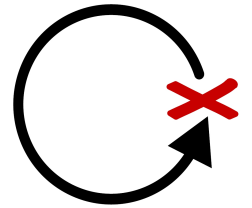




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## **METOIKOS Project**

### **Circular Migration and Integration A Short Guide for Policy Makers**

Anna Triandafyllidou  
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With contributions from Ayse Caglar,  
Camilla Devitt, Krystyna Iglicka,  
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# **Circular Migration and Integration A Short Guide for Policy Makers**

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## **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).

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## Why study Circular Migration

The term circular migration has become a buzzword among European and international policy and academic circles since 2007 when the European Commission issued a Communication on Mobility Partnerships and Circular Migration that highlighted the advantages and challenges of the latter and put forward specific policy ideas on how to implement it. Many national and EU policy makers have heralded the idea of ‘circular’ migration with great enthusiasm as a triple win policy supposedly addressing at once labour shortages – by providing migrant labour quickly and flexibly on demand – and migrant integration challenges – since circular migrants are not there to stay and hence will create very limited if any integration challenges. In addition circular migration was seen as a strategy to avoid brain drain and promote brain circulation.

METOIKOS is the first project to study circular migration empirically by means of case studies cross-national comparison, seeking thus to construct a typology of circular migration and to reveal the factors that affect it as well as the role of policies in hampering or encouraging it.

## Methodology

The METOIKOS project has studied circular migration on the ground through extensive empirical research (10-15 interviews with policy makers and 30-50 interviews with circular migrants in each country, review of relevant statistics, policy documents, and scholarly literature) in six pairs of countries between which circular mobility takes place. These countries are:

- Italy-Albania and Greece-Albania,
- Italy-Morocco and Spain-Morocco,
- Hungary-Ukraine and Poland-Ukraine.

This short Guide for Policy Makers summarises our main findings that are relevant for policy makers dealing with circular migration in their work. We have special recommendations for EU and national policy makers suggesting ways to facilitate circularity while safeguarding the rights of migrants, maintaining legality and making circularity beneficial to all parties involved.

## Definitions

**Circular migration** for the purposes of this research is defined as **international, temporary, repeat 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).

## **A typology of circular migration**

We have identified three main types of **legal circular migration**:

1. **Seasonal legal labour migration (migrants based in the country of origin) – spontaneous or regulated**

In agriculture mainly, regulated by bilateral agreements between specific member states and specific countries of origin and/or by special types of permits. They may take the form of organized programmes (as between Morocco and Spain) or of general provisions for seasonal migration (as between Albania and Greece). Seasonal stays are not longer than six months and normally employment permits are for one sector and one employer. It may also take place on the basis of special short term visas.

2. **Circular legal labour migration (migrants based in the country of origin) - spontaneous**

**Highly skilled people or business persons.** People may circulate between two countries holding a stay permit (of indefinite stay) or indeed a passport or ID card (e.g. co-ethnic migrants such as ethnic Greek Albanians in Greece) that allows them to do so. They tend to spend a few weeks or months in each country (origin and destination) either because of the nature of their employment (e.g. IT experts, economists) or because they are business people engaging in trade or developing a business between the two countries, or because they hold two part time jobs, one in each country (e.g. the Ukrainian doctor, and the Ukrainian academic employed both in Ukraine and in Poland).

This is probably the category of repeated temporary movement that is closest to what has been described as circular migration in the European Commission's Communication of May 2007.

3. **Circular legal labour migration (migrants based in the country of destination) - spontaneous**

Of **people with low or medium skills** who are long term migrants in the destination country but are having difficulties finding a job in this period (e.g. because of the current economic crisis) or are under-employed (have temporary or unstable jobs). These people circulate between immigration and origin countries to :

- carry out household repair work
- do farm work

In addition, there are two types of **semi-legal circular migration**:

4. **Circular semi-legal labour migration (migrants based in the country of origin)– which may follow a seasonal pattern or not, where stay is legal and work is informal.** A number of employment sectors are concerned including construction, domestic work, tourism and catering. This type of seasonal migration is technically legal as regards the stay of the migrant: the migrant enters with



- a tourism visa for the Schengen area,
- a special short term visa valid in the specific member state (e.g. for Ukrainians in Poland),
- a special national visa (e.g. for ethnic Hungarians who are Ukrainian citizens in Hungary),
- a cross border document (e.g. for Ukrainians in Hungary),

But her/his employment is irregular and? her/his visa does not provide for the right to work.

**The people involved are semi-skilled or highly skilled people who are unemployed** and/or cannot make ends meet in the country of origin and for various reasons (family reasons or simply the impossibility to migrate legally) do not wish to migrate for longer periods. They take advantage of established ethnic networks (e.g. Poland-Ukraine, or Hungary-Ukraine) and engage in circular migration. They work in the caring and cleaning sector (women) or in construction and farm work (men).

**5. Circular semi-legal labour migration (migrants based in the country of destination) – spontaneous.**

The people involved have **low or medium-level skills**, are long term migrants in the destination country but are having difficulties finding a job in this period (e.g. because of the current economic crisis) or are under-employed (have temporary or unstable jobs). These people engage in circular migration between the two countries to:

- do small trade , buying goods usually from the destination country and selling them at the country of origin. This is an informal trade without license.
- Offer transport services to fellow nationals (transporting their belongings from the destination country to the country of origin). This is also a service offered without the appropriate licence.

Both in this and the case above, custom officers at the countries involved (in Italy and Morocco for instance or in Albania and Greece) may ask the people involved to pay fines or may ask for bribes to let them through. Still the business is profitable.

Last but not least there is also **irregular circular migration**:

- 6. Irregular circular migration:** The migrant enters without the necessary documents and finds employment in the informal labour market in seasonal or other temporary jobs in agriculture, catering, tourism, cleaning and private care. These are sectors where native workers also often work informally

## **The role of policies in fostering circular migration**

Of the above six types identified:

- **nearly all are spontaneous,**
- **emanating from economic necessity,**
- made possible by **the social capital of migrants** (i.e. their involvement in informal networks and their knowledge of both countries (of destination and origin)).

They are legal to the extent that migrants hold long term permits of various kinds or they are semi-legal if migrants take advantage of specific national policies that provide for special visas which make the stay legal but their employment or other economic activity irregular. Migrants consciously engage in informal economic activities out of economic necessity. The possibility to travel back and forth legally is of course crucial.

Interestingly few of these types of legal or semi legal circular migration are of a seasonal character. **There seems indeed to be space and opportunity for circular movements and employment in a variety of sectors which respond to the economic needs of migrants.** More rarely is it the case that circularity is fostered by the wish to advance one's career or improve one's professional position in the country of origin or destination. These are the high skilled circular migrants, a small, even if very interesting, minority.

**The role of policies is crucial in allowing the migrant to circulate freely.** Thus we see that circularity is possible where

- the migrants hold identity or stay documents that allow both circulation and employment in either country.
- migrants can get access to stay documents that allow them to travel freely even if they have to work informally.

When the migrant due to fears being caught for illegal crossing or risks losing her/his stay permit in the country of destination, s/he stays put.

## **Is Circular Migration a triple win situation?**

**Overall circular migration is not a preferred option for migrants and their families.** Migrants would rather stay put in one of the two countries but they cannot stay in their country of origin because they do not have enough means of subsistence and/or the possibility of creating a better life for themselves and their children. They do not migrate on a long term basis either because this is not an available option (no channels for legal economic immigration that involves longer stays) or because they (especially women) have family obligations at home (young or adolescent children, elderly parents) and are not able to be away for long periods. They engage in circularity also when based in the country of destination (but more rarely) when they are underemployed or unemployed.

Thus circular migration involves **moderate economic gains for the circular migrant and her/his family**. It is mainly a means of survival and a way of improving their living conditions and the future prospects of their children

The METOIKOS project findings show that there are **no other social capital gains for circular migrants except for the category of highly skilled circular migrants** (brain circulation) which however involves a very small number of people engaging in business, trade, or development projects between the two countries. Most circular migrants engage in low skill-low pay jobs (farm work, construction work, cleaning or private care, street peddling or other petty trade). They do not develop any skills in the destination country. They do not receive any training and they are not even taught the language of the destination country (with the exception of the Spanish-Moroccan programme for seasonal migration). By contrast some (e.g. Ukrainian women in Poland) face important de-skilling as they may have University diplomas and end up working in the fields or in the private care sector.

Circular migration involves important **personal hardship** when the migrant is separated from their young children. The frequent and repeated absence of the parent can affect the child's emotional well-being even if children are usually left with close family members (grandparents, aunt/uncle). In addition the migrant feels alienated from both countries, standing somewhere in-between the two.

#### **Circular migration involves moderate gains for the country of origin:**

**The country of origin** has less people unemployed and benefits from modest remittances from the circular migrants. These remittances are not high enough however to significantly contribute to the socio-economic development of the origin country because the circular migrant only spends a few months a year in the destination country, hence their income is barely enough for subsistence at home.

None of the countries of origin studied here (Albania, Morocco, Ukraine) has implemented any policies for re-integrating circular migrants. Thus even when there is potential for circular migrants to develop business, small trade, bring back some expertise or know how or even just their contacts from abroad (her/his social capital), this cannot be put to fruition because basic conditions are lacking: excessive red tape, high levels of corruption, poor infrastructure and the national economy may be unstable and hence any investment highly risky.

The social and economic re-integration of circular migrants in the country of origin may be a non-issue if the migrants have been away for short periods and have family back home. In any case any hardship and difficulties are dealt with by the family and friends, not by state policies.

#### **The country of settlement benefits from legal circular migration in two specific ways:**

- It satisfies specific labour market needs in sectors where natives do not want to work because employment is temporary/seasonal, work is hard and jobs are low pay-low prestige.
- There is no need to worry about the special integration issues of circular migrants and their families because either circular migrants and their families are settled in the destination country and well integrated, or the family is in the country of origin.

#### **Countries of destination face two important drawbacks of circular migration:**

- They often cannot check whether circular migrants violate the terms of their stay: i.e. work in different sectors or regions from those initially agreed

- This form of migration does not contribute to solving their demographic deficit as migrants are circular and eventually go back to their country of origin.

### **The EU Policy Approach on Circular Migration: Mobility Partnerships**

Although the realities of circular migration have existed for a long time in Europe, the term 'circular migration' has come to the forefront of policy discourses after the publication of the *Circular migration and mobility partnerships between the European Union and third countries* ([COM \(2007\) 248 final](#)) in May 2007. The aim of this Communication was to promote legal migration channels for non-EU workers to find employment in the EU, mainly through schemes of circular and temporary migration and through the so-called mobility partnerships.

**Mobility partnerships** are legal schemes that would frame legal migration, preferably of a circular or temporary character in a wider context of migration policy cooperation between a number of EU member states (those wishing to join such a partnership) and one third country (or more third countries).

While the Communication clarifies that mobility partnerships will take different shapes and will depend on the specific situation, a long list of commitments expected from the third country concerned are listed in the Communication (p.4). These commitments are all related to the readmission of their own nationals as well as third country nationals, efforts to improve border control and the security of travel documents, cooperation with the EU on border management issues and concrete measures combating trafficking and human smuggling. A last commitment is also added that relates to the third country's obligation to promote "productive employment and decent work" as a means, among others, to reduce incentives for irregular migration. Moreover, the above will have to be implemented in full respect of human rights. Reading this list one wonders which third country in the Eastern and Southern European neighbourhood has the capacity to fulfil these commitments. In other words, these commitments are desirable but not realistic.

Thus so far the European Commission has seen **circular migration as part and parcel of these mobility partnerships**. The Communication notes that circular migration is potentially beneficial both to the EU, because it can respond faster to labour market shortages in high skill sectors, and to countries of origin, as they can avoid brain drain effects. Moreover, the Communication argues that the promotion of circular migration will have beneficial effects for the people involved as they will be able to spend limited periods of time in the EU acquiring new skills, improving their training and professional experience or indeed earning extra money.

The whole concept is based on the idea of **a well regulated circular migration that is monitored** both by the EU and the country of origin and that involves strong incentives also for the individual migrant to comply with the idea of returning back to her/his country when her/his working/training time in the EU is up. The individual who participates in circular migration and complies with the rules may benefit from facilitated and repeated entries in the future. In other words, people who have stayed in the EU and worked or trained there will find it easier to return to an EU country for purposes of employment or study provided they have respected the conditions of circular migration. The Communication also foresees schemes promoting the reintegration of third country nationals into their country of origin after a stay in the EU.

## **Policy Recommendations for an improved EU Framework fostering Circular Migration**

The METOIKOS findings show that the type of circular migration envisaged so far by the European circular migration policy framework is largely non-existent. There are very few high-skill migrants who engage in circular mobility and hence bring back to their country of origin the skills acquired in the EU. In reality the only circular migration that is regulated by the EU member states studied (Italy, Spain, Greece, Hungary, Poland) is seasonal agricultural migration.

These realities need to be acknowledged by the European Union and special measures should be adopted to make the most of the spontaneous circularity that currently exists.

### **In particular we recommend that:**

The European Commission provides **funding and know how to countries of origin** in the EU neighbourhood (for instance Ukraine, Morocco, Albania) so that they can **develop effective re-integration policies for circular migrants**. In particular,

- **Developing credit schemes for small loans** that would foster the development of small businesses e.g. in agriculture, tourism, catering or generally trade – sectors in which migrants are employed in the destination country and have acquired some expertise
- **Cutting red tape** and simplifying procedures for setting up a small business or obtaining a trade or other professional license to help foster business development by returning circular migrants
- And of course the more general aim of **building infrastructure** (energy, transport, telecommunications)

The European Commission should create a framework of **incentives for Member States to help circular migrants acquire skills**

- **Language training** courses: to learn the language of the destination country. This is crucial for the circular migration experience to lead to the accumulation of economic and social capital.
- **Job training** courses for example the training of skilled construction workers, providing expertise for the development of new crops, or assisting cleaning or caring workers to develop cooperatives through which to organise their circular employment.
- **Re-training** courses allowing for the utilisation of previously acquired skills (e.g. Ukrainian nurses or doctors to become qualified carers in Poland)
- **Funds/training for trade unions and other civil society associations to set up help desks** for circular and in particular seasonal migrants, in particular providing information in languages that the migrants understand on their rights and obligations, as well as free legal aid for those who are faced with abusive employment situations.

Recommendations on the types of stay permits and visas that would facilitate circular migration as well as the development of special welfare provisions or bilateral cooperation schemes is better achieved at the member state level. Hence our recommendations on these issues are presented below with reference to the specific destination countries under study here; notably Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Spain.

## **Policy Recommendations for Spanish Policy Makers concerning Circular Migration between Morocco and Spain**

- **The “six months clause”** which nowadays prevents regular immigrants spending more than six months out of Spain, as they risk to lose their permits, **should be annulled**. This clause was included in the Implementation Rules of the Law on Foreigners in the year 2000, a time when scarcities of manpower were of relevant concern among entrepreneurs in several sectors and especially among farmers in the intensive agriculture areas of the Mediterranean coast. This clause is the main obstacle to circular migration and it lacks justification in a phase of high unemployment.
- Temporary migration programs could improve their impact on the welfare of involved migrants and their families providing them with **better and more complete information about their social rights**. Often Moroccan immigrants taking part in the temporary migration programs are not aware that they can transfer the social benefits they have acquired in Spain (as contributors to the Social Security funds) to Morocco
- The present low qualification of Moroccan immigrants in Spain, compared with Moroccan immigration to other European countries, has several negative effects. Spain should **design programs to attract Moroccan university students** offering them scholarships and the opportunity to work in Spain for several years after their graduation, with the condition that they return to Morocco afterwards, while the entrance to the Spanish labor market should be opened again for them during short periods along their professional life in order to update their skills and knowledge or establish professional or business networks.
- Once the present economic crisis is over, a **new type of temporary permit designed to fit the tourist sector** should be incorporated in the immigration norms. The present temporary permit has been planned to be functional with the needs of the agriculture sector, but it is not useful for other economic areas. Tourism, a highly seasonal activity, could benefit from circular migration from Morocco if the legislative framework were modified.
- Spanish international relations and development aid directed to migration-sending countries in Western Africa should devote more efforts to the **building of institutions capable of mediating in the labour market**, as their absence or weakness prevents the management of circular migration.

## **Policy Recommendations for Italian Policy Makers concerning Circular Migration between Morocco and Italy**

### **Immigration and Integration policy**

- Reduce restrictions on time spent abroad within the period of legal presence in Italy
- Introduce multiple-entry visas which last a number of years.
- Successful circular seasonal migration schemes require a high level of coordination between employers, employment services and the public administration, incentives for employers to work through the system (ensuring the timely arrival of competent workers, providing accommodation for agricultural workers etc.), the enforcement of immigration and labour market regulations and protection of migrant workers' rights. It is advisable to organise circular seasonal migration schemes sectorally on a provincial or regional basis.
- Facilitating access to long-term residency status and dual citizenship.
- Possibility for circular migrants to avail of special services including the provision of extra lessons for children who have missed school due to absences abroad and the organisation of sub-letting among circular migrants in order to cover the cost of paying rent while abroad.

### **Labour market and social policy**

- Providing migrants with training and supporting their upward career mobility in order to facilitate brain circulation and larger investments in Morocco.
- Stimulating self-employment and business creation among migrant workers may also increase levels of economic circularity.
- Enforcing labour market regulations and contrasting the large informal economy is a *sine qua non* of effective circular migration schemes.
- A social security agreement between Italy and Morocco allowing for the totalisation of contributions made in the two countries would also incentivise long-term circularity.

### **Moroccan policy and practice towards Moroccans resident abroad**

- The Moroccan government could attempt to provide specific investment support to Moroccans resident abroad, in particular, attempts should be made to facilitate and support small investors and groups of small investors.
- Instruction in Arabic is crucial to maintaining ties with Morocco and circularity among the second generation and should continue to be supported by Moroccan institutions.
- Moroccan authorities should remove disincentives to circularity such as fines on cars with foreign registration plates in Morocco for three months or more.

## **Policy Recommendations for Italian Policy Makers concerning Circular Migration between Albania and Italy**

The findings of the Metoikos project suggest that the current situation could be strongly improved by providing Albanian prospective and current migrants with the possibility of looking for employment in Italy, of circulating between Italy and Albania and returning to Albania with the right information about the available opportunities and predicaments, and under conditions of both flexibility and legality. The following are more specific indications regarding possible policy measures in this direction.

As far as of the **Italian policy context** is concerned:

- **Re-introduce the possibility to convert the seasonal work/stay permit** into yearly, two-years and five-years work and residence permits, leading up to the possibility of applying for Italian citizenship.
- **Lower work permit fees, particularly for seasonal workers.**
- **Facilitate the rapid obtaining of work/stay permit documentation and simplify the related bureaucratic procedures.**
- **Albania's full participation into the EU system of rights and opportunities** would be the best way to for all involved to capitalise on the socio-economic and cultural potential embedded in the Albanian migration experience.
- **Introduce creative and flexible instruments, such as the 'job-seekers visa'**, which could interface the migratory potential of the Albanian population with the increased flexibility of the Italian economy in mutually advantageous terms.
- **Support Albanian associations towards the development of services for Albanian migrants**, including: the dissemination of information about legal requirements and work/regularization opportunities; and the development of initiatives promoting a more informed and critical sense of belonging in Italy as Albanian migrants and in Albania for returnees.
- **Training potential returnees about how to set up and manage an economic enterprise** and informing them about actual opportunities available in Albania in terms of credit, market sustainability and infrastructure.

As far as the **Albanian policy context** is concerned:

- **Assist returning migrants with training about employment opportunities and available services, including the setting up of new economic enterprises.** The services of the migration service counters instituted by the Albanian state should be made more specific, efficient and private, but state subsidised information/training centres should also be set up to this end.
- **Develop key infrastructures** such as: regular electricity and drinkable water provision and the road/train/ports network.
- Support the Albanian government and NGOs in their **fight against corruption** and towards the development of a **less conflictive and polarised political system.**
- **Simplify the bureaucratic procedures** regarding returnees, with particular reference to the setting up of new economic enterprises.
- Encourage the return of migrants aiming to set up new economic enterprises with **facilitated access to credit, strategic training and tax reductions.** This would include reducing taxes for import-export enterprises operating between Albanian and Italy, which have been particularly affected by the economic downturn.



## Main research findings and policy recommendations on circular migration between Albania and Greece

### Types of Circular Migration Identified

4 types of circular economic migrants were identified in this case study:

- legal seasonal workers in agriculture (*metaklisi*),
- irregular seasonal migration (in agriculture and construction),
- legal migrants with 2-year or 10-year stay permits doing low skill work in Greece (usually construction sector workers) and low-skill work or running a small business in Albania,
- legal circular migration of semi- and high-skilled people with a secure stay status in Greece occupied in high skill jobs or running their own business in Albania.

The circular migrants that bring more capital back to their country of origin are legal migrants that spontaneously circulate between the two countries (type 3). The legal seasonal migrants that come to work through the relevant bilateral labour agreement for 6 months every year and then return back home (type 1) generally do not disentangle from a survival-led consumption into a production-orientated pattern when in Albania. What would be the added-value of a new labour agreement between the two countries in this context? The METOIKOS case study suggests certain measures to be taken in either countries that could eventually bring their policy targets closer to the realities, opportunities and problems formed under this flow of people and capital. Moreover, this discussion becomes crucial in the framework of the economic crisis where the number of spontaneous circular migrants is likely to increase given their (and their families') integration in local labour markets and Greek society, the proximity with Albania and the Schengen visa liberalization regime although it is probably too early to assess the impact of this last.

### Key Messages for Greek Policy Makers

1. The seasonal workers under the short-term invitation of *metaklisi* have their social security contribution (healthcare only) paid by the employer who invites them but they cannot claim it in practice. In this respect, we suggest the following:

- amend the law so that the *metaklisi* migrant gets the OGA health booklet after 3 months upon demonstration of the *vevaiosi*/certificate or the temporary stay permit.
- introduce a registration of pension rights in the recorded files of these workers in the Ministry of Interior. The fee for the pension should be directly paid in (to a bigger percentage) by the migrant and indirectly (to a smaller percentage) after equivalent reduction of the tax return sum he receives by the employer.

2. Circular migration is expected to be on the increase in the context of the crisis. The networks of Albanian migrants with local labour markets in Greece, the proximity with Albania and the visa free regime are additional factors corroborating this argument. **Renewing the stay permit in this context would translate as keeping a door open to Greece. Moreover, it would mean that substantial revenue to social insurance funds would not be lost.** This is the case not only for circular migrants but also for settled migrants in case they return to Albania due to unemployment in Greece. Given the increasing difficulties to renew stay permits we suggest:

- Reducing social security stamps and changing the way social insurance contribution is paid for all categories of dependent work. The employer pays, for instance, 50% of the social insurance stamps and the rest is paid by the migrant. Employers declaring their third country national employees would get a reduction of 7-10% of the cost of social insurance, to be covered by the state. Migrants would need to pay obligatorily only for healthcare. Paying towards one's pension could be optional.

3. **Bilateral agreements** for the transfer of pension rights, money transfer, removal transfer, monitoring mechanisms for the operation of customs offices are other measures that need to be taken.

### **Recommendations for Albanian policy makers**

The main problem for the reintegration of Albanian returnees and/or circular migrants is that they are not assisted by the local government with information regarding what to invest and where.

A positive development from the side of the Albanian State is the function of migration service counters in several regional and local labour offices. However, their existence is largely unknown and they lack informed and adaptable concrete policy targets. As a result they fail to offer good employment orientation advice, which is a crucial aspect of their function. With respect to the mechanism of the labour offices we suggest the following:

- establishment of an information & referral mechanism concerning available public services
- strengthening the role of the Labour Offices by a) providing Labour Offices' consultants with diverse expertise depending on the existing local labour market, the area and its potential for development, and b) local awareness raising campaigns starting from the school onwards.

Employment orientation advice also needs to take into account the diverse skills and vocational experience that Albanian return migrants acquired abroad. This could be achieved horizontally through local surveys that update the knowledge on the local population expertise and investment patterns; and vertically, through incentives given to return migrants to share (and even sell) their vocational experiences abroad. The newly established National Agency for Investment (AIDA) in Albania could feed into and from such local investment educational schemes.

Reintegration problems undoubtedly transcend the policy design problems of the Regional Labour Offices and the SMs and reflect the structural features of the Albanian labour market. In this respect we suggest the following:

- **Access to competitive loans** for return and circular migrants intending to invest in different sectors.
- **Apprenticeship in medium small enterprises** is a good practice that has been applied by associations and NGOs as part of the support package towards the opening of businesses
- Economic incentives for returnees' investments in the form of **bureaucratic facilitations for the opening of businesses, tax reductions for the initial return period.**
- Albania's rural landscape is a key variable towards unlocking the country's development potential. The majority of return and circular migrants are bearers of small-scale capital already involved in agriculture. They should be supported with basic **infrastructure like roads and irrigation for agriculture and other related investments like (agro-)tourism.**
- Additionally, the problems of the **education infrastructure across the country** need tackling because they constitute a disincentive for Albanian migrants to return and for returnees to stay and invest.

## **Policy Recommendations for Polish Policy Makers concerning Circular Migration between Ukraine and Poland**

The idea of circular migration seems ideal for national labour workers to fill the gaps in some sectors. However, migrants may be abused by individuals and by temporary agency work sector in terms of salaries, social insurance and working hours. Therefore, it is necessary to design policies that prevent the exploitation of circular migrant workers. Recommendations to be considered include:

- Building a structure/office/body for the explicit purpose of connecting workers and employers. This structure would organize job fairs in Ukraine to encourage legal employment of migrant workers. The structure would also serve to assist migrant workers once here in Poland in finding housing, navigating insurance, language education and other services such as translating CVs etc. This structure would furthermore be responsible for ascertaining that migrants' rights are respected, that employers fulfill their responsibilities to workers. In case of any abuses, migrants would be able to turn to this structure for legal assistance.
- One should realize that migration between Poland and Ukraine developed as a form of self organization of society and was mostly spontaneous. Ukrainian migrants find work in foreign countries through their friends, and approach foreign employers directly. Therefore, circular migrants should be assisted by other Ukrainian migrants, who are residing in Poland or who have finished Universities in Poland. They are a huge social capital. Organizations created by them, sometimes spontaneously, sometimes informally are much more trustworthy to migrants than any Polish NGO or official institutions.
- Cases of abuse from the employers' side, especially in the sector of construction but also mistreatments pointed in agriculture, private households, and industry, prove that public activities addressed to this subcategory of immigrants defiantly should concentrate on providing information regarding the Polish labour law regulations and working conditions and free legal assistance, preferably in Ukrainian and Russian. Above mentioned activities should be undertaken in both receiving and sending country, therefore require bilateral cooperation.
- Considering the knowledge of language as the basic pillar of integration and access to information, we propose language courses as a constant element of the integration system, being prepared in Poland. It seems that language courses ought to be led by municipality and financed by the central budget. They should cover at list basics like reading and writing in Latin alphabet.
- We ought to call the attention to the fact that immigrant women are more prone to social exclusion, as they more often are illegally employed, often in the private care sector, which does not favour integration. Female immigrants more and more often do jobs which are key for Polish households, jobs often invisible. Special measures are needed to promote their integration in Polish society.
- Not all circular migrants are interested in having a formal employment relationship. However, our fieldwork suggests that ensuring the portability of benefits, such as pensions, would encourage both the formalization of the employment relationship and migrants' return to Ukraine.

Our circular migrant informants also noted the following aspects that they wish to see addressed:

- Developing cheaper services allowing for money transfers to Ukraine;
- Introducing more flexible working visa regulations so migrants can stop prolonging their stays in Poland, when they need it or contrary stay longer if they want;

## **Policy Recommendations for Hungarian Policy Makers concerning Circular Migration between Ukraine and Hungary**

As Hungary has faced the economic crisis quite strongly (one of the two harshest in the EU countries) and the attractiveness of Hungarian labour market has decreased, greater attention should be paid to **provide updated information about the Hungarian labour market** for the potential migrants in Ukraine (especially to the Hungarian origin Ukrainians who are more easily engaged in circular migration). This is important to avoid the disappointments and the exploitation of the migrants (with very low pay employment) in Hungary, which in turn works against circularity.

As the **laws about mobility (about the seasonal workers, about visas and procedures and requirements for naturalization) change very often**, it is difficult for the migrants and sometimes for the law-ranking bureaucrats to keep an overview of the current state of things. Naturalized and non-naturalized Hungarian-Ukrainians are subject to different conditions in terms of their mobility, work conditions (for example in terms of pay) and bureaucratic regulations in border crossing and in Hungary. Naturalized Hungarians face less xenophobia but not-naturalized Ukrainian Hungarians are seen as foreigners (they are vis-à-vis the law) who are subject to different kinds of bureaucratic and legal regulations (very often leading to non-equal pay) in Hungary and difficulties on the border. This leads to resentments and tensions between migrant groups. Obstacles at the borders and the experience of discrimination in the labour market function against circularity.

As circularity and integration are not contradictory, it is important to create **more possibilities for legal seasonal work** (like in Poland for example). That should also ease the procedures at the border. Long lines and tough controls discourage people from travelling/circulating, and make their simultaneous incorporation both in Ukraine and Hungary difficult.

### **Providing assistance in establishing Limited Liability company in Hungary**

While the entrance to Hungary after Schengen became more difficult, the law regarding establishing LCC decreased the sum from 3 Million HUF to 500.000 HUF, Ukrainian circular migrants started establishing LCC. This became an important venue to get work permit, which is in turn necessary for the residence permit.

Our fieldwork showed that circular migrants from Ukraine (like other migrants in Hungary) very often face problems in finding **appropriate accommodation** in Hungary. Some assistance in housing and the simplification of the procedures, like creating special housing offices for the migrants, simplifying the procedures for renting a house.

### **For non-Hungarian citizens it would be important to ease circularity**

- Encouraging trade unions and NGOs to monitor and demand equal treatment in the labour market. This will encourage more Ukrainians and Hungarian Ukrainians to engage more in circular migration.
- Biometric cards for local cross-border movements function as a draw back to mobility. Alternative means should be considered.
- More attention should be paid to the effects of the discrepancy between the economic condition and the regulations vis-à-vis Hungarian origin migrants and the discourses on “Hungarians living abroad”, “Hungarians from the Carpathian Basin”, etc. Hungarian co-ethnics from the neighbouring countries (especially Ukraine) are often either accepted as a cheap labour force reserve or treated as unwanted and dangerous foreigners. This treatment is in clear contrast to “Hungarians abroad” rhetoric, and the Hungarian-Ukrainian migrants’ tendency to disregard the

difference between ethnic origin and nationality. These discrepancies feed into the development of racism and xenophobia both in Hungary and Ukraine. For this reason, it is important

- To downplay the myth of the lost Hungarian territories and of Hungarians in the neighbouring countries
- To provide conditions for the better treatment of 'Ukrainians' in Hungary.

Although, it is mostly Hungarian Ukrainians who are involved in circular migration between Hungary and Ukraine, this group is increasingly moving to other destinations for circular migration (with the suitable conditions). In the long run, it would be advisable **to organize and provide services to non-Hungarian migrants from Ukraine to Hungary, like language assistance**; legal services (for the migrants/refugees from non-European countries who are subjected to EU-Hungarian-Ukrainian laws and agreements). Especially for the latter, it is important to have the proper legal information and advise on the borders within the readmissions agreements to avoid refoulement.

The new Law on Citizenship in Hungary (introduced in January 2011) has already resulted in legal uncertainties and concerns for the Ukrainian State. For those Ukrainians who are interested in obtaining it, it seems to be a complicated and expensive procedure. **It is important to provide less complicated alternatives (than obtaining Hungarian citizenship) easing legal migration to Hungary from Ukraine as well as easing the process.** For this reason it is important to

- Provide more assistance to obtain citizenship (including financial help for translations) and ease the process.
- Provide more possibilities for legal employment in Hungary (especially for seasonal work) Seasonal like in Polish case) without the citizenship.





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