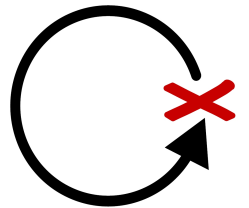




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# **METOIKOS Project**

## **Circular Migration between the EU and its Neighbours. A Comparative Analysis**

Anna Triandafyllidou  
European University Institute





**EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE**  
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**ANNA TRIANDAFYLLIDOU**

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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](mailto:anna.triandafyllidou@eui.eu)).

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## Executive Summary

Circular migration has been popular in policy and academic circles recently, especially after the 2007 Communication of the European Commission on Circular Migration and Mobility Partnerships. 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. The METOIKOS project engages into three sets of case studies: Italy-Albania and Greece-Albania; Italy-Morocco and Spain-Morocco; Hungary-Ukraine and Poland-Ukraine with a view to capturing the specificities of circular migration in three different regions of the EU. Our study is qualitative and in-depth, based on policy documents, legal texts, scholarly literature, and 10-15 interviews with stakeholders and 40-50 interviews with circular migrants in each pair of countries.

For the purposes of the study we define circular migration as international, temporary, repeated migration for economic reasons.

We have identified six types of Circular Migration

1. Seasonal legal labour migration (migrants based at 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 at the country of origin) – spontaneous. High skill 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. 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 at the country of destination) – spontaneous of people with low or medium skills who are long term migrants at 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).
4. Circular semi-legal labour migration (migrants based at the country of origin)– may follow a seasonal pattern or not, stay is legal, 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 but her/his employment is irregular. The people involved are semi-skilled or highly skilled people who are unemployed and/or cannot make ends meet at 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 into circular migration. They work in the caring and cleaning sector (women) or in construction and farm work (men).

5. Circular legal labour migration (migrants based at the country of destination) – spontaneous of people with low or medium skills who are long term migrants at 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).
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 too often work without registration in the informal economy.

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 at either country.
- migrants can get access of stay documents that allow to travel freely even if they have to work informally.

Overall circular migration is not a preferred option. Migrants would rather stay put in one of the two countries but they cannot stay in their country of origin because they have not enough means of subsistence and/or of creating a better life for themselves and their children.

Generally there are no re-integration policies at the countries of origin. Similarly there are no specialized integration policies at the countries of destination for circular migrants. In either case integration and re-integration takes place through family and ethnic networks.

The most important problem that migrants face regarding their ‘integration’ at the country of destination is that of language fluency. They do not know the language, the laws and have no one to turn to in case of abusive work conditions.

European institutions should create a legal framework for circular migration that defines the rights and obligations of the migrants as well as of creates incentives for the countries of origin to cooperate in preparing their migrant workers before departure and also for assisting them to re-integrate. Detailed policy recommendations are provided at the end of this report and at the Circular Migration: A Short Guide for Policy Makers published in <http://metoikos.eui.eu>

## **Keywords**

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

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## **1. Introduction**

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 this last 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 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). Nonetheless 4 years later, circular migration schemes as those envisaged in that Communication have been hard to get off the ground, not least because of the acute global financial crisis that started in 2008 and is still ongoing. An additional problem is perhaps that they were too ambitious from the start and also that they misunderstood the real needs and aims of migrants themselves (see Triandafyllidou 2009).

The realities of circular migration on the ground (even if it had not been dubbed '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 (the so-called suitcase or shuttle migrations) 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 then associated (now Member State) 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). Steven 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). In this introduction we shall first propose our working definition of the term circular migration and then will present the focus of this study, and what follows.

A brief survey of policy and scholarly documents that use the term circular (Sandu 2005; Vertovec 2007; GCIM 2005; Martin 2003; Ruhs 2005; Dayton-Johnson et al. 2007) shows that the

term ‘circular migration’ 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).

The METOIKOS project and this comparative report starts with a working definition of circular migration and proposes a new definition and a typology of different forms of circularity taking place under different time, place, status, and skills conditions through the study of 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<sup>1</sup>. Our aim here is to analyse the similarities and differences between the circular (and related) forms of migration among the cases studied and construct a typology of circular migration. In addition we seek to assess what are the factors and policies that foster or prevent circular migration from taking place by comparing the situation within each pair of countries and overall among the six pairs. In addition we pay particular attention to the links between different types of circular migration and issues of integration (in the destination country) or re-integration (in the source country).

On the basis of this brief overview of the relevant literature on circular migration presented in Triandafyllidou 2010, 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.

*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 **circular migration** for the purposes of this research is defined 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).

The comparative analysis presented here is based on the Case study Reports produced under the auspices of the METOIKOS project. In the sections that follow, we discuss separately the three sets of countries to compare how circular migration takes place from the same sending country to two

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<sup>1</sup> The detailed findings for each pair of countries are available at the METOIKOS case study reports to appear on our web site in April 2011: <http://metoikos.eui.eu>

different destination countries. We discuss both the geopolitical and economic context that characterises the relationships between the countries and the types of circular migration identified. We also highlight the challenges of integration and re-integration. In the concluding section we outline the general typology of circular migration that emerges out of the six pairs of cases and present our recommendations for policies that can foster circular migration, at the EU level, and at the national level on a case per case basis.

## **2. Research Design and Methodology**

Six pairs of countries have been selected for the study: Greece and Albania, Italy and Albania; Spain and Morocco, and Italy and Morocco; Hungary and Ukraine, and Poland and Ukraine. In all six pairs, the two countries involved are neighbours (with the exception of Italy and Morocco that are more distant) and have experienced different forms of temporary, seasonal, circular or indeed more long term 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 (Triandafyllidou, 2009b).

In each pair of countries we have conducted between 10 and 15 interviews with stakeholders and between 30 and 50 interviews with circular migrants (thus a total of about 80 interviews with stakeholders and of more than 200 interviews with circular migrants in 8 countries). These interviews took place in both countries of each pair with a view to including stakeholders (state officials, NGOs, trade unions, experts ) from either country, and also with a view to capturing the viewpoint of migrants at both sides of the border and hence at different ‘moments’ of their circular migration experience. Interviews at the country of origin were conducted in the mother tongue of the interviewees in most cases (i.e. Albanian in Albania, Arabic or French in Morocco, Ukrainian in Ukraine) while in some cases (e.g. the Italian team research in Morocco) a local research facilitated the fieldwork, the contacts and sometimes acted as an interpreter at the interviews. Interviews at the country of destination were conducted mainly in the language of that country or in the language of the country of origin or indeed in a third language (e.g. French for Moroccans). In the case of Spain for instance interviews with Moroccan women were conducted in Arabic by a Moroccan researcher.

All interviews followed a common interview guide (for stakeholders, and for circular migrants separately of course) that had been developed originally in English (see Annex I to this report) and which was then translated into the different languages in which interviews were conducted.

Interviews were taped where possible and transcribed verbatim afterwards in the same language. Mother tongue researchers who conducted interviews in Arabic, Ukrainian, Hungarian or Albanian translated their interviews into Spanish, Greek or English so that interviews could be understood by the principal investigators who do not speak the former languages. In a few cases, when it was not possible to tape the interviews detailed notes were taken.

The comparative analysis presented in this report is based on the Case Study reports<sup>2</sup> drafted by the METOIKOS project partner teams.

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<sup>2</sup> These reports can be downloaded from the METOIKOS web site <http://metoikos.eui.eu>

### **3. Circular Migration in the south-western and central Mediterranean: Spain, Italy and Morocco**

#### ***3.1 The socio-economic framework of migration between Italy/Spain and Morocco***

The per capita income in Spain and Italy (in purchasing power parity, PPP)<sup>3</sup> is 7 times higher than that of Morocco. In this respect the Mediterranean sea separates two very uneven socio-economic realities. When labor migration became a visible phenomenon in Italy in the 1980s and in Spain in the 1990s, Moroccan workers became quickly among the largest national groups of immigrants. Although Moroccans were during the next decade outnumbered by Latin Americans in Spain and by Albanians in Italy (and later by Romanians in either country), they continued for years to be considered as the typical immigrant (*el marroqui*, *el moro* or *il marocchino*, *il vucumpra*) in the Spanish and Italian media and public discourses.

Moroccans are among the top three nationalities of immigrants in either country. And in both countries they are among the longer established groups. Moroccan immigration to Italy started in the 1970s and continued through the 1980s, however it grew significantly from the 1990s onwards. In 2010 there are 431,000 Moroccan citizens in Italy, accounting for 0.7% of the total population of Italy. In Spain Moroccan immigration dates back to the mid 1980s, it has however grown to a massive inflow in the later years so that in 2009, Moroccans were the second largest nationality among immigrants in Spain with 738,000 people present in the country, accounting for 1.6% of the total population of Spain.

In both Italy and Spain, Moroccan immigration started as part of a free circulation between the two countries. After visa requirements were imposed in 1991 in Spain and in 1990 in Italy it was converted into irregular immigration. In both countries Moroccans gradually regularised their status through the periodic amnesty programmes that Italy and Spain implemented. Legal immigrant from Morocco to Italy or Spain followed however different paths.

Italy implements annual quotas – i.e. specifies a number of stay permits for work purposes available every year for new immigrants, divided per region, and nationality – to manage legal immigration. Often these quotas are used to regularise workers who are already in the country though. In addition quotas for Morocco have never exceeded 4,500 per year and in 2003 scored a 500 low. They therefore did not provide for a viable channel for Moroccan immigration to Italy.

Spain by contrast signed with Morocco an agreement in 2001 on Moroccan immigration to Spain. However due to the tense relations between the two countries this agreement started being implemented only in 2005. This agreement has established administrative cooperation between both countries to promote the contract in Spain of Moroccan workers (mechanisms of selection in the origin country, contacts between employers and workers, transportation costs, returns, etc.). Most of them have arrived through the “contingente” (quota), mainly devoted to agricultural temporary works.

While the migration patterns between Italy and Morocco and between Spain and Morocco share many common features, the relationship of Morocco with each of these countries is quite different. In the case of Spain, there are many tensions between the two countries that refer to the Spanish enclaves in Moroccan territory, the cities of Ceuta and Melilla, competition over fishing waters in the Mediterranean, and an historical narrative of rivalry and war between *los Moros* and Catholic Spain. Thus relations between Morocco and Spain have for long been dominated by a climate of mutual distrust and rivalry, with frequent verbal aggressions in the media (Del Pino 2002 and 2003, González del Miño 2005). However, in recent years there has been a mutual *rapprochement* and growing awareness of their economic and political inter-dependence (and of their interest to cooperate). Spain

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<sup>3</sup> Data on per capita income in purchasing power parity for the different countries quoted in this report come from the World Bank data for 2009.



is now the second investor and trade partner in Morocco after France<sup>4</sup>, Ceuta and Melilla are promoting economic growth in the neighbouring Moroccan areas and the Kingdom of Morocco needs Spanish collaboration, or at least neutrality, in its approach to the European Union. Spain has been one of the main supporters of the inclusion of Morocco in the new EU Neighbourhood European Policy, firstly designed to cope with the East European countries with no expectations to become EU members. Spain was also the main European promoter of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (known as the “Barcelona Process”) designed in 1995 to foster relations between the southern members of the European Union and North African countries. Political and police cooperation against Islamic terrorism is also relevant and of great importance for both parts since the Casablanca terrorist attack of 2003 and the Madrid attack of 2004.

The importance of Italy by contrast as a migration and development partner for Morocco has been much lower. Italy is geographically more distant from Morocco and hence both economically and geopolitically less relevant for Moroccan ambitions in the Euro-Mediterranean region. Italy and Morocco have few competing interests and do not share a past of war or direct conflict. Thus, while migration between Spain and Morocco is not just a demographic or labour market question but also a factor in international relations, in Italy Moroccan immigration has been more low profile, without any far-reaching expectations or repercussions on the relationship between the two countries.

Having outlined thus the political and economic framework within which migration between Morocco and Spain or Italy takes place, let us turn our attention now to circular migration between each pair of countries.

### ***3.2 Circular migration between Italy/Spain and Morocco***

Moroccan immigration in Spain and Italy is largely sedentary. People migrate with the view of finding employment and staying at the destination country for a number of years. The fact that most Moroccan immigrants arrived to Spain or Italy without documents (even if later they regularised) is an important factor that has from the beginning limited any consideration of circularity and of economic activity that would engage travelling between the two countries. In addition the necessity to prove employment to periodically renew their stay permits makes Moroccan immigrants in both Italy and Spain to cling onto their jobs at the destination country and not risk losing them by lengthy trips back to Morocco. Indeed both Spanish and Italian employers want reliable, stable, year-round migrant workers and do not appreciate people who need to be absent from work for long periods. Circularity or seasonality is actually a by-product of the Italian and Spanish labour markets and of the migration opportunities and restrictions that the Spanish and Italian migration policy offers as we shall explain below.

Our bibliographical research and fieldwork on Moroccan immigration in Spain and Italy (see Gonzalez Enriquez and Reynes, 2010 and Plewa 2010) suggested from early on that circular migration between Spain and Morocco took mainly the form of seasonal migration predominantly in the agricultural sector while in Italy circular forms of migration were more diverse and not confined to repeated seasonal work only.

In the case of Spain, we have excluded from the scope of this study daily commuters who cross the Moroccan Spanish border to enter the towns of Ceuta and Melilla on the condition that they will leave before midnight of the same day. There are about 30,000 people (mostly women) crossing daily but they generally only spend the day there and hence cannot be considered as circular migrants. In addition the study has excluded in both the case of Italy and Spain, people of Moroccan origin who have naturalised and have become Spanish or Italian citizens.

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<sup>4</sup> If irregular frontier trade through Ceuta and Melilla is also taken into account, Spain becomes the first trading partner of Morocco.

In either Italy or Spain, immigrants spending their holidays in their home country have not been considered “circular” in this research. In the case of Spain, those who are unemployed in Spain and spend several months a year in Morocco, where their Spanish unemployment subsidy allows them a bigger consumption level have not been considered. By contrast in Italy those who are on unstable or partial employment and periodically return to Morocco to spend some months there (when work is scarce in Italy) have been included in the study. The assumption in this case has been that these migrants engage into some form of work in Morocco even if this work involves repairing their own home or working in the family farm (i.e. without a proper income from this work).

As the Italy-Morocco case study, proposes we need to distinguish between circular migrants who have the destination country (Italy) as their base, and circular migrants who have the origin country (Morocco) as their main place of residence. In the case of Spain the circular migrants identified indeed had their lives mostly in Morocco spending on average two months a year working in Spanish agriculture.

On the basis of the findings from the Italian and Spanish case studies we have identified two types of circular migrants who engage into economic activity in either country but have their basis in the country of origin, namely Morocco.

The type “**Seasonal agricultural work at the destination country**”, involves Moroccan women in Spain who come from rural regions of Morocco (and are employed in agriculture and at home there too) who travel to Spain each year to work in the harvesting of strawberries (in the region of Huelva) or in other cultivations at greenhouses mostly in the region of Almeria (both regions in southern Spain). In the case of Italy, this category mainly involves Moroccan men who are either self-employed in semi-low skilled work or unemployed in Morocco, who come to Italy on a legal basis in order to work in agriculture for six months a year. These individuals were resident in Italy for more than ten years before embarking on circulation. There is only a limited number of Moroccans working in Italian agriculture on a seasonal basis today in Italy.

The type, “**Seasonal street-selling at the destination country**” is not present in Spain as street peddling is an activity mostly undertaken by sub Saharan Africans. In Italy it involves mainly Moroccan men who are farmers at home in Morocco for most of the year and who travel to Italy for 2-3 months a year to work as street-sellers. While Moroccan street hawkers are numerous and often undocumented those doing this activity on a circular basis hold Italian stay permits which allow them to work in Italy as self-employed. They are usually first generation Moroccan immigrants in Italy among those who came early on and hence had acquired their stay permits. They decided to return to Morocco but still engage into this circular economic activity to supplement their income in Morocco.

This is a type of circular migration that is found mostly in southern Italy and these Moroccan circular migrants spend in Italy the summer holiday months selling Chinese goods (bought in Italy) by the seaside. These migrants spend about three months a year in Italy and are engaged in street selling. They have mostly been coming to Italy for more than ten years.

Both these types of circular migration are small in size and rather declining in Italy. They have their roots in the times of free circularity before the introduction of the visa regimes between Morocco and Italy and respond to the particularities of southern Italian regions where street hawking, selling and buying in open air markets is not only an economic activity but also perhaps a cultural trait of these regions.

Circular migration to work on a seasonal basis in agriculture is by contrast an increasing trend in Spain. Rather than being a legacy that comes from the period of free circulation in the case of Spain this pattern has been designed by Spanish authorities to respond to the needs for seasonal labour force in agriculture in specific Spanish regions where the agricultural sector has developed and intensified

during the last decade with important positive developments for the entire regions concerned (Almeria, Huelva, Lleida).

This type of circularity has been fostered by EU funded programmes initially through the AENEAS programme and later through other lines of the EU and the Spanish national budget. Hence these programmes are managed at a bilateral level between Spain and Morocco with the involvement of trade unions and authorities in the selection (of migrant workers) process and in monitoring the living and working conditions of the circular migrants. Such a programme may be cited as a good practice example to the extent that it provides for the possibility for Moroccan women

- to make a much higher salary from agricultural work than they would have done in their own country
- have decent working and living conditions at the destination country
- be escorted and helped with translation for all their paper work by Moroccan and Spanish authorities or civil society actors
- not being separated from their families and children for too long a period

It is worth noting that ANAPEC (*Agence Nationale de Promotion de l'Emploi et des Compétences*), the Moroccan Employment Service has tried to establish such a bilateral scheme with Italy too but to no avail. Apparently the demand for seasonal workers in agriculture in Italy is much more fragmented among many small employers and very few immigrants and employers take advantage of the 'precedence' clause available in the law (in simple words: inviting again the worker that was employed in the previous year).

With regard to circular migrants who have their basis at the destination country and periodically return to the country of origin, it is important to note that we found of no such cases in the case of Moroccan immigration to Spain. Moroccan immigrants who are settled in Spain generally do not engage into circular migration between the two countries. By contrast in Italy, especially in northern regions, there are several types of Moroccan economic circular migration between the two countries. Two of these types are similar to those outlined above with the main difference being that they are principally based in Italy rather than in Morocco. Thus, the “**Seasonal agricultural work at the country of origin**” type involves low skill or semi-skilled Moroccans employed in northern or southern Italy in unstable jobs (e.g. in the construction sector) who return to Morocco to work on the family farm (between 3 and 6 months annually). While the type “**Economising in Morocco**”, encapsulates Moroccans based in the south of Italy who spend a couple of months a year in Morocco in order to save money because they do not have stable employment in Italy. People belonging to either category have generally been legally resident in Italy for more or less than ten years and are in and out of employment.

There are however two additional types of circular migration between Italy and Morocco where the migrant is based in Italy which are more related to business and trade. The first type entitled “**Circular trade and transport**” involves semi-skilled Moroccans who do not hold regular employment in Italy but are legally resident in Italy or in possession of dual citizenship. They buy goods<sup>5</sup> from Italy which they sell in Morocco – usually second hand goods, or for instance electronic appliances –and also transport the goods of co-nationals to Morocco. The transportation of goods to sell or of other people's belongings is usually done by vans which are over-loaded with all sorts of stuff. There are several problems with this kind of activity as the Italian authorities are enable to register and categorise it (but generally tend to be permissive and allow for this kind of trade to take place) while Moroccan customs officers generally ask for bribes to let the merchandise pass the border. The second type we may call “**Brain circulation**” as it involves people who are self-employed and engage in circular migration with a view to doing business and development cooperation in Morocco. These Moroccan circular

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<sup>5</sup> This kind of trade activity is also found between Morocco and the cities of Ceuta and Melilla who are Spanish territories but located in Morocco. However there it takes the form of daily commuting and trade.

migrants are relatively few and live in northern Italy. They generally have been residing legally in Italy for more than 10 years.

### ***3.3 Concluding Remarks with special reference to issues of (re-)integration in the countries of origin and settlement***

Factors that affect circular migration

The analysis of the Italy-Morocco and Spain-Morocco cases shows that there are several factors that affect the possibility and profitability of circular migration between each pair of countries.

The first factor is the existence of a specific policy programme that organises circular migration: Hence in the case of Spain and Morocco the development of a special bilateral programme that organises and promotes repeated seasonal stays of Moroccan women in Spain to work in agriculture has greatly affected the size of these flows as well as their character. It is the programme itself that sets the conditions (working hours, salary, accommodation, insurance, but also lack of possibility to stay longer or to engage in a different labour market sectors) and that organises the recruitment in Morocco. The programme itself promotes the return of the same workers every year provided they have complied with the conditions and that, of course, they wish to return (which our study shows that they generally do). Such programmes do not exist between Italy and Morocco.

In the case of Italy the possibility to have a self-employment permit fosters circularity. This facilitates the kind of spontaneous circular migration that we have identified in Italy of Moroccan people working (a) in agriculture, (b) in street selling, (c) doing trade and offering transport services, (d) developing some kind of business between Italy and Morocco. In addition, Moroccans also circulate between Italy and Morocco with permits for employment, long term residency status and dual citizenship. In Spain since would-be migrants cannot enter the country legally claiming their will to work as self-employed this kind of circularity is constricted. Migrants can become self-employed (and hence possibly engage into such type of circularity) after five years of legal stay when they become permanent residents.

In addition to the specific policies that on purpose (as in the case of the seasonal agriculture programme between Morocco and Spain) or by accident (the self-employment permit) promote circular migration, a third factor is the level of skills: clearly migrants with a medium level of skills and with a long residency at the country of destination are better placed to develop a cooperation and development business or a small trade between Italy and Morocco. Here perhaps as part of the human capital that circular migrants have we should add the importance of speaking the language and being familiar with the country of destination. We assume that this is an important precondition as all spontaneous circular migrants between Italy and Morocco (regardless of whether they are based now in Italy or Morocco) are people who have lived at the destination country for more than 5 years and usually around ten years.

Last but not least we note an important gender bias in the circularity patterns identified: women are only found in Spain in the organised bilateral circular migration programme between Morocco and Spain. All spontaneous circular migration emerging between Italy and Morocco involves only men. This probably derives from the gender roles assigned to women and men at the country of origin. Women would probably not engage into circular migration at all if ANAPEC did not actively recruit them for the seasonal migration scheme.

## Issues of integration and re-integration

Moroccan circular migrants in Spain and Italy are largely low or semi skilled people, mostly coming from rural areas, and earning relatively low incomes they are not likely to make business investments in Morocco. At the most they will buy property with the money saved or develop their own family farm.

There are no special provisions for their re-integration in Morocco even though with the onset of the global financial crisis during the last couple of years, the Moroccan government has introduced medical coverage for Moroccans residing abroad (*Mutuelle des Marocains a l'Etranger*) who return to Morocco temporarily or permanently from a country with which there is no bilateral agreement. Other than this re-integration in Morocco takes place through family ties at the village or town of origin.

Informal trade and transport as that practiced by an increasing number of Moroccans who are based in Italy, mainly as a strategy of coping with temporary unemployment or underemployment during the crisis, is not supported by Moroccan authorities at the formal level. Informally, Moroccan custom officers rather seem to obstruct this business doing extenuating controls at the borders with a view of obtaining bribes to let the goods get through the border.

In the cases of spontaneous circular migration that we witness in Italy, there are no special provisions for the integration of the families that stay in Italy (these are actually usually well integrated as the circular migrant has previously been a long term sedentary migrant in the country). The circular migrants involved also cope with their own 'integration' issues as best they can through family ties (some of them have grown up children in Italy) or through co-ethnic network support.

Circular migrants mainly resident in Italy tend to be resident in Italy for at least five years and to be well-acquainted with the Italian socio-economic and political context. Despite the longevity of their presence in Italy, many of them do not feel accepted or understood by Italians. This inadequate social integration may incentivise economic projects in the country of origin. At the same time, social integration, for example by means of inter-marriage, facilitates economic circularity by providing migrants with access to social networks and social and cultural capital.

Attention to circular migrants' specific necessities in the immigration country would facilitate circulation, for example the possibility for them 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. These migrants generally do not have to re-integrate in Morocco during circulation as they often spend very short periods there and make use of their existing family and social networks. Nevertheless, 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.

Concerning issues of integration, the bilateral programme implemented between Spain and Morocco foresees and monitors the working and living conditions of the Moroccan women involved plus provides for support in the processing of the paper work. Social contacts with local population is scarce as hostels are usually outside villages and distance and lack of knowledge of Spanish language hinder opportunities of interchanges. Spanish language courses and job training are offered to circular migrants by several local institutions, associations and NGOs, which offer also courses related with risk prevention at work, health issues or computing.

The above efforts and overall interaction with local people are hampered however by their lack of fluency (or complete ignorance) in Spanish language, the short period of stay and the residence in collective lodgements scattered in the countryside. Workers visit the villages from time to time, but they limit their visit to buy or solve personal affairs.

*“I do not see coexistence among locals and Moroccan women. The main reason is the language, a barrier that separates people and the second reason is that they come here to work. Their habit/life style is working, going to the village to buy and returning. So, there is not much coexistence and “interculturality” does not exist”* (Huelva, NGO devoted to the immigrants).

Interviews among circular workers also show the lack of fluency in Spanish language as the biggest problem perceived by them. Almost all women, 97% of interviewees, say they have suffered in occasions from their lack of knowledge of Spanish language. As a matter of fact, they are always accompanied at work by a translator, and all kind of formalities and procedures needed to organise their stay and work are prepared and made by others. But difficulties arise when the women use their free time to walk through the villages, buy something or relate with the locals. In these cases communication is based in gesticulation and socialization with locals is almost impossible.

*“After buying something or using the phone at the internet cafe, when I finish I open the hand and they catch the money. I do not understand anything of what they say. I smile and leave”. “They speak to you and you do not know if they are praising or insulting you”* (Moroccan workers in Huelva)

Half of the interviewed women have registered in Spanish courses offered by the organisation of the program. Some others could not do it due to the lack of places.

Reintegration in normal life after returning to Morocco seems not to be problematic. All interviewed workers state that they have not faced any integration difficulty once back in their family and village. The average stay of two months allows keeping communication and links with relatives alive.

Several Moroccan stakeholders interviewed pointed out a problem: many husbands reject their wives participation in the seasonal work in Spain due to cultural reasons. As a matter of fact, the unease of husbands seems to pose a greater challenge to the circular experience than the care of children. Moroccan villages are still traditional and patriarchal and the departure of a married woman to work in a foreign country can be seen as a sign of the husband incompetence or even of the woman indecent behaviour. Sources also relate cases of husbands who marry other women while their first wives are in Spain.

## **4. Circular migration in Southeastern Europe: Greece, Italy and Albania**

### ***4.1 The economic and geopolitical framework of migration between Greece/Italy and Albania***

Albania has gone through a painful political and economic transition after the collapse of the Communist and extremely authoritarian and isolationist regime of Enver Hoxha in 1991. The country has precipitated into political and economic instability for the entire 1990s decade. This has led to two massive emigration waves in 1991 and again in 1997 (after the collapse of the economic pyramids' schemes) towards mainly its two neighbouring countries Italy and Greece.

According to statistical data elaborated by the Albanian government, more than 1 million Albanians have migrated abroad since 1991 – 600,000 in Greece, 250,000 in Italy, the remainder in other European countries and in North America. This equates to one in four of the Albanian population, enumerated at around 3 m. in the 2001 census. In 2001, the Albanians were the second largest community in Italy after Moroccans (159,599), and ahead of Romanians (68,929) and Filipinos (65,353). In 2007, Albanians are the third largest migrant group in Italy (381,000), after Moroccans

(387,000) and Romanians (556,000) – these estimates from Caritas (2007) are based on permits to stay plus a notional quota for ‘irregular’ immigrants.

In Greece Albanians have been through the last 20 years by far the largest single nationality group among the immigrant population. They are estimated at 501,000 approximately by the Labour Force Survey on 31 December 2009 corresponding to 60% of the total immigrant population of 839,000 (but to 70% of the total legally residing third country nationals) and to about 5% of the total population of Greece<sup>6</sup>. In addition on 31 December 2010, there were about 40,000 Albanians who had naturalised as Greeks. Among legally residing Albanians on 31 December 2009, there were 197,000 who held special permits as ethnic Greeks (largely known as Voreioipirotes, that is Albanian citizens of ethnic Greek descent).

Albanians started by emigrating without documents to Italy and Greece out of bare necessity to make a living in the early 1990s. After 1998, Albanian migration towards Italy was brought into the then newly-established annual quota regime implemented by the Italian government in an attempt to control immigration according to labour market needs. Annual immigration quotas have been increasing in size ever since. Thus for instance, in year 2000 the Italian Government fixed at 63,000 the number of people authorised to enter Italy to work as employees or as self-employed either seasonally or for an indeterminate period. Of this number, a quota of 18,000 was reserved for people coming from those non-EU countries that had entered into a bilateral agreement with the Italian government, in particular 6,000 Albanians, 3,000 Tunisians, 3,000 Moroccans and another 6,000 people coming from other countries that were still negotiating a bilateral agreement with Italy. In year 2010, the annual quota was of 86,080 of whom Albanians were 4,500.

Greece has also adopted since 2001 a procedure for inviting foreign workers and a system of annual quotas (or max number of people who could be invited per labour market sector and per region) was established. Several studies have shown (Triandafyllidou and Maroufouf 2008; Triandafyllidou and Maroukis 2010; Maroukis 2010) that this system of annual quotas and recruitment by invitation has never worked properly as the processing of the applications would take on average 12 months and a lot of money (see corruption and bribes taking place up-to-date in Greek consulates in Albania. The system of invitation (*metaklisi*, in Greek) has only worked for seasonal jobs in Greek agriculture and in particular with Albania (for more information see also Maroukis and Gemi 2011).

Nick Mai (2010) argues that migration between Italy and Albania must be seen in the wider framework of bilateral relations and ties between the two countries. Because of the colonial and post-colonial ties between the two countries, Italy has played an important historical role in the development of the Albanian national identity. Italy was the second most important foreign destination for Albanian migrants (after Greece) and a very relevant geopolitical actor in the development of the Albanian migration and development agendas after 1991. At a cultural and social level, the consumption of Italian television during later communist and post-communist times contributed to the emergence of a transnational imaginary within which Italy was positioned as an idealised projection of Albanian’s desires for a better future. However, throughout the 1990s and until the early 2000s Albanians in Italy have been both intensely stigmatized and particularly integrated within Italian society. The contrast between Albanian migrants’ aspiration to belong in Italy and their experiences of stigmatisation and marginalisation was a defining aspect of their experiences of integration.

The same may be said for Greece where the term ‘Albanian’ has been synonymous to ‘migrant worker’ at least until the mid-2000s and has been associated with contradictory stereotypes: while the media indirectly promoted a view of Albanians as ‘criminal’ and ‘uncivilised’, individual testimonies

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<sup>6</sup> The total resident population of Greece was estimated at 10.85 million on 31 December 2009 (Labour Force Survey, 4<sup>th</sup> trimester of 2009.)

would suggest that they were also seen as hard working and people with strong family ties, a feature that is highly valued in Greece because it also resonates with the Greek culture. The geopolitical and identity framework of the Greek-Albanian relations is even more complicated than that of the Italian-Albanian relations because of the existence of a Greek ethnic minority in southern Albania. Even though the vast majority of ethnic Greek Albanians has by now emigrated to Greece, the issue remains a thorny one in the relations between the two countries.

As far as areas involved in migration are concerned, the relationship between Albanian migration and existing social and spatial inequalities is a complex one, involving the interconnection of international and internal migration, the increasing polarisation and territorial re-distribution of resources and the rise of new economic and political elites. In this respect, it is important to acknowledge the existence of three main regional socio-economic environments, that influence greatly the extent and the way people recur to migration as the main coping strategy with the opportunities and predicaments offered by the post-communist transformation.

The North, especially the mountainous region, is still the poorest part of Albania and is a region of internal migration, mainly to the central Tirana–Durrës and to the regional capital Shkodër areas, as well as of international out-migration, particularly to Italy and the UK. Because of the enduring poverty of the area, there is very little evidence of return migration. This is not the case for the second socio-economic region, the South, where the relatively better economic performance and the proximity to Greece (the main migration destination) allow people to engage in to-and-fro migration and (less frequently) to return and invest their remittances, mainly in the coastal tourist industry (hotels and restaurants), in small shops and mechanical workshops. The Centre is the most affluent (or less deprived) area of the country and receives internal migration, as well as being the area with the highest number of returnees and a zone of emigration, particularly to Italy. Tirana and Durrës are Albania's urban-economic core, as these two districts alone received 60% of all inter-district migration during 1989–2001, which produced a massive population increase (De Soto *et al.* 2002: 3). These dynamics are crucial for the analysis of the usefulness of the concept of circularity in capturing the transformation of Albanian migrations, which needs to be mapped across the complexity of the socio-economic and cultural transactions underpinning an intra- as well as trans-national social field (Vullnetari 2009).

Overall, the per capita income in purchasing power parity (PPP) terms was 5 times higher in Greece and Italy than in Albania.

After having outlined the economic and geopolitical framework of migration between Greece/Italy and Albania, we shall turn to discussing the specific types of circular migration that have developed between each pair of countries.

#### ***4.2 Types of circular migration between Greece/Italy and Albania***

Albanian migration to Greece and Italy has been strongly motivated by economic necessity. It started as an irregular movement and hence circularity was not possible because of the difficulty and risk involved in crossing the borders back and forth. However, there were and still are here important differences between the case of Greek and the case of Italy as destination countries. While Italy was seen as a more desired destination (Mai 2010) but Greece was a more affordable one as crossing the mountainous borders could be done on foot, on one's own and in small groups or with the assistance of a local smuggler. By contrast crossing the Otranto straits from Albania to the Italian region of Apulia was more expensive and more dangerous.

Hence while irregular Albanian immigrants to Italy stayed put, Albanian immigrants to Greece were more prone to circulate back and forth. Part of this circulation was also a forced one as in the mid-1990s Greece systemically did raids at public places where migrants used to gather, rounded up thousands of Albanians without documents and expelled them overnight to Albanian. These operations



costed several billions of Drachmas (several millions of Euro) without having any long-term effect as the repatriated Albanians would cross the Greek border again after a few weeks or months.

The METOIKOS studies on circular migration between Italy and Greece have investigated both legal and irregular patterns of circular migration between each pair of countries. We have identified four main types of circular migration which are present in both pairs of countries. These four patterns are distinguished by the legal or irregular nature of the movement (legal seasonal migration for work purposes vs. irregular seasonal or other type of circular migration also for employment) and by the level of skills (low or medium skills vs. high skill circular migration or else termed 'brain circulation' between Italy/Greece and Albania).

The four types of circular migration between Greece or Italy and Albania identified are the following:

- legal seasonal migration in agriculture or other seasonal employment such as herding or tourism,
- irregular seasonal migration for employment in agriculture, construction or tourism,
- legal circular migration of low skill or semi skilled workers for employment in construction (this form is mainly present in the case of Greece, less so in the case of Italy)
- legal circular migration of semi-skilled and highly skilled people with a secure stay status in Greece (long term stay permit or ethnic Greek Albanians) or Italy (long ter stay permit) who travel between Greece and Albanian for high skill work or their own small business development

The first two types of circular migration may have an equal share of time spent in both countries. However, the 'home', the place where the family and the social cycle of the migrant is situated, is in Albania. The third and fourth types involve the destination country as the circular migrant's main country of residence; with the propensity to return to Albania becoming even more pertinent in the current economic climate.

Vullnetari (2009) notes that being a male, having a lower education level, originating from a rural area and having positive short term migration experiences are all factors that indicated a propensity to be involved in temporary or circular migration. Indeed the first two types of our typology here confirm her findings. The "**Legal seasonal migration**" type involves young and middle aged men who live in rural areas in Albania and go to Italy and Greece every year for a few months per year (up to six months as the respective laws and bilateral agreements specify) to work in agriculture in northern Greece and also in Italian regions with intensive agricultural production.

In the case of Greece, this type of Albanian circular migrant consists predominantly of men aged 35-58 that first came in Greece in the early 1990s as irregular migrants. Throughout the 1990s the time Albanians spent in Greece was dependent on police controls and work opportunities available. If there was work, the return to Albania was delayed unless apprehended and deported by the police

After the introduction of the 6-month window of the seasonal invitation (*metaklisi*) system in 2001, formerly irregular circular migrants follow a more fixed pattern of circularity. Finding work that exceeds the 6 months period will not keep them in Greece any more. They do not want to lose the opportunity to come during the following year; the option of legal entry and stay is too strong to ignore for people that experienced the twilight zone of illegality for many years. At the same time, the fact that they have to leave after 6 months and cannot stay in the host country works as an incentive to invest towards something back home.

In the case of Greece this system of legal seasonal migration has given rise to informal networks between employers and seasonal workers that lead to a number of informal arrangements that violate actually the seasonal migration law. The most important are:

- Employers invite more workers than they need. Invited workers pay the employer who formally invite them a fee (that ranges between 200 and 250 Euro) to have the possibility to engage into legal circular migration towards Greece. They may stay in the same geographical region where their employer is but work in other sectors (e.g. construction) or they may move to another region to work there in agriculture or construction or other manual jobs.
- There are usually Albanian middle-men who do the initial contact between the prospective migrant and the fake formal employer who also obtain a fee for their mediation.
- The migrant workers may work for multiple employers: they may start working for a month with the employer that formally invited them but then change to a different employer.
- Employers sometimes retain a small part of the worker's daily wage (about 5%) if they promise to invite him the following year again.

The second type of circularity that we have found between Italy/Greece and Albania is that of **irregular seasonal migration** for work in agriculture and other areas of temporary employment such as construction or tourism. Such irregular seasonal migration is facilitated by the geographical proximity between the destination and origin countries. In both Greece and Italy, the socio-economic features of the people involved in this kind of circular migration patterns is very similar to that of those employed as legal seasonal workers in agriculture, with one main difference: that for some reason they cannot be invited by a Greek employer or they cannot take part in the Italian quota system for seasonal migration. The reason may be in either case that they have been irregular migrants in the past, had been caught, were expelled to Albania with a no-entry ban for five years. Thus during these five years they cannot enter Greece or Italy legally and hence resort to irregular circularity. In Greece these irregular seasonal migration patterns sometimes involve young men between 15 and 21 years of age who come with their fathers (who are part of the legal seasonal migration schemes) for work in agriculture in northern Greece violating the minimum age requirement (of 21 years of age) that the invitation system requires.

The third type of circular migration between Greece/Italy and Albania may be called “**Legal Circular low skill or semi-skilled migration**” involves different types of economic activity and employment and concerns not only low skill but also semi skilled Albanian citizens who in Albania have a farm or a small shop and engage into temporary legal circular migration to Greece or Italy to work temporarily in agriculture, construction, tourism or other services and supplement their income in Albania.

In the case of Greece these are previously sedentary migrants who hold the usual 2-year or in some cases the 10-year long permit<sup>7</sup> and which have been pushed to circularity because of unstable employment or underemployment in Greece due to the current economic crisis. They thus spend several months a year now in Albania with a view to either save money or to take advantage of employment opportunities there. Currently they spend fewer months in Albania but they are likely to spend more in the near future, if the economic crisis deepens in Greece. These circular migrants usually make some form of investment or savings in Albania, that may have to do with the development of their own farm back in Albania, or opening up a small shop or other business (such as a restaurant or café).

The fieldwork research has shown that there are increasing numbers of Albanians who divide their time between Greece and Albania depending on the employment opportunities in either country. Their families in some cases have migrated back to Albania because it was too expensive to continue living

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<sup>7</sup> In Greece stay permits for dependent employment are routinely issued for 2 years and must be renewed every 2 years until one completes a 10-year period of legal stay in Greece after which one can apply and obtain the 10-year stay permit. There were at the end of 2010, 62,000 people holding a 10-year stay permit in Greece in a total of approximately 400,000 stay permit holders.

in Greece. In some other cases, when the family can afford it, the mother and the children are based in Greece and it is only the father that circulates.

Unlike the interviewees working in the service sector (waiters and cooks in restaurants and cafeterias, cleaners in businesses and private homes), almost all of the construction sector workers interviewed had their families settled in Albania from the onset of their emigration experience and have been going back and forth ever since. They circulate between Greece and Albania in order to see their families back home and build a viable way of earning a living that their family can rely on and their return/retirement can be cushioned against. Their investments range from technical equipment like tractors and water pumps for their fields to the purchase of various crops and livestock.

The circular migrants working in the service sector in Greece take different entrepreneurial paths in Albania from the construction sector workers. They draw support from family networks and invest more in new businesses rather than existing ones. Apart from the different ways their families experience migration (family reunification and family established in Greece as opposed to single male migration and family remaining in Albania) they invest in tourism or other work that follows a seasonal pattern. This is because the tourism and catering employment that they have in Greece is also seasonal and hence they can organize their circularity accordingly. By contrast, people working in the construction sector and circulating between Greece and Albania cannot adopt a seasonal pattern as in construction when work comes up it requires continued presence on-site and regular trips to Albania are often out of the question. Indeed, all the construction sector workers interviewed came from towns and rural areas in Southern Albania and when back in Albania were also involved in work at their own farms or houses.

The fourth and last category of circular migration between Italy/Greece and Albania is that which may be called “**Brain circulation**”. This involves semi-skilled or highly skilled people in Italy or Greece that engage into business development or trade in Albania and which for reasons related to their work or business have to travel and spend time in both countries.

This category of circular migrants between Italy/Greece and Albania is probably the smallest one in terms of number of people involved but at the same time probably the most interesting and internally diverse one. It involves people who graduated from University in Albania or who even had professional experience in high skill jobs there and who came to Greece or Italy and managed to climb up the socio-economic ladder and find semi-skilled or highly skilled employment there. It also involves young people who came to Greece or Italy with their parents (or without them, when they finished high school) and graduated from a Greek or Italian University. Last but not least in the case of Greece it involves particularly ethnic Greek Albanians who since 1998 have had secure stay status and equal socio-economic rights with Greek citizens, in Greece. Some of them are now Greek citizens. In the case of Italy this category also involves naturalized Italian citizens. As regards non citizens this category of brain circular generally involves people with a 5+ stay permit in the case of Italy and a 2-year or 10-year permit in the case of Greece.

In other words, the brain circulation category involves people with a stable legal stay status at the destination country, with medium or high skills and in particular people with a strong motivation to work in their sector of expertise at the destination country, and to develop their career through taking advantage of their social capital (knowledge of both countries, networks in both countries).

These people may exercise very different professions. They may be Albanian graduates from Italy who are recruited by Albanian higher education colleges or in public administration and whose tasks require the maintenance of an active relationship with Italy. They may be entrepreneurs or artists in either Italy or Greece whose art or business profits from circulating (for instance because it involves import and export, because the business in Albania is a branch of a Greek or Italian business, because they bring together theatres or art exhibitions and activities in Greece/Italy and Albania).

It is worth noting that this type of circular migration and business development is qualitatively different from that of the former category of semi-skilled or low-skilled migrants who circulate

between Italy/Greece and Albania with a view to making ends meet and developing their farm or small shop in rural Albania. The capital required for someone that invests in the Albanian services industry in Tirana or in a desirable tourist destination is of a different scale to the capital required for farm expansion in rural parts of Albania.

#### ***4.3 Concluding remarks with special reference to issues of (re-)integration at the country of origin and the countries of destination***

Factors that influence circular migration between Greece/Italy and Albania

The four circular migration types identified in the Greece-Albania and in the Italy-Albania case study are pretty similar and are clearly affected by the Greek and Italian migration policies as well as by the Greek and Italian labour market. Legal seasonal migration with repeated stays is a type of circularity actively promoted by the Greek and the Italian state to cater for the need for a seasonal work force in agriculture. Informally these workers may also cover the needs for temporary workers in other low skill sectors such as construction or tourism or generic manual jobs.

Irregular seasonal migration with repeated stays again is a by-product of the restrictive Greek and Italian immigration policy which has led many Albanians especially in the earlier periods to migrate illegally to Greece and Italy. Hence after having been expelled there they could not regularise their situation in Greece for a number of years and hence could not take advantage of the legal seasonal migration programmes.

Interestingly the legal seasonal migration programmes for employment in agriculture promote the invitation of the same worker for several years but employers make the migrant worker 'pay' for this 'advantage'.

People involved in these two categories have usually spent a number of years as sedentary migrants in Greece or Italy, mostly as irregular ones initially who later regularised through one of the amnesty programmes that the two countries have implemented during the past two decades. However, because of unstable employment or because of nostalgia, they have later returned to Albanian and have adopted this seasonal migration pattern.

Issues of re-integration in Albania and integration in Greece and Italy

Albania generally has no re-integration policies and provides no special economic or social assistance to emigrants who return for a period or for good. Re-integration takes place through family ties and friends.

This is also true for the brain circular category of migrants discussed above as well as for the legal circular migrants with low or medium skills. None of these categories is particularly assisted by the Albanian state for their integration and in fact as one informant in the Greek case study noted his children had a hard time adapting to Albanian so that the family decided to return to Greece. In addition the informants noted that while rural development plans may receive some subsidies from the Albanian state people aspiring to open up a shop or business face important hurdles such as corruption, red tape and lack of infrastructure (e.g. transport network) as well as high taxation which some complaint makes the business non profitable.

On the other hand, the Italian case study also points to the non-viability of some of the business plans developed by circulating Albanian immigrants who have opened up too many leisure facilities such as restaurants or cafés that cannot realistically survive in Albania, a country where consumption standards are still relatively low.

As regards integration issues, legal seasonal workers benefit from specific working conditions and requirements for welfare insurance and accommodation provision in Greece. They are also entitled to

health coverage after the first three months of work (by derogation of the general rule for other workers who must work and be insured for at least six months to access health services) but in practice they rarely use these services as they only get their health booklets just before their six month period ends. The overall system of seasonal migrant workers' invitations is not properly monitored by Greek authorities with the result of many employers and migrants taking advantage of loopholes in the system and violating the law. These violations lead to irregularity in their stay and work and hence preclude them from any protection as regards their living and working conditions.

Semi- or highly skilled circular migrants are also not entitled to any particular integration measures as formally speaking they appear at the destination countries as long term migrants who are established in Italy or Greece. Their circularity is neither promoted nor even 'visible' to the Greek or Italian state.

## **5. Circular migration in Central-Eastern Europe: Poland, Hungary and Ukraine**

### ***5.1 The economic and geopolitical context of migration between Poland/Hungary and Ukraine***

Mobility in the former USSR territories has been limited and rare until the early 1990s. However, the Hungarian-Ukrainian border however has been porous ever since the 1960s and cross border movements along this border were frequent throughout this period and until the 1990s. It was only in 1993 however when restrictions to travel abroad were abolished in Ukraine.

Growing unemployment, degradation of life conditions on the one hand and profits from petty trade accompanied with higher salaries in Poland led to mass mobility of Ukrainian citizens in the 1990s and 2000s from Poland to Ukraine. The two countries share a history common neighbourhood, kinship relations that cross the border and geographical, linguistic and cultural proximity (Koryś, 2004, Iglicka, 2007). These factors fostered migration from Ukraine to Poland alongside economic necessity.

Until the late 1990s, the main economic activity undertaken by Ukrainians in Poland was trade (Iglicka, Sword 1999). During a short stay in Poland (usually not longer than a week) Ukrainians tried to sell commodity directly at local market places or to some middle-man who was familiar to them. Gradually, due to the informal contacts established during these short stays in Poland and thanks to direct international bus connections and accommodation provided especially for Eastern "tourists", periods of their stay in Poland became longer and more distant Polish regions were explored.

A kind of specialization was even observed: some Ukrainians start selling goods, bought in warehouses in Poland, at local market places, while the others were involved in trans-border transport of goods. These activities were predominantly informal (Iglicka 1999). The best-known of the large Polish bazaars, the biggest one in Europe, that stopped its activities only in 2009, because of the fact that the national stadium for EURO 2012 has been built there, used to be situated in the center of Warsaw. It was called "Jarmark Europa" (Europe Market) and it was located on the huge stadium constructed in the 1950s. Warsaw has regular and efficient bus and rail connection with the East and with the Polish provinces. It is also in the center of an extensive road network giving both suppliers and customers (including wholesalers) an easy access to the market (Sword 1999).

During the 1990s Ukrainian migration for employment, predominantly irregular, was a less preferable option (Okólski 1997, Konieczna 2000). However, most probably, as a result of the economic crisis in Russia (1998) trade decreased and Ukrainian immigrants started working on construction, renovation and agriculture in Poland and Hungary (though there was never a mass migration between Ukraine and Hungary). Ukrainian women also started working in the domestic service sector in Poland. As this sector was occupied by the domestic workers from Romania in Hungary, Ukrainian women were not present in this service sector in Hungary. Thus, trade was replaced by short term employment as a main economic activity of Ukrainian citizens in Poland. Migrants took up the jobs in agriculture,

construction and cleaning or caring services that were not attractive any more for Polish workers (Konieczna 2000; Iglicka 2001a).

In the case of Hungary, while in the 1990s most Ukrainian citizens came with a tourist visa, either to work illegally or to try to find a workplace, and having secured it they travelled back and applied for a work permit at the Hungarian embassy in Ukraine. A similar procedure was in use later in case of the National Card, the difference being that the card is free of charge and permits a maximum of 5 years residence in Hungary. In reality, however, male applicants aged between 20 and 60 never got 5-year visas. The authorities assumed they would work illegally and issued six-month visas at best.

In the 1990s labour migration of Ukrainian citizens to Poland was mostly spontaneous and developed as a form of self organisation of society. It was ignored by the Ukrainian government. The first governmental efforts directed towards concluding treaties on employment of Ukrainian citizens with foreign countries were undertaken in the early 2000s. They were accompanied by efforts on moving migrants' employment from the shadow economy to the primary labour market at the destination countries. Nevertheless, these activities were not successful –bilateral agreements with destination countries such as the agreements on pension and readmission of asylum seekers (refoulement) were either ignored or were not duly implemented.

Ukrainian seasonal and temporary employment in Poland and Hungary has grown significantly during the last decade but remains largely within the informal sector. There is an important ethnicisation and gender segregation of the labour market. Thus, men are offered work in construction, renovation, gardening, sometimes loading/unloading or other jobs requiring physical strength. Women are offered different jobs in agriculture or private care: taking care of ill, elderly people and children, cleaning (mainly in Poland), picking up fruits and vegetables, or working in the food processing industry and garment industry. Ukrainian immigrants constitute a stable seasonal labour force arriving at the same farms each year and periodically returning to the same households too (Antoniewski 1997, 2002). Ukrainian immigrants have thus adapted to the demand in the Polish and Hungarian labour market while they have also tried to keep their legal stay status but work in the informal labour market.

Research conducted on the demand for domestic services (Golinowska 2004) also exemplified labour market segmentation by sex and ethnicity. Female immigrants originating mainly from Ukraine (but also from Belarus and the Russian Federation) find employment in this sector, usually as part of the shadow economy. According to the survey conducted in the year 2001 approximately 925,000 of the Polish households employed domestic service workers. Of those, 92,500 employed foreigners. The range of jobs undertaken by foreigners - cleaning, nursing child and elderly or ill people – indicates that they substitute Polish women in their traditional roles of housewives. Foreign females are also employed by rural households and then part of their duties refers to assisting with agricultural work undertaken by household members. The predominance of Ukrainian females within the frames of domestic services is so significant that the label “Ukrainian lady” has become nearly a synonym of a foreign housekeeper in Poland.

Ukrainian immigrants who migrate to Poland form part of extended social networks that include both Ukrainians and Poles/Hungarians. In the case of Poland, a crucial role is played by a “driver” who is a contact person and a mediator between potential employer and seasonal employees. Frequently, he offers complex migration services and transport to/from and within Poland is just a final step. Other crucial elements of the Polish labour market landscape are ‘employment exchanges’ situated in the areas where there is a stable demand for seasonal or temporary work but migrants cannot stay for longer periods due to visa restrictions. They thus give their job temporarily to a friend or relative with the agreement of the employer and after a few months return to the same job while the friend or relative that had replaced them goes back to Ukraine. This continues as a chain process (Antoniewski 1997, 2002; Adamiec 2008; Bieniecki, Pawlak 2009). Although the drivers do not function as the mediators for employment in the Hungarian case as they do in Polish case, in general the social networks composed of Ukrainians and Hungarians are mobilized for access to employment opportunities.

Ukrainian immigration to Poland and Hungary has a strong regional character. The majority of immigrants to Poland and Hungary come from western Ukraine. Indeed the Polish and Hungarian borders with western Ukraine have traditionally been porous. The area of free travel established in the 1990s in Central Europe led not only to the development of friendly neighbour relations and cooperation between countries, but was also crucial for the survival of a certain category of Ukrainian citizens - primarily the population of frontier areas which were the regions that experienced the strongest impact of the economic crisis that followed transformation in the 1990s.

According to a study conducted in three frontier oblasts (Volyn, Zakarpattia and Lviv) in 2003, the vast majority of Ukrainians living in these areas had traveled to work in either Poland or Hungary (up to 80%) (Malynovska 2006). While the introduction of a visa requirement in 2004 in Poland did not significantly upset overall travel to the country the population of Ukrainians living in the frontier areas was strongly affected by this change. The new visa regime brought about administrative and bureaucratic procedures that complicated mobility. What was before a fluid movement across the border became characterized by long lines, customs, cash requirements and other ensuing difficulties.

Although the late 1990s and early 2000s have seen an increase in emigration from Ukraine and a proliferation of destinations including countries further west and south of Poland, there are specific regions in Ukraine where people are predominantly oriented towards migration to Poland and Hungary specifically (though due to the recent economic crisis the attractiveness of these labour markets changed drastically). Thus the Ukrainian External Labour Migration survey (2009: 61) has indicated that the Halychko-Volynskyi district, that includes Volyn, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv and Tarnopol regions, is characterized by twice as high as the nationwide level emigration rate compared to the national average within the working age population and a higher level (compared to other regions) of orientation towards Poland – around ¾ of all Ukrainian immigrants in Poland originate from this district.

According to Malynovska (2006), 90% of migrants from Ukraine to Hungary come from Transcarpathia and almost all of them are of Hungarian ethnicity. In some cases they are Ukrainians who speak Hungarian – this is common especially in Beregovo/Beregszász and Vynohradiv/Nagyszolozs *raions* (where Hungarians often form the majority). The Hungarian minority of Transcarpathia inhabits mostly the area within 10-20 km from the border and 75% of them inhabit villages. The 'Ukrainians' who work in Hungary speak Hungarian fluently and often do not speak (or hardly speak) any Ukrainian.

Transcarpathia has always been inhabited by multiple ethnic groups (Ukrainians, Ruthenians, Hungarians, the Roma, Germans, Jews, Romanians and others). Together with other lands lost by Hungary after WWI, Transcarpathia forms part of common ideological construct (cultivated until now by the Hungarian right) of the Greater Hungary. The Republic of Carpathian Ukraine from 1938 (as well as moves for unification with Ukrainian People's Republic in 1918) plays an important role in Ukrainian national ideology too, while the Czechoslovak period is widely 'remembered' as democratic and prosperous. Thus, the Transcarpathian region has a long history not only of migrations but also of border 'migrations' which have resulted in people of common ethnicity or language to find themselves at two different sides of a state border.

While the relations between Western Ukraine and Poland are not as loaded with nationalist feelings it is fair to say that circular migration across the Polish-Ukrainian and the Hungarian-Ukrainian borders forms part of a rather old and enduring system of economic and ethnic ties that has resisted wars and shifting state borders and that has only been radically disrupted by the entry of Hungary and Poland to the Schengen area. Despite the frequent complaints of mistreatment by the border guards and customs officers, Ukrainians crossing to Poland and Hungary are, for different reasons in each case, perceived as culturally similar (in Poland) and even as co-ethnics (in Hungary). This facilitates the development of a circular migration system which however is predominantly driven not by ethnic ties but rather by economic necessity, opportunities for work and special visa regimes.

### **5.3 Types of Circular Migration**

For Poland emigration towards other EU countries rather than immigration has been the main migration policy concern in the last decade. Nonetheless the continuous inflows of third country nationals even if at still low levels have gained some attention by policy makers with a view to managing and controlling the phenomenon. The case of Hungary is different as Hungarians have not emigrated in any significant numbers while they have admitted a limited level of immigrants, predominantly of Hungarian ethnicity, from Romania (even before Romania's accession to the EU) and Ukraine. Contrary to the previous two sets of cases where migration was in its bulk sedentary and circular migration was the exception to the rule, in the case of Poland and Hungary, circularity plays an important part in overall Ukrainian migration to these two countries.

In the case of Poland, this circularity was originally encouraged by the Polish no visa (until October 2003) and later liberal visa policy (between October 2003 and December 2007 when Poland joined the Schengen area) towards Ukrainians. Until October 2003 Ukrainians benefited from non-visa entrance then they had an easy access to free of charge tourist visas. As a result until December 2007 and the enlargement of the Schengen space the most characteristic feature of the Ukrainian immigrant group was irregular work on the basis of legal residence visas and documents. It was possible since Ukrainians that are engaged in circular migration in and out of Poland do not differ in terms of appearance from Poles (Iglicka, Gmaj 2010). Significant worker shortages in certain sectors, caused by the Polish outflow to the UK and Ireland after 1 May 2004, forced the Polish government to open its labour market to seasonal workers from the eastern neighbouring countries. These regulations introduced in 2006, in spite of strong opposition of trade unions, were even liberalized, extending a period of a single stay to 6 months within a year and to all economic sectors.

Poland has no official policy that has circularity in its name or that consciously promote circular mobility of immigrants. However, in practice, due to a set of *ad hoc* and *post factum* activities which were reactions to particular situations and due to drivers originating from the EU during pre-accession period and then related to the Schengen Zone, regulations operating in Poland encourage this type of migrant mobility. Migrants moving between Poland and Ukraine are very careful to have their documents in order as regards their stay, even if it means additional money paid to informal mediators. In the Polish-Ukrainian reality illegal stay stops circularity.

Similarly to Poland, after December 21<sup>st</sup>, 2007, and the entry of Hungary to the Schengen area, the number of visas issued to Ukrainian citizens decreased and became much more difficult to obtain. Different types of visa were also introduced, as the local border traffic permit (*kishatárforgalmi engedély*). Up to April 2010 40,000 Ukrainians had obtained this type of visa, which is valid in the 70 km border zone. One needs no supporting document from Hungary and health insurance and the visa costs 20 €.

It is worth noting that neither the national visas nor the national residence permits<sup>8</sup> authorise their holders to work or engage in any paid activity in Hungary, both limit their holder to enter and stay only in Hungary but no other Member State in the Schengen zone. The holders may enter Hungary to pursue objectives of cultural or educational nature, either (a) to preserve and further the Hungarian language; (b) to preserve their cultural and national identity; (c) to enroll in education activities outside the statutory secondary and higher education system and (d) to strengthen family ties other than family (re)unification.

In conclusion, while the Schengen visa has greatly reduced the regional cross border and circular migration patterns, both Poland and Hungary have issued entry visas that are valid for their territory only and which directly or indirectly cater to the needs for economic circularity.

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<sup>8</sup> *Magyar igazolvány* Hungarian pass only valid together with a Visa.



**Four main types of circular migration** have been identified in the cases of Ukraine and Poland/Hungary. In all four types the circular migrants have their main residence in Ukraine.

The first type is that of **low skill semi-legal circular migration**. This type of circularity involves both men and women but they have different background and they work in different sectors.

In the Polish-Ukrainian case circularity is predominantly a female domain. Women who are engaged in circular mobility seek to make a living while also keeping to their family role, i.e. looking after children, elderly parents or husband. The women concerned are usually middle aged with teenage or adult children. They are married or divorced. However, the type also embraces younger women who are breadwinners in their families.

This type of circularity concerns also Ukrainian men from rural areas who go to Poland periodically to work in construction. They come and go as long as there is employment. They go back home to Ukraine when they need to work in agriculture there. they have no stable employment in Ukraine but just like women, their families are based there and this is where they see it as home.

Although, the reasons for Ukrainian citizens' engaging into circular migration are individual and can vary, there is a single common trait: insufficient income and unemployment in Ukraine. For middle aged women in particular, it is hardly possible to find a job in Ukraine if they have been made redundant in their 50s. The Ukrainian economy has been hit hard both during the early period of economic transformation and during this last economic crisis (from 2008 onwards).

In the case of Hungary, our fieldwork shows a decrease in this form of low skill circular migration because the crisis has hit very hard Hungary too and because Ukrainian citizens have been oriented to other EU countries further west or south.

In Poland, women with the longest migrant experience started their visits in Poland from trade or agriculture, or industry. They moved to domestic services or caring since they are paid better in these jobs. In Hungary the women who engage into repeated temporary stays generally engage into farm work and some cleaning.

Ukrainian men in both Poland and Hungary are employed in construction. In Hungary they are also employed in agriculture.

We call this type of circular migration semi-legal because both in Hungary and Poland, the people involved have a legal stay but abuse their terms of stay by engaging into employment. This type of semi-legal low skill circular migration is low skill as regards the job undertaken in Hungary or Poland but the people involved are semi- or high-skilled, they generally have secondary or even higher education. Women's profession in Ukraine had nothing to do with cleaning or caring while men were previously employed in industry, but also in agriculture and construction. This kind of circularity is spontaneous, and depends on Polish-Ukrainian and Hungarian-Ukrainian networks.

This is a circular migration of a regional character: the migrants concerned originate from the less developed areas of Western Ukraine. Circular mobility is a strategy for survival or for improving the future of themselves and their children (providing for education, supporting youth who is entering adulthood or grandchildren, building or renovating house, etc.).

There is a 'variant' of this type of low skill semi-legal circular migration in which jobs and accommodation are not arranged through informal ethnic networks at the two sides of the borders but rather through employment agencies. While these agencies help make the offer and demand meet for those people who are outside the regional ethnic networks, they can be less trustworthy than informal contacts through friends and relatives as the fieldwork has shown that they sometimes charge too high a fee for the job opportunity that they arrange.

A second type of **low skill irregular circular migration** is that of 'individual' agriculture seasonal workers. These are usually young men or women who may have recently finished University or lost their job or have a long summer holiday (Teachers) and seek to make some extra money through temporary employment in Hungary or Poland. They are typically seasonal workers (since they work in agriculture). Their movement like that of the previous category is spontaneous. And they usually repeat their 'working holidays' for more than one year. For some this is the beginning of a circular career that brings us back to the first type of circular migration discussed above. For others, this seasonal circular mobility ends after a few years. The cultural proximity between Ukraine and Poland/Hungary in the regions close to the borders and the feeling that people are still close to home, the existence of the informal networks of 'drivers' that bring people back and forth, are very important pieces of the puzzle of this form of circularity.

The third type of circular migration identified is that of **cross-border movement**. Ukrainian men and women continue to engage in shuttle cross-border trade in Transcarpathia between Ukraine and Hungary. Malynovska's calculations in 2006 showed that by crossing the border to Hungary or Poland with a block of cigarettes and 2 liters of alcohol allowed by the customs rules, or with a full petrol tank, one could have earned up to 20 USD per day. Being employed at the other side of the border, one could earn about 200 USD per month which was a higher income than working in Ukraine would provide. Today you may have only 2 packs of cigarettes and one litre of alcohol. The fuel cost is still 60% lower in Ukraine. Shuttle trade in the borderlands, earlier practiced by Ukrainians, has to a large extent been taken over by Hungarians, who can enter the Ukrainian territory without visas.

A fourth type of circular migration between Ukraine and Hungary/Poland is that of legal **high skill circular migrants**. This type of circularity concerns a small number of people (Compared to the previous categories) and concerns people who have well established sources of income in Ukraine (a permanent employment or their own business) but who wish to add some income and also add prestige to their own work in Ukraine by engaging to some periodic employment in Poland or Hungary. For instance, a GP doctor who was working part time in Poland and had his own private practice in Ukraine. Or an academic with a permanent post at one of the Ukrainian State Universities and regularly travel to Poland to teach at a private university in the borderland region.

## ***5.2 Concluding remarks with special reference to issues of (re-)integration at the country of origin and the countries of destination***

All circular mobility between Ukraine and Hungary/Poland is spontaneous and regional in character. It presents the natural continuation of several decades of porous borders and of intensive cross border movement and repeated temporary stays for trade or employment. The stiffening of this movement because of the entry of Poland and Hungary to the Schengen areas has led to their reduction but have also channelled them to semi-formal ways of moving back and forth. Thus the Ukrainian circular migrant workers in Poland and Hungary are legal as regards their stay through the cross border or national visas in Hungary or through the short term visas in Poland, but they abuse the terms of their stay by engaging into employment. They work in sectors where informal work is however the norm for Polish workers too (e.g. agriculture and construction) and take up jobs (especially women in the cleaning and caring sector) that Polish women do not wish to take. The difference in the incomes between Poland/Hungary and Ukraine is such that the circular mobility is worth the effort.

The factors affecting this mobility are mainly three: the insufficient income and unemployment in Ukraine; the existence of special stay visas that allow for a legal circulation even if employment is in the shadow economy; the pre-existing ethnic networks between the two sides of the border.

Immigrants originating from Ukraine are often perceived as those, whose integration to the Polish society is potentially to be achieved in a smoother manner. It is related to a long history of common neighbourhood, kinship relations that cross the border and geographical, linguistic and cultural proximity (Koryś, 2004, Iglicka, 2007). However, one should realize that opportunities for integration

are limited by the main aim of circular migrants - accumulating money and returning home. Even after the fieldwork, we still feel that it is an open question whether temporal or circular migrants would be interested in any integration programs. We tried to inquire about it in different ways but with no results. This refers to all workers, not only those employed on irregular basis.

Poland and Ukraine still do not have a normative document that would establish the foundations of the country's migration policy, recognizing its goals, objectives, mechanisms and Instruments.

*Any kind of integration should be first preceded by a general decision: do we need immigrants who will work in Poland but who will not settle here or do we need settlement immigration. In Poland we still miss this decision. (Interview in the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, Interviewee 1)*

A support from the Ukrainian government offered to circular migrants both in Ukraine and in Poland may serve as a tool for promoting bilateral relations and Ukrainian state interests. However, the development of appropriate policies to support the temporary integration in Poland and re-integration in Ukraine of circular migrants is hampered by both the lack of political will and the absence of funding from either country.

The question then arises as to who should assist circular migrants, an NGO proposes that migrants should turn to their ethnic networks and in particular to high skill migrants within their own communities.

*I am convinced that circular migrants should be assisted by other Ukrainian migrants, who are residing in Poland, who have finished Universities in Poland, who work for their PhD here. They cannot be replaced by Poles, 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 institution like Ukrainian consular office. (Interview with a researcher from Caritas Polska)*

As regards the temporary integration of circular migrants in Poland, the study has shown the importance of information rather than integration in the fuller sense of the word. Circular migrants often ignore the Polish labour law regulations and usually have no access to legal assistance if they suffer abusive conditions in their employment. They do not speak Polish and they cannot read Polish, hence they often do not know where to turn to for support.

Civil society actors interviewed in our study suggest that family reunification issues should not be addressed in the context of circular migration. In other words, circularity is suitable only to adults. Children are better off staying in the country of origin, taken care by other relatives (often grandparents) and having a stable life and education.

## **6. Concluding Remarks**

Having compared our findings in the three sets of case studies and having identified the different forms and types of circular migration and employment involved within each pair of countries, we shall here attempt the construction of a general typology of circular migration.

### **6.1 A typology of circular migration**

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

- 1. Seasonal legal labour migration (migrants based at 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.

- This kind of legal seasonal migration may also give the possibility for people to be informally employed in other sectors such as tourism or catering which are also seasonal in nature.

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

**High 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 persons doing trade or developing a business in-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 at the country of destination) - spontaneous**

Of **people with low or medium skills** who are long term migrants at 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 into circular migration with the country of origin to:

- do repair work in the household
- do farm work in the fields
- establishing LLCs, which allow them to get a work permit, which in turn enables the person to get a residence permit. LLCs enable mobility (see Policy Guide)

We also found two types of **semi-legal circular migration**

## **4. Circular semi-legal labour migration (migrants based at the country of origin)– may follow a seasonal pattern or not, stay is legal, 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 at the specific member state (e.g. for Ukrainians in Poland),
- a special status “Magyar Igazolvány” (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 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 at 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 into 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 at the country of destination) - spontaneous

- Of **people with low or medium skills** who are long term migrants at 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 into circular migration with the country of origin to:
  - do small trade between the two countries, 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 house belongings or big items 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.

The main difference with the category (3) referred to above as circular legal labour migration with migrants based at destination is that here while the travelling is legal the economic activity undertaken is informal and not properly registered. It takes place because it is tolerated by the authorities.

## 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 too often work without registration in the informal economy.

Of the above six types identified, all are spontaneous, emanating from economic necessity, made possible by the social capital of migrants (i.e. their involvement into informal networks and their knowledge of both countries (at 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 can 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 into 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 at the country of origin or destination. These are the high skill circular migrants, a small even if very interesting minority.

The concept of circularity is useful in describing the patterns of repeated temporary migration of various lengths and indeed the fieldwork of METOIKOS has shown that there are interesting patterns of economic activity that emerge out of the migrants' initiative.

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 at either country. Circularity is also possible where migrants can get access of stay documents that allow to travel freely even if they have to work informally. When the migrant has no

possibility to travel because they fear of being caught for illegal crossing or because they risk losing their stay permit at the country of destination, they stay put.

## ***6.2 Issues of integration at the destination country and re-integration at the country of origin***

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). Similarly when speaking about re-integration of returning migrants one considers the sustainable return and settlement of the migrant back to her/his country of origin.

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 re-conceptualisation 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.

The three countries of origin examined in our research (Albania, Morocco and Ukraine) have hardly any re-integration policies for returning let alone for circular migrants. Re-integration is dealt with by migrants themselves and their immediate or extended families.

As regards integration at the countries of destination, the 'normal' integration policies apply to legal circular migrants. Those who are semi-legal and hence formally appear as tourists or visitors enjoy no integration or support measures at the destination country. Our study has shown that migrants usually leave their family at the country which they consider their basis, usually the country of origin, hence integration concerns are minimal. The only type of circular migrants that raise issues of concern as regards their integration at the country of destination are those who are based at destination and because of unstable or only part time employment engage into circularity with the country of origin. These people may end up finding themselves belong nowhere while their families and children in particular may be fully integrated in the country of settlement.

The only example that we have encountered where issues of integration and in some sense of re-integration are considered is the AENEAS programme between Spain and Morocco concerning the seasonal employment of Moroccan women in Spanish agriculture in the southern regions of Spain. This programme included some level of preparation and support before and after arrival but gave no possibility to prolong one's stay if one wished, nor to become truly integrated (not even get in contact) with the local society.

Overall the main issue for circular migrants at the destination country is that of knowing the language, and knowing the rules and labour laws so as to be aware when their rights are violated. Some fluency in the language is crucial for their contacts also with NGOs or lawyers in case of abuse.

## 7. Is Circular Migration a triple win situation? Key Messages for Policy Makers

**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 have not 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 into circularity also when based at 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 slight improvement of their living conditions and of the future of their children.

The METOIKOS project findings show that there are **no other social capital gains for circular migrants except for the category of high skill circular migrants** (brain circulation) which however involves a very small number of people engaging into business, trade, or development projects between the two countries. Most circular migrants engage into low skill-low pay jobs (farm work, construction work, cleaning or private care, street peddling or other petty trade). They do not build any skills at 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 either country, 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 a potential that the circular migrant develops a business, a small trade, brings back some expertise or know how or even just her/his contacts from abroad (her/his social capital), this cannot be put to fruition because basic conditions are lacking: red tape is high, corruption too, infrastructure is poor, the national economy may be unstable and hence any investment highly risky.

The social and economic re-integration of circular migrants at 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.
- It generally needs not worry about special integration issues of circular migrants and their families because either circular migrants and their families are long term settled at the destination country and well integrated, or the family is at 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
- They cannot deal with their demographic problem if migrants are circular and eventually go back to their country of origin.

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

Although the realities of circular migration<sup>9</sup> 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 has been 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 readmission of own nationals as well as third country nationals, efforts to improve border control and security of travel documents, to cooperate with the EU on border management issues and to take up 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

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<sup>9</sup> We may consider as indirectly related to circular migration the EU Directives on admitting third country nationals for the purposes of scientific research (Council Directive 2005/71/EC), on the admission of TCNs for the purposes of studies, pupil exchange, unremunerated training or voluntary service (Council Directive 2004/114/EC) and the currently still debated directives on transferring key staff from non EU countries and on the conditions for admitting third country nationals for seasonal employment (COM 2010/378 and COM 2010/379). However none of these directives, with the exception of the one on seasonal employment makes any reference to circular migration as a goal or as a concept. It is only in the Seasonal employment directive where the idea that seasonal migrant workers who respect their conditions of employment may be issued multi-entry multi-annual visas is launched.



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 involved persons 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 reintegration of third country nationals into their country of origin after a stay in the EU.

## ***7.2 Recommendations for an improved EU Policy 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 into circular mobility and hence bring back to their country of origin the skills acquired in the EU.

Since there have been so far only two mobility partnership schemes signed (one with Cape Verde and another with Moldova) the type of regulated circular migration envisaged by the Commission has not got off the ground yet.

In reality the only circular migration that is regulated by the EU member states studies (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 should provide **funding and know how to countries of origin** in the EU neighbourhood (for instance Ukraine, Morocco, Albania) for them to **develop effective re-integration policies for circular migrants**. In particular to develop

- **Credit schemes for small funding** that would foster the development of small businesses e.g. in agriculture, tourism, catering or generally trade – sectors in which migrants are employed at the destination country and have acquired some expertise
- **To cut red tape** and simplify 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 to acquire skills and become thus skilled construction workers, develop new crops in their own fields, or also for instance cleaning or caring workers to develop cooperatives through which to organise their circular employment.
- **Re-training** courses for having their skills recognised (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 to provide 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.

### **7.3 Key Messages for Spanish Policy Makers concerning Circular Migration between Morocco and Spain**

- **The “six months clause”** which nowadays prevents regular immigrants to spend 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 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 to them **better and more complete information about their social rights**. Often Moroccan immigrants taking part in the temporary migration programs ignore that they can transfer to Morocco the social benefits they have acquired in Spain (as contributors to the Social Security funds)
- 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 during several years after their graduation, with the condition that they would 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 would be 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 mediate in the labor market**, as their absence or weakness prevents the management of circular migration.

#### ***7.4 Key Messages 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.
- The 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.

## **7.5 Key Messages 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 to return 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, the findings of the METOIKOS suggest these as particularly strategic indications:

- **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 the all subjects 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 Albanian and 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, the findings of the METOIKOS suggest these as particularly strategic indications:

- **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 and efficient, and private, but state subsidised information/training centres, should 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.

## ***7.6 Key messages for policy makers concerning 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.

### ***7.7 Key Messages 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 seems pretty necessary to designed policies to prevent exploitation of seasonal migrant workers. Recommendations to be considered are as follows:

- 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 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 so-called nursing sector, which does not favour integration. Female immigrants more and more often do jobs which are key for the economic-nursing, jobs often invisible, non-registered. It is worth to consider this aspect in the integration policy.
- We cannot responsibly recall data on the scale of interest in formalization of labour relationships or opposing this request. Definitely, two approaches are represented among migrants. It seems that ensuring the portability of the acquired benefits, such as pensions, would encourage both formalization of labour and migrants' return to Ukraine.

Since one of the aims of the project was facilitating migrants' existence for the sake of both sending and receiving societies and migrants themselves, eventually, we recall migrants' expectations:

- 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;
- Create more predictable (more stable) procedures that would allow labour migrants to plan their activities in less nervous way.

### **7.8 Key Messages 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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