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THE EUROPEAN UNION AND ITS EASTERN PARTNERSHIP: EXPLANATION AND REGULATION OF MIGRATION FLOWS

The cross-border migration from the six countries of the Eastern Partnership of the European Union (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine) to the Union is accelerating. The process cannot be stopped by administrative measures. There is an urgent need to regulate it by relying on scientific evidence as well as by considering human, economic and political factors. In the article a conceptual framework is developed for theoretically guided empirical research on the causes, processes and effects of the cross-border migration in the region under scrutiny. The central idea of the analysis and argumentation is that the processes linking the countries of origin and the host countries of the cross-border migration should become the regular target of carefully prepared, implemented and used conceptualizations and empirical studies. The strategy of the suggested conceptual framework for guiding empirical research is designed in the way to take into account the situation in the countries sending and receiving cross-border migrants as well as the processes and the agencies linking the societies sending and receiving migrants. This strategy is expected to secure the sound cognitive basis of practically doable, human and win-win-win policies for the management of well-regulated cross-border migration between the countries from the Eastern Partnership of the EU and the member-states of the Union. The preferred regulation is in favor of the circular migration.

Keywords: *European Union; Eastern Partnership; cross-border migration; regulation of migration.*

The application of the neoclassical economic theory of international migration [1, p. 433–436] in explaining the migration flows between the EU and its current Eastern Partnership [2] might seem to be an easy task. The average level of salaries and wages in the EU-28 is considerably higher than the average level of salaries and wages in each of the six countries of the Partnership – Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. Therefore, the motivation of citizens from the six countries to migrate to EU member-states should be strong. The predictable outcome of this migration would be the reduction of the available labour force in the countries of the EU Eastern Partnership. Thus, the level of the salaries and wages there would be expected to rise. The result of this development could be the awareness that the continuing out-migration would be economically irrational. To the contrary, the increase of the available labour force in the EU countries hosting international migrants could reach the level which makes the reduction of salaries and wages there economically rational. In this way the balance of supply and demand of labour force would be balanced in the countries of the EU Eastern Partnership, in the EU member-states and in the cross-border labour market.

As plausible as the neoclassical economic interpretation of the trans-border migration might seem, its explanatory potential concerning cases like Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine is rather limited. First of all, each of them is differently situated in the geopolitical environment. Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia have Association Agreements with the EU, although with the postponement of its coming to force for Ukraine till the beginning of 2016. However, the

Association Agreement itself does not automatically mean either visa-free border-crossing for the citizens from the Partnership countries to the EU or their free access to the labour markets of the EU member states. Belarus and Armenia are members of the Customs Union dominated by the Russian Federation. In a long-term perspective the liberalization of the visa regimes and the access of their citizens to the EU labour markets would depend on agreements between the EU and the Customs Union. Azerbaijan is not a member of any of both supranational organizations. However, the citizens of the country have choices for cross-border migration to Turkey or to Arab countries. These choices are practically not given to citizens of other countries from the Eastern Partnership. Therefore, contrary to the assumptions of the neoclassical economic theory for universal liberal cross-border movement as well as of liberal regimes for receiving work permits, in practice the citizens of all six countries are currently legally isolated from the labour markets of the EU member states. The rules of the transnational European Union do not apply to the countries under scrutiny. Their citizens do not enjoy the freedoms and liberties concerning trans-border migration in the European Union. To the contrary, they are confronted with the limitations of the freedom of movement and freedom to choose the work place due to the European integration [3].

The make the picture more complicated, the potentials for out-migration from the six countries in direction to the European Union are not determined by cleavages of salaries and wages alone. No less relevant factors are the socio-economic developments in each of the six countries as well. They still go through post-socialist transformations or are still coping with their effects. The transformations included changes of the political and economic regime, rapid de-industrialization and rise of the cultural uncertainty and intolerance. One of the major but often neglected parameter of the changes is the commodification of the labour force in the post-socialist countries [4]. As a result of these processes, all countries of the Eastern Partnership of the EU have accumulated a substantial potential for emigration. The processes forced and are currently forcing large segments of the population of the six countries to search for income, for economic, political and cultural stability abroad. According to the statistics of the United Nations, three of the EU Eastern Partnership countries are marked by an extraordinary level of mass out-migration (Table 1) [5].

Table 1

Net migration by country (1 per 1 000 of the population)

Country	1990–1995	1995–2000	2000–2005	2005–2010
Armenia	–29	–14	–9	–9
Azerbaijan	–3	–3	0	1
Belarus	–1	1	0	1
Georgia	–21	–16	–13	–7
Moldova	–6	–12	–16	–9
Ukraine	0	–2	–1	1

Given this historical situation it is obvious that the task to deal with the migration potentials and with the regulatory regimes of cross-border migration from the six countries of the EU Eastern Partnership to the EU is of first rate scientific and practical relevance. However, the task is rather complicated not because of specifics of the migration processes in each of the six countries under scrutiny alone. The difficulties in the study of the out-migration from the countries of the EU Eastern Partnership to the EU are substantial due to the specifics of the content of the available information as well. The national migration profiles prepared by the Migration Policy Centre at the European University Institute in Florence might exemplify the issue. The migration profile of Belarus prepared by the Centre is based on the standardized European statistical information. There the immigrants are predominantly registered according to their country of birth. The data which are collected according to

this statistical definition are easily available from the municipalities where the residence of the local population is registered. But this information is very much misleading. The point becomes immediately transparent after considering the information provided by the Russian statistic and included in the Table 2 by the authors of the migration profile of Belarus. The data borrowed from the statistics of the Russian Federation register both the country of birth and the citizenship of the migrants from Belarus in the Russian Federation [6, p. 1].

Table 2

Major concentrations of people born in Belarus or are Belarusian citizens abroad

Country	Born in Belarus	Citizens of Belarus
Poland	83,620 (2012)	NA
Lithuania	57,867 (2011)	NA
Latvia	56,170 (2008)	NA
Russia	935,782 (2002)	27,668 (2010)

The data obtained from the Russian statistics inform about the country of birth and the country of citizenship of persons of Belorussian descent living in the Russian Federation. The data show a striking difference between the two types of data and perfectly exemplify the fundamental problem about meaningful and misleading statistical information. The 935,782 persons living in Russia in 2002 but born in Belarus belong to the millions born in one Soviet republic but who have moved to another Soviet Republic during the times of the Soviet Union or to another post-Soviet Republic after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Many of the persons born in Belarus during the Soviet times were not Belarusians by ethnic identification at all. This means that only the citizens of Belarus who are currently registered in the Russian Federation are really relevant for the studies on migrants from Belarus to the Federation nowadays. The same logic of differentiation should apply in the search for the relevant number of Belarusians in Poland, Lithuania and Latvia. The implication is that the information in Table 2 about the persons born in Belarus but living in these three countries is practically of no relevance for the studies on migration nowadays and directly misleading regarding the migration of citizens of Belarus to the three countries. The people born in Belarus but living in the three countries might be ethnic Poles, Lithuanians or Latvians just born in Belarus in the previous times or ethnic Belarusians who have moved (or their parents have moved) to Poland, Lithuania and Latvia decades ago. The vast majority of them currently have only Polish, Latvian or Lithuanian citizenship. It makes no sense indeed to study them as present day migrants from Belarus in Latvia, Lithuania and Poland.

The reasonable solution of this basic statistical problem is to focus on the current citizenship of the migrants from the six countries from the EU Eastern Partnership in the EU28 countries. This information might be extracted from the national statistics of the EU member states as well as from Eurostat data. For instance, the German statistics provides precise information in this respect (Table 3) [7]:

Table 3

Number of citizens of the EU Eastern Partnership countries in the Federal Republic of Germany as of 31. December 2013

Country	Number of the citizens of the country in the FRG
Armenia	13,773
Azerbaijan	15,637
Belarus	19,981
Georgia	17,002
Moldova	11,665
Ukraine	122,355

Germany will be one of the three host countries from the EU which will be subject of detailed analysis in the project herewith suggested. The other two will be Italy and Poland. Germany and Italy belong to the major destinations of labour migrants from the countries of the Eastern Partnership. Poland is particularly interesting because of its increasing attraction as destination for migration but also as country of transit migration towards Western Europe. The limitation of the number of EU host countries will allow detailed studies on the issues and patterns of temporary or permanent integration of immigrants from the six countries of the Eastern Partnership in the three selected societies. However, before focusing on these issues one more warning concerning the information sources should be mentioned. The data about immigrants in Germany and in the EU indeed should be dealt with some general reservation. The data refer only to the regular migrants. Experts estimate the number of irregular (unauthorized) migrants in the EU countries to be between 1,9 and 3,8 million [8, p. 6].

Given these problems with the statistical information sources and the predictable organizational difficulties facing the research on cross-border migration from the Post-Soviet space to the EU, the objectives of the envisaged project can be tentatively formulated as follows:

- to collect systematic information about the most recent situation of the legal and institutional frameworks of out-migration from each of the six countries of the EU Eastern Partnership to Germany, Italy and Poland as well as the legal and institutional regulations for return migration to the six countries;
- to establish the potentials for labour out-migration from the six countries of the EU Eastern Partnership in the direction to the EU and more specifically to Germany, Italy and Poland;
- to establish the ways and effects of the adaptation of the labour migrants from the six countries in Germany, Italy and Poland;
- to establish the patterns, causes and effects of the repeated (circular) or final return migration;
- to establish the economic, political and cultural consequences of the out-migration from the six countries of the EU Eastern Partnership to Germany, Italy and Poland with a view to each of the six countries sending labour migrants;
- to establish the economic, political and cultural consequences of the labour migration (temporary, circular or permanent) of citizens from the six EU Eastern Partnership countries in Germany, Italy and Poland with a view to the host countries;
- to prepare recommendations for upgrading the legal and institutional arrangements in the six EU Eastern Partnership countries as well as in Germany, Italy and Poland, in the bilateral relations of Germany, Italy and Poland to each of the six EU Eastern Partnership countries, and finally of the six countries with the EU concerning the management of the migration flows from the six countries to the EU and back.

The resolution of the above outlined descriptive, explanatory, prognostic and social-technological tasks will be closely related to the intended effects of bringing about sustainable economic growth, job creation and democracy in the countries of the EU Eastern Partnership as indicated in the documents of the European Commission. These documents envisage well organized and managed cross-border migration as one of the most important instruments for achieving the desirable outcomes of the Partnership. The Mobility Partnerships has to be introduced and further developed in the relationships of the EU with each of the six countries of the Eastern Partnership. It might be expected that this process will advance together with visa liberalizations. The arguments in favour of these policies consider the ageing of the population in the EU and the current and future labour shortages in some branches of Union's economy. The countries from the Eastern Neighbourhood [9] are regarded as rich in young, well-educated and talented labour force which is fit to fill in the gaps in the EU labour

markets. By passing the document mentions the risks of brain-drain and of the inflow of irregular migrants. In order to cope with these and other potential problems the strategy of EU's migration policy concerning its Eastern Neighbourhood is clearly defined: «better organising legal migration, maximising the positive impact of migration on development, enhancing capacity-building in border and migration management» [9, p. 12]. The practical measures for migration management include selection and recruitment of labour migrants, their vocational and language training in the sending countries, recognition of their education and skills obtained in the country of origin later in the host country, return and reintegration of migrants in their countries of origin. The so presented vision of migration management is basically the model of a well-organized circular migration.

The basic condition for achieving the positive effects of circular migration is the decision of governments sending and receiving international migrants to rationalize the conditions for movement of labour force. In 2011 the EU had Mobility Partnership agreements signed with Moldova and Georgia. The governments of both countries did what they could in order to support the potential migrants to the EU and to guarantee their readmission. This regulation secured the option for EU countries to invite vocationally trained migrants for seasonal work and for meeting the requirements for additional labour force in times of economic boom. The legal and institutional system in the countries receiving migrants is supposed to be prepared to send the migrants back in periods of economic recession by using elaborated mechanisms of flexible labour contracts. They have to include provisions concerning salaries and wages, taxation, portable welfare benefits, etc. adapted to the requirements of the cross-border circular migration. The most ambitious policies have to focus on linking migration and development by improving the productive and service infrastructure in the countries sending migrants and by stimulating the efficient use of their remittances. The re-migrants would be expected to return back from the EU to the countries of the Eastern Partnership together with the accumulated financial capital, with new experience in the work and beyond the sphere of work (human capital) and with the established networks in the country of migration (social capital). These types of capital could be efficiently used in the countries of origin of migrants provided the local legislation and the local institutional practices there would be prepared to absorb the various forms of capital brought to the country due to the return migration. In this way the brain-drain and its negative effects might be reduced if not totally compensated [10].

As transparent and promising the circular migration and the related policies might seem, the fact should not be underestimated that the rationalization measures have to cope with high complexities of structures, processes, interests and motivations. There is already accumulated European experience which informs that some strategies of this type have been already applied and failed. The major reason for the failure was the decision of numerous migrants not to return back to their countries of origin as this happened in Germany. Recent examples along this line are provided by new EU member states like Bulgaria and Romania. Their experience in out-migration after 1989 is rather sobering and indicative for the expected additional emigration from the countries of the Eastern Partnership. Both countries have lost and continue losing their most important resource for economic, political and cultural development – the young, best educated and most entrepreneurial part of their population. As seen from the opposite point of view, the EU-15 member states Germany and Italy have increased or balanced their population despite the low level of fertility of their native population mostly due the inflow of migrants from Eastern Europe.

In 2011 nobody could be sure if Georgia and Moldova would later sign an Association Agreement with the EU as this happened in November 2013. Even less predictable were the events which lead to the signing of Association Agreement by Ukraine in 2014. These developments changed the

relationships between the three countries and the EU member states in terms of cross-border migration substantially. Whatever the expected or possible political and economic turbulences hindering the closer cooperation of these countries with the European Union, the process will be most probably accompanied by a step-by-step liberalization of the regulations for access of the citizens from the three countries to the labour markets of the member countries of the European Union. This process will repeatedly raise the issues of the desirable and really possible circular migration on various occasions. The conditions for labour migration from Armenia, Azerbaijan and Belarus to the European Union changed differently in the meantime. The prospects are less predictable. However, it might be taken for granted that the migration potentials of labour from Armenia and Belarus will not disappear. One may probably expect a strengthening of the migration potentials of labour from Azerbaijan to the European Union.

Against the background of the different experience and expectations one key factor concerning the policies of circular migration should be permanently taken into account: These policies are an attractive target for political interpretations. Even the best organized immigration which is profitable for all involved actors could be presented as problematic in short or long terms. This immediately raises political concerns. The Western European democratic politics is focused on the effects of policies in the short electoral cycle. The politicians from the opposition parties tend to stress the problems related to immigration in short-term time perspective. Their typical argument is that the remittances sent to the countries of origin are settling the bill of the desirable win-win-win situation in the migration process. This political argumentation and the connected policies keep provoking uncertainties among researchers and administrators alike. Objective researchers and experienced administrators tend to stress the long-term potential advantages of the well-organized circular migration for all parties involved in the process. However, in order to think and act in accordance with the ethics of objective science and the ethics of rational administration, researchers and rational administrators have to underline the related complexities of the processes and the threats of failure of the policies of circular migration as well [11; 12; 13].

Thus, referring to the experience of researchers and well-trained administrators, it would be unrealistic to expect a clear predominance of the circular migration from the countries of the EU Eastern Partnership to the EU countries. A substantial part of the cross-border migrants in this migration corridor will probably continue to search for a permanent settlement in the host countries of the EU. Indeed, circular migration cannot be well organized everywhere and any time. The substantial investments in the vocational training of migrants and the related offers of permanent jobs to them make the universal application of the scheme of circular migration unrealistic. Given this controversial situation the argument might be carefully considered that the constructive options for managing mass labour out-migration from the Eastern Partnership of the EU to the EU member-states are limited. Nevertheless, these options have to be carefully considered since the consequences of the unregulated migration are well known in the countries sending migrants as well in in the host countries of international migration. These positive and negative consequences have been studied in details. The conclusion is that new policies are needed consequently aiming at win-win-win effects for the sending and host countries as well as for the migrants themselves. Therefore, the initiatives of the EU for regulating the migration flows from the Eastern Partnership should be carefully operationalized with a view the specific situations in the countries involved in the migration processes and applied as far as possible.

This should be done by keeping in mind that the EU migration policies concerning the Eastern Partnership touch upon or include a lot of sensitive issues. The major one is related to the two key

structural levels of decision-making and action in the EU. The officially announced policies concerning the out-migration from the sub-region of the Eastern Partnership to the EU are intended to be the policy of the whole European Union. In reality, according the Lisbon Treaty of the Union (2009) the budget policies, social policies and internal affairs – migration and integration of migrants including – remain in the sovereignty of the member states. Consequently there are permanent potential or manifest tensions in the division of responsibilities between the European Commission and the EU member-states concerning the management of the migration flows from the countries of the Eastern Partnership. The same applies to the integration policies of the member-states hosting the migrants. The solution seems to be to link the signing of general agreements between the Union and the countries from the Eastern Partnership to bilateral agreements between the interested countries from the Eastern Partnership area with the interested member states of the EU. As pragmatic as it seems to be, this approach does not lead to reduction but to increase of the complexities to be managed.

Another key problem is in-built in the design and in the functioning of the European Partnership Policy itself. The Partnership is intended to develop and apply unified policies for managing the migration flows from each of the six countries under scrutiny to each of the EU member-states. This strategic intention cannot be easily materialised due to the above discussed rather different situations and interests of each of the six countries. Moldovan society is existentially dependent on sending labour force to EU countries in order to receive remittances. They largely secure the survival of Moldovan households and the balance of the Moldovan state budget. Both conditions and consequences do not apply to Azerbaijan at all. As seen from another point of view, the Union has been so far rather inconsequent in applying its own conditional policies. The Association Agreements with Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine were signed under the condition that substantial reforms would be carried out. The expected liberalization of visa regimes and the prospects for labour permits were offered on the condition of privatisation of enterprises and pluralization of politics as this happened with all Eastern European newcomers to the European Union. This conditionality is consequently applied in the policies of the Union and its member-states concerning Belarus too. But the conditional policy is practically not a relevant issue in the relationships of the EU with Azerbaijan.

The turbulent events in Ukraine in the end of 2013 and the first half of 2014 made it clear that the Eastern Partnership Policy of the European Union is not designed realistically enough in order to function efficiently. This applies to the policies related to the management of the cross-border migration in the sub-region first of all. One of the major reasons for this conclusion is the failure of the Eastern Partnership Policy of the European Union to take full account of the relevance of the Russian Federation in the geopolitical conditions of management of cross-border migration from the six countries of the Partnership [14]. There are certainly various geopolitical reasons for this deficiency of the EU policies. However, there are also reasons which are directly related to the reliability of the knowledge base of the decision making of the EU and of the EU member-states. The experience with the socio-economic and political developments in the Ukraine strengthens the conclusion that the migration policies of the EU concerning the six countries of its Eastern Partnership have been designed on the basis neglecting important historical and geopolitical circumstances. They mostly concern the relevance of the Russian Federation as a very substantial intervening factor in the formation of out-migration flows from the countries of the EU Eastern Partnership. On broader terms, the negligence concerns the intensive migration processes in the post-Soviet space indeed [15].

Keeping the uncertainties of the statistical information firmly in mind it is useful to notice for instance that recent publications assume that some 800,000 citizens of the Republic of Moldova in working age permanently or temporarily live abroad. It is rather important to notice that some 65% of

them live in the Russian Federation [16, p. 1, 3]. In 2010 the number of temporary migrants from the Republic of Moldova to the Russian Federation has been estimated by the IOM experts to be as high as 191,900 [17, p. 276]. This very large presence of labour force from a rather small country in the labour market of the Russian Federation could be only explained in the context of the post-Soviet conditions. The citizens of Moldova still can travel to the Russian Federation visa free, with relatively low travel costs and they are still allowed to apply for job in the Russian Federation. Moreover, the access of the citizens of Moldova to the labour market of the Russian Federation is relatively easy because of the still widespread good command of Russian language on the part of the Moldovan labour migrants plus knowledge of the Russian cultural habits. Since remittances make out tentatively 30% of the GDP of Moldova, this freedom of movement and relative freedom in the search for job in the Russian labour market is existentially relevant for the citizens of Moldova and the state of Moldova.

The much more difficult access of Moldovan citizens to the Western European labour markets urges them to take Romanian or Bulgarian citizenship or to try various forms of irregular migration. The driving forces of the intensive out-migration are the widespread poverty, the economic and political instability in the country as well as the unsettled issues with Transnistria and potentially with the Gagauz autonomy. These serious push factors of the mass out-migration from Moldova do not promise prospects for fast and easy change. Even the Association Agreement with the EU is a mixed blessing in this context if seen from the point of view of the migration conditions in the Republic of Moldova. So far, the migration of Moldovan citizens to the Russian Federation has been predominantly of the temporary and circular type. The protection measures by the Russian side after the signing the Agreement will certainly have restrictive consequences for the temporary migration to this destination. However, the local Moldovan labour market cannot absorb even a small portion of the thousands of Moldovans who currently rely on making their living via temporary migration to the Russian Federation. The expected step by step liberalization of the access to the Western European labour markets could hardly compensate for the expected loss of access to the Russian labour market too. Moreover, the Moldovan experience is that the labour migration to Western Europe usually implies permanent emigration. This means that Moldova will continue to lose the young, best educated and most entrepreneurial segments of its labour force more and more from now on. This conclusion is strengthened by the widespread expectations that the recent economic growth in the country will probably continue to be jobless growth.

The conclusions of the above analyses and argumentations could be briefly summarized in three points:

First, the issues of cross-border migration are and will remain crucially important economic, political and cultural issues in the six countries of the Eastern Partnership of the European Union.

Second, the recent signing of the Association Agreements between the European Union and Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine is not going to make the issues more easily manageable in the short and medium terms.

Third, the new situation is a very substantial challenge to social scientists and decision-makers alike which challenge provokes the need for new strategies in research, policy design and implementation.

It is obvious that the above preliminary conclusions strongly support the efforts to organize and carry out precise empirical studies on the conditions, processes and effects of the cross-border migration from the six countries of the EU Eastern Partnership to the EU member states and back. In order to be dealt with efficiently the task should be de-composed into three parts:

First, studies on the migration potentials and their effects in the orientation towards out-migration, decision and implementation of out-migration from each of the six countries from EU Eastern Partnership towards the European Union.

Second, studies on the specific institutional framework and the specific activities implemented for moving the migrants from each of the six countries of the EU Eastern Partnership to Germany, Italy or Poland and back.

Third, studies on the varieties and levels of economic, political and cultural integration of citizens from the EU Eastern Partnership to the local conditions of Germany, Italy and Poland upon the migration to these countries, and the potentials for their return migration by following the pattern of the circular migration.

The conceptual framework for the study on the push-conditions for out-migration from the six countries from the EU Eastern Neighbourhood and the operationalization of these conditions in structural and motivational determining factors might be well organized around the concept of needs. More precisely, the promising conceptual organization should be around the concept of needs satisfaction/dissatisfaction. It seems to be productive to organize the information about the countries from the Eastern Partnership around the hierarchy of dissatisfied needs by following ideas developed by Abraham Maslow [18]. The level of need satisfaction intrinsically depends on the technological, economic, political and cultural structures in the countries of origin of the cross-border migrants. This line of determination should be conceptually well elaborated. The task is difficult since each of the four basic determining factors of need satisfaction/dissatisfaction should be operationalized in several clusters of indicators. The clusters of indicators for the technological development of a country from the Eastern Partnership should refer to its positioning in the technological revolutions, to the local specifics of the technological division of labour and to the major moving forces of technological development in the country. The economic situation of the country will be measured with clusters of indicators focusing on the legal regulations of economic rights, the functioning of the labour market, the economic balances of the country and the distribution of income and wealth. The same logic applies to the clusters indicators concerning political life and culture. In addition, the hierarchy of needs should be logically organized and operationalized by following the idea of basic needs of the human existence (the bottom of Maslow's pyramid of needs) towards advanced civilizational needs which occupy the top of Maslow's pyramid of needs (see Figure 1 below).

The methodology of field studies to be conducted on the above outlined issues in the six countries from the EU Eastern Partnership will include the following mixed methods and approaches:

- analysis of statistical information, of governmental and scientific documents guided by the above conceptual model;
- in-depth interviews with experts from the six EU Eastern Partnership countries on the local cross-border migration to the European Union in general and to Germany, Italy and Poland in particular;
- representative national public opinion polls in the six countries of the EU Eastern Partnership on the migration potentials there to the EU in general and to Germany, Italy and Poland in particular;
- in-depth interviews with returnees from international labour migration in Germany, Italy and Poland to the six countries of the Partnership;
- Delphi sessions with experts on the prospects of out-migration from the six countries to the EU and on the prospects of return and circular migration.

The study on the processes linking the countries of origin with the countries of destination in the cross-border migration will be focused on the ways in which the migrants define and

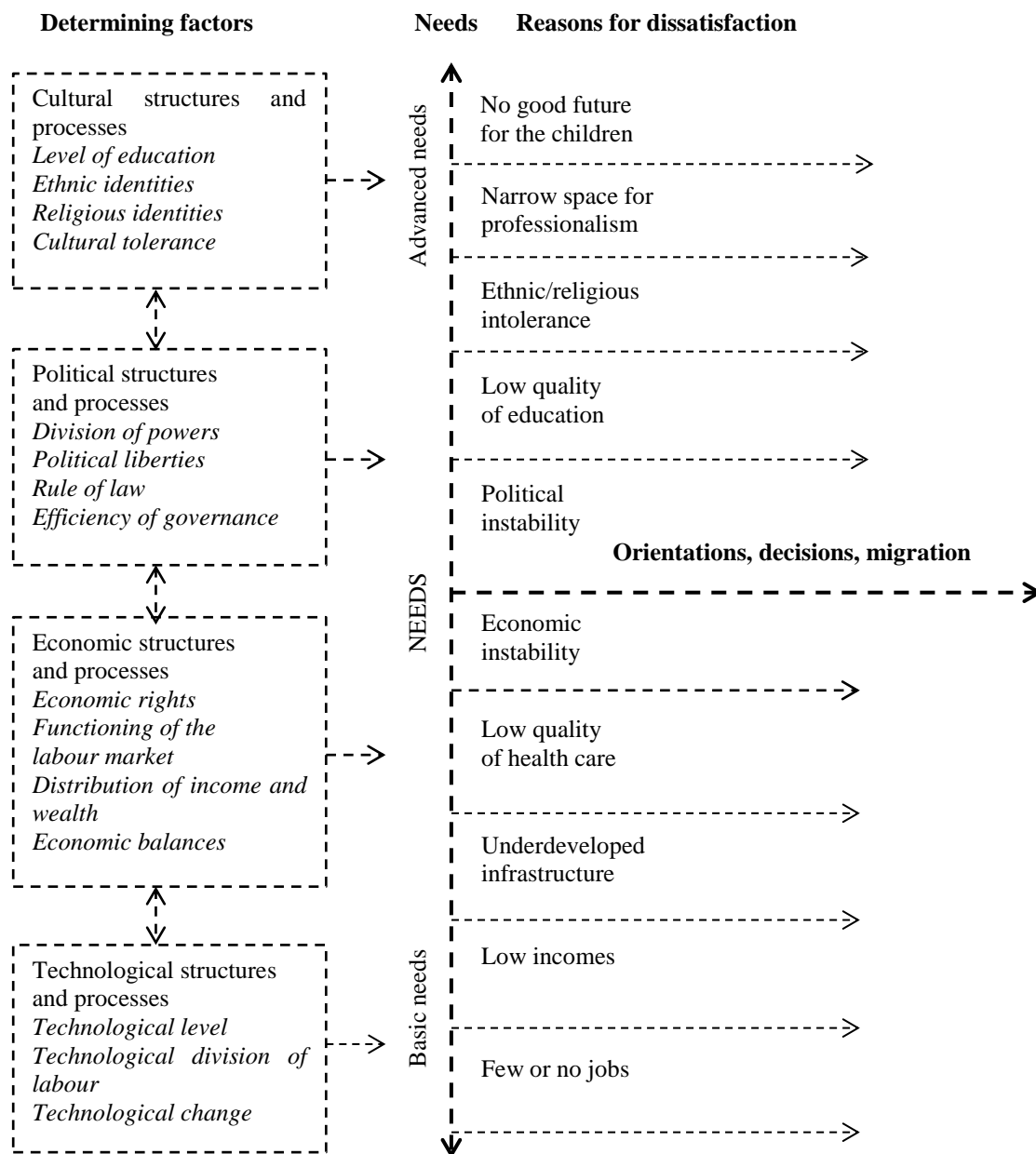


Figure 1. Accumulation of potentials for out-migration («push factors»)

handle the four legal and institutional barriers they have to overcome. The barriers in question concern the departure in the cross-border migration process (securing funding and documents for the trip), the organization of the migration trip itself, the entrance to the country of destination and the legalization of the stay there (Figure 2). In the vast majority of cases these barriers are being overcome by the cross-border migrants by following the rules of law. However, for the social scientists and for the administrators involved in the migration management the smaller segment of irregular overcoming of the barrier is no less important. The strategy of this study is schematically presented in the following conceptual scheme.

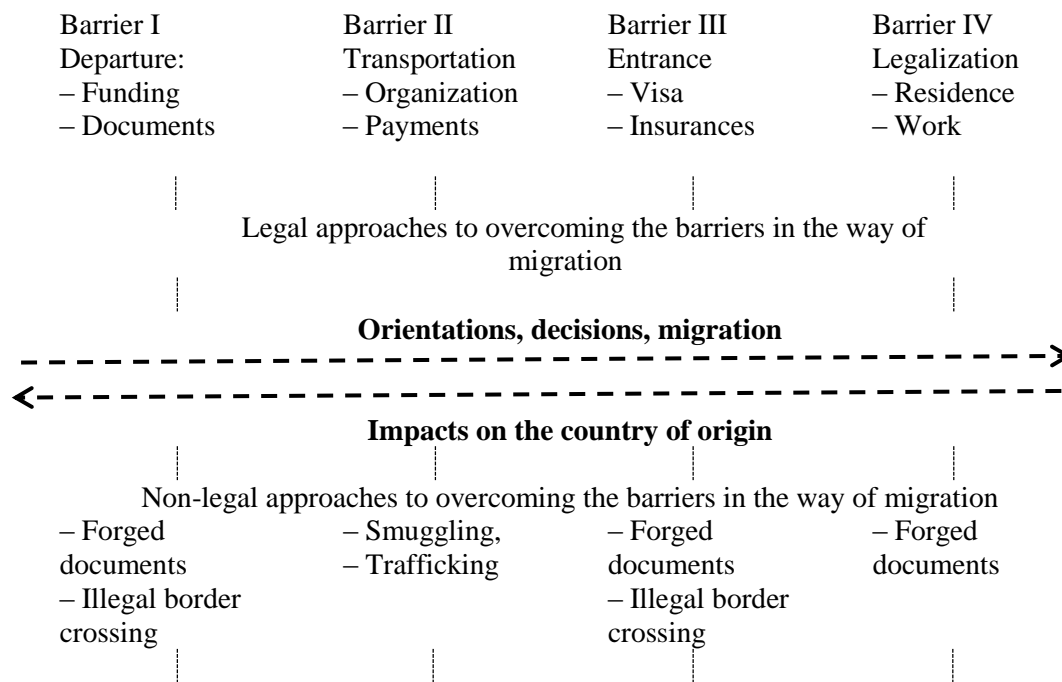


Figure 2. Overcoming barriers in cross-border migration

The primary information needed for proper description, explanation and prognostication of the above processes will be collected by applying the following methods:

- in-depth interviews with experts on interpersonal networks providing support in the transition from the countries of origin to the host countries of cross-border migration;
- in-depth interviews with experts in the fields of organization of the transition from the country of origin to the countries of destination of cross-border migration, including smuggling and trafficking;
- in-depth interviews with migrants from the six countries sending migrants to Germany, Italy and Poland and intending to stay or having stayed in the three EU countries temporarily or permanently.

The next logical stage of the research will include the field studies in the three countries receiving cross-border migrants (Figure 3).

The field studies in the three EU member states (Germany, Italy and Poland) receiving migrants from the EU Eastern Partnership countries will be focused on the mechanisms, level and effects of the economic, political and cultural integration of the immigrants in the host societies. The research agenda will include mixed methods. The first part of them will be focused on the level of the economic,

political and cultural integration of the individual immigrants in the host societies of Germany, Italy and Poland. The second part will focus on technological, economic, political and cultural changes in these societies due to immigration.

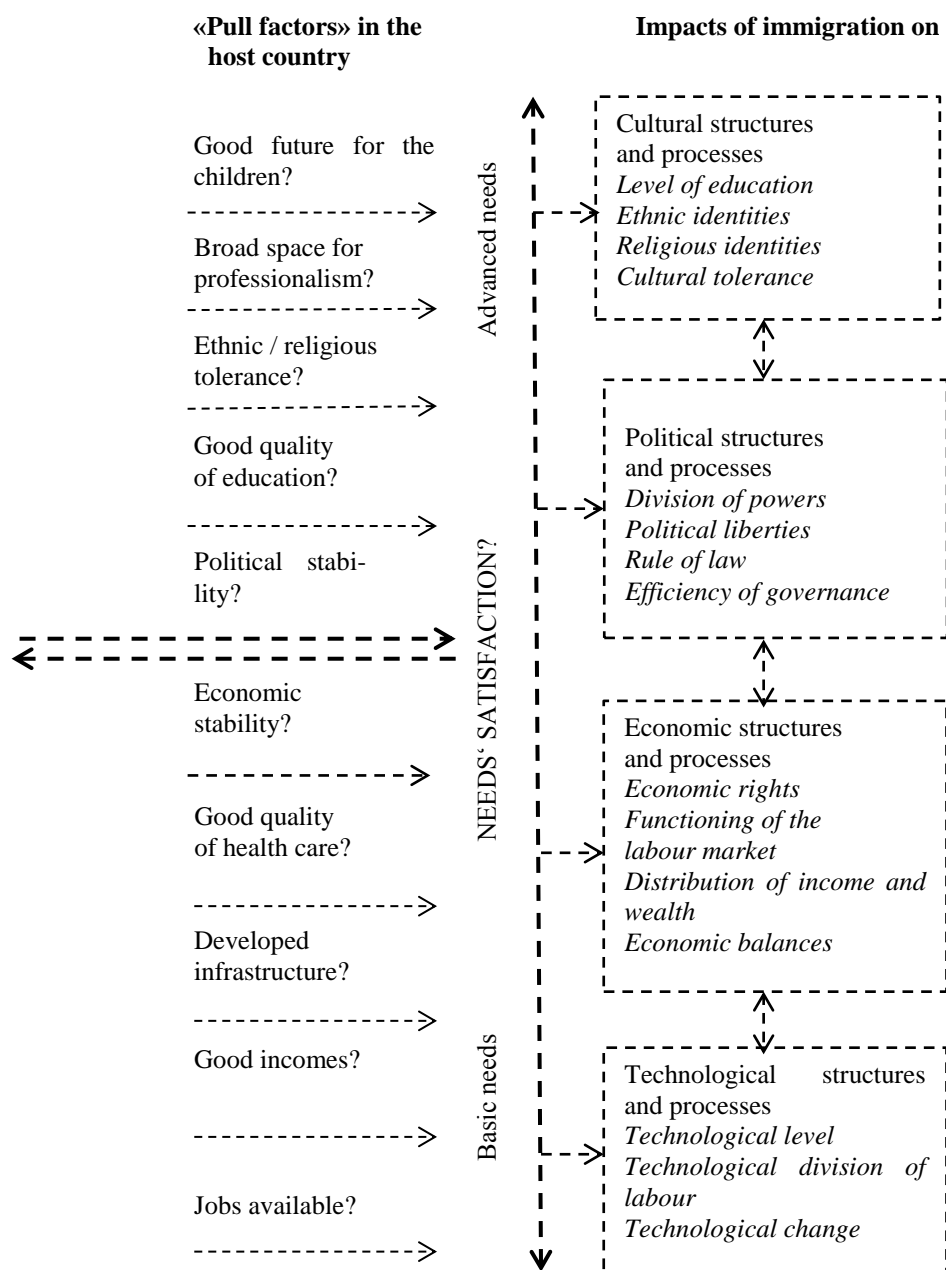


Figure 3. «Pull factors» and impacts of cross-border migration

The following methods will be applied for the resolving of the above outlined research tasks in the host societies of cross-border migration:

- analysis of statistical information, of governmental and scientific documents;
- in-depth interviews with experts in the fields of the economic, political and cultural integration of migrants from the EU Eastern Partnership countries in the host societies Germany, Italy and Poland with the stress on the issue if the immigration which has already taken place has established the infrastructure for further immigration from the six countries;
- in-depth interviews with labour migrants from the six countries from the EU Eastern Partnership in Germany, Italy and Poland with a special stress on the question if the immigration from the six countries has developed the networks for reproduction and increase of the immigration from the six countries;
- in-depth interviews with a control group consisting of citizenship of the host countries about their perception and assessment of the effects and prospects of the labour migration from the six countries of the EU Eastern Partnership in Germany, Italy and Poland respectively;
- Delphi sessions with local experts in the three host countries on the efficiency of the immigration policies practiced so far, on the prospects and effects of the temporary and permanent migration from the countries of the EU Eastern Partnership to Germany, Italy and Poland, and on the content of possibly more efficient immigration policies.

The strategic advantage of the study presented in this way is the simultaneous focussing of research on the situation in the countries sending cross-border migrants (on the push-factors), in the countries receiving migrants (on the pull-factors) as well as on the processes linking both polls in the migration process. This approach makes the conceptual substantiation of the circular migration possible and thus provides the sound conceptual ground of the cumulative research on the circular migration flows. The policies of fostering the circular migration might be the free visa regime for temporary migration related to a work permit, opening of accounts for payment of the full-scale remittances in the countries sending labour migrants upon the return of the migrants, and even state subsidies from the countries receiving migrants to these accounts in the sending countries.

The very much needed comprehensive conceptual scheme might be schematically presented as follows (Figure 4).

The cross-border migration from the six countries of the Eastern Partnership of the European Union to the Union is a process which cannot be stopped by administrative measures. Therefore, the rational attitude to the process would be to recognize the need to regulate it by relying on the scientific evidence as well as in a humane and economically and politically efficient manner. This task is gaining understanding as well as scientific and practical support fast. No doubt, the development in this direction is very much influenced by the rising numbers of cross-border migrants. The linking of the process to the substantial differentials between the standard of living and the quality of life in the six countries of the EU Eastern Partnership and the average standard of living and quality of life in the member-states of the European Union is basically correct. However, it would be a strong simplification to reduce the moving forces, processes and effects of the migration from the countries of the Eastern Partnership of the EU to the Union to the differentials of the standard of living and quality of life alone. A number of other determining factors like the general commercialization of social life and the commodification of the labour force during the post-socialist transformations in the countries from the Partnership should be taken into account. Moreover, specific analyses are needed of the attractiveness of one or another member-state of the EU. The efforts of the European Union and its member-states to develop and apply standardized rules and means of managing the immigration should be also well-understood and respected.

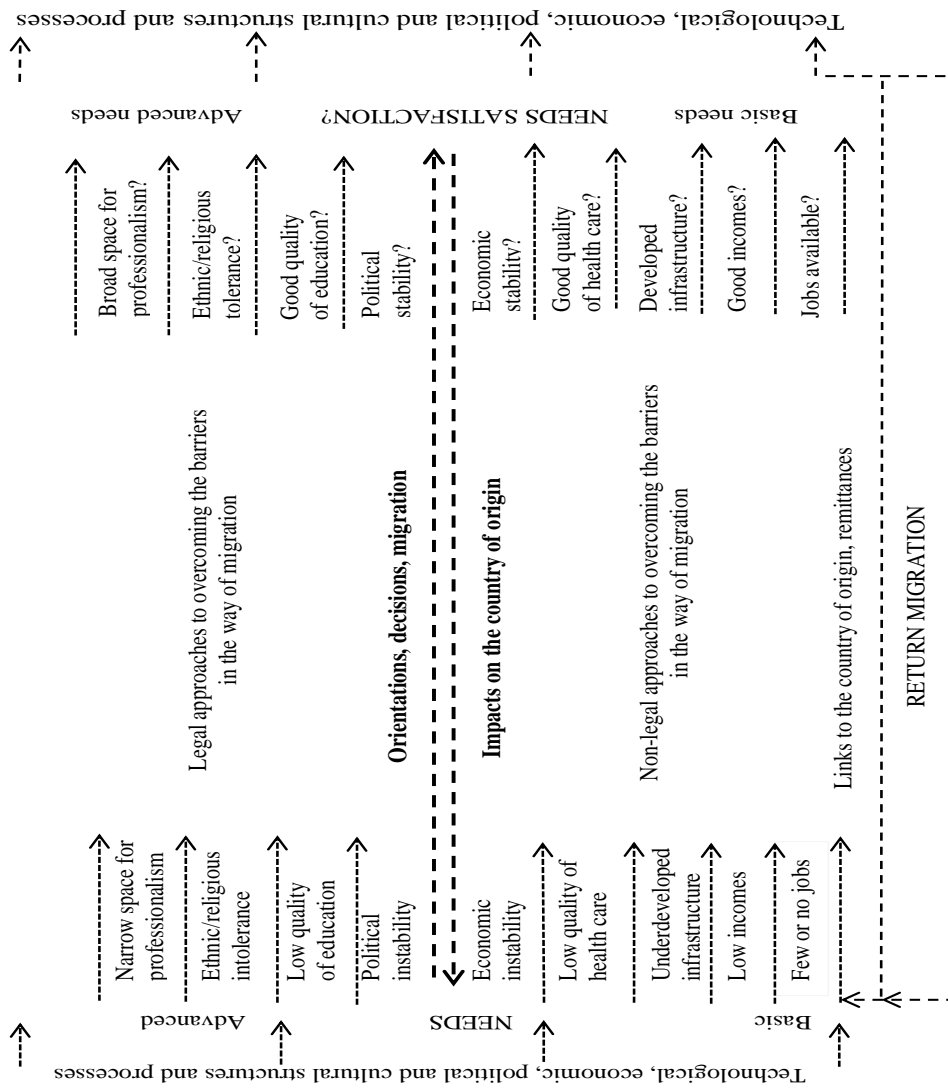


Figure 4. Conceptual framework for a synergistic and probabilistic approach to international migration

Thus, both the situations in the countries of origin of the migrants as well as the key economic, political and cultural parameters of the host countries of cross-border migration under scrutiny (Germany, Italy and Poland) should be carefully taken into account. Moreover, the processes linking the countries of origin and the host countries of the cross-border migration should become the regular target for careful and well specialized conceptual framing and empirical studies. The very much needed outcome of the scientific studies should be carefully designed theoretical and methodological strategy of taking into account the situations in the countries sending and receiving cross-border migration as well as the processes linking the sending and receiving societies. This strategic understanding is expected to become the sound cognitive basis of practically doable, humane and win-win-win policies for the management of the cross-border migration between the countries from the Eastern Partnership of the EU and the member-states of the Union.

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ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКИЙ СОЮЗ І ЙОГО СХІДНЕ ПАРТНЕРСТВО: ПОЯСНЕННЯ ТА УПРАВЛІННЯ МІГРАЦІЙНИМИ ПОТОКАМИ

Прикордонна міграція з шести країн Східного партнерства Європейського Союзу (Вірменія, Азербайджан, Білорусь, Грузія, Молдова та Україна) у напрямку Союзу збільшується. Цей процес неможливо встановити адміністративними заходами. Необхідно регулювати міграцію на основі результатів наукових досліджень і відповідно до гуманних, економічних і політичних вимог. У статті представлена категоріальна матриця для теоретично обґрунтованого емпіричного дослідження причин, процесів і результатів прикордонної міграції в регіоні, що обговорюється. Головна ідея аналізу і аргументації полягає в тому, що процеси, які пов'язують країни еміграції та імміграції в прикордонній міграції, мають стати предметом постійних і довгострокових, професійно підготовлених теоретичних і емпіричних досліджень. Стратегія запропонованої категоріальної матриці для орієнтування та планування емпіричних досліджень побудована таким чином, щоб послідовно відстежувати ситуацію в країнах походження і країнах, що приймають мігрантів, в прикордонній міграції, а також процесів, які об'єднують ці країни. Ця стратегія повинна забезпечити солідну пізнавальну основу практично здійснених і гуманних форм регулювання міграції, які враховують інтереси країн походження і країн, що приймають мігрантів, а також самих мігрантів. У контексті відносин країн Східного партнерства Європейського Союзу і самого Союзу, перевага повинна надаватись заходам регулювання, які стимулюють циркулярну міграцію.

Ключові слова: Європейський Союз, Східне партнерство, прикордонна міграція, регулювання міграції.

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ЕВРОПЕЙСКИЙ СОЮЗ И ЕГО ВОСТОЧНОЕ ПАРТНЕРСТВО: ОБЪЯСНЕНИЕ И УПРАВЛЕНИЕ МИГРАЦИОННЫМИ ПОТОКАМИ

Приграничная миграция из шести стран Восточного партнерства Европейского Союза (Армения, Азербайджан, Беларусь, Грузия, Молдова и Украина) в направлении Союза увеличивается. Этот процесс невозможно установить административными мерами. Необходимо регулировать миграцию на основе результатов научных исследований и в соответствии с гуманитарными, экономическими и политическими требованиями. В статье представлена категориальная матрица для теоретически обоснованного эмпирического исследования причин, процессов и результатов приграничной миграции в обсуждаемом регионе. Главная идея анализа и аргументации состоит в том, что процессы, связывающие страны эмиграции и иммиграции в приграничной миграции, должны стать предметом регулярных и долгосрочных, профессионально подготовленных теоретических и эмпирических исследований. Стратегия предлагаемой категориальной матрицы для ориентирования и планирования эмпирических исследований построена таким образом, чтобы последовательно отслеживать ситуацию в странах происхождения и странах, принимающих мигрантов, в приграничной миграции, а также процессов, связывающих эти страны. Эта стратегия должна обеспечить солидную познавательную основу практически осуществимых и гуманитарных форм регулирования миграции, которые учитывают интересы стран происхождения и стран, принимающих мигрантов, а также самих мигрантов. В контексте отношений стран Восточного партнерства Европейского Союза и самого Союза, предпочтение должно отдаваться мерам регулирования, которые стимулируют циркулярную миграцию.

Ключевые слова: Европейский Союз, Восточное партнерство, приграничная миграция, регулирование миграции.