Dynamic Historical Analysis of Longer Term Migratory, Labour Market and Human Capital Processes in Slovenia

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<th>English term</th>
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<tr>
<td>CoMiDe</td>
<td>Initiative for Migration and Development (Project Acronym)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC</td>
<td>European Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EEA</td>
<td>European Economic Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMN</td>
<td>European Migration Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSPROS</td>
<td>European system of integrated social protection statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EURES</td>
<td>The European Job Mobility Portal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUROSTAT</td>
<td>European Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMAGE</td>
<td>Needs for Female Immigrants and Their Integration in Ageing Societies (Project Acronym)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FeMiPol</td>
<td>Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society. Policy Assessment and Policy Recommendations (Project Acronym)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organisation for Migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAU</td>
<td>Local Administrative Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LFS</td>
<td>Labour Force Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NACE</td>
<td>Statistical Classification of Economic Activities in the European Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEET</td>
<td>Not in education, employment or training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUTS</td>
<td>Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPAS</td>
<td>Population Policy Acceptance Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>Purchasing Power Parities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIMTS</td>
<td>Prospects for Integration of Migrants From &quot;Third Countries&quot; and Their Labour Market Situations: Towards Policies and Action (Project Acronym)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFRY</td>
<td>Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SILC</td>
<td>Statistics on Income and Living Conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SORS</td>
<td>Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMAR</td>
<td>Urad RS za makroekonomsko analize in razvoj (Institute of Macroeconomic Analysis and Development)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
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Executive Summary

The overall aim of the study was to give an overview of major migration and labour market developments in Slovenia from 1950 until the present, with a focus on the economic, social, demographic and labour market developments in the last decade.

Slovenia is a relatively new nation-state which only achieved independence in 1991. Before that, it was one of the six republics of the former Yugoslavia. A more favourable socio-economic position of Slovenia with regard to the other Yugoslav republics proved to be crucial for understanding migration dynamics in the country in the period after 1950. Slovenia became a country of immigration already in the 1970s. However, Slovenia, prior to 1991, did not have significant experience with international migration movements, as internal migration within the former Yugoslav republics (especially from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia) was the prevailing form of immigration to the country.

After the break-up of the Yugoslav federal state, migration from these republics gained an international character. Slovenia was also faced with increasingly diversified migration movements. Two events that significantly shaped migration dynamics in Slovenia after it acquired independence were the arrival of displaced persons and refugees from war areas of the former Yugoslavia (especially Bosnia and Herzegovina) and an increasing number of people seeking international protection in Slovenia. However, a general finding is that the territory of the former Yugoslavia remains the most significant area of origin of immigrants coming to Slovenia. This has not changed with Slovenia joining the EU in 2004. This fact can be attributed to historical connections to the former Yugoslav republics and perceived cultural closeness of Slovenia and there are no indications that such a trend will change in the future.

With regard to emigration from Slovenia, politically motivated emigration from Slovenia prevailed in the period immediately after Second World War and guest-worker emigration to Western countries, especially Germany, was also characteristic. Slovenia was traditionally an emigration rather than an immigration country, although already in the 1970s immigration became increasingly important. After 1991, when Slovenia gained independence, emigration from Slovenia was not very significant. After Slovenia joined the EU in 2004, there were some indications of increased emigration of Slovenian citizens from the country. The emigrant flow has increased to some extent during the economic crisis.

With the changes in international borders within the former Yugoslav state, significant changes occurred also in statistical terms. Generally, migrants that came to Slovenia in the Yugoslav period acquired Slovenian citizenship. They were not classified as foreigners in population statistics, that only started to separate nationals from non-nationals in 1995. Therefore, the data on foreigners in Slovenia are not very useful for analysing the socio-economic characteristics of migrants in Slovenia. This problem is especially apparent for data at lower administrative (NUTS) levels, where the absolute number of foreigners is usually too low to allow for generalisations. Data on the labour market situations of non-nationals (e.g. LFS data) are also often unreliable. Furthermore, in the last two decades, newly formed nation-states appeared on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and therefore data on international immigration to Slovenia cannot be directly compared for the stated time period. Additionally, changed definitions of the population were used from 1995 and 2008 which further limits possibilities for the comparison of data. Comparability of data is further limited in a wider historical perspective (for the periods before and after Slovenia acquired independence).

The report also analysed the legal and policy framework that shaped migration developments in Slovenia. It was concluded that migration policy in Slovenia was largely based on major political (e.g. arrival of displaced persons and refugees from war areas of the former Yugoslavia) and economic developments (effects of the economic crisis on the situation of non-nationals on the labour market), rather than a policy with a definite and deliberate strategy. Further development of asylum and migration legislation in Slovenia was facilitated mostly by harmonisation of the Slovenian legislation with the EU legislation and its implementation and transposition into Slovenian domestic law. It was
also found that migration legislation in Slovenia gives priority to nationals, while in terms of catering to the needs of non-nationals it favours holders of permanent residence permits. Furthermore, the new definition of population of Slovenia from 2008 excludes individuals who have a valid residence permit in the duration of less than one year. In the view of increasingly restrictive conditions for employment of non-nationals in Slovenia and due to the economic crisis in the country that caused an increase in the number of unstable, short-term jobs, migration statistics omit a significant amount of individuals and blur the migration picture in the country.

Some general trends regarding the social and economic development in Slovenia are also presented in the study. Generally, Slovenia ranks quite favourably in terms of the EU averages on most of the indicators. This is also true of the extent of social policy provisions available to individuals and as regards to social inequalities. However, there are some indications that point to increasing social and economic inequalities especially in the period of the economic crisis from 2009. Especially evident are unfavourable labour market developments that point to increasing unemployment rates, also among the tertiary educated, which bears implications also for possibilities of brain drain from Slovenia that is gradually becoming apparent in the last couple of years. No specific policy measures had been taken to address the issue so far.

The report analysed data mostly on the national levels, but some data point to differences regarding migration developments also on the regional levels. However, as discussed in the regional case study, NUTS 2 and NUTS 3 levels bear no significance for the decision-making processes at the regional level, as municipalities are the main administrative body at the regional level. However, many of the municipalities in Slovenia are too small for any of the indicators to be reliable, which holds even to a greater extent for data on foreign nationals. There are also issues that have not been analysed in this report but would merit attention in research terms as well, such as the issue of cross-border migration which is of particular significance in selected regions and the issue of regional disparities that have an effect on migration decisions. This holds true both for the period after Slovenia acquired independence, as well as for the Yugoslav period, as there are some indications that regional not national level disparities might better explain inter-republic migration in this period. For this reason, internal migration within countries that later split into separate nation-states might need to be accounted for in more detail. Such events also conditioned particularities that shaped the migration developments in these countries: such as, for example, the erasure of individuals from the register of permanent residence in Slovenia, succession issues, and citizenship and dual citizenship issues, etc.

It can be expected that a continuous rise of global migration will occur and that migration will be increasingly diversified in the future. Although labour migration has been on the decrease in the last few years due to the effects of the global economic crisis, the role of family and transnational networks in migration should certainly not be overlooked, although the report has not tackled this aspect of migration. The latest trends in emigration also indicate that Slovenia could face increasingly diversified emigration from its territory in the future.
1. INTRODUCTION

The study is divided into five main parts. In the introduction, we give an overview of the main aims of the report, provide an overview of the methodology and sources used and describe the main difficulties and challenges in acquiring and interpreting the information in this report. We also provide an overview of definitions of the main terms that are used in the study.

In the second part of the study, we sketch major migration and labour market developments in Slovenia from 1950 until the end of 2011 (where possible data for later periods are also referred to), by referring to the major political, demographic, economic and other important events that shaped the migratory movements in Slovenia. We refer especially to the socio-economic position of Slovenia with regard to the other former Yugoslav republics and to the dynamics of internal migration in the former Yugoslav state. Nationals of the former Yugoslavia held a single umbrella citizenship and thus immigrants from the other Yugoslav republics to Slovenia were not regarded as foreigners until Slovenia gained independence in 1991. After 1991, the difference between third-country nationals and EU citizens became increasingly important in policy terms. In this regard, we identify distinct migratory (immigration and emigration) phases on the Slovenian territory from the 1950s onwards and describe the evolvement of data collection on internal and international migration. We also sketch main policy approaches to migration in this period. Special emphasis to major political events, such as the dissolution of Yugoslavia, formation of the new Slovenian nation-state and Slovenia’s accession and subsequent entrance into the EU is also given.

The third part of the study elaborates on these issues by describing the legal and policy framework on international migration. We identify attempts towards transposition of EU legislation in this field and provide information on main bilateral agreements with regard to migration and the labour market. Different perceptions and attitudes of the general public and some stakeholders towards migrants and migration are also presented in this section.

The fourth part of the study presents the core of the analysis. It refers to trends in international migration, labour market and human capital in the last decade (from 2001 to 2011/2013). First, an overview of major socio-economic trends in this period is presented, together with an overview of main indicators of social and economic development. Social policies that could have an impact on migration decisions are also described. Next, an overview of main international migration (emigration and immigration trends) is provided, with data both on the migrant flows and on the characteristics of the migrant stock. We upgrade this part by referring to other demographic trends (fertility, mortality, life expectancy, etc.), in relation to the immigration and emigration trends and describe the structure of the population in Slovenia by major socio-demographic characteristics (age, ethnicity, spatial distribution, education). In the subsequent part, we present the main characteristics of the labour market with a special section devoted to the integration of immigrants into the labour market. Indicative comparisons of Slovenian trends with major countries of origin of immigrants in Slovenia and countries of destination of emigrants from Slovenia are made and certain aspects of data on the local (regional) levels are presented where deemed appropriate and where possible due to availability, validity and reliability of data.

In the fifth part of the study, two issues that were not sufficiently elaborated in the other sections of the national report, but are nevertheless crucial to understanding migration-related issues in Slovenia, are addressed. The first pertains to the position of displaced persons and refugees from the former Yugoslav republics (mainly Bosnia and Herzegovina) in Slovenia. The second thematic focus is on citizenship policies in the context of the newly formed Slovenian sovereign nation-state with a short case study on its ‘erased’ residents.

In the conclusions to the country study, we draw preliminary conclusions from both the historical country study as well as from data on more recent socio-economic and political developments regarding migration to/from Slovenia. An outlook regarding migration trends and policies as well as an
evaluation of the data and its quality and usefulness are given. Some policy implications of findings are also presented.

As such, the report is likely to be of benefit for the national as well as the international audience. Since it provides a comprehensive overview of major trends in the field of migration and the labour market also in a historical perspective it could be especially useful to policy makers in the field of migration and the labour market, to the academic audience and to the wider public.

1.1. Methodology

The report relies on the processing and interpretation of empirical data, both data available to the public and data for which additional calculations were required. The list of sources includes secondary sources such as research and policy reports, scientific articles, press and media documents and transcripts of relevant laws and acts. The main sources of statistical data were the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Ministry of the Interior and the Bank of Slovenia. EUROSTAT data was used in cases where data is publicly available at the EUROSTAT web-page, but not from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, which directed us to EUROSTAT data. EUROSTAT data was also used to put the statistical data for Slovenia in a comparative perspective and other secondary sources were used to compare trends in Slovenia to trends in main migration partner countries. For GDP data, the Maddison database (Bolt and van Zanden, 2013) was used as it is deemed to be the best data source in a comparative perspective. Data cited by secondary sources was used to support the statistical data compiled for the purpose of this report. When deemed appropriate, informal and/or unofficial estimates were also used. Both quantitative and qualitative information was provided from material gathered from interviews and surveys that included migrants themselves.

The main challenges of the study refer especially to statistical data for the period before 1991. Although a vast amount of data on migration (internal migration within the former Yugoslavia and emigration from its territories) is available, data on international immigration to Slovenia is scarce. Data is also not comparable (e.g. data on GDP, employment) throughout different periods. Therefore, some aspects could not be addressed in an international (comparative) perspective. Sometimes, it was impossible to provide accurate statistical data for the stated time period. For this reason, some socio-economic and demographic trends had to be described only narratively and alternative information (e.g. a similar indicator) is provided. These issues are addressed in separate chapters.

1.2. Definitions

The main terminological issue of the country report refers to the changing definition of the population in Slovenia which affects also all the data on the flow and stock of both immigrants and emigrants and all the data that refers to the spatial, demographic and economic structure of the population. For this reason, we present the changes in the definition of the population in some detail.

Until 25 June 1991 (the proclamation of the independent Slovene state), the number of residents had included those who were registered as permanent residents in Slovenia. These were citizens of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (citizens of the Socialist Federal Republic of Slovenia and also citizens of other republics of the former SFR Yugoslavia). After 25 June 1991, citizens of the Republic of Slovenia with permanent residence in the Republic of Slovenia and persons who were citizens of the former SFR Yugoslavia and were registered as permanent residents in Slovenia at the time, but did not acquire citizenship of the Republic of Slovenia or any other citizenship, were included in the number of residents. Foreign nationals were citizens of SFR Yugoslavia who were, according to the permanent residence principle, listed in the Central Population Register, but did not acquire citizenship of the Republic of Slovenia or were in the process of acquiring it. Foreign nationals from other countries were not included in this definition. However, in 1995, a modified definition of
population was prepared. The most important change was that foreign citizens with a permit for temporary and permanent residence, valid work permit and business visas, persons under temporary protection and persons with refugee status, were also considered part of the population of the Republic of Slovenia. They were also included in the definition of foreigners. On the other hand, citizens of the Republic of Slovenia with permanent residence in Slovenia that went abroad for more than three months and gave notice of their departure in the administrative unit were excluded from the population of the Republic of Slovenia (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2011).

The need for harmonised statistics at the EU level was further reinforced at the enlargement of the EU. In order to provide better quality and comparability of these data at EU level and timely data exchange between Member States, the European Commission prepared the Regulation on Community Statistics on Migration and International Protection (Regulation (EC) No 862/2007), which came into force at the end of July 2007 and which Member States started to gradually implement in national statistics in 2008. The consequence of methodological requirements of this Regulation is the changed population definition in statistics. As Slovenia is a country where population data is register-based, the Central Population Register and the Register of Foreigners (since 2007) enable the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia to monitor data on all population categories according to the new definition.

Population of Slovenia according to the new methodology are persons with registered residence in Slovenia who have lived or intend to live in Slovenia for a year or more and have not been temporarily absent for a year or more. A person’s citizenship is not important, as the same criteria are applied for citizens of the Republic of Slovenia and for foreign nationals. The basis of the concept is the so-called usual residence, which in the case of Slovenia includes permanent and temporary residence (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2011).

The key criterion for determining usual residence is taking into account the one-year residence period: population are people who have lived in Slovenia for a year or more and people who intend to live in Slovenia for a year or more. For persons with permanent residence it is assumed that their intention is to live at the registered permanent residence for a year or more, while for persons with temporary residence the intention of residence is inferred from the period of validity of the registered temporary residence. This changed methodology has caused a slight decrease in the number of the population. The main reason is the exclusion of short-term immigrants (registered for less than a year), who have so far been included in the population of Slovenia at residence registration. According to the new definition these persons are included in the population only when they register residence with the intention to live in Slovenia for a year or more (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2011).

For data on the labour market and economic data (e.g. activity, employment and unemployment rates) LFS and EUROSTAT definitions are used. Migration-related terminology is used in accordance with the IOM, UNHCR and EMN definitions. For GDP, the United Nations definition is used (Annex 2).
2. HISTORIC-DYNAMIC ANALYSIS OF LABOUR MARKET, HUMAN CAPITAL AND MIGRATION DEVELOPMENTS

2.1. Political and Socio-Economic Overview

After the Second World War, the Yugoslav state, of which Slovenia formed a part, was constituted as a socialist country. In socio-economic terms, Slovenia was the most developed of all Yugoslav republics which made it attractive also for migrants from the other Yugoslav republics. According to Josipovič and Trbanc (2012: 3) its economy was functioning as a semi-market system (which included unemployment), and after the 1980s its market elements were strengthened quickly. Democratic civil movements and political developments at the end of the 1980s were accompanied by the economic crisis and there appeared increasing revolt against the centralisation of Yugoslavia and financial flows towards the other, less developed republics (Josipovič and Trbanc, 2012: 3).

After a large majority of the voters in Slovenia voted for its independence at the 1990 referendum, the country declared independence in 1991. The break-down and the transition from semi-planned to market economy accompanied by the loss of the former Yugoslav markets, gradually worsened the economic situation at the beginning of the 1990s, but after 1995, the economy started to stabilise again (Josipovič and Trbanc, 2012: 4). Such developments are also evident in the unemployment rate, which was only, for example only 2.2 per cent in 1988, but increased significantly in the beginning of the 1990s – it was already 14.4 per cent in 1993 and 1994 (Kožuh-Novak et al., 1998: 15). Recently, Slovenia has been experiencing the effects of the economic crisis which caused a drop in economic growth rates and increased unemployment which has particularly affected the low-waged sectors such as the construction industry which predominantly employ migrants (Pajnik et al., 2009a).

When the size of the population of Slovenia is observed, some particularities can be found. From the year 1857, when the first census was conducted in the Austro-Hungarian empire, which comprised Slovenia as well, until the beginning of the 1990s, the population of Slovenia increased only by 81 per cent which is less than in most other European countries. The largest increase in the number of the population in Slovenia can be observed in the period following World War II, especially from 1971 to 1981, when Slovenia became economically attractive also for people from the other former Yugoslav republics (Kožuh Novak et al., 1998: 9). According to Šircelj (2009: 32, 38), the slow increase of the population in Slovenia in the 20th century can be attributed first to negative net migration until the 1950s1 and in the later period to an increasingly lower natural increase. High labour force participation of women was a result both of the socialist ideological framework that defined women as both workers and mothers and defined paid employment for both genders as a social norm, as well as the result of economic needs and the needs and interest of women for working outside the home (Bahovec et al., 2002: 292-293, 302). The planned lowering of fertility in Slovenia first began at the end of the 19th century in cities, in the higher social strata of the population, among the more educated and among employed women and gradually expanded to all social groups and strata (Kožuh-Novak et al. 1998: 9; Šircelj, 2006). From 1980 onwards, Slovenia had been facing a significant decrease of the absolute number of births, which became even more apparent from 1989 until 1992, but the trend has now been reversed (Kožuh-Novak et al., 1998, Šircelj 2006). The total fertility rate, which was 2.58 in 1954, first fell below 2 in 1981, reached its lowest point with slight oscillations in the previous years in 2003 (1.20), continuously rising from 2005, with the rate in 2011 being 1.56

1 These values do not take into account emigration from Yugoslavia that became possible from the mid-1960s, but were formally not considered as emigration. People, who emigrated temporarily for work, and also their family members, were not considered as emigrants but as temporarily absent from Slovenia as they maintained their permanent residence in Slovenia. If these individuals were considered as emigrants, net migration in Slovenia would have become positive only in the 1970s/1980s (Šircelj, 2009: 32).
(Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2013). Until the middle of the 1970s, as much as 90 per cent of children were born to married parents, but from this time period a significant drop in nuptiality and the consequent increase in the percentage of children born outside marriage are characteristic of Slovenia. Also, generations of women born in the 1960s have started to postpone births (Kožuh-Novak et al., 1998: 10). While the average age of the mother during the period from 1971 to 1991 was around 25.5 years, in the year 2011 it was already 30.4 years (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2013).

The data on the age structure of the population clearly shows that an intense process of population ageing is taking place in Slovenia. After Second World War, at the 1948 census, the share of population above 65 years of age hardly exceeded 7 per cent but in the last census conducted in 2002; this share has doubled and reached almost 15 per cent of the population in Slovenia. The share of the working-age population (aged from 15 to 64 years) has increased by 5.5 per cent in this period, but the share of the youngest generation (0-14 years) has decreased significantly (28% in 1948 and a little above 15% in 2002) (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2008: 22; Figure 1). Additionally, data on the educational structure of the population indicates, that the share of the population (15 years and more) with only primary school education has been declining over the last decades, while the share of the population with lower and upper secondary education and those with post-secondary non-tertiary education and short-cycle tertiary education have been increasing steadily throughout the last decades Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2008).

![Figure 1: Percentage of population, aged 65 years or more, in total population, 1971-2011](image_url)

Other socio-economic indicators provide additional evidence of the socio-economic development in Slovenia from the Second World War. For example, the infant mortality rate was 57.2 in 1954, the year for which the first data are available and only 2.9 in 2011 (see Figure 2).
Although reliable and comparable data on GDP could not be obtained and estimates were calculated, we can observe that Slovenia has ranked first among the former Yugoslav republics both in the socialist period and also in the ‘transition period’ after the end of the state socialist economy and the adoption of the market economy. After a slight fall in GDP values in the beginning of the 1990s, around the time that Slovenia became an independent nation-state, the figures rose continuously until 2008 (see Figure 3; Bolt and van Zanden, 2013).

The structure of the GDP by sectors (see Figure 4) also demonstrates a rise of the industrial and service sector and the decrease of agricultural activity in Slovenia in the last twenty years. A growth of employment in the service sector can also be observed in the last two decades. The percentage of employed persons in the service sector in 1990 was 19.7 and in 2011 it was already 28.2 per cent (see Figure 5). Comparable and reliable data for previous periods are not available but the rise of industrial activity after Second World War is evident in Slovenia and is in line with ‘classic’ industrialisation and modernisation development patterns. Although a fall in the proportion of industrial activity can be observed in recent years, Slovenian industry did not collapse during the period of transition to the extent apparent in some other ‘transition’ countries.

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1 Due to changed methodology, data for the period between 1990 and 1994 are not directly comparable to data for the years 1995 to 2010. Data for the period from 1990 to 1994 are prepared according to the NACE Rev. 1 and from 1995 on according to the NACE Rev. 2 classification of activities (clarification of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia provided with the data sheet).

2 Comparable data are not available for previous periods.

3 Due to changed methodology, data for the period between 1990 and 1994 cannot be directly compared to data for the years 1995 to 2011.
Figure 3: Total GDP and real GDP (per capita), 1952-2010

Source: Maddison database, Bolt and van Zanden, 2013

Figure 4: Percentage of real GDP across economic sectors, 1990-2010

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia (data sheet prepared for the country report)
2.2. Development of international migration

As Zavratnik Zimic (2004: 10) writes, the monitoring of immigration statistics on Slovenian territory was first introduced in 1763. Such monitoring was discontinued for 40 years in the period of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and in 1953 Slovenia started to monitor migration movements again. However, as regards immigration, data on the dynamics and the socio-economic characteristics of internal migrants from the former Yugoslav republics to Slovenia was collected and analysed in great detail. There is hardly any raw data available on international migration to Slovenia and this phenomenon was not really pronounced until independence. For this reason, for the period until 1991, we refer largely to internal, not international migration movements and trends. Also data on emigration of Yugoslav citizens was extensively captured in statistics. It is only from the year 1992 (a year after Slovenia acquired independence) that Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia has started to compile data on Slovenian citizens and foreigners, but from 1995 these have been collected in accordance with the new definition of the population (for more see the Introduction to the national report). The European Commission Regulation on Community Statistics on Migration and International Protection Regulation (EC) No 862/2007) was implemented in national population statistics in 2008 and from that time a concordant definition of the population in Slovenia is also in effect.

Migration in Slovenia after World War II could be grouped into three major phases (Zavratnik Zimic, 2004):

- From 1945 until 1954, Slovenia was mainly an emigration country.

- In the period from 1954 until 1990, mostly internal migration within the former Yugoslav republics (especially from the 1970s) and temporary emigration from Slovenia mainly to Germany and Austria was observed.

- After Slovenia acquired independence in 1991, the creation of migration policy at the national level began and migration flows were altered substantially, as migration from the former Yugoslav republics previously defined as internal migration, became classified as international migration. A diversification of migration flows was also observed.
The main characteristics of these periods are the following:

1. **POST WORLD WAR II PERIOD (1945-1953):**

   In the period immediately after World War II emigration from the Slovene territory was prevalent and the reasons behind such migration were mostly political, as post-war Europe was still in the process of post-war reconstruction and it was not until the mid-1950s that a rise in economically motivated migration was observed (Zavratnik Zimic, 2004: 9).

2. **INTERNAL MIGRATION WITHIN THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLICS AND GUEST WORKER MIGRATION (1954-1990s)**

   During this phase, Slovenia turned from a republic of emigration to a republic of immigration. Immigration of people from the former Yugoslav republics (mostly Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia) which was at that time defined as internal not international migration is the most prominent characteristic of this period. From 1960 and 1974, net migration of Slovenia in comparison to the other Yugoslav republics was positive, between 3,000 and 5,000 a year. Žitnik (2004: 237) writes that most immigrants to Slovenia in this period were actually intellectuals and officers in the Yugoslav national army. During the period from 1975 until 1980 net migration rose from between 5,000 to 9,000 a year.

   Temporary migration from the former Yugoslav republics mostly of seasonal character (e.g. in construction, tourism), was also an important feature of this period, but neither research nor statistical data are available for this trend (Zavratnik Zimic, 2004). Nevertheless, most migrants, although first labelled as temporary migrants, later stayed in Slovenia. This wave of migration was caused by the accelerated industrialisation in Yugoslavia from the mid-fifties where several hundreds of mostly unskilled workers moved into towns (Repe in Zavratnik Zimic, 2004). In terms of migration, the most important territories were around the capital city of Ljubljana and the cities of Celje, Velenje and Jesenice, which were at that time the main industrial centres. The other immigration areas were the municipalities bordering Croatia and the territories of the municipalities on the Slovenian coast, where immigrants were employed in different industries and tourism (Kodelja in Zavratnik Zimic, 2004: 11). Immigrants were mostly young and men were in majority. Their educational structure did not differ significantly from the general population and the majority worked in transport, metal industry construction industry and the health sector (Zavratnik Zimic, 2004: 11). Particularly in the 1970s when the Western states which had been their primary countries of destination started limiting immigration as a response to the oil crisis, more pronounced immigration to Slovenia from the former Yugoslav republics began (Pajnik and Bajt, 2010: 30).

   Some researchers claim migration flows from the former Yugoslav republics to Slovenia were mostly economically motivated (Zavratnik Zimic, 2004). Migration movements towards Slovenia could thus be interpreted as the consequence of unemployment in other Yugoslav republics and almost full employment in Slovenia triggered not only by its economic development but also by temporary and permanent emigration of Slovenia’s population abroad. The economic market did not encourage migration of capital, but rather migration of the labour force (Zavratnik Zimic, 2002: 9).

   Labour emigration from Slovenia to mainly Western European countries, where labour shortages were evident until the 1973 oil crisis, was most pronounced in the second half of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s under the so-called ‘guest-worker regime’. The prevailing conception at first was that such emigration would be temporary, but it soon became clear that many emigrants would stay in their destination countries (Zavratnik Zimic, 2002).

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5 It seems that economic motivation of migration under state socialism is an important factor to consider. The case of Slovenia and the other Yugoslav republics are close to that of Czechoslovakia.
3. MIGRATION AFTER 1991

In 1991, when Slovenia gained independence the process of creating migration policy at the national level began (Zavrtnik Zimic, 2004: 9; Zavrtnik, 2006: 344). This process was undoubtedly influenced also by the fact that especially in the first half of the 1990s; Slovenia started to receive a greater number of displaced persons and refugees from the war-torn republics of the former Yugoslavia, especially Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The statistical data on immigration which will be presented in more detail in Chapter 4 of this study clearly demonstrate that a vast majority (more than 90%) of immigrants to Slovenia still come from European countries, and among these the former Yugoslav countries, predominantly Bosnia and Herzegovina, are still in great majority. This can certainly be attributed to historical connections to the former Yugoslav republics and perceived ‘cultural closeness’ of Slovenia. Most immigrants to Slovenia are still male.

However, although migrants from the former Yugoslav republics largely prevail in Slovenia, especially from the end 1990’s onwards, Slovenia was faced with more diversified migration flows in terms of country of origin and with the onset of the so-called ‘irregular immigrants crisis’ in 2000 and 2001, when Slovenia witnessed a significantly higher number of asylum seekers and irregular immigrants. This provoked fierce public responses regarding perceived threats to Slovenian national identity. It became clear, in the words of Zavrtnik Zimic (2004: 41) that ‘immigration to Slovenia represents a continuous phenomenon, rather a process than a single act over a short limited period’. This bears important consequences for the implementation of Slovenian migration policies that seem to not have included this diversification of migration movements, both in size as well as by forms of migration. The adoption of the Schengen legal order took place in 2008.

Despite such increasing importance of international migration in Slovenia in the period after the country acquired independence, the share of foreigners in Slovenia is low, around 2 per cent of the total population and has not changed considerably since 1995, the year from which comparable data are being collected although the values reached 4 per cent in 2010 and (more detailed figures are presented in Chapter 4.2.2.1). The decrease in the number of foreigners from 1992 until 1994 could be attributed to the acquisitions of Slovenian citizenship by citizens of the other republics of SFR Yugoslavia. Also, people who were erased from the population register in 1992 (see the case study on Citizenship policies in Chapter 5) were no longer included in the population of Slovenia. An increase in the number of foreigners in the year 1999 is mainly due to the ‘forced migration flow’ during the crisis in Kosovo and to the implementation of the Act Regulating the Status of Citizens of Former Yugoslavia Living in the Republic of Slovenia. It must also be noted that displaced persons, mainly from Bosnia in Herzegovina, who settled in Slovenia in 1992 and 1993 were included in neither population statistics nor the statistics of foreigners until 1995.

Emigration of Slovenian citizens abroad in this period was relatively low, the numbers only started to increase in recent years, possibly in response to the economic crisis that affected Slovenia as well, but not yet as unfavourably as some other countries. Most emigrants are men, and they are on average younger than immigrants. However, a considerable outflow of migrants can be observed also for the citizens of the former Yugoslav republics who have returned to their countries of origin (for a more detailed presentation of statistical trends, see Chapter 4 of this report).

2.3. Evolution of the Migration Policy and Legal System

Andreev (2007: 307), referring to migration within the socialist Yugoslavia claims that ‘an important reason for immigration to Slovenia was the absence of a common immigration policy in former Yugoslavia which could regulate the status of workers.’ Also, there were no official restrictions on

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6 For more on this issue see for example Jalušič, 2001; Lipovec Čebron, 2002; Pajnik et al., 2001, Zavrtnik Zimic, 2004.
internal migration between the Yugoslav republics (Zavratnik Zimic, 2002); the population of Yugoslavia held common Yugoslav citizenship which defined such migration as internal, not international migration. These migrants were not subjected to rigorous procedures for arranging their residence status (Pistotnik, 2013). In terms of numbers, international immigration to Yugoslavia was not significant (Josipović, 2006). An interesting phenomenon was immigration of students from the countries of the non-aligned movement, which Yugoslavia was part of. In Slovenia, however, this remains almost completely unresearched both in statistical as well as in descriptive terms. In terms of emigration of its citizens abroad, Yugoslavia, compared to other socialist states, allowed individuals the greatest degree of freedom of movement, especially after the reforms of the mid-sixties when Yugoslavia moved more towards the system of ‘market socialism’. It was also then that services to assist foreign companies seeking workers and to help workers to move abroad and to maintain contact with their country of origin were established (Bradford studies on Yugoslavia, 1979: 26-27).

Until the end of the 1960s, Yugoslavia did not have any bilateral agreements regulating the labour and social situation of its citizens abroad, but after this period, employment offices at the republic and municipality level and trade unions became increasingly involved in arranging employment of workers from Yugoslavia in foreign countries (Lukšič-Hacin, 2007: 190).

Foundations of migration law in Slovenia in its present form only reach to the period after the country acquired independence in 1991. At that time, several pieces of legislation regulating admission of foreigners to Slovenia and their access to several fields of social life, including employment, were adopted (the most important one being the Aliens Act) but the first policy documents in the field of migration were only produced at the end of this decade. The Resolution on Immigration Policy and the Resolution on Migration Policy of the Republic of Slovenia from 1999 and 2002 still remain the principal policy documents in the field of migration (COMIDE, 2012: 3).

However, these documents did not yet include specific integration measures for migrants that would help improve their immediate situation and would address also their specific integration needs. Most measures were addressed and applied to persons who were granted international protection (asylum status) (COMIDE, 2012: 3), which will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

Only recently, surely under the influence of policies at the EU level and following numerous civil society initiatives, have authorities started to implement more focused integration measures (COMIDE, 2012: 3). For example, in 2008, a Decree on Alien Integration (which has already been replaced by the new Aliens Act from 2011) was adopted, and some strategic documents in the field of education and labour migration have also been adopted recently (e.g. Strategy of Economic Migration). These are addressed in greater detail in Chapter 3 of the study.
3. NATIONAL POLICIES AND PERSPECTIVES REGARDING INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

3.1. Legal and Policy Framework on International Migration

3.1.1. Main migration policy documents

Slovenia does not have an explicitly stated pro-immigration policy. The basic framework of migration policy was established by the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia in 1991. It provides for special rights of the non-nationals employed in Slovenia and members of their families (FeMiPol policy brief, 2006). The two main ‘umbrella’ documents in this field are the Resolution on Immigration Policy and the Resolution on Migration policy which laid the foundations for the creation and implementation of migration policy at the national level.

The Resolution on Immigration Policy adopted in 1999 is one of the fundamental documents defining migration policy at the national level. It acknowledges the complexity of migration and the attractiveness of Slovenia as both a transit and a destination country noting a lack of a coherent decision making process in the field of migration. The resolution divides immigration policy into three separated, though mutually connected and complementary parts: migration policy in a narrow sense, pertaining to the regulation of immigration; asylum policy as part of the refugee policy and integration policy, referring to state and society measures guaranteeing favourable conditions for immigrants' quality of life and enabling immigrants to become responsible participants in the social development of Slovenia (Resolution on Immigration Policy, 1999). The Resolution on Immigration Policy does not contain any sections that explicitly mention a pro-immigration policy, but it contains a section dealing with regulation of immigration. It is mentioned that Slovenia will lead an immigration policy in accordance with the principles of relative free movement, solidarity and humanitarianism in a way that immigration will mean an encouragement to the economic, population and socio-cultural development of Slovenia. In addition, the resolution states that Slovenia will develop a system of immigration regulation that will enable border migration, seasonal migration and other short-term migration. It is also mentioned that migration policy should not lead to breaching obligations stated in international agreements, generally accepted principles and national legislation (Resolution on Immigration Policy, 1999).

The Resolution on Migration Policy from 2002 follows the same principles. It emphasises the need for adjustment with international standards, which is evident in the consistency in respecting the non-refoulement principle and the right to family reunification. However, the resolution states that immigration and return of Slovene citizens and foreigners of Slovene origin is to be encouraged, although it does not state any concrete measures to achieve this. The pluralistic model of integration, determined in the Resolution on Immigration Policy, is followed in the Resolution on Migration Policy. To other integration measures already stated in the Resolution on Immigration Policy, it adds the active prevention of discrimination, xenophobia and racism (Resolution on Migration Policy, 2002).

3.1.2. Foreign-nationals legislation

The most important policy document as regards to foreign citizens is the Aliens Act which was (in its latest version) adopted in 2011. The act regulates aspects of alien policy such as: entering, residing in and leaving the state, visas and residence permits, forced removal of aliens and integration of aliens.

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7 Some more general policy documents also address the issue of migration. In view of the process of population ageing, the Strategy of the Development of Slovenia from 2005 the need for positive net migration flow is mentioned (Vrečer, 2010: 129).
8 The term alien is kept when referring to translations of official acts. In other instances, we employ the term non-nationals or foreign nationals.
Regarding migration policy, it states the National Assembly should adopt a resolution on migration policy in Slovenia defining the economic, social and other measures in this field (Aliens Act, 2011). The act has transposed into Slovenian legislation various EU directives (such as the EU Blue Card, Return and Employers Sanctions Directives) and has broadened the scope of family members eligible to family reunification also to de-facto and same-sex partners (International Migration Outlook, 2012).

In the area of the labour market position of foreign workers the Employment and Work of Aliens Act was first adopted in 1992, but its latest version was adopted in 2011. One of the main elements of the Act is the distinction between three types of work permits. These are: a personal work permit allowing free access to the labour market; a work permit for the purpose of employment in accordance with permanent employment needs of employers (with this permit, an alien can only be employed by the employer asking for granting the permit) and a work permit with the time limitation set in advance on the basis of which an alien can temporarily get work in Slovenia in the field of work for which it was issued. The government can, in accordance with the migration policy and given the trends in the labour market, annually set a quota of work permits in order to limit the number of aliens in the labour market (Employment and Work of Aliens Act, 2011). The new Employment and Work of Aliens Act from 2011 also regulates the issue of free access to the Slovenian labour market without a work permit. The following groups of foreign citizens are given free access to the labour market in Slovenia: family members of a Slovenian citizen, a citizen of EU, EEA and Swiss Confederation and their family members who do not have EU, EEA or Swiss Confederation citizenship, but do have a temporary residence permit of a family member or a visa for long-term residence; foreign nationals with a permanent residence permit in Slovenia; individuals with refugee status; foreign nationals who have a long-term residence status in another EU member state after one year of residence in the Republic of Slovenia and foreign nationals of Slovenian descent (Employment and Work of Aliens Act, 2011). Some of these groups that needed work permits in the past (e.g. foreign nationals with a permanent residence permit, individuals with refugee status) are thus no longer included in the statistical data on issued work permits and significant differences exist as regards the number of issued work permits before and after the law came into force (Ministry of Family, Labour, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, Employment and Work of Third-Country Nationals). These issues are addressed in more detail in Chapter 4 of this report.

The Decree on Alien Integration from 2008 suggests additional integration measures such as learning of the Slovenian language, culture and history depending on the type of permit issued to a foreign national, integration into the education system, obtaining certificates on national professional qualifications, information regarding integration into the Slovenian society and adds measures for mutual knowledge and understanding with Slovene citizens (Decree on Alien Integration, 2008). However, the Decree is no longer in use, as its provisions are now covered by the Aliens Act from 2011 which follows similar principles.

### 3.1.3. Forced migration and asylum policies

Concerning the legal regulation of forced migration and the position of forced migrants, the main policy document is the International Protection Act (previously Asylum Act). The Asylum Act was adopted in 1999 and then replaced with the International Protection Act in 2009. The Republic of Slovenia provides international protection and asylum and allows for accommodation in an integration house, financial compensation for private accommodation and a passport for a refugee upon recognised international protection status. The purpose of international protection is to provide protection to those individuals to whom protection is not provided by their countries of citizenship or permanent residence. Any foreigner or person without citizenship who thinks that he or she is systematically persecuted in their country of citizenship due to his or her political belief or due to his or her religion, race, nationality or ethnic origin may ask for international protection and
asylum (*International Protection Act, 2009*), although in reality the number of persons with recognised statuses is low (for more information, see Chapter 4 of this report).9

### 3.1.4. Citizenship legislation

The *Citizenship Act* is the main document regulating the acquisition of citizenship by birth, adoption and naturalisation, including the loss of citizenship and the issue of dual citizenship. It also contains special provisions for emigrants from Slovenia and people of Slovenian descent (*Citizenship Act*).

*Act Regulating the Status of Citizens of Former Yugoslavia Living in the Republic of Slovenia* is the main document regulating succession citizenship issues that emerged with the break-up of the former Yugoslavia. It determines that a citizen of another republic of former Yugoslavia who had permanent residence in the Republic of Slovenia on 23 December 1991 and has lived in Slovenia since and a non-national that has lived in Slovenia without interruption from 25 June 1991 on, shall be issued with a permit for permanent residence, in accordance with the conditions set in this act, regardless of the provisions under the *Aliens Act (Act Regulating the Status of Citizens of Former Yugoslavia Living in the Republic of Slovenia, 2010)*.10

Slovenian legislation in the field of migration is conditioned mostly upon citizenship and/or permanent residence (Pajnik et al., 2006a) and contains insufficient provisions for other groups of foreign nationals. Migrant from ‘third-countries’ who hold only temporary residence permits are entitled to a significantly smaller degree of rights than are holders of permanent residence permits. The majority of foreign nationals in Slovenia are holders of only temporary residence permits.11

A group that is completely unaddressed in current migration policies are transit migrants whose destination countries are other Western European states, not necessarily Slovenia (Pajnik et al., 2006a; Zavratnik Zimic, 2004). This is important in view of Slovenia being not only a country of more permanent forms of immigration but as a Schengen bordering country also a country of transit for migrants (especially to those headed for destination countries of Austria, Germany and Italy).

### 3.1.5. Migration policy and the EU

Medved (2010: 9) claims that further development of asylum and migration legislation was facilitated mostly by harmonisation of the Slovenian legislation with the EU legislation and its implementation and transposition into the Slovenian domestic law. The main European directives that pertain to general migration policy that were transposed into Slovenian law were *Council Directives 2003/867EC (Directive on Family reunification), 2003/109/EC (Directive on Long-Term Residents) and 2004/81/EC (Directive on Victims of Human Trafficking)*. The most important directives in the context of asylum law include *Council Directives 2004/83/EC (Qualification Directive), 2005/857EC (Procedure Directive) and 2003/9/EC (Directive on Reception Conditions)*.

With Slovenia entering the EU, foreign nationals from other EU countries with residence in Slovenia have been given various political, social and economic rights, such as the right to participate in local elections, the right to work, social security benefits, buying of property, etc. These rights are enshrined also in the new *Aliens Act* from 2011, which states that preferential treatment is given to

9 In the case of the displaced people and refugees from the former Yugoslav republics, Slovenia adopted temporary protection measures that were addressed under separate laws. For more on this issue, see the focus on temporary protection policies in the case of the displaced people and refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina in Chapter 5 of this report.

10 In theory, this act should regulate also the position of the people that were ‘erased’ from the register of permanent residents in 1991. More detailed information on this issue is provided in Chapter 5 which focuses also on citizenship policies in the process of creating a new sovereign Slovenian nation-state.

11 This issue will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 4 where specific social policy provisions that target different groups of migrants will be presented in more detail.
some groups of foreign nationals, for instance, free movement of EEA nationals is guaranteed and several visa and residence permit requirements are imposed on ‘third-country nationals’. An exception to the general three-months duration of the visa, are cases of family members of Slovenian or EU citizens for the purposes of family reunification, diplomatic personnel, journalists, professional sportsmen and trainers (Aliens Act, 2011; COMIDE, 2012: 4).

With the aim of protecting their own national labour markets, most of the fifteen ‘old’ EU members, adopted the so-called transitional period for eight of the ten countries that joined the EU on 1 May 2004, and Slovenia was among these countries as well. Slovenian citizens thus generally needed work permits to work in ‘old’ member states, but the length of this transitional period varied between countries. From 1 May 2011, Slovenian workers, like workers from other countries that joined the EU in 2004, can be employed without limitations in all member states of the EU, including Austria and Germany that retained the limitations on the free movement of workers right until the end of the seven-year transitional period. Slovenian citizens are thus formally equal to citizens on labour markets of all the European Union member states. It is also important that a Slovenian company can ‘send’ foreign workers (regardless of their citizenship) to work in another EU member state if such a worker has been employed with this company for at least a month (Ministry of Family, Labour, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, Free flow of workers and labour force).

3.1.6. Main policy documents on labour migration

In recent years, more focused policy documents that pertain to the issue of migrants on the Slovenian labour market have been adopted. At the end of 2010, Slovenia adopted the Strategy of Economic Migration, a sort of an umbrella document in the field of labour migration. The aim of the Strategy is to define the guidelines and actions for immigration that will balance the effects of the decrease in the working age population and lessen the short-term inconsistencies on the labour market. The Strategy also aims to reduce brain drain with the encouragement of circular migration of professionals. There are no specific guidelines on how it aims to achieve this, but partner dialogue with countries of origin is emphasised. Among its guidelines is also the encouragement of return of Slovenian emigrants to Slovenia. It also addresses the subject of immigrant integration. The Strategy envisages four principal measures for a more efficient management of migration, reception of migrants and regulation of their rights and provides a general framework for the management of labour migration. These measures are: temporary limited sectoral schemes (by specific sectors); the Blue card Scheme; ways to establish circular migration and the simplification and unification of procedures for the reception of third country citizens for the purposes of work and employment and some other purposes (Strategy of Economic Migration, 2010).

In 2010, the Government of the Republic of Slovenia adopted the Act of the Recognition of Professional Qualifications for physicians, physician specialists, dental medicine doctors and dental medicine doctor specialists that defines a new procedure for recognition of professional qualifications acquired in third countries. The main goal of the act was an easier and quicker procedure for acknowledging professional qualifications for people in these professions who acquired their qualifications in third countries (Act of the Recognition of Professional Qualifications for physicians, physician specialists, dental medicine doctors and dental medicine doctor specialists 2010). The Council Directive 2009/50/EC of 25 May 2009 on conditions for entry and residence of third country nationals for the purposes of highly qualified employment was transposed into Slovenian legislation with the new Aliens Act in 2011 (EMN, 2010). The procedures for issuing a foreigner with the EU Blue Card have also been defined with this act. The EU Blue Card enables a foreigner entry and residence in the Republic of Slovenia as well as access to the labour market for highly-qualified employment. The main novelty is the joint application for the Blue Card that includes a working permit as well as a residence permit that no longer have to be applied for separately (Aliens Act, 2011; Employment Service of Slovenia).
As regards migration (emigration and immigration) policies related to specific groups of individuals or to specific bilateral agreements between countries, some more specific policies and measures have been adopted recently. The Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Slovenia and the Government of the Republic of Macedonia on the Employment of Seasonal Workers has been ratified in 2008. The Agreement provides the framework for the employment of seasonal workers from both countries in different sectors and regulates the permissible length of such work (Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Slovenia and the Government of the Republic of Macedonia on the Employment of Seasonal Workers 2008). More importantly, on 1 March 2013 the Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Slovenia and the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the Employment of Citizens from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Republic of Slovenia came into force. The Agreement regulates the conditions for employment of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Slovenia and the procedures for issuing work permits, but does not include the right to reside in Slovenia which remains regulated by the Aliens Act. The Agreement states that citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina can become employed in Slovenia if they have been registered at the Employment Office of Bosnia and Herzegovina for at least 30 days, are older than 18 years, there are no available workers on the Slovenian labour market for posted job offers and their employer fulfils the legal conditions for to employ foreign national. The procedures for the employment of workers from Bosnia and Herzegovina are thus to be arranged through the Employment Offices of both countries. The agreement also takes into account the supposed favourable effects of labour force circulation, voluntary return of workers into their country of origin and adopting a migration policy that would help reduce brain drain in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Slovenia and the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the Employment of Citizens from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Republic of Slovenia 2013). However, as some research studies have noted (e.g. COMIDE, 2012: 18) this agreement envisages a highly selective migration policy on the part of Slovenia as a country of destination, as restrictions on the employment of migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina can be imposed at any time.

The National Programme on Higher Education for 2011-2020 sets a goal of attaining at least 10 per cent of foreign students at Slovenian higher education institutions and at least 10 per cent of foreign university professors and research staff. In addition, it envisages an establishment of a financial fund for the mobility of students, university professors and researchers from priority regions and countries (in Medved, 2010: 12).

In the view of Medved (2010: 9) one of the key state mechanisms for regulating labour migration in Slovenia has been the annual quota of work permits which has doubled from 16,700 in 2005; to 32,000 in 2008. Nevertheless, at the moment, the government no longer has an obligation to set such quotas and they have not been set since 2010. In response to the current economic crisis, however, some policy provisions have been adopted in recent years that regulate the work of migrants from individual regions and working in specific sectors. Since employment permits for foreigners usually have to be obtained before entering Slovenia and are mostly subject to quota restrictions, the situation on the labour market in Slovenia is one of the key factors that are taken into account when work permits are issued (Pajnik et al., 2009b). The recent financial crisis put a great pressure on Slovenia’s labour market and one of the government policy responses was to adopt the Decree on Restrictions and Prohibition of Employment and Work of Aliens approved in June 2009 which was in force until the end of 2010. No comparable protectionist policies existed before this date and for this reason we present it here in quite some detail although it is no longer in force. Seasonal work in tourism and construction sectors was prohibited and so was the employment of third-country nationals in the entertainment sectors – the so-called ‘nightclub dancer’ work permits.

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12 An exception to this 30-day rule are ‘professional posts’ that are defined as guaranteeing payment in the amount of three times the minimum wage in Slovenia.

13 According to the recent statistics, the number of foreign students enrolled in Slovenian universities in the academic year 2011/2012 was 3301 (2169 undergraduate and 1132 postgraduate) (Statistical Yearbook, 2012)
could no longer be issued to third-country national migrant women. Also, employment of workers from Kosovo was mainly prohibited due to perceived abuses of work permits. The Decree introduced a regional distribution of quotas: 95 per cent of unused quotas should be distributed among the nationals of Yugoslavia’s successor states except Kosovo and the remaining 5 per cent among other third-country nationals and Kosovo citizens. New permits could no longer be issued to representatives of micro and small companies and to representatives of branch offices (Pajnik et al., 2009a; Pajnik and Bajt, 2010). Although the Decree is no longer in force, the Aliens Act from 2011 defines other possible protectionist measures to limit the number of foreigners on the labour market. In addition to quotas, there are also possibilities of limiting the number of self-employed foreign nationals, foreign employment in certain regions, companies and sectors and limiting the inflow of foreign workers completely or only from some regions, when this is sensible from the viewpoint of public order, public security, public health, general economic interest or conditions and forecasted movements on the labour market in Slovenia (Aliens Act, 2011). The only limitation to the employment of foreign nationals that is in force at the moment is the prohibition of employment and work of foreign nationals for those employers who violate labour laws according to the records of the Labour Inspectorate of the Republic of Slovenia. These employers are banned from employing foreign nationals for one, two or three years, depending on the legal nature of the violation.

3.1.7. Emigration and emigrant legislation

With regard to the policies that target Slovenian citizens living abroad, in the Resolution on Relation to Slovenians Abroad from 2002, the interest of Slovenia for return migration of Slovenians is mentioned and providing information on different procedures that could ease the return of Slovenians from abroad and their descendants was recognised as an important element of such a process (Resolution on Relation to Slovenians abroad, 2002; Josipovič and Trbanc, 2012: 23). The basis for more focused policy documents in this area is the Act Regulating Relations between the Republic of Slovenia and Slovenians abroad, adopted in 2006 and amended in 2010. The act envisages cooperation in the area of culture, preserving Slovenian language, science and higher education, sport, economic and regional cooperation. The Act also mentions conditions for repatriation (Act Regulating Relations between the Republic of Slovenia and Slovenians abroad, 2010). Three main policy documents dealing with the relation of the Republic of Slovenia to its citizens living abroad have been prepared by the Governmental Office for Slovenians Abroad. The Strategy of Relations Between the Republic of Slovenia and Slovenians Abroad emphasises the cultural and language elements of preserving the Slovenian identity abroad and addresses people outside Slovenia’s borders as important actors in the development of Slovenia, for example through their participation in the social and political life in Slovenia (Act Regulating Relations between the Republic of Slovenia and Slovenians abroad). However, no concrete measures to achieve these goals are mentioned (Josipovič and Trbanc, 2012: 21). The Action Plan on cooperation with the scientists and top experts of Slovenian origin living abroad mentions, among other parts, also the encouragement of return of emigrated scientists and professionals and the Action Plan regarding cooperation and support to young Slovenians living in neighbouring countries and abroad promotes exchange of youth from Slovenia and countries of Slovenian emigration in various activities related to, for example, economic life, language learning etc. (Josipovič and Trbanc, 2012: 22). Josipovič and Trbanc, on the basis of their review of current return policies in Slovenia (2012: 25) state that the two main potential groups of returnees are Slovenian scientists and experts living abroad and young Slovenians from the second and third generation who are living abroad. They also find (Josipovič and Trbanc, 2012: 25) that there are no concrete employment policy measures aimed at integrating returning migrants and their family members into the labour market, with the exception of the possibility for obtaining the status of ‘Slovene without a citizenship’ which gives a priority right for a job before citizens of other third-countries. There are also some scholarships available for descendants of Slovenian emigrants wanting to study in Slovenia. In terms of circular migration
programmes designed also for Slovenian citizens, the area of mobility also includes short-term migration of students and university teaching staff (professors and researchers) who can participate in different exchange and mobility programmes (Josipović and Trbanc, 2012: 20).

3.1.8. General conclusions

Although it is clear that the European Union does not have a common migration and asylum policy, in the view of Pajnik et al. (2009a: 1) Slovenia, within the standard EU framework, has adopted the so-called ‘southern model’ of migration policies which prioritises border controls and exclusion over integration measures’. Slovenia’s inclusion into the EU and its adoption of the Schengen system could be one of the reasons why there has not been efficient implementation of legislation in practice (FeMiPol policy brief, 2006). A continuous rise in global migration can certainly be expected also in Slovenia, as more and more countries are included in migration and migrants come from increasingly diverse social environments (Zavratnik, 2006: 348). Andreev (2007: 308) gives a general observation that ‘Slovene immigration policy has largely been a policy ‘imposed by events’ rather than a carefully crafted and deliberated strategy regarding the organisation and monitoring of migration flows from and to the country’s territory. The case of the regulation of the position of the displaced persons and refugees during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the subsequent affordance of only temporary protection measures to these individuals, a policy which lasted for ten years (from 1992 until 2002) is the most illustrative example (more on this issue in Chapter 5 of this study). Also, the events surrounding the exploitation of migrant workers, especially those working in the construction industry, in recent years and the policy measures that were adopted subsequently further elucidate this issue (for more on the position of migrant workers on the labour market in Slovenia, see Chapter 4 of this report).

3.2. Perceptions of international migration

According to Zavratnik (2011: 57), although numerous studies have been conducted on the issue of integration of migrants in Slovenia, theoretical and empirical evidence does not give a comprehensive picture on the attitude of the general public towards migration, as the monitoring of public opinion on these issues is more accidental than systematic.

The most general conclusion regarding the attitude of the general public towards immigration and immigrants is that it is generally negative. This holds particularly for the attitude towards immigrants from the former Yugoslav republics that represent the majority of immigrants in Slovenia (Kralj, 2008: 237). A general question measuring social distance towards different social groups, which is regularly asked also within the Slovene public opinion poll and is also a part of the World Value Survey,14 is ‘Which of the following groups of people you would not want to have as your neighbours?’ The share of respondents who would not want to have immigrant neighbours was largest after the declaration of independence with the arrival of displaced persons and refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina (39.6% in 1992 and 55.6% in 1993), and gradually stabilised at around one fifth of the population in the last decade (Kralj, 2008: 237).

The international Migrant Integration Survey, within which a focus group with members of the general public was conducted in all 27 EU member states in 2011, shows that respondents in Slovenia see migrants working mainly in healthcare; care for the elderly, construction, doing manual work agriculture and as athletes (Migrant integration, 2011: 31). Respondents in Slovenia mentioned historical connections with Slovenia (the case of the former Yugoslav republics) as one of the main

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14 The Slovene public opinion poll is the widest longitudinal social survey in Slovenia – which is also included into international survey programmes such as the International Social Survey Programme, World Value Survey, European Social Survey, etc. It is conducted at the Faculty of social sciences at the University of Ljubljana.
Researchers have demonstrated that migration policy in relation to gender is formulated in a generalised manner without serious consideration of the distinctive and vulnerable position of women. The FEMAGE project (Pajnik et al. 2006b) and the focus group with stakeholders in migration policy within the framework of the FeMiPol project (Knežević Hočevar et al., 2009) revealed a strikingly similar picture. The discussion was generally centred on the ‘need for migrants’ reasons for immigration. They generally did not see the need for specific introductory integration measures for immigrants to Slovenia, although on the other hand they noted the lack of the labour force in specific sectors which migrants could help fill (Migrant Integration, 2011: 29-30).

The Population Policy Acceptance Survey (PPAS) conducted with the migration/foreigners module in eight European Countries (Austria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia) is more focused than for example the European Social Survey and the European Value Survey, which, together with immigrants also deal with ethnic, racial and religious groups in general. In comparison with these, PPAS has a larger number of positive and negative statements on detailed aspects of immigration and integration issues and it also includes questions on attitude about specific policy measures towards immigration processes and the presence of foreigners.

According to the PPA survey, which was carried out in Slovenia in 2000, Slovenia is one among the countries where the public is less in agreement with the statement that the presence of foreigners is positive, as it enables us to learn about other cultures (34% of respondents). Similar to other countries, more than 80 per cent of respondents in Slovenia believe that foreigners should learn the language and habits of ‘our environment’ (wording of the questionnaire), while the culture and traditions of foreigners are less favourably accepted (30% of respondents). For example, in the PPA survey, 90 per cent of respondents estimate that the number of foreigners in Slovenia has increased in the last ten years, but poorly estimate the actual number of foreigners in Slovenia. Only 10 per cent of respondents are familiar with the real data and 40 per cent strongly overestimate the actual number of foreigners. Despite the low number of foreigners (around 2% of the total population, with this share being fairly constant since 1995) two thirds of respondents think that there are too many foreigners in Slovenia (Avramov, 2006).

A considerable share of respondents (62%) wishes that the number of population in their country would increase. The respondents perceive foreigners primarily as carrying out the work that the local population no longer wants to do or they are not yet aware of the benefits the community could have gained from immigrant labour and migrants’ contributions and taxes to the social security system. 44.8 per cent of respondents expressed their fear that foreigners would take jobs away from the local people (Knežević Hočevar et al., 2009). Another PPAS finding was that survey participants in Slovenia are the least (compared to other countries participating in the survey) aware of the contributions of foreign labour for the tax and social security system in the country (Knežević Hočevar et al., 2009). In this respect, it seems crucial to mention the largely invisible and unacknowledged work of female migrants in private households. However, the focus group discussion conducted within the project FEMALE that dealt with the integration of female immigrants where different stakeholders in migration policy participated, showed that an awareness of the importance of migrant labour force in domestic work in Slovenia is still lacking among migration policy stakeholders and that detailed analyses of female migrants’ work in this area are missing (Knežević Hočevar et al., 2009; see also Pajnik et al., 2006b, Hrženjak, 2007). The discussion was generally centred on the ‘need for migrants’

15 For space constraints, we largely exclude in this study questions in public opinion surveys that pertain to the integration of migrants, irregular migration and asylum issues and focus mostly on general attitudes towards migrants and migration especially in view of the changing labour force markets in Europe.

16 Although the area of female migration is beyond the scope of this study, it is reasonable to state that migration research in Slovenia has not focused more specifically on female immigrants. Two international projects conducted in the period from 2006 to 2007 are a notable exception in this regard and some research and case studies have been conducted in recent years, not only in relation to immigrants, but also to emigrants from Slovenia. These projects were entitled FEMALE (Needs for female immigrants and their integration in ageing societies) in which the Sociomedical institute of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts was the Slovenian partner, and FeMiPol (Integration of Female immigrants in labour market and society - policy assessment and policy recommendations), with the Peace Institute as the project partner from Slovenia. Researchers have demonstrated that migration policy in relation to gender is formulated in a generalised manner without taking into account the specificity and vulnerability of women. In this regard, a gap in studying the specific position of female migrants in public policy as well as in research exists in Slovenia. Both the interviews with key actors in migration policy within the framework of the FeMiPol project (Pajnik et al. 2006b) and the focus group with stakeholders in migration policy conducted within the FEMALE project (Knežević Hočevar et al., 2009) revealed a strikingly similar picture.
from the viewpoint of the Slovenian society regarding the labour force shortages in certain sectors. Such a view of migrants is also shared among the employers in Slovenia. It was, however, less oriented towards the issue of ageing or low fertility and towards migration as a possible scenario to address these demographic challenges (Knežević Hočevar et al., 2009).

Trade unions in Slovenia have traditionally not been very involved in the issue of migration and foreign workers, but in recent years, there have been some important initiatives and linking with the civil society and research organisations that have pointed to highly exploitative and precarious working and everyday life conditions for migrants, especially those from the construction sector. Such efforts have also resulted in the inclusion of provisions for minimal accommodation and other standards for foreign workers in the new Employment and Aliens Act from 2011 and into some other legal regulations, such as the Rules on setting minimal standards for accommodation of aliens, who are employed or work in the Republic of Slovenia, which is in force from 1 January 2012.

There is also some other more focused research available on the topic of migrants and migration. For example, research entitled ‘Migration, integration and multiculturality’ which largely followed international research in this field, was conducted in 2007. The respondents acknowledged that the issue of immigration is becoming increasingly important, but they attributed this more to the influence of the EU than to the national Slovenian context, although half of the respondents acknowledged the increasing importance of the issue also for Slovenia (Zavratnik, 2011: 58-59).

Results indicate declared support to two statements that imply immigrants are considered as non-loyal competition to the native population and as a burden to the welfare state. Over half (54.5%) of respondents believe that labour force costs decrease due to the fact immigrants are prepared to work for lower wages and 43 per cent of respondents are in agreement with the statement that immigrants are a burden to Slovenian tax-payers. Most respondents believed that immigrants take away jobs from the native population, which is in line also with the findings of the European Value Survey (2002) question on this issue (Zavratnik, 2011: 60) and also with the PPA survey results. This research has also corroborated a general research finding that the public generally has a more negative attitude toward migrants from the former Yugoslav republics, who are, due to their numerical size, perceived as a ‘real’ not just an ‘imaginary’ threat like immigrants from more distant countries of origin who are not as significantly represented in the Slovenian population. The general public is most in favour of immigration from the old EU member states, but also for this group, only 12 per cent of the respondents believe that immigration from these territories should be encouraged. However, around half of the respondents believe that immigration of groups such as foreign businessmen, highly-qualified labour force and immigrants of Slovenian origin should be encouraged, which points to a high segmentation of public opinion towards migrants along ethnic and socio-economic lines (Zavratnik, 2011: 61-63).

recognition of the unique position of female migrants has not yet been placed on the agenda of migration policy stakeholders. Female migrants are conceptualised mainly as ‘following’ men, who are perceived as the primary migrants.
4. RECENT SITUATION AND DEVELOPMENTS ON LABOUR MARKET, HUMAN CAPITAL AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

4.1. Social and Economic Development

4.1.1. Economic development

It is generally estimated that Slovenia’s economic development has been advancing towards average levels of economic development in the European Union from the 1990s until the period of economic crisis that hit Slovenia in 2009 (Poročilo o razvoju, 2013). Some general indicators of economic development attest to such a conclusion. As regards to the values of real GDP per capita (see Figure 3 in Chapter 2.1.), it was 10,322 USD\(^{17}\) in 1991 when Slovenia became an independent nation-state. After a short period of its decrease in the period from 1991 to 1993 (to 10,213 USD), it continued to increase until 2008, when its value reached 18,745 USD. With the onset of the economic crisis in Slovenia from 2009 onwards, its value slightly decreased (it was 17,529 USD in 2010) (Bolt and van Zanden, 2013).

The same trend can be observed for the indicator real growth of GDP per capita which is used as an indicator of economic growth, which also started to decrease from 2009 on (the value of the index was 170.1 in 2008 and 155.2 in 2009) (see Figure 6).

Data on remittances from and to Slovenia are collected by the Bank of Slovenia. However, from 2001, they were being collected in two different ways. From 2001 to 2007, the source of data were cross-border payment transactions (structure by countries is unreliable),\(^{18}\) and from 2008 until 2012 the source of data are bilateral data (data is being exchanged with only specific countries). The data for inflows of workers’ remittances from 2001 to 2007 demonstrate that the five major countries of origin of remittances inflow were Germany, Switzerland, United States of America, Austria and Italy. The inflows decreased in this time period for all the countries. The data on outflows of remittances in this period are not useful for the above stated methodological limitations, and among the countries of the former Yugoslavia, only Croatia is included. From the data for the period from 2008 and 2012, it is evident that the main countries of inflow of remittances to Slovenia are (by values in million EUR Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Italy and the major countries of the outflow of workers’ remittances are Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro. By far the highest values of the outflow of workers’ remittances are recorded for Serbia (31.03 million EUR in 2012, followed by Bosnia and Herzegovina where the recorded value was only 5.66 million EUR). This is quite a discrepancy knowing that Bosnia and Herzegovina is by far the largest country of origin of immigrants in Slovenia. Such a difference could probably be explained by both methodological limitations (differences in the collection of data across different countries) and also by the prominence of other, informal channels for sending financial transfers abroad, but the issue still remains to be explored further.

\(^{17}\) Since citing directly from the Maddison database, the USD currency has not been converted into EUR.

\(^{18}\) The quality of data was not satisfactory because only transactions within the banking system were included. The data coding (description of the purpose of payment) was questionable too (Stropnik et al., 2013).
The figures for stock of foreign-direct investment in Slovenia from 2001 until 2011 also demonstrate an increase in foreign investment in Slovenia from 2001 to 2008, especially in the years from 2006 to 2008 (from 6,133.6 million EUR in 2006 to 11,236.3 million EUR in 2008). In 2009 and 2010, however, the foreign-direct investment decreased slightly and then increased again to 11,676.4 million EUR in 2011 (see Figure 7).

A sharp increase in public debt is also evident from the year 2008 (especially high is the rise from 12,031.3 million USD\textsuperscript{19} in 2008 to 17,364.5 million USD\textsuperscript{20} in 2009), giving further evidence of the economic downturn in Slovenia (see Figure 8).

\textsuperscript{19} 8, 180 million EUR
\textsuperscript{20} 12, 460 million EUR
Regarding the indicator ‘proportion of shadow economy’, the last reference year for which data are available, is 2007. In Slovenia the concept of shadow economy almost without exception relates to tax evasion or that part of economic activities for which entities do not pay taxes and social contributions. This means that by definition shadow economy is a narrower concept and in volume smaller than adjustments that are necessary for full coverage of gross domestic product (GDP) which include all non-observed activities, irrespective of whether taxes are paid or not. In the official GDP exhaustiveness adjustments according to the net approach as increase in value added are estimated at 10.2 per cent of GDP and according to the gross approach as increase in final consumption categories at 14.2 per cent of GDP. If we subtract adjustments that are not shadow economy, shadow economy represents 8.3 per cent in the official GDP according to the net approach and 12.2 per cent in the official GDP according to the gross approach. Shadow economy in Slovenia is thus not a parallel activity to registered activities but a part of registered activities. The phenomenon is typical of small enterprises with up to three employees in activities producing goods and services for final consumption paid in cash. According to statistical calculations for 2007, small entrepreneurs on average register only 55 per cent of their net turnover, while 45 per cent of turnover is not registered (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012a).

4.1.2. Social development

It seems that the economic crisis has also worsened the social welfare of the population in Slovenia. We analyse in this regards indicators such as the infant mortality rate, at-risk of poverty rates, distribution of income in households in Slovenia, purchasing power parities and expenditures for social welfare. From the figures on the infant mortality rates from 2001 to 2011, we can observe a constant fall of this indicator of social development from 2001 to 2009 (from 4.2 to 2.4). However, the value of this indicator slightly increased again in 2010 and 2011 (2.5 in 2010 and 2.9 in 2011) which may provide some further evidence of the negative impact of the economic crisis also on the social development of the country (see Figure 9). Nevertheless, infant mortality rates in Slovenia remain low compared to most of the countries of the EU.
The risk-of-poverty rate\textsuperscript{21} in Slovenia is quite constant in the time-period under observation (from 2001 to 2011), it was around 13,\textsuperscript{22} although we can again observe a slight increase in its value in 2010 and 2011 (14.1 and 15 respectively) (see Table 1). However, taking a closer look at the data on the risk-of-poverty rates by age and gender, we can observe a high risk of poverty among the population aged 65 years or over (see Table 2). This risk is particularly high for older females which are among the most vulnerable groups in this respect. This fact could be attributed to higher life expectancy for women as compared to men, to their lower pensions and to the fact that more elderly women than men are living alone (Josipovič and Trbanc, 2012: 18).

\begin{table}
\centering
\caption{At-risk of poverty rate by sex, 2001-2011}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Year & \multicolumn{3}{|c|}{Income in cash} & \multicolumn{3}{|c|}{Income in cash + in kind} \\
\hline
 & Total & Male & Female & Total & Male & Female \\
\hline
2001 & 12.9 & 12.4 & 13.3 & 10.6 & 9.6 & 11.6 \\
2002 & 11.9 & 11.1 & 12.6 & 9.9 & 8.5 & 11.2 \\
2003 & 11.7 & 10.7 & 12.6 & 10 & 8.6 & 11.4 \\
2004 & 12.1 & 10.6 & 13.6 & 11.4 & 9.6 & 13.2 \\
2005 & 12.2 & 10.6 & 13.7 & 11.5 & 9.6 & 13.2 \\
2006 & 11.6 & 10.3 & 12.9 & 11.1 & 9.5 & 12.6 \\
2007 & 11.5 & 10 & 12.9 & 10.9 & 9.4 & 12.3 \\
2008 & 12.3 & 11 & 13.6 & 11.9 & 10.4 & 13.2 \\
2009 & 11.3 & 9.8 & 12.8 & 11 & 9.6 & 12.5 \\
2010 & 12.7 & 11.3 & 14.1 & 12.4 & 11 & 13.8 \\
2011 & 13.6 & 12.2 & 15 & 13.3 & 11.9 & 14.6 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textit{Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Statistical Yearbooks}

\textsuperscript{21} At-risk-of-poverty-rate is the percentage of persons living in households where the equivalised total disposable household income is below the threshold (\textit{Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia}, 2013c).

\textsuperscript{22} This is the value when taking into account only income in cash. When in kind contributions are also counted, the average rate is around 12.
From the data on the distribution of income, we could identify some of the vulnerable groups as regards to the value of income relative to the general population. Looking at the most recent data for 2011, for example, in Slovenia, there are 3.2 per cent of households comprising one adult 65 years or over. However, as many as 16.6 per cent of all people living in such households have income below 60 per cent of medium equivalised income\(^{23}\) (see Figure 10). The difference is lower for households with a single person with dependent children. In 2011, these comprised 3.9 per cent of all households in Slovenia, but 8.9 per cent of people living in such households had income below 60 per cent of medium equivalised income (see Figure 11). Differences were even smaller for households without dependent children. Of all households in Slovenia, there were 44.1 per cent of such households in 2011, and 50.1 per cent had income below 60 per cent of medium equivalised income (see Figure 12). These figures further confirm the vulnerability of the older population (65 years and more) in Slovenia.

\(^{23}\) The scale gives to the first adult in the household weight 1, to every other person 14 or more years old weight 0.5 and to children under 14 weight 0.3.

A four-member household of two adults and two children thus has 2.1 equivalent household members (calculation: 1*1+1*0.5+2*0.3=2.1). Income per equivalent household member is calculated by adding income of all household members and dividing it by the number of equivalent household members (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2013b).
Figure 10: Distribution of income in households comprising one adult 65 years or over

Source: EUROSTAT, Income Distribution Statistics

Figure 11: Distribution of income in households comprising single person with dependent children, 2005-2011

Source: EUROSTAT, Income Distribution Statistics

Figure 12: Distribution of income in households without dependent children, 2005-2011

Source: EUROSTAT, Income Distribution Statistics

Data on purchasing power parities\(^\text{24}\) for Slovenia show that this indicator had been increasing until 2009, when its level reached 91. From that year, its value started to decrease, it was 84 in 2011 (see

\(^{24}\) Purchasing power parities (PPPs) are indicators of price level differences across countries. PPPs tell us how many currency units a given quantity of goods and services costs in different countries. PPPs can thus be used as currency conversion rates
Figure 13). To compare with the main migration partner countries, in Germany it was 121, in Austria 131, in Croatia 61, in Macedonia and Serbia 35; and in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is the main immigration country to Slovenia, only 28 (EUROSTAT, 2013a).

Figure 13: GDP per capita in purchasing power parities (PPP) (index for EU 27 = 100)

Source: EUROSTAT

From the figures for government expenditures for social protection schemes from 1996 to 2010, we can observe a constant increase of funds allocated to social protection. The figure was 2,723 million EUR in 1996, it almost doubled to 4,938 million EUR in 2001, in 2008 it was 7,773 million EUR and in 2009, an even sharper increase to 8,406 million EUR was noted. This could be attributed to the beginning of the economic crisis in Slovenia which contributed also to the increase in spending for social protection of the population. Nevertheless, in 2010, expenditures for social protection amounted to 8,644 million EUR which demonstrates that the sharp rise in government expenditures for social protection schemes has largely been halted (see Figure 14).

Additionally, it is estimated that the rise for government expenditures for social protection schemes in recent years was not as much a real rise, but a rise due to an increasing number of retired people and those eligible for unemployment benefits due to rising unemployment rates. In accordance with first measures to limit the growth of expenses for public finances, social transfers and pensions were only partly harmonised with inflation rates and some measures to reduce public spending in the health sector were also introduced in 2010 (Poročilo o razvoju, 2013: 56). It is expected that due to the increasing tightening of eligibility requirements for various social transfers and selective decreases of social transfers that followed in 2011 and 2012, the growth of government expenditures for social transfers will remain limited (Poročilo o razvoju, 2013: 56-57).

to convert expenditures expressed in national currencies into an artificial common currency (the Purchasing Power Standard, PPS), eliminating the effect of price level differences across countries (EUROSTAT, 2013b).
4.1.3. Social Policy

According to Kolarič et al. (2009: 45) in the former socialist society, a special form of the welfare system, a state-socialist system was characteristic of Slovenia. The state was the dominant provider of social welfare to individuals. However, a large burden for ensuring social welfare and security was also placed on informal social networks, especially family and kinship networks. The role of the market and non-profit organisations was weak (Kolarič et al., 2009: 45).

In the transition from the socialist to the capitalist system of production, some changes of the former social policy systems could be observed, however, these were gradual (Kolarič et al., 2009: 49). According to the OECD (OECD, 2009) Slovenia’s social protection system is still well developed and social spending has a large impact on redistribution of resources. The overall spending on social policy amounts to about a quarter of GDP which is around the OECD average. Family policy is also well developed, and includes a wide array of child benefits, parental leave and maternity leave allowances, and financial support towards childcare and kindergartens. Social transfers have relatively broad coverage in Slovenia and social spending appears to have a high effectiveness with regard to poverty and inequality reduction (OECD, 2009). Josipovič and Trbanc similarly (2012: 5) maintain that ‘the relatively successful Slovenian economic and social development during the 1990s and in the first years after 2000 was strongly connected to gradual, cautious approach to economic and social reforms. The social protection stayed at a relatively high level, which was until recently reflected in relatively low poverty rates and comparatively low income inequalities. This ‘gradualist approach’ was unique compared to other transition countries in Central and Eastern Europe.’

Although an exhaustive review of the social policy in Slovenia is beyond the scope of this report, some general trends point to the decrease of the level of social policy provisions that target the most vulnerable groups of the population. For example, the latest changes in legislation in 2012 and 2013...

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25 In category ‘Expenditure for social benefits by ESSPROS functions – total’ are shown expenditure for social benefits in all eight functions (named below) excluding administration costs and some other expenditure. The main category of social protection scheme expenditure are social benefits granted to households and individuals to relieve them of the burden of a defined set of risks or needs.

Social benefits are classified by:
- type (cash benefits - periodic and lump sum benefits, benefits in kind and re-routed social contributions),
- means test (non means-tested and means-tested benefits).

Certain categories of social benefits refer to benefit for persons under and above certain age. In all schemes the age limit for men is 65 and for women 60 years (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2013d).
have brought about, among other measures, a decrease of unemployment benefits, parental leave allowances, child care allowances and sick leave benefits. Also, in 2010, a reform of the pension system has been passed, increasing the period of work activity and halting the fall of pensions while stabilising expenditures for pensions in the medium-term perspective. There were so far no major reforms of the health system and system for long-term care (Poročilo o razvoju, 2013: 12).

In the field of social policy, the main acts that also touch upon the status of migrants are the following: The Social Welfare Act, first adopted in 1992, and last revised in 2012, states that the claimants under the act are, besides the citizens of the Republic of Slovenia with permanent residence in Slovenia, also the aliens possessing a permit for permanent residence in Slovenia (Social Welfare Act, 1992).

The Elementary Education Act, adopted in 1996 and last revised in 2006, defines that children who are foreign citizens or stateless persons that reside in the Republic of Slovenia have the right to compulsory elementary education under the same conditions as Slovene citizens (Elementary Education Act, 1996).

The Vocational Education Act, the Gimnazije Act and the Higher Education Act determine that foreign citizens have access to education in secondary schools and higher education institutions under the same conditions as the citizens of the Republic of Slovenia, provided the principle of reciprocity is implemented (Vocational Education Act, 1996; Gimnazije Act, 1996; Higher Education Act, 1993). In 2007, the Strategy of Inclusion of Migrant Children, Pupils and Students into the Upbringing and Education System in the Republic of Slovenia was adopted, representing the first comprehensive strategic document related to the integration of migrants into schooling (COMIDE, 2012: 10).

The Act Amending the Local Election Act, adopted in 2002, refers to political participation and integration of migrants. It determines that aliens with permanent residence in the Republic of Slovenia have the right to vote members of the municipal council, i.e. at the local elections, in the municipality of their permanent residence (Act Amending the Local Election Act, 2002).

Regarding integration and inclusion of immigrants in the education system, there are several policy measures and provisions. In compliance with the Order on norms, standards and elements for allocation of posts which is the basis for the organisation and financing of the Programme of the 9-year Elementary School from State Budget Resources, adopted in 1999, schools with immigrant pupils can put in an application to the Ministry of Education which in each individual case approves a certain number of hours of individual or group support for those pupils (Integrating immigrant children into schools in Europe, 2003/2004).

In the National Housing Programme, adopted in 2000, the eligibility criterion for non-profit rental and social housing, favourable housing loans and rent subsidies is citizenship of the Republic of Slovenia, or, after May 2004, citizenship of the member states of the European Union. The housing of migrants or any ethnic minority groups, except Roma, is not mentioned in the programme (Edgar, 2004). However in the draft of the National Housing Programme 2013-2022, which is currently under discussion, migrants, refugees and ethnic minorities are mentioned as one of the vulnerable groups needing special assistance as regards to access to housing (National Housing Programme, 2013-2022, 2013). The Housing Act, adopted in 2003, does not address the housing of migrants (Edgar, 2004). Similarly, the Programme on the Fight against Poverty and Social Exclusion and the Joint Inclusion Memorandum do not contain any integration measures for immigrants in the fight against poverty and social exclusion (Dedić, 2003b).

Slovenia has so far concluded bilateral agreements on social security with five countries from the territory of the former Yugoslavia – Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Monte Negro and Serbia, which cover the areas of health insurance, obligatory pension and invalidity insurance and unemployment insurance. The agreement with Croatia and Macedonia also regulates replacement of pay during maternity and parental leave and the agreement with Macedonia further covers child allowances, which is the case also with the agreement with Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the
agreements with Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina also cover parental allowances (Josipovič and Trbanc, 2012: 12).

Researchers within the PRIMTS project that dealt with integration of migrants from ‘third countries’ and their labour market situations have evaluated migration and integration policies in Slovenia and have concluded that the ‘legislation gives absolute priority to nationals, while in terms of catering to the needs of ‘foreigners’ it clearly favours holders of permanent residence permits, who are at least formally entitled to most of the same rights and social security as Slovene citizens. […] Especially problematic areas where most discrepancies are noted are the unemployment provisions, the health and social insurance and migrants’ access to appropriate housing’ (Pajnik et al., 2009a: 2).
4.2. Main international migration trends and characteristics of migrants

4.2.1. International Migration Flows

4.2.1.1. General trends

Some general trends regarding international migration flows to Slovenia from the period it acquired independence are the following: from 1990 until 2004, the number of immigrants to Slovenia was quite low – from around 2,000 to 10,000 a year. From 2004 to 2008, immigration to Slovenia rose rapidly, with a peak of 30,693 people immigrating to Slovenia in 2008. This could be attributed to the growing need for foreign workers at the time of economic upheaval. In 2009, the number of immigrants to Slovenia fell already (30,296), but the fall was most pronounced in 2010 and 2011, with 15,416 and 14,083 immigrants to Slovenia. This could be explained by the effects of the economic crisis and the growing restrictions for non-nationals on the labour market in Slovenia. Emigration from Slovenia was traditionally lower than immigration to the country. The numbers started to rise from 2004 onwards, which could be explained by Slovenia joining the EU in this year, which in turn facilitated emigration to other EU countries. However, Slovenia entered the Schengen system only in 2007. The number of emigrants from Slovenia was highest in 2009: 18,788 individuals moved from the country in that year. Net migration was only negative in 1991, 1992 and then again in 1998. In 1991 and 1992, such a trend could be attributed to political events (break-up of the former Yugoslav state) that apparently caused quite significant emigration of people from the former Yugoslav republics from Slovenia (see Figure 15).26 Regarding the differences on the regional (NUTS 2) level, the region of Zahodna Slovenija (Western Slovenia) has higher absolute numbers of both emigrants and immigrants from/to Slovenia than the NUTS 2 level of Vzhodna Slovenija (Eastern Slovenia).

There are currently no regional agreements having an impact on migration trends in the country. Nation-states that once were a part of Yugoslavia are still the main sending countries for immigrants to Slovenia. This is largely due to historical connections with these territories and also due to the preference of employers for the labour force from these areas due to their perceived cultural and linguistic closeness.

Figure 15: Migration trends: immigration, emigration, net migration, 1990-2011

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Demography and Social Statistics

26 In all indicators that pertain to the structure of the population in Slovenia, a changed definition of the population from 2008 should be taken into account, which does not make data directly comparable to the period before 2008.
4.2.1.2. Immigration flows

From the figures on immigration flows to Slovenia, the first impression is that the vast majority of people who immigrated to Slovenia in the last decade (around 80%) are foreigners, not Slovene citizens. The number of foreigners immigrating to Slovenia had been increasing significantly from 2000 to 2008 – 6,185 foreigners immigrated to Slovenia in 2000 and 30,693 in 2008. A sharp decrease in the number of foreigners that migrated to Slovenia - from 30,296 in 2009 to 15,416 in 2010 and 14,083 in 2011, could be attributed especially to the reduction of the annual quota for the issuance of work permits for migrants from outside the European Economic Area (from 24,000 in 2009 to 12,000 in 2010) due to the economic crisis. On the contrary, the number of Slovene citizens that immigrated to Slovenia has been increasing constantly from the year 2000: 935 Slovene citizens immigrated to Slovenia in 2000 and 3,318 in 2011 (see Figure 16).

Figure 16: Immigration flows by citizenship (nationals, non-nationals) (in %); 2000-2011

![Graph showing immigration flows by citizenship (nationals, non-nationals) (in %); 2000-2011]

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Demography and Social Statistics

The countries of the former Yugoslavia are by far the most significant countries of origin of immigrants to Slovenia throughout the whole decade. Bosnia and Herzegovina is the most significant country of origin of immigrants to Slovenia. Of all people that immigrated to Slovenia in the period from 2001 until 2011, 35.8 per cent had citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 15.5 per cent of Serbia, 11.5 per cent of Slovenia, 10.7 per cent of Macedonia, 4.6 per cent of Kosovo, 2.1 per cent of other European countries, 1.9 per cent of Ukraine, 1.8 per cent of Bulgaria, 1.6 per cent of Asian countries, 1.1 per cent of Italy and 0.8 per cent of Germany (see Figure 17).

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27 Data are not shown exactly by top 10 countries of citizenship of immigrants. This would not be sensible regarding the extremely low numbers of immigrants to Slovenia from certain countries; this is why it is sensible to include Asian countries under one label (migrants from China prevail in this group). The label of 'other European countries' should be disregarded for the purpose of this report, as it includes minor European countries of origin of immigrants to Slovenia, while excluding some European countries that in absolute terms were not in the top 10 countries (areas) of origin of immigrants to Slovenia. Kosovo has been a separate state in Slovenian migration statistics from 2008. Before, it was included in statistics for Serbia so actual numbers of people immigrating from Kosovo are higher than presented, but impossible to obtain for previous periods. For the same reason, figures for Serbia are overestimated to some extent.
Figure 17: Immigration flows by country (area) of origin), by sex, 2001-2011

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Demography and Social Statistics

Most people that immigrated to Slovenia in the period from 2001 until 2011 are males. 84.3 per cent of all immigrants to Slovenia in the period from 2001 to 2011 that held citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina were male. Among immigrants with Serbian citizenship 80.9 per cent were men. The difference is not so pronounced for immigrants with citizenships of Slovenia and Asian countries: 56.5 per cent of immigrants with Slovenian citizenship and 51.5 of immigrants with citizenship of Asian countries were men. The only country of origin where the majority - 64.6 per cent - of all immigrants was female was Ukraine28 (see Figure 18).

Figure 18: Sex structure of immigrants by country (area) of citizenship, from 2000 to 2011

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Demography and Social Statistics

Regional differences exist regarding immigration to Slovenia. The highest number of immigrants from abroad (per 1000 population) is generally recorded at the NUTS 2 region of Western Slovenia (Zahodna Slovenija), especially in the Obalno-Kraška and Osrednjeslovenska (Central Slovenia) region. The regions in Eastern Slovenia (especially the Pomurska and Podravska region) are significantly less attractive for immigrants coming to Slovenia.

28 A further look at the data shows that migration of citizens of the Russian Federation to Slovenia is also feminised.
The number of asylum applications in Slovenia is quite low, from 2001 to 2011, over a thousand asylum applications were recorded only in 2001, 2003, 2004 and 2005. After 2005, the number of asylum applications has fallen considerably; the figure for 2011 was 358. Most asylum applicants in Slovenia are men (see Figure 19). Top five countries of citizenship of asylum seekers in Slovenia for the period from 2001 to 2012 were Iran, Serbia and Montenegro, Turkey, Iraq and Bosnia and Herzegovina (see Table 6 – Annex 1).²⁹

Figure 19: Asylum applications by sex, Slovenia, 2001-2011

Source: Ministry of Interior, Asylum Register

4.2.1.2. Emigration flows

From the data on emigration from Slovenia, we can observe that the share of foreign citizens emigrating from Slovenia had been increasing from 2000 to 2008 compared to the share of emigrating nationals of Slovenia. Nevertheless, the share of foreign citizens emigrating from the country was higher than the share of emigrating nationals during the whole analysed period (from 2000 to 2011) (see Figure 20). From 2009, the share of Slovenian nationals emigrating from Slovenia started to increase. Among all emigrants in the period between 2001 and 2011, the most (27.6 %) possessed Slovenian citizenship and 25.2 per cent possessed citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina, followed by citizens of Serbia (12.3 %), Macedonia (9.8 %) and Croatia (6.8 %) (see Figure 21).³⁰

²⁹ The number of actually granted asylum statuses in Slovenia is one of the lowest in the European Union, which is, according to Amnesty International, one of the most serious problems of Slovenian migration policy (quoted in Toplak and Vah Jevšnik, 2010).

³⁰ It is not possible to estimate how many Slovenian citizens that were actually internal migrants in the period of the former Yugoslavia and are nationals of Slovenia, emigrated from Slovenia in this period and how many nationals born in Slovenia emigrated from the country. The limitations of data availability and interpretation presented in Footnote 19 of this report apply to emigration data as well. Additionally, until 2007 the numbers of emigrating foreign nationals were only estimates of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia.
Regarding the differences in the number of emigrants to abroad (per 1000 population) at the regional levels, the NUTS 3 Obalno-kraška and Osrednjeslovenska region (both found in the Western Slovenia NUTS 2 region) generally display highest emigration levels. The Eastern Slovenia Koroška and Pomurska region have the lowest emigration levels in the last decade.

Data on countries of next residence of emigrants from Slovenia are only available for foreign nationals from 2008, before that year they were only available for emigration of nationals of Slovenia, this is why we present interpretations only for the period from 2008 to 2011. From the data, is it obvious that the main country of next residence of emigrants from Slovenia is Bosnia and Herzegovina, but most of the emigrants to this country were foreign nationals. We could speculate these were mostly foreign nationals who returned to the country during the massive lay-offs in the period of the current economic crisis. The same speculation could be made also for Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia. An interesting example is Croatia, for which quite a significant emigration of citizens of Slovenia was also recorded. These could be both cases of people who have immigrated to Slovenia, obtained citizenship of Slovenia and later returned to Croatia or also cases of the Slovenian-born population emigrating to Croatia for various reasons (employment, marriage, etc.), but the data do not allow us to draw any conclusions with regard to this issue. The highest number of citizens of Slovenia in this time period emigrated to Germany, followed by Austria, Croatia, area of North and Central America and Switzerland (see Table 7 – Annex 1).
4.2.1.3. Return migration

The number of citizens of Slovenia who have immigrated to Slovenia has been increasing steadily in the last decade, an apparent increase was noted especially between 2007 and 2008 (see Figure 22; see Table 8 – Annex 1). The largest numbers of people returned to NUTS 3 region Osrednjeslovenska regija. The average age of citizens of Slovenia that immigrated to Slovenia from abroad was around 35 years and with the exception of the year 2011, on average; women returnees were younger than men.

4.2.2. Characteristics of the migrant stock

4.2.2.1. Immigrant Stock

Figures on foreign nationals and nationals in Slovenia show that the share of foreign nationals in Slovenia is quite low, around 3 per cent of the total population, although this figure has been increasing in the last decade and has reached 4 per cent in 2010 and 2011 (see Figure 23). Data from 2008, which are prepared according to the new definition of the population, follow, as explained previously, the one-year of residence rule and thus exclude foreigners with shorter durations of
residence permits. From data, it is obvious that men figure significantly higher in the population of foreigners in Slovenia (see Figure 24). From the disaggregation of data by age, it is obvious that foreign nationals are represented in greater shares in the age group from 15 to 64 years when compared to citizens of Slovenia. On the contrary, their share compared to nationals is lower in the ‘less than 15 years’ and ‘over 65 years’ age groups (see Figure 25). It could be concluded that foreigners are more significantly represented in the so-called active population (from 15 to 64 years).

Figure 23: Usually-resident population by group of citizenship (%), 2001-2011

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Demography and Social Statistics

Figure 24: Share of usually-resident population by group of citizenship and sex, 2001-2012
In comparison to the low share of foreign nationals in Slovenia, shares of the foreign-born population are significantly higher, from 2009 to 2012 these shares were around 11/12 per cent. Although men prevail in this group as well, gender differences are not as pronounced as when comparing nationals and non-nationals. Also, age differences are not as pronounced as when comparing the age structure of the population of foreign citizens and nationals. The structure of the foreign-born population in the above 65 years age group is very similar to the structure of the total population, but they continue to be overrepresented in the age group from 15 to 64 years and underrepresented in the less than 15 years age group (see Figure 27).
In 2011, about 228,588 foreign born persons were living in Slovenia comprising 11.1 per cent of the total population. A great majority originated from the successor countries of the former Yugoslavia. The main countries of origin of the foreign-born population were Bosnia and Herzegovina who was listed as the country of first residence of 96,897 people, Croatia (49,158 people) Serbia (26,368 people) Macedonia (13,658 people) and Kosovo (9,350 people). 21,182 people had their first residence in EU countries (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012b).

The number of people that acquired citizenship of Slovenia was the highest in the period from 2002 until 2006 (from 2,683 to 3,333), in 2001 it was 1,346 and in the period from 2007 until 2011 it was from 1,551 to 1,811 (Ministry of the Interior, 2013).

Regarding indicators of irregular migration in Slovenia, there is no official indicator for measuring such migration. Figures on denied access at border crossings, forced travel documents of non-nationals and numbers of prohibited border crossings are useful, but we deem the data on the number of non-nationals found to have illegal residence in Slovenia to be the best available proxy indicator for estimating the number of irregularly staying migrants in Slovenia. It seems that abuses of residence permits are on the increase in Slovenia, although the data are not available continuously for the whole decade. In 2009, there were 2,297 such individuals found to reside in Slovenia, in 2010
2,953 and in 2011, the number rose to 4,202. Most of these individuals had citizenship of Croatia. Individuals that illegally crossed the borders of Slovenia and/or had invalid travel documents generally had citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Croatia and Kosovo. From the data it seems that illegal border crossings have decreased in the last decade, but the number of abuses of residence permits has been on the increase (Police Yearly Report, 2009; 2010; 2011).

4.2.2.2. Emigrant Stock

As already emphasized in the WP 4 Country report on the Slovenian data production systems (Stropnik et al. 2013), data on the emigrant stock are incomplete. According to the estimates provided by the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, the number of Slovenians abroad is 108,317 (as of 1 January 2013). The data is calculated on the basis of the registered residency in countries of destination. Detailed characteristics are not available.

Table 3: Slovenians with registered residency abroad, 1. 1. 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of residence</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>22,685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatia</td>
<td>14,243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>8,343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>6,837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>6,713</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia

4.3. Demography and Human Capital

4.3.1. Population change

From the data on natural increase in Slovenia, we can observe that the natural increase in Slovenia was negative in the period from 1997 until 2005. From that year, its increase is apparent and its value for 2011 was 3,248 (see Figure 28).

Figure 28: Natural increase, 1995-2011

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Demography and Social Statistics
The data on deaths demonstrate a constant rise of the mean age at death: in 1990 it was 70.1 years, in 2001 71.7 years and in 2011 already 75.5 years. The death rate in Slovenia in the period from 1990 until 2011 was quite stable, from 9.1 to 10 (see Figure 29).

Figure 29: Deaths per 1,000 population and mean age at death, 1990-2011

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Demography and Social Statistics

Life expectancy in Slovenia has been rising in the last two decades, which attests to the rising levels of social and economic development we have described in the previous chapter using several other indicators. However, there is a pronounced gender difference: on average, women live significantly longer than men do. To illustrate: life expectancy at birth in the period from 1990 to 1991 was 69.54 years for men and 72.13 for women; in the period between 2000 and 2001 it was 77.38 for men and 79.57 for women; and in the year 2011, its value reached 76.76 years for men and 82.9 for women (see Figure 30).

Figure 30: Life expectancy at birth by sex (1990-2011)31

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Demography and Social Statistics

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31 From 2007 on, a changed methodology of calculating is used based on the method of partial probabilities of dying that rests on the data from one calendar year only.
From the statistics on fertility in Slovenia and as described already in Chapter 2 of this report, it is apparent that the total fertility rate had been decreasing in the period between 1990 and 2003 – it was 1.46 in 1990 and 1.2 in 2003 – which was the lowest rate recorded so far. From 2003, the value of this indicator had started to increase again: it was 1.38 in 2007 and 1.56 in 2011 (see Figure 31).

Figure 31: Total fertility rate, 1990-2011

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Demography and Social Statistics

Women in Slovenia tend to give birth much later than in the past. The mean age of women at the birth of first child was 23.9 in 1990, 26.7 years in 2001 and 28.8 in 2011 (see Figure 32).

Figure 32: Mean age of women at birth of first child, 1990-2011

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Demography and Social Statistics

The data on fertility of women with foreign citizenship is available for the period from 2006 to 2011. Due to small numbers it is not possible to calculate total fertility rates by individual citizenship. Reliable data can only be produced for two specific groups: foreign citizens (in total) and citizens from the successor states of the former SFR Yugoslavia. Compared to Slovenian citizens, the total fertility rate of foreign citizens is higher (see Table 4) while their mean age at childbirth is lower (see Table 5).
Table 4: Total fertility rate by citizenship, 2006 -2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total fertility rate of women with Slovenian citizenship</th>
<th>Total fertility rate of women with foreign citizenship</th>
<th>Total fertility rate of women with citizenship of the successor states of the former SFR Yugoslavia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>1,30</td>
<td>2,09</td>
<td>2,90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>1,36</td>
<td>2,37</td>
<td>2,56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>1,45</td>
<td>2,79</td>
<td>2,98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>1,45</td>
<td>3,03</td>
<td>3,29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>1,48</td>
<td>2,54</td>
<td>2,72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>1,45</td>
<td>2,63</td>
<td>2,80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia

Table 5: Mean age of women at birth of all children 2006 - 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Women with Slovenian citizenship</th>
<th>Women with foreign citizenship</th>
<th>Women with citizenship of the successor states of the former SFR Yugoslavia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>29,8</td>
<td>28,1</td>
<td>27,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>30,0</td>
<td>28,0</td>
<td>27,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>30,2</td>
<td>28,0</td>
<td>27,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>30,3</td>
<td>28,1</td>
<td>27,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>30,4</td>
<td>28,4</td>
<td>27,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>30,5</td>
<td>28,4</td>
<td>27,4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia

Summarising the development of migration trends in Slovenia in the last two decades (more in Chapter 4.2. of this study), a general observation is that from 1990 until 2004, the number of immigrants to Slovenia was quite low, but from 2004 to 2008 a sharp increase was noted. In 2009, the number of immigrants to Slovenia fell already, but the fall was most pronounced in 2010 and 2011. The figures for emigration from Slovenia started to rise from 2004 onwards and the number of emigrants from Slovenia was highest in 2009. Net migration was only negative in 1991, 1992 and then again in 1998 (see Figure 15in Chapter 4.2.1.1 of this report).

4.3.2. Population structure and spatial distribution

As described already in Chapter 2 of this report, Slovenia has been experiencing the process of population ageing in the last decades. The data for the last decade further prove this. In 2001, 14.1 per cent of the population was older than 65 years; in 2011 this share was 16.5 per cent and in 2013, 17.1 per cent. Women in Slovenia are on average older than men are: the share of women over 65 years was 17.5 per cent in 2001 and 19.8 per cent in 2011. The share for men was 10.6 per cent and 13.2 respectively (see Figure 33).To further illustrate the process of population ageing in Slovenia, the data show that in 2001 2.4 per cent of the population was older than 80 years, in 2011 this share has doubled to 4.1 per cent and in 2013, 4.5 per cent of the population was older than 80 years. There are even more pronounced gender differences than in the share of population over 65 years: among women a significantly higher share of the population above 80 years can be observed (see Figure 34).

Data on mean age of women at birth of first child is not available for women with foreign citizenship due to small numbers.
The levels of dependency ratios provide further evidence of the process of population ageing in Slovenia. The share of population from 0 to 14 years and 65 years and more over to population aged from 15 to 64 years was 42.6 in 2001 and 46.2 in 2013. This could be attributed to longer life expectancy of the population and a slight rise in fertility levels we have observed in the last decade. The old-age dependency ratio (population aged 65 years and over to population from 15 to 64 years) has been increasing steadily in the last decade attesting to the process of population ageing in Slovenia. The young-age age dependency ratio (population aged from 0 to 14 years to population aged from 15 to 64 years) has been quite stable in the last decade (around 21) with a slight fall in 2007 and 2008 (see Figure 35).
The old-age dependency ratio in Slovenia is still lower than the EU average (26 in 2010), but the difference is decreasing. In many larger countries of the EU life expectancy at birth is longer than in Slovenia and consequently the share of the older population (65 years and more) in the total population is also higher than in Slovenia. Nevertheless, Slovenia as the EU as a whole, is also confronted with a low share of children and population of working-age compared to the older population. According to Šircelj (2009: 40) who refers to all existing population projections, both to optimistic as well as pessimistic scenarios of population development, the process of population ageing will continue in the future as well.

When looking at the data for regional levels, we can first observe that the share of the population above 65 years at the NUTS 2 level of Vzhodna and Zahodna Slovenija (Eastern and Western Slovenia) is slightly higher in Western Slovenia than in Eastern Slovenia. At the NUTS 3 levels, the Zasavska and the Goriška region generally display the highest shares of the older population in the entire population (see Table 6 – Annex 1).

Data on the ethnic structure of the population (as self-declared in censuses) reveals the effects of the changes in the political system and the consequent break-up of the former Yugoslav state. The share of population who declared themselves as Croats, Serbs and/or Muslims (three largest minority ethnic groups in the country) had significantly decreased in the year 2002 when compared to the results of the 1991 census. In 2002, 2.76 per cent of the population declared themselves as Croats; in 2002 this figure fell to 1.81. The share for Serbs was 2.48 per cent in 1991 and 1.98 per cent in 2002. The largest difference can be observed for Muslims. In 1991, Muslim was the stated ethnic affiliation of 1.39 per cent of the population, but in 2002 this figure fell sharply to 0.53 per cent. However, it could be presumed that many people who declared themselves Muslim in 1992, stated Bosniak as their ethnic affiliation in 2002.11 1.1. per cent of the population declared themselves as Bosniaks in 2002. The ethnic affiliation of the respondents was unknown in 2.21 per cent of cases in 1991 and as much as 6.43 per cent of cases in 2002, which further points to the reluctance of people to officially state their ethnic affiliation. 2.47 per cent of respondents did not want to reply to this question in 2002 (not given as an option in 1991). From the data, it is evident, that the share of the population that declared themselves as Slovenes had decreased in the two periods under observation. It was 88.31 per cent in 1992 and 83.06 in 2001, which supports the idea that the number of people who declared themselves as belonging to other ethnic groups than Slovene had not decreased in this period, as could be discerned from the decrease in the share of the two major ethnic groups (Serbs

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33 Bosniak is a term more widely used and formally institutionalised in the last two decades and now generally used for people from Bosnia and Herzegovina of Islamic faith, although this description is quite simplified and problematic.
and Croats). These groups seem to have shifted to the categories ‘unknown’ and ‘did not want to reply’ (see Figure 36):

4.3.3. Education

The share of NEET’s (young people not in education, employment or training) is quite low in Slovenia when compared to the average for the EU, especially due to a high proportion of young people in secondary and tertiary education. However, it has increased significantly in the period from 2008 until 2011 in the age group between 25 to 29 years, which points to the problems young people with completed tertiary education come across in finding employment. This is linked to the general increase in the number of young people with completed tertiary education and at the same time to less demand for such a labour force in the times of the economic crisis. Additionally, it was noted that young people in this age group actively use free educational programmes (Poročilo o razvoju, 2013). This might have important implications for emigration developments in Slovenia, as an increase in the number of young people with tertiary education emigrating from Slovenia has already been noted (see also Chapters 4.2. and 4.4. for more information on emigration developments in Slovenia).

When referring to the educational structure of the population in Slovenia by citizenship, data from the latest censuses (2002 and 2011) was used. First, a higher proportion of foreign nationals when compared to nationals can be found in the group with lowest education levels (0-2): 27.9 per cent of nationals were represented in this group in 2002 and 23.4 per cent in 2011. Of all foreign nationals, 40.3 per cent belonged to this group in 2002 and 43.3 per cent in 2011. In the second group (educational levels 3-4), nationals are represented in a higher percentage than foreigners, meaning that on average a higher percentage of nationals than non-nationals possessed educational levels 3-4. The situation is reverse in the group with the highest educational levels (5-6). Of all nationals, 14.1 per cent in 2002 and 20 per cent in 2011 were in this group, while 7.9 per cent of foreign nationals in 2002 and 5.6 per cent in 2011 were represented in this group (see Figure 37). The general conclusion from
the data could be that foreigners are generally less educated than nationals. However, as already discussed in previous chapters most immigrants to Slovenia already possess Slovenian citizenship. Therefore, when referring to the educational structure of the immigrant population, these data must be used and interpreted with caution. For example, Josipovič (2006) compared census data on educational levels for individuals belonging to different ethnic groups. Although the full extent of the analysis is beyond the scope of this report, he found that for 1991, the last year when data on education could be fully compared to data on ethnic belonging, those who immigrated to Slovenia possessed above-average educational levels when compared to the average for Slovenia and those that declared themselves as ethnic Slovenians. He also found significant differences between different ethnic groups in their educational levels (Josipovič, 2006: 172). Additionally, as discussed also in the regional case study, until migrants obtain nostrification of their education obtained in another country; their actual educational levels are not recorded in official statistics. This finding further questions the use of the nationals/non-nationals distinction when interpreting the socio-economic characteristics of the immigrant population in Slovenia.

By referring to data on the educational structure of the population by specific countries of citizenship, further differentiations by country of origin can be made. In 2002, the educational structure of foreigners from three main immigration countries (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Yugoslavia\(^\text{34}\) and Croatia), was quite similar: most of them belonged to the ED 3-4 group of education levels. The educational structure of foreigners from Macedonia was slightly lower: most of them belonged to the ED 1-2 educational group. Foreigners from Ukraine, however, had on average a much higher educational structure, also compared to the general population: as many as 64.4 per cent had education at levels 3-4 and 29.5 of all foreigners from Ukraine had higher educational levels (ED 5-6). The data for 2011 demonstrate that a higher share of all foreigners from Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is the main immigration country to Slovenia, had educational levels 3-4: 59.4 per cent as compared to 51.4 per cent in 2002. Foreigners from Kosovo and Macedonia are generally represented in the lower education group (ED 1-2) with a higher share than foreigners from other countries of origin (see Figure 38).

\(^{34}\) Yugoslavia was, in 2002, composed of Serbia (including Kosovo) and Montenegro. In 2011 it no longer existed as a formal entity and data were available for Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo separately.
Figure 38: Share of foreign nationals, aged 15-64 years, by country of citizenship and by highest level of education attained, 2002, 2011

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Census
4.4. Labour Market

4.4.1. General characteristics of the labour market

Due to its small size, the Slovenian economy is oriented towards exports to developed Western markets therefore a greater level of technological development, leading to greater export competitiveness in global markets, is essential for its growth. Commerce, construction, manufacturing and business services are among the important sources of employment in the country (EURES, 2013). As described in more detail in Section 4.1. of this report, the economic conditions in Slovenia started to worsen in 2008, under the pressure of the global financial and economic crisis, which was reflected also on the labour market, where negative trends can also be observed. The government responded to such deteriorating labour market position by two intervention laws intended to preserve jobs and by stronger implementation of active employment policy schemes which were strengthened further in 2010 but then substantially reduced already in 2011 (Economic Issues, 2012).

In 2013, the labour market reform deemed to be one of the most important structural reforms planned by the Slovenian government to tackle market segmentation and to increase the competitiveness of the economy in Slovenia was passed. Five most important segments of the reform measures include measures to increase the flexibility of the labour market by loosening employment and dismissal procedures, measures to reduce segmentation in the labour market by restricting fixed-term employment; measures to strengthen internal flexibility (reassigning workers to other suitable posts without their consent, lower compensations for the waiting period and the obligation of workers to educate themselves for the needs of the employer during this time); measures to encourage active work-seeking during the notice period, thereby increasing the chances of finding a new job with no period of unemployment and measures regulating the temporary and casual work of pensioners (Government of the Republic of Slovenia, 2013).

The data on employment demonstrate that gender differences in the number of employed persons are not very pronounced in Slovenia, as can be observed from the figures on the total employment and activity rates in Slovenia. A slight fall can be observed for both indicators from 2009 due to the economic crisis. For example, the total activity rate for 2012 was 70.4. Its value was 73.7 for men and 66.9 for women (see Figure 39 and Figure 40).

Figure 39: Total employment in thousands, by sex, 1996-2012

Source: EUROSTAT, LFS
From the data on economic activity, it is first evident that a rise in the number of people employed in services has occurred in the period from 1999 to 2012 and there has been a decrease for the sectors of industry (especially after 2008) and agriculture. The data show that women are, to a larger extent than men, employed in the service sector, while men are more significantly represented in industry. In agriculture, differences between men and women are not very pronounced (see Figure 41).
The effects of the recent economic crisis on the labour market in Slovenia can best be explored by analysing unemployment rates. After a constant fall of the unemployment rate in the period from 2003 to 2008 (from 6.7 to 4.4), the unemployment rate in Slovenia started to rise and was 8.9 in 2012, meaning it has doubled in the last five years (see Table 9 – Annex 1; see Figure 42). \(^{35}\)

\(^{35}\) Unemployment rates for countries of the former Yugoslavia show that generally Kosovo has the highest unemployment rates, followed by Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia. The values for these countries are higher than unemployment rates in Slovenia (EUROSTAT, 2011). The latest data for Austria indicate an unemployment rate of 4.7 per cent and for Germany 5.3 per cent which is well below the average for the EU.
In addition to the LFS data, the register-based data on unemployment, collected by the Employment Service of Slovenia also prove that unemployment had been decreasing until the end of 2008, when the economic crisis began in Slovenia. Data also point to the rising number of the active population and to a decreasing number of job vacancies until this time period (Socialni razgledi, 2009).

The data demonstrate a rising unemployment rate from 2009, but this increase is especially pronounced for women. Some further data attest to an increasingly unfavourable position of women on the labour market in Slovenia. Although in 2011, there were 118,298 new employments, which presents a 13.6 per cent increase compared to 2010, the number of employments for women decreased by 2.7 per cent compared to 2010 (Employment Service of Slovenia, 2011).

Additionally, the latest data on the share of permanent work contracts demonstrate that this share is decreasing, as in 2011, 82.4 per cent (97,514) of all new employment contracts were for temporary employment only (Employment Service of Slovenia, 2011). The data for 2011 also show that the greatest rise of employment was evident in the construction industry (+73.3 %), while the greatest decrease in the number of new employment occurred in mining (-35.7 %), but also in public administration, defence and social security (-10.1 %), education (-7.3 %) and in cultural, entertainment and recreational activities (-6.4 %) (Employment Service of Slovenia, 2011).

From the data on youth unemployment a recent increase in unemployment rates for the age group from 15 to 24 years, can also be observed. In 2007, when the figures reached a low in terms of the time period under study (from 1996 to 2012), it was 3.7 in the total population, 3.2. for men and 4.2. for women. In 2012 the total youth unemployment rate was 7.9 in the total population, 7.3 for men and 8.6 for women. The increase of the unemployment rate for young women is especially evident in 2012, as in previous years gender differences were not so pronounced (see Figure 43; Figure 44).

From supplementary data on youth unemployment and employment, it is evident that the labour market situation of young people worsened considerably in the period from 2008 to 2011. This is particularly pronounced for young people with tertiary education where the largest relative increase in the number of registered unemployed young people with tertiary education occurred in this time period and there has also been an increase in the share of those aged 25 to 29 years who are neither in education nor in training (Economic Issues, 2012). According to Ignjatović (2011) this is mainly due to the structure of the Slovenian economy which did not follow the transition of the youth to the tertiary education but instead increased demand especially in elementary occupations, craft and related trades and service workers – mainly workers with very specific and low skills. It is true that a high participation of young people in education decreases the employment rates of this age group,
but Slovenia also belongs to countries with a high share of young people who combine education and employment (Economic Issues, 2012).

Figure 43: Youth unemployment in thousands (15-24 years), by sex, 1996-2012

Source: EUROSTAT, LFS
Register-based data on unemployment rates show that unemployment is generally higher in the Eastern part of Slovenia. The average for Slovenia in April 2013 (latest data) was 13.3, in Pomurska region, which is generally considered as the least developed of all the regions in Slovenia, it was 18.0. Unemployment was also high in Zasavska (16.5) and Podravska region (15.1). The unemployment rate was the lowest in Gorenjska region (9.9). It was also below the average for Slovenia in the three regions of western Slovenia (Notranjsko-kraška, Goriška and Obalno-kraška) and in Osrednjeslovenska (Central Slovenia) region (Employment Service of Slovenia, 2013).
4.4.2. Integration of immigrants on the labour market

The main actor for setting migration and integration policies is the Ministry of the Interior and the Employment Service of Slovenia is the main implementer of the labour market provisions for foreign workers (Pajnik et al., 2009a: 1).

In line with the already presented data on the characteristics of foreigners in Slovenia, it is no surprise that a great majority of foreign workers in Slovenia come from the former Yugoslav republics. Most foreigners working on the labour market in Slovenia are registered to be working around the capital in Osrednjaslovenska (Central Slovenia) region, although many are registered with the Employment Service in the capital of Ljubljana, but work somewhere else. Such is the example of construction sector workers, who commute daily to different construction sites around Slovenia (Pajnik et al., 2009a: 3). Also, in summer months, the rise of seasonal workers can be noticed in the coastal regions in the ‘accommodation and food service sector’ due to higher demand for the labour force (Pajnik et al., 2009b: 3).

The majority of foreigners on the labour market in Slovenia are men. A high share of workers from the states of the former Yugoslavia is also characteristic of the labour market in Slovenia. For example, in March 2011, 93.5 per cent of all foreign workers that needed a work permit to work in Slovenia came from the former Yugoslav states (Malačič, 2011: 8). As many as half of migrant workers in Slovenia are employed in construction, followed by manufacturing, motor and traffic storage, commerce and accommodation and food service activities (Pajnik and Bajt, 2010: 182). From the data on working permits issued to foreigners, it is evident that their number had been increasing from 2004 (34,608 in 2005), when Slovenia entered the EU, until 2008, when their number reached a peak (85,302). Already in the year 2009, only 58,750 work permits were issued, and in 2010 this number was 40,688, which can be attributed mainly to the effects of the economic crisis (Malačič, 2011: 7). The data also show that around 80 per cent of all work permits are issued to men and more than half of them are issued to individuals with lower educational levels (level 1-2).

The data for unemployment for the last decade show a fall in unemployment until 2008, when the global financial crisis began and the data for 2009 already demonstrate a growing unemployment rate. However, the register-based unemployment rate for foreigners, especially for third-country nationals is hard to discern since only those holding a personal work permit issued for indefinite time or for a period of at least three years can register with the Employment Service, thus the official register-based statistics leave out those foreigners who are also unemployed but do not possess such a working permit (Pajnik et al. 2009b: 2).

Due to the recent economic crisis in Slovenia, the situation of migrant workers worsened, as many were made redundant and without social protection, some received no wages for several months, had no social and/or health insurance, collective facilities where some were accommodated were reported as highly inadequate by trade unions and NGO’s (Medica and Lukič, 2011; Toplak and Vah Jevšnik, 2010; Pajnik et al., 2009a; 2009b). Research has confirmed that many in fact work in low-skilled and low-paid sectors such as construction, manufacturing and domestic work, requiring hard physical work, generating low incomes and characterised by a significant share of undocumented work (Pajnik et al., 2009a: 2). Deskilling – highly educated migrants performing unskilled jobs or jobs below their educational and professional skills and levels, is also largely present in Slovenia (Cukut, 2008; Pajnik et al., 2009a, 2009b).

From the data on activity rates, it is evident that there are no pronounced differences between activity rates of the population with Slovenian citizenship and those of non-nationals. However, gender differences are obvious: foreign males display higher activity rates than the citizens of Slovenia, while female non-nationals have lower activity rates than female nationals (see Figure 45).
The data on employment rates for non-nationals and nationals show that foreign nationals generally have higher employment rates than nationals of Slovenia from the year 2007 (with the exception of the year 2009). While the employment rates for Slovenian nationals have been falling from 2008, when the economic crisis began, the employment rates for foreigners have been increasing for this period. This is true for both male and female non-nationals. Nevertheless, female non-nationals display significantly lower employment rates than male non-nationals and lower employment rates than female nationals (see Figure 46; see Table 10– Annex 1). Employment rates in the main countries of origin of immigrants to Slovenia were on average lower than the EU average (almost 65%); they ranged from 26 per cent in Kosovo to almost 57 per cent in Croatia (EUROSTAT, 2011).
Data on unemployment rates comparing non-nationals and nationals are scarce (available only from 2008) and unreliable, so any generalisations are almost impossible. The data for 2012, which are the only reliable data comparing the rates for nationals and non-nationals, do show, however, that foreigners have significantly higher unemployment rates than nationals: these were 15.5 for non-nationals and 8.8 for nationals. Although data for unemployment rates of females are unreliable, this
difference is probably largely due to a significantly higher unemployment rates of female non-nationals when compared to female nationals (see Figure 47; see Table 8 – Annex 1):

Figure 47: Unemployment rate by sex and main groups of citizenship (total, nationals, foreign nationals), 2002-2012

As already mentioned, most of the immigrants to Slovenia, especially those migrating in the Yugoslav period, have already acquired Slovenian citizenship, so the distinction between non-nationals and nationals in legal terms may not always be useful for statistical purposes. Bešter (2007) found that migrants and their descendants in Slovenia have similar educational levels than Slovenes, although according to the Population Census from 2002, they are represented above average in the so-called professions for simple works, those in the category machine and devices operators and industrial producers and in the professions for the non-industrial way of work which are all low-paid and low-
valued professions. This fact points to unequal opportunities of employment of migrants and their descendants (Bešter in Vrečer, 2009).

For this reason, we also added the indicator unemployment rate by country of birth to the analysis. The values of this indicator confirm that population born in a foreign country has higher unemployment rates compared to those that were born in Slovenia. With the exception of the year 2012, this is also true of men born in a foreign country when compared to those born in Slovenia. Again, a difference between females born in a foreign country and those born in Slovenia is quite pronounced, females not born in Slovenia have higher unemployment rates than those born in Slovenia (see Figure 48).36

Figure 48: Unemployment rates by sex and country of birth (foreign, Slovenia, total), 2002-2012

36 Data on youth unemployment rates for nationals and non-nationals are not available.
4.4.3. Effects of emigration on labour markets

The data on emigration from Slovenia presented in Chapter 4.2.2.3 of this report has demonstrated a rise in emigration of citizens of Slovenia especially from 2008 on and this trend was continued in the period between 2009 until 2011. Preliminary data for the first nine months of 2012 indicate that the number of emigrants to abroad has doubled compared to the first nine months of 2011. This could be linked to the continuation of the economic crisis, but also to the free access of Slovenian citizens to the labour markets in Austria and Germany after 1 May 2011 (Poročilo o razvoju, 2013: 37). The data also indicate that the share of emigrants with tertiary education levels is increasing which in addition to the general trend of rising numbers of people with tertiary education in Slovenia also has an impact on the available human capital in Slovenia (Poročilo o razvoju, 2013: 37). For example, in 2011, among all the emigrating citizens of Slovenia, the highest share (around one quarter) belonged to the 30 to 34 year age-group (Poročilo o razvoju, 2013: 37). Along with unfavourable economic and social development indicators in recent years this fact gives some indications for increased possibilities of brain drain from Slovenia.

Some more specialised research on emigration to Slovenia is available as well. For example, especially the Institute of economic research has been conducting survey-based research of emigration of scientists to Slovenia from the mid-1990s on. Surveys have been conducted in 1995, 2004 and 2009, and research from 2004 and 2009 was based on the same methodology and survey instruments. Data from 1995 to 2004 (prior to Slovenia joining the EU) and 2004 to 2009 could thus be analysed. In the period from 2004 to 2009 the highest number of organisations that experienced emigration of scientists could be found in research organisations in the business sector. Similar to the period between 1995 and 2004, an above-average share of organisations with migrants could be found also in higher education institutions (both public and private) and public research organisations (Bevc and Ogorevc, 2012: 45). However, after Slovenia entered the EU in 2004, an increasing share of emigrants from higher education institutions and the business sector was noted with regard to the period from 1995 to 2004. The share of emigrants from research organisations decreased as regards to the first period under study. It was also found that emigrants from the business sector were regionally more dispersed, whereas most emigrants from other types of research organisations could be found in the Osrednjaslovenska region (Central Slovenia), which is quite logical given the concentration of research institutions in Ljubljana, the capital of the country.

When two periods were compared, an increasing feminisation of emigration was noted, in the second period (from 2004 until 2009), 43 per cent of all emigrants were women. In the period after Slovenia joined the EU, the average age of emigrants was 34 years. Researchers concluded that in the period from 2004 to 2009 the absolute numbers of researchers emigrating increased from almost all types of research organisations, when compared to the period from 1995 to 2004 (Bevc and Ogorevc, 2012: 49).
The *Strategy of Economic Migration* (2010) envisages cooperation with diasporas as actors of development also in Slovenia and mentions negative effects of brain drain in the context of sectors for which a lack of labour force is characteristic. However, no concrete policy measures to reduce brain drain and/or encourage the return of Slovenian emigrants from abroad are listed in the strategy (*Strategy of Economic Migration*, 2010). In the *Strategy of Economic Migration* it is also mentioned that a need for highly-qualified labour force is present in the metal and electric industry, in the area of information and telecommunication technologies, biotechnology, wood and construction industry and in the health sector. In the *Governmental Action Plan on Cooperation with the Scientists and Top Experts of Slovenian origin living abroad* it is stated that the brain drain of Slovenian top scientists and researchers is most evident in the areas of natural sciences, mathematics and technical sciences that are considered of key importance for the development of Slovenia (cited in Josipovič and Trbanc, 2012: 11).

With the end of limitations to employment of Slovenian citizens in all EU countries in May 2011, there were some discussions about potential emigration of the labour force from Slovenia to Austria, especially in the medical sector, metal industry and in qualified works in construction, however, it was generally estimated by the *Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs* that such emigration is not likely to increase considerably due to low work mobility of the population in Slovenia, their general high expectations and limited demand for labour in Austria (quoted in Josipovič and Trbanc, 2012: 11). According to Josipovič and Trbanc (2012: 10), the impact of emigration to labour market developments in Slovenia is rather weak, also due to the structure of the Slovenian economy and employment, as the economy has not been able to absorb the increasing numbers of young graduates with tertiary education, although the demand for such labour has been increasing throughout the years until the period of the economic crisis. They note that the sectors that contributed most to economic growth were construction, manufacturing and retail sectors where low-skilled and low-wage jobs are mostly concentrated. However, the issue of emigration of well-educated persons has not been investigated in much detail and would certainly merit more research attention in the future.
5. SPECIAL THEMATIC FOCUS

5.1. Temporary protection policies - the case of the forcibly displaced from Bosnia and Herzegovina

After Slovenia acquired independence, the first milestone with regard to migration and migrants was undoubtedly the influx of forced migrants from war-torn areas of the former Yugoslavia in the beginning of the 1990s, first from Croatia in 1991 and later also from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. However, the largest number of forcibly displaced arrived from Bosnia and Herzegovina.37 For the forcibly displaced, the status of temporary protection was adopted. At the beginning, they were treated in accordance with Act 42 of Aliens Act that envisaged the possibility of temporary accommodation of aliens that for different reasons could not be removed from the country (Lipovec, 1999: 32). Already in 1992, UNHCR recommended the application of temporary protection institute that implicitly contained the practice of refugee repatriation, as the best and most realistic option to protect these individuals (Brekke, 2001: 6). As Lipovec (1999: 34) maintains the aim of the temporary protection institute was to find more permanent solutions for the forcibly displaced (voluntary repatriation, settlement in third countries, settlement in the country of arrival).

What is problematic about the use of the temporary protection principle was that it accorded individuals a significantly smaller amount of rights than individuals with refugee status are accorded. Temporary protection, for example, does not allow individuals to access procedures to acquire more permanent forms of protection and does not prevent repatriation in cases when the situation in their countries of origin does not seem ‘safe’. However, the Slovenian government mainly adopted the approach of the necessity of return. On 25 April 1996, in the year proceeding the official end of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Attitudes towards return of individuals with temporary protection (authors’ translation) (Stališča v zvezi z vračanjem oseb z začasnim zatočiščem, 1996 cited in Barbutovski, 1996: 4) the government position was that ‘circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina are getting better after the signing of the peace agreement and reasons that forced two million people out of their country of origin and presented the basis of temporary protection, no longer exist’. The Temporary Asylum Act that regulated their status in more detail was only adopted in July 1997.

One of the most questionable aspects of the Slovenian regulation of temporary protection was that a person with temporary protection could work maximum sixty days in a year (or eight hours a week), but if he/she acquired a work permit, the status of temporary protection was lost. Consequently, informal economy among the forcibly displaced was prevalent. The situation was somewhat paradoxical: if a person with temporary protection applied for a temporary permit, he/she would have to prove to have sufficient financial means for subsistence, a requirement which was difficult to achieve for many migrants, as paid work in Slovenia was mainly not permitted to them. In addition, the duration of stay under temporary protection was not counted as years of residence needed to acquire permanent residence based on the Aliens Act, nor was it considered in the time period of residence required for the acquisition of citizenship. The maximum time of duration of temporary protection was not set and no integration measures for people that could not return into their country of origin or acquire a different status in Slovenia were defined (Information on the possibilities of

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37 Vrečer (2007) writes that the number of the forcibly displaced was at its peak in Spring 1992, when there were around 45,000 forcibly displaced (mainly from Bosnia and Herzegovina and some from Croatia) on Slovenian territory, in September 1993 there were (after the first official count), 31,100 such individuals in the country, in May 1997 7,411 and in August 2002 2,241. It must be emphasised, however, that many, especially those with higher qualifications, resettled in other, mainly Western European countries and some acquired other statuses in Slovenia. What is certainly important in the context of the SEEMIG project is the fact that persons with temporary protection were excluded from the population of the Republic of Slovenia and from the population of foreign nationals in statistical terms until 1995 when a new definition of the population which also considered them as a part of the population came into force.
integration of individuals with temporary protection from Bosnia and Herzegovina; Temporary Asylum Act 1997).

The major drawback of the Slovenian policy towards the forcibly displaced from Bosnia and Herzegovina was the duration of the temporary protection status. Only in 2002, more than ten years after the arrival of the first forcibly displaced from the former Yugoslav republics, amendments to the Temporary Asylum Act were made. Civil society initiatives performed a crucial role in this regard. Under new provisions, individuals with temporary protection gained the right to apply for foreigner status and consequently the right to perform paid work in Slovenia without limitations. The period spent in Slovenia was officially recognized and taken into account when applying for citizenship, provided such individuals fulfilled other conditions for acquiring it. However, the negative impact the extremely long duration of the temporary protection status had on individual lives and the prospects of social inclusion of the forcibly displaced has been demonstrated in numerous case studies on this issue (e.g. Janko Spreizer et al., 2004; Krajina and Nadarević, 2000; Vrečer, 2006; 2007). However, as Vrečer (2007: 65) argues, Slovenia resorted to ad hoc solutions in this field also due to the fact that as a newly formed nation-state it had not yet adopted adequate legislation in the field of forced migration. The temporary protection institute was certainly not unique in the regulation of forced migration from the former Yugoslav republics, but Slovenia was among the nation-states with the longest duration of such a status. Consequently, this affected the degree of rights granted to forcibly displaced individuals from these areas.

5.2. Citizenship policies – dissolution of the former Yugoslav state and the case of the ‘erased’

Deželan (2011) draws on numerous case studies in the area of citizenship in the former Yugoslavia and its successor states. He points out that in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) a single SFRY citizenship existed. In reality, both the federal (SFRY) and the republican citizenship were in effect. In international law, the federal citizenship was considered as primary, while the republican citizenship had an exclusively internal orientation. However, in administrative terms, registers of citizenship existed only on the republican level (Štiks in Deželan, 2011: 10). In practice, it was easy for citizens of the other Yugoslav republics to acquire other republican citizenship as in the 1960s the three and one year condition of residency in another republic was dropped and from 1976, a republican citizenship was granted to a citizen of the other republic upon application for permanent residence. However, Deželan (2011) maintains that republican citizenship proved to be vital since it provided the foundations for the continuity in the new citizenship legislation in the newly formed Slovenian nation-state in 1991. There were two principal ways of acquiring citizenship of the newly formed Slovenian state in the period after the break-up of the former Yugoslav state (Dedić, 2003a). The first pertains to those individuals that had Slovenian republican citizenship prior to the dissolution of SFRY and acquired Slovenian citizenship automatically. The second way to acquire Slovenian citizenship was through exceptional naturalization of citizens of other former Yugoslav republics on the basis of Article 40 of the Citizenship Act, under which around 170,000 individuals acquired Slovenian citizenship. According to Mesojedec Prvinšek (quoted in Deželan, 2011: 11) the basic principle of the Slovenian citizenship legislation was the principle of continuity, implying that all individuals with the citizenship of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia automatically acquired Slovenian citizenship. Citizens of the former Yugoslav republics could apply for Slovenian citizenship if they fulfilled two conditions: permanent residence on the day of the plebiscite on Slovenian independence (23 December 1990) and actual residence within Slovenian territory. This is how, in the words of Zorn (2009: 289); ‘ethnicity was re-introduced as an important official and state-managed category’ [...] as ‘although these persons (immigrants from the former Yugoslav republics) had been permanent residents in Slovenia for many years or all their lives, they were required to obtain citizenship in a
different manner than ethnic Slovenes’ (ibid., 289). As Dedić (2003a: 38) reminds us, after the break-up of former multinational federations, newly formed sovereign nation-states were formed that tended towards national homogenization of its population. Slovenia was not an exception in this regard. There were, for instance, attempts to take away Slovenian citizenship from those individuals that acquired Slovenian citizenship on the basis of Article 40 of the Citizenship Act and retained citizenship of their country of origin (Dedić, 2003a: 39).

However, those citizens of the former Yugoslav republics that decided against acquiring Slovenian citizenship or failed to acquire it were deleted from the register of permanent residence of the Ministry of interior without prior notification and without their knowledge. For example, their documents were confiscated and destroyed during routine visits to administrative offices and they received no formal notification about this (Zorn, 2009: 291). Zorn (2009: 281) writes there were 18,305 such individuals. If they had managed to obtain a foreign passport, they could have applied for residence permits and citizenship under regular naturalization under the citizenship and alien legislation, but often did not fulfil the stringent criteria to acquire these statuses (e.g. language proficiency, sufficient means to support themselves). On the basis of such an act, many no longer had the right to reside in Slovenia, cross state borders; they had no right to work and were denied access to health care, pensions and social benefits (Zorn, 2009).

The case actually originates in the Aliens Act that entered into force on 25 June 1991 that stipulated in Article 40 that citizens of the former SFR Yugoslavia who did not acquire Slovenian citizenship within a period of six months, had to obtain residence permits, despite the fact that they possessed the status of Yugoslav citizens with a permanent residence permit in Slovenia prior to its independence (Deželan, 2011: 16). This issue was not resolved within citizenship and alien legislation, but was to be settled by succession agreements, which were considerably delayed due to armed conflicts and hostilities within the former Yugoslav republics (Dedić, 2003a; Deželan, 2011).

Numerous case studies documenting human rights violations against individuals that were erased from the register of permanent residence appeared especially in the last decade when the public in Slovenia was actually even made aware of this issue (see for example: Dedić, 2003a; Dedić et al., 2003; Zorn, 2005; Zorn, 2009). In this respect, Dedić (2003) argues that in the procedures of acquiring Slovenian citizenship, massive and systematic human rights violations after the break-up of the joint Yugoslav federation and Slovenia’s acquiring independence occurred, most in the framework of regulation the issues of succession, particularly in cases of individuals that did not acquire Slovenian citizenship under Article 40 of the Aliens Act. It seems, according to Dedić (2003a) that the act of was actually not so much about discrimination of individuals that were denied Slovenian citizenship, who, for various reasons, did not apply for Slovenian citizenship. What we witnessed in this case was rather discrimination based on the fact that their previous status (permanent residence) was taken away from them without an objective and credible reason (Dedić, 2003a: 55). Some of these individuals actually applied for Slovenian citizenship, but were either rejected or the decision to grant them citizenship was annulled which resulted in the loss of permanent residence in the Republic of Slovenia (ibid. 55). Although most of these individuals possessed republican citizenship, there were also cases of individuals born in Slovenia who were not registered in citizenship registers of their republics of origin and this registration could not be made due to war in these areas (ibid., 55-56). In 1999 and then again in 2003, the Constitutional Court ruled that erasure from the registry of permanent residents was unconstitutional. It was not until 2002 that the issue has received more public attention through numerous obstructions to the regulation of the status of the erased, a veto to the National Council, a referendum on the issue, etc. However, this issue is beyond the scope of this report (for more information, see for example Dedić et al. 2003, Deželan, 2011; Zorn, 2005, 2009).

The events and circumstances that triggered the act of erasure are complex and multifaceted and could not be analysed here, but as Deželan (2001: 19) states ‘the case of the ‘erased’ clearly portrays the general negative attitude towards he population of non-Slovenian descent originating from the
territory of the former SFR Yugoslavia'. Zorn (2009: 280-281) argues that is also demonstrates how
highly charged ideological and political issues did not pertain to historical national minorities (Italians
and Hungarians) but to ethnic minorities or immigrants from other parts of former Yugoslavia, who
became the implicit target of the citizenship and aliens’ legislation of the newly formed nation-state.
For the purposes of the SEEMIG project, it is indicative as it demonstrates how population statistics (in
this case the statistics on permanent residents of Slovenia) could be blurred in the context of newly
formed nation(alising) states.
6. CASE STUDY OF THE PODRAVJE REGION

Slovenia is a country with the population of about 2.060.000 people and 20.273 km² of territory. It is divided into 2 NUTS 2 regions, which are in reality not existing, for they are further divided into 12 NUTS 3 statistic regions, among which there is also the case study region of Podravje, included in the SEEMIG project.

The region of Podravje is subdivided into 7 administrative LAU 1 units and 42 LAU 2 units. The LAU 2 units are municipalities with elected mayors and representatives, which are the local policy makers, yet they do not systematically collect data about the population within their municipality. Such data is being collected at LAU 1 level, which is an administrative unit only, as it has no elected representatives, this it is not a policy maker.

All the data for the statistic NUTS 3 regions, or further on for the cohesion NUTS 2 regions are processed at the national level. These data are then released periodically and give out information on a regional level, yet it takes the NUTS 3 region a considerable amount of time to gain the data or to further process it. The data is usually in an electronic ‘read only’ format. Otherwise, it is the same kind of data described in the other parts of the national report, thus it makes no sense to repeat it again at this point.

For the purposes of the region, it would be of great importance, that relevant data would be available in frequent intervals, of at least every six months, although three month periods would be preferable.

Data most interesting for the region would be:
- Number of people commuting to work to the region from other Slovenian regions,
- Number of people commuting to work to the region from abroad,
- Number of people commuting to work to other Slovenian regions,
- Number of people commuting to work outside Slovenian borders,
- Number of students from the region studying in the region,
- Number of students from the region studying outside the region,
- Number of migrants working in the region,
- Number of unemployed migrants in the region,
- Number of migrants outside the region commuting into the region to work,
- Number of migrants inside the region commuting outside the region to work,
- Number of people from the region migrating abroad,
- Number of temporary migrants in the region (with likelihood to stay),
- Number of permanent migrants to the region (according to origin),
- Education and skills of migrants living in the region (regardless if nostrificated in Slovenia),
- Average GDP of migrants in the region, in order to show the relationship between the level of education and wage paid for the work done. This could be instrumental in identifying and preventing exploitation of migrant work force.

Some of the mentioned data is accessible, yet as stated before, not available at frequent enough intervals. On the other hand, experience points out, that not all data is reliable enough, as it does not depend on actual numbers – as is the case of wages of foreign workers. Highly educated foreign work force would be shown by their level of education, which does not, however, mean they would receive the same wage as the domestic work force of the same level of education and the same workplace.
Another example would be the data about the education of migrants. Since education systems in various countries differ, a migrant living in Slovenia would need to get the verification of the gained education – the nostrification. Unless this is done, a migrant can not compete for several jobs in the public sector (including healthcare, public research institutions, etc.) and does have an unfavourable negotiation position in the private sector. There are two kinds of nostrifications a) for work, b) for continuation of education. In the case b) the institution to which a migrant wishes to enrol has to accept the documents about the current educational level, to see if the candidate can or cannot enrol. The process does not require financial inputs, except for the costs of translation. It should be noted that English translation is accepted, so if a migrant has the papers in English, no further translation is needed (in some cases other languages are accepted, if the staff of the institution feels competent enough in the given language).

However, with case a) the migrant has to apply for nostrification, which is considered rather expensive and unless it leads to immediate employment most migrants do not decide to get it done. Hence, this does not reflect the real data about education of migrants, for until they get the nostrification done, they are not evidenced at the actual level of education they have gained prior to migration.

Although such data is not provided yet, the Development Strategy for the Municipality of Maribor 2030 already considers integration as an contributing part of society, which is also based on the previous experience of Maribor, as the regional capital.

Although this is not all too typical for the region as a whole, the city of Maribor with its metropolitan area represents over a third of the region’s population, Maribor is a city based on migration, which was an integral part of its development, especially in the period after the First World War, when the city became part of Yugoslavia and not Austria, with most of German speaking population leaving the city – but at the same time many people from the coastal region moved into the city, as that part of Slovenia came under Italian rule. Also during the periods of growth, in the second half of the 20th century, the city was further developing into the biggest industrial basin of the Balkans, with many migrants from other parts of Yugoslavia settling in Maribor. In both cases these flows of migration were not considered international migration. They were only seen as part of moving from rural areas into industrial centres.

Mostly the immigration trends continue, with people of same ethnic or national origin (mostly through family ties), still migrating to the region of Podravje. At the same time, people from Podravje keep emigrating out of the region, sometimes even without showing up in any statistics.

It is our belief that with up to date data it would be possible to prepare quality strategies and action plans for the entire NUTS 3 level region of Podravje, as well as LAU 2 levels of municipalities, to deal with the challenges and opportunities demographics and migration offer.
7. OUTLOOK AND CONCLUSIONS

From the historical analysis of migration trends in the period of the former Yugoslavia, it is quite obvious that Slovenia has always been a country of immigration rather than emigration, although politically motivated emigration from Slovenia was characteristic of the period immediately after Second World War and guest-worker emigration especially to Germany was also present. Nevertheless, the main characteristic of this period was the immigration of people from the former Yugoslav republics into Slovenia which settled mostly in bigger industrial centres. However, such migration was not recorded as international but rather as internal (inter-republic) migration and these migrants held common Yugoslav citizenship, in addition to their republican citizenship. For this reason, on a formal level, they were afforded the same rights as people with Slovenian republican citizenship. Although not considered an international migration in statistical terms until 1991 when Slovenia acquired independence, such migration nevertheless had some characteristics of international migration, as in practice; integration was also an important issue for this group of migrants, especially due to language and other cultural differences. The statistical data collected by the Federal Yugoslav and Republic statistical offices regarding the regions of origin and destination of such migrants and their socio-economic characteristics are ample. On the other hand, there is virtually no data available on the characteristics of international immigrants to Slovenia in this period, for example those that migrated to Slovenia on the basis of Yugoslavia’s appurtenance to the non-alignment movement. International migration to Slovenia seems to have been neither a statistical nor a policy issue and the category of a foreigner has only been introduced into the statistical data from 1995 onwards. There is, however, more data available on Slovenian emigrants to other countries already in the period of the former Yugoslavia. However, in a comparative perspective it would seem reasonable to make efforts to account also for internal migration within countries that later broke into several nation-states (e.g. Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia) which would give a more dynamic and comprehensive picture of migration from/to these territories.

In a historical perspective, this national report analysed data on a national level. However, it must also be stressed that regional differences within Yugoslav republics were as significant as inter-republican differences, as in Yugoslavia there were also regional disparities between the cities and the outlying rural areas (Bradford studies on Yugoslavia, 1979), which is evident also from prevailing migration patterns from rural areas to industrial centres. However, changes in regional borders in administrative terms throughout the years make comparisons almost impossible.

Next, the process of the break-up of the former Yugoslavia has brought about some important consequences also for migration developments in these territories. Most of the citizens of the former Yugoslav republics, who immigrated to Slovenia in the Yugoslav period, applied for and obtained Slovenian citizenship. As such, the statistical division between foreigners and nationals in legal terms is not very useful for estimating the numbers of the population born outside Slovenia. Country of birth is a more useful indicator of estimating such numbers, but a limited amount of data is available by this division.

The new definition of the population which is in accordance with the Regulation on Community Statistics on Migration and International Protection Regulation (EC) No 862/2007), and used in Slovenia from 2008 onwards has also altered the statistical data on migrants in Slovenia. The one-year residence rule now excludes those individuals who have a valid residence permit in the duration of less than one year. As the reference period for defining a migrant is one year, those with short-term work permits, who are, according to statistical data, on the increase, are no longer included into migration statistics. An indicative example is the year 2009 when an onset of the economic crisis was witnessed in Slovenia. This contributed to a significant amount of foreign nationals leaving Slovenia, which could be discerned also from a decreased number of work permits and consequently residence permits tied to them. However, those individuals who did not meet the one-year residence rule were again excluded from (e)migration statistics.
In view of increasingly selective migration policies that encourage particularly short-term –
temporary and/or circular migration, such forms of migration are completely excluded from data on
migration to Slovenia, thus blurring the immigration picture in the country. It seems that other
indicators that would capture the short-term nature of such migration may be useful. An important
remark in this respect concerns especially migrant workers who are not necessarily defined as
migrants in statistical terms.

Another issue that has come up when referring to migration data is the relatively small stock of the
foreign population in Slovenia as defined in statistical terms. The prevailing countries of origin of
immigrants are still the successor states of the former SFR Yugoslavia, while other countries of origin
are poorly represented in migration statistics. For this reason, it is impossible to obtain and/or
produce reliable data on many indicators of international migration and socio-economic
characteristics of migrants by individual countries (a good example is the fertility rate of foreign
nationals). Again, most immigrants to Slovenia already possess Slovenian citizenship. Additionally,
the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia practices the rule of the so-called ‘covering’ of data in
cases where absolute numbers are too small to be anonymised. Another problem related to this
issue is the availability of reliable data for the lower NUTS levels (in Slovenia especially levels NUTS 4
and NUTS 5, but also NUTS 3) where the absolute size of some statistically-defined groups is too
small to be interpreted reliably and accurately.

As can be discerned from the data Slovenia mainly attracts male immigrants (with the exception of
immigrants from Russia and Ukraine, for example), the education of whom is markedly lower than
that of nationals. It was found that they mainly work in construction and lower skill industries. The
employment structure of foreign nationals is also very much gendered, with female foreigners
displaying significantly higher unemployment and lower employment rates then male foreign
nationals, while the differences in the population of nationals are not as pronounced. Some
indications of feminised emigration from Slovenia also merit further research attention.

An issue that pertains to the acquiring of independence of the republics that once composed
Yugoslavia is the grouping of statistical data for newly-emerged countries in this region. For example,
Kosovo and Montenegro only figure in statistics from 2008 onwards, as before that period these
countries were included in the data for Serbia and previously FR Yugoslavia, so possibilities of
comparison are limited. There are also issues of succession, of people possessing dual citizenship and
the issue of ‘erasure’ of residents from the permanent population register in Slovenia, that further
contribute to an altered picture of migration-related events and flows and stocks of immigrants in
Slovenia. As Josipović and Trbanc (2012: 69) aptly state, migration and foreign-nationals statistics in
the 1990s ‘display a mixture of real population movements and residence status changes which
cannot be disentangled.’

Although the labour market situation has proven to be one of the decisive factors influencing the
migration dynamics, on the basis of available data it seems that the role of the family and
transnational family networks must also be stressed when analysing migration decisions. This is not
only due to the importance of family reunification, but also due to the fact that also family members
of migrants, who join them, usually participate in the domestic labour market and the issue of
migrant families has not been elaborated in this report. Also, the issue of cross-border migration
which is of particular significance in selected regions and the issue of regional disparities that have an
effect on migration decision have not been discussed more extensively.

In the future, a continuous rise in global migration can certainly be expected also in Slovenia, as more
and more countries are included in migration and migrants come from increasingly diverse social
environments (Zavratnik, 2006: 348). Although the former Yugoslav republics still figure in great
majority in terms of countries of origin of immigrants to Slovenia, some indications of such a
diversification have already been observed. The issue of recent emigrants from Slovenia (e.g. in the
last twenty years) has also not been warranted sufficient statistical and research attention. With
some indicators of such migration being on the increase as well, it seems that Slovenia could also face increasingly diversified emigration of its citizens from its territories in the upcoming years.
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9. ANNEX 1: MAIN STATISTICAL TABLES

Table 6: Asylum applications by country of citizenship and sex, 2001-2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>5,051</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>6,551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia and Montenegro</td>
<td>1,974</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>2,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>2,331</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>2,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>1,048</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>1,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonia</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Interior

Table 7: Emigrants by country of next residence (percentages are in parentheses), 2008-2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total (%)</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>Slovene citizens</th>
<th>foreign citizens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>54,726</td>
<td>14,874</td>
<td>39,852</td>
<td>(93.0) (27.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>17,169</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>16,585</td>
<td>(29.2) (3.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Serbia</td>
<td>7,479</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>6,733</td>
<td>(12.7) (10.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- other European countries</td>
<td>6,596</td>
<td>2,473</td>
<td>4,123</td>
<td>(11.2) (37.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Germany</td>
<td>4,887</td>
<td>4,330</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>(8.3) (88.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Macedonia</td>
<td>4,843</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>4,680</td>
<td>(8.2) (3.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North and Central America</td>
<td>1,538</td>
<td>1,132</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>(2.6) (73.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>947</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>(1.6) (29.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia and Oceania</td>
<td>626</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>(1.1) (93.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>(0.3) (55.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>(0.3) (51.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>661</td>
<td>(1.1) (0.9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Slovenia</th>
<th>Vzhodna Slovenija</th>
<th>Zahodna Slovenija</th>
<th>Pomurska</th>
<th>Podravska</th>
<th>Koroška</th>
<th>Savinjska</th>
<th>Zagorska</th>
<th>Spodnjeslovenska</th>
<th>Jugo-istrijska Slovenija</th>
<th>Gorje</th>
<th>Goriška</th>
<th>Obalno-kraška</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>total</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>males</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>females</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>total</td>
<td>14.5</td>
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Table 8: Share of population aged 65 years or more in the entire population by sex and NUTS2 and NUTS3 level, 2001-2013
Table 9: Unemployment by sex, expressed in thousands of persons, 1996-2012

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Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia
Table 10: Employment by sex and main groups of citizenship (foreign country, reporting country, total) in thousands of persons, 2002-2012

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"* signifies low reliable data
* signifies missing data
Source: EUROSTAT

Table 11: Unemployment by sex and main groups of citizenship (foreign country, reporting country, total) in thousands of persons, 2008-2012

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"* signifies low reliable data
* signifies missing data
Source: EUROSTAT