

# 10

## **Circular Migration at the Periphery of Europe: Choice, Opportunity, or Necessity?**

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### **10.1 Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to compare the three sets of case studies presented in this book with a view to identifying circular migration types that are valid across cases, and eventually propose a refined set of circular migration types. In addition here we pay attention to identify through comparative analysis the common factors that foster or indeed impede the development of circular migration. We also focus on issues of migrant integration and reintegration, as these are crucial for the understanding of who benefits from circular migration, and what the challenges are for sending countries, receiving states, and indeed the migrants themselves. The chapter concludes with a critical appraisal of how circular migration fits the post-fordist paradigm of production (Venturini 2004) and the securitized temporariness approach that seems to dominate policymaking both at EU and at member state level (see Cassarino in this volume).

### **10.2 Circular migration in the south-western and central Mediterranean: Spain, Italy, 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 in Spain or Italy without documents (even if later they regularized) is an

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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 that one is employed so as to periodically renew one's stay permit makes Moroccan immigrants in both Italy and Spain cling onto their jobs in 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.

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 in 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 at home 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 travel to Italy for two to three months a year to work as street-sellers. While Moroccan street hawkers are numerous and often undocumented, those engaged upon 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 who came early on, and hence had acquired their stay permits. They

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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 the summer holiday months selling Chinese goods (bought in Italy) 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.

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 a 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 earn 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 paperwork 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 (inviting again the worker who was employed the previous year).

With regard to circular migrants who have their base in the destination country and periodically return to the country of origin, it is important to note

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that we found no such occurrences in the case of Moroccan immigration to Spain. Moroccan immigrants who are settled in Spain generally do not engage in circular migration between the two countries. By contrast, in Italy, especially in the 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 three and six months annually). The type ‘economizing 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>1</sup> from Italy which they sell in Morocco—usually secondhand goods, or for instance electronic appliances—and also transport the goods of co-nationals to Morocco. The transportation of merchandise to sell or other people’s belongings is usually done with vans which are overloaded with all sorts of goods. There are several problems with this kind of activity, as the Italian authorities are unable to register and categorize it (but generally tend to be permissive and allow 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 migrants are relatively few, and live in northern Italy. Generally they have been residing legally in Italy for more than ten years.

### 10.2.1 *Factors and policies affecting circularity*

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 organizes circular migration. In the case of Spain and Morocco, the development of a

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special bilateral programme that organizes 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 different labour market sectors) and organizes the recruitment in Morocco. The programme promotes the return of the same workers every year, provided that they have complied with the conditions and that, of course, they wish to return (our study shows that they generally do). Such programmes do not exist between Italy and Morocco.

In the case of Italy, the possibility of having 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 in this 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 five 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 organized 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 in the country of origin. Women would probably not engage in circular migration at all if ANAPEC did not actively recruit them for the seasonal migration scheme.

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### 10.2.2 *Benefits and challenges of circularity*

Moroccan circular migrants in Spain and Italy are largely low- or semi-skilled people, mostly coming from rural areas, earning relatively low incomes, and 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 reintegration 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, reintegration in Morocco takes place through family ties at the village or town of origin.

Informal trade and transport, as practised by an increasing number of Moroccans who are based in Italy, is mainly a strategy of coping with temporary unemployment or underemployment during the crisis rather than a strategy for economic advancement. These circular migrants are usually resident in Italy for at least five years, and are 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 provides an indirect incentive for pursuing economic projects in the country of origin. Their integration in the destination country (Italy), for example by means of inter-marriage, facilitates economic circularity by providing migrants with access to social networks and social and cultural capital. However, the circular migrants and the families that stay behind (in Italy) cope with the challenges of circularity (absence of one parent for longer periods, economic instability) as best they can through extended family ties and co-ethnic network support.

Attention to circular migrants' specific necessities in the immigration country would facilitate circulation, for example the possibility for them to avail themselves of special services, including the provision of extra lessons for children who have missed school owing to absences abroad, and the organization of subletting among circular migrants, in order to cover the cost of paying rent while abroad. These migrants generally do not have to reintegrate 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.

Circularity between Spain and Morocco is framed within the seasonal agricultural employment programme, and is thus more controlled but also more 'protected' for the people involved. The programme provides support for

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the paperwork and oversees the living and working conditions of the women involved. However, this also means that their contacts with the local population are scarce, as hostels are usually outside villages. Interaction with local people is hampered by the migrant women's lack of fluency in (or complete ignorance of) Spanish, the short period of stay, and residence in hostels scattered in the countryside. Workers visit the villages from time to time, but they limit their visits to buying or solving 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 immigrants)

Half of the interviewed women have registered in Spanish courses offered by the organization of the programme. Some others could not partake in the language lessons because of 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 them to keep communication and links with relatives alive. However, several Moroccan stakeholders interviewed pointed out a problem: many husbands reject their wives' participation in seasonal work in Spain for 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's incompetence, or even of the woman's supposed indecent behaviour. Sources also relate cases of husbands who marry other women while their first wives are in Spain.

Circularity between Italy and Morocco on one hand and Spain and Morocco on the other is quite different in nature. In the former case, and in its different types identified earlier (see Devitt in this volume), circularity is a spontaneous response of the worker to the difficulties that she or he faces at the home or destination country. Circularity is an entrepreneurial type of reaction to poverty, unemployment, or underemployment, taking advantage of a long-term permit acquired previously through 'normal' long-term migration, and of familiarity and networks in either country. In other words, circularity is here a new form of migrant entrepreneurship. In the case of Spain and Morocco, such entrepreneurship has not yet arisen, and circularity takes rather a more classical form of repeated seasonal migration of people based in the home country and periodically staying in the destination country. In both sets of cases, circularity responds to the needs of the migrants to increase their income and/or find (better) employment. In the case of Spain-Morocco,

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circularity clearly fills a labour market niche without raising the challenges of long-term migrant integration. In the case of Italy, circularity rather creates a new employment niche (petty trade and street peddling in the summer) that responds to a need in the Italian labour market. In either case, the home country may be said to benefit, from the extent that circularity increases the populations' income and economic activity in the country, while at the same time not involving so-called brain drain.

### 10.3 Circular migration in south-eastern Europe: 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 borders regularly. However, there were and still are important differences between Greece and Italy as destination countries. While Italy was seen as a more desired destination (Mai 2010), Greece was a more affordable one, as crossing the mountainous borders could be done on foot, on one's own, 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 systematically raided public places where migrants used to gather, rounded up thousands of Albanians without documents, and expelled them overnight to Albania. These operations cost the Greek state several billion drachmas without having any long-term effect, as the repatriated Albanians would cross the Greek border again after a few weeks or months.

The two case 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 versus irregular seasonal or other types of circular migration also for employment), and by the level of skills (low or medium skills versus high-skill circular migration, or else termed brain circulation, between Italy or 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



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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 Greece, less so in 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-term stay permit), who travel between Greece and Albania for high-skilled work or for 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 thirty-five to fifty-eight, who first came to Greece in the early 1990s as irregular migrants. Throughout the 1990s, the time Albanians spent in Greece was dependent on police controls and on the work opportunities available. If there was work, the return to Albania was delayed, unless they were apprehended and deported by the police.

The introduction of a seasonal work scheme in agriculture in 2001 gave a strong incentive to formerly irregular circular migrants to make their movement seasonal and stick to their seasonal stay permit requirements. Even if they had an opportunity for a longer period of work, many of these migrants would not risk it. The possibility of finally attaining legal entry and stay is too strong to ignore for people who have experienced illegality for many years. At the same time, the fact that they have to leave after six 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, which lead to a number of informal arrangements that actually violate the seasonal migration law. First, a common informal arrangement is that employers invite more workers than they need. Invited workers pay the employer who formally

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invites them a fee (which can range from €200 to €250), so they have the chance to engage in 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, construction, or other manual jobs. Second, Albanian middle-men who facilitate the initial contact between the prospective migrant and the fake formal employer also obtain a fee for their mediation. Third, the migrant labourers may work for multiple employers: they may start working for a month with the employer who formally invited them but then change to a different employer. Fourth, employers sometimes retain a small part of the worker's daily wage (about 5 per cent) if they promise to invite him again the following year.

The second type of circularity that we have found between Italy or 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. There is one main difference between the two: 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 in the past they were irregular migrants who were caught, and 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 fifteen and twenty-one 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 twenty-one years of age) that the invitation system requires.

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

In the case of Greece, these are previously sedentary migrants who hold the usual two-year or in some cases the ten-year long permit, and who have been pushed to circularity because of unstable employment or underemployment in Greece owing to the current economic crisis.<sup>2</sup> They thus spend several months a year in Albania, with a view to either save money or to take

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advantage of employment opportunities there. If the economic crisis deepens in Greece, these migrants are more likely to spend more time in Albania. These circular migrants usually make some form of investment or savings in Albania, which may have to do with the development of their own farm there, 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 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 who 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 cushions against their return/retirement. Their investments range from technical equipment, such as 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 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, since this type of work 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 they were also involved in work at their own farms or houses.

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

This category of circular migrant between Italy or Greece and Albania is probably the smallest one in terms of the number of people involved, but at

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the same time probably the most interesting and internally diverse one. It involves people who graduated from university in Albania, or even had professional experience in highly skilled jobs there. When they came to Greece or Italy they managed to climb up the socio-economic ladder and find semi-skilled or highly skilled employment. 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 in particular ethnic Greek Albanians, who since 1998 have had secure stay-status and equal socio-economic rights with Greek citizens, in Greece. In fact, 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 circularity generally involves people with a five-year plus stay permit in the case of Italy, and a two-year or ten-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 in 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 or 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. These migrants circulate between Italy or 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 to invest in the Albanian services industry in Tirana, or in a desirable tourist destination, is of a different scale compared with the capital required for farm expansion in rural parts of Albania.

### 10.3.1 *Challenges and opportunities of circular migration between Greece or Italy and Albania*

The four circular migration types identified in the Greece-Albania and in the Italy-Albania case studies share similarities, and are clearly affected by Greek

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and Italian migration policies as well as by the Greek and Italian labour markets. Legal seasonal migration with repeated stays is a type of circularity actively promoted by the Greek and Italian states to cater for the need of a seasonal workforce in agriculture. Informally, these workers may also cover the needs for temporary workers in other low-skill sectors, such as construction, tourism, or generic manual jobs.

Irregular seasonal migration with repeated stays is a by-product of the restrictive Greek and Italian immigration policies, which have led many Albanians, especially in earlier periods, to migrate illegally to Greece and Italy. After having been expelled from Greece, they could not regularize their situation for a number of years, and hence could not take advantage of the legal seasonal migration programmes enacted. 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 are later regularized 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 Albania, and have adopted this seasonal migration pattern.

Thus, similarly to the case of Moroccans in Italy, we witness here the emergence of certain circular migration movements that we may qualify as an entrepreneurial response to unstable employment or lack of better prospects at the country of destination, which make migrants develop their own business plans. Our informants noted that while rural development plans may receive some subsidies from the Albanian state, people aspiring to open 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 complain makes the business non-profitable. At the same time, 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, which cannot realistically survive in Albania, a country where consumption standards are still relatively low.

Overall, circularity from Albania to Greece caters for specific labour market niches in Greece, and offers a viable strategy of survival for Albanian workers and their families who live in Albania or, more often, have been long-term migrants in Greece before but were unable or unwilling to settle there permanently. Like circular migration from Morocco to Spain, this kind of movement caters for a specific labour market niche. It does not, however, contribute towards the migrant's building a better future, as the income gained is rather low and there is a continuous need to circulate in order to secure employment.

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In the long run, people involved are likely to face important alienation problems, as they live neither here nor there.

In the case of circulating migrants who seek to open up a business in the home country, this is potentially a dynamic aspect of circular migration that could indeed lead to a triple-win situation. However, more often than not, this is not the case, as many of these new businesses are not viable; they develop in specific sectors such as catering and leisure, rather than in a more innovative or productive type of industry. While such movements allow for medium-skilled and highly skilled circulation, their positive impact is yet to be proven. The triple-win potential is often blocked when faced with the reality on the ground, which is economically harsher than it may seem.

### 10.4 Circular migration in Central Eastern Europe: Poland, Hungary, and Ukraine

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 policymakers 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 lack of visa requirements (until October 2003), and later via their 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; once visas were instated, they then had easy access to free of charge tourist visas. As a result, until December 2007 and the enlargement of the Schengen Area, the most characteristic feature of the Ukrainian immigrant group was irregular work on the basis of legal residence visas and documents. It was easily possible, since Ukrainians who are engaged in circular migration in and out of Poland do not differ in terms of appearance from Poles (Iglicka and 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

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of strong opposition from the trade unions, were even liberalized, extending the period of a single stay to six months within a year, and to all economic sectors.

Poland has no official policy that has circularity in its name, or that consciously promotes the circular mobility of immigrants. However, in practice there are regulations in Poland that encourage this type of migrant mobility. Such regulations are driven by several factors, including regional labour market needs and EU migration control policies. 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 21 December 2007, with 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 visas were also introduced, such 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 seventy kilometre border zone. One needs no supporting document from Hungary, and health insurance and the visa cost only €20.

It is worth noting that neither the national visas nor the national residence permits authorize their holders to work or engage in any paid activity in Hungary;<sup>3</sup> both limit their holder to enter and stay only in Hungary, and no other member state in the Schengen Area. The holders may enter Hungary to pursue objectives of a 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.

In the case of Italy, circularity has been facilitated in particular by the introduction of a provision in the 2007 labour agreement which allows for job sharing when one is a domestic worker or care giver (see Vianello in this volume). This encourages circularity while maintaining legal status, and seems to respond well to the needs of Ukrainian women who wish to visit family back home at regular intervals, and to the needs of Italian families who require continuous care for elderly people or children.

Four main types of circular migration have been identified in the cases of Ukraine and Poland or Hungary or Italy. In all four types, the circular migrants have their main residence in Ukraine. The first type is that of low-skilled semi-legal circular migration. This involves both men and women, but

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they have different backgrounds and they work in different sectors. In the Poland-Ukraine and in the Italy-Ukraine cases, circularity is predominantly a female domain. Women who are engaged in circular mobility seek to make a living while also maintaining their family role, i.e. looking after children, elderly parents, or husband. The women concerned are usually middle-aged with teenage or adult children, and they are married, divorced, or widowed. However, this type of circular migration also embraces younger women who are the main 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. For the most part, they have no stable employment in Ukraine, but just like the women, their families are based there, and this is home for them.

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 fifties. The Ukrainian economy has been hit hard both during the early period of economic transformation (early 1990s) and during this last economic crisis (from 2008 onwards).

In the case of Hungary, our fieldwork shows a decrease in this form of low-skilled circular migration, because the crisis has hit Hungary very hard, 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, agriculture, or industry. They moved to domestic services or caring, since they are paid better in these jobs. In Hungary, the women who engage in repeated temporary stays generally engage in farm work and some cleaning. Ukrainian men in both Poland and Hungary are mainly employed in construction, whereas in Hungary they are also employed in agriculture. We call this type of circular migration semi-legal, because both in Hungary and Poland the migrants involved have a legal stay, but abuse their terms of stay by engaging in employment.

This type of semi-legal low-skilled circular migration is classified as such with regards to the job, but the people involved are generally semi- or highly skilled—with secondary or even higher education. Women's professions 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 primarily 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



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their future and that of their children (providing for education, supporting a youth who is entering adulthood or grandchildren, building or renovating a house, etc.).

There is a variant of this type of low-skilled 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 or travel agencies. While these agencies bring together offer and demand for people who have no good regional ethnic networks, they can be less trustworthy than informal contacts through friends and relatives. Fieldwork has shown that these travel and employment agencies sometimes charge too high a fee for the job opportunity that they arrange.

A second type of low-skilled irregular circular migration is that of individual agriculture seasonal workers in Poland and Hungary, but not Italy. 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. Since they work in agriculture, they are typically seasonal workers. 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, which 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 or 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' who bring people back and forth, are very important pieces of the puzzle that form this type of circularity.

The third type of circular migration identified is that of cross-border movement. Again, this is a type of circularity that concerns Ukrainian men and women who 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 two litres of alcohol allowed by the customs rules, or with a full tank of petrol, one could have earned up to \$20 per day. Being employed at the other side of the border, one could earn about \$200 per month, which was a much higher income than working in Ukraine would provide. Today, the rules allow for only two packs of cigarettes and one litre of alcohol, but the fuel cost is still 60 per cent lower in Ukraine. Shuttle trade in the borderlands, earlier practised 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 or Poland is that of legal highly skilled circular migrants. Such a type of migration of Ukrainian women in Italy has not been identified in our case study. Even

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in Poland or Hungary this type of circularity only concerns a small number of people (compared with the previous categories), and concerns people who have well-established sources of income in Ukraine (permanent employment or their own business). For them, this type of circularity simply adds some income, and also adds prestige to their own work. An example of the profile of this type of migrant could be a GP doctor who works part-time in Poland and has his own private practice in Ukraine, or an academic with a permanent post at one of the Ukrainian state universities, who regularly travels to Poland to teach at a private university in the borderland region.

### 10.4.1 *Challenges and opportunities of circular migration between Ukraine and Hungary or Poland or Italy*

All circular mobility between Ukraine and Hungary or Poland is spontaneous and regional in character. The case of Ukraine-Italy, by contrast, corresponds rather to the general post-Communist gendered migration to old EU member states (see also Gockel et al. 2009). Within the Central Eastern European region, such circular mobility 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 Area has led to their reduction, but has also channelled migrants into 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 cross border or national visas in Hungary or short-term visas in Poland. However, many migrants abuse the terms of their stay by engaging into employment. They work in sectors where informal work is 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 or Hungary and Ukraine is such that circular mobility is worth the effort. In the case of Italy, it was mainly the previous migration experience in the neighbouring countries, and the proliferation and expansion of ethnic networks, that opened up Italy (and other countries) as a new destination for Ukrainian migrants.

There are two main factors that shape circular mobility between Ukraine and the three countries studied: insufficient income and unemployment in Ukraine, and the need to reconcile reproductive work with work outside the home. These are common in all the cases, and as our case studies show, they shape the migration plans of circular migrants. Interestingly, most migrants interviewed initially thought they would only do it once, or they would spend a short time and then return; but eventually this circular mobility becomes a way of life for several years. This is particularly true for female circular

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migrants. We may actually talk about intermittent circularity (see Vianello in this volume), as the same migrant may alternate periods of circular mobility with longer periods when she or he stays at the country of destination. This is often linked to the initial irregular status of the migrants concerned, and the difficulty then in circulating.

In the case of circularity between Poland or Hungary and Ukraine, there are additional factors that facilitate circular migration, notably the existence of special stay visas that allow for a legal circulation even if employment is in the shadow economy, and the pre-existing ethnic networks between the two sides of the border. In the case of Italy, these visas do not exist and initially circularity is completely illegal, but with time the migrants concerned eventually manage to arrange their papers and then circulate legally. The legal system in Italy now allows for the possibility of job sharing by formally recognizing this condition of circularity, in private care jobs in particular.

Circularity within Italy and Ukraine is different from the other two countries studied to the extent that while it starts as a sort of entrepreneurial reaction of the migrants to hardship at home (poverty, unemployment, underemployment), it takes advantage of concrete policies which facilitate this type of movement, builds on pre-existing ethnic and cultural ties, and at the same time caters for specific labour market niches in domestic work and agriculture. This circular movement may be seen to satisfy the triple-win situation, to the extent that it covers labour market needs at destination, releases some unemployment pressure at the home country, and also provides for a flexible employment pattern, which allows for interested migrants to gain additional income while not being completely cut off from their families.

### **10.5 A new typology for circular migration**

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.

We have identified three main types of legal circular migration. The first and perhaps most common type is that of repeated seasonal labour migration in which migrants are based in the country of origin, which may take both a regulated form (within a programme) or take place spontaneously (outside such programmes). This happens mainly in agriculture, 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

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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.

A second type is that of circular legal labour migration in which migrants are based in the country of origin and circularity arises spontaneously. It concerns mainly highly skilled people or businesspersons. 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 businesspersons 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.

A third type of legal circular migration is also spontaneous: migrants are based in the destination country, travelling back and forth to the country of origin. These are usually 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 or, for instance, farm work in the fields.

We also found two types of semi-legal circular migration. In the first type migrants are based in the country of origin, it may or may not follow a seasonal pattern, the stay is legal, and work is informal. This type of migration involves a number of employment sectors, such as 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 tourist visa for the Schengen Area, or a special short-term visa valid in the specific member state (e.g. for Ukrainians in Poland), or a special status 'Magyar Igazolvány' (e.g. for ethnic Hungarians who are Ukrainian citizens in Hungary), or some other cross border document (e.g. for Ukrainians in Hungary). But her/his employment is irregular, as her/his visa does not provide for the right to work.

The people involved are semi-skilled or highly skilled people who are unemployed and/or cannot make ends meet in the country of origin and for various reasons (family reasons or simply the impossibility to migrate legally) do not wish to migrate for longer periods. They take advantage of established

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ethnic networks (e.g. Poland-Ukraine, or Hungary-Ukraine) and engage in circular migration. They work in the caring and cleaning sector (women) or in construction and farm work (men).

The second type of semi-legal circular labour migration concerns migrants based in the country of destination; it is also spontaneous (outside regulated programmes). It concerns people with low or medium skills who are long-term migrants in the destination country but are having difficulties finding a job (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 conduct small-scale trade between the two countries, buying goods usually from the destination country and selling them in the country of origin. This is an informal trade without licence. They may also offer transport services to fellow nationals (transporting house belongings or large 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 in 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. The business is still profitable. The main difference with the category referred to above as circular legal labour migration with migrants based in the destination country, is that while the travelling is legal here, the economic activity undertaken is informal and not properly registered. It takes place because it is tolerated by the authorities.

Last but not least, we have also identified irregular circular migration. In this case, the migrant enters without the necessary documents, and finds employment in the informal labour market in seasonal or other temporary jobs in agriculture, catering, tourism, cleaning, and private care. These are sectors where native workers also often work 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 in 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 is usually irregular. Migrants consciously engage in informal economic activities out of economic necessity. The possibility to travel back and forth legally is of course crucial. We may largely distinguish between circularity that arises as an entrepreneurial response of the migrant to hardship at home or at destination, and as a dynamic solution to her/his problems. Another type of circularity emerges as a form of managed repeated seasonal migration (mostly in the case

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of agriculture schemes involving Moroccans in Spain, or Albanians in Greece, and Ukrainian men in Poland and Hungary). Rare is 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 highly skilled 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 our case studies have shown that there are interesting patterns of economic activity that emerge out of the migrants' initiative. The role of policies is important in shaping the type and conditions of circularity. But one may argue, on the basis of our findings, that circularity is mainly agent-driven. Naturally, when migrants hold identity or residence documents that allow both circulation and employment in either country, circularity is favoured, but the mere existence of the possibility is not enough to trigger a circular movement.

### 10.6 Conclusion: is circular migration a triple-win situation?

Overall, circular migration is not a preferred option for migrants and their families. Migrants would rather stay put in one of the two countries, but they cannot stay in their country of origin because they do not have the 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 involve 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 in the country of destination (but more rarely) when they are underemployed or unemployed. Thus circular migration involves moderate economic gains for the circular migrant and her/his family. It is mainly a means of survival—a dynamic response aimed at surviving, and improving their living conditions and the future of their children to the extent possible.

Our case studies and the comparative analysis show that there are no other social capital gains for circular migrants, except for the category of highly skilled circular migrants (brain circulation) which, however, involves a very small number of people engaging 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

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(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, though. The country of origin has fewer people unemployed, and benefits from modest remittances from the circular migrants. These remittances are not high enough to shape 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) have implemented any policies for reintegrating 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 is high, infrastructure is poor, the national economy may be unstable, and therefore any investment is highly risky. Of course one might consider that countries of origin find it hard to reintegrate returning migrants who are going back to stay for good. It would probably be a touch too optimistic to expect these countries to provide for circular migrants too. In any case, any hardship and difficulties that circular migrants face when returning to the country of origin are dealt with by family and friends, not by state policies.

The country of destination 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 offer low pay and 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. However, countries of destination also 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, and they cannot deal with their demographic problem if migrants are circular and eventually go back to their country of origin.

Overall, our study shows that circular migration on the ground is quite different from what has been promoted in recent years by EU initiatives to

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foster circular migration and mobility partnership schemes. Circular migration is shaped by labour market dynamics, and driven by the agency of the migrants who seek innovative solutions to pressing economic problems. In this process, policies can facilitate or shape the forms of circular migration, but they do not appear to be the main drivers behind it. Of course, the importance of legal possibilities for circulating is paramount for the migrants. We have seen clearly that this is the case for settled Moroccans or Albanians, who circulate back to the country of origin as a means for improving their income and/or dealing with periods of unemployment. The same is true for Ukrainians who benefit from special visa schemes in Hungary, Poland, or Italy.

This finding runs counter to the main rationale behind circular migration programmes proposed as part of the EU's global approach to migration, which linked the possibility of legal circular migration opportunities for non EU citizens to their country's willingness and ability to ensure better migration controls. Circular migration on the ground seems to defy the logic of securitized temporariness that the EU indirectly promotes (see Cassarino in this volume).

What is, however, clearly lacking in the case of circular migration is the perspective that this migration will change the life of the migrant for the better. For the most part, circular migration addresses pressing economic needs and provides a provisional solution to unemployment or insufficient income, but generally does not allow for a more long-term perspective either in the country of destination or in the country of origin. Remittances are too low to make a difference at the place of origin, while labour market insertion and social integration at the destination country are only partial and generally not secure. Even in the case of migrants with long-term permits, as happens with Moroccans who circulate between Italy and Morocco, or Albanians who circulate between Albania and Greece, circularity testifies to an incomplete or only partly successful integration at destination. In very few cases, circularity is aimed to improve the migrant's livelihood and job prospects. In fact, this is the case only for a handful of circular migrants in the countries studied, with high skills, for whom circularity is an opportunity to develop further a career or to engage into development projects and community service.

Circular migration realities actually fit very well the post-fordist system of production. They are a perfect match to flexicurity approaches to the labour market. Circular migrants become entrepreneurs of their own selves. Facing difficult conditions at home or at destination, they use their human capital (their skills) and their social capital (their networks at the country of origin and destination) to create employment for themselves. What remains to be seen, however, is what kind of challenges such lives-in-circulation pose to democracy both at home and in the destination countries, as circular migrants are likely to belong to and participate in neither. The impact of circularity on



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welfare states is also an open and very important research question. Circular migrants who provide for care in EU countries leave a welfare gap back home, where children and elderly parents are left to look after each other. In addition, circular migrants are likely to reach old age without having a pension anywhere. EU policies encouraging circularity need to address these inherent gaps in circular migration, in order to allow for an actual triple-win situation.

## **Notes**

1. This kind of trade activity is also found between Morocco and the cities of Ceuta and Melilla, which are Spanish territories but located in Morocco. However, there it takes the form of daily commuting and trade.
2. In Greece, stay permits for dependent employment are routinely issued for two years, and must be renewed every two years until one completes a ten-year period of legal stay in Greece; after which one can apply and obtain the ten-year stay permit. At the end of 2010, there were 62,000 Albanians holding a ten-year stay permit in Greece, from a total of approximately 400,000 stay permit holders.
3. *Magyar igazolvány* Hungarian pass valid only with a visa.