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Circular Migration Patterns Migration between Ukraine and Poland –

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**EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE
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Migration between Ukraine and Poland**

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Abstract

Until the late eighties of the previous century international mobility of the USSR citizens was strictly regulated and rare. Due to the restrictive policy, individual trips other than official tours were practically excluded. Not before Ukraine achieved its independence, and in particular not before permit for going abroad was abolished in 1993, migration has become beyond the state control. The most important characteristic of the migrants' inflow into post-communist Poland in the 1990ties was ephemeral and mass spatial movement of citizens of the former USSR. This *primitive mobility* was initiated by opportunity of free depart from one's own country and by the differences in currency exchange rates and price relations between Poland and newly emerging eastern neighbouring countries.

Until the late nineties, trade was the main activity undertaken by Ukrainian citizens in Poland. However, most probably, as a result of the economic crises in Russia (1998), profitability of this form of economic activity decreased. Therefore, Ukrainian immigrants started working on construction, renovation and agriculture. They also got engaged in domestic services sector. Finally, trade was replaced by a short term employment as a main economic activity of Ukrainian citizens in Poland..

More recent research also confirmed that the strategy of short term employment and shuttle migration is the one predominating among Ukrainian citizens working in Poland. This way, how they adopt to the Polish labour market demand. This strategy allows them to enter and to survive at the Polish labour market.

The report presents research findings from the field study conducted in Poland and Ukraine (between April and October 2010).

Keywords

Labour migration, Poland , Ukraine.

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1.Introduction: relationship between Poland and Ukraine

Picture 1



Source: http://republika.pl/blog_oj_4394208/6382896/tr/polska-ukraina5.jpg

Until the late eighties of the previous century international mobility of the USSR citizens was strictly regulated and rare. Due to the restrictive policy, individual trips other than official tours were practically excluded. Not before Ukraine achieved its independence, and in particular not before permit for going abroad was abolished in 1993, migration has become beyond the state control. 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. Till the late nineties the main economic activity undertaken by Ukrainians 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 the agent 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 had been extended 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 1950ties. 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).

In the first decade after the USSR collapse, the exodus of ex-Soviet Union citizens manifested itself not in the countries of Western Europe but in the periphery – Central European countries. In other words - walls, which had divided Europe for several decades after the Second World War, ceased to exist in the nineties. It might be said that Poland became not only a target area for ex-Soviets but also a laboratory of new population processes (Iglicka 2010).

In the nineties trade was a main activity undertaken by ex-soviet citizens in Poland. Employment, predominantly irregular, was less preferable option (Okólski 1997, Konieczna 2000). However, most probably, as a result of the economic crises in Russia (1998), profitability of this form of economic activity decreased. Therefore, Ukrainian immigrants started working on construction, renovation and agriculture. They also got engaged in domestic services sector. That meant that the length of their stay in Poland extended in comparison to a few days trips. Finally, trade was replaced by a short term employment as a main economic activity of Ukrainian citizens in Poland. Migrants situated in less favorable segment of labour market choosing activities that were not attractive for Polish workers (Konieczna 2000; Iglicka 2001a).

On the basis of data gathered within the ethno-survey conducted in the mid nineties four categories of Ukrainian migrants, who travel to Poland since they could not obtain sufficient income in Ukraine, were distinguished. The first category consisted of poor, low skilled, not young and economically inactive people trying to survive. The second one consisted of middle-aged people who before economic transition were financially and professionally stable; however as a result of reforms they were threatened by degradation. Trips to Poland were a strategy of living on (keeping the life standards that they got used to, keeping their social position). Third group were constituted by highly skilled professionals who due to the unfortunate accidents had financial problems and when they overcame them they return to Ukraine. The last category describes entrepreneurial young people – students or University graduates – who took advantage of the difference between prices in Poland and Ukraine in order to accumulate money and start their own business. What should be stressed is that this division described above is fluent and people might have moved between categories (Okólski 1997). This kind of mobility that is best described as a shuttle one was possible due to non-visa entrance. As a purpose of their visit in Poland Ukrainians declared usually tourist one, although, their real aim was trade (Iglicka, Sword 1999; Iglicka 1999, Sword 1999; Okólski 1997).

Looking at this mobility, termed in the literature primitive mobility (Iglicka 2001), at first, Poles perceived it mainly as a threat. But eventually, the phenomenon revealed more positive aspects than negatives ones, such as an inflow of foreign currency, partial mitigation of chronically negative official balance of payments, local economic development in a number of regions, an increase in job opportunities, enhanced competition on labour markets, etc. Therefore, Polish migration policy has been to some extent in favour of this kind of mobility and the visa regime for the citizens of East neighbouring countries was introduced on the very last moment before the EU enlargement – in autumn 2003.

In the nineties labour migration of Ukrainian citizens was mostly spontaneous and developed as a form of self organisation of society. It was, however, ignored by the Ukrainian government. The first governmental efforts directed towards concluding treaties on employment of Ukrainian citizens with foreign countries were undertaken at the turn of the centuries. They were accompanied by efforts on moving migrants' employment from shadow economy to official sphere. Nevertheless, these activities were not successful – the treaties were either ignored or weren't duly adhered and only a minor part of migrants used services of licensed intermediaries. Regulatory activities became considerably more intensive due to the report of the Plenipotentiary of the Supreme Council of Ukraine (Ukraine's Parliament) dated 2003. The government was instructed to intensify its efforts. As a result the Program on enforcing rights and interests of citizens that leave abroad to seek employment and of children adopted by foreign nationals were established. During parliamentary sessions in 2004, devoted to this issue, it was stressed that it is necessary to ensure the return nature of Ukrainian migration and to stimulate investments of funds earned abroad into Ukrainian economy. These ideas were reflected in

the Strategy of demographic development of Ukraine for the period of till 2015, accepted in 2006. Regulation of migration is pointed there as one of means to slow down depopulation of Ukraine. It is the first document that states the necessity to expand the opportunities of legal employment abroad and to set the task of development and implementation of the program for social and professional adaptation of returning migrants, and that expressed the request to make services for transferring funds to Ukraine less expensive. Nevertheless, in the light of absence of a reasonable alternative to external labour migration for large groups of people all the activities undertaken by the Ukrainian authorities do not have practical meaning (Ukrainian External Labour Migration 2009). Since 2005 Center for Support of Citizens Abroad has been providing legal advice to migrants and informed them on taxation procedures, insurance, and pension security in the countries of migration, repayment of damage done. The same refers to the draft Concept of State Migration Policy, submitted for approval to the President of Ukraine at the end of 2010. The document was described “more as a set of slogans that reveal concept of migration policy and a list of presently known instruments for its realization in modern conditions” than a document that “denotes the direction, content and procedures of the Ukrainian State in the field of migration” (Markov, 2011).

Since the beginning of the economic transformation an ethnic division characterized foreign labour market in Poland. Only a small part of the Eastern flow could find employment in the primary labour market. The majority of Ukrainians who found legal jobs were hired in agriculture and forestry, industry and construction. However, the predominant category was constituted by unskilled workers, who found illegal employment in the secondary labour market (Iglicka 2000).

It was observed that migrants constituted a stable seasonal labour force arriving to the same farms every year (Antoniewski 1997, 2002). More recent research also confirmed that the strategy of short term employment and shuttle migration is the one predominating among Ukrainian citizens working in Poland. This way, how they adopt to the Polish labour market demand. This strategy allows them to enter and to survive at the Polish labour market (Bieniecki, Pawlak 2009).

One observes certain institutionalized practices that accompany circular form of labour force mobility. They include: conveying of a living accommodation and job. Migrants are often adapted to the Polish realities but they do not stay in Poland constantly. However, as it was written above they work for the same employer and they belong to certain social networks consisting of both Ukrainians and Poles. 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 one observes stable demand for a seasonal or occasional employment (Antoniewski 1997, 2002; Adamiec 2008; Bieniecki, Pawlak 2009). What is interesting about that institution is sometimes observed sex division of available jobs. Men are offered with work on construction and renovation and clearing up gardens, sometimes loading/unloading or other jobs requiring physical strength. Women are offered with the larger range of jobs: taking care of ill, elderly people and children, cleaning, picking up fruits and vegetables, working in processing industry. In particular situations they are also hired for male jobs (Adamiec 2008). Remuneration is differentiated and depends on the duration and kind of job.

Also research conducted on the demand for domestic services (Golinowska 2004) 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.

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. They are

hired mainly because they are cheaper but also because they work hard and are ready to work flexible hours. It is related to the aim of their stay in Poland – quick accumulation of financial resources. Women undertaking this kind of employment have usually secondary or vocational education and they start their circular migration due to unemployment or insolvency of their Ukrainian employers (Bojar et al. 2005). However, among these female migrants one can also find women with higher education degree. What is common for all of them is a motivation – supporting family and children especially. In particular, accumulating money for their education or responding for needs that could not have been fulfilled without additional money from migration – e.g. reconstruction, household goods. Thanks to circular mobility they can spend a part of the year taking care of their family in Ukraine (Slany, Małek 2006). Their dwelling-place in Poland is connected with type of duties. Women engaged in cleaning usually share hired flats with other migrants. They usually work for several individual employers trying to clean as much flats/houses as possible. References exchanged between Poles are crucial for their economic success. And it is not just the case of the quality of their work. It is rather related to confidence since they often receive keys to the flats that they clean in order to work when owners are out. This category of migrants usually stays in Poland for three months (on the basis of tourist visa). In the periods of their absence in Poland they are replaced by relatives or acquaintances. Women replace each other since they do not want to lose their job. A distinct category of female immigrants is constituted by Ukrainians looking after children and elderly or ill people. Their contacts with employers are very intensive, some of them even lives with them. It is estimated that approximately 15 % of Ukrainians working in the segment of domestic services lives with their Polish employers. It is observed that this type of work induces social isolation and some times expose migrants to abuse from the employer's side (Bojar et al. 2005). The differences in the situations of live-in and non-live-in domestic workers might be also analyzed from the risk theory perspective. Immigration for the non-live-in workers is initially associated with greater risk, however relatively quickly, they develop social networks that lead to a sense of stabilization. While women taking up employment with accommodation, in the first phase attain a sense of security, unfortunately losing their job means losing their home at the same time. What is more, living with the employer results in the less well-developed networks and resources so these immigrants tend to have more difficulties returning to the labour market. Utilizing risk theory it might be concluded that Ukrainian female migrants replace the economic and other risks present in Ukraine with other risks related to irregular migration. However, they do not associate migration to Poland with a high risk, and due to geographical proximity special financial expenses are not required, too (Kindler 2006).

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 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. Their irregular status is another factor restraining their integration process – it is an open question what their needs are and whether they would be interested in any integration programs. This question refers to all seasonal workers, not only those employed on irregular basis.

A local community factor from the sending country perspective is an important one to be concerned. In many cases labour migration is a result of the change in the hierarchy of values: consumption aspirations are often situated higher than unity of family. Incomes from migration help to supply consumption needs when the situation on local labour market does not allow people to achieve expected standards. As a consequence, labour migrants contribute to confirm hedonistic values in sending communities – their example encourages others to undertake jobs abroad (Romaniszyn 2003). Regarding transnational Ukrainian family migration leads to erosion of emotional ties and kinship connections. Instead it fosters consumerism and alienation between family members. Migration may have positive effects on individual members of the family or on some aspects of family life, however for the family as a whole, it has a disintegrating effect (Tolstokorova 2009).

Focusing on western Ukraine from where the majority of Ukrainian migrants to Poland (and Hungary) originate, one can say that the border areas demarking Ukraine and Poland have traditionally been

porous. The area of free travel established in the 1990s in Central Europe led not only for the development of friendly neighbor relations and cooperation between countries, but also was crucial for the survival of a certain category of Ukrainian citizens - primarily the population of frontier areas which were considered as regions that experienced the strongest impact of the economic crisis that followed transformation in the 1990ties. According to the study conducted in three frontier oblasts (Volyn, Zakarpattia and Lviv) in 2003, large majority of Ukrainians living in these areas had traveled to work in either Poland or Hungary (80%)¹ (Malynovska 2006). While the introduction of visas did not significantly upset travel to Poland² the population of Ukrainians living in the frontier areas was most strongly affected by this change. The new visa regime brought about administrative and bureaucratic procedures that complicated mobility. What was before fluid movement across the border became characterized by long lines, customs, cash requirements and other ensuing difficulties.

In conclusion, within Ukraine one can observe regional preferences on the main direction of migration. Western part of the country is westward oriented; Central part is much more diverse and is characterized by different directions of migration. While in the South Eastern Region Russia is the main direction. Interestingly, within the westward direction some changes between the nineties of the previous century and the first years of the 21st century are observed. Central Europe, including Poland, becomes less preferable destination. Ukrainian immigrants tend to move further to the West (Konieczna 2004). Ukrainian External Labour Migration survey (2009: 61)³ has indicated that Halytsko-Volynskyi district, that includes Volyn, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv and Tarnopil regions, is characterized by twice as high as the nationwide level, migrants rate within working age population and higher level, compared to other regions, of orientation towards Poland – around ¾ of all migrants to Poland originate from this district.

Poland still has not produced a clear migration policy doctrine. However, it seems that Poland has moved from a preliminary stage of the migration cycle⁴ where immigration policy is a novelty, when the issues attracting policy attention are growing inflow of foreigners and its control. Due to the fact that the migration policy doctrine is not directly expressed it is justified to notice that Poland has only entered the ultimate stage, when policy concentrates on the second generation of immigrants and their integration. Nevertheless, circularity observed in Poland is a result of preliminary stage of migration policy development. It is evident that Poland's labour policy, which protects local labour forces, and its liberal visa policy for Ukrainians were the main factors which encouraged the circular type of mobility and temporariness of the migration process. Until October 2003 Ukrainians benefited from non-visas 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 appearance-wise 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.

¹ a third of the respondents reported to cross the border (with either Poland or Hungary) 2 to 10 times per year, 14.8% travelled monthly, 17.5% - 2-3 times per month, 17.7% once per week, and 8.7% sever times per week. In 2003, before the introduction of visas, for the majority of trips to Poland and Hungary, the purpose was to buy or sell goods (57.9%) [and] 8.7% made trips for the purpose of foreign employment

² the total number of visits to Poland in 2004 remained at the previous year's level of 3.8 mln

³ Labour migration survey was conducted in all regions of Ukraine and took place between 26 of May and 15 of June 2008. It covered the span 2005 – 2008 (till the day of an interview). The data obtained from the samples are representative for Ukraine as a whole and for its seven geographically integral migration districts: Zakarpatskyi, Bukovynskyi, Halytsko-Volynskyi, Western-Central, Eastern-Central, Southern and Luhansk districts (Ukrainian External Labour Migration 2009)

⁴ the concept introduced within the IDEA project: <http://www.idea6fp.uw.edu.pl/>

Above we described circumstances which have shaped the circular mobility of migrants between Poland and Ukraine. Concluding this part of the report we should stress that both countries face the same challenge, namely, a decline of population due to natural decrease and emigration. Circular migration may allow for the effective matching of supply and demand for migrant labour force without necessarily creating higher rates of permanent migration. It seems though that circular migration is a form beneficial for both countries. For Poland it responds to a demand for seasonal workers, for Ukraine it does not occur in a permanent loss of population and provides remittances for the families left home⁵.

More information on demographic data on Ukrainian immigration to Poland, as well as on integration and reintegration activities, has been presented in the Background Paper to METOIKOS (Project Circular Migration Patterns Migration between Ukraine and Poland – Background Paper available at the <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/METOIKOS/Home.aspx>) project site:

⁵ “Circular migration programs may be an important step in resolving a key migration paradox: there is demand for migrant labor yet often little public support for permanent migration—particularly unskilled migration—in the many European and middle-income CIS countries in demographic decline. Moreover, circular migration may have the potential to facilitate development in migration-sending countries by increasing migrants’ human and financial capital, facilitating international skills transfers, building cross-border trade and investment, and preventing the long-term separation of families” (Mansoor, Ali M., Quillin, Bryce 2006: xiii).

2. Types of Circular Migration

Starting our field study, we wanted to discover types of circular migration between Poland and Ukraine and to enquire what kind of policies would influence this circularity. Within the scope of our interest was also an issue whether Poland and Ukraine have different priorities with regards to circular migration or whether their priorities are matching.

As a result of the minor scale of immigration to Poland and other important social and political problems faced by Poland, immigrants' integration with the hosting society comes about thanks to a combination of non-institutional factors. In case of circular migrants, however, their social contacts with Poles, that could create opportunity for integration, are rather limited by their main aim - accumulating money and returning home. The irregular status of employment is another factor restraining their integration process. Therefore, two questions pointed below we tried to address during our research. They refer to all temporal workers, including regularly and irregularly employed.

- Would they be interested in any integration programs?
- What are their needs?

2.1 Fieldwork

The fieldwork was conducted in Poland and in Ukraine. First interviews took place in Warsaw yet in April 2010. All in all, the fieldwork in Poland spanned from the beginning of April till the beginning of September 2010. Immigrants were interviewed in Warsaw agglomeration and villages up to 60 km from Warsaw. Majority of 16 interviews was individual, however in some cases respondents were accompanied by other migrants who were, more or less, involved in conversation. It was related to the way, how and where interviewees were reached.

Potential interviewees were approached during meetings organized by NGOs and after service in the Ukrainian Church in Warsaw. It was an opportunity to arrange a proper appointment in a café, park, Center for International Relations office or an interviewee's place of accommodation. Informal contacts with people employing circular migrants were also used. In such situations migrants were asked by employer whether they allow passing their telephone number to the researcher. The same pattern was followed in case of employment agency. A snowball method was also employed. Proper appointments were arranged by telephone. Interviews were conducted mainly in Polish. Only in three cases, migrants spoke Ukrainian and in one mixture of Ukrainian and Czech.

Besides, 11 interviews were conducted with stakeholders, in the following institutions: Business Center Club, Polish-Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce, Caritas Polska, Foundation Nasz Wybor (immigrants' NGO), Mazovian Province Office, Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, Ministry of Economy, Ministry of Interior and Administration, East West Link (employment agency), FROG (Foundation for Development Beyond Borders - immigrants' NGO). About half of these interviews were individual and for the rest more than one interviewee was engaged.

The fieldwork in Ukraine took place in July 2010. Immigrants were reached in Western and Central Ukraine (Lviv, Zhitomir, Striy, Drohobych Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, Rivne, Vinnytsia, Lutsk - 15 interviews) while experts responded in Kiev (five interviews). They worked for following institutions: Ministry of Labour and Social Policy; Research Committee on Population Studies and Demographic Education of Sociology Association of Ukraine; International Organization for Migration Office; National Institute for International Security. Interviews with experts were arranged in advance, yet in Poland.

Unfortunately, none of our contacts with migrants, established by a female migrant settled in Poland, worked. Potential interviewees were approached at the bus stations and parks close to railway stations. When they agreed to talk, interview was conducted directly afterwards or arranged in a public place like café or park a bit later. Interviews were conducted in Ukrainian and Polish or mixture of both.

2.2 The Research Findings

Before we enlist types of circular migration that can be pointed on the basis of our research we need to stress that the list is not closed and that it is based on a qualitative study. Nevertheless, it throws a light on the phenomenon of the circular migration between Poland and Ukraine, which has been developed over a dozen years.

One should realize that today circularity is often a result of lack of thriftiness. Immigrants follow well established patterns elaborated by their networks instead of searching for longer stay possibilities. They are often not aware of other options or they are convinced that these options are beyond their scope. Returning Ukraine is not spontaneous or desired activity but it is forced by procedures operating within short-term visas systems. Migrants moving between Poland and Ukraine are very careful to have their documents in order, even if it means additional money paid to informal mediators. In the Polish-Ukrainian reality illegal stay stops circularity.

Therefore, next to labour migrants who spontaneously chose circularity as an option for modernizing households in Ukraine, collecting money for a business or providing money for household's maintain without disappearing from family for too long, there are also Ukrainian migrants, who are trapped into circularity. In this context, it is worth to recall a Skeldon's remark (2011): *Nevertheless, a large number of different systems of more regulated temporary migration do exist and the fact that migrants must go back to their areas of origin gives the impression that these systems are essentially circulatory in nature. However, these temporary migrations are different from circulation in terms of spontaneity, frequency and distance* (Skeldon 2011:58).

In Polish-Ukrainian case circularity seems to be a female domain. Among other economic reasons, women who are engaged in circular mobility do not want to disappear from family life for good. Their activities are shaped by the need of reconciliation of their family – children, elderly parents and husband care - and working roles in a transnational dimension. Interestingly, traditional division of gender roles, lead to the situation that men can prolong their stays abroad without strong social labeling as being bad parents or spouses. Men are even driven by their traditional role - providing money for family maintenance - to prolong their stays and send money back home. The above mentioned observation is infixing in “New Economics of Migration” approach that points out that migrants act as family or household members rather than as individuals. Migration is therefore a family or a household strategy to minimize risk as well as to increase the income of the group (Massey et al 1998).

One should realize that over time, it can be expected that the circulation is gradually transformed to more permanent migration. Migrants might stay longer in destination countries e.g. when they have secured employment with longer term prospects or they got married (Skeldon 2011). In Poland the latter option is more probable in case of women. It is confirmed by statistics on mixed (international) marriages of Poles and by stories recalled by our interviewees. However, it is hard to make a trustworthy statement on sex differentiation, in case of finding a job with long term prospects – we do not know who has better chances men or women.

Although we were not asking directly, in narratives of our interviewees, one might find factors affecting circularity. They can be categorized in a following way:

- Factors prolonging stays in Poland

It is observed that even within one household or among not so far relatives, migrants work in different countries. It leads to decomposition of family.

Man starts to work and is happy that he has a job and even does not noticed that he is losing his family after three months. (...) Separation is not good. I do not know any examples proving that it is good. He met someone, she met someone. (P_7)

Another factor is economic in its nature – crisis. Its manifestations that are found in Poland induce people to try to economize by limiting their trips home. First of all, it is more difficult to find a job. Poles are also economizing, at least in opinions found during our fieldwork.

I called one man and he told me: “It is crisis, I do not need employees”. But I insisted on him: “Please, see me.” Finally, when we met and talked, he employed me. I chopped wood, I cut trees, I drilled well... (U_11)

As a result migrants are not so eager to lose their potential income by “unnecessary” trips home. One should not forget that majority of circular migrants (according to Ukrainian External Labour Migration 2009, overwhelming majority – 75% of the total number of Ukrainian Labour migrants: 35) were employed in households⁶. This type of employment is characterized by absence of a strict control over keeping labour regulations, including paid leave etc. Therefore, each trip home means not only money spent on journey but also losing an income (the main reason for labour migration).

An extreme situation is observed when, due to different reasons, migrant prolong his/her stay in Poland without legal basis allowing for doing so. In such case, falling into illegality stops circular migration.

➤ Final return

When a concrete aim is achieved e.g. collecting money for a well-planned economic activity in Ukraine, migrant stops traveling between countries. Unfortunately, it seems that this is rather an exceptional situation. During our research we reached only one migrant representing such a strategy.

While labour migration may enhance the financial stability of the household - remittances allow to increase the family budget and to advance their material well-being - it also has a reverse negative effect by way of managerial and strategic deprivation of the family economy. Remittances are used primarily for family consumption, education of children and housing. Around 60 to 80 % of remittances are invested into real estate property. To a much lesser extent, they are invested into small family businesses, mainly because Ukraine has few economic incentives for such enterprise (Tolstokorova 2009).

➤ Being a parent has two-side effect: continuing circular mobility or returning home.

When migrants, especially women, are focused on supplying needs that cannot be achieved without income from abroad they would get more involved into circular migration. Although some might established stable household in Poland and bring children here, this stops circularity. It is not very common, but it happens.

I am a resident but even for me it is difficult to arrange my children trip to visit me in Poland. (P_7)

Asked about taking younger children to Poland circular/temporal migrants first of all point that in Ukraine they are supervised by relatives (spouses or grandparents, aunts or adult siblings). Taking into consideration intensive work in Poland (including working for shifts) and accommodations (flats and rooms shared by migrants, who are not relatives) it is not reasonable to bring children home.

⁶ It Poland huge plantations are not typical for agricultural sector. So even within agricultural sector migrants are usually employed by individual farmers, whose farms are not categorized in the same way as private enterprises.

2.2.1 Types of Circularity

According to the design proposed within METOIKOS project typology of circular migration needs take into account at least three dimensions:

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

The Level of Skills and Education of the People Involved

Regarding education, all migrants interviewed within METOIKOS project, both in Ukraine and Poland, have secondary or tertiary level of education. The relatively high level of education represented by migrants moving between Poland and Ukraine is a virtue that distinguished Poland from South-European countries dealing with circular migration that involves mainly uneducated or poorly educated people. Only 10% of Ukrainian labour migrants possess basic secondary or primary education (Ukrainian External Labour Migration 2009:29).

Unfortunately, migrants with secondary and even tertiary education are employed as unskilled manual workers (e.g. men and women employed as farm workers, cleaners, or men employed as unskilled builders) or semi-skilled workers (people working in construction or caring/cleaning jobs in specialized positions). More positive, in terms of taking advantage of education and skills, is situation of not numerous migrants (entrepreneurs, scientists, doctors, managers), who have well established sources of income in Ukraine (a permanent employment or own business). In their case, work in Poland is not purely money-making, at least in short term. Of course, it brings income but the real migrants' aim is to consolidate their position in Ukraine and to facilitate access to certain goods and services.

The Legal or Irregular Nature of the Movement

Migrants moving between Poland and Ukraine are very careful to have their documents in order. Labour migrants use existing regulations allowing them to cross Polish border legally and to stay in Poland legally. In these terms they can be described as circular migrants holding permits that allow them to engage into circular mobility between Poland and Ukraine.

In the Polish-Ukrainian reality illegal stay stops circularity. An extreme situation is observed when, due to different reasons, migrant prolong his/her stay in Poland without legal basis allowing for doing so. In such case, falling into illegality stops circular migration and turns it into illegal residence.

Although careful about formal basis for their legal stay in Poland, migrants are not equally careful about regular, registered employment. According to report on Ukrainian External Labour Migration (2009: 33) Poland is characterized by the lowest percentage of migrants with duly formalized legal status of labour – around 22%. Poland is also characterized by the largest share of persons without any official status of employment - according to the above mentioned survey - 56% of the total number of labour migrants from Ukraine to Poland.

During our research we learned that misemploying Polish regulations and well developed social network of Ukrainians and Poles is typical. Therefore migrants work in a shadow economy while staying legally in Poland. It should be also stressed that even these whose employment is registered do not avoid additional unregistered jobs and undertake supplementary jobs in order to accumulate more money during they stay in Poland.

The Time Length of Each Stay and Return

Considering the time length of each stay and return one should notice that circularity is often a result of lack of thriftiness. Immigrants follow well established patterns elaborated by their networks instead of searching for longer stay possibilities. Therefore, the length of their stays depends on changing regulations. Until October 2003 Ukrainians benefited from non-visas entrance that allowed them designing the length of stay according to their needs. Then they had an easy access to free of charge tourist visas. Their situation got worse due to Polish preparation to entering Schengen Zone. However, significant worker shortages in certain sectors, forced Polish government to open its labour market to seasonal workers from the Eastern neighbouring countries. These regulations first allowed for three months employment during six months period. Afterward a period of a single stay has been extended to 6 months within a year. This policy has shaped the form of circularity. Some migrants try to combine seasonal visas with visiting friends or families in Poland – that also may be a base for legalizing their stay in Poland while they work in shadow economy sector.

After a decade of penetration of Polish merchandise and labour markets by petty-traders and seasonal workers from Ukraine and as a result of restrictions in Western Europe against mobility from the Eastern Europe, some Ukrainian migrants, who have established networks in Poland, have started contemplating long-term or permanent residence in Poland (Iglicka 2010). However, one should realize that an average income available for labour migrant from Ukraine is a substantial obstacle for an overwhelming majority of migrants for their longer stay in Poland and bringing family members there. In order to legalize their longer stay migrants need to fulfill quite harsh financial requirements and their incomes cannot be obtained within shadow economy.

Although Poland has no official policy that has circularity in its name or that consciously promote circular mobility of immigrants, 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 migrants' mobility.

Another factor influencing the duration of migrants' stays in Poland is economic in its nature. Manifestations of economic crises that are found in Poland provoke migrants to economize by limiting their trips home. They are afraid of losing their jobs since it is more difficult to find employment than it used to be. They also avoid losing their potential income by "unnecessary" journey home since each trip means not only money spent on journey but also losing an income (there is no paid leave in shadow economy) or losing an official post (employer usually needs an employee for six months without a break caused by a leave).

Therefore it seems that repeated short stays taking place within less than a year are replaced gradually by short stays of 6 months in a year that follow an annual cycle. This modification is influenced by the change of Polish procedures and manifestations of economic crises in Poland.

Long term circular migration that involves stays of a couple of years in each country (origin and destination) is hardly possible although not impossible. It seems that in order to legalize their stay for more than year, migrants invest so much that they would rather prolong their stay in Poland instead of circulation. It seems that this type of circularity is represented by people with very high skills like academics and it can be labeled as "brain circulation".

Taking into consideration three dimensions of circularity proposed within METOIKOS project, which are described and discussed above, the following types of circularity between Ukraine and Poland have been detected during our field study in Poland and Ukraine:

2.2.1. a Females: Domestic Services, Nursing, Cleaning

Our fieldwork has confirmed the thesis of sex-segmentation of Polish labour market for foreigners (Golinowska 2004, Adamiec 2008)). Among our interviewees and within their narratives the most sharply distinguished type consists of usually, middle aged women with teenage or adult children. They are married or divorced. However, the type also embraces younger women who are breadwinners in their families.

Although, the reasons for their engaging into circular migration are individual and depend on different life situation it is possible to indicate a certain common trait. These women are driven by insufficient earning or unemployment. It is related to Ukrainian labour market peculiarity. It is hardly possible for women to find a new job in their fifties. Ukrainian citizen experienced mass-scale disappearance of their working places twice. Firstly, due to an economic transformation related a rise of an independent Ukrainian state and secondly, due to the 2008 crisis. All migrants, interviewed both in Ukraine and Poland, who are assigned to this category, originate from the underdeveloped Western Ukraine. Unemployment and insufficient salary lead to situation that they engage into circular mobility in order to maintain family or to provide money for needs related to family life cycle (like education, supporting youth who is entering adulthood or grandchildren, building or renovating house, etc.)

During our interviews we learnt that 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 it is more financially advantageous.

I started in orchard. One man looked at me and noticed that the job was hard and I was small and that I would survive there no longer than a month. He was right. It was hard and I earned little. (U_8)

I called the driver and I told him: find me another job since I cannot work here any longer. He responded: give me 50 zloties and I find you another place. He came. "I gave him 50 zloties and he took me to another place. I met there another Ukrainian female. She showed me everything. It was a lot to remember. There was an old woman without a leg. (P_6)

Another interesting thing discovered during our field study is related to psychological dimension of work and money gained for work. Nursing and caring for an elderly ill person is not only physically demanding, but influencing psychological state of migrant. Especially, when job requires 24 hours, 7 days per week migrant's engagement. Therefore, it is observed that when female migrants have widened their social network, some of them move to cleaning when they can earn more and when they are not exposed to such a difficult psychological conditioning. However, it requires taking into account additional expenditure for accommodation.

None of women interviewed in Ukraine was employed during our research in their home country. They described themselves as unemployed. Women interviewed in Poland, who were more diverse regarding their age, described themselves as pensioners⁷, unemployed (looking for a job or without taking any attend to find it in Ukraine) and employed (self-employed or short-term employment although it is extremely difficult and it is exceptional to find an Ukrainian employer who accept employee traveling between two countries).

There are no jobs for young people, not mentioning someone in my age. (P_16)

I am a hairdresser. When I am in Ukraine, my clients come to my house. (P_6)

⁷ Selection of interviewees complies with indication found in the Ukrainian External Labour Migration survey (2009:33) that in Poland among Ukrainian labour migrants people of pre-pension age (which is 55 for women and 60 for men) are significantly represented –they constitute 13,9% of Ukrainian labour migrants in Poland.

(about her daughter, who replaces her when she returns Ukraine) *In Ukraine she works in a grocery. She has a good, understanding employer. She understands that my daughter is in difficult situation and that she needs money.* (P_3)

All of the interviewed females were staying in Poland legally. However, majority of them misemploy Polish regulations and well developed social network of Ukrainians and Poles working in a shadow economy.

My neighbour had worked here and she asked me whether I'd like to work here. (P_3)

You know, officially I'm supposed to work in agriculture. (P_8)

I was three months in Poland, three at home. And once again, here and there. Once two months. You know, they sent me invitation and I received visa for guest. (P_6)

It should be also stressed that even these whose employment is registered do not avoid additional unregistered jobs and undertake supplementary jobs in order to accumulate more money during they stay in Poland.

As a result of a peculiarity of employment (taking care of depending family members and letting a stranger enter to a very private domain) the relation that develops between employee and employer is very close. It leads to abuses from both sides of the relationship. Maltreatment of female migrants is well described in the literature, also in the case of Poland (Kindler 2006). At this point, however, we would like to refer to mechanism that has been discovered during our field study. Some Polish employers help their employees to bring other Ukrainians to Poland by signing declaration that they need a worker i.e. for seasonal work in the garden, although the demand does not really exist. Some women sell these declarations. During a fieldwork we have found out that they can receive 200 -300 EUR for one document.

It is profitable, therefore, some migrants engage all their possible contacts in order to obtain declarations from Polish employers, who do not realize that documents are sold in Ukraine and who believe that they do a favour to unselfish migrant.

Volodia took care of everything. He printed declaration. My employer did not want to go to any office since she worked a lot. She only signed. And then she told me that someone from the office had called her to find out whether she is still interested in. And she forgot about that declaration and got panicked. But I told her that she shouldn't have. How can they check it? (U_7)

Migrants taking advantage from this shady business rationalizes their activities:

It is cost-effective – they pay and they receive a legal working visa for six months and they can earn more than in Ukraine (U_7)

All migrants, interviewed by us both in Ukraine and Poland, who are assigned to this category, have secondary or tertiary education. Their jobs and professions in Ukraine have nothing in common with cleaning or house holding. We learnt that some women engaged in old or ill persons' care have professional nursery experience but they do not validate their certificates in Poland.

Regarding the issue of spontaneity of this type of movement, a part of interviewees pointed that in their case this the most optimal option:

We receive 180 days visas. Sometimes I'm staying in Poland for a month, sometimes two months. I want to be at home and in Poland. I could not stay in Poland longer. I could not stand it. (P_3)

My kids need me. I cannot stay in Poland longer. Even when I am here, I make short trips to see them. (P_14)

Other interviewees would be interesting in prolonging their stays in Poland if they had secured employment with longer term prospects or if procedures did not require returns to Ukraine.

It is also interesting that among these women, there was a migrant working previously in Russia and that some of them were offered assistance in finding employment in Italy or Austria by their relatives or friends. However, they prefer Poland due to the reasons that are described in part one of the report.

2.2.1.b Males Working in Construction

In the case of construction, place of employment requires at least certain skills. Comparing migrants' activity abroad with their last place of employment in Ukraine, construction workers constitute the most numerous group of workers who did not change their occupation (Ukrainian External Labour Migration 2009).

Within Metoikos project in Poland we managed to reach circular migrants with a longer migratory experience. They tend to prolong their stays in Poland (currently working on the basis of work permit). When they return to Ukraine they do not even search for job. Their stays at home are used for modernization of their own houses. They have wives and children in rural areas of Western Ukraine. Therefore, they arrive home for a few days once per month or month and a half and, for holidays and, when there is a season for harsh physical jobs in agriculture.

We live in a village. We have our own land, houses, and homesteads. We have to farm and then come back to Poland. (...) Our family needs food, we need to collect it for winter time - potatoes, and vegetables, and cereal. (P_4_1)

In Ukraine we managed to reach men whose stays in Poland were legal, although work was undertaken in shadow economy. During interviews majority of them were unemployed. However, we met a 51 years old pensioner, who used to work for military service. Similarly to women working in domestic services or caring sector, interviewees belonging to this type misemploy Polish regulations and well developed social network of Ukrainians and Poles.

It costs, but it is worth the money. It is safer. You have working visa so when they check you at the border, you do not worry. You see how it is here. It is not wrong to work a bit in Poland. (U_9)

Formerly, you could stay in Poland for a long time. Even if they gave a stamp in passport we knew the way to overcome it. Now, it is different. It is better not to risk. If they catch you on the border, information is spread to Germany due to the Schengen System or whatever you call it. People, do not risk any longer.(U_14)

Our interviewees, reached both in Poland and Ukraine, were driven by insufficient earning in Ukraine or unemployment. Like women assigned to above-described type, they originate from the underdeveloped Western Ukraine.

I am not saying that there is no job at all. However, when you transfer it from our currency to zloties it is 300 zloties per month. So please understand there is no use to go to that work. (P_4_1)

When I lost my job, I stayed at home for three weeks. I phone different Polish companies. Eventually, one responded and I worked for a month. One of my acquaintances from Ukraine helped me at this time in Poland. Sometimes I dropped in and she feed me. She told me to visit market places in order to find whether someone needs a worker. I can do everything. I can even build an entire house. And I found job for few weeks. And now I stay in Ukraine but I have already an employer in Poland and after potato-lifting I go to Poland. (U_11)

Although not all Ukrainian workers employed in constructions originate from rural population, two above mentioned quotations illustrate examples of migrants from rural population. Interestingly, 8% of

rural working age population is engaged in labour migration in comparison to only 4% of city dwellers (Ukrainian External Labour Migration 2009:26).

All of our interviewees assigned to this type of circular migration have secondary or tertiary education. Regarding their previous occupation in Ukraine, they worked in construction, military service and industries related to military production.

2.2.1. c “Individual” Agriculture Seasonal Workers

Basing on our observation within METOIKOS research, this type consists of rather young - in their twenties or early thirties - single, partnered or married people. Among them one might find students, fresh graduates, people who lost their jobs due to the recent economic crisis, Ukrainian peasants, even teachers working during their summer holidays.

They are typical seasonal workers. But it has been proved by the experience of other interviewees within METOIKOS research that working in agriculture might be just a beginning of a circular career. Some women tend to move to domestic services and men to construction.

For young people seasonal employment, during summer holidays at University or after graduating from it, is also an occasion for recognizing Polish realities. Among our interviewees one woman expressed her desire to continue these trips till the end of her studies in Ukraine, and then she considers settling in Poland. Another respondent, who before his last trip to Poland had lost his job in Kiev (he was an internal migrants as well) described his first visit as follows:

Earning too little, just to survive, I arranged visa and “escaped” to Poland.(...) In order to find a good job in Ukraine you need “friends” or to pay for it. (P_9)

During our research he has been already recognizing different options. Among them working on construction seemed the most profitable to him. Currently, he has a potential supporter in Poland. His aunt married Pole (who circulates between Poland and Ukraine!).

Seasonal workers stay in Poland legally but they work in a shadow economy. They originate from different parts of Ukraine. My interviewees and their Ukrainian co-workers live in different towns of Central Ukraine. They benefit from informal assistance of a “driver”. These “drivers” are well-known in sending towns and receiving villages. Migrants pay a “driver” and he takes care of work and accommodation. When one job has finished, he takes migrants to another destination and finally, takes them back to Ukraine.

To conclude this part, it is worth of mentioning that in Poland employment on individual farms is regulated mainly by informal mechanism also in case of Polish agricultural workers.

2.2.1. d Clients of Agencies Offering Temporary Job

It seems that these migrants might be labeled as beginners, who missed social network or, in other words, those who are at the beginning of their migratory career. These migrants are at the stage of establishing their social capital. Even during interviews they attempted to get more information about possible future employment outside agency.

There are, however, means that effectively limit possibilities of establishing their social network in Poland. Options are limited due to the fact that migrants employed by the agency change places or even regions of employment and accommodation. Dormitories are distant from social centers – since they need to be cheap. Migrants work for shifts. This kind of employment is not perceived as an attractive one by Poles.

Nevertheless, Polish agency collaborating with its Ukrainian partner offers security: official employment. Polish agency responds to temporary employer’s demand, migrant is not looking for a job or housing, which is a part of contract. Basing on our research in Poland, it might be said that in

case of circular migrants, these is an offer for young people (in their twenties) and residents of further east Ukrainian regions that are not cover well enough by an informal Polish-Ukrainian network .e.g. trustworthy “drivers”. Interviewee who decided to turn to formal job agency in order to be more secured, recalled an example of more naïve migrant who paid an equivalent of 2500 PLN (about 600 EUR) in order to arrive to Poland and to have a job here – picking strawberries (P_5). Explaining Polish realities, this price is completely unjustified by salary that can be achieved. This woman was cheated by an informal mediator.

In order to avoid such situation my interviewee, who has visited Poland several times but in different character (training for teachers), decided to visit Western Ukraine first:

Since the assistance of job agencies in Central Ukraine is expensive (...) I turned to the one in - Lviv. Thanks to it, we spent about 100 PLN per person. This agency has found a place of employment. So arriving to Poland (...) Everything was arranged, including place of accommodation. (...) I received a receipt “for consultation”. (P_5)

The above mentioned Agency collaborates with the Polish job agency.

We also learnt that Polish companies turn to agencies searching for Ukrainian construction teams led by Ukrainian engineers. Such teams are recruited and formatted by Ukrainian agencies in order to respond for a certain request. They do not consist of workers who know each other before the trip. When the demand for their work prolongs, Polish agency arrange longer work permits. It is hard to say whether they circulate between two countries.

2.2.1. e Specialists

Concluding typology of circular migration that is based on our research, we would like to point a type that is not significant in numbers. Nevertheless, we are convinced that it is an interesting part of circular migration between Poland and Ukraine, which has been developed over a dozen years. Therefore, this type cannot be passed over without a word of commentary.

This is rather a specific type of circular migration. It engaged people who have well established sources of income in Ukraine (a permanent employment or own business). Work in Poland is not purely money-making, at least in short term. Of course, it brings income but the real migrants’ aim is to consolidate their position in Ukraine and to facilitate access to certain goods and services.

We managed to reach two migrants who might be assigned to this type – a general practitioner working part time in Poland and running her private practice in Ukraine. Second case refers to an academic, who has 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.

3. Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

One of the main challenges for both Poland and Ukraine is a decline of population due to natural decies and emigration. Circular migration may allow for the effective matching of supply and demand for migrant labour force without necessarily creating higher rates of permanent migration. It seems though that circular migration is a form beneficial for both countries. For Poland it responds to a demand for seasonal workers, for Ukraine it does not occur in a permanent lost of population and provides remittances for the families left home. Considering continuing opening of Polish Labour market for seasonal workers, it seems that attracting foreign seasonal workers, from countries with small cultural distance, mainly Ukrainians, who do not cause cultural tension, seems to be a state strategy. On the other hand the majority of immigrants do not treat Poland as a settlement country therefore the strategy responds to potential supply. Comparing average duration of past and planned trips abroad, authors of report based on Ukrainian External Labour migration survey (2009) have come to conclusion that Ukrainian migrants are mainly oriented towards short-term trips and seasonal jobs abroad.

Although, immigrants originating from Ukraine, due to long history of common neighbourhood, kinship relations that cross the border and geographical, linguistic and cultural proximity, are often perceived as those, whose integration to the Polish society is potentially to be achieved in a smoother manner (Koryś, 2004, Iglicka, 2007), 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, 27.05.2010)

A support from the Ukrainian government offered to circular migrants both in Ukraine and in Poland may serve as a tool promoting Ukrainian state's interests. These actions, however, depend on development of proper government policy and its purposeful financing.

Nevertheless, cases of abuse from the employers' side, reported by media especially in sector of construction but also mistreatments pointed during our research 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.

Majority of people arriving to Poland are helpless. The only thing they know is that they should turn to their employer. But what is next? (P_14)

I do not want to focus on that but I was far from home and, first of all, I needed to learn how to protect myself, not allow for abuse. Unfortunately, everywhere you can find people who want to cheat you. (...) E.g. we were working for 18 hours per day. Some Ukrainians have this attitude that "you have to accept it" . I felt it is not fair. You have to respect yourself. Otherwise, others will not respect you. (...) But it was my first job. At that moment, I did not know to whom I could turn to. We did not know Polish realities (...) We were working in a rain, healthy and sick. You cannot stand it too long. (P_10)

I think that information is more important than integration. Sometimes immigrants do not know the rules that seems so obvious to us (...). Integration should be more on folkways...(...) Sometimes immigrants do not know Latin alphabet or do not know how to use a city plan. (Interview in the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, Interviewee , 27.05.2010)

At present, migrants are left entirely to themselves to figure out employment issues. Neither Polish employers (and here for example PKPP Lewiatan, the association of Polish employers, which campaigns quite regularly to make migration policies less strict, and bemoans the lack of workers and resulting need for migrant workers) nor the Polish government organize job fairs in either the Ukraine or Poland. There is also no structure or office responsible for connecting migrant workers and employers and making sure that the rights and responsibilities of both are in good order. As a result, migrant workers from the Ukraine are left to their own devices- and those of their network already in Poland- to find employment, contact the employer for an invitation and find housing once there.

As finding a job in another country requires a degree of language and internet ability, and as no government or other organization (like PKPP Lewiatan) assistance is available, many people wanting to work in Poland are forced to result to private companies for help. Such private companies have

flourished both in Ukraine and Poland. They offer complete immigration packages for workers including work invitation, transportation to Poland and employment.⁸

With no employment structure for migrants, both the workers and employers lose out, with only the middleman private companies making profits. This has further recourse on migrants' lives- migrants are often left facing abuses against which they are powerless. Private companies frequently do not negotiate insurance while migrants work at high risk jobs.⁹

Migrants are left on their own in Poland. There are no de facto structures in place to help people navigate employment and make sure their rights are respected, other than a handful of NGOs upon which savvy migrants sometimes happen. Thus when migrants want to change jobs, there is no coordinating office for migrant workers that assists them in finding legal employment with dignity. Instead, they are often forced to result to illegal employment with no corresponding rights, all the while having the right to legal stay in Poland (visas).

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.

On the other hand, however, one should realize that migration between Poland and Ukraine developed as a form of self organization of society and was mostly spontaneous. The same is true about Ukrainian labour migration as a whole. A survey quoted in this report several times (Ukrainian External Labour Migration 2009: 68) has indicated that 74% of Ukrainian migrants find work in foreign countries through their friends, and 22% approach foreign employers directly. Therefore, who should assists circular migrants?

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)

- 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.

⁸ There were cases when a worker came to Poland having been promised a job at a factory for 800 EURO per month- obviously this was not the case once he arrived here. Or how another worker ended up at a meat factory working 10 hour days with only a 15 minute break, earning 8 zloty an hour, half of which the factory was obliged to pay the middleman private company.

⁹ We heard about an immigrant, who was accused of breaking expensive equipment at his job, and as he did not speak Polish and could not appeal to an overseeing body (or union), he could not defend himself and thus could do nothing when his employer took half of his pay to compensate the supposedly broken machinery.

- 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.
- Basing on our fieldwork, which is a qualitative study, we cannot responsibly recall data on the scale of interest in formalization of labour relationships or opposing this request. Definitely, two approaches are represented by our interviewees. It seems that ensuring the portability of the acquired benefits, such as pensions, would encourage both formalization of labour and return to Ukraine.

It seems important to stress that none of our migrant interviewees have considered taking children to Poland during their circular mobility. The same attitude was present by interviewed experts.

Last think that should be recommended to circular migrants is bringing their children to Poland. They are brought up in Ukraine, they have their schools there. (Interview with a researcher from Caritas Polska, 31.05.2010)

Younger kid sometimes got used to the situation that grandmother is taking care of him or her when mother is in Poland. The kid is used to absence of his or her mother. In Poland working mother cannot provide such a good care. There is no warm meal; she cannot bring a child to and from school, she cannot assist with his/her homework. Child's education is neglected. Psychological problems might appear. (Interview in FROG, 09.08.2010)

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.

Table1. Interviews with migrants

Interview's designation	Gender	Age	Education	Marital status	Number of children	Is migrant employed in Ukraine	Date and the place of the interview
P_1	female	50	tertiary	married	2	Yes -private practice	16.06.2010, Warsaw, Poland
P_2	male	27	tertiary	single	-	Yes	12.08.2010, Komorow, Polska
P_3	female	60	secondary	married	3	retired	8.08.2010, Warsaw, Poland
P_4	male male	38 33	secondary secondary	married married	3 2	working on their own farm	15.08.2010, Komorow, Poland
P_5	female	25	tertiary	partnered	-	employed	17.08.2010, Komorow, Poland
P_6	female female	51 45	secondary secondary	married separated	2 1	self-employed employed	16.08.2010, Warsaw, Poland
P_7	male	52	secondary	divorced and remarried	2	currently settled in Poland	16.08.2010, Warsaw, Poland
P_8	female	45	secondary	separated	2	unemployed	17.08.2010, Warsaw, Poland
P_9	male	29	secondary	single	-	employed	19.08.2010, Chojnaty, Poland
P_10	female	30	secondary	single	-	unemployed	29.08.2010, Warsaw, Poland
P_11	female	52	secondary	widow	2	unemployed	29.08.2010, Warsaw, Poland
P_12	female	44	secondary	divorced	1	unemployed	31.08.2010, Warsaw, Poland
P_13	male	36	tertiary	married	-	employed	2.09.2010. Warsaw, Poland
P_14	female	31	tertiary	divorced	2	employed	31.08.2010, Warsaw, Poland
P_15	female	20	secondary – University student	partnered	-	studying	10.08.2010, Chojnaty, Poland
P_16	female	53	secondary	married	2	unemployed	19.08.2010, Lomianki, Poland

U_1	female	41	tertiary	married	2	unemployed	09.07.2010, Zhitomir, Ukraine
U_2	female	42	tertiary	divorced	1	unemployed	11.07.2010, Ivano- Frankivsk, Ukraine
U_3	female	44	tertiary	married	3	unemployed	12.07.2010, Ternopil, Ukraine
U_4	female	46	secondary	divorced	-	unemployed	15.07.2010, Striy, Ukraine
U_5	female	38	tertiary	married	1	unemployed	16.07.2010, Drohobych Ukraine
U_6	female	24	secondary	single	-	unemployed	16.07.2010, Ternopil, Ukraine
U_7	female	49	tertiary	divorced	1	unemployed	17.07.2010, Rivne, Ukraine
U_8	female	46	tertiary	divorced	3	unemployed	17.07.2011, Striy, Ukraine
U_9	male	51	tertiary	married	2	retired (military service)	09.07.2010, Zhitomir, Ukraine
U_10	male	49	secondary	married	1	unemployed	11.07.2010, Ivano- Frankivsk, Ukraine
U_11	male	38	tertiary	married	3	unemployed	11.07.2010, Ivano- Frankivsk, Ukraine
U_12	male	31	tertiary	single	-	unemployed	15.07.2010, Vinnytsia, Ukraine
U_13	male	48	tertiary	married	1	retired (military service)	16.07.2010, Lutsk, Ukraine
U_14	male	43	secondary	married	1	unemployed	16.07.2010, Ternopil, Ukraine
U_15	male	39	tertiary	single	-	unemployed	17.07.2010, Rivne, Ukraine

Table 2. Interviews with experts.

Institution	Date and the place of the interview
Foundation Nasz Wybor	20.04.2010, Warsaw, Poland
Business Center Club	19.05.2010, Warsaw, Poland
Caritas Polska	31.05.2010, Warsaw, Poland
Polish-Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce	01.06.2010, Warsaw, Poland
Mazovian Province Office, Representative of the Governor dealing with NGOS	25.05.2010, Warsaw, Poland
Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, Labour Market Department	27.05.2010, Warsaw, Poland
Mazovian Province Office, Department of Foreigners	02.06.2010, Warsaw, Poland
Ministry of Economy, Department of Analyses	02.07.2010, Warsaw, Poland
Ministry of Interior and administration, Migration Policy Department	06.07.2010, Warsaw, Poland
East West Link	07.07.2010, Warsaw, Poland
FROG (Foundation for Development Beyond Borders)	09.08. 2010, Warsaw, Poland
IOM Office	20.07.2010, Kiev, Ukraine
IOM Office	21.07.2010, Kiev, Ukraine
National Institute for International Security	22.07.2010, Kiev, Ukraine
Research Committee on Population Studies and Demographic Education of Sociology Association of Ukraine	23. 07.2010, Kiev, Ukraine
Ministry of Labour and Social Policy	25.07.2010, Kiev, Ukraine

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