

# **Rethinking EU Migration Policy : case study of Ukraine**

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submitted to

Central European University

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In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of  
Arts

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word count: 13 218

Budapest, Hungary

2014

## Abstract

European Union single market has experienced several shocks, as a result of which demand and supply of labor were no longer in equilibrium. This presented an opportunity for workers from outside of the EU to join European labor market. To manage flow of labor immigrants governments implemented set of policies focusing mainly on the external dimension. Those policies were necessary, but not sufficient to manage flow of immigrants. In countries such as Ukraine where connection between citizens and governments is broken, European state-level approaches are less effective. Instead, governments should focus on the neglected potential of diaspora networks, which can be used as a valuable tool in migration policies.

To illustrate my argument I will identify trends in Ukrainian emigration and immigration into the EU. Following this I will analyse European migration policies and outline problems in their implementation. Building on this, I will propose diasporas as a tool for integration of labor migrants into the host society.

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## Introduction

Following the break-up of USSR, citizens of former Soviet republics were able to go to other countries in a search of better job opportunities. The most popular place for such workers was the European Union, which could offer better standards of living, both in social and economic terms. Thus there was a noticeable rise in both short-term and long-term labor migration, and up to present time in Ukraine it is common for a member of family to go abroad for work and from his/her income to financially support family back home.

There has been done a lot of research in the field of migration , however, less attention was granted to the relationship between migration policies and diaspora. Existing migration policy of the EU is not as effective as it could be and one of the reasons is its state-level focus. Ineffectiveness is indicated by a large number of illegal immigrants in the European Union.

Ukrainians diaspora is one of the largest in the world and is a good example for analyzing a connection between migration policies and diasporas. Ukrainian emigrants are highly relying on their diaspora networks in the country of destination, and hardly expect support from state institutions, which the EU migration policies often fail to take into account. While citizens of such countries as UK and US, who also don't rely that much on their diaspora, are economically in a better position and are can support themselves, Ukrainians tend to be in a much weaker position and require certain level of assistance.

However, small cultural differences between East European states and Ukraine which resulted from geographical proximity and historical interactions should in theory make it easier for Ukrainian immigrants to accommodate to society models of those countries. Furthermore, by being located between the Europe and Russian Federation the country lies in geopolitical interest of both. After 2013-2014 winter revolution, which was triggered by Yanukovych's sudden decision in November 2013 to stop all negotiation

regarding Agreement with the EU, the country became an important actor in international relations. In the course of discussions between citizens of Ukraine, among other topics the most popular were economic costs and opportunities to Ukrainian labor market.

During the earlier stages of revolution the EU's actions were not effective, however, after acknowledging that the view of Ukraine as a nation state was somehow inaccurate and openness for dialogue enabled European governments to understand motivations and aspirations of Ukrainians. After 2013-2014 Winter revolution in Ukraine important changes were made regarding its relationship with the EU. First part of association agreements was signed and work on changes to visa started, which in the near future will lead to a visa-free transit between Ukraine and the Union. With the implementation of new system of managing migration between the two actors, policy-makers should focus on making it as effective as possible for all parties concerned.

And thus it is the purpose of my thesis to analyse existing migration policies in order to outline those aspects that could be improved in order to increase an overall effectiveness of migration management.

Lately there has been a lot of developments in migration politics, as well as in migration literature. Frankie et al<sup>1</sup> stated the need for ENP to focus on individual strategies and interests of partner-countries. It is indeed important to have a good understanding of particularities of each country to be able to develop an effective framework for cooperation. Kuzio<sup>2</sup> in his paper pointed that there exists a tendency to focus Russian influence over Ukraine and failure to take into account Ukrainian's longer contact with and influence of its Western neighbors. This suggests that European Union policy makers might not have deep enough understanding of migration tendencies in order to be able to create the most effective system.

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<sup>1</sup> Franke et al, 2013

<sup>2</sup> Kuzio, 2007

Mouhoud and Oudinet noted a rise in number of skilled migrants who in order to maintain their status in working environment develop different mobility strategies ( for example, repeat migration - when person travels to country A and from there goes to country B).<sup>3</sup> In terms of emigration of Ukrainians to Poland, recent statistics outlines an overall decline of migration and preference for temporary migration. However, for those who want to move permanently and build their career, European and in particular Polish systems cannot offer a lot of options. In some cases marriages act as a link between temporary and settlement migration.

Górny and Kępińska refer to neo-classical economic model of migration - individual decision-making involves utility maximization - to outline that wage gap between Poland and USSR served as one of the reasons for emigration from Soviet states and later post-Soviet states. Choice of Poland could be explained by several points: geographical proximity, shared history, existing similarities between countries. Statistic provided by the authors shows an increase in Polish-Ukrainian marriages between the years of 1992 and 2001. Ukrainians tended to be younger and better educated, while Polish partners had higher income and better standards of living. Marriages between Polish and Ukrainian citizens show that Ukrainians can easily integrate into European society, thus integration of Ukrainian labor migrants will also be possible.

It is important to understand what kind of information migrants have about migration control and integration policies of receiving country. Anna Triandafyllidou discussed in her paper what information they receive and where they attain it from. Different knowledge of the structure will result in different choices made by migrating workers. She outlined that migrants motivations may be more complex than policy makers think. This means that some of the policies in reality could be ineffective, and my thesis argues that this is the case with Ukrainian labor migrants.

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<sup>3</sup> El Mouhoub Mouhoud & Joël Oudinet

Legal framework in destination country plays a vital role in economic and social integration of migrants. Kindler a and Szulecka outlined several challenges in accessing labor market : administrative barriers and ability to gain access to satisfying jobs.

I will pursue with my analysis of Ukrainian labor migration in eight steps.

After introducing the topic, my first chapter will focus on outlining existing problem in EU single market and the place of immigrants in European labor market.

In the second chapter with the use of statistical data I will outline trends in labor immigration to the EU. I will show that in the past several years number of labor immigrants was declining, while at the same time figures for Poland were rising.

In the third chapter I will discuss patterns of Ukrainian emigration. Generally the figures were declining, most of the labor emigrants come from West of the country and among the most popular destinations were Russian Federation, Italy and Poland.

In the fourth chapter I will explore migration legislation of the Union. I will analyse existing legal framework of the EU to outline what rights and obligations immigrants have. I will focus on migration laws and acts, agreements signed between the EU and Ukraine.

In the following chapter I will analyse existing migration policies, in particular Mobility Partnerships and circular migration schemes. I will argue that those approach are only partially effective and are not sufficient for the effective management of migration flows.

Chapter six will outline motivations and expectations of Ukrainian labor immigrants as they come to the EU, ranging from economic to social conditions.

Chapter seven will focus on concepts of integration and assimilation of immigrants into the EU. I will demonstrate why it is necessary for host society to integrate labor immigrants. While taking into account interests of endogenous population which would prefer to protect their social and economic spheres, it is important to provide good conditions for immigrant to realize their potential, which will benefit both foreign workers and host society.



The last chapter will discuss role of diaspora in process of Ukrainian labor migration and why the EU should pay special attention to those networks. By referring to an element of Collier's migration policy package I will outline how diaspora can become a policy tool.

The final chapter will conclude that existing labor migration policies of the EU are not as effective as they could be, and to improve they need to focus on integration of labor immigrant into society with the use of diasporas.

# Chapter 1 Single market in the EU

## 1.1 Gaps in the market

The European Union established a single market between all Member States, ensuring free movement of goods, capital, persons and services. The free movement of persons enables the exchange of workers between countries. While originally being an economic union gradually the organizational structure extended to include political areas, and the resulting set of core values included respect for human dignity and human rights, liberty, democracy, equality and the rule of law.<sup>4</sup> With currently 28 Member State the Union guarantees respect and support for all of its nations.

This chapter aims to outline the existing problem in European labor market and to discuss labor migration from outside of the EU as a solution to that problem.

Large labor market increases overall demand and supply of labor. Resulting from that, the excess or shortage of workers in one state can be fixed by opposite dynamics in another state. Employees have greater work opportunities and employers have much wider choice. Through those compensations in demand and supply of labor within the Union the model can reach its equilibrium, which shows that internal migration creates good conditions for both citizens and business in the EU.

Larger labor market and compensation mechanisms were among the intentions of policy-makers when a single market was established. Initially the model was working, however, two events threw it out of equilibrium: the end of Cold War, and the following Eastern Enlargement. After the fall of USSR newly independent states were created whose economies were going through difficult times and a lot of their citizens started to look for better conditions in other countries. Due to higher level of development the EU became a target for those migrants.

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<sup>4</sup> [http://europa.eu/scadplus/constitution/objectives\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/scadplus/constitution/objectives_en.htm)

The second even, namely the Eastern enlargement, was the biggest and the most challenging in the whole history of the EU. New Member States which joined the EU as a result of enlargement were politically and economically unprepared, which created a big difference in terms of development between new and old states. There were illusions on the side of new states that the welfare will increase straight after accession, which did not happen as the process requires time and effort. Citizens were dissatisfied with little change in the short-term were leaving their country in the search of better conditions, and in particular for higher wages. However, there was more supply of labor from the new states than the labor market in the old members could absorb. Furthermore, there had to be introduced changes to external dimension of migration policy as with the new borders also came the new neighbor. As an example, newly joined countries had to be taught European border control regulations and practices.

In terms of pressure on society, East-West migration resulting from enlargement was not posing as many problems as the general South-North trend. This is because countries that are involved in the earlier do not have as big differences between their cultures as between countries in South-North flow. Despite this, there were still some tensions between nations, which European citizenship was not able to solve. Efforts to create a united European spirit were not successful as people were still associating themselves with their nations and, moreover, differences in cultures proved to be a much harder barrier to overcome than expected. Economic and social challenges led to certain skepticism as to the benefits of migration, however, this did not stop the flow of people across Member States.

## **1.2 Labor migration as an answer to disequilibrium in the market?**

Labor migration can be divided into three components: legal movement of work force within the EU, legal movement from outside of the EU, and illegal movements mainly from the outside, which is the hardest to measure and control. Political dialogue and

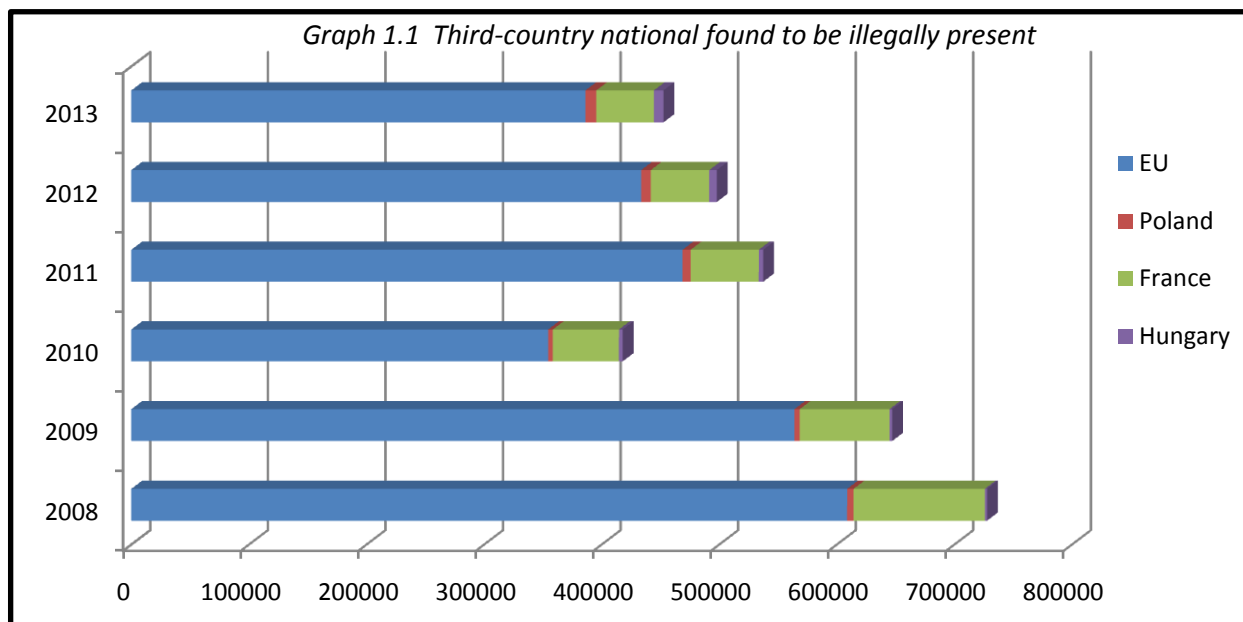
cooperation are maintained with third countries whose nationals choose to migrate to the EU. Governments outline that managing migration is the responsibility of country of origin, country of destination and, in the case such exists, country of transfer. Migration as a policy area occupies an important place both in national and European level governance.

Distinguishing from other migration related issue, the EU tends to prioritize security of external borders. Issue of security has become indispensable part of the dialogue on migration - managing legal immigrants into the EU and preventing illegal immigration are discussed not only by policy-makers, but also by politicians in their debates. We can see the rising importance of the policy area as in the proposal for 2007-2013 Multiannual Financial Framework expenditure for the area of *Freedom, Security and Justice*, which is responsible for issues related to asylum and immigration, as well as police and customs cooperation, from beginning to the end of period was expected to increase by 1092%<sup>5</sup>.

I am using data on illegal migration in order to see whether protectionist migration policies were effective. Cooperation among Member States and with third countries created good mechanisms for dealing with illegal migration, however, it could not be completely eliminated. The graph below shows the data on third-country nationals found to be illegally present in the EU, Poland, France and Hungary.<sup>6</sup> We can see that number of such individuals was decreasing in France and EU, but figures were increasing in Poland and Hungary. By the end of the period the figure for Poland increased by 70.1% and for Hungary by 340%, but the overall figure for the EU decreased by 28.8%. The statistic indicates that the EU was able to decrease number of illegal persons on its territory, which manifests a success of migration policies. However, the rising figures in some Member States, namely Poland and Hungary, suggest a changing trend of flow of illegal migrants rather than its decline.

<sup>5</sup> EU Commission - Financial Programming and Budgeting,  
[http://ec.europa.eu/budget/figures/fin\\_fw0713/fw0713\\_en.cfm](http://ec.europa.eu/budget/figures/fin_fw0713/fw0713_en.cfm)

<sup>6</sup> EuroStat, [http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=migr\\_eipre&lang=en](http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=migr_eipre&lang=en)



However, inability to completely eliminate illegal migration is not entirely due to European migration policies, because there are some factors that the EU cannot control. For example, with the increasing speed of globalization and intensifying flows of people, as well as rising popularity of liberalism, it is not possible to close the borders, which means that some level of illegal migration will always be present. This is also due to migrant's determination to find better conditions than those in their home country, and therefore, they will always find a way to bypass legislation and border control.

Teitelbaum indicates that the policies used include both "direct controls over entry at their land borders, airports and seaports" and indirect control measures, such as sanctions on carriers if they don't ensure that the person has the right documents, as well as exchange of information between states.<sup>7</sup> He remarked that effectiveness of actions of states in relation to restraining migration flows will be different depending on space and time.

<sup>7</sup> Brettell and Hollifield, 2008, p. 58

Furthermore, all Member States who are part of Shengen zone have an agreed list of documents which an applicant has to provide in order to receive a visa, as well as common rights and obligation of an immigrant in the EU. Before arriving to the Union migrants are carefully checked to make sure they meet all the conditions. However, once they reach their country of destination contact with the authorities is lost, unless it concerns their legal status in the EU.

However, the main focus of EU migration policies remains on creating a cap on the number of successful applicants and on ensuring 'quality' of immigrants. This is undoubtedly an important approach, but insufficient both for legal and illegal migration. Collier remarked that when a government sets a target for reducing number of immigrants, the most affected group will be students as this is the easiest group to control.<sup>8</sup> This is contrary to the external dimension of European migration policies, which are aiming to facilitate development in neighbouring countries via transfer of knowledge and skills, and thus in the long-term decrease number of immigrants.

### 1.3 Migration policies

Workers from the outside of the EU will always be attracted by the prosperity of European state. Since it is not possible to stop migration, policy makers should focus on managing immigrants after they have moved. This approach promises to be beneficial for two reasons for this: firstly, it will allow for a better use of labor resources of immigrants, and, secondly, it will enable a greater integration of immigrants into the society and by this make migration less stressful for the native population.

The European Union is among most popular destinations for Ukrainian migrants, a particular characteristic of which is the lack of trust in the governments. Thus state-level approaches pursued by the EU are not reaching the target. The first point of contact of

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<sup>8</sup> Paul Collier, public lecture at CEU, *How best can migration policy reconcile the legitimate interests of host societies and countries of origin?*

Ukrainian labor immigrant is more likely to be diaspora network in the Member State, rather than the department of Foreign Ministry of Ukraine. This is the general trend among all nations, as all labor emigrants, unlike tourists, receive little if any support from their government when they are abroad. In the light of misbalanced labor market in the EU and challenges posed by migration, it is important to evaluate effectiveness of existing migration policies. Ukraine has signed the Association Agreement with the EU and in the near future there will be visa-free regime between the two actors, which will increase number of Ukrainian immigrants in the Union. Therefore, in order to have an effective policy management of that flow it is necessary to assess current migration policies.

This chapter has shown that European labor market is in disequilibrium and existing gaps in supply of labor are being filled in by labor immigrants from outside of the EU. We have established that European model is facing certain challenges, resulting from which presents opportunities for labor immigrants to come and work in Member States. Following this conclusion, in the next chapter I will analyse what role do migrants play in the European Union.

## Chapter 2 Outlining migration trends

### 2.1 Immigration into the EU

Economy of the European Union has been following a slow but positive development trend. Social conditions have also been improving. This attracts a lot of people outside of the Union who come in search of better life. Some of them are following job opportunities which they cannot find back home. In this chapter builds on statistical data on immigration into the EU and aims to explore existing trends.

Immigrants change the character of the EU in both economic and social spheres. The influence depends on migration trends - such aspects as destination country, country of origin, short of long-term migration, reasons for migration.

Contrary to what could have been expected, immigration into the EU has been slowly declining in the last several years. Reasons for this could vary - from general development of other countries to lack of finances to travel due to latest crisis. However, the net migration is still positive - there are more people going into the Union than leaving.

Population in both the EU and Poland is slowly increasing<sup>9</sup>. Table 2. 1 shows that over the period of seven years the change was equal to 1.6% and 2.6% respectively. The increase is both due to natural rate of birth and immigration. The change was relatively small and therefore we can see that flow if immigrants does not possess enough power to significantly affect the social life of both actors.

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<sup>9</sup> Eurostat,  
<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=tps00001&plugin=1> .  
The population is based on data from the most recent census adjusted by the components of population change produced since the last census, or based on population registers.



	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
<b>EU 27 countries</b>	492	494	496	498	499	501	500
<b>Poland</b>	38	38	38	38	38	39	39

*2.1 Population on the 1st of January in millions*

Migration can be short-term and long-term, and depending on this will effect economies and societies differently. The table 2.2 shows the number of long-term immigrants residing in the EU and Poland.<sup>10</sup> The data is based on the number of people who move into the country while being citizens of another country, therefore this includes movements both within the Union and from the outside. There is a general trend of declining in number of long-term immigrants to the EU with an outlier in year 2010. However, the changes are not as big as in the case of Poland. We can observe a significant increase in long-term immigrants into the country within the given time frame - the figure of year 2012 is 2014% of the level of year 2006. This suggests that impact of immigration will be stronger in Poland, rather than in the EU.

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
<b>EU 27 countries</b>	n/a	n/a	n/a	1 731 100	1 811 300	1 750 600	1 693 900
<b>Poland</b>	10 802	14 995	47 880	189 166	155 131	157 059	217 546

*2.2 Long-term immigrants into the EU*

<sup>10</sup> Eurostat,  
<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=tps00176&plugin=1> .  
 Total number of long-term immigrants into the reporting country during the reference year

More than half of foreigners in Member States come from outside of the EU. In 2012, foreign citizens accounted for about 6.6% of the total population of the EU.<sup>11</sup> In 2011 out of the total number of foreign-born residents ( 48.9 million) 66.3% were born outside of the EU. In the EU in 2011 out of total number of foreigners 61.6 were from non-EU country, while in Poland in the same year the figure was 67%. Figure show that there is a greater migration between the Union and other states rather than between Member States. This could be due to economic, social and political integration across the Union which makes it less necessary to move to another country. At the same time, citizens from less developed countries are moving to the EU in search of better opportunities.

I am going to discuss employment situation in the EU and Poland in order to outline what potential do labor market labor migrants from outside of the EU have to affect labor market. Table 3.3. represents employment and unemployment rates of the EU and Poland between years 2007 and 2012.<sup>12</sup> Employment rate is the percentage of employment out of the total number of people, unemployment rate is the percentage of those without work but who are willing and looking for work. We can observe contradictory trends for the EU and Poland. By the end of the period foreign-born employment within the EU is decreased by 2.4%, while in Poland it increased by 25.1%. Difference in figures for foreign-born unemployment is much smaller, but the trend is again opposite - increasing in the EU and declining in Poland. In addition, changes in statistics for foreign-born workers are much more significant, while fluctuation in data for native-born are smaller. The data shows that employments trends for foreign-born workers differ in the EU and Poland, and thus the effect of labor immigration will be different. Therefore, labor and migration policies have to be specifically targeted.

<sup>11</sup> Eurostat, Statistics in focus 2012 - Population and social conditions, <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=tps00176&plugin=1> .

<sup>12</sup> OECD.StatExtracts, <http://stats.oecd.org/>

		EU (27 countries)						Poland					
		2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
<b>E</b>	<b>foreign-born</b>	63,8	63,4	61,8	62	62,2	61,4	36,8	43,5	45,5	50,4	55,2	61,9
	<b>native-born</b>	65,4	65,9	64,7	64,3	64,4	64,5	57,106	59,3	59,4	58	59,3	59,7
<b>U</b>	<b>foreign-born</b>	10,8	10,9	14,5	14,5	14,4	15,6	9,401	5,1	11,6	11,6	11,9	6,9
	<b>native-born</b>	6,8	6,6	8,4	9,1	9,1	9,9	9,716	7,2	8,3	9,8	9,8	10,2

2.3 Employment and unemployment rates, foreign and native born<sup>13</sup>

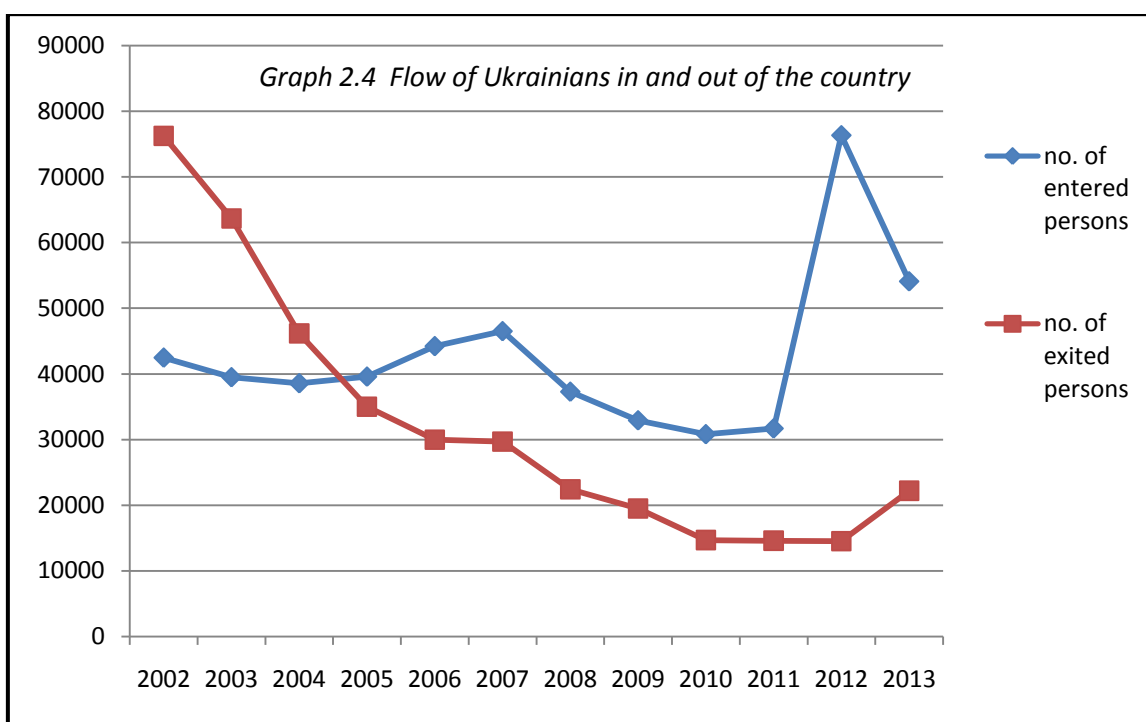
To sum up, the data in this chapter provides for several observations: firstly, total population of the EU is rising, but the number of immigrants is slowly decreasing; secondly, while population of Poland is increasing in a slow rate, number of immigrants into the country is rising very fast; and lastly, even though the crude number of immigrants is large, it is not as striking when taken as a percentage of the total population of the EU. What is interesting, is that often tendencies in the EU and Poland are opposite.

## 2.2 Migration of Ukrainians

Ukraine has relatively large emigration rates and main destinations are the EU, US and Canada. The main push factor is lack of job opportunities in the country, while more developed economies and labor markets in other countries acts as pull factors. This chapter will outline characteristics of Ukrainian emigration, including main countries of destination and role of remittances.

<sup>13</sup> For the purposes of analysis the data is rounded up to one decimal.

After the break-up of USSR large number of citizens moved out of Ukraine in search of better jobs, however as the time was passing the figure was decreasing. The graph 2.4 represents migration patterns of Ukrainians from year 2002 up to 2013. Number of emigrants has considerably decreased by the end of the period. Up to year 2011 fluctuations in number of entered persons was not that significant. In addition, before 2005 number of exited persons was larger than number of entered, however, after 2005 the relationship was reversed. The data shows that emigration from Ukraine was decreasing and this includes category of labor emigrants.



Among the most popular destinations of Ukrainian migrants are: the United States, Italy, Israel, Germany, Czech Republic, Hungary, Russian Federation and Poland. According to International Organization for Migration stock of emigrants as percentage of population is about 14.4%. In terms of labor migration, top countries are: Russian Federation, Poland, Czech Republic, Italy and Spain. Gender ratio in Ukrainian labor

migration is relatively equal, both for short-term and long-term<sup>14</sup> stays. Difference is in the kind of work that migrants are involved in: men predominantly in construction , and women in house care.

Out of post- Soviet states the highest share of immigrants that Poland receives come from Ukraine. Basing on the data from Migration Policy Centre<sup>15</sup> number of Ukrainians residing in Poland increased by 108.5% from 2007 to 2011. Russian emigrants take the second place, but the number of them has never been higher than 5 000 during the same period. However, it is important to take into account that a lot of Ukrainians have naturalized and therefore in statistical data are not counted for as migrants.

Generally after emigration to the EU most Ukrainians are engaged in low-skilled type of work, such as construction or domestic care. At the same time, more than half of Ukrainian emigrants have attained complete secondary education<sup>16</sup> in Ukraine, and a significant percent ( for example, 21.2% in 2006) have status of professionals<sup>17</sup>.

Migration Policy Centre<sup>18</sup> also provides information on Ukrainians temporary working abroad. The data shows that in Poland this number increased by 624% from 2007 to 2010. Due to geographical proximity of the country as lot of Ukrainian emigrants can make short trips home and then return back to their work.

A significant percent of residence permits is issued for the purpose of remunerated activities. The table 2.5 represents the data on this category of permits granted to Ukrainians by duration of stay<sup>19</sup>. Number of permits granted by the EU was declining and

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<sup>14</sup> Migration Policy Centre, Migration Profile - Ukraine

<sup>15</sup> Migration Policy Centre, CARIM East Database - Demographic and Economic Database, <http://www.carim-east.eu/4577/population-residing-in-poland-by-country-of-citizenship-2002-2007-2010-1st-january/>

<sup>16</sup> International Organization for migration

<sup>17</sup> Migration Policy Centre

<sup>18</sup> Migration Policy Centre, CARIM East Database - Demographic and Economic Database, <http://www.carim-east.eu/4258/ukrainian-citizens-temporarily-working-abroad-by-country-of-stay-2006-2010/>

<sup>19</sup> Migration Policy Centre, CARIM East - Demographic and Economic Database, <http://www.carim-east.eu/8534/first-residence-permits-granted-to-ukrainian-nationals-in-the-european-union-by-eu-member-state-and-duration-of-stay-2008-2011/>

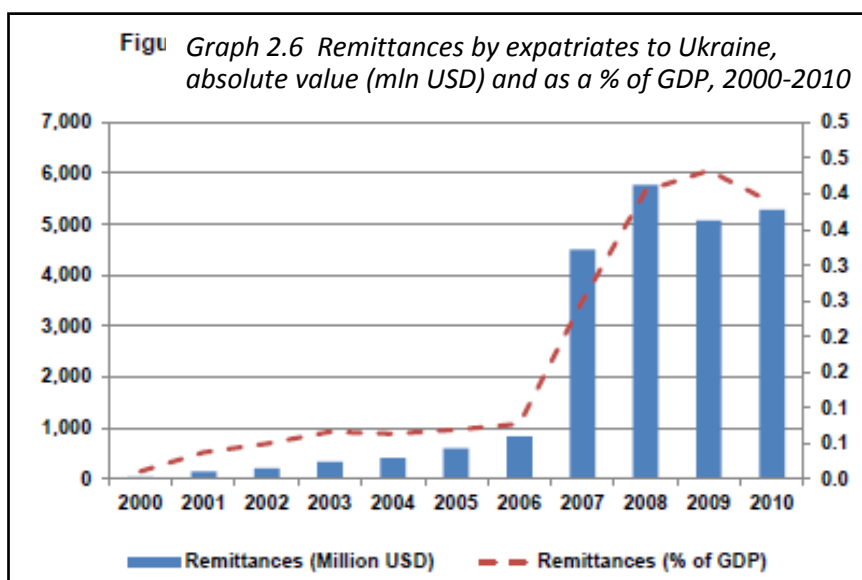
by the end of the period by decreased by 28.3%, however, there was a sudden increase in 2010. The data for Poland outlines a general positive trend with an increase by 200.5% by 2011, but there was also observed a sudden increase in 2010. The data shows that number of residence permits granted to Ukrainians by the EU was declining and by Poland was increasing. This shows that immigration trends differ for the two actors and as well as the rising popularity of Poland as destination country of Ukrainian labor immigrants.

		<b>Poland</b>	<b>EU</b>
<b>2008</b>	<b>Total</b>	8 003	107 207
	<b>3-5 months</b>	0	8 122
	<b>6-11 months</b>	0	29 687
	<b>&gt; 12 months</b>	8 003	69 398
<b>2009</b>	<b>Total</b>	8 447	82 628
	<b>3-5 months</b>	0	4 363
	<b>6-11 months</b>	0	24 459
	<b>&gt; 12 months</b>	8 447	53 806
<b>2010</b>	<b>Total</b>	76 485	163 104
	<b>3-5 months</b>	65 125	69 189
	<b>6-11 months</b>	10 180	30 891
	<b>&gt; 12 months</b>	1 180	63 024
<b>2011</b>	<b>Total</b>	24 048	76 831
	<b>3-5 months</b>	2 547	8 274
	<b>6-11 months</b>	20 479	34 428
	<b>&gt; 12 months</b>	1 022	34 129

*2.5 Residents permits granted to Ukrainians for remunerated activities.*

Ukrainian diaspora is one of the largest in the world. Its presence is most noticeable in such countries as Canada, Italy, Germany and the US. Ukrainian migrants rely on those ties and there exists a strong sense of support. From the fall of the USSR up to now Ukrainian Foreign Ministry was hardly regarded as the place where citizens could get necessary information and support. There are several reasons for that, but the main one is general lack of trust in the government. At the same time close family and national ties created a situation when Ukrainians are relying solely on each other.

Ukrainians migrate either for long period of time and then they move with their family, or for a short period of time (time frame can be different, major characteristic - temporary migration). However, most of the migrants move only temporarily to be able to support their family back home. On the diagram below we can see flow of remittances both in terms of actual value and as a percentage of GDP for the period between 2000 and 2010 in mln US dollars<sup>20</sup>:



From the graph 2.6 we can see that there is a general trend of rising of share of remittances in the GDP of Ukraine. There is also an large in sudden increase in figures from 2006 to 2007. This is also the time at which there was observed a large increase in

<sup>20</sup> Migration Policy Centre, Migration Profile - Ukraine

net migration figure for the country. However, the data does not account for all money flows because certain amount of money Ukrainians bring in cash when coming back home.

This chapter aimed to provide an account of migration trends, namely emigration of Ukrainians and migration flows into the EU. We could see that number of immigrants going into the EU is slowly decreasing, however, the figure for Poland is increasing. This outlines that there could be opposing trend within the Europe, which clearly states the need for individual approach on the part of Member States aimed at managing migration.



## Chapter 3 Migration legislation and policies

### 3.1 European Union migration legislation

In the previous chapters I have presented trends in Ukrainian emigration and immigration into the EU. We could see that the number of immigrants into the EU is large, and this chapter will define what are the rights and duties of newcomers according to the legislation.

The EU labor migration legislation can be divided into several parts. Firstly, it's the conditions of crossing the border. Secondly, it's the issuance of short-term visas. And thirdly, long-term visas and conditions for staying - the point of our interest.

Entry conditions for third-country nationals for staying no more than 3 months over 6 months period include: valid documents which allow them to cross the border, justification of the purpose of stay, sufficient means of substance.<sup>21</sup> Rules are the same for each Member State and they are meant to cooperate with each other in training and work of the service. FRONTEX agency is established to coordinate operation of Member States in the field of management of external borders. Furthermore, EUROSUR system is established to facilitate information exchange between states and therefore to improve protection of borders.

Currently Ukraine is among countries whose nationals are required to hold visas when entering the EU. The choice of granting a visa lies on the consulate of the relevant territory - either country of main destination or, in case no can be established, the country which the applicant intends to cross first.<sup>22</sup> Ukraine has signed an AGREEMENT

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<sup>21</sup> REGULATION (EC) N° 562/2006 OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL OF 15 MARCH 2006 ESTABLISHING A COMMUNITY CODE ON THE RULES GOVERNING THE MOVEMENT OF PERSONS ACROSS BORDERS (SCHENGEN BORDERS CODE),

[http://europeanmigrationlaw.eu/en/about\\_navigation#immigration\\_156\\_0\\_0](http://europeanmigrationlaw.eu/en/about_navigation#immigration_156_0_0)

<sup>22</sup> Regulation (EC) # 810/2009 of THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL OF 13 JULY 2009 ESTABLISHING A COMMUNITY CODE ON VISAS (VISA CODE),

[http://europeanmigrationlaw.eu/en/about\\_navigation#immigration\\_133\\_1\\_1](http://europeanmigrationlaw.eu/en/about_navigation#immigration_133_1_1)

BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COMUNITY AND UKRAINE ON THE FACILITATION OF THE ISSUANCE OF VISAS, the purpose of which is to "facilitate the issuance of visas for an intended stay of no more than 90 days per period of 180 days".<sup>23</sup>

In terms of permissions to stay the EU legislation separates between several groups of applicants: students and pupils, researchers, highly skilled workers, single permit, seasonal workers, family reunification and long-term students. In my analysis I will only focus on several categories.

Highly skilled workers and their family can while being third country nationals can apply for a stay for period longer than 3 months and receive the EU Blue Card under following conditions: valid work contract or binding job offer for a highly qualified employments of at least 1 year, prove of the relevant profession specified in the contract or a documents assessing professional qualification, also the agreed gross annual salary "shall not be inferior to a relevant salary threshold defined and published by that purpose by the Member States, which shall be at least 1,5 times the average gross annual salary in the Member State concerned"<sup>24</sup>.<sup>25</sup> Member States reserve the right to determine the volume of admission of applicants in this category of visas. The EU Blue Card shall be granted either for a period between 1 and 4 years, or for the period of contract plus three months.

The set of rights of a successful applicant are provided in the Directive on Blue Card in the Article 12. Firstly, for the first two years of legal employment the person can only participate in paid employment activities which meet the conditions for admission. After two years Member State may decide to allow the person equal access to highly qualified

<sup>23</sup> AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COMUNITY AND UKRAINE ON THE FACILITATION OF THE ISSUANCE OF VISAS, [http://europeanmigrationlaw.eu/en/about\\_navigation#immigration\\_148\\_1\\_3](http://europeanmigrationlaw.eu/en/about_navigation#immigration_148_1_3)

<sup>24</sup> In certain cases salary threshold may be at least 1,2 times the average gross annual salary in the Member State concerned.

<sup>25</sup> COUNCIL DIRECTIVE 2009/50/EC OF 25 MAY 2009 ON THE CONDITIONS OF ENTRY AND RESIDENCE OF THIRD-COUNTRY NATIONALS FOR THE PURPOSES OF HIGHLY QUALIFIED EMPLOYMENT, [HTTP://EUROPEANMIGRATIONLAW.EU/EN/ABOUT\\_NAVIGATION#IMMIGRATION\\_151\\_2\\_2](HTTP://EUROPEANMIGRATIONLAW.EU/EN/ABOUT_NAVIGATION#IMMIGRATION_151_2_2)

employment as the nationals enjoy. Changes that might affect the conditions for admission, such as change in employer, have to be communicated first to authorities of Member State of residence. Member States also have the power to restrict activities of third-country national if those are related to exercise of public authority of protection of national interest of the country, and if those are reserved to nationals.

As an employee a third-country citizen has equal rights with nationals of the Member States. However, authorities remain the rights to limit equal treatment regarding study, maintenance grants and loans, and other loans regarding procedures for obtaining housing. In occasion of unemployment Blue Card holder maintains the right to search for a new job within the period of three months, but has an obligation to notify relevant authorities in the Member State as to the change of his/her employment status.

Single permit could issued to an applicant for the purpose of work in the territory of a Member State, it can also require a visa before crossing the border.<sup>26</sup> As in the previous cases a third-country national enjoys equal treatment with nationals of the Member State in question. Similarly, authorities remain the right to introduce certain restrictions, such as excluding study and maintenance grants and loans or other grants and loans, introduce specific requirements regarding language and payments of fees (with respect to education), restrict access to goods and services which are available to public (without prejudice to national law), restrict access to housing, limit applications to only those that are employed.

### **3.2 External dimension of EU migration policies**

The EU has developed Mobility Partnership between its Member States and Moldova, Georgia and Armenia. The priority is on "creating a common transnational

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<sup>26</sup> DIRECTIVE 2011/98/EU OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL OF 13 DECEMBER 2011 ON A SINGLE APPLICATION PROCEDURE FOR A SINGLE PERMIT FOR THIRD-COUNTRY NATIONALS TO RESIDE AND WORK IN THE TERRITORY OF A MEMBER STATE AND ON A COMMON SET OF RIGHTS FOR THIRD-COUNTRY WORKERS LEGALLY RESIDING IN A MEMBER STATE, [http://europeanmigrationlaw.eu/en/#immigration\\_152\\_2\\_3](http://europeanmigrationlaw.eu/en/#immigration_152_2_3)

framework for cooperation on labor migration, including 'circular migration' schemes, allowing for a 'triple win' for Member States, the third country and the nationals thereof".<sup>27</sup> Agreements toughed upon such aspects of migration as irregular migration, legal migration, migration and development nexus. Each agreements is designed to fit the needs of the Union as well as the third country, and Member States are free to join any agreements.

This chapter will analyse migration policies of the EU and will outline that there is too much emphasis put on external dimension, in which those policies do not always achieve their initial aims, and that they miss out on internal dimension.

### 3.2.1 Are agreements reaching the target?

Migration Partnership are optional and different groups of partner-states are created, as the result those agreements are criticized for being a soft law mechanism which cannot ensure full compliance and parties could choose those aspects that are beneficial to them. Alongside Mobility Partnerships the EU has introduced circular migration schemes as "a form of managed migration allowing some degree of labor mobility back and forth between the two countries".<sup>28</sup> The approach covers two groups of third-country residents: those wishing to reside and those who are temporary in the EU.

Circular migration schemes were criticized by Maroukis and Triandafyllidou for not being able to provide the type of migration that it aims to - very small number of highly-skilled workers are willing to engage participate and take the skills they acquired back to their home country.<sup>29</sup> Most of the high skilled labor leave the country of origin for a longer period of time and when they obtain new skills and knowledge they do not want to come back to their home country where their professionalism will not receive an adequate

<sup>27</sup> Kunz Lavenex and Panizzon, 2012, p.97

<sup>28</sup> Kunz et al., p. 100

<sup>29</sup> Policy paper, *MOBILITY PARTNERSHIPS: A CONVINCING TOOL FOR THE EU'S GLOBAL APPROACH TO MIGRATION?*, <http://www.notre-europe.eu/media/mobilitypartnerships-maroukistriandafyllidou-ne-jdi-feb13.pdf?pdf=ok>

reward. Authors stated in their policy paper that the only circular migration that is more or less regulated by the EU Member States studies ( Italy, Spain, Greece, Hungary, Poland) is seasonal agricultural migration. We can see from their analysis that circular migration schemes that intended to facilitate transfer of skills between countries in reality had an effect on low-skilled jobs.

Circular migration schemes also receive a critique from Carrera and Sagrera who outlined their predetermination of temporary migration - the most important parts of the approach are return and readmission of the immigrants.<sup>30</sup> The European Commission Ward stated possible third country commitments to the Member State: readmission of its nationals, initiatives to discourage illegal migration through targeted information campaigns, cooperate and exchange information in order to reduce risks related to international movement of persons (a reference is made to international illegal activity), commitments to improve economic and social conditions, and others.<sup>31</sup> The circular migration scheme act as a security blanket ensuring that immigrant workers will return home in a short time. However, some labor migrants have no intentions of returning home, which is mostly true for high-skilled workers whose rotation is the primary objective.

Rotation of immigrant workers enables implementation of new skills in the country of origin, which in the long-term will facilitate development. However, constant circulation of labor is not necessary beneficial for the European economy - while having developed skills that are valued by European employers a worker has to leave and therefore those employers will have to teach new people all over again. Therefore, short-term immigrants will not be chosen for highly-skilled job or jobs that require training. Needless to say that this destroys the original purpose of those circular migration schemes.

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<sup>30</sup> Kunz et al., p. 109

<sup>31</sup> Kunz et al. , p. 147

The EU has asserted that its external dimension policies are aiming at increasing mobility between partner states, however, the focus has stayed on the migration as a security issue. When signing Member States put great emphasis on the management of illegal migration, rather than on the economic and social integration of immigrants.

### 3.2.2 EU-Ukraine Association Agreement

As a part of Eastern Partnership the EU signed two contracts with the Ukraine: EU-Ukraine visa facilitation agreement and readmission agreements which entered into force in 2007 and 2013 respectively.<sup>32</sup> There was also signed an Association Agreement which provides for a visa liberalization regime, however, the document was signed in 2014 and is not included in the time frame of my analysis. Article of the visa facilitation agreement states that "the purpose of this Agreements is to facilitate the issuance of visas for an intended stay of no more than 90 days per period of 180 days to the citizens of Ukraine".<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, Article 13 identifies that the current agreement takes "precedence over provisions of any bilateral or multilateral agreements of arrangements concluded between individual Member States and Ukraine, insofar as the provisions of the latter agreements or arrangements cover issues dealt with by the present Agreement".

Partnership emphasizes on transfer of skill from the EU to Ukraine in order to facilitate development of the later. The partnership is a long-term project as it will take certain period of time before new skills and knowledge gained in the EU can be applied in the Ukraine. After the 2013-2014 Winter revolution and Presidential elections in the Ukraine, we can expect to see serious changes to the way the economy of the country is managed. New politicians in the government have the potential to facilitate efficiency and to attract Foreign Direct Investment, which will stimulate the economy. If this indeed becomes the reality then emigration of low-skilled labor should decrease, but effect on

<sup>32</sup> European Commission - Home Affairs, [http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/international-affairs/eastern-partnership/mobility-partnerships-visa-facilitation-and-readmission-agreements/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/international-affairs/eastern-partnership/mobility-partnerships-visa-facilitation-and-readmission-agreements/index_en.htm)

<sup>33</sup> Agreement between the European Community and Ukraine on the facilitation of the issuance of visas, [http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:22007A1218\(02\)](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:22007A1218(02))

high-skilled labor is harder to predict - they will either choose better opportunities in the EU or restoration of Ukrainian economy.

Overall, through cooperation of countries involved in migration flows, management of migration becomes more effective. The EU migration policies are mostly focused on the external dimension and much less on the processes within the its borders which result from outside immigration. Policies should incorporate management of third-country migrants once they arrive, and for this there has to be maintained a contact with those workers. Firstly, it will enable better integration into host society and by this decrease social tensions. And secondly, it will create conditions for assimilation and integration of those immigrants that decide to stay.

This chapter revealed that European migration legislation focuses on upholding the borders of the EU. There is established a standard set of documentations which will allow for a successful application. Labor immigrants are given an equal treatment on the labor market, but a the same time there are facing certain limitations and could also be affected by restrictions by Member States. It is clear that the focus of migration policy is on quantity and quality of immigrants. Furthermore, I have shown external focus of European migration policies and showed that there are some inefficiencies in their functioning as they do not always reach their goals.

## Chapter 4 Motivations and Expectations

Migrant's decision to move to another country is determined by push factors which are related to circumstances in the country of origin and pull factors from the country of destination. In terms of labor migration economic reasons are the most influential : when there is a shortage of particular type of workers in a country this will acts as a pull factor attracting labor from abroad, at the same time problems in the home economy will act as a push factor forcing citizens to leave their country in the search of better opportunities.

This chapter sets to explore economic and social aspects of motivation and expectations of labor migrants that come to the EU.

The European Union with currently 28 states and single market enable migration within its borders. However, better condition of the economy and greater opportunities in labor market, mainly in terms of higher wages, attract workers from countries outside of the Union. As outlined in earlier chapters, the market is not in its equilibrium which means that supply and demand of labor are not matching leaving free spaces which can be filled in by immigrants.

### 4.1 Economic factors

Supply of non-European labor predominantly come from those countries whose level of development is lower than that of the EU, such as Ukraine and Russia. Stronger economy of the EU serves as a pull factor which attracts labor migrants. Hence government of the Union implements policies which will facilitate development of neighboring economies and by this eliminate both push and pull factors of migration flow. However, the effect can only be achieved in the long term and there are other factors which cannot be controlled for but at the same time they have the capacity to affect results. For instance, globalization leads not only to a better use of resources in the world economy, but also creates interdependency between national economies. Therefrom,



number of uncontrolled variables which can influence national market has increased substantially.

The relationship between developments and migration was considered from a different angle by Penninx et al.<sup>34</sup> Authors outlined an importance of remittances to migrant families - money that immigrants transfer back to their home counties often become necessary for their survival. This often becomes the primary reason for those people emigrate to another country, which is very common among citizens of Western Ukraine. Because of the higher wages in the EU and geographical proximity it is among the most popular destinations for Ukrainian labor migrants. Difference in economic opportunities is such that immigrants often prefer to have a lower paid job in the EU rather than an average one back home.

## 4.2 Networks

Role of networks was outlined by Penninx et al. who stated that they play an important part in person's decision to migrate. Having fellow countrymen in a Member State makes the process of moving much easier, primarily due being able to obtain any necessary information and support before and after the travel. With large number of Ukrainians in Italy, Spain and Poland those states become the top destinations as migrants can rely on the diaspora.

Furthermore, Ukrainian migrants, as well as citizens from other post-Soviet states, have little trust in their government and thus do not rely on governmental institutions once they are in the EU. Their main point of contact is Ukrainian diaspora in the Member State both before and after they reach the country of destination. There are no expectations of receiving support from government neither in economic nor in social spheres. Nevertheless, some Ukrainian labor immigrants are aiming for long-term jobs. When they arrive to the EU for a short-term work they start searching for opportunities to stay for a

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<sup>34</sup> Penninx, Berger and Kraal, 2006

longer period. A permanent job will give stability and income which immigrants are looking for. They will apply for open positions in the labor market which they are aware about, but they possess only limited information. The gaps in labor market could be filled by immigrant workers, taking into account their suitability for the job, but it requires cooperation between a government of a Member State and immigrant community. Inability to find a job combined with unwillingness to return to home country could result in migrant's decision to stay in the EU illegally, which is damaging for both person's opportunities and the European Union.

### 4.3 Expectations

Majority of Ukrainian labor immigrants expect to get a job in either construction or domestic care. Because there are a lot of Ukrainians engaged in those jobs, immigrants in the host country as well as potential immigrants who are in their home country have are more likely to receive information about open positions in those spheres and not others. This limits their work choices and decreases level of remittances that they can send back home. However, when looking at transferred money it has to be taken into account that immigrants have a choice of whether to use formal banking system or informal channels of money transfer, it is impossible to measure the precise size of remittances.<sup>35</sup> Only a very small number of Ukrainians that receive EU Blue Card can be expected to transfer large sums of money. However, number of those immigrants is extremely low: in 2012 over the EU there were in total granted 149 (Czech Republic - 11, Germany 109, Estonia - 2, Spain - 2, France - 2, Latvia - 6, Austria - 15, Slovakia - 2).<sup>36</sup> This reveals that despite limited economic gains obtainable in destination country, Ukrainians will nevertheless choose migration.

In addition, European culture and standards of living partially effect migrants choice of the EU as their destination. Better developed infrastructure, living conditions and civil

<sup>35</sup> Penninx et al, p.49

<sup>36</sup> EuroStat - EU Blue Cards, <http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do>

society become aspirations of citizens of less developed countries. Those conditions can be attractive for both short-term and long-term immigration. Job in the EU is regarded to be more prestigious than the one in Russia, for example. Apart from economic motivations of labor immigrants governments of the EU have to understand immigrants aspirations for better standards of living, which can become social remittances that migrants bring back home.

This chapter has shown that the main pull factors of Ukrainian labor emigration to the EU are better economic conditions and greater job opportunities, while the push factors is the underdeveloped state of Ukrainian economy. When making a decision to move to the EU workers use information obtained from diaspora networks, which they also rely on after they reach the country of destination. One of the main motivations of Ukrainian labor immigrants is the money which they can send back home and by this sustain their family. With assistance of governments of destination countries migration can become more beneficial for employers and less stressful for both workers and indigenous population.

## Chapter 5 Assimilation and Integration

We have established that there is a large number of Ukrainian workers migrating into the EU. The Association Agreement signed with Ukraine will allow a visa free entry as soon as all the technical preparations are done. Therefore, effective management of migration will be important for both economy and society of the European Union. As I argued earlier migration policies should not only include restrictive measures, such as controlling quantity and quality of migrants, but also supervision and support of migrants during their entire stay in the EU.

This chapter will present concepts of assimilation and integration, and show how they are important for managing labor immigration.

### 5.1 Integration contexts

According to Schneider and Crul integration includes the "structural aspect of incorporation into society, especially with regard to educational achievements and access to labor market"<sup>37</sup>, while assimilation is the extent to which immigrants can become similar to host society (educational and economic outcomes). Thus the concepts differ in principle and because of the temporary<sup>38</sup> nature of labor migration it is the process of their integration that is obtainable and thus will be analyzed. Schneider and Crul referred to *comparative integration context theory* stating that differences in integration contexts will influence the success of integration process<sup>39</sup>:

*Differences in integration contexts include institutional arrangements in education, the labor market, housing, religion and legislation. Differences in the social and political context are especially important for social and cultural participation and belonging.*

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<sup>37</sup> Schneider and Crul, 2012, p.3

<sup>38</sup> Only small number of Ukrainian labor migrants decide to permanently settle in the EU and my analysis will be focus on the majority who after some period of time will come back to their families in Ukraine.

<sup>39</sup> Schneider and Crul, p. 114

According to this different contexts within the host countries will affect the process of integration of a labor migrant. Authors apply *comparative integration context theory* to permanent immigrants and 2nd generation immigrants. Nonetheless, I will use elements of the theory in my analysis of labor migration, which is expected to be temporary. The reason for applying the theory in work is that experience of permanent migrants who decide to settle and temporary labor migrants is in general similar - both groups have to adopt to new social environments. The factors that I will use in my analysis are labor market, housing and legislation.

### 5.1.1 National moods

Schneider and Crul outlined that institutional context differs across the European Union. Member States vary in their treatment of immigrants both in terms of governmental rhetoric and national moods, which can include expressions such as "they are taking our jobs". Those beliefs are contrary to the spirit of the Union, which is aimed to benefit both citizens of the EU and businesses. Hollifield stated that "the state is merely the reflection of social interests" and "[p]olicy outputs are heavily contingent on ideational, cultural, and institutional factors, which often distort the market interests of different groups , to such an extent that some groups ... may end up pursuing policies that would seem to be irrational, or at odds with their economic interests".<sup>40</sup> This means that governments should be reflections of their nations. However, likewise market which is not always self correcting, making it necessary for the government to intervene, society is also a complicated structure which is not always able to correctly identify its interests and choose correct actions. Therefore, it is responsibility of the government to pursue those interests and explain to their citizens the true balance between advantages and disadvantages of labor immigration.

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<sup>40</sup> Brettell and Hollifield, p. 192

### 5.1.2 Housing market and spatial segregation

Districts of third-country nationals on the territory of host state, with ghettos being their extreme variation, often disturb indigenous population. Distribution of migrant over the territory of the state is partially affected by accessibility of housing market. In their work Asselin et al. referred to the concept of *segregation* which included both "the processes of social differentiation and to the spatial patterns that result from such processes, which are usually located at the urban scale".<sup>41</sup> According to author factors that affect ethnic segregation of immigrants included: socio-economic status, status of migrant on the housing market, discriminatory mechanisms within a society, the handling of migrant families by public housing authorities, legislative frameworks and affiliation demonstrated by migrants themselves. Concentration of immigrants from a particular ethnic group could occur as a result of spatial differentiations of the economy, mechanisms of housing market, or resulting from immigrants choice. Residential patterns are used to measure either success or failure of integration and assimilation policies for permanent migrants (including several generations of immigrants). The concept is not relevant to seasonal immigrant workers, but is important in relation to long-term workers. Spatial isolation of immigrants from host society is a stick with two ends: on the one hand, it creates a sense of security and support from their own nationals, and on the other hand, lies in the way of migrants integration into the society. Citizens of European states often have negative attitudes towards immigrants and spatial concentrations of third-country nationals may increase social tensions.

### 5.1.3 Legislation

Prior to leaving home country migrants need to familiarize themselves with necessary legislation. In addition to European level legislation each Member State has its own laws which apply on its territory. When a migrant arrives to country of destination s/he has a

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<sup>41</sup> Penninx et al., p. 142

very limited knowledge of national and regional legislations. What are the channels for obtaining the necessary information? How would a third-country national know that s/he has not fulfilled some obligations? Partially the necessary information is received from open sources, such as internet. However, the European Union is a multi-level organization and not every immigrant will be able to understand its functioning, especially considering the fact that large number of European nationals are confused about governing structure of the Union. Immigrants do not know distribution of responsibilities among different authorities and thus would not know who to contact. Therefrom, diaspora networks become the primary source of information, but those often cannot provide professional legal advice. Moreover, lack of knowledge of legal system of the receiving country could facilitate illegal activity, intentional or not, of third-country national.

#### 5.1.4 Labor market

Immigrants have a limited information about opportunities in labor market and often it is obtained through acquaintances. Most of labor immigrants from Ukraine are engaged in either construction or house care, but this does not necessarily mean they do not have qualification for other jobs. Places in labor market that are not filled by European citizens can be filled by immigrants - if those labor immigrants that are already in the EU have an access to information about that kind of job openings they might be able to respond to them and thus there will be no need for new immigrants.

Integration of immigrants who come for seasonal work might not be required, but policies targeting labor migrants that arrive into the EU for a longer period of time necessary. Number of Ukrainian immigrants is decreasing, however, we could expect to see the figures rise once visa-free regime enters into force. Consequently, it is in the interest of authorities to develop effective recipe for managing migration. Currently, there is a lot focus on restricting migration flows into the EU, which involve not only Member States but also immigrants' home countries. However, an immigrant receive much less attention

once s/he is on the territory of the EU. Indeed, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine is responsible for their nationals abroad. However, in the case of Ukraine , as well as other post-Soviet states which are not in part of the EU, there is lack of trust in national government and hence for all of its representatives. Ukrainian labor immigrant rely more on their diaspora for advice and support in the new settings rather than on consulates. This creates a gap between authorities from national government and citizens, which puts in question effectiveness of European approaches focused on state-level. Sudden decision taken by Yanukovych in Autumn 2013 to break an Association Agreement with the EU and the following disagreement of Ukrainians with that choice showed that government is not necessarily representative of its nationals. In order to be in full control of immigrants authorities of Member States can build a contact with third country's diaspora. This will allow governments to keep a close watch on labor immigrants and at the same time to target relevant policies making them more effective. Deeper understanding of needs and motivations of immigrants will become a source of knowledge to create targeted policies.

This chapter revealed that non-integration of migrants can be damaging for both third-country national and indigenous population of host country. Therefore, the following chapter will discuss how diaspora can be used for integration of migrants which will solve some of the problems outlined above.



## Chapter 6 Diaspora

Diasporas play an important role in Ukrainian immigration into the EU as they provide necessary information and support in a new environment. Through those networks workers obtain information about available jobs, situation in housing market and legislation system. Heavy reliance on non-official sources comes from the long-term mistrust in Ukrainian government. This aspect is difficult for European policy-makers to understand as the EU is built on principles of democracy and rule of law. At the same time, there was a long history of corruption in Ukrainian government, which citizens could no longer tolerate and protected against in winter 2013-2014. Faults have grown so deep into the system, that the mere change of either ruling party or governmental officials is not enough to solve the problem. This is one of the many obstacles that the current government in the Ukraine has to overcome in order to bring the country back on the path of development and democratization. This indicates that Ukrainian labor immigrants for some time period of time will continue to rely on non-official sources of information, which can be misleading.

This chapter will outline the role of diasporas in the process of immigration and integration. With reference to Collier's migration policy package the chapter will also show how the EU can use such networks in order to increase effectiveness of their migration policies.

### 6.1 Defining diaspora

Contemporary definition of diasporas covers "any transnational migrant community that maintains material or sentimental attachments to its country of origin (its home country), while adapting to the limitation and opportunities in its country of settlement ( its host country)"<sup>42</sup>. Diasporas are not a direct result of migration, they tend to develop from those immigrants that for different reasons failed to melt into the host society. Hence, they

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<sup>42</sup> Esman, 2009, p. 14

are an established group of third-country nationals with the slow turn-over of its members. With time some of those migrants might integrate into host society and by this decrease the original size of diaspora. Resulting free spaces can be filled by new immigrants. Diasporas maintain attachment to their homeland and their culture while staying abroad, which has become much easier with latest developments in technology.

Many authors refer to Jewish diaspora as the best example of the term. Leading from this I would like to point out one important feature of this diaspora - in the past as well as in the present Jewish migrants when moving to another state rely heavily on their diaspora networks. This characteristic is what Jewish and Ukrainian diasporas have in common. Ukrainian labor immigrants both short-term and long-term prefer to rely on established diasporas in Member States rather than on Ukrainian government. However, most of the nations face the same low level of support. Yet, governments of the EU Member States expect that third-country immigrants will be supervised by their national Foreign service. This miscalculation on the side of officials and policy-makers results in loss of control over immigrants and their inability to receive support.

While Ukrainians do not maintain contact with their government representatives, they make stay in touch with their families and friends in Ukraine. As an example, they make occasional short trips back home during which they not only visit their family, but also reinforce their original motivation for migration.

## **6.2 Immigrants and host society**

Nowadays policy makers have to consider global right to migrate and at the same time protect state's sovereignty, search for the right balance between the two leads to heated discussions even among average citizens. Generally immigration is seen by indigenous population as a negative concept, which causes damage to host country's economy and threatens unity of society. This creates hostile moods towards immigrants in a lot of European states. The perceived economic threat from immigrants is criticized by

Paul Collier, who argues that there are actually no economic threats from migration per say.<sup>43</sup> He articulates that net economic effect on the host country is in fact small and positive, and depends on the type of immigrant workers: inflow of skilled immigrants raise overall productivity and increases wages of indigenous skilled workers, while inflow of unskilled workers decreases average wages for both skilled and unskilled labor. Notwithstanding this, immigrant do affect housing market by increasing demand for houses and making them less available for indigenous population, among which the youngest who do not saving yet suffer the most. On the other hand, increased demand for houses creates additional jobs and additional income for consumers which will be injected into the economy.

Social effect of migration is more noticeable as indigenous population encounters migrants in their everyday life. What European citizens fears is the intrusion of *others* into their nation. Importance of social effects is supported by Collier who draw on the interaction between immigration, diversity and society. In his lecture Collier stated that studies expose several negative effects from high rate of diversity in a society: general level of trust goes down as well as cooperation within individual groups, pressure on public good rises, and generosity, which tends to be directed at those who are similar, with higher diversity in a society actually decreases. Consequently, it becomes clear that there exist some threats to well-being of host society, which policy-makers have to take into account.

On the other hand, there is no legal justification for stopping migration. Besides, Article 1 of UNESCO *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* states that<sup>44</sup>:

*As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be*

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<sup>43</sup> Paul Collier, public lecture at CEU, *How best can migration policy reconcile the legitimate interests of host societies and countries of origin?*

<sup>44</sup> UNESCO *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*, [http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=13179&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13179&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)

*recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations.*

And following this Article 2 pronounces that:

*In our increasingly diverse societies, it is essential to ensure harmonious interaction among people and groups with plural, varied and dynamic cultural identities as well as their willingness to live together. Policies for the inclusion and participation of all citizens are guarantees of social cohesion, the vitality of civil society and peace. Thus defined, cultural pluralism gives policy expression to the reality of cultural diversity. Indissociable from a democratic framework, cultural pluralism is conducive to cultural exchange and to the flourishing of creative capacities that sustain public life.*

We can see that UNESCO not only outlines benefits of cultural diversity, but also calls for policies aiming at inclusion and participation of all groups of citizens. We can see that the very nature of concepts of migration and associated with it cultural diversity leave room for discussion. However, if the right level of cultural diversity is achieved, its benefits will counterbalance its costs. The only problem is that equilibrium is unknown and may vary depending on time, space and particular characteristics of immigrant group.

### **6.3 Collier's migration policy package**

Collier argued that it is the nonintegrated stock of immigrants, which he defined as diaspora, which raises concerns of native population rather than the actual number of immigrants. Collier proposed a migration policy package which included: ceiling, the selection of migrants, the integration of diasporas, and the legalization of illegal

immigrants.<sup>45</sup> Firstly, while the majority of migration policies put a ceiling on number of immigrants, what they should be doing is focusing on the ceiling for diaspora and the rate of its absorption.<sup>46</sup> The ultimate objective of migration policy should be migration diversity and the rate of diaspora which society can observe. The 'right' size of diaspora remain unknown and it is the job of policy makers to discover it. Secondly, according to Collier selection on potential migrants has to be based on several criteria - level of education and employability.

The third step is integration of immigrants and focus on increasing rate of absorption as open slots in diaspora enable new immigrants to fill them up without putting additional pressure on society.<sup>47</sup> Author indicated that "rate at which diasporas are absorbed depends on part upon the choice between multiculturalism and assimilation". The later is not vital for labor immigrants for the reason that most of them are in the EU only temporary and will return back to their country at some point of time. The easier option in terms of policy making and implementation is multiculturalism, but in this case the desired rate of migration is lower. Author argued that to increase absorption rate governments should go against racism and discrimination on the part of indigenous population, at the same time they should increase chances of immigrants to integrate, for example, by learning indigenous language.

Fourthly, work should be done towards legalizing illegal immigration: penalty for illegal entrance should be much higher than costs of legal entry.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, Collier proposed that once people succeeded in entering the country they should receive legal status to allow them to work for legal economy, such as status of guest worker. This measure were already implemented in the US where after certain period of time illegal immigrant can receive legal status. After years of living a country the person has already

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<sup>45</sup> Collier, p. 255

<sup>46</sup> Collier, pp. 256-260

<sup>47</sup> Collier, p. 264

<sup>48</sup> Collier, p. 265

become part of society and thus it is more rational to grant him/her legal status which will enable supervision rather than evicting.

Collier reported that in the long-run policies which combine migration and diaspora will be the most effective.<sup>49</sup> He evaluated the policy package and came up with several results: initially migration will accelerate, but with the time will stabilize, and size of diaspora will initially grow, but then will stabilize and reach the optimal level.

#### 6.4 Immigrants and EU migration policies

The EU implies various migration policies, among which are Mobility Partnerships and circular migration schemes, which focus on helping neighbouring economies develop, which in the longer run should decrease the flow of immigrants. However, for a migration policy to achieve the highest result the most work has to be done by destination country, because home countries, especially less developed, have no way of controlling emigration of their citizens. This approach is implemented by the EU in terms of controlling quantity and quality of immigrants. However, policy-makers have to take into account that when a country in attempt to reduce migration puts a target number of immigrants that should be allowed to enter, students become the most affected group. They are the easiest immigrant group to control to achieve quick results, but this has the long-term negative effect. As a result home country migrants does not receive benefits from transfer of skills and knowledge from more advanced economies to be able to boost its development, and thus in the future destination country can expect to see more labor immigrants.

Within migration policies the concept of diaspora predominantly appears in external dimension policies, in particular with regards to illegal migration and migration-development nexus.<sup>50</sup> Diaspora in a more developed country serves as a pull factor for migrants, in particular labor migrants. Moreover, those connections are at times used for

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<sup>49</sup> Collier, p. 268

<sup>50</sup> Baubock & Faist, 2010. p. 82

purposes of illegal migration and thus large networks created by members of a nation that run across borders of different countries become a point of government's concern.

However, diasporas can not only pose a threat, but can also be used as a policy tool which the European Union has neglected. Drawing on the third step of Collier's migration policy package, I would like to propose several approaches that can be implemented by authorities. One of them is to change attitudes of indigenous population towards migrants. When the latter are by default perceived as a threat, neither dialogue nor cooperation between the two groups can be achieved. As a result hostility towards immigrants creates unnecessary tensions in the society. One of the arguments that can be used is that the European Union is getting older, which means that the size of market decreases and this in its turn decreases the size of economy, and immigrants can become a solution to this problem.

Alongside policies aimed to change attitudes of host society towards migrants, governments also have to focus on integration policies. By creating conditions for absorption of immigrants government can achieve two aims: firstly, this decreases the existing pressure in the society, and secondly, it creates spaces for future migrants which will come in any case.

Importance of integration policies was also outlined by Guigni and Passy, who at the same time exposed the complexity of those policies by stating the following:

*...at the policy level, the notion of integration and its synonyms  
... essentially encompass all kind of mechanisms and  
structures aimed at reproducing a unifying (national) social  
cohesion or solidarity in the face of class, ethnic, and foreign  
differences.*

Hence, integration policies present a complex system in which different variable, such as characteristics of both indigenous population and immigrants, have to be taken into account.

With good judgment, we can expect that the third step of the model proposed by Collier, to increase rate of absorption of migrants, will be especially important in relation to Ukrainian labor immigrants. As migration flow to the EU is unlikely to stop policies should ensure integration of those people. Especially so in the light of signed Agreement which provides for visa-free regime and close political as well as economic cooperation between the EU and Ukraine. Implementation of integration policies at this point will be an investment into the future relationship between the two actors. Close contact with Ukrainian diaspora will enable a better understanding of particular characteristics of the nation, their motivations and aspirations. This knowledge can be used to create targeted programs which will help dealing with Ukrainian migrants. This can either be in the form of governments addressing diasporas, or by providing a point of contact which can be used by members of diaspora. The later will be relevant in those situations when immigrants require information or assistance, while the earlier can be used to enhance government's supervision and understanding of Ukrainians.

As I have shown, expectations on the side of European government that labor immigrants will be supervised by Foreign Ministry of their home country are completely unrealistic. As a result this group of migrants is left without ant support from either destination state or their own state, and have to rely on diaspora networks. In addition, it has become clear that for effective immigration integration policies have to be implemented. Therefrom, I have demonstrated in this chapter that diaspora networks can be used as a migration policy tool which will enable greater support as well as supervision of labor immigrants. As a result the process



of labor migration will become more manageable and more beneficial to all parties concerned.

## Conclusion

European single market is no longer in equilibrium and cannot correct itself, thus there is mismatch between supply and demand of labor. That gap attract workers from outside of the Union, mainly from less developed countries, such as Ukraine.

Among those Ukrainians that choose to emigrate, the top destination is the EU with the most popular Member States being Italy, Poland and Germany. Ukrainian labor migrants come for short and long-term work, and are predominantly engaged in construction and house care. The main reason for migration is search for better job opportunities and the EU can offer work places with higher wages than in Ukraine, which will allow money remittances back home. Analysis of Ukrainian labor immigrants will provide European policy-makers with valuable knowledge which they will need to apply in managing migration, because in the near future a visa-free regime between the EU and Ukraine will enter into force.

Currently the focus of European migration legislation is on restricting number of migrants and ensuring that those admitted have valuable for the labor market skills and knowledge. There is also a lot of attention paid to reducing illegal migration with noticeable results. However, there is little management of immigrants once they are in the EU, which could have been beneficial for both migrants and Member States governments.

Alongside migration legislation, the European Union has signed agreements on issues related to migration with other states. Those are aimed at increasing level of development in countries of origin and thus decrease economic incentives for migration for nationals of those countries. Furthermore, circular migration schemes, in particular, ensures turnover of migrants by restricting their stay to a short period. However, it became clear that those approaches do not always meet their objectives, partially because they focused on external dimension of migration and pay less attention to internal dimension.

Building on this conclusion I have shown that there is a need to implement integration policies which will target labor migrants. I discussed Collier's policy package on permanent migration and suggested that a part of it should be applied to Ukrainian labor immigrants whose stay in the EU is likely to be temporary. In particular, I recommended to use diasporas as a policy tool to manage integration of immigrant into the host society. Diaspora networks provide a direct link to migrants giving them an opportunity to voice their concerns, and at the same time this contact will allow governments of Member States to oversee third-nationals stay in the EU.

Poland is a good candidate for a host country in which new approaches to managing Ukrainian labor migration can be implemented. I have outlined that number of Ukrainian labor immigrants going into Poland has been increasing over the past several years, and we can expect the figure to rise even further once visa-free regime between Ukraine and the EU starts to work. However, Ukraine is going through serious changes in economy and legislative system, and there is still a lot of unrest in its civil society. Therefore, the European Union has to closely monitor the situation in the country both the best cooperation with Ukraine.

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