

ON THE MIGRATION POLICY OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC

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Abstract:

Background: Migration is a natural phenomenon not only among various animal species, including humans, but also among plants. It occurs naturally, voluntarily, or is often forced by various circumstances and causes. Under certain circumstances and from a certain perspective, however, it also appears as a socially undesirable phenomenon. Such a view of migration has gradually developed among part of the European public as a result of the negative manifestations of uncontrolled illegal immigration into the European Union. The Slovak Republic, the nation-state of the Slovaks, is historically an open and tolerant society. In the 9th century, the ancestors of today's Hungarians - whose state still exists in Central Europe - were received relatively peacefully into the territory inhabited by the ancient Slovaks since the turn of the 5th and 6th centuries. Later, colonies of Germans, Rusyns, Roma, and members of other nationalities also formed in Slovakia. **Conclusion:** The Slovaks' rich and instructive experiences with immigration remain part of their cultural heritage to this day. This is reflected in the intent, direction, and content of the Slovak Republic's current state migration policy. From the perspective of Slovak citizens, this particularly concerns its practical security, legal, cultural, and religious aspects.

Keywords: Slovak Republic; Slovaks; Hungarians; migration; migration policy; experiences; security; European Union

Motto:

*„The general population doesn't know what's happening,
and it doesn't even know that it doesn't know.“*

- Noam Avram Chomsky –
American philosopher

Introduction

Migration is a frequently discussed concept, examined from various perspectives. It is a subject of interest and debate not only among experts [14]. Given the negative impacts that so-called non-European migration brings to the European Union, its assessment is controversial due to diverse perspectives. It therefore also comes to the forefront of interest in connection with how it is perceived and experienced in everyday life by the general public. It brings both positives and negatives. These are reflected in all areas of life - social, cultural, religious, political, and economical [5]. Sometimes the average person is unaware of these impacts; at other times, they may be directly affected. For example, when issues arise regarding personal safety [11]. When examining the issue of migration, scholarly conclusions therefore reveal differing views on the so-called benefits of immigration—the introduction of new values—or, conversely, on the negative impacts of migration that erode so-called European values and so-called traditional society. It is therefore natural that the European Union and its individual member states formulate their own migration policies. Policies that should not be implemented at the expense of so-called indigenous European nations [12].

A Brief Overview of Migration Through the Lens of History

The issue of migration is undoubtedly a subject of research and “consumption”, including through historical methods. For example, it remains a contentious cornerstone of a largely outdated pseudo-historical problem that continues to affect the quality of international relations between Slovaks and Hungarians living in the Danube region [24]. Migration has, in fact, left its own mark on every community, not just in Slovakia. Therefore, in connection with its benefits for one community or its costs for another, it has been and remains necessary not only to monitor it but also to analyze it realistically and, ultimately, to regulate it [21]. It cannot be denied that the very essence of migration is linked to the development of human society from its very beginnings [11]. The hominid ancestors of today’s *Homo sapiens sapiens*, just like modern humans, sought out the most suitable places on Earth for their lives. This is also evidenced by the content of specialized scientific literature. It clearly distinguishes natural migration in human history according to the main periods and causes of migration, in parallel with historical periods in human development [19]. It thus distinguishes between migration in prehistoric times, migration in antiquity, migration in the Middle Ages, migration during the Industrial Revolution, and migration in the modern era. Based on current scientific knowledge, *migration in prehistoric times* dates back to 3000 B.C.

According to an analysis of the available scientific data, this migration was primarily driven by significant climate changes that affected the quality of life of early humans and the resulting need to seek new food sources in order to survive. *Homo sapiens* thus gradually spread from the African continent in a nomadic manner to the continents of Europe, Asia, Australia, and the Americas [28]. *Migration in antiquity*, dating from 3000 BCE to 500 CE, was primarily associated with intercontinental trade and the organized societies of the time, as well as the establishment of new colonies. However, it was also linked to military conflicts and the expansion of empires. Migration was thus no longer solely a matter of survival but had also taken on a political and economic dimension. One of the most significant migrations of this period was the so-called Migration Period following the decline of the Roman Empire [4]. *Migration during the Middle Ages*, dating from 500 AD to 1500 AD, was influenced not only by the search for better living conditions, but also by flight from military conflicts and raids by expansionist nations, as well as the spread of a new religion. This period was also marked by large-scale population movements associated with the settlement of new territories. The Middle Ages were also characterized by the emergence of more stable communities, and thus migration gradually tended to

decrease in scale [2]. *Migration in the modern era* is dated from 1500 AD to 1800 AD. After a period of slowdown, migration waves began to increase in volume once again. This was primarily due to new historical geographical discoveries. These triggered mass migration of Europeans seeking better living conditions to other continents, particularly to the America, Africa, and Asia. In addition to the movement of people for the purpose of colonizing the so-called New World, migration during this period was also marked by forced migration. It was organized by some of the major powers of that time, such as England, Spain, Portugal, France, and the Netherlands, due to the lucrative trade in so-called black slaves [18].

Migration during the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century was characterized by mass migration of people in search of employment opportunities. This included both movement from rural areas to cities within a country—known as urbanization—and the emigration of Europeans to the American continent (e.g., the United States, Canada, Argentina). The primary cause of this migration was poverty in Europe, particularly in Slovakia—which was part of Hungary and suffered from severe ethnic and economic exploitation. Poverty among Slovaks, as well as other Europeans, especially the Irish, was widespread, particularly in rural areas. It was accompanied by disease and famine. However, migration also offered new job opportunities in the developing industrial sector. During this period, millions of people therefore moved from Europe, primarily to the American continent [3]. *Migration in the modern era*—that is, in contemporary society during the 20th and 21st centuries—has been and continues to be influenced by the need to seek significantly better living conditions for individuals and groups of people [9]. Its main characteristics are intensity and global reach, and it is primarily linked to the economic situation of the individual, their home country, and the destination country. It is also influenced by the political situation in the home country, as well as the global security situation. In the first two decades of the 21st century, migration has also been significantly driven by changes in the environment. Environmental problems associated with radical changes in nature, which are altering the original living conditions suitable for humans and rendering them unsuitable, are driving large-scale human migrations to more climatically suitable and fertile environments [20].

It can therefore be concluded that migration is a natural and ongoing process, both shaped by and continuously shaping its environment. It is also, historically speaking, an unstoppable process. Although the nature of migration changes depending on specific factors, historical conditions, and situations existing in a

given period of a society's existence. Migration has had and continues to have a significant and fundamental impact on the evolution and development of social relations. Usually positive. However, the opposite is also true regarding its impact on hindering societal development. Its evaluation, however, also depends on the specific perspective, which can distinguish an individual's narrow view from society's broader perspective and its representation of the process of migration's "desirability."

On Migration and Its Management Globally and in the European Union

Migration can be voluntary or forced, desirable or undesirable, managed or spontaneous, beneficial or harmful, expected or unexpected. International organizations play a specific and therefore irreplaceable role in the field of migration management. Among them, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) holds a special position [8]. It primarily provides immigrants with professional, technical, and humanitarian support in close cooperation with the receiving country and its government agencies. In addressing emerging migration challenges, it focuses primarily on promoting orderly and humane migration, protecting the rights of immigrants, and developing international cooperation in this area. At the same time, it initiates and implements various programs focused primarily on the integration of immigrants into the host society, on assisted voluntary returns of migrants and their reintegration, as well as on raising public awareness of migration issues. The organization has been active worldwide since 1951 and, since its inception, has sought to assist displaced persons, refugees, and migrants. It became a part of the United Nations (UN) system in 2016. The Slovak Republic became one of its 174 members in 1996 [7].

The International Organization for Migration also carries out tasks and activities related to addressing migration issues in the Slovak Republic. In Slovakia, it serves as a key partner to the government in addressing migration issues [6]. Its work focuses on supporting the management and humane resolution of migration. It focuses primarily on facilitating the integration of immigrants into society. It provides direct assistance with assisted voluntary returns and the transfer of migrants through the territory of the Slovak Republic, with its activities encompassing the overall organization of returns and the provision of financial support to migrants. It combats irregular migration and directly

addresses human trafficking. It assists unsuccessful asylum seekers and foreigners without a residence permit in the Slovak Republic. It also helps migrants with their reintegration after returning from the Slovak Republic to their home country. It is also engaged in research focused on issues related to migration and migration trends in the Slovak Republic. It examines security risks facing both migrants and the local population. It also focuses on public attitudes toward migration and migrants. Its activities include providing training aimed at strengthening the intercultural skills of state and public administration employees who work with foreigners. It also educates journalists and journalism students, and trains employers of foreigners and immigrants. The activities of the International Organization for Migration also included the production of a documentary film on the victims and risks associated with human trafficking in 2011 and a documentary film on the lives of foreigners in Slovakia in 2013. Population migration - of people moving from so-called third countries to the European Union for various reasons - is also subject to regulation under European Union policies. Indeed, human migration in today's society ranks among the most significant global processes of our time, significantly influencing the social, economic, and political development of nations worldwide. This is not a new phenomenon. It is a dynamic and multidimensional phenomenon whose intensity and character have changed substantially in recent decades. This development is influenced primarily by globalization, technological progress, demographic changes, armed conflicts, climate change, and economic disparities between different regions of the world. It can be said that today the North is geopolitically confronted with the South, and the West with the East. In the context of globalization, trade liberalization, and the gradual removal of international barriers, population mobility initially increased, leading to ever-greater interconnectedness among individual states and, at the same time, to a rise in the complexity and "intensity" of migration flows. However, the policy of imposing sanctions and provoking armed conflicts has significantly disrupted the globalization process. A "demonopolization of world domination" is taking place. However, armed conflicts and the accompanying disasters force the affected populations to migrate. It can also be concluded, based on an analysis of information reported in the mass media, that events related to migration always attract attention due to their "unusual" nature, which primarily impacts the social fabric of society [1, 17].

Migration today takes on not only a quantitative but also a significant qualitative dimension. This is related to the fact that society distinguishes between various forms of movement among the migrant population. Let us

mention, for example, everyday “ordinary” migration or the movement of individuals for work or employment, or migration due to student mobility, all the way to forced migration caused by conflicts, unemployment, persecution, or environmental disasters, etc. This diverse and difficult-to-predict development in population movement places increased demands on states, which must respond flexibly by establishing appropriate policies and their own institutional mechanisms. The Slovak Republic, as a member state of the European Union, is an integral part of such processes, and the migration policy it has established is influenced not only by domestic priorities related to current political developments and the direction of society, but also by the obligations arising from its membership in European and international structures [15, 16]. In other words, migration policy in the Slovak Republic primarily reflects the objectives and methods established within the European Union [25]. A chronological overview of the European Union’s migration and asylum policies, published on the Council of the European Union’s website, maps the most important events related to the development of these policies within its member states. It presents key cases related to the work of the Council and the European Council on European Union measures aimed at addressing migration flows and pressures. In this context, the Council focuses particularly on, for example, joint decisions by member states in the adoption of common sets of legislative acts for the purpose of reforming the European legal framework in the area of migration and asylum management, i.e., for example, the adjustment of rules in crisis situations, uniform registration and processing times for asylum applications and asylum procedures at the borders, single work and residence permits for third-country nationals outside the European Union, the possibility of requesting solidarity contributions from Member States, etc [26]. Through the interests of its member states, the European Union is constantly increasing its efforts in the field of migration to create an effective, humane, and at the same time secure migration policy. The European Council plays a key role in this process. It sets the main strategic priorities of this policy, thereby guiding the individual steps taken by member states and the direction of their activities, and establishes mandates for negotiations with countries outside the European Union. It also adopts legislative measures while defining specific programs. It is also responsible for establishing concrete steps to ensure that asylum seekers are treated uniformly throughout the European Union. It has incorporated these new rules into the so-called Pact on Migration and Asylum. The rules focus primarily on streamlining the asylum system across the European Union and increasing solidarity among member states by relieving the burden on destination member states, particularly in

financial terms. The Pact on Migration and Asylum was adopted by the Council in 2024. Its content comprises several key provisions. These include the so-called Solidarity Reserve, which provides effective protection and support to destination states facing the heaviest migration flows; the so-called safe third country concept, which expands the circumstances under which an asylum application may be rejected as inadmissible; the so-called first list of safe countries of origin, which allows a European Union member state to process an application for international protection more quickly [27]. However, the so-called policy of solidarity - that is, voluntarism - must not mean a so-called policy of coercion, that is, blackmail or pressure!

Migration policy is generally intended to constitute a coherent system of legislative, administrative, and practical methods and tools through which European Union member states regulate the entry, residence, and departure of foreign nationals from their territory. It is intended to establish measures focused primarily on the control of a state's external borders, the issuance of visas and residence permits, as well as specific provisions regarding asylum policy and integration policy aimed at incorporating immigrants into European society or into the domestic society within a Member State. Migration policy should also include the search for rational solutions to potential risks related to the security of the state and society, the protection of fundamental human rights, and social cohesion. Individual Member States of the European Union subsequently reflect on migration and asylum policies established in this manner and implement these common rules into their domestic systems, particularly their legal, social, and security systems. It should provide a concise and precise description of the experimental results, their interpretation, as well as the experimental conclusions that can be drawn. Results should be clear and concise.

Migration and Its Management within the Framework of the Slovak Republic's Migration Policy

In the Slovak Republic, migration policy is shaped in accordance with the legal framework of the European Union, particularly in the areas of the Common Asylum Policy, security policy regarding the protection of external borders, and return policy. At the national level, several public administration institutions and other entities are involved in the implementation of migration policy in the Slovak Republic. The Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Republic plays a key role, particularly through its organizational unit, the Migration Office, which

handles asylum matters. Another important role is played by the Police Force, which, through its organizational unit, the Office of Border and Foreign Police of the Police Force Presidium, carries out control of the protection of the state's external borders and supervision of the residence of foreigners. The Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, and Family of the Slovak Republic plays a significant role in integration measures and planned activities for immigrants. Non-governmental organizations that provide legal, social, and humanitarian assistance to immigrants also make a significant contribution to the implementation of a successful migration policy. Since migration significantly affects the functioning of society, state-recognized churches and religious communities should also be actively involved in addressing it. And this should be done in all areas of daily life. For example, in the labor market, demographic trends, economic direction, security situation, healthcare sector, and even in cultural and religious spheres. The arrival of new residents can help fill long-term vacancies or unattractive jobs. In this way, economic growth is supported to a certain extent. On the other hand, it is important to note that such jobs may not only be poorly paid but may also be hazardous, which increases the costs of occupational safety and health. By effectively "forcing" immigrants into such positions, society may drive down wages in the labor market, which poses primarily economic and social risks to the native population. Migration can also contribute to rejuvenating the population of a country's native residents where there is an increased risk of an aging population, thereby maintaining the stability of the social system. However, experiences with migrants in Western Europe and their integration into a community that creates spiritual and material values do not support such a trend! Rapid changes, particularly in the ethnic and religious composition of the population, can, on the other hand, lead to tensions between different social groups. However, this phenomenon could be eliminated through effective integration of immigrants into society. Differences in mentality and culture, however, also present further challenges for the design of the system for integrating foreigners. In particular, differences in cultural customs and traditions, religion, and language can cause serious misunderstandings and conflicts that pose risks to the security situation in society. Properly structuring the legal system - or, more specifically, ensuring the highest possible level of enforceability of the law and the associated justice for all citizens and immigrants without distinction - is perhaps the only correct path to ensuring a healthy social climate. However, the current challenge appears to be the need for integration alongside the decriminalization of immigration. Factors stemming from collective personality differences between the native population and immigrants

can also spill over into the political sphere to a greater or lesser extent. The topic of migration and immigration then becomes the subject of discussions, disputes, and often an element of clear and irreconcilable polarization within society.

Under the current legislation, *migration policy* in the Slovak Republic can be understood as a comprehensive system of rules, tools, and measures aimed at managing migration in accordance with national interests and international obligations. Its purpose is to guide and control the movement of people crossing the country's borders. It seeks to harmonize the state's needs in all areas of society with the obligations arising for the Slovak Republic from international agreements and membership in international organizations. This policy encompasses several areas. From the issuance of visas and residence permits, through asylum proceedings, to the integration of foreigners into society. The policy also focuses on the protection of external borders, the fight against illegal migration, and cooperation with other states in addressing migration-related issues. At the same time, it emphasizes respect for fundamental human rights and the provision of protection to protected persons and those in need of it. The migration policy of the Slovak Republic represents a balanced approach between protecting the interests of the state and respecting international principles. Its success thus depends on the ability to respond to current migration trends and changing social conditions. Currently, the Slovak public unconditionally accepts only legal migration. According to the definition of migration policy in the Slovak Republic, legal migration refers to the movement of persons from one country to another in accordance with the applicable laws and regulations of the receiving country. It is a process in which migrants enter Slovak territory through official, legal channels, while complying with all legal conditions for entry and residence. Such entry is carried out on the basis of a visa, a temporary residence permit, or a permanent residence permit. That is, based on legal instruments that allow them to stay on the national territory lawfully and without violating applicable laws. In the Slovak context, legal migration is closely tied to a specific purpose of stay, which must be clearly defined and documented. The most common reasons include, for example, employment, study, business, and family reunification. Each of these purposes has its own specific conditions and requirements that the applicant must meet in order to be granted a residence permit. This system also allows the state to regulate the number and composition of incoming migrants so that they align with the needs of the labor market, the education system, and demographic trends. According to data from the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the number of foreigners with legal residence permits in the Slovak Republic has been growing steadily over

the long term. This also points to the increasing attractiveness of Slovakia as a destination country, rather than merely a transit country within the European Union. This trend is influenced by several factors, such as real economic opportunities, the country's relative political stability, and Slovakia's advantageous geographical location within Europe. Currently, this primarily involves an increase in legal residency for Ukrainian citizens who are migrating in search of better living conditions, job opportunities, and a higher quality of life [23]. Legal migration thus plays an important role not only from the perspective of individuals but also from the perspective of society and the national economy, as it helps fill labor shortages - particularly in low-paying jobs that the local population tends to avoid -while increasing cultural diversity and contributing to the country's overall development. However, it is important to analyze the positive benefits against the development of negative phenomena. These must then be addressed.

Illegal migration poses a real security threat and, at the same time, a humanitarian challenge for every country, including the Slovak Republic. In this context, it refers to the unauthorized and illegal movement of persons, which includes the illegal crossing of a state border, entry into the territory of a state without the necessary permits, as well as unauthorized stay following the expiration of a visa or other authorization to stay in the territory of the Slovak Republic. Such conduct is contrary to applicable legislation and constitutes a violation of the established rules governing the entry and stay of foreigners in the country. Illegal migration can take various forms. For example, in addition to crossing the state border without authorization, it may involve situations where a person enters the territory legally but subsequently violates the conditions of stay, such as by remaining in the country after the expiration of a visa or working without the appropriate permit. This phenomenon is often linked to the activities of organized groups involved in human smuggling or trafficking. This further exacerbates the severity of the negative impacts associated with illegal migration from both a security and humanitarian perspective. Addressing the issue of detecting illegal migration falls primarily within the purview of state authorities, which employ a combination of various tools. These include, in particular, the physical protection of state borders by police and border forces, as well as the use of modern technologies and control mechanisms. Well-organized international cooperation and diplomacy also play an important role, particularly among the member states of the European Union. However, this cooperation extends beyond the European Union, as countries exchange information, coordinate procedures, and adopt joint bilateral or multilateral measures and

agreements to manage migration flows. Well-organized international cooperation and diplomacy also play an important role, particularly among the member states of the European Union [13]. However, this cooperation extends beyond the European Union, as countries exchange information, coordinate procedures, and adopt joint bilateral or multilateral measures and agreements to manage migration flows. An integral part of addressing issues related to irregular migration is also the legislative framework and effective management of so-called return policy. It focuses on the return of persons residing in a country's territory irregularly to their country of origin or to the country from which they demonstrably came. This process must be conducted in accordance with international law and with respect for the fundamental human rights and dignity of migrants. Irregular migration is a complex problem that requires a balanced approach. On the one hand, rigorous law enforcement and strict border protection; on the other hand, a sensitive approach to the humanitarian aspects and root causes of migration, such as conflicts, poverty, or a lack of opportunities in the countries from which irregular migrants originate. An integral part of addressing issues related to irregular migration is also the legislative framework and effective management of so-called return policy. It focuses on the return of persons residing in a country's territory irregularly to their country of origin or to the country from which they demonstrably came. This process must be conducted in accordance with international law and with respect for the fundamental human rights and dignity of migrants. Irregular migration is a complex problem that requires a balanced approach. On the one hand, rigorous law enforcement and strict border protection; on the other hand, a sensitive approach to the humanitarian aspects and root causes of migration, such as conflicts, poverty, or a lack of opportunities in the countries from which irregular migrants originate.

Conclusion

Migration has a significant impact on all aspects of society, particularly on the labor market, demographic trends, social costs, ethnic diversity, religious tolerance, and cultural diversity. Therefore, it is necessary to monitor it professionally, analyze its impacts on domestic society, and evaluate the conclusions and potential risks. It brings both negative and positive impacts to the "new" community. However, any sensible and self-preserving society today should, on the one hand, be able to reasonably suppress and eliminate its negative

impacts, while on the other hand, rationally utilize its positive aspects for the well-being of the original population. Finding the right balance between the benefits harnessed and the negative impacts eliminated should be a priority for every sensible community. Only then can a state function effectively. Overall, migration - which is undeniable - is a complex phenomenon that brings not only opportunities but also risks. Its impact on the population depends on how individual countries manage it and how effectively they can promote the coexistence of diverse population groups. Migration policy should therefore ideally be designed as a well-thought-out and balanced tool for managing population movement that reflects both current and long-term trends and labor market needs. Its role is to create conditions for legal migration so that it contributes to the stability and development of the country's economy. This means not only responding to labor shortages in certain sectors but also anticipating future needs and setting rules so that migration supports a sustainable economic cycle. At the same time, migration policy should serve a preventive function regarding illegal migration. Its goal is to minimize illegal entries into the country and the associated security risks. However, this requires effective control mechanisms as well as cooperation at the national and international levels. An important component is also the management and protection of state borders to prevent their illegal crossing and the uncontrolled movement of persons within the state's territory. Another equally important area is the integration of immigrants into society. Migration policy should support integration processes that enable foreigners to participate in the economic, social, and cultural life of society without undermining social cohesion. Integration should be designed to promote respect for the values and rules of the majority society, while preserving the fundamental rights and dignity of individuals. It is important that the majority population don't feel pressured to adapt to minorities in a manner that would conflict with the principles of a democratic state and the law. On the contrary, the goal is to achieve a balance in which different population groups can coexist on the basis of mutual respect and adherence to common rules. However, the minority must adapt to the majority! Ultimately, all migration policy measures must be consistent with the protection of human rights. It is essential that there be no violations of these rights, either on the part of migrants or on the part of the country's citizens. The key lies in seeking fair and legally sound solutions that are not only well-defined but also effectively enforceable in practice. Such an approach ensures the legitimacy of migration policy and strengthens public confidence in its functioning. Therefore, we insist that the direction of migration policy in the Slovak Republic should be based on

the principles of controlled and selective migration, which enable the state to effectively manage the arrival and stay of foreigners on its territory. Such an approach presupposes that the relevant authorities will assess each application for entry and residence individually, thoroughly, and on the basis of clearly defined criteria. This applies in particular to cases where a person intends to live, work, do business, or otherwise participate in the social and economic life of the Slovak state on a long-term basis. An important aspect of this process, however, is giving primary consideration to the state's security interests. Residence permits should primarily be granted to those individuals whose activities, values, and purpose of residence are in accordance with the legal order, the state's strategic goals, and the fundamental principles of society. At the same time, it is necessary to take into account the ability of individuals to respect the cultural and social norms of the majority population and to contribute to the stability and development of the state. Experiences from various parts of the world, as well as analyses of current global challenges, suggest that uncontrolled or inadequately managed migration can be associated with a range of security, social, economic, and even political risks. This is precisely why there is a growing emphasis on the importance of a systematic and state-managed approach to migration, one that minimizes these risks while maintaining openness to beneficial and legal migration. The goal of such a migration policy should be to create an environment in which citizens feel safe and have confidence in the state's ability to protect their interests. Controlled migration thus represents not only a tool for regulating the movement of people, but also an important element in ensuring social stability, the rule of law, and quality of life within the state. However, in its implementation, it is essential to maintain a balance between security measures and respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms of every individual. This is also reflected in the intent, direction, and content of the current state migration policy of the Slovak Republic. From the perspective of Slovak citizens, this particularly concerns its practical security, legal, cultural, and religious aspects. In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize the necessity of sanctioning illegal migrants according to the current law, even if only in the form of so-called alternative punishments [22].

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