

Rangelova, R., Y. Kalchev, K. Vladimirova V. Minchev, V. Boshnakov, S. Blazheva¹

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GENDER DIMENSION OF BULGARIA'S NEW MIGRATION: POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The article presents the main findings of the major paper contributors at the workshop under the above title.² The aim was to increase gender awareness and open channels of discussion on the new migration from Bulgaria by gender. The authors have delivered papers on gender dimension issues of the emigration process in Bulgaria since 1989 onwards and have discussed them with representatives of the official (executive) institutions and relevant NGOs. Data from the National Statistical Institute, in particular the last Population Census (2001) and a sample survey in 2003 are used to shed light on patterns of people's mobility in gender perspective in the last 15 years and in the years to come - by age, reason for migration, education, ethnic group, geographical destination of Bulgarian migrants, etc. Gender aspects of external migration statistics, labour market performance and policy and social consequences are considered. In conclusion implications are given in two aspects: concerning improvement of migration statistics by gender and concerning building an adequate national policy towards the ongoing migration processes, in particular in view of the forthcoming integration of Bulgaria into the EU. JEL: J16; J19; J61

1. Background

1.1. Why gender dimension?

Under the 'natural' assumptions what is typical of women and what is typical of men stems from biology lies the conviction that biology is something that simply is – it cannot and will not be changed. Nowadays researchers acknowledge that what is female and what is male is socially constructed – the proof of this are the big variations between women and men depending on time, space and class. These female/male distinctions based on practice in society and in organisations are given the name 'gender', even though what is most often discussed is sex.

Considering gender dimensions of the various social and economic phenomena allows us to carry out more comprehensive and detailed analyses reflecting modern perception of realities.

¹ The contribution of the individual authors is as follows: Dr. Rossitsa Rangelova – Section 1, 5 and 7; Dr. Yordan Kalchev – Section 3; Dr. Vesselin Minchev and Dr. Venelin Boshnakov – Section 4; Prof. Dr. Katia Vladimirova – Section 6 and Stefka Blazheva – Section 2. Section 8 summarises the implications of the individual authors. The article was edited by Dr. R. Rangelova.

² The workshop was organised by the Institute of Economics at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences with

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1.2. Legacy of the gender dimension from the past

Over the period 1945-1989 Bulgaria was in one of the first places by growth of women employment rates, even among the Central and East European (CEE) countries. It is a known fact that due mainly to ideological and political reasons unemployment did not exist in the former centrally planned economies (if we do not take into consideration hidden unemployment). The determination of the priority of the labour function of women was due firstly to the economic needs during the last decades, and secondly, to the oversimplified understanding of the equality between men and women.

Some basic features of the labour conditions in Bulgaria were: excessive reliance on the development of an industrial structure based upon large plants as the main units of employment as well as over-industrialization and a comparative neglect of services. These basic features reflected on the distribution of female labour force by economic sector and activity.

A well-known fact is that Bulgarian women have got a high educational level and intellectual potential. Referring to data from 1993, 52% of all university graduates and 68% of the young people with college education are women, and nearly 40% of all research workers, including academics are women. At the beginning of the new century the proportion of the latter is already 46%.

Regarding access to education, in general, women have the same rights as men. Problems arise after graduation, on the labour market and in pursuing a professional career for women.

In connection with the above-mentioned it is relevant to refer to a study of the Population Crisis Committee in Washington, D.C. carried out in 1988 and titled "Country Rankings of the Status of Women". In this study of 99 countries 2.3 billion women are presented, which is 92% of the world's female population, and 20 indicators measure women's well-being in 5 sectors: health, marriage and children, education, employment, and social equality. The highest ranked country is Sweden, the lowest - Bangladesh. Bulgaria holds an advanced position, it is in the ninth place after Sweden, Finland, the USA, ex-East Germany, Norway, Canada, Denmark, Australia, but before Belgium, ex-Czechoslovakia, Hungary, ex-USSR, France, ex-West Germany, Austria, Poland, the Netherlands, the UK, etc. The profound analysis proved that the advanced position of Bulgaria is mainly due to the strong involvement of women in education and employment to the detriment of health, marriage and children, and especially of social equality.

In Bulgaria, like in many other countries, the public environment allows women's promotion, in general, to the middle level of the hierarchical pyramid. In practice, a woman has to exceed men's professional skills in order to be treated (recognized) on equal terms. In addition, in the professional career, including business, women meet hidden discrimination not only on the part of men, but also on the part of other women.

What is important, however, is that the "gender dimension" of the economic and social studies in Bulgaria has hardly developed over the years despite our self-confidence as citizens of a modern country. We can begin with the lack of gender specific data on different phenomena in the country and go on with different specific problems. One reason for this situation could be the incapability of the researchers and experts in Bulgaria to define adequately the gender dimension which allows us to enhance the

analyses and discover interesting and important aspects of social life. This fact may be combined with (or followed by) a reluctance of the executive and legislative powers to go into the details of the gender problems.

1.3. Why is the considered topic migration?

The importance of the linkage between gender and migration could be explained by the scale of new Bulgaria's migration.

To get a better idea why the current migration from Bulgaria is too impressive one has to take into account that during over 40 years the country did not take part in the free will movement of the population abroad. Since 1989 a massive external migration has begun, which gradually decreased in the following years, but it is still significant in comparison with those in the other former socialist countries.

The first emigration wave is of political character on ethnical basis and concerns the Bulgarian Turks. According to data of the National Statistical Institute (NSI) 218 thousand people left the country in 1989 moving mainly to Turkey as a reaction to the forcible change of their names in 1985 (Table 1).

After the collapse of the centrally planned economy a new type of emigration directed to the developed industrial countries is observed. Since 1989 Bulgaria's transition to a market economy was accompanied by the consequences of a large-scale emigration of primarily young and active people. The emigartion wave was the result of the lifting the administrative barriers and restrictions, the very big difference in the living standards between Bulgaria and the developed countries, the reticence of the regime of the period 1945-1989 etc. In the first years external migration from Bulgaria was driven mainly by disparities in earnings and unemployment. People were often willing to accept a job, which did not match their education or qualification. In the following years emigration varied between 40 and 70 thousand people per year. By official data from 1989 up to the present day nearly 716 thousand people emigrated, which is about 9% of the total population in 1989.

Scale of migration from Bulgaria, 1989-2005

Table 1

Period –years	Number of migrants
1989	218 000
1990 - 1992	252 000
1993 - 2000	221 000
1989 - 2000	691 000
Total 1989-2005	716 000

Source: National Statistical Institute, Sofia.

Seasonal emigration has also appeared. One of the new phenomena, which turned into a serious problem for the post-communist society in CEE, is emigration of scientists and highly-skilled experts, or the so-called 'brain drain'.

The purpose of the prevailing proportion of Bulgarian visitors - both men and women - abroad is business - about 60%, followed by tourism – nearly 30% (Table 2).

Table 2 Distribution of Bulgarian visitors abroad by purpose of visit, 2002-2003, %

Year	Total	Including					
		Tourism As guests Business Other					
2002	100.0	27.1	5.5	60.7	6.7		
2003**	100.0	27.4	5.7	57.3	9.6		

Source: National Statistical Institute, Sofia.

Legend:

Source: Statistical Journal. Monthly edition, National Statistical Institute. Sofia, Vol. 11, November 2003, p. 54

1.4. IOM's policy on gender issues of migration

According to data of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in current national estimates of permanent migration flows and numbers of foreign or foreign born people in the traditional migration countries and Western Europe, women form about 50% of the total number and this phenomenon is called feminisation of migration. For indistrialised countries as a whole, women costitute over half of the migrants, and outnumber male migrants in a third of all receiving countries. The proportion of women among migrants living in the developing world varies widely from country to country. As a whole, more than 45% of migrants in developing countries are women.

Considering the importance of the gender issues of migration IOM has made efforts since 1995 to institutionalize and mainstream gender into its work. In Fabruary 1995, a Working Group on Gender Issues (WGGI) was established followed by Gender Focal Points and IOM Gender and Migration News Bulletin with the task of institutionalising and mainstreaming exisiting measures and efforts, and making further progress towards ensuring that gender issues are an integral part of IOM's planning and actions. In November 1995, an IOM Staff and Programme Policy was adopted by the IOM Council. The policy goals states that "IOM is committed to ensuring that particular needs of all migrant women are identified, taken into consideration and addressed by IOM projects and services" and that "equality of opportunity and treatment of men and women is a guiding principle of IOM". In 1996, Plans of Action on gender issues were approved. In 1998 a Gender Mainstreaming Strategy was developed addressed the particular gender-related needs of migrants and adequate gender policy. Since 2001 yearly reports on the activity connected with this Strategy have been prepared.

Migrant women in general have historically been marginalised as members of the societies in which they live and their needs have often been overlooked in migration-related programmes. Their condition has been studied insufficiently. One has to take into account that on a global scale the migrant flows are predominantly directed from less developed to well-developed countries, which predetermines considerable differences between people in terms of culture, religion, education, etc.

Gender issues of the new migration from the CEE countries, including Bulgaria have not yet been analysed.

^{*} Including: education, work, medical treatment, marriage and others.

^{**} For the period January-November inclusive.

2. Gender specific data on migration

Since 1990 the National Statistical Institute (NSI) in Bulgaria uses the UNs recommendations for classification of migration as a place of permanent residence, "emigrant" as a person who leaves his/her country permanently or for a long time (more than 1 year) and "immigrant" as a person who arrives in a given country for a long residing (more than 1 year) as well as short-term emigrant who is absent from the country within no longer than 3 months in one year.

Main information sources for external migration are: the population census, population registers, administrative sources, border statistics, the centralised computer information system set up on regional and national level as well as sociological surveys.

Official data on the profile of potential migtants can be obtained from two sources in Bulgaria - the NSI's population census, when a representative sample study is carried out (1992 and 2001) and the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) sample surveys in 1992, 1996 and 2001. Both sources however present the potential but not actual (real) migration, which means the responses represent only an approximation of the interest to migrate. In addition the gender aspect is concerned very slightly.

External migration statistics regards cizenship as an important indirect characteristic of migration. However, nowadays it is impossible to gather data on migration due to lack of relevant legislation on declaring any leaving the country by Bulgarians or foreign citizens living permanently in Bulgaria.

At present a special module (section) of the work programme of Eurostat 2003 is used for deriving indicators on the gender dimension of external migration, as well as a number of Eurostat publications, covering education, entrepreneurship, contracts for part-time jobs, weekend workers, migration and ageing population by gender. Gender statistics still faces serious difficulties in terms of creating relevant indicators in the different spheres of political and socail life on the national and international level.

3. Profile of potential migrants from Bulgaria - the gender perspective

3.1. Basic data

- Reasons for migration from Bulgaria since 1989:
 - ⇒ Lifting the administrative barriers and restrictions for traveling abroad
 - ⇒ Low living standards in the country
 - ⇒ Increasing unemployment
 - ⇒ Political and economic unstability
 - ⇒ Lack of legislation on business activity
- Purpose of migration looking for:
 - ⇒ Labour activity
 - ⇒ Higher living standard
 - ⇒ Solving material problems
 - ⇒ Professional realization
 - \Rightarrow Education
- Nature of emigration:

I period - 1989-1992:

- ⇒ Ethnic and political nature of migration
- ⇒ Reestablishing family relations

II period – since 1993:

- ⇒ Unstable economic and political situation in the country forced the economic nature of migration
- ⇒ Selective functions of migration are observed in accordance with restrictions undertaken by host countries
- ⇒ Change in the social and demographic status of migrants is observed: a tendency of lower age and increase in the educational level of migrants
- Geographical destination of Bulgarian migrants:
 - ⇒ At the beginning neighbour countries (mainly Turkey), CIS and countries in Central Europe
 - ⇒ Intensifying migration to Western European states (Germany, Austria, Italy) and African countries
 - ⇒ At a later stage intensifying the geography of migration other Western European countries, USA, Canada, Australia, South Africa
- Structure of potential migrants by sex:
 - ⇒ Males are more likely to emigrate than females. The former have a bigger scope in migration from Bulgaria
 - \Rightarrow The scope of female migration is highest in 1990 and 1991 (respectively 52% : 48% and 54% : 46% in favour of males)
 - ⇒ Since 1992 women constitute nearly 1/3 of the total number of migrants

3.2. Main results of the study on the potential migration from Bulgaria, 2001

A representative sample study on about 2 542 people aged from 15 to 60 was carried out by the National Statistical Institute (NSI) during the Population Census in March 2001. This section presents the main results of the study.³

Intensity of the potential emigrants is different by gender. Male population is marked by intensity that is nearly twice as high as (nearly 9%) that of female population (5%). As a result of this difference nearly two thirds of the potential migrants are male.⁴ Five basic groups of potential migrants are formed depending on the willingness to travel, the reason to stay abroad and the likelihood of realising migration in the following years (Figure 1):

I group - *potential settlers*. It consists of people who plan or are "likely" to resettle in another country (they represent 8.5% of the total number of respondents).

Il group - *labour migrants*. It includes people who want and are "very likely" or "likely to a certain extent" to move to other country to work/study for more than a year (6.8% of respondents).

III group - *short-term migrants*. It covers people who are "likely" or "likely to a certain extent" to go abroad to work/study for a shorter period - several months but not longer than a year (4.5% of responents).

IV group - *potential tourists*. These are people who plan to travel abroad as toursits or as guests of their realtives (10.9% of total respondents).

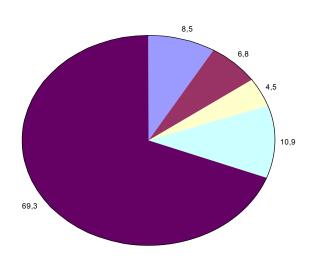
³ Kalchev, Y. T. (2002), Sample Survey of Population Mobility. Population Census in Bulgaria 2001, Vol. 6, Book 3 "Territorial Mobility of Population". National Statistical Institute, Sofia.

⁴ Intensity of potential emigrants is measured by the coefficient of the potential emigrants (CPE), which is the number of potential emigrants per 1,000 people - total and by category population. Scope of emigration is measured by the percentage of the number of emigrants by different category potential emigrants in total number potential emigrants.

V group - people who do not travel abroad. These are people who express a definite intention to travel abroad, but for one reason or another there is almost no chance to do this "in the next few years" (69.3% of respondents).

Studying migration from a given country is particularly important regarding the first two groups, which present the so called *longterm potential migration*. The absence of these people from the country impacts the demographic development, human capital and labour potential status, and in general the socio-economic development. Migrants from these two groups are important for the relevant international organisations and different states in view of the ongoing processes of globalisation and European integration (Table 3).⁵

Figure 1 Structure of the population sample in 2001 by group, %



☐ I group - potential settlers (8,5%)	■II group -labour migrants (6,8%)	☐ III group - short-term migrants (4,5%)
IV group - tourists (10,9%)	■ V group - peaople not travelling abroad (69,3)	

Number and distribution of potential migrants by sex

Group		Number				%			
	Sex		Total	Sex	Sex		Sex		
	Male	Female		Male	Female	Male	Female		
I	1243	926	2169	52.6	60.0	57.3	42.7	100.0	
II	1122	615	1737	47.4	39.9	64.6	35.4	100.0	
Total	2365	1541	3906	100.0	100.0	60.5	39.5	100.0	

Source: National Statistical Institute, Population Census 2001, Sofia.

Table 3

⁵ There should be noted the decreasing share of these two groups over time. According to a similar study in 1996 the scope of the first two groups was about 25%, while in 2001 it is nearly 15%.

- Men prevail in the two groups of potential migrants under consideration
- Women constitute nearly 40% of the total number
- Women are more likely to resettle abroad than men
- Male migration is connected predominantly with labour activity/long-term migrants (64.6%: 35.4% to women)

A further short presentation of the empirical results of the NSI 2001 survey follows considering the potential gender migration by different categories. Age structure:

Age structure of potential migrants by sex, %

Table 4

Sex	Migrants			Total	
Sex	iviigrants	15- 29	30 – 49	50 +	Total
	I group	49.0	43.4	7.6	100.0
	i group	53.6	51.6	51.6	52.6
Male	II group	47.1	45.1	7.8	100.0
IVIAIC	ale II gloup	46.4	48.4	48.4	47.4
	Total	48.1	44.2	7.7	100.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	I group	55.2	36.6	8.2	100.0
	i group	62.2	57.1	60.8	60.1
Female	II group	50.6	41.5	8.0	100.0
i ciliale	ii gioup	37.8	42.9	39.2	39.9
	Total	53.3	38.5	8.1	100.0
	i olai	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: National Statistical Institute, Population Census 2001, Sofia.

Findings:

- The potential female migrants at younger age (15-29) prevail over male migrants
- The permanent migration (I group) has a higher scope at women
- The female level of permanent migration is highest for the youngest age group up to 29 years which is over 55%, i.e. one in every two women is going to resettle, and declines over age it is one in every three women for the age interval 30-40 years and only 8.2% for women aged 50 and over.

Educational structure:

Educational structure of the potential migrants by sex, %

Table 5

Sex	Migrants		Education				
Sex	Migrants	Higher	High	Less than high	Ignorant	Total	
	I group	15.9	60.7	23.1	0.2	100.0	
	1 group	63.3	53.3	46.0	18.8	52.4	
Male	II group	10.2	58.7	30.0	1.2	100.0	
	II group	36.7	46.7	54.0	81.3	47.6	
	Total	13.2	59.7	26.4	0.7	100.0	
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	I group	23.5	49.5	26.7	0.3	100.0	
	i group	61.1	59.8	61.3	25.0	60.2	
Female	II group	22.6	50.3	25.6	1.5	100.0	
Female II group	38.9	40.2	38.7	75.0	39.8		
	Total	23.1	49.8	26.3	0.8	100.0	
	iolai	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Source: National Statistical Institute, Population Census 2001, Sofia.

- The scope of potential migrants with higher education among women is higher than among men both in the totals (23.1% against 13.2%) and in the two considered groups 23.5% against 15.9% in the first group and 22.6% against 10.2% in the second group
- The highest is the level of potential migrants to settle abroad among men with higher education
- For the potential permanent migrants-men there is outlined the following tendency: the lower the degree of education the lower the scope of migration
- The scope of men with high education is bigger than that of women in the two considered groups - wishing to resettle and work for a long time abroad. In the other three degrees of education women wishing to settle abroad prevail over men

Ethnic structure:

Table 6

Ethnic structure of potential migrants by sex, %									
	Migrants'		Ethnic group						
Sex	group	Bulgarians	Turks	Roma	Other	Not identified	Total		
	Laroup	82.4	12.8	2.0	2.1	0.6	100.0		
	I group	54.8	49.1	22.7	54.2	53.3	52.5		
Male	Mala	75.1	14.7	7.6	2.0	0.6	100.0		
Male II glot	II group	45.2	50.9	77.3	45.8	46.7	47.5		
	Total	78.9	13.7	4.7	2.0	0.6	100.0		
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
	l group	81.1	13.9	2.7	1.7	0.6	100.0		
	i gioup	60.7	70.3	30.9	55.2	75.0	60.2		
Female	II group	79.5	8.9	9.2	2.1	0.3	100.0		
remale	ii group	39.3	29.7	69.1	44.8	25.0	39.8		
	Total	80.4	11.9	5.3	1.9	0.5	100.0		
	i olai	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		

Source: National Statistical Institute, Population Census 2001, Sofia.

Findings:

- No significant differences are observed in the distribution patterns of potential migrants by sex if we consider them by etnical group
- Typical of Bulgarians is a bigger scope of women in the first group (settlers) as compared to men
- Considering intensity amongst women-settles, the highest is the desire to move abroad of women in the Turkish etnic group (70.3%), followed by the Bulgarian ethnic group (60.7%) and lowest is the scope of the Roma community (30.9%)
- The Roma people (both men and women) prefer long-term than permanent migration

Economic activity:

Table 7 Economic activity structure of potential migrants by sex, %

Sex	Group	Economic activity Yes No		Total
	ı	48.0	52.0	100.0
	ľ	55.0	50.4	52.5
Male	II	43.4	56.6	100.0
Iviale	II	45.0	49.6	47.5
	Total	45.8	54.2	100.0
		100.0	100.0	100.0
	ı	41.0	59.0	100.0
	ľ	58.6	61.1	60.0
Female	П	43.5	56.5	100.0
i emale	11	41.4	38.9	40.0
	Total	42.0	58.0	100.0
	rotai	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: National Statistical Institute, Population Census 2001, Sofia.

Findings:

- Economic activity among women-potential migrants is a little lower compared to that of men (45.8% vs 42.0%)
- The scope of permanent migrants in the I group among the economically active men and women (respectively 48.0% for men and 41.0% for women) is higher than that in the II group (respectively 43.4% and 43.5%)
- Economic activity of men in the I group is higher than that of women
- Considering the long-term migrants (II group) the economic activity is equal for men and women

Country destination:

Table 8 Structure of the potential migrants by destination country and sex, %, Total=100

Country	,	Sex	Total	Country		Sex	Total
	Male	Female			Male	Female	
Germany	25.3	19.7	23.1	Austria	1.4	1.5	1.5
USA	20.3	22.1	21.0	Belgium	1.6	1.0	1.4
Spain	8.0	8.7	8.2	Netherlands	1.6	1.0	1.4
UK	6.7	7.3	6.9	Switzerland	1.2	1.5	1.3
Greece	5.4	8.1	6.4	Israel	1.2	0.8	1.1
Canada	5.7	5.6	5.6	New Zealand	1.1	0.7	1.0
Others	5.5	5.4	5.5	Portugal	0.6	0.3	0.5
Italy	4.5	5.7	5.0	Russia	0.7	0.2	0.5
Turkey	2.7	4.1	3.3	Cyprus	0.6	0.5	0.5
France	2.6	3.7	3.0	Sweden	0.7	0.3	0.5
Australia	2.1	1.6	1.9	South Africa	0.5	0.2	0.4

Source: National Statistical Institute, Population Census 2001, Sofia.

Preferred country for migration:

Male: Germany, USA, Spain, the UK, Canada, Greece Female: USA, Germany, Spain, Greece, Italy, Canada

Purpose of migration:

Structure of potential migrants by purpose of migration and sex. %

Structure of potential migrants by purpose of migration and sex, %										
				Pi	urpose of mig	gration				
Sex	Migrants' group	iiving	Solving material problems	To obtain desired education	Professional realisation	Do not want to live in Bulgaria		To get married		Total
		56.4	20.3	3.0	2.3	10.2	1.6	0.4	5.8	100.0
		64.5	31.6	47.4	48.3	85.2	42.2	62.5		52.90
Male	II	34.8	49.2	3.8	2.8	2.0	2.4	0.3	4.7	100.00
Walc		35.5	68.4	52.6	51.7	14.8	57.8	37.5		47.1
	Total	46.2	33.9	3.4	2.6	6.3	2.0	0.4	5.2	100.0
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0
	ı	51.5	18.2	6.3	2.2	8.2	2.2	0.9	10.5	100.0
		69.1	39.7	59.1	40.4	90.0	55.9	61.5		60.3
Female	II	35.0	42.1	6.6	4.9	1.4	2.6	0.9	6.5	100.0
cillale		30.9	60.3	40.9	59.6	10.0	44.1	38.5		39.7
	Total	45.0	27.7	6.4	3.2	5.5	2.3	0.9	9.0	100.0
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0

Source: National Statistical Institute, Population Census 2001, Sofia.

Findings:

- The distribution of potential migrants by purpose of migration is similar for the two sexes; the biggest is the scope of people aimed at higher living standards (46.2% of men and 45.0% of women), followed by those aimed at solving material problems in which case men have a bigger scope than women (respectively 33.9% vs 27.7%)
- The proportion of the purpose related to education has a nearly twice as big a scope for women than that for men (3.4% for men and 6.4% for women)

Intention of labour activity:

Table 10 Structure of the potential migrants by intention of labour activity and sex, %, Total=100

Kind of activity	,	Sex	Total	Kind of activity	,	Sex	Total
	Male	Female		·	Male	Female	
I do not know exactly	42.5	41.3	42.0	Health services	1.3	5.5	2.9
Crafts	17.3	6.7	13.1	As guests at relatives	2.2	3.5	2.7
Agriculture	7.8	6.2	7.2	Entertainment and tourism	1.9	3.6	2.6
Trade and Hotels	5.9	6.7	6.2	Financial activity	1.7	3.0	2.2
To continue education	4.3	8.7	6.1	Sport, arts	1.9	1.9	1.9
Other	5.9	4.9	5.5	Research and teaching	0.9	3.2	1.8
Industry	5.5	3.0	4.5	Marriage	0.9	1.8	1.3

Source: National Statistical Institute, Population Census 2001, Sofia.

Table 3

- Over 40% among men and women have no idea what they would be engaged in after their emigration abroad
- Men expect to be engaged mainly in crafts, agriculture, trade and hotel services, while the biggest proportion of females expect to continue their education
- The diversity of activity is broader with women: continuing education, trade and hotel services, crafts, agriculture, health services, tourism, research and teaching, etc.

Perception of realisation abroad:

Table 11 Structure of the potential migrants by perception of realisation of the purpose of migration and by sex, %

	Degree of	Se	Total	
	conviction	Male	Female	Total
How convinced are	I am sure	69.7	69.3	69.6
you that you will	I doubt it	7.6	6.0	7.0
realise your purpose of emigration?	I have no idea	22.6	24.6	23.4
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: National Statistical Institute, Population Census 2001, Sofia.

Findings:

- Nearly 70% of potential migrants are sure that they will realise their purpose abroad, and the share of people who doubt it is 10 times lower (about 7%)
- The share of potential migrants that have no idea wether they will realise their purpose abroad is considerably high one in every four persons
- There is no difference between men and women in the perception how they will realise their purpose in the host country

Parents' encouragement to migrate:

Table 12
Would you encourage your children to go and (structure of potential migrants by sex)

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	Total
Study abroad	Yes	87.3	89.3	88.1
Study abilitiad	No	12.7	10.7	11.9
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0
Work abroad	Yes	89.7	89.6	89.6
Work abroad	No	10.3	10.4	10.4
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0
Settle abroad	Yes	54.8	54.1	54.5
	No	45.2	45.9	45.5
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: National Statistical Institute, Population Census 2001, Sofia. Findings:

- There is no substantial difference between men and women in the thendency to encourage their own children to emigrate
- For both men and women the percentage of people encouraging their children to study or work abroad is very high nearly 90%
- The percentage of people encouraging their children to resettle abroad is lower than with the first two activities (to study or work abroad), but it is also very high - nearly 55 %

It was noted that the second source of data on the potential migration from Bulgaria are the surveys of the IOM. In Box 1 there is presented the profile of potential migrants, summarised by the results of the IOM 2001 study, which confirms the described features of the profile of the NSI 2001 study and gives additional information.

The profile of potential migrants

"The average potential migrant is a highly mobile, well-educated young person, more often male than female, single rather than married, and inhabiting the capital or some other large town in Bulgaria. This reflects a significant shift in the social profile of the potential migrant since, during the last decade of transition, it has been the poorly educated people who prevailed in the group of potential migrants. The average potential Bulgarian migrant is a temporary labour migrant. He is most likely to stay abroad for a shorter period of time than is usually thought. The survey showed that the majority of Bulgarians who plan to migrate would not wish to spend more than 3 years in a foreign country and would rather work there for a while than to settle permanently."

Source: Profile and Motives of Potential Migrants from Bulgaria. IOM study 2001, p.3.

3.3. Consequences of external migration for Bulgaria

A special question was put into the questionnaire within the Population census' 2001 about the probable consequences for Bulgaria as a result of the wide-scaled external migration. The respondents could answer pointing out one and the same reply in two variants - at the first place and at the second place. The given probable consequences are not distinguished as positive or negative, although that is easy to recognise (Table 13).

Table 13
Distribution of respondents' opinion on the consequences of external migration from Bulgaria

Pointed out at the first place

Torritor out at the mot place			
Consequences	Town	Village	Total
Further deterioration of the demographic situation in the	38.6	28.5	35.8
country – fertility rates, age structure			
Declining labour resources	7.2	8.0	7.4
Declining share of skilled work force	11.5	8.6	10.7
Material problems of part of population will be solved	9.8	12.0	10.4
Emigrants will be useful for Bulgaria later on	6.0	5.9	6.0
Unemployment in Bulgaria will decrease	2.8	4.9	3.4
No consequences are expected	1.7	2.9	2.0
Every human being has the right to live/work wherever	17.0	18.7	17.5
he/she wants			
Other	0.3	0.3	0.3
No opinion	5.2	10.3	6.6

Pointed out at the second place

Box 1

Consequences	Town	Village	Total
Further deterioration of the demographic situation in	0.2	0.1	0.2
the country – fertility rates, age structure			
Declining labour resources	8.5	7.5	8.2
Declining share of skilled work force	20.8	13.1	18.8
Material problems of part of population will be solved	5.9	7.5	6.3
Emigrants will be useful for Bulgaria later on	9.2	8.8	9.1
Unemployment in Bulgaria will decrease	6.3	11.8	7.7
No consequences are expected	0.9	1.8	1.1
Every human being has the right to live/work	47.3	48.5	47.6
wherever he/she wants			
Other	1.0	0.8	1.0

Source: National Statistical Institute, Population Census 2001, Sofia.

Findings:

- The respondents realise the negative impact of migration on the demographic situation in the country (total 35.8% indicated at the first place), the decline in the skilled work force (total 10.7% at the first place and 18.8% at the second place), decline in the labour resources (7.4% and 8.2% respectively)
- Among the positive consequences at the first place there is pointed out the expected fact that material problems of part of the population would be solved (total 10.4% indicated at the first place and 6.3% indicated at the second place), followed by the argument that later on the emigrants would be useful for Bulgaria, because they would obtain higher skills and wider business and personal contacts (6.0% indicated at the first place and 9.1% at the second place), and by the expectation that unemployment in Bulgaria would be mitigated (respectively 3.4% and 7.7%)
- The percentage of respondents who do not think there would be any
 consequences is negligible (1-2%). Concerning the judgment that every human
 being has the right to live/work wherever he/she wants, this hardly could be
 treated as a consequence of migration, despite the comparatively high percent
 of the answers.
- On the whole a similarity between the given answers in the towns and the villages is observed, although there are some differences. For example rural people assess the deterioration of the demographic situation or decline in the skilled work force as less likely than those living in towns.

3.4. Projections of the likely future real emigration from Bulgaria

According to a medium-term NSI projection, due to the insufficient economic and social activity in the country, still underdeveloped labour market, insufficient trust in the democratic potential at the present stage of the development of Bulgaria we could not expect a decrease in migration in the near fututre, in particular with respect to young people. The main reasons motivating people to emigrate are the opportunity to find a job, which could guarantee higher living standards for migrants. This motivation is strengthened by the pursiut of professional skills and a personal career.

Preliminary assumptions:

- The estimates are based on the migration behaviour of population aged from 15 to 60 years at the current conditions of economic and social life in Bulgaria
- Changes in the environment both in Bulgaria and other host countries will contribute to changes in the scope and structure of migration flows
- Different restricting conditions are expected to influence the external migration flows in the future: migration exhaustion of the country, decreased fertility and forming of narrower cohorts of young population, ageing population, expected positive changes in the economic and social life in Bulgaria as a result of the country's integration into the European structures

Two variants of estimates are calculated - at an expected share of migrants of 12% and 15% of the total population in Bulgaria (Table 14) respectively. The results show that the likely number of the total emigrants from Bulgaria within the period 2001-2007 could be between 48 900 and 61 100.

Table 14 NSI projection for the real migration from Bulgaria, 2001-2007

Projection for the real number of migrants	Level of realisation	
-	12%	15%
Total	48 900	61 100
Including labour emigrants	28 200	35 300
Of which in Europe	20 700	25 900
Period: 2001-2002 – total	12 500	15 700
Including labour emigrants	7 400	9 300
Of which in Europe	5 500	6 800
Period: 2002-2005 – total	24 000	29 900
Including labour emigrants	13 700	17 100
Of which in Europe	10 000	12 600
Period: 2005-2007 – total	12 400	15 500
Including labour emigrants	7 100	8 900
Of which in Europe	5 200	6 500

Source: National Statistical Institute, Population Census 2001, Sofia.

4. Gender perspective of migration from Bulgaria at the beginning of the 21st century

Another sample study on the potential external migration from Bulgaria was carried out in June-July 2003. It was conducted by the Centre for Comparative Studies - Sofia, the ALPHA Research sociological agency with the financial support of GDN-CERGE-EI, Prague. The survey used a questionnare similar to that of the NSI 2001 study. The sample included approximately 1000 respondents aged from 17 to 65. Thus the survey 2003 could be treated as complementary to the NSI 2001 study. ⁶

⁶ Mintchev, V., V. Boshnakov, et al. (2004), External Migration from Bulgaria at the Beginning of the 21st Century. Estimates of Potential Emigrants' Attitudes and Profile. Economic Thought 2004 (journal). Institute of Economics, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Year XIX, 137-161.

According to the results of the 2003 survey nearly 20% of the population in Bulgaria form the potential migration, as the proportion of men is about 26%, and of women 15%, i.e. men exhibit a stronger tendency to emigrate (Table 15).

Table 15 Structure of population in Bulgaria by tendency to emigrate and sex, 2003, %

Respondents by category	Female	Male	Total
Non-migrants	85.0	74.2	79.9
Potential migrants, including	15.0	25.8	20.1
Settlers	6.9	8.0	7.5
Long-term migrants	4.9	11.2	7.9
Short-term migrants	3.2	6.6	4.7

Source: Minchev, V. et al. (2003).

Amongst the most important reason for migration is low income, low living standard, followed by the high rate of unemployment in Bulgaria (Table 16). We should stress out that over half of the respondents (52% of men and 64% of women) reply that they are employed at the time of the interview. A second important group of reasons which should not be neglected, is connected with the unclear perspective for the country's development (33% of the interviewed men and 49% of the interviewed women), crime and corruption (30% for men and 38% for women) and impossibility for professional realisation (nearly 30% for men and 38% for women).

Table 16
Distribution of potential migrants by reason to migrate, % of the given answers

Reason	Female	Male
Low income	75.0	87.7
High rate of unemployment in Bulgaria	67.5	84.4
Low living standard	85.0	76.2
Unclear perspective for Bulgaria's development	48.8	32.8
Impossibility for professional realisation	37.5	30.3
Crime and corruption	37.5	33.6
Bad public climate	28.8	24.6
Family reasons	17.5	9.0
Political climate in Bulgaria	10.0	11.5
Impossibility to study preferred educational discipline	12.5	8.2
Other	3.8	0.8

Source: Minchev, V. et al. (2003).

The reasons for migration predetermine the purpose to leave the country (Table 17).

Table 17 Distribution of potential migrants by purpose of migration, % of the given answers

Purpose	Female	Male
To solve my own (and my family) material problems	75.0	72.1
To live and work in conditions of higher living standards	66.3	68.0
To gain experience, to see life	27.5	18.0
To obtain the desired education for me (or my children)	20.0	18.9
To realise myself professionally	16.3	17.2
Excursion, tourism, guest to relatives	23.8	10.7
I do not wish to live in Bulgaria any more	20.0	9.0
To live at relatives' or friends'	10.0	4.9
To get married	6.3	3.3

Source: Minchev, V. et al. (2003).

- There are two main purposes of migration: to solve material probles (72% of the male respondents and 75% of female respontents) and to live and work at higher living standards (respectively 68% of males and over 66% of females)
- Nearly one fifth of the interviewed women have pointed out as a purpose obtaining education and a little less of them want to realise themselves professionaly, as the persentages of males in both cases are closer to those of females
- Females dominate among the people wishing to 'see life' 27.5% against 18% of males, and they are over twice as many as the males wishing to go on an excurion nearly 24% aganst 11% of males, to live at relatives 10% against 5% of males, to get married 6.3% against 3.3% of males. Similar is the proportion betweem women and men not wishing to live in Bulgaria any more 20% of females against 9% of males

An interesting and not studied aspect of potential migrants is to follow when they are going to leave the country, i.e. the time horizon of their probable leaving (Table 18) and how they are going to organise the travel (Table 19).

Distribution of the potential migrants by the planned time for migration, %

When do you plan to leave Bulgaria?	Female	Male	Total
I plan to leave the country,	20.6	31.9	25.9
in particular			
Within the current year	4.2	8.7	6.3
Within the next 2-3 years	8.3	15.4	11.6
In the further future	8.1	7.8	8.0
Do not plan to leave the country	79.4	68.1	74.1

Source: Minchev, V. et al. (2003).

Findings:

- Every fourth of the interviewed people is going to migrate, and among females they are every fifth anf among males every third
- About 75% of the interviewed people are not going to migrate and the tendency not to migrate of men is higher than that of women
- The sooner the period of migration, the smaller the percentage of potential migrants

Table 19
Distribution of potential migrants by way of organisation of their leaving, % of the given answers

9.10.10.10			
Way of organisation	Female	Male	
Personal invitation from relatives	40.0	23.8	
Under contracts with firms (organisations)	28.8	36.9	
Individual labour contract	17.5	16.4	
Application for a 'green' card	20.0	8.2	
Application for education	11.3	8.2	
Through travel agency	6.3	9.0	
Marriage	2.5	-	
I will organise my travel individually	38.8	36.9	

Source: Minchev, V. et al. (2003).

- The biggest is the proportion of people who are going to organise their migration individually (37-39%), followed by people going to join their relatives, where the percentage of women (40%) is nearly twice higher than that of men (23.8%). The latter fact indicates that it is women who more often than men follow their husbands or children abroad
- Men dominate among those realising business (nearly 37% against 29% of women), but women dominate in the application for a 'green' card or education

5. Gender differences in labour realisation of the Bulgarian emigrants

The migration pattern of the past - mainly men go abroad for a certain time to make a living and to return home - is radically changed. In the conditions of extending transport and communication links all over the world as well as the easy information exchange, the higher educational level of people etc., one can comparatively easy move from one country to another and go back to his/her own country more ofthen than in the past.

Considering migrants' realisation abroad by gender, we can identify three basic groups:

- (a) those, who are connected with the 'brain drain' phenomenon
- (b) legal labour migrants
- (c) illegal migrants

In Bulgaria, like in the other CEE countries, mobility of highly-qualified people is regarded mainly as a personal choice. Many bright researchers and academics (be they male or female) do their best to move and work at prestigeous scientific centres or universities in developed countries in order to practice their profession in a more productive manner. Economic factors, such as the researchers' poor salary or threat of unempolyment are important, but could not be considered as the only 'push' factors for their inclination to emigrate. It tells part of the story about the exodus of highly-qualified people and their motivation for leaving the country. The quality of the system ranks first as a priority factor, followed by the quality of life in a broader sense. One of the reasons for scientists to leave their home country is that they are fed up with local frustration and the complexities of the environment. It is easy to prove that the smallest difference in the migrants professional realisation by gender could be met in the first group, where the main factor is the educational level and high professional skills, but not gender identity. This group is followed by the legal labour migrants, where the differences evolve mainly from the professional specificity by gender (for example, cleaning or working in construction). The illegal emigrants are in most unfavoured situation, particularly women, who are lowest-skilled in this group in comparison with the two other groups and have no choice in looking for a job. The most likely way for them to move abroad is using the so-called traffic of women aimed in most cases at sexual exploitation. This group is the smallest in comparison with the other two, and among women those of the Roma ethnic group prevail. The differences in realisation abroad for people in this group stand out in a drastic way in comparison

⁷ Sretenova, N. (2003), Scientific Mobility and 'Brain-Drain' Issues in the Higher Education Sector in Bulgaria. Research Project No 2, CSLPE, University of Leeds. Symposium on Science Policy, Mobility and Brain-Drain, July 26-28, Leeds, the UK.

with the other two groups. But due to the lack of information, any consideration of the problems would be limited to speculations on the basis of sporadic and scanty information.⁸

The biggest group is that of the labour migrants, and this is why they are of great interest for studying. Furthermore, labour migrants are important because they affect the labour markets both in the host countries and countries of origin as well as because of the sharpened sensitivity of the former due to the active mobility of the population in the CEE countries, in particular Bulgaria.

We have available data on the labour realisation of Bulgarian emigrants in Greece and Spain, countries which are similar in terms of labour suplly for immigrants, mainly in the service sector (see Box 2).

Box 2

Similarities and differences between Bulgarian migrants in Greece and Spain by gender

- The first and significant migrant outflow to Greece was as early as at the beginning of the 1990s, while the migration to Spain began later on.
- In Greece women-emigrants from Bulgaria predominate, while in Spain emigrants are mostly men.
- Migration in Greece is most likey individual, while in Spain family migration. The first is the husband arrives and afterwards the relatives join him.
- The market niches for Bulgarian newcomers in Greece and Spain are similar; for women they are looking after old people and children (nursing); both for men and women - cleaning; for men - working in construction and the agricultural sector. Advertising and delivery of brochures for nightclubs, restaurants, etc. are often a starting activity for Bulgarians in Spain.
- The interviewed Bulgarians claim there is no difference in pay for Spanish and Bulgarian workers for the same work. This is not the case in Greece, where Greek workers can be paid 40% higher than Bulgarian immigrants for the same work.

Source: Markova, E. (2004), Legal Status and Migrant Economic Performance. The Case of Bulgarians in Spain and Greece. Paper presented at the conference "To be European. Bulgaria and Europe in Europe: Past, Present and Future". University College - London, 5 March 2004.

6. Labour markets and migration: gender perspective and policy

Main points:

- The increasing mobility of population all over the world is a natural result of the ongoing globalisation, in particular the free movement of goods, services, capital and information. The latter together with the labour market are more and more functioning as interconnected vessels.
- The problems of migration from Bulgaria concern this country not only because
 of the large percentage of migrants, representing the two sexes and labour
 force both with higher and low education and professional qualification, but
 mainly because migration is going on in the conditions of the European

⁸ See CABIRIA. Women and Migration in Europe. Strategies and Employment. DAPHNE Programme. Co-financed by the European Commission, 2004.

integration and working out common strategies and policies in the field of immigration and employment. The studying of these problems is of great importance in view of the pending membership of Bulgaria in the EU and later the inclusion of the country in the common European labour market as well as in the EU strategies for employment, social security, social cohesion, and integration of immigrants into the labour market.

There are two opposite kind of factors for labour migration from Bulgaria:

- ⇒ attractive higher wages, possibility to find a job and to save money, pursuing a professional career, etc.
- ⇒ unfavourable high insurance, illegal employment, seasonal or casual work, job which does not match one's professional qualification or skills, lack of social contacts, lack of relatives, friends, difficulties with the foreign language or adaptation, etc.
- At present Bulgarian migrants find jobs at the European labour market mainly in construction, agriculture, industry and services. Most often women 'start' in household services, agriculture, cafés, restaurants, etc. In most cases they work illegally, without employment contract and social security. In many cases working hours are more than regulated by the national standard in the host country, but payment is lower. There is a high discrimination - not only by gender and age, but also by national and ethnic identity.
- Typical of migrants from CEE countries, including Bulgaria, is the comparatively high percentage of women. This is connected with the economic urge in the past, on the one hand, but another important factor is the changed status and education of these women. In the past they were encouraged to take part in paid work and education in the country, as well as to make a professional career. Thus they cultivated in themselves economic self-dependence, skills and tendency to cope with a given situation not worse than men. Women are prepared more than men to work under conditions of high intensity and burden, while in their case employment includes also care about the family. According to surveys, it turns out that Bulgarian men abroad help more in housework and care for children than they do in their home country.
- An interesting tendency is discovered, concerning the increased opportunity for female migration from CEE, including Bulgaria in the context of the changes observed in the pattern of women employment in Western European countries.
- (a) In Western European countries there is observed the development of the so-called nomadic **life style.** With regard to women the latter is *in terms of work time*: widespread use of part-time (hourly) work, fractional working time over the day or week. With regard to men, the nomadic life style is observed more often *in terms of space*: replacement, construction work, frequently business travel abroad. Thus the flexibility of modern work concerns the most stereotyped pattern of social interrelations between men and women.
- (b) Another change in the pattern of work is observed connected with polarisation of female employment, which illustrate the crossing of social relations. Since the beginning of the 1980s the share of employed women with higher education and intellectual professions has significantly increased. As a consequence differences between educated and low-skilled women at the labour market increased and it is more expressed than that between men.

(c) Together with the increasing female employment in the Western European one can observe a new phenomenon - **externalisation of the housework**, i.e. its inclusion in the labour market. Women in Western Europe invest more and more in their professional career. In order to realise themselves professionally they hire people to do their housework. For this purpose low-paid female immigrants are very suitable. The latter is particularly relevant to women from CEE who are well educated and are competitive with low-educated local women, and in addition they are paid even lower. Thus a new type of labour interrelations emerges: for women from the Western European countries in their capacity of employers and for women from the CEE countries as a new dependent class.

7. Social consequences of migration

The social consequences of migration need to be considered from different perspectives. The lack of information, however, limits a study of migration processes. No doubt we can regard the development of professional skills abroad and the realisation of a successful career as a positive consequence of migration. Emigration corresponds to modern phenomena in the world – more contacts with other people and cultures, more information, better professional realisation, etc. Such people are closely confronting the problems of international integration, social cohesion and modern life style. It is very important also that they have the opportunity to expand their outlook and knowledge of other countries and other cultures and participate in the modern processes of dynamic co-operation between people all over the world, to lobby for Bulgaria, etc.

For parents

Living separately for a long time, each of the two partners in a family changes, building in themselves a stronger feeling of self-dependence which could create problems when they start living together again. This factor is expressed in different ways for the partner who has left the country and the one who has stayed at home. Often, these partners confront the different expectations, and even moral values, concerning the family mainstay and bringing up of children. As a result, one could expect disorder or even the upset of the family and the inter-generation equilibrium.

Impact on children

In many cases migrant parents leave their children to stay with relatives in the country of origin. The consequences of this practice could lie in two directions: positive: children have a better material status, they have the good example of their active parents taking risks and facing challenges for the purpose of prosperity of the family and children. These parents could take their children abroad to educate them or just meet other realities and thus widen the new generation outlook; negative: in the very important period of growing up, the children miss parental care being far away from them.

8. Policy implications

Concerning the necessity of information on external migration

- There is a lack of systematic data and information on migration due to the fact that migration is a very important modern phenomenon. The latter will develop in the future depending on factors and preconditions which are both external and internal for a given country, including Bulgaria and it will continue to impact the entire social, demographic and economic life in the country.
- Data on migration can be taken from several sources: population censuses, population registers, administrative sources, border statistics, and sociological surveys. There is not yet organised official regular statistics on real migration from Bulgaria. The lack of reliable information, in particular by gender, strongly hampers the studying of the migration process in Bulgaria in social and economic perspective.

NSI is expected to increase the gender specific data on migrants providing the necessary reliable statistics for better description of the profile of real (not only potential) migration, based on monitoring of migration flows – by age, sex, education, purpose of visit, destination country.

 Except the NSI, several other institutions gather information on migration as well

Most reliable is the information of the Agency for Bulgarians Abroad. The Employment Agency at the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy gathers useful but limited Information on labour migration. So there are still serious lapses in the gathering of information on external migration, in particular on labour migration. The practice of gathering statistics using the so-called 'statistical list' on Bulgarian borders was cancelled in 2000 regarded as an act against human rights. It was however a piecemeal job and not quite accurate.

No one source can give complete information on migration processes. Obviously combinations of data from different sources should be made. Expectations for the near future are connected with the setting up of a modern national information network between the Ministry of the Interior (Passport Control), the National Statistical Institute, The Agency of Customs at the Ministry of Finance, The Agency for Bulgarians Abroad and other relevant institutions.

• At present however, it is impossible to count real migration due to lack of legal framework for the declaration of leaving on the part of both Bulgarian and foreign citizens living in this country. The Law on Foreign Citizens in Bulgaria was voted in 1999, but The Law on Migration has not yet been prepared.

External migration statistics regards the citizenship of a given person as an indirect characteristic of his/her migration.

In accordance with the current understanding and the real practice now gender statistics is included in the laws and regulations and other kinds of equality - social, economic, political. In order to overcome these difficulties specific laws on gender statistics should be implemented in the country or at *least gender statistics should* be included in the laws on statistics.

 Expectations for improvement of official statistics on external migration are connected with the undergoing co-operation of the national statistical office and international organisations like Eurostat, UN, in particular the Economic Commission for Europe, The International Labour Organisation, Council of Europe and others. In view of EU enlargement and the specificity of migration within the continent, co-operation with Eurostat is organised, including development of the so-called 'mirror statistics' between the countries involved in migration.

Concerning the gender dimension of migration

- Main findings concerning one's tendency to emigrate:
- (a) Men are more inclined to migrate, in particular concerning long-term migration, women are more inclined to resettle
- (b) Women are more demanding concerning the environment and to a higher extent do not see any perspectives for themselves and their family to live in Bulgaria
- (d) Women are less informed about labour opportunities abroad which could be one explanation for their weaker desire for migration in comparison with men
- (e) There are ceratin conditions and circumstances allowing manipulation and misuse of potential female migrants
- The labour realisation of migrants from Bulgaria, regardless of sex, is connected first of all with their educational level and professional skills. The higher skills are in favour of their professional realisation abroad both for men and women.

Labour market participation of migrants from Bulgaria is connected primarily with their educational level and professional skills as the rule is the higher the level of skills, the more likely the successful professional realisation is.

- There is evidence that Bulgaria is still likely to experience an outflow of skilled labour when current EU members open their labour markets, unless an economic catching up with current EU members occurs more quickly than expected. Regarding migration trends by group, younger and better educated individuals are more likely to move. Very well-paid workers are less likely to emigrate and, in contrast, the youngest and most educated emigrants are the least likely to return.
- The reasons for migration from Bulgaria give a hint for the ways of its limitation. There are two basic reasons: the crisis of the transition to a market economy and a lack of adequate national policy towards Bulgarians abroad. First of all Bulgaria should achieve further significant economic progress. This will contribute to decrease in migration, in particular labour migration (the biggest share of the migrants) both male and female.
- Until now the policy of Bulgarian officials is rather (silent) encouraging emigration, i.e. forcing the push factor, rather than attracting people to live in their home country. This kind of policy could be acceptable in a short or medium term, but not in the long term when a national strategy is demanded. Such a complex strategy should be a result of joint work and successful coordination of the different relevant institutions in Bulgaria - state and public institutions, agencies, NGOs and society.
- The EU common strategy concerning migration give priority to policies of immigrants' integration, i.e. of the foreign labour force at the Western European

labour markets. Bulgaria's national policy should shift from a policy of neglecting the migratory processes to regarding and effectively regulating them.

Papers included:

Dr. Rossitsa Rangelova, Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Economics, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences: "Why Gender, Why Migration from Bulgaria?"

Dr. Yordan Kalchev, Associate Professor, Head of Department "Population Statistics", National Statistical Institute – Sofia: "Profile of the Potential Emigrants from Bulgaria: Gender Aspects"

Dr. Vesselin Minchev, Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Economics, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and Dr. Venelin Boshnakov, Assistant Professor at the University for National and World Economy – Sofia: "Emigration Tendency in Bulgaria at the beginning of the 21st Century"

Dr. Katia Vladimirova, Professor at the University for National and World Economy – Sofia: "Labour Markets and Migration: Gender Perspective and Policies"

Stefka Blazheva, Head of Sector "Statistics of Migration", National Statistical Institute – Sofia: "Statistics of External Migration: Gender Aspects"

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