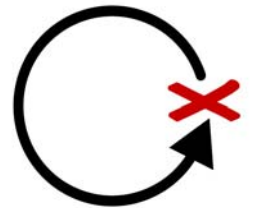




European
University
Institute

ROBERT SCHUMAN CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES



METOIKOS Project

TOWARDS A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF CIRCULAR MIGRATION

Prof. Anna Triandafyllidou
European University Institute



EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE
ROBERT SCHUMAN CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

**Towards a Better Understanding of Circular
migration
METOIKOS Concept Paper**

ANNA TRIANDAFYLLIDOU

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE

METOIKOS PROJECT

This text may be downloaded only for personal research purposes. Additional reproduction for other purposes, whether in hard copies or electronically, requires the consent of the author(s), editor(s). If cited or quoted, reference should be made to the full name of the author(s), editor(s), the title, the working paper, or other series, the year and the publisher.

© 2010 Anna Triandafyllidou

Printed in Italy
European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I – 50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy
www.eui.eu/RSCAS/Publications/
www.eui.eu
cadmus.eui.eu



The METOIKOS Research Project

Circular migration patterns in Southern and Central Eastern Europe: Challenges and opportunities for migrants and policy makers

The METOIKOS project looks at circular migration patterns in three European regions: southeastern Europe and the Balkans (Greece, Italy and Albania); southwestern Europe and the Maghreb (Spain, Italy and Morocco); and Central Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary, and Ukraine). More specifically, METOIKOS studies the links between different types of circular migration and processes of integration (in the country of destination) and reintegration (in the source country). It identifies the main challenges and opportunities involved in circular migration for source countries, destination countries and migrants (and their families) and develops new conceptual instruments for the analysis of circular migration and integration. The project will develop policy recommendations (a Guide for Policy Makers, available in 10 European languages) for local, regional and national policy makers as to how to frame circular migration with appropriate (re-)integration policies. It will also organise three Regional Workshops (on Spain, Italy and Morocco; on Greece, Italy and Albania; and on Poland, Hungary and Ukraine). The project will foster online discussion on circular migration with a view to raising awareness about the challenges and advantages of circular mobility in the wider EU Neighbourhood and the Euro-Mediterranean region more generally.

The METOIKOS project is hosted by the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies and co-ordinated by Prof. Anna Triandafyllidou (anna.triandafyllidou@eui.eu).

The EUI and the RSCAS are not responsible for the opinion expressed by the author(s)

The Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS) at the European University Institute (EUI), directed by Stefano Bartolini from September 2006, was set up in 1992 as a complementary initiative to develop inter-disciplinary and comparative research and to promote work on the major issues facing the process of integration and European society. In addition to its own faculty, the Centre hosts a large post-doctoral fellowship programme, academic and non-academic visitors, and it is committed to enhance the dialogue with the world of practice. Its main objectives are: To produce high quality research; to collaborate with centres of research excellence; to provide opportunities for young scholars working in our core areas; to promote dialogue with the world of practice. The Centre hosts research programmes and projects, and a range of working groups and ad hoc initiatives.

Anna Triandafyllidou is part time Professor at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies of the European University Institute and Senior Research Fellow at the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP). She is also Visiting Professor at the College of Europe in Bruges since 2002. Her main areas of research and teaching are migration, nationalism, and European integration. Her recent books include *European Immigration: A Sourcebook* (with R. Gropas, 2007, Ashgate), *The European Public Sphere and the Media* (with R. Wodak and M. Kryzanowski, Palgrave, 2009), *Migration in the United Europe* (with R. Gropas, 2009, Kritiki, in Greek), *Migration in 21st Century Greece* (with T. Maroukis, 2010, Kritiki, in Greek), *Muslims in 21st Century Europe* (2010, Routledge), *Irregular Migration in Europe: Myths and Realities* (2010, Ashgate). For more details on her work please visit: www.annatriandafyllidou.com

For further information:

METOIKOS project

Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

European University Institute

Via delle Fontanelle, 19

50016 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI), Italy

Fax: + 39 055 4685 770

E-mail: anna.triandafyllidou@eui.eu

<http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/>

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to provide a common theoretical and research framework for the development of the METOIKOS project on circular migration and policies of integration in the country of settlement and re-integration in the country of origin/return of circular migrants. The paper discusses critically the concept of circular migration in the light of existing scholarly literature and related policy documents. It seeks to distinguish circular migration from temporary and seasonal migration. It outlines the dimensions of circular migration and proposes a tentative typology of circular migration patterns. It also outlines the factors that influence the circularity of migrants. Last but not least the paper operationalises the concept of circular migration and presents the research design adopted in the METOIKOS project.

Keywords

Circular migration, mobility, European Union, return, integration, re-integration, development

1. What the METOIKOS project is about

1.1 Objectives of the project

This project aims to conduct an in-depth study of circular migration processes and related policies in the wider European region. It is exploratory to the extent that, in my view, the scholarly study of circular migration is still in its early stages, even if policy makers have heralded the idea of ‘circular’ migration with great enthusiasm as the solution to many of our migration ‘problems’ (supposedly addressing at once labour market shortages – by providing quickly and flexibly labour force on demand – and the migrant integration challenges – since circular migrants are not there to stay and hence will create very limited if any integration challenges).

The project has a two-fold aim. On one hand **to study in-depth three sets of countries** with a view to analysing the any circular migration movements, processes and policies from the point of view of the sending, receiving country and of the migrant her/himself. On the other hand, the project adopts a comparative perspective. It aims at providing a **systematic comparative analysis of circular migration processes and policies** in the south-eastern, south-western and central-eastern parts of **Europe** (see below for more details) with a view to highlighting the European dimensions and/or specificities of circular migration and making recommendations for appropriate policies at the European level.

This project studies in particular **the links between different types of circular migration and processes of integration (in the country of destination) and reintegration (in the source country)**. It will identify the main challenges and opportunities involved in circular migration for source countries, destination countries and migrants (and their families) and will develop new conceptual instruments for the analysis of circular migration and integration. The project will develop policy recommendations (a Guide for Policy Makers) for local, regional and national policy makers as to how to frame circular migration with appropriate (re-)integration policies

1.2 Research Design

Six pairs of countries have been selected for the study:

- Greece and Albania,
- Italy and Albania,

- Spain and Morocco,
- Italy and Morocco,

- Hungary and Ukraine,
- Poland and Ukraine.

In all six pairs, the two countries involved are neighbours and have experienced different forms of circular migration. They have been selected because of their relevance in terms of economic immigration (Albania, Ukraine and Morocco are important source countries of economic immigrants), their geographical proximity with the destination countries and because of recent research suggesting that circular migration does take place in these countries albeit assuming

different forms in different labour market contexts and with regard to different types of migrants (low, semi- or high-skilled). Hence, the relevant integration and re-integration challenges and policies are also likely to differ.

We consider these countries to form an ideal set of cases for the purposes of comparative analysis. We also consider them to have a high European value as they lie at the heart of the EU's Neighbourhood and Euro-Mediterranean policies for migration and development. Hence our research findings, dissemination activities and development of policy recommendations are expected to be of high European value for policy purposes.

1.3 Bottom-up approach and dialogue with stakeholders

The project will investigate bottom up circular migration processes with a view to getting the migrants', policy makers' and other stakeholders' views regarding the reality on the ground, their experiences, and how they see different types of policies related to circular mobility and (re-)integration.

We will engage into intensive fieldwork to study circular migration processes bottom up, will consult policy makers, practitioners and other stakeholders and circular migrants themselves.

We will organise 3 Regional Workshops and will produce a Guide for Policy Makers on Circular Migration and (re-)Integration. The Guide for Policy Makers will be made available in 11 European languages and will be disseminated to at least 10,000 people and organisations across Europe via email and via our project web site. We will also organise targeted online discussion on circular migration with a view to raising awareness on the challenges and advantages of circular mobility in the wider area of the EU Neighbourhood and the Euro-Mediterranean region

The aim of this introductory concept paper is to review the relevant literature on circular migration in Europe and North America and provide for a working definition of circular migration as well as a typology of circular migration movements that may be part of the phenomenon.

This paper develops also in more detail the research design to be followed in the project, clarifies the methods to be used to conduct interviews with policy makers, stakeholders more generally and circular migrants themselves, as well as the methods for analysing the material collected.

Last but not least this paper provides for some provisional research hypotheses.

2. Literature Review

The METOIKOS project starts with a working definition of circular migration and aims at creating both a better (working) definition of the phenomenon of circular migration as well as a typology of different forms of circularity taking place under different time, place, status, and skills conditions. In this section of the paper we discuss the relevant literature that discusses

circular migration and seek to provide a working definition, clarifying the main dimensions that organise the phenomenon of circular migration.

The dynamics and realities of circular migration have been researched sporadically since the late 1990s in the Mediterranean and Central Eastern Europe (Peraldi 2001, 2002 and Iglicka 2000, 2001) with a view of highlighting the new patterns of mobility emerging in the European continent after the implosion of the Communist regimes in Central Eastern Europe. More recently, attention has been paid to circular movements of citizens from associated countries to the EU – for instance Polish migrants going to Italy, Germany or Greece in the late 1990s and early 2000s (see Triandafyllidou 2006, and Duvell 2006) and to migration between the two coasts of the Mediterranean (Fargues 2008, Cassarino 2008, CARIM Proceedings 2008). In May 2007 the European Commission also issued a Communication on Mobility Partnerships and Circular Migration that highlights the advantages and challenges of this last and puts forward specific policy ideas on how to implement it (see also Triandafyllidou 2009 for a critique). These issues are also central to considerations of the impact of the current financial and economic crisis on immigration to Europe (Papademetriou et al. 2009).

Vertovec (2007: 2-3, and 5) notes that while scholars have been interested for more than twenty years in migrant transnationalism (Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Portes et al. 1999; Vertovec 2004) and in temporary, cyclical, circular or seasonal migration (see for instance Massey 1987, Massey and Espinosa 1997, Duany 2002 and Constant and Zimmerman 2004; Ruhs 2005), policy makers have come to realise the fact that migrant transnationalism is intertwined with forms of circular and temporary mobility only recently.

Policy makers have seen in circular mobility the answer to migration and development dilemmas for developing countries. Indeed circular migration has mainly been defined as a new mode of migration management that can provide triple win solutions – for countries of origin, for countries of destination and for migrants themselves and their families – to the challenges that international migration brings with it. As Venturini (2008) rightly points out circular migration belongs to the flexibility paradigm which prevails in the European post-Fordist economies during the last few decades. Circular migration fits with the new idea that positions may be temporary both on the high and the lower end of the labour market and that there is a need to respond to the demand and supply sides of labour markets and labour forces in an increasingly globalised world. It should however be also pointed out that circularity has existed for long between certain countries, in the post World War II period, until the restrictive immigration policies of the late 1970s and later have indirectly ‘obliged’ migrants to stay in the destination country (Venturini 2008; Plewa 2010).

Circular mobility is seen to promote brain circulation instead of brain drain. At the same time, circular and temporary forms of migration are seen to respond better to the swings of markets and the shifting needs of employers as well as to the desires and plans of migrants who are not aiming at settling down in the destination country. Last but not least, circular migration schemes appear to pose a very limited integration burden on destination countries while maximising transnational transfers (not only in individual/family remittances but also in terms of wider efforts by diaspora groups and hometown associations to promote the development of their regions and countries of origin).

A brief survey of policy and scholarly documents that use the term circular however (Sandu 2005; Vertovec 2007; GCIM 2005; Martin 2003; Ruhs 2005; Dayton-Johnson et al. 2007) shows that the term remains largely undefined and synonymous to temporary and seasonal migration or indeed is used as an umbrella term for all forms of mobility that

- involve the repeated crossing of borders (back and forth)
- are not aimed at long term migrant settlement, and
- involve some degree of economic and social transnationalism in the form of participation in transnational migration networks that actually facilitate circular migration (moving and returning).

Indeed in most of these documents, transnationalism is seen as closely intertwined with circular mobility, most importantly with return and not only with leaving the country of origin (Vertovec 2007; Sandu 2005) while the terms circular and temporary are often used (see for instance Dayton-Johnson et al. 2007; GCIM 2005) in a slash fashion ‘temporary/circular’ without distinguishing whether these are simply two words for describing the same phenomenon or whether they refer to different phenomena and processes.

Vertovec (2007) as well as related European Commission documents (EC 2005a and EC 2005b) note that circular mobility involves not only temporary stays and returns but also the repeated movement of the same person across borders. Indeed the European Commission indirectly defines circular migration when it proposes what circular migration policies should promote:

‘policies to maximise the developmental impact of temporary migration... should focus on encouraging circular migration, by giving a priority for further temporary employment to workers who have already worked under such schemes and have returned at the end of their contract, and also by offering appropriate rewards to participating migrants’ (EC 2005a: 7).

The views expressed here emphasise that the same person will move repeatedly and also that circular migration policies should reward those who comply with the conditions of circular mobility.

In their overview of circular mobility and proposals for related policy developments, Dayton-Johnson et al. (2007) note also implicitly another feature of circular migration, notably the fact that circular migrants move back and forth within the same year, in several years in a row and may also change sector of employment. Thus, these authors indirectly point out that circular migration involves short term or medium term movement, flexibility in the type of work and type of permit that the migrant has, and facilitation of re-entry. Similarly to the European Commission documents (2005a and 2005b), the study by Dayton-Johnson et al. (2007) see circular migration as a form of organised mobility schemes, rather than as a set of unregulated ‘spontaneous’ movements initiated by migrants themselves. Vertovec (2007) by contrast notes that early research on circular migration (referred to by a range of terms such as temporary, repeat, rotating, multiple, cyclical, or shuttle migration modes) concentrated on ‘unregulated’ rather than formal regulated systems of migration.

The view of circular migration as a regulated system is also adopted by the IOM (2005) which in its ‘World Migration 2005’ report implicitly defines circular migration as regular, repeat temporary labour migration which should involve the government’s offering to the circular migrant future return to the same job.

It is only in Newland et al. (2008: 2) where we encounter a first attempt at providing for a working definition of the term circular migration. Newland and her co-authors note that:

‘[W]e have developed a more dynamic notion of circular migration as a continuing, long-term and fluid pattern of human mobility among countries that occupy what is now increasingly recognised as a single economic space.’

Indeed Newland, Agunias and Terrazas (2008) are the first to note the importance of a pre-existing economic space even if they do not clarify whether this common economic space is a prerequisite or a condition for circular mobility to start or also an outcome of circular mobility. At this point, we may consider the different patterns of circular migration outlined by Cassarino (2008) who identifies three types of circular migration:

- Hindered circular migration: people who would have an interest to circulate are hindered by the existence of closed or rigidly controlled borders. Closed borders may result from political tensions or military conflicts while highly controlled borders are usually related to restrictive migration policies)
- Embedded circular migration: people engage into circular migration patterns despite and because of a border because in reality they cohabit a territorial space and economic area that extends into two neighbouring countries
- Regulated circular migration: when people are selected at the country of origin and move within the framework of a bilateral (or multilateral) agreement

A question that arises from this discussion concerns the distinction between circular and temporary migration since as most authors note (Cassarino 2008; Newland et al 2008) circular and temporary migration share their temporary nature. Newland et al. (2008: 2) argue that

‘Circular migration is distinct from temporary migration in that circular migration denotes a migrant’s continuous engagement in both home and adopted countries; it usually involves both return and repetition.(..) Beyond economic considerations, people also circulate to pursue philanthropic activities, to be close to family, and to seek educational opportunities, among many other reasons. Positive outcomes are less likely to occur when migrants are compelled to return periodically to their home countries simply to avoid permanent settlement.’

Indeed, in relation to this point and in seeking to distinguish between circular and temporary migration, Annelies Zoomers notes that ‘circular migration means that migrants are free to come and go, whereas the others [temporary, cyclical or contract migration] are more or less forced and managed forms of temporary residence’ (cit. in Skeldon 2009: 3).

The authors cited above (Newland et al op.cit and Zoomers op. cit) agree thus with Vertovec (2007) that circular migration is largely about unregulated or rather less regulated, non-compulsory mobility, and it extends to the social and cultural sphere, beyond mere employment purposes and economic transfers. This definition of circular migration however runs counter to the definition provided by the European Commission in its own documents (2007).

In relation to the more or less regulated nature of circular migration, Cassarino (2008) emphasises that circular migration (but then also temporary migration) is part of larger frameworks of cooperation and exchange, regardless of whether such frameworks are necessarily fully regulated or whether they have more to do with pre existing economic and cultural ties between the countries involved.

Skeldon (2009) on the other hand, puts emphasis on the bi-local character of circular migration. The circular migrant belongs to both countries (of origin/return, and of destination). However, he notes that such bi-locality cannot be maintained for very long and actually that circular migration necessarily involves only one generation of migrations. The second generation will either settle in the destination country or stay in the country of origin.

Newland and her co-authors (2008: 3) pursue their analysis of circular migration by providing for a short typology based on two dimensions: the seasonal (or not) character of the movement, and the level of skills of the migrants involved. They thus distinguish between circularity that relates to repeated seasonal employment (in agriculture or tourism for instance) and circularity that is non-seasonal such as contract work for relatively short periods of time (e.g. 1 or 2 years) which does not start as a circular pattern but ends up in forming one because the interested migrant is not able to make a living upon return to her/his country of origin and hence seeks again to participate to the short or medium term migration scheme to which he had taken part before, this resulting to some sort of a circular mobility pattern.¹

They also distinguish (Newland et al. 14-18) between low and semi-skilled circular migration such as seasonal agricultural, tourism, or non-seasonal construction and other semi-skilled work, and high skill circular mobility which concerns professionals, scientists, and entrepreneurs, the kind of people that destination countries seek to keep and that origin countries seek to attract back. Here circular mobility involves their periodic movement back and forth between the country of origin and one or more destination countries and the related economic, human and social capital transfers that these people can effect.

Last but not least, it is worth noting that Newland and her co-authors characterise as ‘de facto circular migration’ the movement within larger areas, such as the European Union, the Nordic countries, Australia and New Zealand, where borders have been defined as permeable to human mobility. Here they further distinguish between areas such as the European Union or the Nordic countries where borders are to a large extent abolished and where human mobility is generalised and areas united by common trade agreements which trigger as a by product frameworks for labour circulation, which may concern specific groups for limited periods or a wider range of groups for both short and long periods.

3. Circular Migration: Working Definition and a Provisional Typology

On the basis of this brief overview of the relevant literature on circular migration, I argue that there are **four dimensions that define circular migration**:

Space: The circular migration that is of concern in this project is international: it involves the crossing of borders.

¹ Newland et al. (2008) use the example of Asian migration to the Gulf countries as typical of circular non seasonal mobility. They also however outline related non seasonal schemes adopted in the UK, Spain, New Zealand and by the Philippines as a country of origin that seeks to be actively involved in the management of its emigrants.

Time: Circular migration involves stays of limited duration. Each stay may vary from several weeks, to several months to a few years. However, circular migration is not about movements that extend over several years or indeed over a decade.

Repetition: Circular migration is about repeated movements. For mobility to qualify as circular mobility the immigrant in question must have moved at least twice back and forth between country of origin and country of destination.

Scope: Circular migration is not only about employment but it is mainly about economic activities: employment, trade, investment, or otherwise. While social and cultural aspects are involved in circular migration, economic motivations (economic survival, higher earnings, socio-economic mobility, better working conditions, etc.) qualify circular migration as such. People who move back to their country of origin to visit relatives for an extended period (for instance 2 months or 3 months per year are not circular migrants).

Thus we define circular migration as international, temporary, repeated migration for economic reasons.

A typology of circular migration needs to take into account at least three dimensions:

- First, the legal or irregular nature of the movement – and hence the regulated or unregulated character of the phenomenon.
- Second, the level of skills and education of the people involved (semi/low-skilled vs. high-skilled). And
- third, the time length of each stay and return (short-term, medium-term and long-term circularity).

In this project, we propose to distinguish between

- repeated short stays taking place within less than a year;
- short stays of between 6 months and a year that follow an annual cycle; and,
- long term circular migration that involves stays of a couple of years in each country (origin and destination).²

As regards legal status and regulation of the movement, we shall distinguish between circular mobility taking place

- Under the framework of bilateral agreements between two countries
- Circular migrants who hold permits/identity documents that allow them (generally or under certain conditions) to engage into circular mobility between the country of origin and the country of destination
- Circular migrants that cross borders illegally.

Last but not least, we shall distinguish between

² Venturini (2008) argues that an extended definition of circular migration may also include return migration. In other words, it may include migrants who only went and returned once in a lifetime. Provided the return took place during their working age and not after they retired. However, for the purposes of this project we are concentrating on migrants who moved back and forth more than once.

- Unskilled manual workers (e.g. men and women employed as farm workers, cleaners, or men employed as unskilled builders)
- Semi-skilled workers (people working in tourism, catering, construction or caring/cleaning jobs in specialised positions)
- Highly skilled workers (entrepreneurs, scientists, managers)

4. Factors that Influence Circular Mobility

The project will seek to identify factors that promote and/or prevent circular mobility. While one obvious factor is the absence or existence of policies specifically promoting circular migration, there are a set of other factors that need to be investigated too.

First of all, **the existence of prior linguistic, cultural or ethnic ties** between the country (or the specific region within a country) of origin and that of destination.

Second, Vertovec (2007) and Sandu (2005) note that there are certain **demographic factors** that characterise circular mobility. Notably, young people tend to engage more in circular mobility. Vertovec (2007: 5) notes that marriage decreases the likelihood of circular mobility but the arrival of children increases it again.

Third, Sandu (2005) in particular underscores the importance of the local hometown/village context in promoting circular mobility. He finds that Romanian villages that are comparatively larger, in more developed/less poor counties, with a higher percentage of youth population and where circular mobility has already taken place tend to further develop circular migration patterns. He also notes that when Romanian emigration first emerged in the early 1990s ethnic and religious ties with neighbouring countries and related support networks played a major role in the migrants' decision to migrate, as time passed, it was more **the collective experience of a community (a village) about migration and the related 'relational social capital'** (Sandu 2005: 571) that people accumulated (through their individual, family and community transnational networks) that mattered much more than ethnic or religious ties. He also finds that human capital (in the form of skills and education) did not increase the likelihood of a person to engage in circular mobility. Rather human capital mattered once the movement and the stay abroad were repeated and prolonged as it provided for better employment and socio-economic mobility opportunities (Sandu 2005: 571).

Fourth, interestingly both Vertovec (2007) and Sandu (2005) note that the legal or irregular form of the border crossing and the overall movement seems to decrease in importance as **experience in migration and in particular in circular mobility increases**.

Fifth, Vertovec (2007) notes that **the legality of the movement is of limited importance** when other conditions tend to favour circular mobility (e.g. employment opportunities and previous experiences of moving, knowledge of how to find accommodation and a job). He argues that the

more experienced a ‘mover’ is, the less s/he pays attention to the legal or irregular conditions of her/his movement. He also argues however that as human capital rises, concerns with being legal are also higher. These hypotheses need in my view further testing to identify whether and in what ways the legality of the movement is relevant for the decision to circulate and for which categories of migrants.

5. Circular Mobility and Integration Challenges

The METOIKOS project is particularly concerned not only with studying in more depth circular migration patterns and providing better conceptual tools for analysing them, but also with investigating how circular migration is linked with integration and re-integration policies. Our interest here is both conceptual and policy-oriented.

On one hand, in discussing the links between circular migration and integration, we shall question what integration means in a context of circular mobility and of temporary stays in two different countries.

On the other hand, we shall investigate what the countries under study do or do not do for facilitating the integration of their circular immigrants or the period return of their circular emigrants.

There is a wide range of literature and policy documents (not least the Third Annual Report on Migration and Integration (2007) and Handbook on Integration (2004, 2007) considering the question of migrant integration. Dominant perspectives look at integration as a two-way process engaging both migrants and receiving countries. Integration has generally been associated with long term settlement however. Both academic and policy developments in this field see integration as the end process of migration (the migrant settling for good in the destination country).

There has been little research so far on whether and how integration can also be a concept and a policy that is related to circular mobility. Indeed, circular migration and integration may appear as a contradiction in terms to the extent that the circular migrant is by definition partly integrated to two societies and/or likely not to be integrated in any of the two (Kosic and Triandafyllidou 2003; Triandafyllidou 2006 on Polish (circular) migrants in the EU before 2004; Getz et al. 2008).

As regards re-integration of circular migrants at the country of origin, during their stays there, one needs to borrow from the relevant scholarly literature on return migration. Actually as the CARIM proceedings (2008) note the term circular migration is generally not mentioned in the migration policies of most countries even if some form of circularity is among the available options for economic migration. Thus, a study on issues of circular migrant reintegration has to borrow from the return migration literature. In particular Cassarino’s reconceptualisation of return migration (2004) in relation to the returnee’s ‘preparedness’ and the ‘mobilisation of resources’ provides for useful starting points in investigating the challenges of periodic returns of circular migrants.

Last but not least an important concern as regards circular migrants refers to their labour conditions and rights. As Skeldon (2009) also notes there is a risk that circular migrants form an underclass of workers with limited rights. The same concern is expressed by Vertovec (2007) and Venturini (2008) who share the view that for circular migration to work there must be important guarantees regarding the conditions of work of circular migrants, their non-discrimination with respect to native or settled migrant workers, their portability of benefits as well as their protection from unscrupulous employers. Indeed most circular migration definitions do not envisage that a circular migrant (who is not self-employed) may change employer or sector of employment during her/his short stay in the destination country. Indeed it is not only the developmental aspects of circular migration that need to be studied and assessed but also the ways in which circular migration can take place, regulated or non-regulated, in ways that respect and protect the rights of the migrant workers as well as the laws and conditions governing the labour markets. This indeed remains an open challenge and we know very little about these issues as also the Stockholm programme indirectly acknowledges (paragraph 6.1.2).

In METOIKOS we shall seek to contribute towards filling these lacunae in the academic literature and policy research in two ways. First we shall provide for an empirical study of circular migration and the challenges and opportunities circular migrants face in 3 migration systems that affect the European Union (Southeastern Europe, Euro-Mediterranean, and Central-Eastern Europe).

Second we will concretely assess the special needs of circular migrants (and their families) as regards their integration patterns in destination countries and/or their re-integration in the source countries (upon temporary or long term return).

We shall investigate these needs and assess existing policies of integration and re-integration in the source and destination countries.

In particular we shall seek to re-conceptualise integration as a process that may involve two locations (integrating in two societies rather than one) and multiple levels of engagement (social, economic, political). We shall consider integration and re-integration at three different levels:

- from a legal viewpoint (migration status and rights),
- from an economic perspective (labour market position and socio-economic mobility opportunities), and
- at the socio-political level (use of social services, participation in public life and politics, feelings of belonging).

The METOIKOS project aims at providing a guide for policy makers in both origin and destination countries on how to stimulate and manage circular migration in ways that actually can lead to a triple win situation for all. However, it is also the aim of the project to discuss critically both the realities of circular migration on the ground and the actual feasibility of circular migration that is beneficial for all three parties involved (countries of origin, destination and migrants themselves).

6. Research Design and Methods

The METOIKOS project is organised in pairs of case studies. Thus in each pair of countries under study (notably Italy-Albania and Greece-Albania, Italy-Morocco and Spain-Morocco, Hungary-Ukraine and Poland-Ukraine) we shall study in depth the patterns and processes of circular mobility and the factors that affect them through

- a) review of the relevant scholarly literature
- b) review of the relevant legislation and other policy documents and collection of statistical data (where available)
- c) qualitative interviews with policy makers and other stakeholders
- d) qualitative interviews with circular migrants

Our method follows the principle of multi-sited ethnography in that it involves the conduction of qualitative interviews and the collection of materials both in the country of origin and in the country of destination.

Interviews will be conducted in the national language of each country as regards policy makers and in the mother tongue of migrants as much as possible. These last will then be translated into English or in the national language of the country under study (e.g. in Greek for interviews with Albanians in Greece, in Italian for interviews with Moroccans or Albanians in Italy etc.)

After providing for an overview of existing literature and a concise presentation of the legal and institutional framework for circular migration between each pair of countries, we shall map the different types of circular mobility that exist in each pair of countries and their main features:

- **Time length** of circularity (several weeks/months/years)
- **Repetition:** emerging circularity (2 circular movements) vs. established circularity (3 or more repeated movements)
- **Level of skills** of migrants involved and **labour market sector**
- **Legal or irregular movement** – regulated or unregulated pattern
- **Spatial dimension:** circularity takes place between specific regions or between the two countries more broadly
- **Primary motivation** for movement: unemployment/poverty or improvement of life chances and of employment conditions

We shall also investigate the **family situation** of circular migrants. Are circular migrants predominantly single? If yes, why and if no, where do their families live and why? Do families follow them in their movements or is the family established in the country of origin or in the country of destination?

We shall take into account the dimension of **gender**: do men and women display similar or different patterns of mobility? Is mobility conditioned by their role within the family or does it have to do more with employment opportunities in specific sectors of the labour market that favour (or not) circular movements.

We shall investigate through our review of relevant policy documents and through the qualitative interviews conducted how the existence or indeed the absence of integration policies in the destination countries and re-integration policies in the country of origin affects patterns of circular migration.

As regards integration and re-integration we shall both map the relevant policies and ask policy makers and circular migrants what integration (and re-integration) means in the context of circular migration? How do they define it? How do policy makers plan to implement it? What do migrants expect from their country of origin in terms of facilitating reintegration and from their country of destination in facilitating their integration there and their mobility back and forth.

6.1 Interviews with policy makers and other key stakeholders

We shall interview in each country

- local and regional authorities,
- diaspora and migrant organisations,
- trade unions,
- business associations,
- chambers of commerce,
- academic experts,

The aim of these interviews will be to verify

- which integration/re-integration policies exist and how are they implemented
- what are their views about the advantages and disadvantages of different types of circular migration,
- what are their own (their organisations's) objectives and role in the field?

In each pair of countries we shall conduct 10-15 qualitative interviews with stakeholders.

6.2 Interviews with Circular Migrants

Circular migrants will be interviewed at both source and destination countries so as to have a complete picture of how circular migration works and what are the challenges of integration and reintegration involved. We aim at 30-50 semi structured interviews per case study, to be transcribed (translated if necessary) and inserted into a text database.

The guide for interviews with policy makers and other stakeholders as well as the guide for interviews with circular migrants will be drafted by the coordinator in English and will be further discussed and refined during Meeting 1 of the project in late April. Each team is responsible for translating the guide into the national language and/or the migrants' mother tongue.

After the drafting of the in depth case study reports, we shall engage into comparative analysis at two levels.

On one hand we shall compare between pairs of countries belonging to the same circular migration 'system'. Thus we shall compare the types and forms of circular migration and their

links with integration and re-integration policies between Italy-Albania and Greece-Albania, between Spain-Morocco and Italy-Morocco, and between Hungary-Ukraine and Poland-Ukraine.

At a second level, we shall compare between the three circular migration systems with a view to identifying common policies and practices, common types of circular migration, common problems and overall dimensions and forms of circular migration that characterise Europe and that can best be addressed by EU policy on the matter.

The specific research questions to be addressed in the case study reports and in the comparative report will be discussed at Meeting 3 of the project in late November 2010.

The timeline and work programme of the project is presented schematically in the table below.

6.3 Work Programme

Phase	Activity	Period	Description of tasks	Output
Phase 1	Preparation	January-February 2010	drafting background reports on each case study, planning of fieldwork, setup web site,	Background report Project web site
Meeting 1, Florence		29-30 April 2010	Presentation of background reports and planning ahead	Minutes of meeting
Phase 2	Conduction of fieldwork	March-November 2010	Conduction of interviews with policy makers/stakeholders and with circular migrants, transcription and translation where necessary	Interview transcripts
Meeting 2 via Skype		Late June 2010	Discussion of fieldwork progress, problems arising and solutions	
Meeting 3		Late November 2010	Discussion of dimensions for analysis and plan of dissemination activities	Minutes of Meeting
Phase 3	Analysis of data	December 2010-February 2011	Analysis of data, interviews and other materials, drafting of case study reports	Case study Reports
Phase 4	Comparative Analysis	January-May 2011	Drafting of comparative analysis, and preparation of guide for policy makers	Comparative Report Guide for Policy Makers Preparation of book manuscript on Circular Migration and (Re-)Integration in Europe
Phase 5	Dissemination	Dec 2010-May 2011	Organisation of Regional Workshops with stakeholders from countries involved and from other EU and neighbouring countries if relevant. Dissemination of reports and project activities through the web site and automatic alert lists.	3 Regional Workshops Online dissemination Translation of guide for policy makers into 11 EU languages

7. References

- Cassarino, Jean Pierre (2004) Theorising Return Migration, *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 6, 2, 253-279.
- Cassarino, Jean Pierre (2008) Patterns of Circular Migration in the Euro-Mediterranean Area. Implications for Policy Making, *CARIM Analytic and Synthetic Notes, CARIM-AS 2008/29*, available at www.carim.org last accessed on 9 January 2010.
- CARIM Proceedings (2008) Circular Migration Meetings, CARIM Proceedings 2008/01, available at www.carim.org last accessed on 10 December 2009.
- Castles, Stephen (2006) 'Back to the future? Can Europe meet its labour needs through temporary migration?' *Oxford: International Migration Institute Working Paper no. 1*.
- Constant, Amelie and Zimmerman, Klaus F. (2004) Circular movements and time away from the host country', *London: Centre for Economic Policy Research, Discussion Paper 4228*.
- Council of the European Union (2009) The Stockholm Programme. An open and secure Europe serving and protecting the citizens. Document no. 17024/09, Brussels 2 December 2009.
- Cremona, Marise (2008) Circular Migration: A legal perspective, *CARIM Analytic and Synthetic Notes, CARIM-AS 2008/30*, available at www.carim.org last accessed on 11 June 2010.
- Dayton-Johnson, Jeff Katseli, Louka Maniatis, Gregory Muenz, Rainer and Papademetriou, Demetrios (2007) *Gaining from Migration. Towards a New Mobility System*, Paris: OECD.
- Duany, Jorge (2002) 'Mobile livelihoods: The sociocultural practices of circular migrants between Puerto Rico and the United States' *International Migration Review*, 36, 2, 355-88.
- Duvell, Franck (2006) (ed) *Illegal Migration in Europe. Beyond Control*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Erzan, Refik (2008) Circular Migration: Economic Aspects. CARIM Analytic and Synthetic notes, *CARIM-AS 2008/31*, available at www.carim.org last accessed on 8 June 2010.
- European Commission (2005a) *Migration and Development: Some concrete orientations*. Brussels: Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Com(2005) 390 Final.
- European Commission (2005b) *Policy Plan on Legal Migration*, Brussels: Communication from the Commission, COM (2005) 669 Final.
- Fargues, Philippe (2008) Circular Migration. Is it Relevant for the South and East of the Mediterranean? *CARIM Analytic and Synthetic Notes, CARIM-AS 2008/40*. available at www.carim.org last accessed on 5 January 2010.
- Fargues, Philippe (2009) Irregularity as normality among Immigrants south and east of the Mediterranean, *CARIM 2009/02*, Background paper, available at www.carim.org last accessed on 3 December 2009.
- Glick-Schiller, Nina, Basch, Linda and Szanton Blanc, Cristina (1992) Transnationalism: a new analytic framework for understanding migration in N. Glick Schiller, L. Basch and C. Szanton Blanc (eds) *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration*, New York: New York Academy of Sciences, pp. 1-24.
- GCIM, Global Commission on International Migration (2005) *Migration in an Interconnected World: New Directions for Action*, Geneva: Global Commission on International Migration
- Iglicka Krystyna (2000) Mediterranean migration of Poles in the 1990s: patterns and mechanisms, *Studi Emigrazione/Migration Studies*, xxxvii, 139, pp. 651-663.
- Iglicka Krystyna (2001) Shuttling from the former Soviet Union to Poland: from 'primitive mobility' to migration, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27, 3, 505-518.
- IOM, International Organization for Migration (2005) *World Migration 2005: Costs and Benefits of International Migration*, Geneva: IOM.
- Lutz, Helma (2008) 'Gender in the migratory process' paper presented at the Conference on Theories of Migration and Social Change, St Ann's College, Oxford, 1-3 July 2008.

- Martin, Philip L. (2003) *Managing labour migration: temporary worker programs for the 21st Century*, Geneva: International Institute for Labour Studies, ILO.
- Massey, Douglas (1987) 'Understanding Mexican migration to the United States' *American Journal of Sociology*, 92, 6, 1372-1403.
- Massey, Douglas and Espinosa, Kristin (1997) 'What's driving Mexico-U.S. migration? A theoretical, empirical and policy analysis' *American Journal of Sociology*, 102, 4, 939-999.
- Newland, K. Rannveig Agunias, D. and Terrazas, A. (2008) Learning by Doing: Experiences of Circular Migration, *Migration Policy Institute, Insight*, September 2008.
- Papademetriou, Demetrios and Terrazas, Aaron (2009) *Immigrants and the Current Economic Crisis: Research Evidence, Policy Challenges and Implications*, Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institutes, January 2009.
- Peraldi, (2001) (ed) *Cabas et Containers*, Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose.
- Peraldi (2002) (ed) *La fin des norias?* Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose,
- Portes, A. Guarnizo L.E., and Landolt, P. (1999) 'The study of transnationalism: Pitfalls and promises of an emergent research field, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22, 2, 217-37.
- Ruhs, Martin (2005) *The potential of temporary migration programmes in future international migration policy*, Geneva: Global Commission on International Migration.
- Sandu, Dumitru (2005) 'Emerging transnational migration from Romanian villages' *Current Sociology*, 53, 4, 555-582.
- Skeldon, Ronald (2009) Managing Migration for Development: Is Circular Migration the Answer? Paper presented at the Swedish EU Presidency Meeting on Labour Migration and its Development Potential in the Age of Mobility, Malmoe, Sweden, 15-16 October 2009.
- Triandafyllidou, A. (2006) (ed) *Contemporary Polish Migration in Europe. Complex Patterns of Movement and Settlement*, Lewiston, NY: the Edwin Mellen Press.
- Triandafyllidou, A. (2009) *Managing Migration in the EU: Mobility Partnership and the European Neighbourhood*, ELIAMEP Thesis, 1/2009, Policy Paper available at www.eliamep.gr/en/
- Venturini, Alessandra (2008) Circular Migration as an Employment Strategy for Mediterranean Countries, CARIM Analytic and Synthetic Notes, CARIM-AS 2008/39, available at www.carim.org, last accessed on 11 June 2010.
- Vertovec, Steven (2004) 'Migrant transnationalism and modes of transformation' *International Migration Review*, 38, 3, 970-1001.
- Vertovec, Steven (2007) Circular Migration. The Way Forward in Global Policy? *International Migration Institute, University of Oxford, Year 2007, Paper 4.*

