveness of Slovakia (all regions of Slovakia have the characteristics of the average EU regions and even catch up with the most developed regions of the EU)<sup>30</sup>; 8) aging of the population and labor shortage (especially highly skilled) in the Slovakia labor market. In summary, this means that immigration to Slovakia corresponds, although often contrary to the migration policy of the Slovak Republic, to the logic of creating appropriate conditions in the field of immigration in relation to the priorities, needs and opportunities of immigrants, participation in partnerships with countries of origin and transit. Accordingly, the immigration emphasis is on the priority of highly skilled workers with an emphasis on countries with a close culture, albeit on the basis of their circular and seasonal involvement.

The fact is that in Slovakia there is a problem of long-term unemployment of certain vulnerable groups, especially the elderly and socially excluded groups. And in recent years there has also been a problem of youth unemployment. This situation not only creates obstacles to economic immigration from other countries, but also forces governments not to liberalize migration policies towards the third countries. On the other hand, all Slovak governments have historically used legislation and administrative levers to restrict foreigners' access to the labor market. Therefore, the Slovak labor legislation on foreigners is complex and provides for different employment regimes: some categories of immigrants cannot work full time or are deprived of the right to work under certain types of employment agreements; some immigrants,

<sup>29</sup> Divinsky B., Mihaly G., *Nové trendy a prognózy pracovnej migrácie v Slovenskej republike do roku 2020 s vyhladom do roku 2050*, Wyd. Trexima 2011.

<sup>30</sup> Bench V., *Mihratsiia mizh kvainamy ES, Vyshehradskoi chetvirky ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: potochna sytuatsiia ta prohnoz. Perspektyva Slovachchyny*, [w:] *Prohnoz mihratsii mizh ES, Vyshehradskoiu chetvirkoiu ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: naslidky skasuvannia vizovoho rehymu*. 2014, s. 103–117.; Lauko V., Tolmáči L., Križan F., Mydlová A., *Slovakia: silent, steady and regulated immigration*, [w:] Eröss Á., Karácsonyi D. (eds.), *Discovering migration between Visegrad countries and Eastern Partners*, Wyd. HAS RCAES Geographical Institute 2014, s. 111–127

especially asylum seekers, have the right to find a job only one year after arrival or are not allowed to work at all; special restrictions on the employment of immigrants apply to persons who have a temporary residence permit for the purpose of employment or entrepreneurial activity, or a permissible stay. Scholars therefore argue that in some cases, the state actually forces immigrants to engage in illegal activities in order to survive or leave the country<sup>31</sup>. In addition, Slovakia lacks programs to help immigrants integrate into society and laws that enable them to earn a safe life<sup>32</sup>. That is why the desire to protect the country from immigration, in fact, is considered the main decisive factor arising from economic and social reasons. This confirms the position that the Slovak visa and immigration policy does not meet modern requirements, as it is largely restrictive, as it focuses mainly on labor immigrants.

In general, based on the analysis, it is obvious that: 1) Slovakia is gradually becoming as open as possible to immigrants, but still positions immigration primarily as the free movement of workers (especially highly qualified) between EU member states; 2) a significant weakness of immigration processes and the overall immigration policy of Slovakia is the insufficient integration of immigrants into Slovak society, due to high unemployment and strict employment conditions of immigrants in the country; 3) perception of immigrants primarily as a threat, rather than as a vulnerable group in need of additional protection; 4) positioning the Slovak immigration policy as the selective one<sup>33</sup>.

In contrast, the Czech Republic is positioned as an openly immigrant country, as the number of immigrants has been increasing for about thirty years<sup>34</sup>. Moreover, the process of integration of immigrants in the Czech Republic can usually be considered successful mainly due to the fact that most of them come / originate from countries with similar cultures (Slovakia, Ukraine, Russia, Poland, etc.) and countries where adaptation to new customs is acceptable (for example, Vietnam and China). At the same time, it is noticeable that as a result of the constant intensity of immigration processes to the Czech Republic (especially before and after its accession to the EU<sup>35</sup>), this country is now at a crossroads where it is difficult to predict future changes in immigration and immigration policy especially considering the various

<sup>31</sup> Bargerová Z., Divinský B., *Výzvy a odporúčania pre tvorcov politik*, Wyd. Medzinárodná organizácia pre migráciu 2008

<sup>32</sup> Bench V., *Mihratsiia mizh krainamy ES, Vyshehradskoi chetvirky ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: potochna sytuatsiia ta probnoz. Perspektyva Slovachchyny*, [w:] Prohnoz mihratsii mizh ES, Vyshehradskoiu chetvirkoiu ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: naslidky skasuvannia vizovoho rezhymu. 2014, s. 103–117.

<sup>33</sup> Privarova M., Privara A., Migration Policy Of Slovak Republic: Issues And Challenges, "Aktualni problemy ekonomiky" 2015, vol 10, nr. 172, s. 324–331

<sup>34</sup> Drbohlav D., Valenta O., *Czechia: the main immigration country in the V4*, [w:] Eröss Á., Karácsonyi D. (eds.), *Discovering migration between Visegrad countries and Eastern Partners*, Wyd. HAS RCAES Geographical Institute 2014, s. 41–71.; Drbohlav D., Lachmanová-Medová L., Čermák Z., Janská E., Čermáková D., Džúrová D., The Czech Republic: on its way from emigration to immigration country, "IDEA Working Paper" 2009, nr. 11, 124 s.; Čermáková D., *Mihratsiia mizh krainamy ES / Vyshehradskoi chetvirky ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: potochna situatsiia ta probnoz. Perspektyva Chelkii // Prohnoz mihratsii mizh ES, Vyshehradskoiu chetvirkoiu ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: naslidky skasuvannia vizovoho rezhymu*. 2014, s. 79–88.

<sup>35</sup> Castles S., Miller M., *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2009.; Drbohlav D., Imigrace a integrace cizinců v Česku: Několik zastavení na cestě země v její migrační proměně z Davida na téměř Goliáše, "Geografie" 2011, vol 116, nr. 4, s. 497–517.



features and manifestations of the European migration crisis, which has begun or intensified since 2014-2015, and also considering that the Czech Republic after 1993 was not an emigrant country.

In evolutionary terms, it is clear that the Czech Republic became a country of pure immigration (ceasing to be a country of emigration) extremely quickly – immediately from the moment or in a short period after the moment of democratic transformations in 1989, i.e. in fact with the disintegration of Czechoslovakia. However, first transformed into a transit country, and later – actually into an immigrant country<sup>36</sup>. The fact is that by the early 10's of the 21st century the number of immigrants in the Czech Republic has increased sixfold since 1993, when Czechoslovakia formally ceased to exist. At the same time, the period of dynamic growth of the foreign population began in 2001, when the number of immigrants amounted to about 25 thousand people per year and reached about 100 thousand people per year in 2007. Since 2008, the number of immigrants in the Czech Republic has begun to decline sharply, reaching in 2015 (both on average and before) 30 thousand people a year. This was mainly due to the financial and economic crisis that began in 2008<sup>37</sup>, as well as the European migration crisis, which intensified in 2014-2015. However, yet, in the Czech Republic, one of the largest countries in the Visegrad Group (and Central and Eastern Europe in general<sup>38</sup>), the share of immigrants in the total population is about 4 percent (at least as of 2015).

The fact is that the total number of immigrants to the Czech Republic during 1990-2015 amounted to more than 405 thousand people, and in 2015 alone – almost 30 thousand people. Among them, the share of immigrants from Eastern Europe (including Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus) was almost 30 percent<sup>39</sup>. In general, the main countries of origin of immigrants coming to the Czech Republic have remained stable since the 1990s. At the same time, it is known that immigrants from non-EU countries predominate: Ukrainians, Vietnamese, Russians. However, the share of EU citizens increased from 32 percent in 2010 to 37 percent in 2012 and to 49 percent in 2015. If we add illegal immigrants to the count, the picture will be a little less expressive and impressive<sup>40</sup>. On the other hand, according to researchers, the share of illegal immigrants after 2010 is quite low compared to the results of previous studies and

<sup>36</sup> Čermáková D. *Mihratsiia mizh krainamy ES, Vyshebradskoi chetvirky ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: potochna sytuatsiia ta probnoz. Perspektyva Chekhii* // Prohnoz mihratsii mizh ES, Vyshebradskoiu chetvirkoiiu ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: naslidky skasuvannia vizovoho rezhymu. 2014, s. 79–88.

<sup>37</sup> Drbohlav D., Valenta O. *Czechia: the main immigration country in the V4*, [w:] Eröss Á., Karácsonyi D. (eds.), *Discovering migration between Visegrad countries and Eastern Partners*, Wyd. HAS RCAES Geographical Institute 2014, s. 41–71.; Drbohlav D., Lachmanová-Medová L., Čermák Z., Janská E., Čermáková D., Džúrová D., *The Czech Republic: on its way from emigration to immigration country*, "IDEA Working Paper" 2009, nr. 11, 124 s.

<sup>38</sup> Okolski M. *The Effects of Political and Economic Transition on International Migration in Central and Eastern Europe*, [w:] Massey D., Taylor J. (eds.), *International Migration: Prospects and Policies in a Global Market*, Wyd. Oxford University Press 2004, s. 35–57

<sup>39</sup> Čermáková D. *Mihratsiia mizh krainamy ES, Vyshebradskoi chetvirky ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: potochna situatsiia ta probnoz. Perspektyva Chekhii* // Prohnoz mihratsii mizh ES, Vyshebradskoiu chetvirkoiiu ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: naslidky skasuvannia vizovoho rezhymu. 2014, s. 79–88

<sup>40</sup> Strielkowski W. *Does it pay off to do undeclared work in the Czech Republic? Peer review on "Tackling undeclared work: developing an effective system for inspection and prevention"*, Prague 2012

other Central and Eastern European countries, including Slovakia<sup>41</sup> (from 2001 to 2008, it, instead, doubled<sup>42</sup>) and probably corresponds to the number of illegal immigrants nominally registered in the country<sup>43</sup>. It is also interesting that the majority of illegal immigrants in the Czech Republic (in relative terms) are from Belarus and Ukraine.

At the same time, the geographical composition of immigrants changed as a result of the financial and economic crisis of 2008-2009. Those who left the country were mostly immigrants from Ukraine, Moldova and Poland<sup>44</sup>. But this did not and does not apply to migrants from Belarus, who are considered to be political rather than economic<sup>45</sup>. The number of immigrants from Bulgaria and Romania (as well as from Ukraine with Romanian passports) has also increased, but mainly after these countries joined the EU in 2007. The situation is complicated by the fact that it is not known whether immigrants left the Czech Republic at this time, or simply became illegal and fell out of the statistical field. In addition, geographically it is observed that: 1) immigrants are distributed along the “east-west gradient”, and thus the number and share of immigrants increase when moving from the eastern to the western regions of the Czech Republic; 2) the capital agglomeration of Prague is the most popular destination for immigration in the Czech Republic; 3) higher proportions of ethnic and immigration groups can be found in the regions bordering their “home” / native countries (especially in the case of immigrants from Poland, Germany and Slovakia).

It is also interesting that the turning point in migration processes was 2012, when the number of foreigners with the right of permanent residence in the Czech Republic exceeded the number of foreigners with the right of long-term residence. The fact is that in the case of the Czech Republic, permanent residence (as opposed to long-term residence) provides a number of benefits for immigrants: a residence permit for five years, the ability to get a job or change jobs without a permit. In addition, in the case of family reunification, a work permit is not required at all<sup>46</sup>. This trend has been linked to an increase in the number of immigrants fulfilling the five-year residence requirement, which is one of the conditions for obtaining a permanent residence permit in the Czech Republic. It is interesting in this regard that the increased interest of immigrants to obtain the right to permanent residence reflects the change of the most common model of immigration from short-term to permanent. So the Czech Republic is definitely

<sup>41</sup> Drbohlav D., Lachmanova L., *Irregular Activities of Migrants in Czechia: a Delphi Study on Adaptations in a Globalising Economy*, [w:] Dostal P. (ed.), *Evolution of Geographical System and Risk Processes in the Global Context*, Wyd. Charles University 2008, s. 129–156

<sup>42</sup> Horakova M., *International Labour Migration in the Czech Republic*, Wyd. Research Institute of Labour and Social Affairs 2012.

<sup>43</sup> Drbohlav D., Valenta O., *Czechia: the main immigration country in the V4*, [w:] Eröss Á., Karácsonyi D. (eds.), *Discovering migration between Visegrad countries and Eastern Partners*, Wyd. HAS RCAES Geographical Institute 2014, s. 41–71

<sup>44</sup> Horakova M., *International Labour Migration in the Czech Republic*, Wyd. Research Institute of Labour and Social Affairs 2012

<sup>45</sup> Čermáková D., *Migratsiia mizh krainamy ES, Vyshehradskoi chetvirky ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: potochna sytuatsiia ta probnoz. Perspektyva Chekhii // Prohnoz mihratsii mizh ES, Vyshehradskoiu chetvirkoiiu ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: naslidkyskasuvannia vizovoho rezhymu*. 2014, s. 79–88.; Drbohlav D., Valenta O., *Czechia: the main immigration country in the V4*, [w:] Eröss Á., Karácsonyi D. (eds.), *Discovering migration between Visegrad countries and Eastern Partners*, Wyd. HAS RCAES Geographical Institute 2014, s. 41–71.

<sup>46</sup> Čermáková D., *Migratsiia mizh krainamy ES, Vyshehradskoi chetvirky ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: potochna situatsiia ta probnoz. Perspektyva Chekhii // Prohnoz mihratsii mizh ES, Vyshehradskoiu chetvirkoiiu ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: naslidky skasuvannia vizovoho rezhymu*. 2014, s. 79–88.

an immigrant country with a tendency to the prevalence of a permanent type of immigration. On the other hand, circular or seasonal immigration is still represented in the Czech Republic.

Other categories of immigrants living in the Czech Republic, such as refugees and persons with subsidiary protection status, are quite small. Thus, between 1994 and 2012, 79,000 immigrants applied for asylum and only less than 2,000 received international protection. This makes the Czech Republic one of the lowest in terms of the number of asylum seekers among other EU member states (a similar situation was observed in 2016). Moreover, Belarusians (along with Russians) represent the national group with the highest share of persons granted refugee status during the period after 1993. The main reasons for the small number of refugees and asylum seekers are that: a) the Czech Republic does not lie on the border of either the EU or the Schengen area, and is therefore not a “buffer zone”; b) The Czech Republic has never allowed the organized immigration of large numbers of refugees from countries or regions affected by armed conflicts and other catastrophic events; c) the Czech Republic has established severe asylum procedures, as the state has previously experienced numerous attempts by illegal economic immigrants to seek asylum seekers<sup>47</sup>.

The gender structure of immigration to the Czech Republic is dominated, as in Slovakia, by men (over 55 percent), but the share of women is growing slowly and steadily (unlike most Western European countries)<sup>48</sup>, especially among permanent immigrants. What is more, the largest number of women can be seen among immigrants from the former Soviet republics (Russians, Kazakhs, Belarusians). In contrast, the lowest proportion of women is usually among Moldovans and Ukrainians, who are routinely or mostly temporary economic migrants, as well as Hungarians. There are also differences in the age structure of foreign immigrants, as there are many young people (25-39 years old) among immigrants, and the share of people of working age is insignificant. In general, immigrants are often concentrated in the capital and the metropolitan area. For example, as of 2012, the share of foreigners registered in Prague reached 37 percent of the total number of immigrants. However, the territorial distribution of foreigners indicates differences depending on nationality. For example, Ukrainians tend to be concentrated in Central Bohemia and South Moravia, Vietnamese in Prague and the regions bordering the Czech-German border, and Russians in Prague and the Karlovy Vary region. As for illegal immigrants, most of them are recorded in Prague<sup>49</sup>. After all, the economic results of immigration also in the Czech Republic are different, in particular depending on the country of origin of foreigners. In addition, the Czech Republic has a theory of “dual labor market”, according to which foreigners mainly from Western Europe and the USA are highly qualified

<sup>47</sup> Drbohlav D., Lachmanová-Medová L., Čermák Z., Janská E., Čermáková D., Džúrová D., The Czech Republic: on its way from emigration to immigration country, *IDEA Working Paper* 2009, nr. 11, 124 s.

<sup>48</sup> Drbohlav D., Lachmanová-Medová L., Čermák Z., Janská E., Čermáková D., Džúrová D., The Czech Republic: on its way from emigration to immigration country, *IDEA Working Paper* 2009, nr. 11, 124 s.

<sup>49</sup> Medová L., Drbohlav D. Estimating the size of the irregular migrant population in Prague – An alternative approach, *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 2012, vol 104, nr. 1, s. 75–89.

and work mainly in the “primary” sector, while immigrants from Eastern Europe work in the “secondary” sector of the Czech labor market for example, in industry and production<sup>50</sup>). After all, a third of economically active foreigners in the Czech Republic are self-employed. The official average monthly salary of an immigrant before taxes is less than the average salary of a Czech citizen. However, the average salary may actually be higher, as many immigrants work at several jobs and very often overtime (as in other countries in the region, including Slovakia).

Summarizing the different historical circumstances and immigration schemes, we can distinguish three types of immigrants in the Czech Republic<sup>51</sup>: a) “Eastern immigrant” who move to the Czech Republic from less developed countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics, and therefore more economically active in manual labor, especially in construction and some other industries; b) “Western immigrants” coming to the Czech Republic from Western Europe and North America are generally more heterogeneous in terms of gender, age and purpose of stay, highly qualified and work in professional fields; (c) “Asian” immigrants (mainly from Vietnam, China and Mongolia) working in certain economic segments, especially retail, business and food services<sup>52</sup>.

As for the key reasons for the immigration of foreigners to the Czech Republic, they are usually socio-economically determined. The Czech Republic, in contrast to Slovakia (by the logic of Czechoslovakia), is the most stable and prosperous country in Central and Eastern Europe. Accordingly, the periods of the strongest economic growth (1990–1997 and 2003–2008) were accompanied by high demand for labor and, consequently, higher immigration flows. During these periods, the greatest demands in the labor market were the workers for the work in construction and manufacturing. But the structure of demand has changed over time. Today there is an increased demand for the labour in the household services sector. In addition, in recent years, interest in studying in higher education institutions (in public institutions where teaching is conducted in Czech – it’s free) has proved to be one of the main reasons why young immigrants come to the Czech Republic<sup>53</sup>. The summary analysis of the factors of immigration to the Czech Republic allows to single out such among them as: a) socio-economic and political stability in the country<sup>54</sup>, and hence the possibility of employment and entrepreneurship (as the most important factor); b) the existence of developed / established (legal,

<sup>50</sup> Čermáková D. *Mihratsiia mizh krainamy ES, Vyshehradskoiu chetvirkyu ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: potochna sytuatsiia ta prohnoz. Perspektyva Cherkhii* // Prohnoz mihratsii mizh ES, Vyshehradskoiu chetvirkyu ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: naslidky skasuvannia vizovoho rezhymu. 2014, s. 79–88.; Münich D. *A Tumultuous Decade: Employment Outcomes of Immigrants in the Czech Republic*, Wyd. International Labour Organization 2014.; Horakova M. *Labour Migration in the Czech Republic in the Context of the Economic Crisis*, zdroj: [http://www.vups.cz/sites/File/audit-clanky/horakova\\_trojanovice.pdf](http://www.vups.cz/sites/File/audit-clanky/horakova_trojanovice.pdf) (odczyt: 25.10.2017).

<sup>51</sup> Drbohlav D., *Immigranti v České Republice (s důrazem na ukrajinské pracovníky a západní firmy operující v Praze)*, Wyd. Research Support Scheme 1999

<sup>52</sup> Brouček S., *Aktuální problémy adaptace vietnamského etnika v ČR*, [w:] Uherek Z. (ed.), *Integrace cizinců na území České republiky*, Wyd. Akademie věd České republiky 2003, s. 7–184.; Čermáková D., Schovánková S., Fiedlerová K., *Podnikání cizinců v Česku: vliv struktury příležitosti*, “*Geografie*” 2011, vol 116, nr. 4, s. 440–461

<sup>53</sup> Drbohlav D., *Migrace a (i)migranti v Česku: kdo jsme, odkud přicházíme, kam jdeme?*, Wyd. SLON 2010

<sup>54</sup> Castles S., Miller M., *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2009.; Drbohlav D., *Immigration and the Czech Republic (with a Special Focus on the Foreign Labor Force)*, “*International Migration Review*” 2003, vol 37, nr. 1, s. 194–224

semi-legal and illegal) immigration networks and “client systems” of immigration<sup>55</sup>; c) lingual, cultural and geographical proximity; d) traditions of population movement in the region and historical ties, e) favorable, active (since 2005 “civic-oriented”), although quite rigid, restrictive, selective and changeable (from liberal to liberal-social, and later on social liberal – the examples of which were such programs as “Selection of highly qualified foreign workers” (2003), “Green Card” (2009), “Blue Card” (2009), visa application system “VISAPOINT”<sup>56</sup>) Czech immigration policy, which largely depends on both the prerogatives of the EU and the national position of the Czech Republic<sup>57</sup>; f) the demographic situation, in particular the negative natural increase and aging of the population, in the Czech Republic (since the 1970s), which is compensated by the influx of foreigners.

As a result, it is stated that both Slovakia and the Czech Republic (but the latter to a much greater extent) today are inevitably positioned as immigrant countries with a growing number of foreigners who come to them for temporary or permanent residence and work. At the same time, the outflow of citizens (especially young) of the analyzed countries to the “old” EU states in search of better working and living prospects still affects the economy and social structure of Slovakia and the Czech Republic. These parallel processes (albeit to a lesser extent than in other Central and Eastern European countries) require states to actively manage immigration processes, in particular to take advantage of them and limit their risks and negative consequences. And among the latter: labor market deficits in certain sectors (the consequence of emigration and the cause of immigration), often centralized and passive government policy as to the human flows; insufficient integration policy towards foreign citizens; the need to generate a systematic and decentralized institutional system and better cooperation between governmental and non-governmental organizations and institutions at the central, regional and local levels; Insufficient integration of immigration policy into social policy, labor market, health care, housing and development; not always an effective labor market monitoring system to assess the real demand for foreign labor; not always adequate, balanced and complete information and educational policy on foreigners and immigration processes, as a result of which negative myths and unreasonable social fears are created around immigrants; insufficient involvement of immigrants, especially in the process of their economic integration, social partners<sup>58</sup>. The outlined problems intensified especially against the background of the European migration crisis, which intensified in 2014, but especially in

<sup>55</sup> Čermáková D., Nekorjak M., Ukrainian Middleman System of Labour Organization in the Czech Republic, *“Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie”* 2009, vol 100, nr. 1, s. 33–43

<sup>56</sup> Barša P., Baršová A., *Česká republika jako přistěbovalecká země*, Wyd. ÚMV 2006

<sup>57</sup> Čermáková D. *Mihratsiia mizh krainamy ES, Vyshehradskoiu chetvirkoiu ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: potochna sytuatsiia ta probnoz. Perspektyva Chetviri // Prohnoz mihratsii mizh ES, Vyshehradskoiu chetvirkoiu ta krainamy Skhidnoi Yevropy: naslidky skasuvannia vizovoho rezhymu.* 2014, s. 79–88.; Kušniráková T., Is there Integration Policy being formed in Czechia?, *“Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power”* 2014, vol 21, nr. 6, s. 738–754.; Kušniráková T., Čizinský P., Dvacet let České migrační politiky: liberální, restriktivní, anebo ještě jiná?, *“Geografie”* 2011, vol 116, nr. 4, s. 497–517.; Lachmanová L., Vývoj a úspěšnost modelů integrace imigrantů (na příkladu Rakouska, Francie a Nizozemska), *“Geografie”* 2007, vol 112, nr. 2, s. 221–236.

<sup>58</sup> Drbohlav D., Lesinska M., *The migration nexus of Visegrad and Eastern partner countries: concluding remarks and political guidelines*, [w:] Eröss Á., Karácsonyi D. (eds.), *Discovering migration between Visegrad countries and Eastern Partners*, Wyd. HAS RCAES Geographical Institute 2014, s. 225–233

2015, and therefore became decisive in the current understanding of immigration processes in Slovakia and the Czech Republic.

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