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ПРИ БЪЛГАРСКАТА АКАДЕМИЯ НА НАУКИТЕ

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CONTENTS

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ГОДИНА XXV, 2016, 5

Vesselin Mintchev[1]
Venelin Boshnakov[2]

RECENT EXPERIENCES OF BULGARIAN EXTERNAL MIGRATION: A PREFACE TO A SPECIAL ISSUE

This special issue of Economic Studies Journal suggests a selection of papers developed in the framework of two research projects focused on the involvement of Bulgarians in international migration since 2007 – the first year of the country's full membership in the EU. They provide a variety of insights about the external migration of population during the last 10 years in both perspectives – attitudes of Bulgarian residents to out-migrate (potential migration) and actual trans-border mobility of Bulgarian citizens.

The first project entitled "*Migration and Transnationalism between Switzerland and Bulgaria: Assessing Social Inequalities and Regional Disparities in the Context of Changing Policies*" has been accomplished in the period 2013-2015 by an international research team comprising Swiss and Bulgarian scholars –sociologists, demographers, and economists. The project benefited from a grant provided by the Swiss-Bulgarian Research Programme supported by the Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, co-financed by the Bulgarian Ministry of Education and Science. Utilizing the interdisciplinary background of the participating researchers, a comprehensive analysis of Bulgarian migration to Switzerland has been developed focusing on a range of specific issues related to international migration policies, determinants of migration, regional disparities, social inequalities, etc.

The second project entitled "*Bulgarian Diaspora in Western Europe: Cross Border Mobility, National Identity and Development*" has been realized in the period 2011-2014 by a research team at the Economic Research Institute (ERI) of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences involving scholars from ERI; London Metropolitan University; University of National and World Economy, Sofia (UNWE); South-Western University, Blagoevgrad (SWU). The project was financially supported by a research grant provided by the "Ideas" Programme of the Bulgarian National Science Fund at the Ministry of Education and Science. A wide range of research questions have been empirically explored in relation to Bulgarian Diaspora in Spain and Germany, particularly their migration experience, social and labour market status as well as their future plans. The project also considered the issues

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of potential and return migration traditionally evaluated by a representative survey of Bulgarian population. Both projects utilize data from representative sample surveys conducted by the Agency for Socioeconomic Analyses (A.S.A.), Sofia.

The article[3] authored by Paolo Ruspini (University of Lugano), Marina Richter, and Michael Nollert (both from the University of Fribourg) suggests an analysis of the specifics of return and circular migration in Bulgaria. It is based on the results from quantitative research (semi-structured interviews) carried out in the home country during the summer of 2014 in the framework of the first project. After comprehensively considering the return migration phenomenon – including an in-depth review of the main theories regarding return and circular migration – the article provides diverse insights about a typical biography of a return and a circular Bulgarian migrant.

The paper entitled "*Social Inequalities and Migration. The Case of Bulgaria*" (authored by Irena Zareva from ERI) explores the relationship between social inequalities and external migration of Bulgarians. It examines the social inequalities as an important determinant of migration processes along with some major results of migration itself – e.g. immigrants' integration and positions in the host countries' societies. The analysis considers particularly the migrant transfers as a specific premise for reducing social inequalities in a sending country. Using official statistical data about quality of life indicators as well as results from recent empirical studies of Bulgarian migrants, the paper discusses the disparities between Bulgaria and the EU, including some destination countries especially preferred by Bulgarian migrants.

An article[4] suggested by Vesselin Mintchev, Georgi Shopov (both from ERI), Iordan Kalchev (SWU), and Venelin Boshnakov (UNWE) provides an overview of migration processes in Bulgaria since the start of socio-economic transformations of the country. The socio-demographic profiles of both potential and return migrants are empirically evaluated using large sample data from a representative survey of working age Bulgarian population conducted in 2013. Based on multi-dimensional ranking of Bulgarian regions by their levels of socio-economic development, some regional disparities are considered in respect of the potential and return migration in Bulgarian districts as well as remittances allocation and utilization. The paper suggests rich empirical evidence about the studied phenomenon deriving migration policy implications in relation to the issues of regional distortions.

The paper of Dotcho Mihailov ("*Bus or Plane? Profiles of Bulgarian Travellers to Switzerland*") provides survey evidence regarding the profiles of Bulgarian migrants travelling to Switzerland using two different means of transport: airways and bus lines. It searches for answers to an exploratory research question about the socio-demographic factors that differentiate the airway travellers from the bus passengers. The article shows how individuals from different social strata – approached by specific sampling methods – evaluate important issues concerning international migration, e.g. employment, education, and social networking. A selection of results from a survey of Bulgarians residing in

[3] Article title: "Between Return and Circulation: Experiences of Bulgarian Migrants".

[4] Article title: "Migration of Bulgarian Population – Characteristics and Relations to the Regional Socio-Economic Disparities".

Switzerland reveals an occupational shift characterized by a diminishing level of the qualification required for the jobs taken by Bulgarians after their move to Switzerland.

The article[5] authored by Vesselin Mintchev (ERI) suggests a range of results from empirical studies of external migration in Bulgaria as a sending country. The purpose of the analysis is to outline the socio-demographic profile of two main groups: returnees and potential migrants. Special focus is put on the attitudes towards international migration and the intentions of individuals to enter such processes. The results support the expectation that migration experience of returnees relates to the attitudes and aspirations of potential migrants. The paper also suggests data concerning the estimates of the country's migration potential for the period 2007-2011. The description of the employment and income status of return migrants during their stay abroad is of special interest of the analysis.

A paper entitled "*The Bulgarian Community in Spain: Will the Bulgarians Return from Spain?*" (authored by Vesselin Mintchev /ERI/ and Venelin Boshnakov /UNWE/) presents empirical results from a representative sample survey among the Bulgarian population residing in Spain in 2011. The sample includes 506 individuals living in 25 different settlements in this country which provides a reliable opportunity for evaluation of the social, demographic, and economic status of Bulgarian migrants in Spain. The transfer behaviour of Bulgarians living in Spain is compared to the practices revealed by Bulgarian return /circular/ migrants during former surveys in the home country. The article evidences about the degree of knowledge of Bulgarian language by the youngest generation as well as the frequency of contacts between the Diaspora and the relatives left behind. The question "*Will the Bulgarians return from Spain?*" is discussed as well.

The last article[6] (author: Vesselin Mintchev /ERI/) provides a selection of results from a sample questionnaire survey of Bulgarian citizens travelling by busses from Bulgaria to Germany conducted in May 2012. Two main segments of migrants are outlined: Bulgarians that are permanently or temporary residing in this country. The socio-demographic profiles of the two segments are explored and compared, putting a focus on their actual and expected realization on the German labour market. The migration intentions of both types of migrants are described in the context of the current debate regarding the EU-2 (Bulgarian and Romanian) migration flows to Germany.

Finally, we hope that the articles selected for this special issue raise important concerns regarding the external migration of Bulgarians as a complex phenomenon reflecting the global challenges and perspectives of the country's development after its EU integration.

[5] Article title: "Potential and Return Migrants in Bulgaria – Demographic and Socio-Economic Aspects".

[6] Article title: "Settlers and Temporary Migrants in Germany (results from empirical survey of individuals travelling by busses from Bulgaria to Germany)".

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Paolo Ruspini[1]
Marina Richter[2]
Michael Nollert[3]

BETWEEN RETURN AND CIRCULATION: EXPERIENCES OF BULGARIAN MIGRANTS

This article assesses the extent and specifics of return and circular migration in Bulgaria, a South-eastern European country that joined the European Union in 2007. After defining return migration and reviewing the main theories contemplating return (and circular) migration, the principal section of the article deals with the current Bulgarian migration scenario. It draws from quantitative research data as well as insights from semi-structured interviews carried out in the country in summer 2014 for the research project "Migration and Transnationalism Between Switzerland and Bulgaria". At the end, a typical biography of a return and circular migrant is presented and compared.
JEL: F22; J61

1. Introduction

Nowadays the speed of communication and transportation increases the diversity of migrant countries of origin and allows migrants to arrive in more locations around the globe than ever before. Virtually any country in the world is simultaneously, albeit to a varying extent, a country of origin, transit and destination. Migratory behaviour is also getting more complex and diverse. Compared to the past, when migration tended to be unidirectional and permanent, many more migrants now engage in shorter-term movement, circular movement between two countries, or movement to multiple countries, making return an important element of the process for many types of migration (IOM, 2008, p. 1).

Return migration is a multifaceted and heterogeneous phenomenon, which constitutes a relatively new topic on the European research agenda. Except for historical considerations on return migration from the "New World" in the first decade of the last century (Cerase, 1974), and a short-term interest in the remigration of Southern European guest workers in the 1960s and 1970s, the theme remained an underrated research field of European

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migration for quite a long time (Dustmann, et al., 1996). Gmelch (1980, p. 135) notes different reasons for this longstanding neglect of return migration. It has been neglected since migration has long been seen as a one-way movement in the nineteenth century; migration was conceptualised as permanent and seen in a rural-urban framework moving only in one direction towards the urban centres. In addition, return is also the most difficult aspect of the migration cycle to quantify because of lack of comparable data on outgoing persons (Gmelch, 1980, p. 136; King, 1978).

Four motives, explain the recent rising interest for return migration on the research and policy agenda: (1) retired circulation/remigration of the former guest workers (e.g. Bolzman et. al., 2006) and possible "remigration" of the second and third generations; (2) the sound out-migration of skilled migrants from Central and Eastern new EU members which raises concerns about brain drain and the question of possible regain of human capital through remigration (e.g. Pollard et al., 2008; Williams and Baláž, 2005); (3) the cost and benefit on host and origin countries resulting from assistance or repatriation programmes addressing rejected asylum seekers, irregular migrants or refugees at the end of their protection programmes (e.g. Koser, 2001); and (4) the recession in which the world's advanced industrial economies slipped one by one starting from 2008 contributed to the prospect of return migration in immigrant-receiving states around the world. In June 2008, the European Union Parliament approved a directive encouraging unauthorised immigrants to voluntarily return to their countries of origin (CEC, 2008). In September, Spain's parliament authorized a programme that effectively pays some unemployed immigrants to leave if they promise not to return to Spain for three years (mpi, 2008, p. 12).

At last, the attention paid by international organizations to the link between migration and development has highlighted the need to revisit approaches to return migration. The growing diversity of migration categories (ranging from low- to highly skilled economic migrants to refugees and asylum seekers) necessitates a distinction between the various types of returnees (Cassarino, 2004, p. 254). Empirical work on these topics so far is rare, as well as to some extent, a comparative and interdisciplinary discussion of theoretical and policy approaches which are appropriate to tackle the questions arising in the context of return migration.

2. Definition and theoretical overview of return migration

The terms remigration (as per German researchers' definition) or return migration are generally used in case of a migrant's return to his/her country of origin, after having passed a significant time-span abroad.[4]

More recently, a personal dimension in the process of return migration has been identified by the MIREM project[5] according to which a returnee is "any person returning to his/her country of origin, in the course of the last ten years, after having been an international

[4] The United Nations' definition differentiates between permanent migration for time abroad of more than one year and temporary migration for stays shorter than one year.
[5] http://rsc.eui.eu/RDP/research-projects/mirem/

migrant (whether short-term or long-term) in another country. Return may be permanent or temporary. It may be independently decided by the migrant or forced by unexpected circumstances". The definition is partially based on the one recommended by the United Nations which considers this ten years' time limit adequate to assess the experience of migration on the interviewee's pattern of reintegration.

The academic literature suggests that return migration results from both *failure* and *success*. Some migrants may decide to return because they fail to integrate or advance in the host-country society or simply cannot find jobs. Most recent research indicates, however, that large-scale return migration corresponds more to *political* and *economic conditions* in the origin country. Migrants may be motivated to return by the prospect of new opportunities at home or because they achieved their financial goals. At the same time, this definition also acknowledges, that even the migrants themselves do not know for sure whether their return is for good or whether it is only another step in the migration cycle and should rather be termed *circular* migration. In this sense, it is important to consider all people returning from migration as return migrants whether their return is intended to be permanent or temporary.

The ***migratory processes*** that fall into this category are thus quite different:

First, we can distinguish between *forced remigration* (deportation, expulsion, etc.) and *voluntary return*;

Second, we can differentiate after the *intention of the return migrant*: return of former guest workers, frequent return of circular migrants, return of retirement, return of graduates who studied abroad, etc. (Glorius, Grabowska-Lusińska, 2008; Glorius, 2013).

In many established migration corridors between developed and developing countries – such as between Mexico and the United States, Europe and North Africa, the Philippines and the Middle East – return often occurs at the end of the life cycle as migrants prepare to retire.

While scholarly approaches related to return migration can be traced back to the 1960s, it was only in the 1980s that the scientific debate on the return phenomenon and its impact on origin countries started to evolve. These debates resulted in the production of several volumes and critical essays, and in the organization of conferences (Kubat, 1984; Council of Europe, 1987). As Cassarino noted (2004, p. 254), in addition these debates contributed intensively to the development of the literature on return migration, together with the growing concern on "co-development", the "voluntary repatriation of third country nationals", the emergence and implementation of bilateral readmission agreements between sending and receiving countries, and the link between international migration and economic development in migrants' origin countries.

The conceptual problems related to the definitions of immigrant – which have an impact on the formulation of national immigration policies – translate also in several definitional approaches to return migration, and to returnees that are playing a crucial role in orienting, if not shaping, the perceptions, taxonomies and policies adopted by governmental and intergovernmental agencies (Kritz, 1987, p. 948).

There are ***five different theories*** contemplating return migration. In the *neoclassical economics of migration*, return migration is viewed as the outcome of a failed migration experience, which did not yield the expected benefits. Migrants return because they cannot establish themselves in the host country or because they do not reach their goals abroad (Cassarino, 2004, p. 255; Borjas and Bratsberg, 1996).

The *new economics of labour migration (NELM)* on the other hand, views return as the logical outcome of a calculated strategy, resulting from successful achievement of goals or target and return is seen as a success story (Cassarino, 2004, p. 255; Borjas and Bratsberg, 1996). Migrants return because of attachment to home and household and return when the goals are met. Both these approaches have economic factors as point of departure since returnees are only viewed as foreign income bearers. Moreover, there is no reference to the social, political and economic environment where the migrants return. As a result, the success/failure paradigm shows several shortcomings in fully explaining the return migration phenomenon (Cassarino, 2004, p. 257)

To the *structural approach* on the other hand, return migration is not only a personal issue but also a social and contextual one affected by situational and structural factors in the country of origin (Cassarino, 2004, p. 257). The weakness of this theory is the focus on the core/periphery dichotomy. The theory's benchmark is the urban developed character of the host countries and conversely the rural developing or underdeveloped nature of the home country (Cassarino, 2004). Return is based on incomplete information about the country of origin and the return expectations are readjusted upon arrival to the structural context at home.

Next, there is the *transnational approach* to return migration that tries to frame the strong social and economic links between migrant's host and origin countries. It does not view return as the end of migration cycle, but for transnationalists with return the migration process continues. Return occurs when enough financial resources and benefits are gathered to sustain a household and when the conditions in the home country are favourable.

The transnationalist approach views identities as dynamic. Migrants are seen as capable of negotiating their place in society and are able to form a hybrid identity instead of incompatible cultural identities. The regular contacts the migrants maintain with the country of origin as well as the back and forth movement illustrates the transnational mobility (Portes, et al, 1999). As noted by Chapman and Prothero (1983-84) thanks to the transnationalist approach to international migration, in general, and to return migration, in particular, it is possible to question the binary structuralist vision of cross border movements, taking into account the circularity of migration movements, which facilitates migrants' mobility.

Last, the *social network theory*, in which return is seen as the first step in completion of the migration project. Cross-border networks of social and economic relationships secure and sustain return. Reasons to return are linked to social, economic and institutional opportunities at home as well as by the relevance of migrants' own resources.

The insights of transnationalism and the social network theory allow viewing return no longer at the end of the migration cycle but as one stage in the migration process. In fact,

while recognising the influence of structural micro and macro factors in origin countries, both theoretical frameworks argue that the maintenance of linkages between receiving and origin countries fosters the ability of migrants to prepare and secure their own return, as opposed to what structuralists contend (Cassarino, 2004, p. 268).

The social network theory goes a step further than the transnational approach contending that the cross-border social and economic networks are conducive to complementary exchange relations among actors, which go beyond the commonality of attributes since they are based on commonality of interests.

Four factors as identified by Cassarino (2004, p. 270) – the growing diversity of international migration flows including migrant students, asylum seekers and refugees; the liberalisation of markets as well as the development of the private sector in migrant-sending countries; cross-border mobility sustained by cheaper transport costs that made return a multiple-stage process; and the flows of information between origin and host countries thanks to the technological means of communication – urge, however, to revisit the above approaches. As Ghosh (2000, p. 185) points out, return "is largely influenced by the initial motivations for migration as well as by the duration of the stay abroad and particularly by the conditions under which the return takes place". Reference to the returnee's preparedness and patterns of resource mobilisation complements Ghosh's argument (Cassarino, 2004, p. 275).

3. Study and data

The following sections are based on quantitative and qualitative data we gathered during a research co-operation that lasted from January 2013 to June 2016. The team comprised researchers from both Bulgaria and Switzerland, most of which have contributed with papers to the special issue of this journal.[6] The research aim was to assess the migration patterns from Bulgaria in general and in particular from Bulgaria to Switzerland. From a transnational migration perspective, we analysed questions of social inequalities, regional disparities and the changing migration policies' framework in both countries but also at the EU level. We were interested in the interlinkage of these concepts, how they shape migration and – vice-versa – how migration shapes the inequality distributions and regional issues such as intra-national development.

As the data used later in the paper shows, we opted for a mixed-methods approach that combined several quantitative and qualitative instruments. Among the quantitative instruments were: (1) a national survey in Bulgaria (N=3907) that constitutes of a representative sample of returned migrants, potential migrants and general non-migrants; (2) an airway and bus survey in Bulgaria that focused on the fast and cheap mobility; (3) a national survey in Switzerland (N=1137) conducted as mail-back survey being sent to all officially registered Bulgarians in Switzerland at that time (response rate 26%).

[6] The research was funded jointly by the Swiss National Science Foundation and the Bulgarian Ministry for Education and Science.

On the qualitative side, we conducted interviews in both countries. In Switzerland, we conducted in-depth interviews with 23 Bulgarians covering a range across social and regional differences. In Bulgaria, we selected return migrants in different parts of the country, aiming at a maximum diversity of ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds. In total, 25 interviews were carried out.

This paper restricts, however, the analysis to those data, which emphasize the return and circular migration dimension.[7]

4. Return migration to Bulgaria

Several scholars have researched return migration to Bulgaria (for a list, see for instance Ivanova, 2013). There is, however, still very limited empirical research on the topic that should give the picture of the number of the people abroad in certain periods as well the number of the money transfers they have generated there. Mintchev and Boshnakov (2010, p. 232) advance two reasons to explain this situation: first, the lack of trustworthy information as well as comprehensive studies and secondly, the difficulty in obtaining a representative sample of return migrant households to draw reliable conclusions as far their consumption and/or investment patterns.

The most prominent publication on the topic is "Family Patterns and Migration. National Representative Survey" (Mihailov, et al., 2007) from whose findings the following paragraphs are drawn. The enclosed migration survey deals with returned migrants from abroad during the period 2002-2006. The number of returnees for this period is about 384,000. 8% of the active population in Bulgaria has various kinds of occupation abroad during that time. However, as of April 2007, 14% of the active Bulgarians had relied on or still rely on different kind of employment arrangements abroad.

The average income of the Bulgarian migrants is a bit less than 800 Euro. The average duration of their stay is a bit more than a year – 13.8 months. Their expenses are about 45% of all that they have earned. The other 55% are considered to be saved and transferred to Bulgaria. Therefore, this category of emigrants brings to the country about 468 million Euro each year. Without going into details, it could be said that the emigrants' transfers are a main factor for sustaining the macro-economic stability in the country. Migration and remittances should therefore constitute a major concern for the Bulgarian government.

The Bulgarian emigration is estimated at more than 700,000 people (on a population of almost 7.7 million at the end of 2006). A major theoretical challenge is to understand the ratio of circular migration, the one of those who will permanently settle abroad, and the ones who will return to Bulgaria.

There is a need to understand the motives of the people who leave Bulgaria. Do they develop their qualifications? Their language skills? Why do they return? How long did they stay abroad? What did they earn abroad? How did they support their relatives in Bulgaria? What kind of social mobility do they experience? In this section, we focus therefore on the

[7] For a thorough discussion of the data and results, see Richter, et al., 2017.

reasons for return, the duration of the stay abroad, the search for employment, financial aspects and occupational shifts.

4.1. Main reasons for return

The main reason/motive for return is the adherence/attachment to the family, the close ones; this is important and very important for more than 80% of the ones who have returned to the country according to Mihailov et al. (2007) survey. For more than 40% of the returnees a reason for remigration is the difficulties in finding a legal job, generally the unstable realization abroad. Another explanation includes reasons such as "I do not wish to live abroad anymore". Hopes for positive perspectives of country development, chances for better employment and business opportunities in Bulgaria come afterwards with minor impact.

4.2. Duration of the stay, finding a job before leaving Bulgaria

The duration of the stay is an important characteristic. It gives understanding on the type of migration – permanent, temporary, circular. As mentioned earlier, the average duration is a bit more than 1 year (13.8 months). More than two third of the people have stayed less than a year.

- Up to 3 month – 22.9%;
- More than 3 months and up to 6 months – 22.8%;
- More than 6 months and up to 12 months – 16.9%.

The return depends very much on the (il)legality of the stay and the type of work conditions. 33.3% of the returnees have migrated after getting a work's contract with an employer; 12.1% relied on the support of relatives/friends already settled in the destination country. Almost half (45.5%) of migrants have decided to try their chance without having the security of an employment's contract. The destination country is a key factor. Migrating to the USA and Canada without a contract or the support of relatives/friends is very difficult. The proximity of the European countries and the EU membership of Bulgaria facilitate migration to the EU, and particularly to Germany and those Southern European countries such as Spain and Greece where there are longstanding Bulgarian networks and still available niches in the informal labour market.

4.3. Income, expenses and remittances

Half of Bulgarian migrants (46.6%) receive between 400 and 1200 Euro. About 12% of the people work for less than 400 Euro. Another 11% work for more than 1200 Euro, so the average goes about 810 Euro. This is about 100 Euro less than the estimate of income for 2005 (Mintchev and Boshnakov, 2006). Nearly half of the ones who have returned say that they have spent not more than half of what they have earned. More than half of the ones who come back have sent money to their families – 23.3% regularly; 14.2% just once,

when they came back; 12.8% from time to time. Finally, more than 40% say that they have not had such a possibility.

4.4. Social mobility

Because the adherence/attachment to the family and the difficulties in finding a legal job are more important motives to return than chances for better employment and business opportunities, there remains the question whether they can hold or even improve their economic status in Bulgaria. However, we suppose that highly skilled migrants return if they can improve or at least preserve their status in their country of origin. By contrast, lower skilled migrants are assumed to return when they fail economically or become unemployed in the host country.

The survey data (conducted in 2013/2014) is based on migrants who have returned to Bulgaria from various countries. We will focus on an analysis of their occupational shifts. In fact, return migrants are often pushed into lower social positions or even unemployment. The social costs, including those for unemployment benefits and related insurance costs for the unemployed return migrants thus weigh on the sending country. Concerning the direction of the status shift, the level of qualification matter. While many well-qualified return migrants can preserve or even improve their occupational status, the low-skilled return migrants risk the experience of downward mobility. These shifts in professional status, downgrading the occupational and respective social status of migrants often results in inferiority self-perceptions within the local community.

Our findings corroborate this polarization between lower and highly skilled migrants. Whereas 4.7% of the migrants were managers and team leaders before migration, compared to only 3.3% abroad, their share surges up to 8.3% after coming home. These are the ones for whom migration has provided new opportunities at home, the ones that have accumulated experience and skills promoting their careers. This mobility pattern is typical for the specialists, who constitute 9.6% before migration, falling down to 3.4% abroad and doubling at 19.3% after coming back home.

In contrast, the share of people employed in the lowest qualification jobs resumes around the level it used to be in Bulgaria before migration. In other words: after coming back home, many return migrants who have been employed in low qualification jobs abroad are not able to conserve their former “higher” occupation and are compelled to work in underqualified jobs. These returnees are obviously losing from the migration experience, and there is good reason to assume that many of them try to emigrate once more. This finding is supported by the interviews with the few cases who manage to take advantage of their skills or improve their situation after an initial process of deskilling.

In short, taking into account all the data sources including the qualitative interviews, migration suggest three qualification shifts of return migrants: downward mobility, which is generally prevailing, upward or persistent mobility, typical for a limited circle of qualified migrants, and unstable status. In fact, most returnees suffer from a decreasing qualification when it comes to comparing occupation at home and occupation abroad. However, concerning the opportunity to re-enter the labour market at home, migration has a

polarizing impact – the job experiences abroad increases the promotion chances for the few top qualified positions such as managers and specialists but at the same time sustains the majority of low-qualified labour at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy.

5. Typical stories of return and circular migration

Until now, we have only discussed return migrants and pointed towards the possibility of circular movements. In conceptual terms, the distinction between circular and return migration is clear-cut. But when conducting empirical work, it becomes difficult to draw a neat line between both as the distinction can only be made safely after years and in a certain sense only after the death of concerned individuals. We, as researchers, and the individuals themselves can only assess their intentions and their actual situation based on their experiences.

Nevertheless, the literature stresses the distinction because it is necessary to recognize that circular migration has developed as an important pattern of migration and is due to different economic and political factors in Europe. Based on the qualitative interviews we conducted in Bulgaria, we carve out the differences between the typical stories encountered of return and of circular migration. We use the respective past migration experience(s) to distinguish the two types.

5.1. Return migration

We found that the typical return migrant lives rather in the cities and less in smaller villages. Although we cannot be sure, that these people may not migrate again, there is a number of stories we collected of people who only told us about going once, eventually a second time, but never in this regular and repeated way we described above. All these stories were rather about a single migration necessary because of specific problems and not a systematic circular movement. Here there were no clear distinctions between men and women. Some occupations were more typical for women such as cleaning; others such as factory work were more typical for men. Another possibility is, of course, migration for educational reasons. We will not discuss this possibility further as it is driven by very different motives than the other two types discussed here. For the sake of gender balance, we take as return migrant a woman.

> *Milena is responsible for her two children, as her partner has left her long time ago. She used to work in a technical company in the administration but recently she lost her job. In addition, she still has debts from her marriage because they bought a house and needed a credit to cover all the costs. When she loses her job, she faces financial difficulties and decides to live with her parents. Nevertheless, life with her parents and her children at the same time leads to many conflicts and she does not want to depend financially on her parents. Additionally, there are still the debts she has to pay.*

A friend tells her about good working opportunities in the UK and she decides to go to London to earn money. Her children stay with her parents. Although the friend tells her that she could even work without formal documents, she seeks for information on the internet and inquires directly with the authorities. Finally, she regularises her situation. After some time she is officially recognised as an independent worker, can work legally, and has access to social benefits. At the same time, she also pays taxes.

She starts cleaning houses on an hourly basis. As soon as her language skills get better she starts working in administrative jobs such as data input. By cumulating jobs, she is able to earn a decent salary. At that moment, she starts thinking about her future. She even thinks of bringing her children to London, but she sees obstacles regarding the school system, as she is not sure that the public schools are good enough, but mostly the international mix of people in London shocks her. Although she praises the efficient way things are organized, how clean and tidy everything is, she still feels somehow strange. As she said in the interview: "I am used to having people of my kind around me".

From time to time, she visits her children in Bulgaria for a couple of days. After a year and a half, she has saved enough to return to Bulgaria, pay back her debts and keep some savings as a fall back. She needs a full year to find a job but finally she has again a stable income that allows her to rent a flat for her and the children. Her migration experience has been positive in the sense that she acquired skills (English) and that she knows, if the financial situation gets too precarious, she can always leave again. She is still in contact with the people she used to share a flat with in London. At the same time, she says that stones are heavy, that it is hard to leave the place where you grew up, but the migration experience makes her more relaxed about future economic problems.

5.2. Circular migration

In contrast, there were a couple of respondents who told us how they had repeatedly left the country to work abroad and how they are already thinking about the next place to go. These accounts form the basis to construct a typical account for a circular migrant.

Although the story is quite similar for men and women, there are some differences in pattern. Both travel to Western European countries for agricultural and factory work. For women, there is a specific field of occupation in the care sector. Mostly they engage in elderly care and often in Greece, but also Turkey or Western European countries. We chose to give the portrait a male name and depict therefore a migration path that is more common also for men.

Ivan lives in a larger Roma area nearby a middle-sized city of Bulgaria. He is married and has two daughters. Apart from his little house, he has no belongings, no land to cultivate crops. Therefore, he seeks for employment in agricultural work for landowners or other work such as road construction. Having only finished primary school and being a Roma, he is excluded from

other more skilled, better-remunerated and more secure positions. His working situation is precarious and often he does not know how to meet month's end. In addition, he wants to ensure a better future, for his children and wants to pay their school fees.

Once in a while, an agent, another Roma with connections to Western Europe, who organises short-term labour migration, comes to the area. Ivan decides that next time he would accept the job offer and leave for some months to work in the fields in France, for instance picking grapes. Thirteen people from the same area travel together, men and women, in a minivan that is allowed for nine people. The driver knows where to cross the borders and how to deal with possible obstacles. Finally, after a long drive they reach France.

The working and living conditions are bad. Many people live together in a flat and as they do not speak the language, they depend on the agent who organises everything: their living facilities, the working conditions such as working hours. As he also pays them their salary, they are never sure, whether they get fully paid. After buying food and other things for living, there is not that much left and from the family back in Bulgaria there is a constant pressure to send money. Ivan is a very humorous person and tells us that when his wife called him, instead of answering the phone and saying "hello", he answered by saying "I have no money!".

Back in Bulgaria, the family lives from the money he sent and from what he has brought back. This does not last long and Ivan starts to look for a new opportunity to work abroad. After several comings and goings, sometimes to the same place, sometimes to other destinations, he is getting tired of the travelling and searches again for work, but the situation has become more difficult for him. In addition to the exclusion from the labour market he experienced before, he now also has lost the contact to potential employers and it is even more difficult to find a job than before. He is forced to leave again and work abroad to maintain his family.

The degree of irregularity of stay and working conditions can vary according to country and according to the path and type of occupation the Bulgarian migrants choose. For instance, some migrants reported very skilful abilities in dealing with the Greek social system. They know how to ensure their eligibility for social insurance, child benefits, etc. In other cases, it was never fully clear which aspects of migration, stay and work were legal and whether the migrants were fully aware of their legal status, as everything was organised by agents or other intermediary persons.

5.3. Comparison

Return migrants are characterised by the fact that they were working before in rather good conditions, often they have some higher diploma or even a university degree. They either lost their job or have some financial problems because of debts. We encountered many people highly indebted because loans are given out quite freely with little security and at

very high interest rates. In order to pay back these debts, many chose to migrate. They therefore have a clear aim for migrating: they need money to overcome temporal economic needs. After they return, they manage to rebuild their lives by finding a job. If at least they were able to pay back their debts, they have financially gained a lot of security combined with the acquired skills and the security of knowing how to overcome economic hardship by migrating.

The commonalities among circular migrants as exemplified in the story of Ivan above include, in contrast, the exclusion from the Bulgarian labour market because of poor education and ethnic background (Roma). After migration, this exclusion is aggravated by the fact that during their stay away they lost the contact to the weak ties they used before to find jobs. Further, there is a constant pressure of their family to provide money for basic needs. When coming back the money usually only lasts a couple of months and then these migrants need to leave the country again. The remittances (either sent while abroad or brought with them on return) are used for basic needs and maybe some house investment, but seldom in projects that provide an economic future.

Regarding social inequalities, return migrants and circular migrants come from different social backgrounds. Return migrants have a higher socio-economic status than circular migrants, have therefore better education and generally also a better employment situation before leaving. As in the case of Milena, migration was a solution to a momentary situation of unemployment. The money accumulated through her stay abroad provided enough security to search for a job during a whole year after her return to Bulgaria. From being unemployed before migrating, she now has rebuilt her life and is working. The low social status coupled with low education and the ethnic background provides a precarious condition for the described circular migrants. While they may have some unsecure job arrangements prior departure, their savings accumulated while working abroad do not last long. Furthermore, their fragile contacts to the labour market in Bulgaria diminish with every time they go abroad. Therefore, they rather face prolonged unemployment in Bulgaria and the need to migrate once again.

6. Concluding remarks

This article has provided research on return migrants in Bulgaria and portraits of two typical return and circular migrants based upon the stories collected from individuals involved in these types of movements. There seems to be a good internal coherence between the explained theoretical definitions of these processes and the two cases presented: the main dividing lines between the two types of migration being the different ethnic backgrounds, social and educational status of the portrayed individuals. As far the time of migration is concerned, while middle-skilled returnees aim at one and single migration experience to cope with momentary hardship in Bulgaria, circular low-skilled migrants, usually belonging to the Roma minority, seem often compelled to migrate again to make end's meets for them and their households. The returnees usually experience deskilling abroad, but they regain their social capital and a certain employment status once back home. Circular migrants are instead trapped in migration. They gain temporary

income and a better social status through migration by dissimulating their Roma identity, but remain victims of social exclusion and their ethnic networks once back at home. In line with our finding that low-skilled returnees mostly experience downward mobility, their working conditions in Bulgaria even worsen as they lose important contacts in the local labour market during their time abroad.

The exploration provided an insight into different types of movements involving Bulgarian migrants, and particularly after the country EU accession, which facilitated different types of circulation and mobility. The specific characteristics for circular and one-time migrants might differ for other contexts, but the paper suggests that it is necessary to analyse the social differences structuring patterns of migration in order to understand constraints and opportunities of migration. The understanding of the different causal factors behind the different migration categories may therefore help in elucidating the impact and extent of external migration on the country's development, but at the same time the role that the Bulgarian migrants and communities abroad can play in furthering the country's development.

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ИНСТИТУТ ЗА ИКОНОМИЧЕСКИ ИЗСЛЕДВАНИЯ НА БЪЛГАРСКАТА АКАДЕМИЯ НА НАУКИТЕ
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SOCIAL INEQUALITIES AND MIGRATION. THE CASE OF BULGARIA

There are various causes for, and consequences of, international migration and some of the most significant are the availability of economic and social differentials, and the possibilities for their reduction. The relationship between social inequalities and migration is examined in the paper from three different aspects: 1) social inequalities between countries and within sending countries as an important determinant of migration processes; 2) social (in) equality as a result of migration – immigrants' integration and position in the society of the destination countries; 3) migrants' transfers as a premise for reduction of social inequalities in sending countries. Analysis and assessment of the quality of life disparities between Bulgaria, the EU average level, and some of the desired by Bulgarian migrants EU countries of destination, and of inequalities in Bulgaria are made. They are based on official statistical data and on the results of an empirical study of Bulgarian migrants.[2]
JEL: I31; O15; F22

There are many economic, social, political, cultural, psychological, etc. causes to migrate. Some of the most important motives for migration are the economic and social ones. Among the significant factors of migration must be mentioned: access to markets, job opportunities and prospects, welfare and incomes, quality of life, social security and ex/inclusion, social (in) equality, and so on. Other powerful determinants are the existence of ethnic networks, marriages and family reunion, access to education, etc., as well as migration policies which affects migrants in different ways by setting legal and political framework.

The determinants and consequences of migration are subjects of different theories trying to explain the causes and effects of migration. Determinants of migration have been researched in many cases on the ground of the "push-pull" models. The roots of the models could be found into the Functionalist Social Theory. According to this theory migration is a function of disequilibria and people move from low-income to high-income places.

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[2] The survey was done in 2013 under the project "Migration and Transnationalism between Switzerland and Bulgaria: Assessing social inequalities and regional disparities in the context of changing policies", financed by the Bulgarian-Swiss research programme (IZEBZO_142979). The author of this paper was part of the team which carried out the empirical study.

Generally, "push-pull" models identify different factors – economic, demographic, etc. – which push and pull people out of their origin places into destination places. In this context, the Neo-Classical Economic Theory claims that at the macro level international migration is driven by geographical differences in labour supply and demand, in incomes and wages (Lewis, 1954; Harris and Todaro, 1970; Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino and Taylor, 1993; and others).

The New Economics of Labour Migration explains migration as a collective (family and household) strategy/decision to overcome market failures (not only labour market), to diversify incomes and to spread income risks. As stated by the theory, main drivers of migration are relative deprivation, income inequality, social security, and access to markets in sending societies (Stark, 1991; Taylor, 1999; and others). According to the Dual Labour Market Theory pull factors (the demand for immigrant labour) are the driver of international migration. The theory ignores the push factors in the origin countries (such as low wages and high unemployment) (Piore, 1979; Straubhaar, 1998; and others). The Relative Deprivation Theory underlines income differences in sending societies as an important factor for migration, i.e. incentives to emigrate are higher in societies which experience much economic inequality (Stark and Taylor, 1989).

These and other theories put the accent on income and wage levels and inequalities, and their effects on migration processes. There are other theories trying to explain the initiation and also the continuation of migration, such as the Network and the Institutional theories. Some researchers underline also the relation between migration and people's capabilities and aspirations (De Haas, 2010, 2011). Migration policies affect migrants' flows and integration in a specific manner and set the legal and political framework within which other aspects of integration occur.

Different explanations of the nature and causes of migration exist, various theories have emerged under the influence of the worldwide global changes and the complexity of the nature, causes and effects of migration, but still it is hard to repudiate the leading role of economic and social differentials in driving migration processes.

Social differentiation reveals the differences between people as a consequence of the existing inequalities between them. Social inequality has various dimensions, the most important of which are related to: income and welfare, quality of life, access and participation in the labour market (employment opportunities and status), social ex/inclusion and discrimination, privileges and prestige, education and health status, housing, and also gender, ancestry, race, ethnicity, etc.

Social inequality is characterized by the existence of unequal distribution of goods and wealth, of opportunities and benefits. There are two main ways to measure social inequality: inequality of conditions (distribution of income and wealth), and inequality of opportunities (health status, level of education, employment opportunities/prospects, etc.).

The inequalities, as well as the opportunities, are substantial drivers of migration. Inequalities between the countries and also within countries of origin generate migration. Emigration is promoted not only by wage and lifestyle differences between the countries,

but also by deprivation, social exclusion, quality of society, future perspectives within the origin areas.

However, migration does not necessarily reduce inequality. In many cases migrants are a deprived group of the population in the destination countries. They may have unequal access to rights (including access to employment, to jobs for which they are qualified, some other social and political rights, etc.) notwithstanding the fact that they could at the same time benefit from migration by way of better economic and social conditions in host countries compared to origin ones. In this respect, migration management policies of the destination countries may have important effect on migration flows and impacts in terms of access and opportunities.

There are different opinions and study results also about the question whether and how remittances affect inequality in sending countries – by decreasing (or not) income inequality, by improving living conditions of migrants' families in origin countries.

Further in the paper are examined economic and social disparities between Bulgaria and the EU average level (and some of the desired by the Bulgarian migrants EU destination countries), as well as some aspects of social inequality in Bulgaria. Empirical evidences about the influence of social inequalities on migration flows and migration intents in Bulgaria, the integration of Bulgarian migrants abroad and their money transfers back to the country are presented.

Social Inequalities as a Determinant of Migration

Bulgaria within the EU – socio-economic disparities

Bulgaria is the member-state with some of the worst indicators about socio-economic status/quality of life and perspectives for its population in the European Union. The existing social and economic conditions and prospects for their improvement promote migration intents in the country.

Bulgaria is a relatively poor country. Its GDP per capita is lower than 50% of the average EU-28 level (lowest among the EU member-states). The earnings of the population are several times lower than the average EU indicator (lowest in the EU). The share of the population at risk of poverty or social exclusion is the highest in the EU (48% of the total population). The material conditions are worse and material deprivation is very high (the percentage of severely materially deprived people, of the total population, is the highest in the EU) (Table 1).

The economic activity of the Bulgarian population, which determines to a sizable extent the incomes and wealth, is lower than the EU average indicator. The rate of unemployment is comparatively high, as well as the percentage of the discouraged persons not seeking employment because they do not believe that they can find a job (only Italy has a higher percentage among the EU countries) (Table 1). Worse is the status of younger generations. The share of young people neither in employment nor in education is almost two times higher than the average EU level: for the age group 15-24 years the percentages are 12.4% for the EU-28 and 20.2% for Bulgaria (only Italy has a higher percentage than Bulgaria

among the EU counties), and for the age group 25-29 years are 20.3 and 29.6% respectively (only Italy and Greece have higher percentages).[3]

Table 1

Main quality of life indicators (2014)

Indicators	Bulgaria	EU28	Germany	UK	Spain
GDP per capita in PPS (Index EU-28=100)	45	100	124	108	93
Annual net earnings (single person, EUR)*	1949	12796	15473	17550	11478
Inability to face unexpected financial expenses (% of total population)*	64.1	39.8	32.9	41.1	42.1
People at risk of poverty or social exclusion (% of total population)*	48.0	24.5	20.3	24.8	27.3
People at risk of poverty after social transfers (% of total population)*	21.0	16.6	16.1	15.9	20.4
Percentage of total population less than 60 years living in households with very low work intensity*	13.0	10.8	9.9	13.2	15.7
Severely materially deprived people (% of total population)*	43.0	9.6	5.4	8.3	6.2
Share of total population having neither a bath, nor a shower in their dwelling (% of total population)*	13.8	2.5	0.0	0.4	0.1
Employment rate – persons aged 20 to 64 (%)	65.1	69.2	77.7	76.2	59.9
Unemployment rate – persons aged 15 to 74 (%)	11.4	10.2	5.0	6.1	24.5
Inactive population (15 to 64 years) – main reason for not seeking employment "Think no work is available" (%)	13.5	5.7	1.6	0.5	7.1
Self-reported unmet needs for medical examination (reason – too expensive or too far to travel or waiting list, % of the population)*	8.9	3.6	1.6	1.6	0.8
Life expectancy at birth (years)*: – males – females	71.3 78.6	77.8 83.3	78.6 83.2	79.2 82.9	80.2 86.1
Infant mortality (per 1 000 live births)*	7.3	3.7	3.3	3.8	2.7
Early leavers from education and training (% of the population aged 18-24)	12.9	11.1	9.5	11.8	21.9
Population with tertiary education attainment (25 years or over, %)	24.1	25.6	24.9	39.1	29.0
Tertiary educational attainment – age group 30-34 (%)	30.9	37.9	31.4	47.7	42.3
Lifelong learning (persons aged 25 to 64, %)	1.8	10.7	7.9	15.8	9.8

* Indicators for 2013.
Source: Eurostat, SILC (accessed 17.09.2015).

The opportunities and future prospects for the population in Bulgaria, related to health status (only Romania has higher infant mortality among the EU countries and the indicator about life expectancy at birth is among the worst in the EU), participation in education and

[3] Eurostat data (http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat), accessed 17.09.2015.

training (only Romania has a lower percentage of population participating in lifelong learning process), employment prospects (perceptions of the population), etc., are worse than the average in the EU (Table 1). Most of the Bulgarian quality of life indicators are worse also than those in the preferred by the Bulgarian migrants EU countries of destination (the results from some surveys show that Germany, UK and Spain are the first three preferred destination countries by Bulgarian migrants[4]).

Bulgaria not only lags behind the current EU average level (and most of the other EU member-states), but also the EU strategic goals 2020, as well as the Bulgaria's own goals 2020 (Table 2), which suggests unfavourable future prospects and opportunities for faster improvement of the quality of life in the country.

Table 2

Current and target indicators – Europe 2020 and Education and training 2020 (%)

	EU		Bulgaria	
	2014	2020	2014	2020
Employment rate – persons aged 20 to 64	69.2	75	65.1	76
Early leavers from education and training (% of the population aged 18-24)	11.1	10.0	12.9	11
Tertiary educational attainment – age group 30-34	37.9	40	30.9	36
Lifelong learning (persons aged 25 to 64)	10.7	15	1.8	15
Share of employed graduates (aged 20-34 with at least upper secondary education attainment and having left education 1-3 years ago)	76.1	82	65.4	82
Low achievers (15 years-old, PISA study) in*:				
• reading	17.8	15	39.4	15
• mathematics	22.1	15	43.8	15
• science	16.6	15	36.9	15

* Data for 2012 – the last PISA survey.

Source: Eurostat (http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/europe-2020-indicators/europe-2020-strategy), Education and training monitor 2014 (http://ec.europa.eu/education/tools/et-monitor_en.htm#country-reports), accessed 18.09.2015.

After the beginning of the economic crisis in the country the total employment rate has decreased. Although in 2012 the trend upturned, the rate is still lower than the one in 2008 and than the EU average level. Similar is the situation with the employment rate of the recent graduates, which decreases even now (in 2014) and is far below the EU average indicator and the strategic goal for 2020. There is a certain improvement regarding the participation in education (the share of early school leavers decreases and that of the highly educated persons increases), but some national and international studies indicate serious problems with the quality of education (for example, the PISA study results show that notwithstanding the decrease in the share of low achievers in reading, mathematics and

[4] For example, a representative survey carried out in 2013 under the project "Migration and Transnationalism between Switzerland and Bulgaria: Assessing social inequalities and regional disparities in the context of changing policies", financed by the Bulgarian-Swiss research programme.

science in Bulgaria, the country demonstrates the worst results in the EU and is still too far from the strategic goal for 2020).

The comparatively lower living standard and incomes and higher poverty, lower quality of, and participation in, education and training, lower employment, including of young and well-educated persons, etc., the existing significant socio-economic disparities, i.e. inequality of conditions and of opportunities between Bulgaria, most of the EU member-states and the EU average level, are strong promoter of migration and of the intentions of many Bulgarians to go abroad, and are one of the most important determinants of the country as a sending (emigration) one.

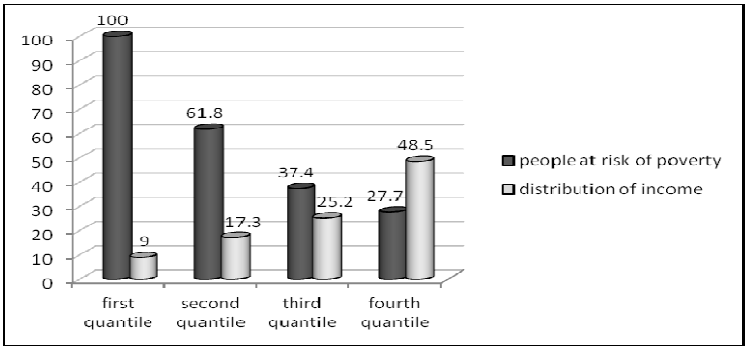
Inequalities in Bulgaria – causes for migration

As mentioned before, inequalities between the countries, but also within the origin countries and the perceptions for unsatisfactory future perspectives are significant causes which generate migration.

The existing income inequality in Bulgaria (figure 1), which is higher than the EU average level, leads consequently to consumption inequality, and not only. It is a prerequisite for inequalities in, for example, the access to education and healthcare services. In its turn, it is partly a result from labour market inequality. Such a socio-economic environment determines the unfavourable subjective perceptions and dissatisfaction with the quality of life of a not small part of the Bulgarian population.

Figure 1

People at risk of poverty or social exclusion and distribution of income by quantiles, 2013 (%)



Source: Eurostat, SILC.

According to Eurostat data, the GINI coefficient of equivalised disposable income for Bulgaria is 35.4 while the average EU figure is 31 (it is the highest value in the EU for 2014). There are many studies on poverty and inequality in Bulgaria. The conclusions from the GINI country report Bulgaria "Growing inequality and its impacts in Bulgaria" (Tsanov, Ivanova, Panteleeva, Bogdanov, 2012) are that income inequality is a consequence of the economic development and the income policy, and the differentiation in

wages had increased (between 2002 and 2006 when two wage surveys were carried out by the National Statistical Institute[5]). These lead to inequality among households in terms of consumption. The social impacts of inequality on family formation and fertility rate, health inequality, life satisfaction, trust in public institutions, etc. are underlined also in the report "Growing inequality and its impacts: Bulgaria and Romania" (Tsanov, 2013).

The official statistical data[6] show the existence of significant inequalities in the country, concerning income, risk of poverty, material deprivation, consumption, etc. The distribution of income by quintiles (share of national equivalised income, EUR) is 6.4% for the first and 42.1% for the fifth quintile in 2013. The percentage of population (aged less than 60 years) living in household with very low work intensity is respectively 50 and 1.3%. The share of people at risk of poverty or social exclusion by income quantile is 100% for the first and 27.7% for the fourth quantile and the severe material deprivation rate is respectively 81.2 and 26.7%. The self-perceived health as "bad" by income quintile is 15.9% for the first and 3.3% for the fifth quintile.

There are also significant disparities between the total household expenditure and consumption by decile groups (Table 3).

Table 3

Total household expenditure and consumption by decile groups, 2014

	Total	I group	X group
Structure of total expenditure (%)			
foods and non-alcoholic beverages	32.3	44.6	25.3
housing, water, electricity, gas and other fuels	13.4	16.1	9.9
clothing and footwear	3.8	3.6	4.8
furnishing and maintenance of the house	3.7	3.2	4.1
health	5.2	4.5	4.4
transport	7.3	3.7	10.3
communication	4.4	3.6	4.1
recreation, culture and education	4.7	2.4	6.8
Consumption – average per capita (kg)			
bread and paste products	93.2	101.2	79.8
meat	32.5	22.1	39.8
fish and fish products	5.7	3.7	7.2
milk	18.8	10.1	24.7
fresh and frozen fruit	50.5	21.5	78.1
fresh and frozen vegetables	70.9	45.1	90.8

Source: NSI, Household budgets in the Republic of Bulgaria 2014.

According to the data from 2013 EU-SILC module on subjective well-being[7], which show the average satisfaction level of all persons in a country (ranged from 0 to 10 points), Bulgarians are less satisfied than the average for the EU-28 with: overall life (4.8 and 7.1

[5] The situation is not different compared to 2010, the last available official statistical data (the surveys are carried out every four years).
[6] Eurostat data, accessed 23.09.2015.
[7] http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/infographs/qol/index_en.html, accessed 18.09.2015.

points respectively for Bulgaria and the EU-28), material living conditions (satisfaction with finances 3.7 and 6 points, annual median equivalised net income EUR 2066 and EUR 15416), job (6 and 7.1 points), housing (6 and 7.5 point), social relations (satisfaction with personal relationships 5.7 and 7.8 points), safety (share of population reporting crime, violence or vandalism in the area 25.8 and 14.5%), environment (satisfaction with living environment 5.2 and 7.3 points, urban population exposure to air pollution by particulate matter 45.9 and 24.9 µg/m³). All the above-mentioned indicators for Bulgaria are the worst in the EU.

Under such overall perceptions of (un)satisfaction in the country, the disparities in the ratings of satisfaction by income quintile are not small. The overall life satisfaction for the first quintile is 3.3 and for the fifth quintile is 5.9. The respective ratings for job satisfaction are 4.6 and 6.5, for satisfaction with financial situation – 2.2 and 5, with accommodation – 4.7 and 6.7, with living environment – 4.4 and 5.8, with recreation and green areas – 4.4 and 5.7.

The results of the third European Quality of Life Survey 2012[8] also show that Bulgarians are less satisfied with the quality of life in the country than the average EU level. They are dissatisfied with the financial and material status of the households, as well as with the participation in public life and relations (Table 4).

Table 4

Results from the third European Quality of Life Survey 2012

	EU	Bulgaria
Satisfaction with present standard of living*	6.9	4.7
Deprivation index (number of items household cannot afford)**	1.2	2.9
• keeping home adequately warm	12	23
• paying for a week's annual holyday away from home	37	65
• replacing worn-out furniture	35	76
• meal with meat, chicken, or fish every second day	10	36
• buying new rather than second-hand clothes	17	51
• inviting friends or family for a drink/meal once a month	15	34
Social exclusion index***	2.2	2.7
'I fill left out of society' (strongly agree and agree, %)	10.5	17.9
Financial situation of the household compared with 12 months ago – worse (%)	34.8	51.7

* Mean value on a scale of 1 "very dissatisfied" to 10 "very satisfied".

** Mean deprivation score measured as deprivation to different items are summed and weighted by the proportion in the country in question not deprived of the item. The higher the figure, the higher the deprivation.

*** Refers to the overall average score from responses to four statements: "I feel left out of society", "Life has become so complicated today that I almost can't find my way", "I don't feel that the value of what I do is recognised by others", "Some people look down on me because of my job situation or income" ("strongly disagree"=1 and "strongly agree"=5).

[8] Third European Quality of Life Survey (EQLS) 2012. http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/surveys/european-quality-of-life-surveys-eqls/european-quality-of-life-survey-2012. EQLS are carried out every four years.

The unfavourable socio-economic conditions, the existing income inequality and the resulting inequalities in consumption, access to education and healthcare services, etc., and the low level of satisfaction with the standard of living (compared to the EU average) in the country are another promoter of Bulgarian migration.

Bulgaria as a net emigration (sending) country

The relatively unfavourable socio-economic conditions in the country, the lower satisfaction of the population with the quality of life and the existing perceptions of uncertainty for future perspectives are important drivers of the Bulgaria external migration. The extension of the EU Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons and the opening of the European labour markets give new possibilities for the migration processes.

The data about the Bulgarian actual and potential external migration is comparatively limited and unsystematic. According to the *National Strategy for Bulgarian Citizens and Bulgarian Communities Worldwide*[9], the number of Bulgarians living outside the country is about three – 3.5 million persons and around 2 million are those who possess Bulgarian citizenship. As stated in the Draft Framework of a National Strategy towards Bulgarians Worldwide[10] about 600 000 Bulgarian citizens had emigrated from the country from 1990 to the first decade of 21st century, of which nearly 20% were with higher education and the predominant part of the others – with secondary education. The census data of the National Statistical Institute[11] show that between the last two censuses in 2001 and 2011 the population of the country diminished by 564 331 persons and almost 1/3 (31.1%) of this decrease was due to external migration, which is estimated to 175 244 persons. In 2014, 28 727 persons declared to the administrative authorities a change of their address in Bulgaria with a new one abroad (settled abroad).

Bulgaria could be classified as a "net emigration" country, characterised by continuous negative migration increase for the last years. In this respect, the most unfavourable period after the accession of Bulgaria to the EU (and after the beginning of the economic crisis in the country) was 2009-2010, but also more recently in 2014, the year with the highest number of emigrants for the examined period. The "refugee wave" to the country[12] and the again growing emigration from Bulgaria have led to a small negative migration increase since 2012 (Table 5).

[9] The Strategy is adopted in July 2014 (http://www.strategy.bg/StrategicDocuments/View.aspx?lang=bg-BG&Id=938).
[10] The draft is not adopted. It could be accessed at: https://www.president.bg/docs/1352300432.pdf (accessed 01.09.2015).
[11] http://www.nsi.bg.
[12] The data of the State Agency for Refugees show that since 2012 the number of asylum seekers sharply increased: from 890 persons in 2011 to 1387 in 2012 and 11081 in 2014. (http://www.aref.government.bg/?cat=8, accessed 01.06.2015).

Table 5

External migration – number of persons who have declared to the administrative authorities a change of their present address in the country with a new one outside and of an address outside the country with a new one in the country

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Immigrants	1561	1236	3310	3518	4722	14103	18570	26615
Emigrants	2958	2112	19039	27708	9517	16615	19678	28727
Migration increase	-1397	-876	-15729	-24190	-4795	-2512	-1108	-2112

Source: National Statistical Institute.

The potential Bulgarian migration is a subject of different studies. According to the results of a survey, carried out by the National Statistical Institute in 2011, the percentage of the Bulgarian population of the age group 15-60 years which intended to go abroad (potential long and short-term migrants, including labour and education migrants) was about 20%.[13] For the predominant part of these persons the intention to go abroad was determined as: "to solve material problems, to live and work in conditions of a higher living standard". Lower was the percentage of those who desired better professional realisation or education.

Similar are the results from consecutive empirical studies (representative surveys) from 2011 and 2013.[14] They also show that around 20% of the population of the same age group demonstrate emigration intents. Some of the results from the last mentioned survey (2013) are presented below.

Empirical Evidences – Inequality and Migration

Perceptions of inequality in Bulgaria and intentions for migration

The results from the above-mentioned national representative survey in Bulgaria, carried out in 2013, confirm the conclusions, made before, and demonstrate the existing perceptions of inequality areas in the country and the intentions of a not small part of the Bulgarian population to migrate.

Answering a question about the main causes to leave Bulgaria, the predominant part of all respondents (**mobile and potential migrants**) state that these are the higher living standard and payment abroad. For most of them migration is a way to support their families and to a lesser extent better professional realisation. It has to be marked that a sizable percentage

[13] The representative survey "Migration and migration behaviour of the population" was carried out together with the census in 2011 (http://www.nsi.bg/Census/Vivmigr.htm).

[14] Some of the results from the first study (2011) are published in: Mintchev, Markova, Misheva, Zareva, Balkanska, Boshnakov, Kalchev, 2012. The second survey (2013) was done under the project "Migration and Transnationalism between Switzerland and Bulgaria: Assessing social inequalities and regional disparities in the context of changing policies", financed by the Bulgarian-Swiss research programme.

just does not want to live in Bulgaria any more (because of the lack of perspectives, unfavourable public environment, etc.) (Table 6).

Table 6

How important for you is each of the following reasons to go abroad? (%)

	Not important at all	Not very important	Neither important, nor unimportant	Important	Very important
Higher living standard	1.5	1.2	6.9	29.6	60.8
Higher payment	1.2	1.4	3.9	17.3	76.1
Better professional realisation	7.5	8.7	17.3	23.7	42.8
To support my family or friends in Bulgaria	6.7	6.6	12.3	25.9	48.5
To ensure the desired education for me and/or my children	20.8	8.9	12.7	19.7	37.9
Marriage/partnership	64.7	12.9	10.6	6.1	5.7
To visit parents and/or friends	50.1	14.1	10.4	13.0	12.5
To accompany spouse, partner, parents, children	55.4	10.1	9.8	12.9	11.9
Foreign citizenship for me and my family	45.7	13.4	18.5	12.3	10.0
I just do not want to live in Bulgaria anymore (lack of perspectives, unclear regulations, bad public environment, crime, corruption practices, etc.)	19.6	10.2	31.6	19.8	18.8

In trying to find possibilities to increase their income and to support their families, the probability of going abroad to work, according to the respondents, is high. On the second place is the intention to emigrate (to live in another country) of those who want to live in a country with a higher living standard. The purpose to go abroad to study is on the third place, but still, the chance to stay abroad to work after the completion of the study is real (Table 7).

Table 7

How possible is it in the near future to: (%)

	Not possible	Fairly possible	Somewhat possible	Highly possible
Go abroad to work for a few months	72.4	8.5	9.9	9.2
Go abroad to study/specialise for a few months	92.2	3.8	2.2	1.7
Go abroad to work for more than a year	76.9	7.4	8.0	7.6
Go abroad to study for more than a year	92.1	3.7	2.3	1.9
Emigrate to another country to live there	83.5	7.3	5.1	4.1

The intentions to go to work or live in another country could be explained by the living standard and the existing inequalities between Bulgaria and other countries (mainly EU member-states) and in Bulgaria, according to the respondents.

Sizable inequalities are observed from the study results in the area of *labour market participation and working conditions in Bulgaria*. One third of the respondents who work or have worked (33.5%) declare that they have worked without a contract. These are mainly men, less than 45 years of age, with lower education level and incomes, but not only, predominantly form the Roma ethnic group (Table 8).

Table 8

Have you had any of the following cases during your work in Bulgaria?
(Answer "Yes") (%)

Groups		Work without a contract	Partly or fully unpaid social insurance by employer	Overtime work without compensations	Insults and psychological abuse
Total		33.5	32.2	32.9	16.4
NUTS II	North-West Region	33.9	34.5	32.7	10.0
	North-Central Region	29.7	26.2	30.4	16.9
	North-East Region	34.3	33.8	29.9	17.4
	South-West Region	34.1	30.3	30.8	19.0
	South-Central Region	34.5	32.8	35.2	11.5
	South-East Region	32.7	37.2	38.6	22.0
Towns-villages	Capital Sofia	31.7	28.5	30.2	13.1
	Big towns	31.9	32.0	33.1	18.7
	Small towns	33.8	32.7	36.0	17.0
	Villages	36.5	34.7	31.2	15.3
Gender	Male	40.4	37.6	37.5	16.7
	Female	26.6	26.7	28.2	16.1
Age groups	15-29	35.3	32.3	32.7	16.4
	30-44	38.9	37.6	37.1	17.7
	45-59	31.1	30.6	32.0	16.2
	60-65	19.7	20.1	22.9	12.9
Ethnic groups	Bulgarian	32.6	31.4	32.2	16.2
	Turkish	30.7	30.5	28.6	10.0
	Roma	63.3	57.8	53.0	38.2
	Other	37.8	32.7	51.1	17.2
Level of education	Primary and lower	39.9	36.8	32.9	20.1
	Secondary	37.5	36.7	36.6	16.7
	Tertiary	20.4	19.0	23.8	13.8
Income groups (income per person in the household, BGN)	Up to 200	45.4	42.1	39.4	21.8
	201-300	35.8	33.5	35.2	11.6
	300 and above	31.1	33.1	32.2	15.5

Similar are the percentages and the profiles of the respondents who state that they have had problems with the insurance payments by the employers (32.2%) and with overtime work without compensations (32.9%).

About insults and psychological abuse at the workplace report 16.4% of the respondents. Those are mainly from the lower educated and lower-income groups, as well as from the Roma ethnic group, but not only (Table 8).

It has to be mentioned, in this context, that there are perceivable regional disparities – less favourable is the position of those persons who live in small towns and villages. There are disparities also at NUTS II level (Table 8).

Problems with *participation in education* declared 8.3% of the respondents, who have left school before completion of secondary education. These are persons mainly from villages and small towns (from North-Central, North-East and South-East regions), from the age group 60-65 but also 15-29 years old, with low income at present, mainly from the Roma but also from the Turkish ethnic groups (Table 9).

Table 9

Have you left school before completing secondary education? (Answer "Yes")

Groups		%
Total		8.3
NUTS II	North-West Region	8.8
	North-Central Region	15.4
	North-East Region	10.3
	South-West Region	4.7
	South-Central Region	7.3
	South-East Region	9.0
Towns-villages	Capital Sofia	4.4
	Big towns	4.6
	Small towns	7.2
	Villages	17.1
Gender	Male	8.1
	Female	8.5
Age groups	15-29	8.6
	30-44	7.3
	45-59	7.1
	60-65	14.5
Ethnic groups	Bulgarian	4.5
	Turkish	23.2
	Roma	67.4
	Other	10.9
Level of education	Primary and lower	46.1
	Secondary	2.1
	Tertiary	0.6
Income groups (income per person in the household, BGN)	Up to 200	24.0
	201-300	2.6
	300 and above	3.0

Almost the same is the share of those who declare that they have *unmet needs for medical services* (8.5%). These are persons from the younger generations (less than 45 years of age), with lower education level and incomes, mainly from the Roma ethnic group. Smaller are the differences in this respect between towns and villages, but disparities are observed at NUTS II level (Table 10).

Responses to some other questions also demonstrate the existing quality of life problems in the country – *access to leisure, to healthcare, consumption, etc*.

Table 10

Do have unmet needs for medical services in Bulgaria (refused demanded health services)? (Answer "Yes")

Groups		%
Total		8.5
NUTS II	North-West Region	6.6
	North-Central Region	9.0
	North-East Region	7.2
	South-West Region	7.7
	South-Central Region	10.1
	South-East Region	9.8
Towns-villages	Capital Sofia	8.3
	Big towns	8.7
	Small towns	8.8
	Villages	8.0
Gender	Male	8.8
	Female	8.1
Age groups	15-29	8.9
	30-44	10.1
	45-59	7.5
	60-65	5.2
Ethnic groups	Bulgarian	7.6
	Turkish	6.3
	Roma	35.8
	Other	8.2
Level of education	Primary and lower	14.3
	Secondary	8.1
	Tertiary	5.7
Income groups (income per person in the household, BGN)	Up to 200	15.0
	201-300	10.2
	300 and above	8.3

More than a half of the respondents (52.5%) state that they cannot afford themselves one week annual vacation out of home – those are mainly persons from villages and small towns, of higher age groups (above 45 years of age, and mainly those above 60), with lower education and income, predominantly form the Roma ethnic group, but not only. More than one third (37%) declare that they cannot allow themselves to eat meat or fish (or comparable vegetarian food) every second day – the profiles of these respondents are similar. Almost half of the respondents state that they cannot afford themselves regular visits to a dentist (49.3%). These are elderly persons with lower education and income, predominantly form the Roma ethnic group, and not only. As for the existing regional disparities in this respect, it has to be mentioned that worst is the situation in South-West region, in the villages, but also in the capital of the country (Table 11).

Table 11

Can you afford, if you wish, to pay for: (Answer "Yes") (%)

Groups		One week annual vacation out of home	Eat meat or fish every second day	Regular visits to a dentist
Total		47.5	63.0	50.7
NUTS II	North-West Region	41.6	62.8	49.0
	North-Central Region	45.5	61.1	56.3
	North-East Region	43.0	60.5	48.1
	South-West Region	52.7	63.7	45.7
	South-Central Region	48.1	69.9	57.4
	South-East Region	46.1	56.0	50.3
Towns-villages	Capital Sofia	59.7	71.0	43.7
	Big towns	50.9	66.8	62.4
	Small towns	48.0	62.0	50.4
	Villages	33.6	53.4	40.8
Gender	Male	49.2	64.5	51.6
	Female	45.7	61.5	49.7
Age groups	15-29	50.6	70.2	59.7
	30-44	54.9	66.7	53.8
	45-59	44.9	60.8	46.8
	60-65	24.4	40.7	29.9
Ethnic groups	Bulgarian	50.0	65.5	52.7
	Turkish	33.7	50.4	41.5
	Roma	18.1	33.5	20.0
	Other	40.5	58.7	52.9
Level of education	Primary and lower	25.0	50.6	37.1
	Secondary	43.7	59.5	45.5
	Tertiary	70.3	79.1	71.5
Income groups (income per person in the household, BGN)	Up to 200	25.0	45.8	33.7
	201-300	49.8	67.7	55.3
	300 and above	77.1	86.1	69.8

The survey's results demonstrate the perception of inequality in different areas of life in the country – labour market participation and working conditions, participation in education, access to healthcare services and to leisure, consumption, etc., which is an important driver of migration: to look for higher living standard and payment.

Inequality and deprivation of Bulgarians abroad ((in) equality as a result of migration)

According to the **mobile** respondents, as the survey's results show, there are differences between their social status in Bulgaria (before departure abroad) and in the host country. Being abroad, the percentage of those who are employed in private companies, self-employed, agricultural producers and who care for relatives increases, while before the departure some of them were employed in public companies, ran or managed a private company, were students or unemployed (Table 12).

Table 12

What did you do abroad and before you went abroad? (%)

	Activity abroad	Activity in Bulgaria before departure
Employed in a private company	64.4	45.1
Employed in a public company	1.6	7.5
Run/manage a private business	2.1	4.3
Self-employed	3.3	1.4
Agricultural producer	3.1	1.0
Student	6.5	16.5
Unemployed	2.8	19.6
Taking care of relatives/close persons	5.1	0.2
Other	11.1	4.3

Migration is one of the channels to accumulate knowledge, skills, experience, i.e. human capital, in order to improve the socio-economic status of the migrants. As it can be seen by the study's results this is not the case for many of the Bulgarian migrants. The share of those who were employed in a private or state (municipal) company before their departure abroad decreases after they come back to Bulgaria. At the same time sharply increases the share of unemployed persons and to some extent that of the self-employed (Table 13). A possible explanation of the existing difficulties in re-entering the home labour market is that they have lost qualification and skills abroad and move to a lower qualification group (confirmation of such a conclusion could be found in the data about the changes in the occupational status of the migrants, presented further in this paper).

Table 13

Changes in employment status of the migrants before, during and after their stay abroad (%)

	Before departure	Abroad	In Bulgaria after a stay abroad
Employed in private/public company	52.6	66.0	39.5
Run/manage private business	4.3	2.1	4.2
Self-employed	1.4	3.3	2.6
Agricultural producer	1.0	3.1	0.9
Student	16.5	6.5	6.8
Unemployed	19.6	2.8	36.8
Taking care of relatives/close persons	0.2	5.1	-
Other	4.3	11.1	9.3

At the same time, the intention to go abroad for higher payment was fulfilled for not a small part of the Bulgarian migrants. The income in the host country is higher than the one in Bulgaria for a sizable percentage of them (Table 14).

However, the higher payment abroad is accompanied by changes in the areas of economic activity, occupations and professional realisation. The percentage of the migrants who work abroad in agriculture, accommodation and food service activities, and household/family activities (assistant, cook, gardener, etc.), increases significantly in comparison with their previous activity in Bulgaria. Sizable is the increase of unskilled and skilled agricultural

workers and of those caring for persons while the percentage of managers and professionals decreases (Table 15). The existing disparities between previous (in Bulgaria before departure) and current (abroad) activities and occupations create conditions for loss of qualification for many migrants in the host country, as mentioned before.

Table 14

What was your approximate personal income per month during your last stay abroad and in Bulgaria before you went abroad (in BGN)? (%)

	Income abroad	Income in Bulgaria
I had no income	1.2	26.3
Up to 1000	16.1	71.0
1000-2500	62.1	2.8
Above 2500	20.7	-

Table 15

What did you work and in what position abroad and in Bulgaria before you went abroad (main areas of economic activity) (%)

	Activity abroad	Activity in Bulgaria before departure
Economic activity		
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	21.1	5.2
Manufacturing	5.1	6.5
Construction	19.6	18.6
Trade; repair of motor vehicles	6.8	14.1
Accommodation and food service activities	14.0	8.8
Transportation and storage	6.1	5.4
Public service activities	8.3	7.3
Household/family activities	13.1	2.0
Public administration and defence	0.3	1.9
Education	0.7	2.1
Human health and social work activities	2.5	3.2
Occupations		
Managers	3.1	4.1
Professionals	4.6	12.0
Service and sales workers	24.5	26.0
• of which personal care workers	9.3	1.5
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	9.8	5.0
Crafts and related trades workers	22.7	29.0
• of which building workers	16.1	19.0
Plant and machine operators	6.0	8.3
• of which drivers	5.0	6.5
Elementary occupations (requiring no qualification)	25.1	7.7
• of which agriculture, forestry and fishery labourers	10.3	1.3

Not a small part of the Bulgarian migrants declare that they are deprived in the local *labour market* in the host country because they are foreigners. About 40% of the respondents claim

that their chances to get a job are lower compared to local people. These are mainly lower educated persons, from the Roma ethnic group, but not only (Table 16).

Table 16

Have you come across any of the following difficulties during your work abroad because you are foreigner: (Answer "Yes") (%)

Groups		Lower chance to get a job	Lower payment for the same job	Occupation which requires lower qualification that the acquired	Crude attitude at workplace
Total		39.9	58.0	43.7	14.9
NUTS II	North-West Region	34.2	62.2	57.3	10.1
	North-Central Region	45.2	61.0	45.8	14.9
	North-East Region	41.2	56.3	41.4	21.6
	South-West Region	29.9	50.4	33.2	17.8
	South-Central Region	35.1	57.3	39.2	8.2
	South-East Region	53.9	64.5	53.2	15.7
Towns-villages	Capital Sofia	25.7	34.8	23.0	19.2
	Big towns	38.3	56.3	42.8	15.0
	Small towns	44.3	61.3	48.2	10.5
	Villages	43.7	66.3	48.5	17.4
Gender	Male	39.9	58.8	41.4	15.3
	Female	40.1	56.5	48.4	14.0
Age groups	15-29	37.1	62.9	44.4	12.1
	30-44	38.9	55.4	45.8	13.9
	45-59	46.3	58.6	39.6	19.4
	60-65	35.5	51.5	45.2	21.6
Ethnic groups	Bulgarian	38.4	57.4	44.3	14.2
	Turkish	39.6	57.3	36.5	8.7
	Roma	66.5	64.5	52.1	33.5
	Other	27.1	68.2	31.2	21.6
Level of education	Primary and lower	57.1	68.5	50.1	25.7
	Secondary	39.6	58.5	41.1	14.4
	Tertiary	33.1	52.1	47.8	11.4
Income groups (per capita, BGN)	Up to 200	48.8	62.9	41.8	10.8
	201-300	51.7	69.7	57.7	27.4
	300 and above	43.3	60.1	43.6	21.4

The predominant part of the emigrants (58%) state that they receive lower payment, compared to local people, for the same job – mostly young people and lower-educated persons (Table 16).

More than 43% consider that they get jobs and positions which require lower qualification than their own (predominantly women, lower-educated, but also highly educated persons) and about 15% declare that the employers/superiors treat them worse than the local people (persons from higher age groups, men, lower educated, from the Roma ethnic group) (Table 16).

Certain regional disparities are also observed – comparatively higher is the percentage of the deprived persons originated from small towns and villages in Bulgaria (Table 16).

More than 45% of the migrants were employed without a contract – mainly men, low-educated persons, from small towns and villages, from the Roma ethnic group (Table 17).

Table 17

Have you had any of the following cases during your work abroad?
(Answer "Yes") (%)

Groups		Work without a contract	Partly or fully unpaid social insurance by employer	Overtime work without compensations
Total		45.5	41.1	40.7
NUTS II	North-West Region	62.4	61.9	55.1
	North-Central Region	50.6	48.8	52.8
	North-East Region	37.6	43.8	40.6
	South-West Region	29.8	25.2	21.6
	South-Central Region	47.5	35.3	41.5
	South-East Region	55.0	45.9	44.7
Towns-villages	Capital Sofia	2.8	5.1	7.3
	Big towns	39.9	37.2	36.6
	Small towns	49.7	44.0	46.9
	Villages	66.7	57.8	53.5
Gender	Male	46.9	43.5	42.2
	Female	42.8	36.1	37.6
Age groups	15-29	43.0	33.4	40.0
	30-44	46.2	44.7	41.3
	45-59	47.0	44.2	40.6
	60-65	47.2	36.5	37.5
Ethnic groups	Bulgarian	45.9	40.0	39.8
	Turkish	35.3	48.8	41.9
	Roma	59.0	41.3	50.7
	Other	39.4	46.1	39.4
Level of education	Primary and lower	66.4	61.5	60.3
	Secondary	47.3	42.1	42.5
	Tertiary	31.4	29.1	26.9
Income groups (per capita, BGN)	Up to 200	64.1	54.7	45.3
	201-300	43.2	44.0	48.4
	300 and above	49.8	49.6	45.7

Almost the same are the percentages of the respondents who state that they have had problems with the insurance payments by the employers (41.1%) and with overtime work without compensations (40.7%) – mostly men, from small towns and villages, low educated, from the Roma and the Turkish ethnic groups (Table 17).

Between 10 and 18% of the Bulgarian *students* who study or have studied abroad state that they have noticed some kind of a discrimination attitude – by the administration at school,

by lecturers, other students or local community (Table 18). However, none of the respondents declares any kind of refusal of access to services or educational opportunities during their study abroad.

Table 18

Have you come across discrimination attitude during your study abroad?
(Answer "Yes") (%)

Groups		By the administration at school	By lecturers	By other students	By local community
Total		11.1	18.2	16.9	10.4
NUTS II	North-West Region				
	North-Central Region				
	North-East Region	19.3	19.3	19.3	-
	South-West Region	24.9	36.0	32.0	11.2
	South-Central Region	-	18.5	18.5	18.5
	South-East Region	-	-	-	26.0
Towns-villages	Capital Sofia	30.9	44.8	39.8	13.9
	Big towns	5.6	5.6	5.6	-
	Small towns	-	15.0	15.0	29.9
	Villages				
Gender	Male	-	10.5	19.5	19.5
	Female	17.5	22.7	15.3	5.2
Age groups	15-29	13.6	25.1	17.6	11.4
	30-44	10.4	10.4	23.5	13.1
	45-59	-	-	-	-
	60-65	-	-	-	-
Ethnic groups	Bulgarian	11.1	18.2	16.9	10.4
	Turkish	-	-	-	-
	Roma	-	-	-	-
	Other	-	-	-	-
Level of education	Primary and lower	-	-	47.6	-
	Secondary	25.2	39.2	23.6	14.0
	Tertiary	6.6	11.7	10.2	10.2

While benefiting from relatively higher income abroad (compared to that in Bulgaria), the perception of a not small part of the Bulgarian migrants is that they are a deprived group in the destination countries in different respects, especially as it concerns the access to employment, working conditions and attitude of employers. The existing disparities between the occupations of migrants in Bulgaria and abroad, sizable part of which require lower qualification than their own, also point at inequality as a result from migration.

Remittances as a possibility for decreasing inequality and improving the socio-economic status in Bulgaria

The remittances, which migrants send back to their origin country, are considered as a factor that favours the socio-economic development, the increase in consumption, savings and investment in the respective home country. According to World Bank data[15], the money transfers of Bulgarian emigrants amount to about USD 1.5 billion annually (for the period 2007-2013). Similar are the data of the Central and Eastern Europe Development Institute[16] which show an amount of EUR 1.127 million for 2012 (or 2.8% of the country's GDP). It is important, however, what this not small amount of money is used for, in order to assess whether and how it influences the inequalities in the sending countries.

The results from the survey (2013) show that 47.8% of the Bulgarian *migrants* claim that they have transferred money to their close people in Bulgaria during their stay abroad. They usually transferred about, or less than, a half of their income (Table 19).

Table 19

What part of your income have you usually transferred to your close people in Bulgaria? (%)

Very small part	21.8
Less than a half	22.3
About a half	23.1
More than a half	11.1
Very large part	4.2
Almost all income	3.7
I had no income (someone else provided subsistence to me)	13.8

About 20% of the *non-mobile respondents* state that they have received money from abroad. These transfers constitute more than a half of the household monthly income of more than 25% of the people who receive money from abroad (non-mobile population – potential and non-migrants) (Table 20). Generally, the incomes of the households of all the respondents consist mainly of: earnings related to employment (58.5%), pensions (18.5%), child allowances (10%), and 3.7% remittances (a higher percentage than those of unemployment benefits (3.3%) and social assistance (2.8%), for example).

Table 20

What part of the household monthly income is the money received from abroad? (%)

Very small part	44.0
Less than a half	20.6
About a half	10.2
More than a half	9.3
Very large part	6.8
Almost all income	9.2

[15] World Bank. Annual remittances data, Inflows, April 2014.

[16] Central and Eastern Europe Development Institute. (2014). Migration in the 21st century from the perspective of CEE countries – an opportunity or a threat? Warsaw.

The predominant part of the transfers has been used in Bulgaria for consumption and smaller parts for paying loans, education and medical treatment. Only 3.7% of those persons have used the money for saving and 1.4% for doing business (Table 21). The main sectors of economic activity in which transfers were invested to develop own business are the Services sector (75.7%), followed by Agriculture (12.6%), and Construction (11.7%).

Table 21

Did you use some of the money for any of the following:* (%)

Own business	1.4
Consumption	61.7
Paying loans	11.3
Saving	3.7
Education	9.6
Medical treatment	9.1
Purchasing vehicles	2.2
Purchasing a real estate	0.9

* Multiple response

Not a small part of the Bulgarian migrants have sent money to Bulgaria, most of which has been spent for consumption and paying loans. Despite the fact that this money has not been spent as investment in business to support the economic development in the country, it has created conditions for improving the material status and to some extent educational and health status of the migrants' households and relatives, and probably for decreasing social inequality.

Conclusions

There are different causes for, and effects from, migration, but it cannot be denied that the economic and social inequalities, as well as the opportunities, are significant determinants of migration. Inequalities between countries, but also within the origin countries generate migration. The existing inequalities of conditions and of opportunities between Bulgaria and the average EU level (and most of the other EU member-states) constitute a strong promoter of Bulgarian external migration. The unfavourable socio-economic conditions in Bulgaria and the lower level of satisfaction with the standard of living (compared to the EU average) form another driver of migration. All these inequalities comprise one of the most important determinants of Bulgaria as a sending country. The 2013 survey's results demonstrate the perception of inequality in different areas of life in Bulgaria – labour market participation and working conditions, participation in education, access to healthcare services, material living conditions, consumption, access to leisure, etc., which stimulate many people to look for a higher living standard and payment abroad.

The relationship between inequality and migration, however, is two-way. Social differentiation promotes migration, but it is not obligatory for migration to reduce inequality. Being abroad Bulgarian migrants feel themselves deprived to a certain extent,

especially as it concerns the access to employment, working conditions and attitude of employers, while benefiting from higher income compared to that in Bulgaria. According to the survey's results there are disparities between the occupations of migrants in Bulgaria and in the host countries, sizable part of which require lower qualification than migrants had acquired. The higher payment abroad is accompanied by changes in the areas of economic activity, occupations and professional realisation of migrants.

Migrants' transfers are a premise for reduction of social inequality in sending countries. Many Bulgarian migrants send money to Bulgarian and as the survey's results show most of it has been spent for consumption and paying loans. The ways of use of migrants' money transfers facilitate the improvement of the material, as well as to some extent the educational and health status of the migrants' households and relatives, and possibly the decrease of social inequality, while not being of sizable support to investment and business development in the country.

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ИНСТИТУТ ЗА ИКОНОМИЧЕСКИ ИЗСЛЕДВАНИЯ НА БЪЛГАРСКАТА АКАДЕМИЯ НА НАУКИТЕ
ИКОНОМИЧЕСКИ ИЗСЛЕДВАНИЯ
ECONOMIC STUDIES

ГОДИНА XXV, 2016, 5

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MIGRATION OF BULGARIAN POPULATION – CHARACTERISTICS AND RELATIONS TO THE REGIONAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC DISPARITIES[5]

The paper suggests a short overview of migration processes in Bulgaria since the start of its democratization and transition to market economy. The socio-demographic structure of both potential and return migrants is evaluated empirically using a large sample data for 2013 representative for Bulgarian population aged 18-65. On the basis of a ranking of Bulgarian regions and districts by an integral score of their socio-economic development (involving a set of development indicators) a range of regional disparities are revealed in respect of migration potential, return migration, and remittances allocation and utilization. The rich empirical evidence suggests that Bulgarian migration policies should emphasize substantially on the issues of regional disbalances in order to offset the evaluated distortions.
JEL: F22; R11

Introduction

Migration as a specific social phenomenon has been a subject of profound research for a long time now. Many theories and interpretations have arisen based on various migration

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[5] The authors are grateful to Dr. Dochka Staykova and Konstantin Konstantinov for their helpful assistance and to the colleagues of Swiss-Bulgarian team –Marina Richter, Paolo Ruspini, Michael Nollert, Dotcho Mihailov, and Irena Zareva – for the valuable discussion, comments, and suggestions during the work on this topic.

data sets.[6] There are several types of theories – those which dwell on the question of *why the process of migration has started* while others tackle the question of *why the process of migration once started persists* (Massey et all, 1993). In an attempt to find an integral theory on migration, H. de Haas discusses the differences and the similarities between the so called "functionalist" theories (sticking to orthodox concepts) and the "structural" theories (tending towards heterodox views on migration transition). In fact, H. de Haas considers that there is no reason to distinguish the economic migration from refugees' exodus (De Haas, 2014).

Research on migration in sending countries is often underestimated and remains outside of the current debates on the matter. Nevertheless in the last 25 years, a new research method is established, focusing on the so called *potential migration* – "a research method born out of fear"as Professor Endre Sik[7] describes it. The justification for the fear of mass migration from the new EU member states is questionable. In any case, the notorious "Polish plumber" has become a kind of a mythic figure while Bulgarian housemaids appear in Spanish comics.

That kind of research allows for two main subsets to be observed:

- Potential migrants (long-term migrants, planning to move to another country and stay there more than 12 months and short-term migrants who would like to stay abroad less than 12 months);
- Mobile population (individuals with migration expirience within the home country or living abroad).

This categorization is presented in details in table 1.

In this paper, we consecutively discuss (1) the evolution of emigration from Bulgaria in the last 25 years; (2) the assessments of the intentions and the profile of potential and return migrants, based on a sample survey; (3) and the interdependence between the regional disparities (level NUTS 2 and NUTS 3) and migration attitudes and remittances.

Part one – ***Emigration from Bulgaria after 1989*** is about the gross and net migration (migration balance) of the country after 1989.

Part two – ***Potential and return migrants – typology, attitudes, and characteristics,*** is where we discuss the main attitudes and profiles of the potential and return migrants.

Part three – ***Regional disparities, out-migration intentions, return migrants and remittances,*** is where we consider the interrelation between regional disparities (on NUTS

[6] This is a fact since Ravenstein formulated his Laws on Migration published in 1885 and 1889. (Ravenstein, 1885 and 1889); and for Bulgaria after the publication of the book "Researches on Demography in Bulgaria" by G. Danailov (Danailov, 1930).

[7] Migration potential survey: a research method born out of fear. An interview with Professor Endre Sik, professor at the ELTE University and a senior researcher at TARKI Social Research Institute. (http://www.migrationonline.cz/en/migration-potential-survey-a-research-method-born-out-of-fear-an-interview-with-professor-endre-sik-professor-at-the-elte).

2 and NUTS 3 levels), and the intentions to migrate and regional particularity of the return migrants and their remittance behaviour.

Table 1

Categorisation of migrants from the perspective of the sending country

Potential migrants		Mobile population					
		In the country of origin		Abroad			
Long term	Short term	Return migrants	Circular	Migrants	Migrants (Citizens of the world)	Return migrants	Circular
Intending to go abroad and stay there more than 12 months	Intending to go abroad and stay there less than 12 months	Intending to stay in the country of origin	Intending to go back abroad	Staying in the receiving country	Moving to a third country	Returning to the country of origin	Going back and forth the home and the host country

Source: Minchev, Boshnakov, Richter and Ruspini, (2017), p. 43.

1. Emigration from Bulgaria after 1989

At the time when the political system in Bulgaria started to change, the process of mass migration out of the country began. According to some assessments (Gachter, 1988) gross migration[8] is between 218 000 and 45 000 people per year for the period from 1989 to 1999 (Table 2).

Table 2

Emigration from Bulgaria, 1989-1999

	Gross migration	Net migration (migration balance)	
		Number (thousands)	% of the population per year
1989	-218 000	-136 900	-1.5
1990	-85 000	-118 200	-1.3
1991	-45 000	-75 100	-0.9
1992	-65 000	-61 100	-0.7
1993	-54 000	-27 900	-0.3
1994	-64 000	-3 700	0.0
1995	-54 000	-1 200	0.0
1996	-66 000	0 400	0.0
1997	-44 000	0 800	0.0
1998	-52 000	4 200	0.1
1999		-0 300	0.0

Source: Gachter, 2002, p. 4.

[8] Gross migration – the number of out migrants.

According to the same assessments, a little more than 46% of the outgoing migrants from 1989 to1999 went to Turkey and another 17% went to Germany. The rate of the asylum seekers is also high.

In the first decade of the transition period, there have been two waves of migration (Table 3):

I. 1989-93 – 467000 people left Bulgaria, the majority of them (74%) went to Turkey. Here the rate of the asylum seekers is relatively high.

II. 1994-98 – another 280000 people left the country. They preferred destinations such as Germany and Greece. The rate of the asylum seekers, during that "second" wave of migration goes down by 2.5 points. According to A. Gachter, the rate of those under the caption of "Other" may differ because of a certain amount of unaccounted migrants who went to Turkey or other unidentified countries.

Table 3

Gross emigration from Bulgaria by destinations

	BG	Austria	Switzerland	Germany	Greece	Turkey	USA	Asylum	Other
1989-98	-747000	1872	2253	124383	32383	344849	6307	41579	192779
1989-93	-467000		1009	87486	12489	344849		29329	-8162
1994-98	-280000	1872	1244	36897	20489		6307	12250	200941

Source: Gachter, 2002, p. 6.

The estimation of the gross migration from 1989 to1999 goes up to 747 000 people who left the country while the net migration (migration balance) is estimated at about 420 000 people (Table 2). The gross immigration is supposed to be about 327 000 people. We may assume that the data on the in-migration flow is mainly based on the number of the so called return and circular migrants.

According to the NSI estimates, the gross migration from Bulgaria in the period between the 1992 and 2001 censuses is about 196 thousand people. In the meantime about 19 thousand people return or come to live in the country. Thus the outward migration balance is estimated at 177 000 people. During the same period about 22 000 people leave the country per year (Kaltchev, 2002, p. 51.) From 2001 to 2011, the migration balance is estimated at 175 000 people. (2011 census – main results, www.nsi.bg). After 1989, net migration from Bulgaria (i.e. migration balance – In-migrants minus Out-migrants for the period between 1989 and 2011) is negative and is between 650 000 and 700 000 people.

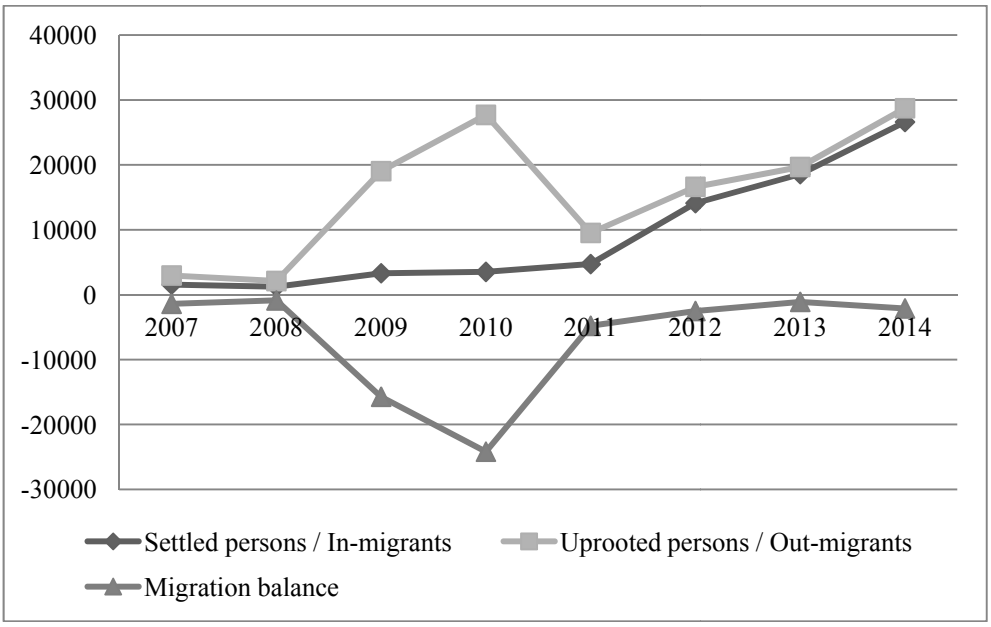
After 2007, gross emigration from the country went up to 28 000 people in 2010 and 29 thousand people in 2014. During the period the migration balance is negative and significantly deteriorated in the years 2009 and 2010, going over -15 0000 и -24 000 people (Figure 1).

While until 2011, female gross emigration surpassed male gross emigration, in 2012 and onwards, the tendency changed. Despite the changes occurred, female migration balance is still worse than male migration balance (Figure 2 and 3).

Between 2009 and 2011 most of the emigrants were those in the age range from 30 to 44, then in 2012 and onwards most of the emigrants were those aged 15 to 29, i.e. the youngest ones. The negative migration balance within these age cohorts is at relatively high level in 2014 as well – over 4500 people aged 15 to 29 and more than 3500 aged 30 to 44 (Figure 4 and 5).

Figure 1

Emigration from Bulgaria 2007-2014 (number of people)



Source: www.nsi.bg (last checked on 14.03.2016).

Figure 2

Gross migration according to gender (number of people)

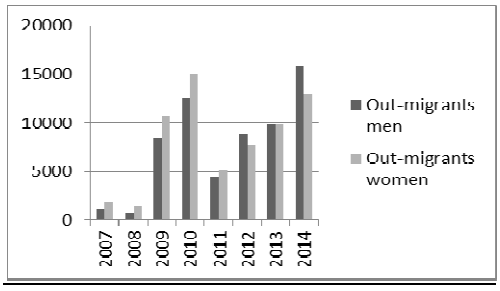
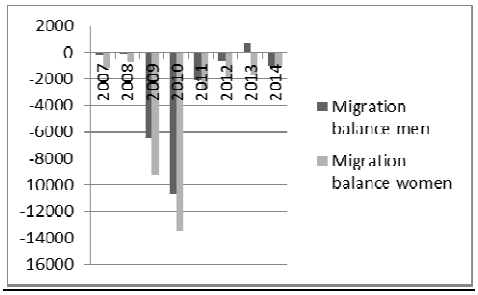


Figure 3

Net migration (migration balance) according to gender (number of people)



Source: www.nsi.bg (14.03.2016 г.)

Figure 4

Gross migration according to age groups 2007-2014 (number of people)

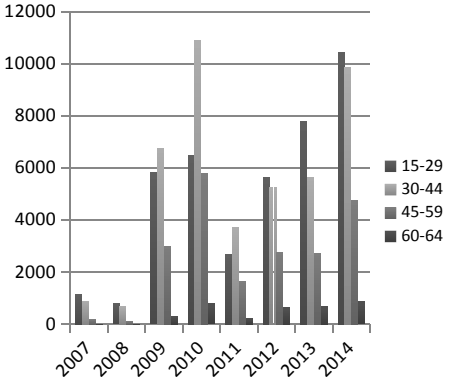
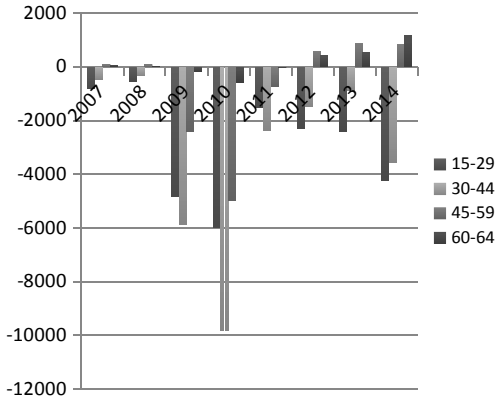


Figure 5

Net migration (migration balance) according to age groups 2007-2014 г. (number of people)

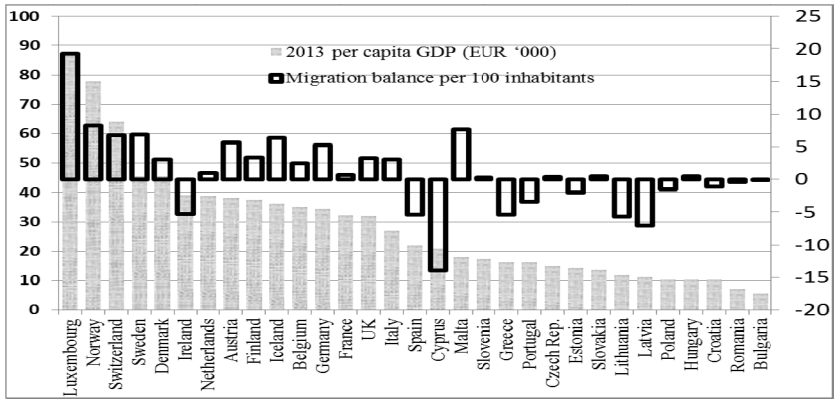


Source: www.nsi.bg (14.03.2016 г.).

A comparison made of the migration balances (per 100 inhabitants) in EU countries, in 2013, shows that the situation in Bulgaria is similar to the situation in most of the East European and South European member states (Figure 6). Moreover, the data collected in such countries as Bulgaria and Romania point to a phenomenon called "migratory exhaustion". While countries like Latvia and Cyprus lose about 5 to 15 people (per 100 inhabitants) in 2013. In absolute numbers, the negative migration balance rate is the highest in countries like Spain (-251 000 people), Greece (-59 000 people) and Poland (-56 000 people) – the first two remaining preferable destinations for potential Bulgarian emigrants.

Figure 6

GDP per capita and EU (28), Norway, Iceland and Switzerland migration balance (2013)



Source: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat (14.03.2016 г.).

While studying migrant communities, qualitative research tools such as in-depth interviews are often used to describe the respondent's and his/her family's migratory experience – i.e. the reasons for leaving the home country, settlement and integration in the receiving country, educational and work status before and after leaving, contacts maintained with the country of origin, satisfaction etc. Sample surveys on these matters are more rarely done.

In the last 25 years, countries like Spain and Germany are the most coveted destination countries for Bulgarian migrants. In those countries, different types of immigration policies are carried out, like periodical regularizations of the so called "undocumented" migration in Spain; and selective policy, based on the labour market needs in Germany. On the other hand, traditionally, the interstate agreements on intake of workforce and German speaking population are important in this country (we clearly remember the interstate agreements between Germany and Turkey as well as with former Yogoslavia in the sixties; or the programs for intake of German speaking population from Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union that were proclaimed in the beginning of the nineties).

In Spain and Germany, there are large Bulgarian communities – about 3% of the foreign population in Spain[9] and 2.4% in Germany.[10] In the last several years Bulgarian migrant community in Spain is getting smaller – from 176 000 people in 2012 to 151 000 in 2014.[11] Until January 1, 2014, 52% of the migrants were men and 48% were women. The reverse process is happening in Germany, where the Bulgarian community is growing bigger – from 93 thousand people in 2010 up to 183 000 in 2014, predominantly male, (55%) arrived recently (less than 5 years average length of stay) and young (average age up to 32 years).[12]

Summary

Migration processes in Bulgaria are not much different from those happening in other Eastern European and South European EU member states. The migration balance[13] is steadily negative and is about 650 000 – 700 000 people throughout the period between the years 1989 to 2011. There is no doubt that such state of affairs affects the socio-economic situation in the country in an unfavourable way, considering the aging population and the negative natural increase rate.

In the last several years Bulgarian migrant community in Spain is getting smaller – from 176 000 people in 2012 to 151 000 in 2014 (and 142 000 in 2015). On the other hand the

[9] According to the NGO CeiMigra, based in Valencia, in 2008, 16.6% of the over 900 thousand (in their estimation) Bulgarian migrants live in Spain (Ciudadanos del mundo, ciudadanos de Bulgaria, Colleccion: Miradas sobre la inmigracion, (http://www.ceimigra.net/observatorio/images/stories/mirada_25.bulgaria.pdf) (14.03.2016 г.)

[10] https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/StatistischesJahrbuch/StatistischesJahrbuch2015.pdf?__blob=publication (14.03.2016 г.)

[11] http://www.ine.es/jaxi/Datos.htm?path=/t20/e245/p08/l0/&file=01005.px (14.03.2016 г.)

[12] https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/StatistischesJahrbuch/StatistischesJahrbuch2015.pdf?__blob=publicationFile (14.03.2016 г.)

[13] Number of incoming migrants minus the outgoing migrants.

number of Bulgarian migrants in Germany has doubled, from 2010 to 2014 growing up to 183 000 people. Despite their relatively good educational status, in general, Bulgarian migrants in those two countries usually take lower skilled jobs.

2. Potential and return migrants – typology, attitudes, characteristics

In the so called emigration countries (i.e. "sending" migrants), the socio-demographic analysis of the migration population can be focused on two main groups: potential migrants and return migrants. In the following sections the specificity of potential and return migrants (See Table 1) will be discussed.

When surveying potential out-migration, the choice of particular criteria for building and implementing a technique for identifying potential migrants is very important (see Kaltchev, 2002; Mintchev, et all, 2004). When determining the survey tools used in this paper the chosen criteria are aiming at the definition of the purpose for migration (i.e. to settle, work or study abroad), the length of intended period of stay abroad of potential migrants (intending to stay abroad more than 1 year; and intending to stay there less than 1 year), and the horizon of the planned move out from the home country (in the next 6 months; in the next 12 months; in the next 2-3 years; some time further). The results that were obtained from the data collected through the sociological survey carried out in 2013 – as part of the project *„Migration and Transnationalism between Switzerland and Bulgaria: assessing social inequalities and regional disparities in the context of changing policies"/ IZEBZO-142979* (Richter et al, 2017) – showed the presence of the following groups of potential migrants and non-migrants and their frequency distribution (table 4).

Table 4

Potential migrants and non-migrants according to general groups and gender (in %)

Gender	Groups of potential migrants								Non-migrants		Total	
	Permanent emigrants (settlers)		Labour emigrants		Educational emigrants		Short-term emigrants					
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
Male	204	10.4	200	10.2	14	0.7	137	7.0	1415	71.8	1970	100.0
Female	152	7.8	117	6.0	30	1.5	118	6.1	1521	78.5	1938	100.0
Total	356	9.1	317	8.1	44	1.1	255	6.5	2936	75.1	3908	100.0

Source: Representative sociological survey, carried out in 2013, among the 15 to 65 age group by the research team, working on the Bulgarian-Swiss project *„Migration and Transnationalism between Switzerland and Bulgaria: assessing social inequalities and regional disparities in the context of changing policies" / IZEBZO-142979*.

2.1. Typology of potential migrants

Potential permanent emigrants (settlers)

In the first group are those who are "very probably" and "probably" moving to another country for a considerably long period of time and they mostly intend to settle permanently

there. According to the survey data, they are about 9% of those aged 15 to 65. Of all the potential settlers 93% are still residing in Bulgaria, whereas the rest of them are already abroad. About a half of the potential settlers – 48% – have already lived abroad, 17% have stayed there for over 12 months, and i.e. they have been actual migrants. As of the rest of the group – 26% have stayed abroad for 3 to 12 months and 4% have stayed for less than 3 months.

As far as the time range that the potential settlers have chosen to actually migrate, 31% of them state for their intention to leave the country to be within the next 6 months, i.e. we may assume, that those respondents have made a final decision to migrate. Over the next 12 months, the share of those who would like to migrate is 27% and those who plan to migrate within the next 2 to 3 years are 21%. About 19% state that they are prone to migrate at some point in more distant future.

Potential labour emigrants are people who "very probably" and "probably" will go and work in another country for more than 12 months. The share of potential work emigrants is about 8.1%. About 98% of those potential migrants are presently living in Bulgaria. A total of 40% of the respondents have already been abroad for different periods of time. The share of those who have stayed abroad for more than 12 months is 11%, for 3 to12 months – about 26%. Only 4% have stayed abroad for less than 3 months.

For 25% of the respondents, finding work in another country is about to happen in the next 6 months. Nearly as many (24%) – are those who plan that to happen within 12 months. Planning to work abroad within the next 2 to 3 years are 30%, and in a more distant future - 17%.

Planning to get a certain educational degree is the reason for a third group of potential long-term migrants from the country – those are the so called ***educational (student) emigrants***. In that group are those who "very probably" and "probably" will continue their education abroad and stay there for more than 12 months.

The rate of potential student migration is lower – 1.1 % among population aged 15 to 65. Actually, according to numbers and share[14], student migration is at a lower rate, but it is important because it is formed entirely by young people aged up to 30 years. It is typical for those respondents that they don't have previous migratory experience (less than 7% have already been abroad) and they make arrangements for going to another country for the first time. 98% of those respondents are presently living in Bulgaria.

Forming an intention to emigrate for educational purposes precedes the actual migration. A little over 2% intend to leave for another country within the next 6 months. Another 27% intend to do so within 12 months. The biggest share of respondents (46%) – state their intention to go and study abroad in the next 2 to 3 years and 23% intend to do that in a more distant future.

The biggest part of that group of migrants – about 80% – and of the other, who also intend to study abroad, are planning to earn a Bachelor's and a Master's degree.

[14] Due to the small number of cases observed in the sample, the data for this group discussed further in the analysis should be regarded as quite conditional.

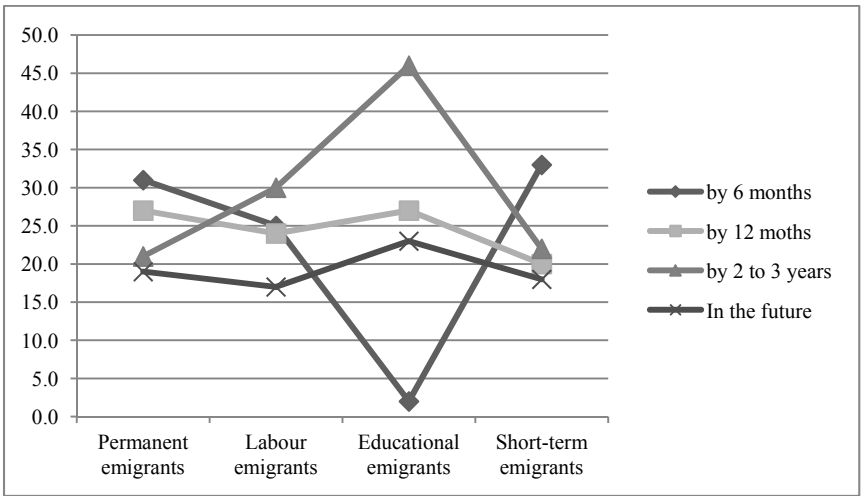
The classification of the potential migrants in the abovementioned three main groups is quite conditional. It is so because not only labour emigrants (88%) intend to find a job abroad but also as it is quite understandable – permanent emigrants (79%) intend to do so, as well as 16% of the student emigrants. About 8% of the settlers and 5% of the labour emigrants state that they would like to continue their education. Through this classification, we try to identify the drivers, which motivate the different categories of potential migrants to leave Bulgaria.

Part of the international migration cohorts are also people who "very probably" and "probably" will go for a specialization, for work, or for another reason to another country, but will stay there for a period less than 12 months. These are the ***"short-term emigrants"*** (short-term migration – where people stay abroad for less than a year). Those are 6.5% of the respondents. Almost all of them (99%) are presently living in Bulgaria. Of the supposed future short-term emigrants, 37% have been abroad before and the share of those who have stayed abroad for more than 12 months is too small – 4%. Less than 24% of the respondents have been abroad for a shorter period (3 to 12 months) and 10% – for less than 3 months.

Among the group of the short-term emigrants, the bigger share is of those who point out that their intention to migrate will be realized as soon as the next 6 months – 33%. About 20% suppose that they will go and stay abroad within the next 12 months, and the share of those who intend for that to happen within the next 2 to 3 years is a little bigger – 22%. 18% of the respondents supposed to go abroad in a more distant future.

Figure 7

A time horizon for going abroad for the different groups of potential migrants



As it was found 18.2% of the total Bulgarian population, aged 15 to 65 years state that they intend to emigrate and stay out of the country for more than 12 months, and 6.5% will do so for a shorter period of time – less than 12 months. Among the rest of the population, according to our survey, there are not migration aspirations, i.e. this is potentially a "non-migrant population" and those people "less probably" or "not probably" will leave the

country for the present or for the near future to find work, to improve their education, to go for specialization, etc. for more than one month. The share of non-migrants is about 75% of those aged 15 to 65. We have to say that only 7% of that population category has been abroad in the last 5 years for a various period of time and only 1.7% has been abroad for more than 12 months. Practically everybody who is considered to be part of the non-migrant population, at present lives in the country.

2.2. Demographic and social profile of potential migrants

When emigration processes are being studied, it is important to analyse the demographic and social characteristics of the individuals involved. It is necessary to do so, as migration processes directly affect the demographic structure of the whole population of the country and its reproduction dynamics.

In addition, when the demographic and social characteristics of the migrants have been analysed, two main types of structural dimensions have been used: to determine the **intensity** and **structure** of the potential migration. Through intensity indicators, the empirical frequency of potential migration developments has been determined, i.e. how often the respondents have stated an intention to depart / emigrate for (in) another country[15] (for more than 12 months for potential long term emigrants and from 1 to 12 months for short term emigrants) and through structure indicators (in %) – the distribution of the groups of potential migrants according to demographic and social characteristics that have been of academic interest.

Gender and age characteristics of potential migrants

When defining the demographic profile of potential migrants, the gender and age characteristics of migrant groups are of basic importance. Generally, the range, respectively, the intensity rate of potential migration is higher among men. The share of men, intending to leave the country and settle, work or study abroad is 21.3%. This share among women is 15.3%. Attitudes for labour migration or permanent resettlement is more often found among men – over 10% than among women – from 6.0 to 7.8%. The intensity rate of potential migration is higher among women, when education purposes in a foreign country are considered – 1.5 vs. 0.7% (See Table 4).

As a result of the higher intensity rate of potential migration among men, their proportion within different groups of migrants is also higher. Among the potential settlers, the share of men is over 57%, while the share of women is about 43%. Among labour emigrants, the difference in the proportions of men to women is even bigger. The ratio is 63% of men to 37% of women. As regards the situation with student migration, the share of women potential educational emigrants (68%) is two times bigger than the share of men – 32%.

[15] These indicators show the number of potential migrants in the relevant aggregation from which they are recruited, expressed as a percentage.

The intensity of short term migration (specialisation, education, temporary job, etc.) is about 7 % for men and 6% for women. Within this potential migration group the share of men is bigger than the share of women as well – 54 vs. 46%.

Potential migration rate and the formation of the main migrants groups depend on the age structure of the country's population. The potential migration intensity rate is the highest among those aged 15 to 29 within all three main groups. About 17% of those within that age range intend to settle in another country, 11% intend to work abroad for more than 12 months and more than 3% intend to continue their education abroad. The short term potential migration rate is 10.5%.

In the next age ranges the intensity rate of potential migration systematically decreases. Among those aged 30 to 44, the intensity rate of potential migration is 10% for both permanent and labour emigrants and 3.3% for potential student emigrants. A little more than 7% among those in that age interval suppose that they can stay for a short time in another country.

The intensity rate of potential migration among those aged 45 to 59 is almost the same for the group of permanent (5.5%) and labour emigrants (5.8%). Among those aged 45 to 59, there are no intentions of becoming educational emigrants (only some individual cases have been registered), but about 4% state that they can go for work, specialization or to study for a short period of time in another country.

In the oldest age group (60+) the intensity rate of potential migration for all groups of migrants is very low – up to 1.7% and practically there are no registered cases of potential educational emigrants.

The age structure of the studied groups of migrants is different. The difference is largely determined by the goals the potential migrants set for themselves. From the group of those who would like to settle in another country for a long period of time or for ever, 44% are aged 15 to 29. Smaller, but nevertheless large enough, is the share of potential settlers aged 30 to 44 – 36%. Within this group of potential migrants, the share of those aged 45 to 59 is about 19%, and of those over 60 is only 2%.

Among potential labour emigrants, the biggest share (40%) is of those aged 30 to 44, followed by those aged 15 to 29 – nearly 37%. Those, who would like to work in another country, aged 45 to 59 are 22%, and the share of the oldest potential labour emigrants is 1.6%.

The biggest share of potential student emigrants holds the youngest part of the population, those aged 15 to 29. They are about 76% of all potential migrants within this group. The share of student emigrants aged 30 to 44 is about 16%. Only separate cases have been registered within this group of emigrants (a small share), who are aged over 45. We can conclude that student migration is typical for young people, mainly aged up to 29.

Among potential short term emigrants, 42% are aged up to 29. The share goes down for the age group 30 to 44 – 37% and 19% for those aged 45 to 59.

Educational level of potential migrants

The educational degree and the aspiration to get a higher one have a certain impact on migration attitudes. Potential long-term migration intensity rate is higher for those with elementary or basic education degree. A total of 23% of that category of people intend to live out of the country for more than 12 months. They are considering to settle (9.5%) or to work (again 9.5%) abroad with the intention to continue their education there (3.7%).

The intensity rate of potential long-term migration among those with secondary education degree is slightly lower – 8.5% for settlers and labour emigrants. The intensity rate of potential students is significantly lower – under 1%.

Higher education graduates also show high "potential migration coefficient". Over 10% of the respondents prefer to live abroad, if they get the opportunity to do so and 6% prefer to work abroad, i.e. to become labour emigrants.

The intensity rate of potential short term migration for people with any of the three types of educational degrees is between 5 to 7%.

There are significant differences in the educational structure in the particular migrant groups. The biggest share of potential settlers is among those with secondary education degree – 56.5%. Higher education graduates are 28%, and 15.2% are with elementary or basic education degree.

People with secondary education degree are the biggest share of labour emigrants as well – over 64%, those with lower education degree and higher education graduates are both 17%. The share of academic degree-holders among labour emigrants is very low – 1.3%.

The group of potential student emigrants, who would like to continue their education abroad, is constituted mostly of people with basic education degree – about 48% of the respondents. Those are people, who haven't completed secondary education at the time when the survey has been carried out. Among potential student emigrants, 34% are with secondary education degree, 16% are higher education graduates, predominantly Bachelor degree holders. Academic degree-holders are 2.3%.

Of short-term emigrants, 67% have secondary education, nearly 22% have higher education and the rest – about 12% – have elementary or basic education.

Socioe-conomic status of potential migrants

Respondents' distribution according to their social status and the type of migration they aspire for, points to the significance of the social structure as far as the formation of migration aspirations is concerned.

The intensity rate of potential resettelment is the highest among students – 15%. The intensity rate is lower among the unemployed – 14% and freelancers – 10%. Quite close is the intensity rate of potential resettelment among the private employees and agricultural producers – about 9%. This index is the lowest among those employed in state/municipal company or organization – 5% and also among the pensioners – 2%.

The data obtained regarding labour emigrants is quite the same. The intensity rate of potential work migration is the highest among the unemployed – 14% and the students – 13%. Next are the freelancers – 9% followed by private employees – 8%. This index is significantly low among those employed in state/municipal company or organization – 4% and agricultural producers – 3%.

The group of student emigrants is practically constituted only of school and university students. The intensity rate of potential migration among them is 8%.

Short term migration is preferred by agricultural producers – 12.5% and students – 11%. Nearly 10% of the unemployed intend to stay abroad for a short period of time. Among the other social groups the intensity of intention to work abroad for a short period is between 4% for public employees and 8% among those on a maternity leave.

The social structures of potential settlers and labour emigrant flows are proportionally close, although there are certain differences in the size of the shares within different social strata. The bulk of migrants are expected to get recruited from private companies – 33%. The second group is the unemployed – 30% followed by school and university students – 15%.

Labour emigrants flow is presumably composed of currently unemployed – 36% and private employees – 32%. The share of students within this group of migrants is about 15%.

Nearly 32% of the short-term emigrants' composition will be of people engaged in the private sector. The other main part of the flow (29%) will be formed of unemployed and students – 15%.

2.3. Main destination countries for potential migration

After Bulgaria joined the European Union (EU), Germany has become one of the most preferred destination countries for Bulgarian emigrants. The data obtained point to the following: 28% of future emigrants intend to settle in Germany, 29% would like to work there, and 31% – to continue their education.

The second best and preferred destination for potential Bulgarian emigrants is the UK, where 17% of potential migrants would like to settle and another 21% would try to find a job there. The share of those who would like to continue their education in the UK is quite large – nearly 37%.

The next destination country, Bulgarians are attracted to is the United States, where 9% of the potential migrants would like to settle, 4% would like to work and 7% – to continue their education.

As far as the other European countries are concerned, 7% of migrants would like to settle in Spain, 6% – in Greece, 5% – in Italy etc. The share of migrants who would like to work in those countries is between 4 and 5.5%.

For short term emigrants the most preferred destination country is again Germany (25%) and then the UK – 20%. Between 6 and 8% would like to stay for a short period in other EU countries and 3% – in Switzerland.

2.4. Return migrants profile

Sample surveys, conducted in the sending countries, allow for an estimation to be made of return migrants' flows (*return migrants – those who stayed abroad for more than 1 month in the last 5 years*). Though indirectly, estimation could be made of the scope of the so called "current" migrants (*people, who were living abroad at the time when the sample survey was carried out*) (Mintchev, Boshnakov, 2010).

Thus, we found that in 15.5% of Bulgarian households, there are members who have lived abroad. In over 10% of the households, there are members who currently live abroad (Table 5).

Table 5

Share of households that have return or "current" migrant member (2013, %)

	Share of households that do not have "current" migrant member	Share of households that have "current" migrant member	Total
Share of households that do not have return migrant member	77.1	7.4	84.5
Share of households that have a return migrant member	12.4	3.1	15.5
Total	89.5	10.5	100.0

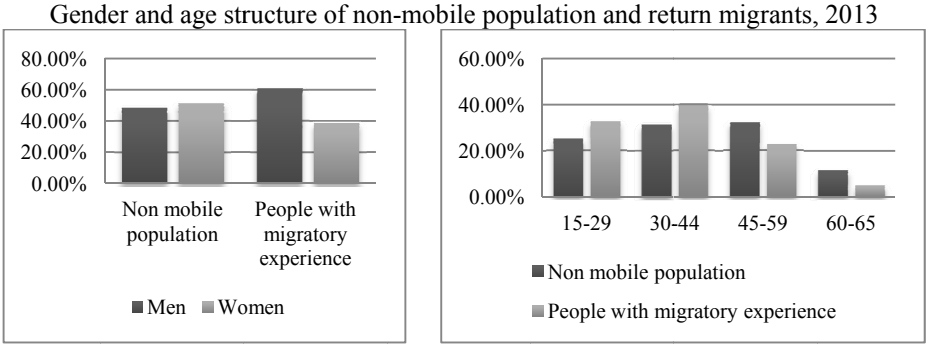
Therefore, here we can present the profile of the return migrants in reference to the profile of people with no migratory experience, identified as "non-mobile population".

<u>Gender and age structure of return migrants</u>

Among people who stayed abroad for more than 1 month in the last 5 years and are currently in Bulgaria men predominate (61%) as well as the young adults (aged 30-44 – nearly 40%). Among the so-called non-mobile population (*i.e. people who have not been abroad for more than one month during the reference period*) the share of women is bigger than that of men (51.5% women; 48.5% men). And the share of young people – 15-29 years old and young adults – 30-44 years old in the group without migratory experience is 7-8% lower compared to mobile population.

Figure 8

Gender and age structure of non-mobile population and return migrants, 2013



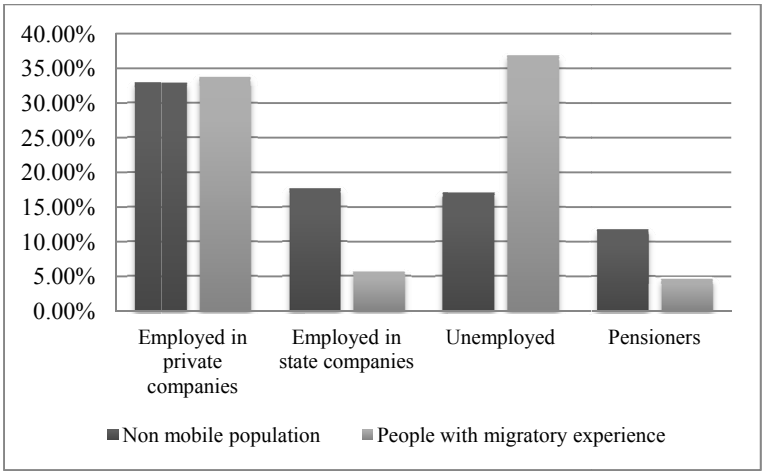
Educational structure and socio-economic status

The educational structure of the people who have lived abroad is similar to that of people without migratory experience. The most numerous are those with secondary vocational and secondary general education (approximately 60% in both subsets); higher education graduates reach 1/4, and people with primary or lower education are 13% in mobile and less than 15% in non-mobile population.

On the other hand, there are significant differences in the socio-economic status of mobile and non-mobile population.

Figure 9

Social status of non-mobile population and return migrants, 2013



If the relative share of employees in private companies is similar – approximately 32-33%; the share of people employed in state/municipal companies amongst those without migratory experience reaches 18% and it is just approximately 6% amongst return

migrants. Definitely employment in the public sector has a higher potential to "keep" the population in the country, compared with employment in private enterprises.

In addition, if unemployed amongst people without migratory experience according to the survey amount to approximately 17%, amongst return migrants this share exceeds 36%. And the question in fact is whether people with migratory experience prefer to settle permanently in the country or simply they are waiting until the next engagement abroad appears? As for the relative share of pensioners in the two subsets – as expected, it is higher amongst people without migratory experience.

2.5. Summary

The goal of this section is to derive a summary of the reasons and purposes for out-migration typical for various categories of potential migrants. Moreover, this way an approximate assessment can be made of the so-called "non-compensated" population losses for the country resulting from emigration and permanent settlement abroad. The first three categories considered above constitute the major types of potential external migration from Bulgaria evaluated for the population aged 15-65 years at the end of year 2013.[16]

When comparing the 2013 results with those obtained from previous studies (2001, 2011), an increase in the intensity of potential migration is being observed in 2013 as compared to 2001 (18.3% to 15.3%); however, a slight decrease is noted in respect to 2011 when the same indicator was estimated at 19.7% (Minchev et al., 2012). Based on these results it can be concluded that over the last 10 years the potential out-migration for the target age interval is sustainably estimated in the range between 15 and 20%. A more realistic picture of the current status of potential migration is provided if these estimates are adjusted by taking into account the horizon of the possible realization of migration intentions. If the evaluated horizon of the out-migration move "up to 1 year" is applied, the intensity of potential migration for 2013 is reduced to 9.7%.

Migration amongst young and relatively better educated people deteriorates the population's age structure, lowers the levels of fertility, get worse the professional and educational structure of workforce, and this in turn leads to other adverse demographic, social and economic consequences.

With regard to discussed statistical characteristics of intensity and structure of potential migrants a conclusion can be made that according to current migration intentions of the population aged 15-65, the expected external migration outflows will be formed mainly by men and by people aged below 44 years of age – 79% of settlers and 77% of labour emigrants. With migration for the purposes of education – the outflows will be formed mainly by people 15-29 years (75%).

[16] In this case the criterion of the duration of the absence from the country of more than 1 year (potential migrants) has been applied. The analysis includes also the total of the people declaring that it is probable for them to be absent from the country for a period ranging from one month to 1 year (short-term emigrants).

56% of the potential settlers are expected to have secondary vocational and secondary general education, and 28% – higher education. In the structure of labour migration the share of those with secondary education will be 64%, and of those with higher education - 18%. Approximately 41% of the student emigrants will be persons expected to graduate from a secondary school, and people who have already obtained secondary education degree will be 34% of this migrant group.

The profile of the return migrants is similar to that of the potential migrants, but differs from the profile of non-mobile population. Men, people aged 30-44 and unemployed are the majority among those who have returned. Furthermore, more than 60% of return migrants come from 5 European countries – Germany, Greece, Great Britain, Spain and Italy. The range of people who has returned from USA, France and Cyprus is between 4 and 6%, and about 3% are those who have returned from Turkey and Belgium. Obviously there is a direct connection between those destinations which are being preferred in the country and the migratory experience of the mobile Bulgarian population. This suggests a need for more active relations with countries with large Bulgarian communities – concerning a various issues of migration policy – access to the labour market, insurance schemes, visas regimes, alleviating possibilities to send remittances, etc.

3. Regional disparities, out-migration intentions, return migrants and remittances

It is widely known that ever since the formulation of Ravenstein's laws (1885, 1889) on migration, the links between the differing levels of regional development and the migration processes become one of the main components of migration theories. Neoclassics interpret migration as an efficient mechanism of allocation of resources, while for the historical structuralists migration processes increase the regional disparities. On the other hand, the so-called migration transition views migration merely as an inevitable characteristic of development (De Haas, 2010).

The present section examines the relationship between regional disparities and the formation of migration intentions. The „return" and the desire to „leave again" of people with migratory experience are observed. The diverse "transfer profile" model of the regions (NUTS 2) and the districts (NUTS 3), which are ranked according to their level of development, is subject to debate. Data has been used from a sociological survey conducted in 2013 within the framework of project „Migration and Transnationalism between Switzerland and Bulgaria: assessing social inequalities and regional disparities in the context of changing policies"/ IZEBZO-142979 (Richter, Ruspini, Mihailov, Mintchev and Nollert, 2017).

3.1. Assessment of territorial socio-economic disparities

For the purposes of the study[17] the socio-economic disparities between the 6 regions from Level 2 (the so-called NUTS 2) are analysed and assessed. 15 indicators are used for that purpose; they are grouped as follows:

Demographic conditions:

1. *Natural growth rate* – ratio of the difference between the number of live birth and deaths during the year and the average population number during the same year, calculated per 1 000 persons. The indicator characterizes the condition of the demographic system.
2. *Migration coefficient* [mechanical growth (difference between the number of persons settling and the number of persons emigrating[18]) per 1 000 persons from the average population]. This demographic indicator is highly sensitive to the condition of the socio-economic and political environment, to the possibilities for career realization and the opportunities to ensure decent incomes and living standards.
3. *Age dependency ratio* (ratio of the number of people aged 65+ and the number of people aged 15-64, in %). The indicator characterizes the demographic "load" on the population within working age (independent adults) by the aging population (dependent adults).
4. *Share of the persons with higher education in the total population* – the indicator reflects the educational attainment of the local population.

State of the labour market:

5. *Coefficient (rate) of employment* (ratio of the number of employed individuals to the share of the population aged 15+, in %). The indicator reflects the degree, to which individuals within working age manage to find work, and, in more general terms, the existence of a balance between the local economy (the demand for labour) and the economically active individuals (the supply of labour).
6. *Coefficient (level) of unemployment* (ratio of the number of unemployed persons to the labour force, in %). This indicator, similarly to the preceding one, incorporates economic and social characteristics. It reflects the state of the economic system as well as the social problems it creates.

State of the local economy:

7. *GDP per capita*. This is the indicator with the most integral characteristics and significance. It reflects the cumulative result of the functioning of the economic system, respectively of the quantity of produced goods and services per capita of the

[17] The disparities between the regions from Level 2 and between the districts are assessed using a model, based on a taxonomic method (See Yankova et al., 2003, p. 9, pp. 166-168; Yankova et al., 2010).

[18] As of 2007 the mechanical movement of the population includes not only internal migration, but also movement of people to and from the country.

population within the respective territorial unit. The higher the value of the indicator, the stronger and more developed the economy of the respective territorial unit and the higher the living standard of the local population.

8. *Labour productivity* (measured via the ratio between Gross Value Added and the number of employed individuals, calculated per 1 employee). The indicator reflects the efficiency of the local economy.

State of the transport infrastructure:

9. *Availability of transport infrastructure*. The indicator reflects the density of transport infrastructure, measured as the length of the railway and road network per 1000 km^2. Under the conditions of intensified mobility, all sectoral and territorial systems strongly depend upon the availability and quality of the roads.

Poverty and household incomes:

10. *Income per household member*. This indicator is as much an economic one as it is a social one. On the one hand, it reflects the results of the labour/economic activity, while, on the other hand, it has an impact on the standard of living.

11. *Population at risk of poverty or social exclusion*. This is a combined indicator, which includes 3 indicators: risk of poverty, intensity of economic activity and material deprivation.

Education and healthcare:

12. *Share of pupils (grades 1-12) in total population* – this indicator reflects their relative share in the total number of inhabitants of the respective territorial unit.

13. *Share of university students in total population*. The availability of higher learning institutions and the access to them are major factors for increasing the educational level of the population.

14. *Doctors per 100 thousand inhabitants.* The availability of medical doctors is one of the main qualitative indicators, which characterizes the state of healthcare and the standard of living of the population.

15. *Number of hospital beds per 100 thousand inhabitants.* The degree of availability of hospitals is one of the main qualitative indicators, which characterizes the state of healthcare in the respective territorial unit.

16. In this way, the socio-economic disparities between the NUTS 2 regions are analysed and evaluated on the basis of a matrix of 90 indicators. The study is for 2011 and uses data from the National Statistical Institute (NSI).

The integral scores for the level of socio-economic development of the 6 NUTS 2 regions are presented in Table 6.

Table 6

Ranking of the regions according to their level of socio-economic development (2011)

Region	Ranking	Integral score
Southwestern region	1	0.4622
South central region	2	0.7303
North-eastern region	3	0.7496
South-eastern region	4	0.7625
North central region	5	0.8559
North-western region	6	0.8894
Bulgaria	*x*	*0.5627*

The analysis of the presented results allows for the formulation of the following *conclusions and assessments*:

- The Southwestern region (SWR) strongly stands out as the region in the best socio-economic condition: its integral score is lowest (i.e. it is close to the "benchmark" territorial unit) and furthermore it exceeds the average for the country. The leading position of SWR is confirmed by a multitude of other studies as well as by the data from Eurostat.[19]
- The North-western region (NWR) and North central region (NCR) are at the other extreme – their integral scores are far from the "benchmark" region and are considerably lower than the average for the country.
- The three remaining regions are in the middle of the ranking – the South central region (SCR), the North-eastern region (NER) and the South-eastern region (SER). Their scores are comparable, but, on the other hand, they are significantly different from the ones of the other three regions.
- On that basis, several "clusters" can be conditionally designated:
  - Of the SWR, which assumes the leading position from a socio-economic point of view;
  - Of the regions in the "golden middle" – SER, NER and NCR, whose scores are lower than the average for the country, but are considerably better than the ones of the underdeveloped regions.
  - Of the regions, which lag behind – NCR and NWR.

[19] See Territorial Disparities in Bulgaria – Tendencies, Factors, Policies, Sofia, 2010, p.20; Eurostat regional yearbook-2012, pp.18-21.

3.2. Territorial socio-economic disparities and potential migration of the population by NUTS 2 regions

It is logical to assume that the social and economic potential of the settlements and regions, within which they are located, influences the migration behaviour of the population. In that sense, when comparing the integral assessments of the socio-economic development (IASED) of the regions and the groups of districts with their potential migration coefficients (PMC)[20] a parallel is sought between the territorial disparities and the development of the migration processes.

Out of the designated six NUTS 2 regions, NER has the highest intensity of potential migration. This region has a PMC of 25.2%. It falls in the middle (ranking 3) amongst the other regions with regard to its integral score of social and economic development. SER is comparable in terms of its level of development and level of potential migration (ranking 4) with a PMC of nearly 23%. The population of these two regions most frequently declares intentions for emigration from the country. These two regions include one of the most developed districts in the country which has a positive influence on their scores of their level of socio-economic development; however, underdeveloped districts with worsened labour market conditions and unfavourable economic development indicators are also allocated there. The potential short-term migration coefficients for the two regions are in the range 5-6%.

NCR and SCR, which have significantly different scores for the level of their development (NCER – ranking 5; SCR – ranking 2) have analogous characteristics of the intensity of potential migration – 19.7%. The favourable position of SCR in the ranking of the level of economic development is entirely due to the indicators of the one of the most developed districts in the country with administrative centre Plovdiv. To a large extend, this district ensures employment of the population in the region. The social and economic indicators of the other districts, which fall within this region, are below the average (for the country). The value of the indicator for short-term potential migration is 6.5%.

NCR encompasses relatively poorly developed districts, which is why it lags behind the other regions in its development. This region is characterized by a significant decrease in the population number, while the level of potential short-term migration in the region is 5.7%.

NWR is the most economically underdeveloped region in the country (ranking 6). There are no highly developed economic centres in this region. The intensity of potential migration is very low in comparison to the other regions – 14.3%. The low value of the indicator can be explained by the significant decrease in the population number and the worsened age structure. The region is characterized by "migration exhaustion", i.e. *decrease in the population from the age groups, which most commonly participate in migration processes*. This is important to take into consideration particularly when it comes to international migration, which is characterized by a higher level of selectivity – age, education (acquired

[20] Potential migrants per 100 persons of the population aged 15-65 years (in %). The coefficient is calculated (in total) for all potential migrants, since the assessment of migrants by groups at the regional level is not feasible due to the small number of observed cases.

or aspired to), professional qualification and skills, individual mobility and others. NWR has lowest short-term migration coefficient – 3.7%.

As already mentioned, SWR is the most highly developed region in the country. In it, the level of potential migration is lowest – 13.1%. The regional labour market ensures a high level of employment of the labour force, while the comparatively developed social infrastructure ensures favourable living conditions and opportunities to receive education for the majority of the local population. The capital city of Sofia is the reason for that. The region also encompasses districts with lower levels of development, but their population number is relatively low. For this region the intensity of short-term migration is highest – 8.6%. To a large extend, this is due to the relatively high educational and qualification level of the labour force as well as to the opportunities for temporary employment, which, despite the crisis, neighbouring Greece provides.

Considering the structure of potential migrants for all regions of the country the relative share of men is evaluated as larger in comparison to that of women. SCR has the largest share of men amongst potential migrants (62%) followed by SWR (60%). For the other regions these shares vary in between 52% (for SER) and 59% (for NER).

The largest shares of young people (i.e. below age of 29) intending to enter the migration outflows are estimated for the population of SER (48%) and of NWR (46%). This will worsen the demographic situation in the latter region even further. The relative share of young migrants in NCR and SCR is around 43%, while in the remaining two regions – NER and SWR, it is 39%.

Persons aged 30-44 years will comprise around 40% of total potential migrants in NCR and SWR. In the other regions these relative shares will range between 33 and 36%, with the exception of NWR – 28%. From the following age group (45-49 years) the largest share of migrants will be registered in NWR and in NER – nearly 25%. In the other regions the relative share of the migrants from this age group will fall within the range 16-19%. For all regions, the share of potential migrants from the highest age group (60-65) will be below 2%.

There are disparities in the educational structure of potential migrants between the different regions. Out of the respondents, who declared intentions to emigrate from SER, currently 37% have higher education. For SWR the value of this indicator is comparatively lower – 28%; the same applies to SCR – 23%. Within the migration flow from NWR the persons with higher education can be anticipated to comprise 8%, while for NCR and NER they comprise 19 and 14%, respectively.[21]

The majority of the country's population within the analysed age interval has secondary education. That is why the share of persons with secondary education is expectedly highest amongst potential migrants. The share of potential migrants with secondary education is highest in NWR, NER and SCR – around 62%. The proportion of persons with secondary

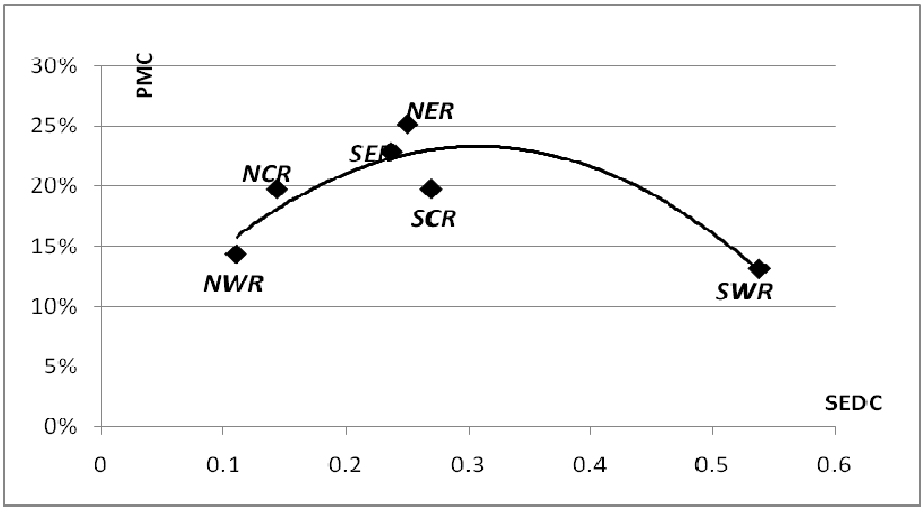
[21] For the purposes of comparison, we would like to point out that, according to data from the Census of the Bulgarian population from 2011, the relative share of the population aged 15-64 is 24.5%, while of the population with secondary education – 54%.

education in the migration flow is lower in NCR – 55% and lowest in SER – 47%. The educational structure of potential migrants from respective regions includes also persons having elementary or lower education.

The examination of the values of the integral scores for socio-economic development of the regions and the level of potential migration therein (see Fig. 10) indicates that there is a correlation between the level of development of the region and the emigration intentions – namely, as the Socio-economic Development Coefficient (SEDC) increases the value of the PMC decreases (correlation coefficient: -0.37). This correlation does not apply to the North-western region, where the comparatively low level of socio-economic development is accompanied by a low coefficient of potential migration.

Figure 10

Correlation between the level of socio-economic development (SEDC – NUTS 2 regions) and the potential migration coefficient (PMC)



Of course, it should be taken into consideration that the migration behaviour of the population is not solely determined by economic factors. There are other circumstances and factors, which are of significance for its formation, such as – marital status, value orientation, inclination towards mobility, individual level of household and housing provision, friendly environment, awareness and adaptability to other living conditions, etc.; all these factors influence the decision to migrate.

3.3. Return migrants and remittances from abroad by NUTS 2 regions

The share of return migrants (*persons, who have lived abroad for more than 1 month during the last 5 years*) is highest in the two NUTS 2 regions with medium level of development (ranking 3 and 4) – NER and SER (17.9 and 15%, respectively). As mentioned above, these are the regions with the highest level of potential migration. The

situation in SCR (ranking 2) and NCR (ranking 5) is once again analogous, despite the fact that the share of emigrants returning to SCR is nearly 2% higher in comparison to NCR. The lowest relative shares of return migrants (as well as levels of potential migration) are registered by the most underdeveloped and the most highly developed region – NWR and SWR – 11.0% and 9.4% (see Table 7).

Table 7

Return migrants (% of the population) by NUTS 2 regions (2013)

Region	Return migrants	Of them	
		Staying	Leaving again
SWR	9.4	36.7	63.3
SCR	14.0	26.4	73.6
NER	17.9	23.7	76.3
SER	15.0	17.9	82.1
NCR	12.3	30.4	69.6
NWR	11.0	53.2	46.8
Bulgaria	12.8	29.7	70.3

Source: Country representative sociological study, conducted in 2013 amongst the population aged 15-65 by the research team, engaged in the implementation of Bulgarian-Swiss project „Migration and Transnationalism between Switzerland and Bulgaria: assessing social inequalities and regional disparities in the context of changing policies“ (IZEBZO-142979).

Bulgarians returning from abroad can be grouped in accordance with their future intentions – to stay in the country or to emigrate again. Hence, amongst the people with migratory experience we can differentiate between those, who have permanently returned and those, who intend to emigrate again. The latter can be defined as “circular” migrants. In this way, we find that the share of the individuals intending to leave is once again highest in NER and SER, and lowest in NWR.

The data from the cited survey allow for assessments of the remittances from abroad, both by NUTS 2 regions and by groups of districts. Of course, these are sample estimations, whose conditionality should also be taken into consideration. The survey data indicates that an ¼ of the remittances are transferred to SCR (ranking 2), while 19% of them are transferred to NER (ranking 3) and SER (ranking 4), i.e. 63% of the remittances from abroad are transferred to these three regions (with medium level of development). NWR ranks next with 17% of the remittances. The most developed region SWR, where the capital city is located, is next, with 12% of the remittances. The lowest share of total remittances is registered in NCR – 8%.

In absolute figures this means that if on average around EUR 690 million enter the country per year, more than 170 million from them are transferred to SCR and a mere EUR 56 million – to NCR.

The assessment based on the data from the survey looks more conservative in comparison with the data from Bulgarian National Bank (BNB), since it is conducted solely on the basis of “Bulgarian citizens returning from abroad” without taking into consideration the possible remittances made by the so-called “current” migrants, i.e. members of the surveyed households, who were abroad at the time when the study was conducted.

The observed differences are primarily the result of the particular remittance behaviour of the residents of the individual regions. Hence, the assessments of the average annual remittances per person (who has lived abroad and is currently in Bulgaria) range from more than EUR 4000 in SCR, NWR and SWR to slightly more than EUR 2500 in NCR.

On the other hand, while on average for the country, the share of the income generated abroad, which is transferred to relatives in Bulgaria, is around 43%, in NWR this share is 54% and in NCR it is a mere 32%.

If not the most important, the utilization of the remittances is, at the very least, the most visible effect of emigration.

Figure 11

Remittances from abroad by NUTS 2 regions (% to the total, 2013)

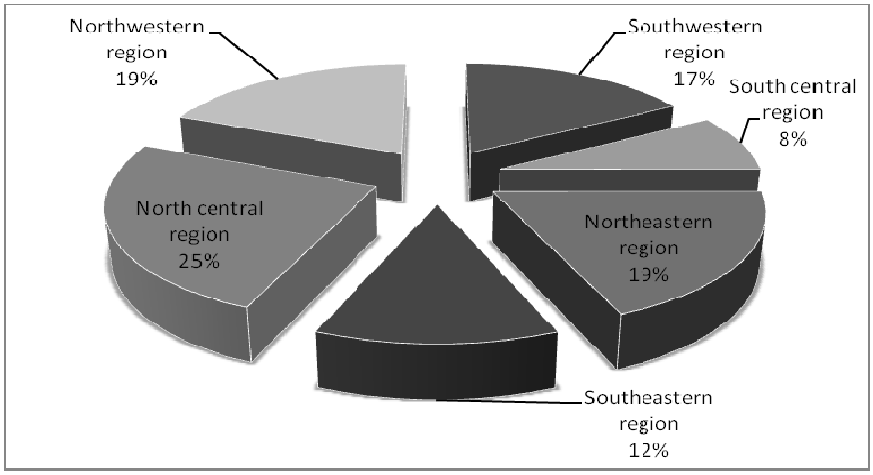
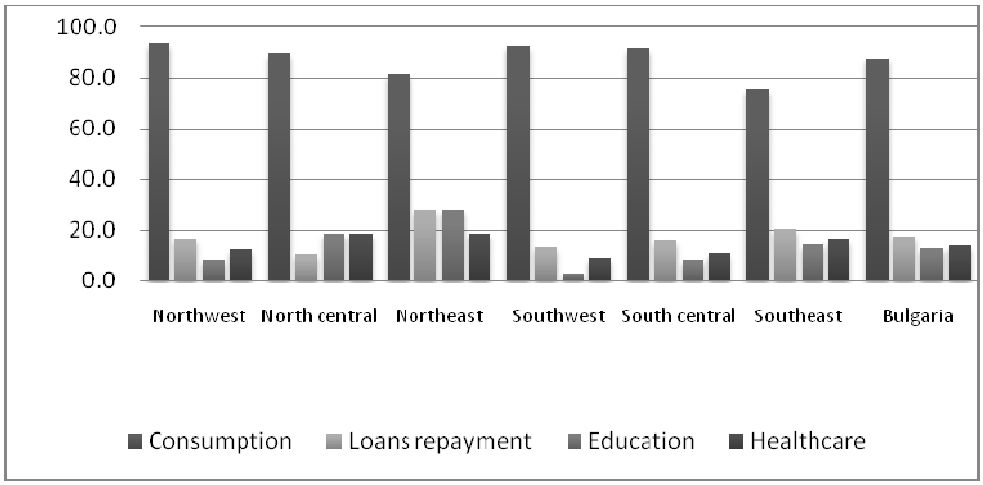


Figure 12

Utilization of remittances from abroad by NUTS 2 regions (%, 2013)



Without going into the popular debate (Rapoport and Docquier, 2005; Mintchev, 2009; Iskra Christova-Balkanska, 2010) about the so-called "altruistic" and/or "business" use of the remittances, we find that, in practice, they are not utilized for entrepreneurial initiatives (a mere 6 respondents, out of 361, who have declared receiving remittances, have responded affirmatively to this question).

In the NUTS 2 regions that participate more intensively in the migration processes – NER (ranking 3) and SER (ranking 4), which are characterized by the highest coefficients of potential migration and the largest shares of return migrants, the remittances are, to the smallest extend, utilized for the purposes of consumption (in comparison to the other NUTS 2 regions) – 81.5 and 75.5%, respectively. In the underdeveloped NWR the share of remittances used for consumption reaches 94%.

The remittances are most commonly used to pay loans in NER and SER – 27 and 21% respectively, while they are most seldom used for that purpose in NCR – around 10%, given a 18% country average. The transfers from abroad are frequently used for education and healthcare in NER, but also in NCR. On the other hand, in the most developed region (SWR) slightly less than 3% of them are used for education and 9% – for healthcare, while the average levels for the country are 13-14%.

3.4. Disparities in the socio-economic development of the districts in Bulgaria

Another aspect of the correlation between the potential external migration and the socio-economic development at the regional level can be identified on the basis of the typology of the districts. The difference lies in the fact that the analysed regions and the groups of districts are formed on a different principle. The regions are geographical units formed on an administrative-territorial principle of linking of districts, which neighbour in territory, but have differing levels of development.

The typology of the districts into four groups is based on the obtained integral scores of their socio-economic development. In this sense it can be said that the groups of regions (clusters) are more homogeneous, regardless of their location.

The integral scores for socio-economic development of the 28 districts (NUTS 3) and their grouping[22] are presented in Table 8.

According to their level of socio-economic development, four groups can be differentiated:

The first group includes four districts with scores, higher than the country average. These are the districts with the highest level of socio-economic development in 2011. One district from each of the following four regions falls in this group: SWR, NER, SER and SCR. Sofia (capital) assumes the first place as it concentrates a significant part of the economic potential of the country, including companies, population and labour resources; the score of

[22] Grouping of districts is done using the software product *Arc Gis* by the method of Jenks based on their assessments of the level of socio-economic development. Jenks method makes it possible to form the uneven classes (natural groups) and to examine the proximity (uniformity) of units in groups.

this district is closest to the territorial unit benchmark and is significantly different from the scores of the other districts.

Table 8

Ranking and grouping of the districts according to their level of socio-economic development (2011)

Ranking	District	Region	Score
	Group I:		
1	Sofia (Capital)	SWR	0.5332
2	Varna	NER	0.6279
3	Stara Zagora	SER	0.6438
4	Plovdiv	SCR	0.6785
	Group II:		
5	Vratsa	NWR	0.7467
6	Gabrovo	NCR	0.7593
7	Ruse	NCR	0.7618
8	Sofia	SWR	0.7625
9	Burgas	SER	0.7775
10	Veliko Turnovo	NCR	0.7909
11	Pleven	NWR	0.8014
	Group III:		
12	Blagoevgrad	SWR	0.8182
13	Dobrich	NER	0.8398
14	Shumen	NER	0.8419
15	Smolyan	SCR	0.8446
16	Kurdjali	SCR	0.8447
17	Pazardjik	SCR	0.8458
18	Sliven	SER	0.8464
19	Kustendil	SWR	0.8465
20	Yambol	SER	0.8499
21	Turgovishte	NER	0.8519
22	Haskovo	SCR	0.8578
23	Lovech	NWR	0.8587
24	Pernik	SWR	0.8856
	Group IV:		
25	Razgrad	NCR	0.9026
26	Montana	NWR	0.9092
27	Silistra	NCR	0.9549
28	Vidin	NWR	0.9747
	Bulgaria		0.6543

The second group includes seven districts with comparatively high levels of socio-economic development. One district from SWR, two from NWR, three from NCR and one from SER fall within this group.

Two districts from the most underdeveloped region in the country – NWR, fall within this second group. This peculiarity can be explained by the fact that (a) the regions are territorial units of differing sizes and hence with different values of the analysed indicator,

which in turn form a different "benchmark"; (b) the more favourable values of the analysed indicators, registered by the leading districts in NWR – Vratsa and Pleven, are neutralized by the extremely unfavourable values of the same indicators of the other districts in this region, such as Vidin and Montana; (c) NPP "Kozloduy" is situated in Vratsa district, which currently neutralizes the poor state of a series of other municipalities in the district (for example, Borovan, Krivodol, Roman, Hayredin).

Burgas district also falls in this group; one of the most dynamically developing municipalities (Burgas) is situated therein as well as a number of Black Sea municipalities, which rely on tourism as a structure-determining sector; however, a few underdeveloped municipalities also fall therein, such as M. Turnovo, Ruen, Sredets.

The third group – the group of the districts, which lag behind in their development, is most numerous. 13 of the 28 districts in country fall into this group. The smallest number of districts in this group (only two) is from SWR, while the largest number of districts is from SCR.

The fourth group is comprised of districts, whose level of socio-economic development can conditionally be characterized as "critical". The scores of the districts, which fall into this group, are not only significantly lower than the country average, but are also quite far removed from the scores of the districts from the preceding group. During the last 15-20 years Montana and Vidin (from NWR), Razgrad and Silistra (from NCR) are invariably amongst the territorial units, which are strongly affected by negative processes of depopulation and aging of the population; they are characterized by an inefficient structure of the local economy, few competitive enterprises, low levels of income, high levels of unemployment and poverty.

3.5. Potential migration of the population by types of districts

The intensity of potential migration (measured via the PMC) of the population of the districts, which have high (group I) and comparatively high (group II) scores is approximately equal – around 17% (see Table 9). The PMC of these two groups of districts is lower in comparison to the average value of the indicator for the country. It should, however, be taken into consideration that the first group consists of the four most highly developed districts, which have the largest Bulgarian cities as administrative centres. Large district centres as well as large industrial or tourist facilities also falls within the districts from the second group. That is why, on the one hand, the developed production and social structure therein limits the migration intentions, while, on the other hand, and a larger share of the population living in those districts is young and educated and also more mobile. Those factors explain the identified level of potential migration amongst the population of these types of districts.

In the third group, which includes the largest number of districts, identified as lagging behind, the intensity of potential migration is highest. In these districts an average of 22% of the population has potential migration intentions. The population of these districts has a comparatively sound age and educational structure, but apparently the local labour market does not meet the requirements of the labour force.

Table 9

Intensity of potential migration by groups of districts (2013)

Groups of districts	PMC (%)
Group I	17.2
Group II	16.8
Group III	21.5
Group IV	14.5
Bulgaria	18.3

The districts, which fall within the last group, face serious difficulties in their economic development; the demographic situation therein is very unfavourable. They are characterized by rapid aging of the population, resulting, amongst other factors, from previous internal and external migration processes. The critical economic condition can be expected to act as a push factor. The low value of the potential migration coefficient (14.5%) in these districts reflects their nowadays limited demographic potential.

More significant intentions for short-term emigration are registered amongst the surveyed population from the first and third group of districts – above 7%. For the other two groups the value of this indicator is slightly below 5%.

Men predominated in the structure of potential migrants. In the second and third group of districts their relative share is 60%. In the first group the share of men is 56%. In contrast, in the fourth group the share of men is smaller in comparison to that of women – men comprise 49%, while women – 51%.

The persons with higher education comprise large share in the potential migration flow, which is to be recruited from the first group of districts. Their relative share is 29%. In the next two groups of districts the persons with such a level of education comprise around 22%. This proportion is very small amongst migrants from the last group – slightly less than 3%. In the first, third and fourth groups of districts, the potential migrants with secondary level of education range between 60 and 63%. This share is lower amongst the migrants from the second group – 53%. The rest of the potential migrants have elementary or lower education.

3.6. Return migrants and remittances by districts

The share of return migrants is highest in the underdeveloped (Group IV) districts and in the districts with a low level of development (Group III); there it amounts to nearly 17% and 15%, respectively, while the country average is 13%. The analysed share is lowest in the group of the districts with medium level of development (Group II, which encompasses districts such as Burgas (SER), Ruse and Veliko Tarnovo (NCR), Vratsa (NWR), where NPP "Kozloduy" is located, etc.). From the standpoint of the categorization "staying" – "leaving again" two "extreme" points can be identified – that of the developed districts (Group I – namely, Sofia – capital (SWR), Varna (NER), Stara Zagora (SER) and Plovdiv (SCR)) and of the underdeveloped districts (Group IV – Vidin and Montana (NWR) and Silistra and Razgrad (NCR)).

Table 10

Return migrants (% of the population by groups of districts) – 2013

Groups of districts	Return migrants	From them	
		Staying	Leaving again
Group I	12.9	25.0	75.0
Group II	8.3	35.1	64.9
Group III	15.0	28.6	71.4
Group IV	16.9	46.5	53.5
Bulgaria	12.8	29.7	70.3

In the first group, only one in four persons, who have lived abroad, would stay permanently; this percentage is significantly higher in the districts from the fourth group, where nearly half of the respondents (46.5%) would not emigrate again.

The largest share of remittances from abroad are transferred to the districts with lower levels of development (Group III, wherein, as mentioned above, falls the greatest number of districts – 13, amongst which are Blagoevgrad (SWR), Dobrich (NER), Shumen (NER), etc.). The assessments made on the basis of the cited study indicate that nearly 48% of the remittances are transferred to this group of districts (see Figure 14). Furthermore, in terms of indicators, such as share of households and mobile population per 100 households, these districts fall behind the leading group of districts (in the first case) and behind underdeveloped districts from Group IV (in the second case) (see Figure 13). It can be estimated that 330 million out of the EUR 690 million, which are being transferred to the country on average per annum, are received by the 13 districts with somewhat low levels of development. Apparently, these transfers compensate for the shortage of resources therein; on the other hand, however, it can be anticipated that the dependence of the population of these districts on incomes from abroad will increase.

Figure 13

Relative share of remittances, households (%) and mobile population per 100 households by groups of districts (number) – 2013

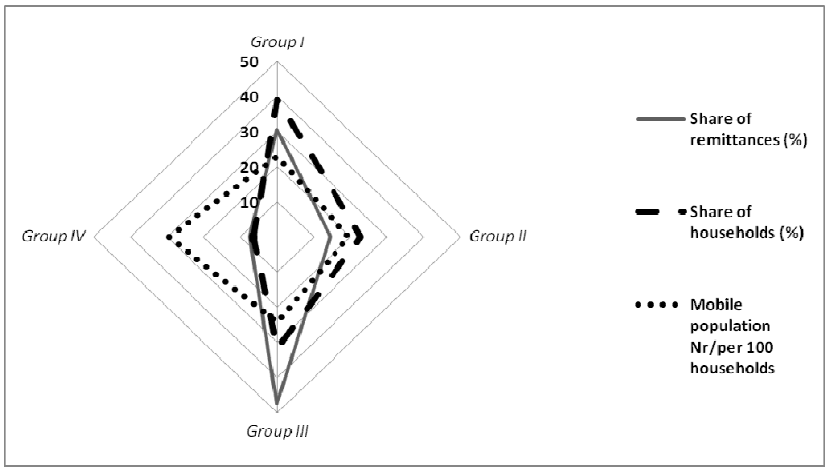
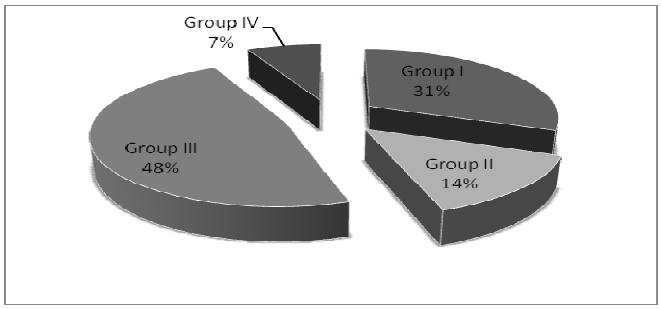


Figure 14

Remittances by groups of districts (% of total, 2013)

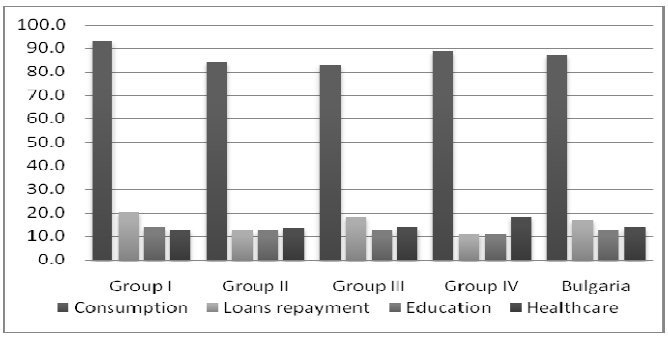


The dependence on income from abroad seems to be lowest for the group of districts with medium level of development (Group II) – the share of households in these districts reaches 23% of all Bulgarian households, while the share of transfers received from abroad does not exceed 15%. The less mobile population (*persons, who have lived abroad for more than 1 month during the last 5 years*) is typical for this group – 19 mobile persons per 100 households. Regarding the value of this indicator, the situation in the group of underdeveloped districts (Group IV) is contrasting. There nearly 30 persons per 100 households have previous migratory experience.

Despite the conditionality of such assessments, it can be concluded that there are disparities between the individual groups of districts with the regard to the transfer behaviour of their residents. The persons from the underdeveloped districts (Group IV) have sent more than 1/2 of what they earned abroad to their families and relatives back home, while the residents of the districts with medium level of development (Group II) have send 38%. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that the residents of the districts with low level of development (Group III) have sent more than EUR 4500 (on average, per annum and per person) to their families and relatives, which is considerably more in comparison to the residents of the other districts.

Figure 15

Utilization of remittances by groups of districts (%, 2013)



Results are quite diverse concerning the utilization of remittances by groups of districts. The remittances are most commonly used for the purposes of consumption in the developed (Group I) and the underdeveloped (Group IV) districts. Money are frequently used for payment of loans again in the developed districts (20% of the cases) but also in the ones with lower levels of development (Group III, 18%), given a country average of 17%. The share of remittances used for educational purposes is almost the same everywhere in the country districts. In contrast, the utilization of remittances for healthcare purposes occurs significantly more often in the underdeveloped districts (Group IV) than anywhere else (in more than 18% of the cases, given a country average of 13%).

Summary

The analysis of the interdependence between the level of development of the regions (NUTS 2) and districts (NUTS 3), on one hand, and the intensity of potential and actual migration (assessed on the basis of the number of return migrants) – as well as the regional specificity of remittances transferred from abroad – on the other hand, confirms the expectations that the regions with medium and low level of development participate most actively in (and respectively depend to the largest extend on) the migration processes. However, the situation is quite ambiguous. The analysis of these relations at the level of NUTS 2 regions and the districts ranked according to their integral scores (accounting for a wide range of indicators) highlights diverse, sometimes even contradictory, aspects of the phenomenon.

The regions with medium level of development – NER and SER (ranking 3 and 4) are characterized by the highest intensity of potential and actual migration – 25 and 18%, respectively for the first region, and 15% for the second region. On the contrary, the underdeveloped NWR (ranking 6) and the highly developed SWR (ranking 1) register the lowest values of these indicators – 14 and 11% for NWR and 13 and 9.4% for SWR. At the district level the situation is much more diverse. The 13 districts with low level of development (Group III) jointly register the highest potential migration coefficient (21.5%) while the lowest one is estimated for the underdeveloped districts from Group IV (14.5%). The intensity of actual migration is once again highest in these two groups of districts, but the order is reversed as follows: 17% for the fourth group and 15% for the third group.

Furthermore, it can be anticipated that there will be a significant decrease in the young population of NUTS 2 regions SER and NWR (48 and 46% of the potential migrants from these regions are below the age of 29) as well as an outflow of persons with higher education, mainly from SER and from SWR (37 and 28% of those willing to emigrate from these regions have higher education). Similarly, at the district level the outflow (loss) of educated persons can be expected to be most significant in the group of the developed districts (Group I).

The largest share of remittances from abroad are transferred to SCR (ranking 2) followed by NER (ranking 3) and SER (ranking 4) – a total of 63% of the remittances from abroad are transferred to these regions. They are most commonly used for the purposes of consumption, particularly in the NWR (94%) which is characterized by a very low overall

level of development. The analysis of remittances regarding groups of districts indicates that the largest share of transfers enters the 13 districts with relatively low level of development (Group 3, with 48% of all remittances). In the four underdeveloped districts (Group 4) these resources are more frequently used for healthcare purposes than the usual for the country. All of these results suggest a need for a special focus of Bulgarian migration policies at the regional level taking into account the disparities evaluated in this respect.

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ИНСТИТУТ ЗА ИКОНОМИЧЕСКИ ИЗСЛЕДВАНИЯ НА БЪЛГАРСКАТА АКАДЕМИЯ НА НАУКИТЕ
ИКОНОМИЧЕСКИ ИЗСЛЕДВАНИЯ
ECONOMIC STUDIES

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BUS OR PLANE? PROFILES OF BULGARIAN TRAVELLERS TO SWITZERLAND

The paper compares the profiles of Bulgarian migrants travelling to Switzerland by two different means of transport – airway and bus. It provides evidence in respect of the question "Which are the socio-demographic factors that differentiate the subsample of the airway travellers from the bus passengers?". The study shows how observations allocated to different social strata, approached by altered sampling methods, raise diverse assumptions about important migration issues such as employment, education and networking models. In terms of occupation shifts, results from a survey of Bulgarians residing in Switzerland shows an overall pattern of diminishing level of required qualification when moving from Bulgaria to Switzerland.
JEL: F22; R49; Z13

1. Introduction

The paper compares migrants from Bulgaria to Switzerland using two different ways of transport – airway and bus. The assumption behind the idea to compare two different transportation means is that bus transport is used by lower income migrants while middle and higher income passengers use airways. Combining these two ways of transportation[2] allows applying a comprehensive sampling, covering a wide-ranging continuum of migrants from various social strata.

The method comprised data collection through face to face interviews with passengers at the Sofia Airport and the International Bus Station in Sofia. The sampling procedure suggested exhaustive random selection of all travellers of a particular flight/trip. The passengers were interviewed 30 minutes before the trip at the bus station and, respectively, in the airport gate halls behind border control. The standardized questionnaire involved a quick pre-selection of respondents, which filtered out the non-migrant travellers from actual

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[2] The distance from Bulgaria to Switzerland is about 1700 km, which normally by bus would take not less than 20 hours. There are several bus lines from Sofia, Plovdiv and Varna to Switzerland per week. Alternatively there are various air lines from Sofia to Zurich, Bern, Geneva and Lugano each week. The average cost of a bus thicket is twice lower compared to an airway ticket.

migrants. Therefore, the interview was terminated if the purpose of the travel was holiday, private trip (guest visit, family visit, medical treatment, etc), business trip or trip connecting with other countries. Otherwise, travellers were considered migrants when the main reason of the travel was education, seasonal/temporary work, permanent work or migration to Switzerland.[3]

There were collected 176 interviews from migrants at the Sofia bus station and respectively 457 interviews at the Sofia Airport. The time schedule of the data collection was designed to interact insignificantly with the random sampling. There were not taken interviews during holiday peak travels such as Christmas, Easter or July/August holiday period. The collected data was processed with SPSS.

This survey supplements the data and the interpretations from two previous surveys carried out under the project "Migration and Transnationalism between Switzerland and Bulgaria: assessing social inequalities and regional disparities in the context of changing policies" and published in the book (Richter et al, 2017). The two previous surveys were based on samples of 1) Bulgarian potential and return migrants, surveyed in Bulgaria (later Potential and return migrant survey) and respectively Bulgarian migrants resident in Switzerland and studied there via a post survey (Later Swiss post survey). The need for another survey stemmed out from the circumstance that these surveys captured either a very low strata comprising mainly unqualified workers or a very high strata of resident and formally established migrants in Switzerland who have agreed to respond to a University questionnaire sent by post to a formal address, available in the Swiss Governmental institutions. These two surveys did not provide data from migrants who were set less formally in Switzerland and that could not be accessed back in Bulgaria as return migrants.

Therefore, there is a methodological objective of this paper, besides complementing previous finding – to explore how different sampling and registration methods address various social strata. The study shows how observations based on different social strata, represented by altered sampling methods, raise respectively diverse assumptions about important migration issues such as employment, education and networking models.

2. Socio-Demographic Determinants of Bus and Airport Travels

The travellers addressed in this survey do not comprise a homogeneous social stratum either. Which are the socio-demographic factors that differentiate the subsample of the airway travellers from the bus passengers? Naturally this is first of all, income. Taking into account the big difference in travel costs it was expected to find that almost all of the migrants (91.7%) that belong to the highest income group (getting over 4500 CHF monthly) travel by air, compared to only 31.5% of the travellers comprising the lowest income group of migrants (up to CHF 3000 month). Alternatively, the number of bus passengers decrease with the increase of income levels.

[3] The data at the Sofia bus station was collected by interviewers of the Agency for Socio-Economic Analyses, while at the Airport the interviewers were from the National Statistical Institute (NSI), which has access to interview behind border.

Other social determinants are again associated with job specifics and respectively income levels. Education level, for example is another factor for choosing airway or bus transport. The number of airway passengers is increasing with the completed education degree, reaching 61.8% among university graduates, while bus travellers on the contrary, increase among the lowest education groups, reaching 73.5% among the lowest cohort of those, holding no education degree or holding diploma below secondary education.

In terms of age distributions there are smaller differences, indicating however a bit older age of the Airway passengers (37.5 years average age) compared to bus travellers (34.3 years average age).

Interestingly, the distribution by sex shows that 69.3% of women travel by air compared to 32.2% of men. Alternatively men prevail (67.8%) at the bus station compared to women (30.7%). This could be related to gender factors, such as the demand for higher security, typical for female travelling habits, although a number of studies show that air business travel is gender independent (Ciobanu et al, 2016).

The size of the settlement where migrants come from is another factor that is associated with income and education and therefore influences the way of travel. Migrants coming from smaller settlements (89.5%) and particularly villages (100%) travel to Switzerland mainly by bus while the number of airway passengers increase with the size of the settlements reaching about 51 % in Sofia and bigger cities. These differences complement previous observations that inequality resulting from regional disparities is replicated in migration, being reflected here in the way of transportation to the destination country (Mihailov and Nollert, 2017, pp. 61-90).

In terms of ethnic affiliation the data confirms earlier observations that bus travels are typical for the lower social strata – 52.6% of the Bulgarians travel by air, compared to 35% of the Roma. Alternatively 100% of the Turks travel by bus. This data shows how social contrasts, associated with ethnicity are reflected in the migration patterns, and particularly in the way of travel.

How these socio-demographic peculiarities differ from the observations revealed in previous surveys, e.g. carried out on Bulgarian migrants in Switzerland, and on potential and return migrants in Bulgaria? On the whole, the bus travellers prove to belong to a social stratum, which is similar to the one of the return migrants, while the socioeconomic profile of the airway travellers almost coincides with the *resident* migrants, who were interviewed in the post survey in Switzerland. The comparisons of key socio-economic variables, derived from 3 different surveys are particularly informative. The number of respondents, holding up to secondary education is similar among the bus passengers sample (16.3%) and the migrants survey sample carried out back in Bulgaria (12.2% among returnees and 11.7% among circular migrants). This relatively high share of low education is falling down to 5.6% among airway passengers sample and only 4.5% among migrants identified at their formal addresses in Switzerland. The income differences by the various samples are similar. Answering to a self-assessing question about financial well-being 28.8% of the return migrants respondents and 26.1% of the bus travellers consider their financial status *worse* than most people in Bulgaria, compared to only 2.5% of the migrants surveyed at the airport.

Another key variable is ethnic affiliation. In terms of sample structures, 4% of the returnees and 5.7% of the circular migrants interviewed in Bulgaria are Roma, which is a bit lower than the 8.5% of Roma interviewed at the Sofia bus station but much higher than the 0.4% Roma in the Swiss sample of Bulgarian migrants, where Roma are almost missing.

On the whole, key socio-economic and demographic parameters such as income, education and ethnicity are associated with the way migrants travel. The data indicates that bus transport is typical for lower strata migrants, holding lower education and incomes, coming from smaller settlements and affiliated with ethnic communities while the opposite higher social groups fly by air. In this way, the social inequality, originating from the sending country begins to split migrants into at least two contrasting groups at the very exit of the country. Inequality classifies migrants as bus or airway travellers according their incomes, place of origin, education and ethnic affiliation.

3. Determinants of Economic Activity and Employment

3.1. Employment factors

Previous research shows (Richter et al, 2017; Mintchev et al, 2012) that there are significant shifts in employment status once Bulgarian migrants settle down in the destination country. Mihailov and Nollert (2017) have shown that migration is generally typical for evading the unemployment in Bulgaria. At the same time the acquired occupation in the new country requires normally lower competencies and qualifications than the last job back in Bulgaria. This section addresses the issues how previous economic activity back in Bulgaria facilitates these employment shifts.

There are in total 79.2% of the sample reporting a working status in Switzerland, compared to 11.5% studying, 2.9% taking care for families, only 3.8% unemployed and respectively 2.6% pensioners.

Table 1

Social status of Bulgarians in Switzerland in 2013 (%)

Social status in Switzerland	Sofia Airport	Sofia International Bus Station	Total
Working in Switzerland	72.0	86.8	79.2
Studying	11.8	11.3	11.5
Taking care for families	5.0	0.7	2.9
Unemployed	6.8	0.7	3.8
Pensioners	4.3	0.7	2.6

The number of 79.2% workers is a bit bigger than the number of current workers, identified at their formal addresses in Switzerland (72.9%) and much bigger than the number of circular respondents identified as working in Bulgaria (64.8%).

Table 2

Social status of return, circular and non-mobile population in Bulgaria in 2013(%)

BG Survey	Returnees	Circular/repeat	Non-mobile
Employed – private	43.2	30.4	32.9
Employed – public	6.1	4.6	17.6
Own business	6.8	2.9	5.4
Self-employed	2.7	3.2	1.9
Agricultural producer	0.7	1.1	0.8

What can be the driving factors, the previous activity, which facilitates these almost 80% to look for, and find a job in Switzerland? There could be mainly two scenarios here. One possibility is that previous working experience in Bulgaria enables an easier way for finding a job abroad. In terms of the *pull and push* theory (Lee, 1966) this looks more as a *pull* situation, in which the employer abroad is attracted by the capabilities of the migrant, including the low cost of these capabilities. Alternatively, another, *push* explanation, could stem from unemployment and the generally unfavourable situation in Bulgaria, which *drives out* the migrant in searching employment and better living abroad. The data in Table 3 verifies both explanations with comparatively higher weight of the *push* hypothesis, e.g., the reasoning considering previous unemployment as a stronger factor for finding a job abroad.

97.6% of the migrants who have been unemployed in Bulgaria have found a job and already work in Switzerland when they have been interviewed (at the airport or the bus station). Similarly 90.6% of the migrants that have been working in Bulgaria now work in Switzerland. It is interesting that *being a student* as a previous activity is the lowest factor of finding a job after *being a pensioner* – only 32.1% of the previous students start working, while most of them (64.2%) continue studying there. Alternatively, taking care for relatives/family (40%) is the third factor after *previous unemployment* and *previous work* – this is probably the case of migrants who have initially have been taking care of relatives in Switzerland and consequently have found a job.

Table 3

Previous economic activity in Bulgaria by current economic activity in Switzerland (%)

	What was your main activity in Bulgaria before settling down in Switzerland?				
What is your current main activity in Switzerland?	Work	Education	Taking care for relatives/family	Unemployed	Pensioner
Work	90.6	32.1	40.0	97.6	14.3
Education	1.0	64.2	-	-	-
Taking care for relatives/ family	2.5	1.9	60.0		
Unemployed	4.5	1.9	-	2.4	14.3
Pensioner	1.5	-	-	-	71.4

We checked if the weight of these factors varies by income and education, but the samples are not big enough to make clear conclusions. Anyway, there are indications that the factor

previous employment is stronger among migrants of higher incomes (work – work, 94.6% for incomes above CHF 4,500) than for migrants of lowest incomes (88.9%, up to CHF 3,500). Alternatively, the push factor of unemployment is stronger for migrants of lower education (100% for secondary and lower education), while the pull factor of being previously employed facilitates better the university graduates (88.1%).

What other previous experience can influence the process of looking and finding a job? Such factor is the previous wellbeing, e.g. the financial status back in Bulgaria. The number of workers increase with the income that have been received back in Bulgaria starting from 69% for the lowest income group (up to BGN 400) and reaching 93.2% for the migrants getting above BGN 650. But this is not the high strata migrant – the current workers increase among the lower education graduates, reaching 90.6% for migrants without any education degree and falling down to 75.8% for university graduates. This is confirmed by the number of workers, falling down among the group of migrants coming from Sofia (74.2%), compared to small town (96.4%) and village (100%) dwellers. The comparatively low socio-economic profile of the working status is generally confirmed by the sample distribution – the bus passengers, revealed in the previous section as representing a lower stratum prove higher working status (86.8%), compared to the airport passengers (72.0%).

In terms of demography the data verifies finding in previous research (Mihailov and Nollert, 2017) proving that working migrants who have arrived after 2007, e.g. after the gradual opening of the EU labour market for Bulgarians are more in number (81.5%) than the migrants that have arrived before 2007 (68.4%).

The data on age, another demographic factor, shows an increasing number of workers among the middle age group (93.1%, 31-38 years), compared to the younger and older age groups. In terms of gender, male migrants who have started work in Switzerland are more (83.4%) than female (75.2%).

Generally the data confirms previous unemployment and previous employment as almost equally important respectively push and pull factors of being employed abroad. The overall impressions from the various socio-economic and demographic factors is that the profile of a successful work migrant is a middle age man of comparatively lower education, but not desperate in terms of incomes, coming from smaller towns and villages.

3.2. Unemployment factors

This section addresses the socio-demographic determinants of unemployment of Bulgarian migrants in Switzerland. Comparisons with other surveys shows that the number of unemployed respondents, identified in Bulgaria is respectively 25% among returnees, 46.7% among circular migrants and 17.1% for non-mobile population (Mintchev et al, 2017). The unemployed migrants interviewed at the bus stations are only 0.7 and 6.8% at the Airport or 3.8% for the entire Airway/Bus survey.[4] Similarly low is the number of

[4] The cross-tabulations on this subsample shall be regarded as indicative due to the small number of unemployment cases – 3.8% represent 12 respondents.

unemployment identified in the Swiss sample, e.g. among settled migrants, identified at their formal and accessible addresses in Switzerland.

These differences in the various samples bring additional light on previous observations about the high unemployment rates among return migrants, including those that could be considered circular, but are based (and interviewed) at their Bulgarian addresses. The comparisons with other samples suggest that the unemployment status can be quickly changed when/if new working opportunities appear and migrants are respectively interviewed during their travel. One is for sure – very few Bulgarian migrants are unemployed when they stay (are interviewed) in Switzerland. The unemployment issue is relevant for the situation before leaving the country and when migrants are back in Bulgaria. As discussed in previous publications, this may burden the social system of the sending, and not the receiving country (Mihailov and Nollert, 2017).

Anyway, even for a small number of cases, what are the determinants of being unemployed as a migrant in Switzerland? First of all, this is not the previous unemployment status in Bulgaria – as shown in Table 3 above only 2.4% of the migrants who have been unemployed in Bulgaria are respectively unemployed in Switzerland, compared to 4.5% who have been previously working and are currently unemployed in Switzerland. As already discussed, previous unemployment is rather a push trigger to look for working opportunities abroad rather than a motivation to retain the unemployment status abroad for eventual benefits.

There are, however some indicative socio-economic factors for migrant's unemployment in Switzerland. This is mainly the longer duration of stay – unemployed are 8.8% of the *older* migrants who have arrived in Switzerland before 2007 compared to only 2.8% of the new comers who have entered Switzerland after the Bulgaria's accession to the EU in 2007. Another factor, somehow related to the duration of stay is the previous residence of the migrant. The highest percentage of unemployed is among the migrants who have come to Switzerland from other countries – 33.3%, compared to 4.8% – from Switzerland. The size of the sub-sample here, however, is too small to make solid conclusions. Otherwise, the observation that unemployed migrants are more among the community *staying longer* in Switzerland (4.8%) than *staying in Bulgaria* (1%) verifies that this is rather an issue of the receiving labour market.

Therefore if any problem at all, migrants' unemployment in the receiving country is rather an internal issue for the Swiss labour market as far as it is typical for the settled (old) migrants. Taking into account that the official unemployment in Switzerland is much lower than 8.8% this could be an indicator of some form of work discrimination or inequality in accessing the labour market. Previous research shows that such discriminating practices do exist though they are rather related to the lower capabilities of the migrants compared to the local workers, e.g. mainly language proficiency rather than associated with ethnic or national discrimination (Mihailov and Nollert, 2017; Zareva, 2017).

In terms of capability factors the few unemployed represent rather higher social segments, indicating that unemployment is typical for university graduates – 5.1%, compared to 2.4% of migrants with secondary education and 3.1% of no education. This is confirmed by the fact that unemployed are rather identified at the Airport sub-sample than among the bus

station sample, while the latter is typical for lower social strata. Apropos, this is an interesting detail regarding travelling preferences – some of the university graduates obviously continue to travel by air, though they are currently unemployed. In terms of incomes the interviewed unemployed get up to CHF 3000.

In terms of demography the few unemployed are identified mainly among female respondents – 6.2% compared to male (1.3%). There are no significant variations in terms of age. In terms of ethnic affiliation there are similarly no big differences – 3.9% of the Bulgarians are unemployed compared to slightly higher rate of 5.6% among the Roma.

On the whole the unemployment status is very limited among Bulgarian migrants travelling to Switzerland. There are only 3.8% unemployed migrants, identified in the Air/Bus survey. Most of them are university graduates, mainly women, who have come to Switzerland before 2007 and are already well settled there.

3.3. Determinants of shifts in economic activities and professional positions

Previous research, and particularly the surveys carried out on settled migrants in Switzerland shows that their occupational competence and professional positions, derived from the Swiss survey data is comparatively high, comprising mainly middle-level occupations, such as professionals, service and sales workers, technicians and associate professionals, while there are few migrants, occupied in economic activities, requiring basic qualifications such as elementary jobs and agriculture. In terms of occupation shifts the Swiss survey shows an overall trend of a decreasing level of required qualification when moving from Bulgaria to Switzerland (Mihailov and Nollert, 2017).

This survey data collected at the Airport and the bus stations survey verifies the observation of a downgrading shift when migrating from Bulgaria to Switzerland.

As Table 4 shows the number of migrants occupied in economic sectors, requiring low level of competencies such as construction, agriculture and particularly Household/family activities increases. Alternatively employment in high competence sectors such as health and particularly education dramatically decreases. Additional cross-tabulations show some particularly salient shifts, showing that 28.6% of the migrants that have been previously employed in the educational sector and 20.6% of the previous medical workers now work as caretakers, helpers or gardeners in Switzerland.

Similar are the observations at the level of professions, applying the classification of professions[5] of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy. Before migrating 11.1% of the respondents have worked as lawyers and specialists in social sciences and culture. Now in Switzerland they are 8.2%. Alternatively, 1.0% of the respondents have previously worked as cleaners and helpers while now in Switzerland they are already 4.1%.

[5] http://www.mlsp.government.bg/class1/store/listclass.asp.

Table 4

Employment sector in Bulgaria before the departure and in Switzerland (%)

Employment sector	Before in Bulgaria	Current in Switzerland
Agriculture, hunting and forestry	**0.6**	**3.8**
Processing industry	5.1	4.6
Construction	**12.9**	**16.3**
Trade, repair and technical service of automobiles and motor	10.1	4.6
Hotels and restaurants	**12.4**	**14.2**
Transport, storage and communications	5.1	3.3
Financial mediation	1.1	1.7
Real estate operations, renting and business services	0.6	0.8
Education	9.6	3.3
Human health and social work activities	20.2	13.0
Other activities servicing the society and the individual	20.8	20.9
Household/family activities (helper, caretaker, cook, garden	**1.7**	**13.4**

The data on medical workers only partially verifies the communicated in the media information about how dramatically migration is draining the nurses out from Bulgaria. There are in fact a significant number of migrants who have previously worked as nurses (8.6%). Anyway, they are only partially employed in Switzerland as nurses (5.3%). In fact, additional calculations on medical personnel shows that the missing 3 per cent points – about 20% of the previous nurses – now work as personal caretakers (Personnel providing care for people).

Additional calculations were made to categorize the positional shifts respectively as shifts to lower positions, shifts to similar positions and shifts to higher positions[6]. As Table 5 shows the majority of shifts (25.3%) are downgrading the professional qualification of the migrants, while only 1.3% move from Bulgaria to Switzerland to work at a higher position. The majority of the respondents actually report to retain their class of professional positions, though there are downgrading shifts inside the respective qualification class too.

What are the socio-economic determinants of the dominating downgrading shifts? Generally the downgrading shift is typical for the mid-lower social strata, e.g., the lower is the qualification of the migrant, the higher is the probability that migration will additionally downgrade the professional position to a lower qualification class. This is seen first of all from the distribution in the bus and airport subsamples – the downgrading shifts dominate among the lower strata subsample of migrants, interviewed at the bus station (38.8%), compared to only 8.9% at the airport. Similarly the downgrading shifts increase among

[6] The categorization was made on the basis of the official (MLSP) classifications of positions in Bulgaria, which classifies 28 professional positions in 9 categories or classes, starting from highest managerial positions and ending with the lowest class of positions "requiring no special qualifications". The shifts up and down along these 9 classes were applied in formulating the three types of shifts. There were taken into account cases, in which there were reported positions both before and after migrations. Other cases were regarded as "missing".

lower income groups reaching 27.3% among the lowest income group getting up to CHF 3000 per month.

But this is not the lowest, desperate social strata. Downgrading is typical for migrants that self-evaluate their financial status as average compared to other people in Bulgaria (33% compared to 25% – worse). This tendency is verified by the distribution of education degrees, showing that downgrading is more typical for migrants of secondary education (36.8%), compared to university education (20%). However this is not valid for the group of lowest education – obviously there is nowhere to downgrade more, if you are having up to secondary education. Migrants of this lowest educational group just sustain their lowest qualification status.

In terms of other variables such as duration of stay – downgrading is more typical for the "new" wave of migrants (28.7% after 2007), verifying observations from previous surveys that low-qualification migrants increase during the last decade (Mihailov and Nollert, 2017). Understandably this is also typical for the less settled migrants who are predominantly based in Bulgaria (36%) compare to the settled ones, who have lived longer in Switzerland during the last 12 months (17.8%). There are no salient variations by age and gender, indicating however some higher level of downgrading shifts among middle age migrants and men.

Table 5

Professional shifts of Bulgarians in Switzerland by ethnic affiliation and by education groups (%)

Professional Shifts	Ethnic groups			Education groups			Total
	Bulgarian	Turkish	Roma	Without education or up to secondary	Secondary	University	
Lower position	27.7	50.0	7.7	17.6	36.8	20.0	25.3
Similar position	68.2	50.0	92.3	82.4	60.3	75.0	70.2
Higher position	4.1	-	-	-	2.9	5.0	4.5
Total	100,0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The distribution by ethnic identity verifies that downgrading is typical for the middle social strata, exemplified by middle and low income migrants, Turks (50%) and Bulgarians (27.7%) rather than the Roma who represent the most marginalized strata in Bulgaria, which obviously cannot be further downgraded when migrating to Switzerland.

This is to confirm previous observations that migration brings sound beneficial shifts particularly to the Roma, improving seriously their employment status, incomes and self-perceptions in general. This is underpinned by their undeveloped status in Bulgaria, which can be only upgraded when migrating abroad.

Alternatively upgrading of positions is typical for the highest educational and income groups that are expectedly interviewed at the airport instead at the bus station.

4. Conclusion

On the whole, the sample structures and the socio-demographic profiles of the various surveys on Bulgarian migrants to Switzerland indicate two main observations:

- Key socio-economic parameters such as income, education and ethnicity are associated with the way migrants travel. The data indicates that bus transport is typical for lower strata migrants, holding lower education and incomes, coming from smaller settlements and affiliated with ethnic communities while the opposite higher social groups fly by air. In this way, the social inequality, originating from the sending country begins to split migrants into at least two contrasting groups at the very exit of the country. Inequality classifies migrants as bus or airway travellers according their incomes, place of origin, education and ethnic affiliation.
- The data reminds about important methodological issues, and particularly about sampling methods. The data from the various surveys is associated with particular social strata, which means that the observations would have been incomplete, if they are restricted to migrants identified at their formal addresses in Switzerland (Swiss post survey) or only based on returnees in Bulgaria or administered only at the bus stations and the airport. The data suggests that the combination of a bus survey with a survey on the Airport provides a comparatively comprehensive coverage of both higher and lower social strata, particularly when there are no opportunities for extensive surveys in the destination country and in Bulgaria.

Generally the data confirms previous unemployment and previous employment as almost equally important respectively push and pull factors of being employed abroad. The overall impressions from the various socio-economic factors is that the profile of a successful work migrant is a middle age man of comparatively lower education, but not desperate in terms of incomes, coming from smaller towns and villages. In other words, migration is not for the poorest and the most desperate. Having a sufficient, if not a good income and some good working experience back in Bulgaria are among the strongest preconditions for a successful finding a job. It is either not the richest and the most educated that starts working abroad, but the middle social strata, which have accumulated some money and some working experience in practical professions to make the adaptation possible abroad.

In general the unemployment is limited among Bulgarian migrants travelling to Switzerland. There are only 3.8% unemployed migrants, identified in the Air/Bus survey. Most of them are university graduates, mainly women, who have come to Switzerland before 2007 and are already well settled there. Therefore there are no evidences that migrants and particularly the lower segment of unqualified migrants that has recently increased, travel to Switzerland with the motivation to get unemployment benefits. On the contrary there are indications that if any, the unemployment status is associated with the internal labour market as far it is typical for well settled migrants.

Finally downgrading of professional positions is typical for lower and middle social strata, distinguished by comparatively lower incomes and holding secondary education. This however is not the group of migrants holding no education at all, such as the Roma, whose low qualification and professional position can be only improved in Switzerland.

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ИКОНОМИЧЕСКИ ИЗСЛЕДВАНИЯ
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POTENTIAL AND RETURN MIGRANTS IN BULGARIA – DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS

The article suggests results from a study of external migration in Bulgaria as a sending country where the so called potential migrants and returnees from abroad are explored. The purpose of the paper is to outline the profile, attitudes and labour realization (expected – concerning the potential migrants, and factual of the returnees) in both groups. The comparison between them shows whether the migration experience of returnees relates to the attitudes and expectations of potential migrants. On the other hand, the monitoring of external migration attitudes of Bulgarian population allows the estimation of the country's migration potential and description of the employment and income status of return migrants during their stay abroad. Furthermore, the attitudes of Bulgarians towards the influx of foreign population into the country are duscussed on the basis of data from three consecutive sample surveys (2001, 2007, and 2011).
JEL: F22; J11; O15

Introduction

Migration is a complex, multi-dimensional phenomenon which persistently induces the interest of various disciplines. In this respect, the focus of this study are the demographic and socio-economic factors supporting the strong attitudes to international mobility and external migration in the country. The study does not assume any differentiation between the terms "mobility" and "migration". Of course, after the integration of Bulgaria in the EU out-migration from Bulgaria to the old EU member states is legally considered as "intra-community mobility"of EU citizens. Given the reasons that cause it – namely, differences in the standard of living, and because of the consequences for the country associated with an irreversible change in the structure of the population – here these two terms are seen as synonymous.

The study summarizes and analyzes empirical data on various categories of emigrants: potential and actual. The former are categorized as long-term and short-term migrants; the

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latter (i.e. the actual migrants) in this case include the category of so-called "temporary migrants". These in turn, can be differentiated into "return" and "circular" migrants.

The factors supporting strong attitudes to cross-border mobility of Bulgarian population are interpreted through the prism of migration and re-migration potential and profiles; job realization – expected and actual (by activity, sector of employment and occupied positions); income, expenses and remittance behavior; "self-organization" of Bulgarians during their stay abroad.

The information basis is one of the **main issues** of migration studies. There is a variety of sources providing information on external migration. One of them is based on sample surveys – using such a source it is relatively easy to obtain information on the attitudes towards emigration and on the assessment of the profile of people who would like to emigrate, as well as their main reasons to enter any migration processes. Surveys in the so-called "countries of origin" provide such an appropriate information. At the same time, this type of surveys can be used to monitor the so-called "return migrants" (Mintchev, Boshnakov, 2007). The assessment of their number, profile and their experience abroad (in terms of fulfillment and satisfaction) very often alters the notion of purely hypothetical migration attitudes persisting in the "countries of origin". Furthermore, surveys of return migrants provide an opportunity for alternative assessments of remittances and savings from abroad, complementing the information from the national balance of payments (Mintchev, Boshnakov, 2006).

Therefore, one of the objectives of this paper is to provide information, based on sample surveys conducted since 2007, on potential emigration from the country, on return migrants and their migration experience and remittance behavior.

1. Sociological Survey in Bulgaria (2011)

For the purposes of analysis of potential emigration from the country and for assessing the number, profile and attitudes of returnees, we use data from a nationally representative sample survey conducted in the framework of a project entitled *"Bulgarian diaspora in Western Europe: cross-border mobility, national identity and development"*. The target population covers Bulgarian residents in the age range 15-59 at April 2011, where the available statistical information on the population as of 2009 was used in planning the sample by regions.

The sample was planned and implemented based on a two-stage cluster design where the planned volume of 1200 respondents was distributed proportionally to the population of the 28 districts of the country.[2] The sample was planned to contain a total of 200 clusters with a fixed number of survey units of 6 respondents in each cluster. During the first stage, in each district clusters were selected randomly in the respective housing areas by implementing the technique of "sampling with probability proportional to size". At the second stage, the

[2] The fieldwork was performed in April 2011 by the Agency for Socioeconomic Analyses (A.S.A.). The survey team was coordinated by Dr. Dotcho Mihailov.

sampling of respondents was implemented by random selection of a starting survey address in each cluster in the sample. Households in which a respondent was to be selected, were identified by the method of random selection by visiting every third address (Table 1, 2 and 3 in Appendix).

In order to ensure the best possible degree of match between the demographic structure of the sample and that of the target population, a subsequent quota control was performed. Quotas by gender and age (five age subgroups for each of the 28 districts) were determined in proportion to the size of the population in each age group in the respective district. On this basis, individual respondents were identified after reconciliation with the quota by gender and age (in case of more than one person in the household that qualifies into the relevant age-gender group, the selection method of the "closest birthday" was applied; see Table 2 in Appendix).

The planned sampling error of the representative sample at national level amounted to 1.44 percentage points for estimating a relative share of 50%. This was epected to provides a high degree of validity of the sample estimates. Moreover, as a result of the applied control procedures the formed sample reproduces with very high accuracy the structure of the population by districts, gender and age. The resulting deviations of the sample shares of subsets differentiated by both gender and age do not exceed 1 percentage point.

Bigger differences are identified only in individual age groups within males and females – for example, in the highest age group (55-59 years) the proportion of the individuals in the sample exceeded this proportion in the population by 1.2 percentage points for females and by 1.6 percentage points for males (Table 3 in Appendix). These differences can be explained by the fact that the sampling design was implemented on the basis of data from 2009, and within the two years (2009-2011) some changes occurred in the gender and age structure of the population. These changes, together with the influence of random factors during the sampling, are the two main causes of deviations – but they can be considered as minor and cannot question the validity of the results from the conducted empirical survey.

The questionnaire includes 237 variables alolocated to 80 questions. It contains two main sections – the first one (Section A – Residing Abroad) aims in gathering information from the so-called "return migrants" (in this case, these are people who resided abroad for more than 3 months in the previous 5 years). We were interested in information about:

1) the way of departure;
2) job realization (activity, sector of employment and occupied position);
3) education (including information on students abroad; specialty; how do they support themselves during their studies, etc.);
4) income, expenses and remittances (distribution of respondents by income groups); this information is used for evaluating remittances of emigrants (as in this case no distinction is made between "remittances of emigrants" and "remuneration of the employees abroad" (Balkanska and Mintchev, 2012);
5) contacts with other Bulgarians;

6) attitudes of the local people and authorities;

7) political involvement.

In the second section (Section B – Potential Emigration) the *attitudes concerning a decision to emigrate* – forming the types of emigration – are recorded using an ordinally scaled question in the survey (with options: "emigration for good", "long-term (labour) migration", "short-term" and "educational"). The focus of the analysis hereafter is put mainly on:

1) preferred destinations;

2) ways of departure;

3) reasons to leave Bulgaria – in the context of Ravenstein laws (Grigg, 1997), subsequently transformed into the so-called "push" and "pull" migration factors;

4) expected activity abroad, including sector, job, etc.;

5) attitudes towards potential immigration flows to Bulgaria.

The information from this survey (fundamental for the analysis in this study) matches in large extent with the results from similar studies, e.g. those conducted in 2007 (Mintchev and Boshnakov, 2007), 2012 (Mintchev et al., 2012) and 2013.[3]

In this paper, based on the information from the sample surveys indicated above, we will consecutively look at the following important questions:

- the migration potential and preferred destinations;
- socio-demographic profile of potential expatriates and potential short-term migrants (gender, age, education, economic status);
- expected activities, sectors of employment and jobs of the potential migrants;
- "return" and "current" migrants (i.e. individuals residing abroad at the time of the study) – estimates about their number, length of stay, remittance behavior;
- diaspora organization and political involvement in the host countries;
- countries from which they return and reasons for returning;
- activities, jobs, and sectors of employment after returning to Bulgaria.

2. Migration Potential

Traditionally, migration potential from Bulgaria is evaluated by two key questions identically implemented by the above-mentioned questionnaire surveys. The first question

[3] The last survey was conducted under the project "Migration and transnationalism between Switzerland and Bulgaria" within the Bulgarian-Swiss Research Program 2011-2016. The data from this study is presented in Richter, M. et al. (2017).

distinguishes between the so-called "potential migrants" from "potential non-migrants". It facilitates the categorization of "potential migrants" into short-term (intending to leave for a few months (not more than a year)), long-term (with the intention to leave the country for a period longer than 1 year), and expatriates (settlers: people who express intentions to permanently settle abroad).

Table 1

A "tool" to identify the types of potential emigrants

How likely is it in the near future:	Unlikely	Less likely	Somewhat likely	Very likely
1. To go abroad to work for a few months	1	2	3	4
2. To go abroad to work for more than a year	1	2	3	4
3. To move to live in another country	1	2	3	4

Answers to this question are given by the respondents on each row. The information is treated in the following manner:

- The respondents answering by "Somewhat likely" or "Very likely" (answers 3 or 4) to question 3 are classified as "potential permanent emigrants"; these cases of "potential expatriates" are removed from the sample;
- Next, from the remaining subsample "potential long-term migrants" are identified – those who answer to question 2 by answers 3 or 4;
- Next, from the remaining respondents the "potential short-term migrants" are delineated – those who answer to question 1 by answers 3 or 4.
- Finally, all other remaining cases are classified as "potential non-migrants" – these are respondents who ***did not answer*** to any of the suggested migration options by a strong likelihood alternative ("Somewhat likely" or "Very likely").

In theory, the so-called "potential short-term migrants" are not treated as potential migrants – emigrant is an individual who left (or in this case – is wishing to leave) the country for more than one year and during her stay abroad have not returned to the country of origin for more than 3 months – although, this particular category of people increasingly focuses the attention of migration research community as well as the policy makers.

The above shown sequence of the delineation of the types of expatriates (e.g. settlers, long-term, and short-term potential migrants) follows a simple but clear reasoning; however, if we differentiate firstly the short-term, then the long-term, and finally the expatriates, the resulting types would be of ambiguous (mixed) character.

Table 2

A "tool" to capture the horizon of migration intentions

When do you think that you can realize your intentions?	
In the coming 5-6 months	1
In the next 12 months	2
Over the next 2-3 years	3
In the more distant future	4

An important question which requires a single answer – "*When do you think that you could realize your intentions?*" – evaluates how serious are the intentions of the individuals to out-migrate. We assume that people who indicated that would leave the country in the next 5-6 months (or up to 1 year) are much more prone to act accordingly – however, those saying "over the next 2-3 years" or "in a more distant future" could be considered as having quite a hypothetical migration intentions.

The data below sorts out the attitudes expressed during the year before the country's full EU membership (Mintchev and Boshnakov, 2007) as well as during the period immediately after the start of the global crisis. A serious discrepancy in the attitudes to emigrate in 2011 compared to 2007 is observed. Only 6.7% of the respondents in 2007 were willing to emigrate in the current year and 11.8% declared that they would do it after few years or in the more distant future; in 2011, the former were already almost 10% (9.8% said they would leave in the coming 5-6 months or within 1 year) and the latter reached 13.8%.

In other words, the potential emigration from Bulgaria just before the integration of the country in the EU was below 20% (more precisely – 18.6%); only four years after that (in 2011) 22.8% of the working age population was willing to search realization abroad – i.e. it could be assumed that almost every fourth Bulgarian resident of working age was a potential emigrant.

Another important notion also came to light – in 2007 the prevailing intentions were focused on the short-term migration (i.e. rather for *mobility* /apparently within the EU/ than for emigration); on the other hand, in 2011 the desires for "emigration for good" (resettlement) clearly prevailed.

Table 3

Migration potential 2007

2007	***Short-term***	Long-term	Settlers	TOTAL
In the coming 5-6 months (%)	***0.8***	0.9	0.4	2.1
By the end of this year (%)	***1.7***	2.1	0.8	4.6
Over the next 2 - 3 years (%)	***2.3***	2.3	1.8	6.4
In the more distant future (%)	***2.4***	1.4	1.7	5.4
Total (%)	***7.2***	6.7	4.7	18.6
Within 1 year (Number)	***121223***	**144398**	**60611**	**326232**

Table 4

Migration potential 2011

2011	Short-term	Long-term	***Settlers***	TOTAL
In the coming 5-6 months (%)	1.0	1.2	***2.4***	4.7
By the end of this year (%)	1.0	2.1	***2.0***	5.1
Over the next 2 - 3 years (%)	2.2	3.6	***3.2***	9.1
In the more distant future (%)	1.1	1.6	***1.3***	4.0
Total (%)	5.3	8.5	***9.0***	22.8
Within 1 year (Number)	**95481**	**159135**	***210854***	**465470**

If we take into account the horion of realization of intended move of the potential migrants – over the next 5-6 months or within 1 year – and leave aside the attitudes to go abroad in a more distant future (and if we assume also that the attitudes of the entire active population in the country are exactly these) – then we can expect that the number of potential emigrants during the period has increased significantly (by nearly 140 thousand people in absolute figures). Of course, since it is commonly accepted that only about 10% of people intending to out-migrate would really act to do it, then the number of potential emigrants (settlers) can be estimated at much lower figures (6000 in 2007 and 21 000 in 2011).

Changes occur also in the destinations preferred by Bulgarians - the attractive until recently South-European destinations Spain and Greece "surrendered the first places" among the preferences of Bulgarians to countries like the UK and Germany. Among the top 10 destinations invariably are the United States, France, Italy and Cyprus – both in 2011 and in 2007. Moreover, Turkey and Belgium that were frequently indicated in 2007 were replaced by the Netherlands and Switzerland in 2011.

The persistence of the most preferred destinations during the period is impressive. Among other things, it speaks of a stabilization of the Bulgarian migration corridors (in terms of the common attitudes to migrate to specific countries).

Table 5

Destinations of potential emigration from Bulgaria

No	2007	2011
1	*Spain*	*UK*
2	*Greece*	*Germany*
3	*Germany*	*Spain*
4	*UK*	*Greece*
5	USA	USA
6	*Turkey*	France
7	Italy	Italy
8	France	Cyprus
9	Cyprus	*The Netherlands*
10	*Belgium*	*Switzerland*

Table 6

Destinations of out-migration from Bulgaria by types of potential migrants (%, 2007)

	Short-term	Long-term	Expatriates (Settlers)	TOTAL
Spain	10.3	19.8	32.4	17.4
Greece	19.1	14.8	8.8	15.5
Germany	11.8	11.1	14.7	12.1
UK	8.8	9.9	11.8	9.2
USA	4.4	6.2	11.8	6.8
Turkey	11.8	2.5	2.9	6.8
Italy	4.4	7.4	-	5.8
France	2.9	3.7	-	3.4
Cyprus	2.9	3.7	-	2.9
Belgium	2.9	2.5	-	2.4

If only 17.4% of the potential emigrants in total and 32.4% (i.e. almost one in three) of potential settlers would prefer Spain in 2007, then in 2011 Germany and the UK attract over 40% of them. Furtehrmore, nearly 1/3 of the expatriates would head to the UK and 16.3% to Germany.

Table 7

Destinations of emigration from Bulgaria by types of potential emigrants (%, 2011)

	Short-term	Long-term	Expatriates (Settlers)	TOTAL
UK	26.1	10.3	28.6	21.7
Germany	13.0	28.2	16.3	20.8
Spain	8.7	15.4	12.2	11.7
Greece	4.3	15.4	4.1	8.3
USA	8.7	5.1	6.1	5.8
France	4.3	2.6	4.1	5.0
Italy	8.7	5.1	2.0	4.2
Cyprus	4.3	2.6	4.1	3.3
The Netherlands	-	2.6	2.0	2.5
Switzerland	-	-	6.1	2.5

3. Socio-Demographic Profile of Potential Migrants

The question how and to what extent the profile of potential expatriates and potential short-term emigrants has changed in the period 2007-2011 is discussed in the next sections.

3.1. Socio-demographic profile of potential expatriates (settlers)

During the period, the structure of potential expatriates by gender has changed significantly.[4] In 2007 it was balanced. Half of potential expatriates were female (49.6%) and half male (50.4%). This is indicative for a likely relief of migration pressures from the country immediately prior to EU membership.

Things become different in 2011. Among potential expatriates, although by not so high percentage, men predominate (58.4%) which gives ground to assume that attitudes to final (permanent) emigration have become more active.

Serious and somewhat surprising changes have occurred in the age structure of potential expatriates. If in 2007 people aged up to 20 and up to 30 years dominated, then in 2011 people aged up to 30 and up to 40 years prevailed. Regarding the educational level the relatively strong desire for resettlement of people with secondary vocational education stands out in 2011.

[4] A more comprehensive analysis of the so-called "gender dimensions" of the new Bulgarian emigration is provided, for example, in Rangelova, R. et al. (2006).

The labor market in Bulgaria (from the aspect of "employment-unemployment" factors) does not affect considerably the desire for a definite emigration. Yet, we observe some "relaxing" of the intention for resettlement among the employed.

As for the intensity of the phenomenon (potential "permanent" emigration) we observe some "revival" of the attitudes for resettlement – though forgotten after the first half of the 1990s – as evidenced by the data for 2011 (Table 8).

Table 8

Profile – potential expatriates (%)

	2007		2011	
	Intensity	Structure	Intensity	Structure
Gender				
Male	5.4	50.4	11.2	58.4
Female	4.9	49.6	7.7	41.6
Age				
Up to 20	9.8	24.8	11.6	11.5
21–30	7.2	28.4	15.9	39.8
31–40	6.4	27.7	12.2	31.9
41–50	3.4	12.8	5.4	12.4
51–60	1.3	6.4	2.0	4.4
Educational level				
Primary	5.2	24.1	6.5	12.4
Secondary general	4.9	24.8	10.4	22.1
Secondary vocational	5.2	27.7	11.9	46.9
Higher	5.5	23.4	7.0	18.6
Economic status				
Employed	4.9	58.6	7.6	47.8
Unemployed	5.8	17.9	13.0	27.4
Other	5.6	23.6	11.3	24.8

In general, levels of intensity have increased regarding most of the monitored socio-demographic characteristics – and especially in gender-age and educational structures of the population. The intensity has noticeably increased in the males group (one in ten is a potential expatriate) and in the group of individuals under 30 years of age (where the intensity approaches 16%, i.e. it can be assumed that almost every sixth in this age group would move abroad). Similarly, every tenth of those with secondary general and secondary vocational education could also be classified as a potential expatriate.

3.2. Socio-demographic profile of potential short-term migrants

The comparison of the profile of potential expatriates with that of potential short-term migrants (presented in Table 9) led to interesting findings. With rare exceptions, the structure of short-term migrants by gender, age, education and economic status in 2011 is similar to that in 2007. Exception is the big share of people aged 41-50 among short-term migrants in 2011 and the relatively small share of people with primary education.

In terms of economic status (in the context of "employed-unemployed") any significant differences are not observed. In line with this, considering the intensity of the socio-demographic characteristics in question, we find lower values for almost every subgroup – except for the people aged 41 to 50 where practically every 1/3 would like to go abroad to work for a short period of time (several months) in one of the aforementioned attractive destinations for Bulgarians.

Table 9

Profile – potential short-term migrants (%)

	2007		2011	
	Intensity	Structure	Intensity	Structure
Gender				
Male	8.9	51.6	6.3	52.1
Female	7.5	48.4	5.5	47.9
Age				
Up to 20	8.7	13.9	7.1	11.3
21–30	12.5	31.4	7.4	29.6
31–40	9.8	26.5	4.7	19.7
41–50	4.9	11.7	7.7	28.2
51–60	5.5	16.6	3.1	11.3
Educational level				
Primary	6.9	20.2	4.2	12.7
Secondary general	7.9	25.6	6.2	21.1
Secondary vocational	10.2	34.1	7.2	45.1
Higher	7.5	20.2	5.0	21.1
Economic status				
Employed	8.5	63.7	5.6	56.3
Unemployed	8.1	15.7	7.1	23.9
Other	7.8	20.6	5.6	19.7

4. Expected Activity, Sector of Employment and Occupied Position

Using specific survey questions an attempt is made to outline the anticipated activity, sector of employment, and jobs of the potential emigrants – despite the many assumptions typically made during a survey of potential migration conducted in the home country.

An impressive fact is observed that in the period 2007-2011 people are much better oriented and aware of their intentions as compared to the situation in the 90s (when over half of the potential migrants said they were ready to leave without perceiving what exactly they would work abroad). In 2011, those wishing to emigrate are better informed than the same type of migrants in the 90s (although women and individuals up to 30 years of age do not seem to have clear plans, as compared to men and older respondents). Nonetheless, around 14% of all respondents do not know what exactly they will engage with if they succeed to go to a foreign country.

The intention of the majority of potential emigrants is to work – more than 2/3 of the potential emigrants have such plans. As expected, this percentage for males and older

people is higher – over 80% of them declared such intentions, compared to about 68% of females and about 65% of those aged under 30. The percentage of people who would continue their education abroad is relatively high, especially in the age group under 30 and among females.

Table 10

Expected activities of potential migrants from Bulgaria (in %, 2011)

What do you intend to do abroad as main activity?	Gender		Age groups			Total
	Male	Female	Up to 30	31-45	over 45	
Employment / work	80.4	67.7	65.2	84.3	83.3	74.8
Education	5.9	11.8	16.9	0.8	-	8.5
To live with relatives	2.0	4.3	1.7	3.1	6.7	3.0
I don't know now, but I will decide there	11.8	16.1	16.3	11.8	10.0	13.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The employment sectors in which the potential migrants from Bulgaria think they would be able to find jobs, are mainly:

- construction (nearly one in five of the total, and almost every third of males);
- hotels and restaurants (16% of the total potential emigrants are inclined to work in this sector and such intentions were declared by over 29% of females);
- agriculture – nearly 13% of potential emigrants declared such expectations;
- activities in households (housemaids, care for children and/or elderly people) are popular mostly among women;
- financial brokerage, real estate, business services, etc. – only 2.8% of the potential emigrants (mainly people under 30) would target those sectors

Regarding the expected occupations almost every third (31%) assesses her chances as more than modest – people expect jobs of the low-skilled segments (in this respect, women have higher self-esteem than men) as well as engagement in public services (28.2%). Here the interest of women is significantly higher than that of men – nearly half of them expect to find jobs in this sphere. Nevertheless, a significant percentage of individuals target into jobs for highly qualified employees (12% of the total and nearly 19% of males). Other over 7% would accept jobs like operators of machines and equipment (with similar expectations are every 10 males and over 12% of people over 45); a mindset of jobs for analytical and applied specialists reveal relatively small share of respondents (only between 6 and 8%).

Indirectly, this confirms the finding of the job awareness revealed by potential emigrants which improves as time passes. The intensive emigration over the last two decades had left its mark. People are disillusioned and ready to accept even a so-called 3-d (dirty, dangerous and difficult) job assuming a competition by other immigrant communities.

Table 11

Expected employment sector of potential migrants by gender and age (%, 2011)

Specify the preferred economic activity	Gender		Age groups			Total
	Male	Female	Up to 30	31-45	over 45	
Agriculture, hunting and forestry	15.0	9.4	13.9	8.7	18.8	12.8
Manufacturing industry	6.9	1.9	2.6	5.8	8.3	4.9
Production and distribution of electric and heat energy	1.9	0.9	0.9	1.9	2.1	1.5
Construction	31.9	1.9	18.3	19.4	25.0	19.9
Trade, repair and technical services of motor vehicles	8.1	5.7	11.3	5.8	-	7.1
Hotels and restaurants	7.5	29.2	18.3	19.4	4.2	16.2
Transport, warehousing and communication	11.3	0.9	6.1	7.8	8.3	7.1
Financial brokerage	1.3	2.8	3.5	1.0	-	1.9
Real estate operations, renting and business services	1.9	1.9	3.5	1.0	-	1.9
Public administration and defense; compulsory social security	1.3	-	-	1.0	2.1	0.8
Education	1.3	2.8	0.9	1.9	4.2	1.9
Healthcare and social work	-	7.5	2.6	3.9	2.1	3.0
Other activities for social and personal services	9.4	12.3	11.3	10.7	8.3	10.5
Activities in households/families (assistant, caregiver, cook)	2.5	22.6	7.0	11.7	16.7	10.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 12

Expected position of potential migrants by gender and age (2011)

Specify the expected position	Gender		Age groups			Total
	Male	Female	Up to 30	31-45	over 45	
Managerial employees	1.9	2.8	4.3	1.0	-	2.3
Analytical specialists	6.9	5.7	8.7	4.9	4.2	6.4
Applied specialists	4.4	12.3	8.7	6.8	6.3	7.5
Support staff	2.5	4.7	5.2	1.9	2.1	3.4
Staff engaged in services for the population, security and trade	15.0	48.1	29.6	29.1	22.9	28.2
Producers in agriculture, forestry and fisheries, hunting	3.1	-	2.6	1.0	2.1	1.9
Skilled industrial workers	18.8	1.9	11.3	11.7	14.6	12.0
Operators of plant and vehicles	11.9	0.9	5.2	7.8	12.5	7.5
Low skilled workers	35.6	23.6	24.3	35.9	35.4	30.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Not surprisingly, some authors – analyzing the information used in this study in the context of the comparison "current/expected employment abroad" – emphasized that "the

differences between the qualification acquired and expectations for realization abroad outline risks for draining highly skilled workforce from the country and its deskilling abroad" (Zareva, 2012, p. 183).

5. Return and current migrants (2007 and 2011)

5.1. Return and current migrants: estimation of the overall amount

Attempts to estimate the number of so-called "return" and "current" migrants (along with their socio-demographic profile, job realization, remittance behavior, etc.) are relatively new in Bulgarian migration literature.[5] The categorization used to summarize the information from the surveys is based on the following *definitions*:

- return migrant is an individual who has resided abroad for a period at least 3 months during the last five years, and at the time of the survey is located in Bulgaria;
- current migrant is an individual who, at the time of the survey, resides abroad.

Of course, these definitions are too conditional but they allow, however, the implementation of a technique for estimation of the number of people classified in a particular type. Similarly to the potential migrants, these definitions facilitate the analysis of the profiles of individuals having migration experience as well as the exploration of the households having members abroad in the framework of the survey.

The method consists of extrapolation of sample estimates obtained from the surveys regarding the indicators "number of return migrants" and "number of current migrants" per one household – assuming we know the approximate number of all households in the country in a particular year (2007 and 2011). We estimate that the share of households with return migrants has increased from 10% in 2007 to 13% in 2011 (table 13) while the share of households with current migrants in 2011 remained at the level of 2007 (about 7%). Thus, in absolute figures, we calculate that in 2011 the number of returnees exceeded 450 000 (compared to 384 000 in 2007) and the number of current migrants is about 256 000 (compared to 280 000 in 2007).

Table 13

Returnees and present migrants (estimates 2007 and 2011)

As of April of the respective year	2007	2011
Relative share of households with returned migrant (%)	10.1	13.1
Number of households with returned emigrants	294345	391497
Number of return migrants	384494	450814
Relative share of households with present emigrant (%)	7.5	7.1
Number of households with present emigrant	218478	201680
Number of the present emigrants	280435	256252

[5] For example, see Krasteva et al. (2011).

These figures illustrate one of the effects of the global financial and economic crisis (2008-2010) on Bulgarian external migration – either way, the number of people returned from abroad has increased. This is probably one of the reasons for the increase in migration potential of the country discussed above.

The number of returnees does not seem so impressive if one takes into account the fact that this is just a 5-years period of identification (preceding to the critical moments of surveys field work). This explains the lower number of the so-called "current" migrants (those who at the time of the survey were abroad). Therefore, it could be expected that in the period 2006-2010 about 700 thousand Bulgarian citizens of working age had a kind of commitment in a foreign country (work; education; staying with relatives or friends, etc.).

Perhaps it needs to be clearly specified that these are estimates derived and based on data from representative sample surveys conducted in the home country – i.e. we monitor such a part of Bulgarian migration community ***that maintains contacts with their relatives*** and faces a set of choices – to return, to circulate, or to emigrate for good. Plausibly, a fraction of them (most probably – the majority) practice the so-called circular migration which is evidenced by the constantly estimated large shares of Bulgarian households with return and/or current migrants.

5.2. Income, length of stay, expenses and remittances

The information obtained from respondents who have migration experience (but currently reside in Bulgaria) allows us to identify a number of parameters related to the so-called "remittance behavior"of migrants and to assess the amount of savings – and respective remittances – generated by this type of migration.

The data for 2011 confirms in large extent the results obtained from the survey conducted in 2007 (Table 14). The 2011 survey (referring the period 2006-2010) registers an increase in the average monthly income of returnees, compared to those who have been interviewed in 2007 (referring the period 2002-2006) – this income increased from about EUR 810 to nearly EUR 900. Moreover, the length of stay abroad of returnees in 2011 is larger by about half a year than the one estimated in 2007 (18.2 compared to 13.8 months).

Table 14

Returnees and current migrants: income, length of stay, expenses and remittances (estimates for 2007 and 2011)

	2007	2011
Average monthly income, euro	810.3	896.6
Average length of stay (months)	13.8	18.2
Share of current expenditure abroad (%)	45.4	42.4
Share of remittances (%)	**44.3**	**31.2**
Average annual **amount of savings** abroad, euro	**157 825 386**	**586 620 923**
Average annual **amount of remittances**, euro	657 791 954	694 102 266
Savings + remittances of return and current migrants, euro (total)	815 617 340	1 280 723 189

On the other hand, the ratio of current expences to income earned abroad in 2011 (42%) was not found as substantially different from that in 2007 (45%). Significant change is observed for the share of remittances – in 2007 respondents declare that they were sending about 44% of their income back to the home country; however, in 2011 this share dropped to 31%.

Based on these figures, and given the estimated number of return and current migrants, the remittances originating from this type of migration (i.e. individuals maintaining regular contacts with Bulgaria) can be estimated at about EUR 690 million only for year 2011 – compared to EUR 657 million in 2007. At the same time, the "balance" of savings (i.e. income minus expenditures and remittances) should not be ignored – over EUR 580 million in 2011 compared to only EUR 157 million in 2007 (here we assumed that the savings abroad are formed from this residual amount).

In this respect, at least three findings are worth noting:

- the average length of stay abroad is increasing;
- the average monthly remuneration of Bulgarian migrants has increased, however, along with a tendency to save more abroad;
- in 2011 the estimated savings of Bulgarian migrants are comparable in amount to the sum of money transfered from abroad.

5.3. Reasons for returning and host countries of the return

In 2011 survey 40% of the respondents declared that the reason for their return to Bulgaria was that they were not able to continue their job or they did not find any job after the loss of the last one. Another over 30% indicate family reasons for their return, and for about each sixth the reason for return is associated with health problems. At the same time, almost every one in four (in this case – slightly over 18% plus nearly 6% who were on leave) declared that they returned temporarily and were arranging a new departure or were just on leave.

Therefore, return migrants can be classified into several groups according to the reasons for their return to the country:

- those who have returned for economic reasons;
- those who have returned for family and/or health reasons;
- those who have returned temporarily and are arranging a new departure.

On the other hand, only 1 to 3% of the returnees have done so because they found or expected to find well-paid workplace in Bulgaria. Alternatively, those 10 percent who declared that they have returned because they achieved the goal of their stay aborad seem quite optimistic.

Table 15

Reasons for the return of Bulgarian emigrants

Reasons for return	%
I am on leave	5.7
I could not stay there legally any more	4.8
I achieved the goal of my stay abroad (I made the money, made a purchase, etc.)	9.5
There was no opportunity to practice my profession any more (workplace became redundant, the project ended, the business stopped, etc.)	24.8
After I finished my last job, I did not find there any new job	15.2
I had to accept a job requiring qualification lower than mine	3.8
I found a well-paid job in Bulgaria	1.0
I will look for well-paid job here – for my profession the salaries in Bulgaria are no longer very different from abroad	2.9
Family reasons (elderly parents, spouse in Bulgaria, separating from a spouse there, etc.)	30.5
Health reasons related to me and my family	17.1
Local people there do not accept us; one feels best at home against all odds	1.9
I came back temporarily /later I will go again/, from here I will seek a new job abroad	18.1
Other reason	8.6

It is interesting to take a look on the information about where in particular the migrants residing during the survey in Bulgaria have returned from. We will focus on data for two of the years – 2006 and 2010 (see Table 16).

In 2006, the "flow" of returnees was mainly from Greece (18%), Spain (16%), Germany (12%) and Italy (12%) (i.e. almost half (48%) of the total returnees). And in 2010 – from the UK (23.8%), Greece (14.3%), Germany (9.5%) and Spain (9.5%) (i.e. 57% of the total number of returnees in 2010).

It is important to note that in both years more often women have returned from Greece. The gender and age structure of returnees from Spain is balanced – in most cases, the distributions by gender and age are similar. Relatively younger people return from countries like the USA, UK and Germany – most likely due to the "educational" migration from Bulgaria to these countries. The UK became more visible to Bulgarian migrants after 2007 – the survey data indicates that since 2008 most returnees have come back namely from there.

Another question here is how to distinguish "return" from "circular" migrants; obviously a significant part of the returnees are people who travel frequently in search of a better job abroad, and did not take a decision to stay either in Bulgaria or abroad.

There are at least two options:

1) From within the returnees (i.e. people with migration experience) a fraction can be delineated – those who have been abroad more than once for the period of last 5 years

can be considered as "circular" migrants[6]. Thus we could distinguish between return and circular migrants at the survey completion date.

Table 16

Countries where Bulgarian migrants returned from in 2006 and 2010 by gender and age group (%)

Please specify country by years:	Gender		Age groups			Total
	Male	Female	Up to 30	31-45	over 45	
2006 г.						
Austria	-	5.0	6.7	-	-	2.0
Germany	**16.7**	**5.0**	**20.0**	**12.0**	**-**	**12.0**
Cyprus	3.3	-	-	4.0	-	2.0
Greece	**6.7**	**35.0**	**-**	**24.0**	**30.0**	**18.0**
France		5.0	-	4.0	-	2.0
USA	13.3	-	20.0		10.0	8.0
UK	10.0	-	6.7	8.0	-	6.0
Italy	**10.0**	**15.0**	**13.3**	**8.0**	**20.0**	**12.0**
Spain	**16.7**	**15.0**	**13.3**	**12.0**	**30.0**	**16.0**
Turkey	3.3	5.0	-	8.0	-	4.0
Czech Republic	3.3	-	-	4.0	-	2.0
Canada	3.3	5.0	-	4.0	10.0	4.0
Portugal	3.3	-	-	4.0	-	2.0
Russia	-	5.0	6.7	-	-	2.0
Ireland	-	5.0	6.7	-	-	2.0
Israel	6.7	-	6.7	4.0	-	4.0
Iraq	3.3	-	-	4.0	-	2.0
2010 г.						
Austria	2.4	-	4.2	-	-	1.6
Germany	**7.1**	**14.3**	**20.8**	**4.0**	**-**	**9.5**
Denmark	2.4	-	4.2	-	-	1.6
Cyprus	4.8	9.5	4.2	8.0	7.1	6.3
Greece	**11.9**	**19.0**	**12.5**	**12.0**	**21.4**	**14.3**
The Netherlands	4.8	9.5	4.2	8.0	7.1	6.3
USA	4.8	4.8	4.2	4.0	7.1	4.8
UK	**26.2**	**19.0**	**20.8**	**20.0**	**35.7**	**23.8**
Italy	4.8	9.5	4.2	12.0	-	6.3%
Spain	**9.5**	**9.5**	**4.2**	**16.0**	**7.1**	**9.5**
Turkey	2.4	-	4.2	-	-	1.6
Czech Republic	7.1	-	4.2	4.0	7.1	4.8
Canada	2.4	4.8	-	4.0	7.1	3.2
Switzerland	2.4	-	-	4.0	-	1.6
Scotland	4.8	-	8.3	-	-	3.2
Russia	2.4	-	-	4.0	-	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[6] Such approach is used in: Vadean, Fl. and M. Piracha, 2009, Circular Migration or Permanent Return: What Determines Different Forms of Migrations?, IZA DP No. 4287, p.1.; The number of travels is discussed also in Constant, A. and Kl. F. Zimmerman, 2007, Circular Migration: Counts of Exits and Years Away from the Host Country, IZA DP No. 2999.

2) Or amongst returnees we can differentiate between those who would leave again (in the near or distant future) and those remaining in the country. Thus we could distinguish between "stayers" and "movers"; moreover, the latter could also be seen as potential "circular" migrants.

In all cases, however, the use of this methodology would be problematic when the survey is performed with a sample of modest size (e.g. 1,204 people in 2011, of which only 11% of cases met the criteria for return migrants).

5.4. Activity, sector of employment and positions held by returnees during their stay abroad

The returnees are typical labour migrants – nearly 81% of them used to work abroad – compared to 75% intending to work potential migrants. Along with this, 8.4% of returnees have either studied or simply lived with their relatives abroad. About 2/3 of the women returning from abroad have worked there and nearly 1/3 have studied or lived with relatives. The structure for men is different – almost 88% of them used to work and only about 11% have studied or lived abroad with relatives.

Table 17

Activity of return migrants during their stay abroad (in %, 2011)

What was the predominant activity during your stay abroad ... ?	Gender		Age groups			Total
	Male	Female	Up to 30	31-45	Over 45	
Work	87.8	65.9	71.4	94.2	73.3	80.9
Study	6.7	12.2	22.4	-	-	8.4
Living with relatives	4.4	17.1	4.1	5.8	20.0	8.4
Other	1.1	4.9	2.0	-	6.7	2.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The similarity of the attitudes of potential migrants and the actual activity of returnees (during their stay abroad) is impressive. Apparently, the returnees with their migration experience are the most serious information channel for potential migrants, and in this sense – a factor nourishing the relatively high migration attitudes in the country.

As expected, the situation is similar in respect of the employment sectors of returnees compared with sectors where the potential migrants think that they could find jobs. Return migrants were employed mainly in (Table 18):

- construction (27.3%), where mostly men were employed;
- hotels and restaurants (15.5%), where mostly women were employed;
- agriculture (14.5%);
- work in households (13.6%), where almost only women were employed;
- real estate operations, business services and financial brokerage – less than 1%.

Table 18

Employment sector of return migrants during their stay abroad (%, 2011)

Economic activity according to the applied classifiers (employment sector)	Gender		Age groups			Total
	Male	Female	Up to 30	31-45	over 45	
Agriculture, hunting and forestry	16.3	10.0	20.0	9.8	16.7	**14.5**
Manufacturing industry	12.5	6.7	5.7	13.7	12.5	10.9%
Production and distribution of electric and heat energy	1.3	-	2.9	-	-	0.9
Construction	**37.5**	-	25.7	25.5	**33.3**	**27.3**
Trade, repair and technical services of motor vehicles	7.5	-	5.7	5.9	4.2	5.5
Hotels and restaurants	10.0	**30.0**	20.0	19.6	-	**15.5**
Transport, warehousing and communication	7.5	-	2.9	7.8	4.2	5.5
Real estate operations, renting and business services	1.3	-	2.9	-	-	0.9
Public administration and defense; compulsory social security	1.3	-	-	2.0	-	0.9
Healthcare and social work		3.3	-	-	4.2	0.9
Other activities for social and personal services	3.8	3.3	5.7	3.9	-	3.6
Activities in households / families (helper, caregiver, cook)	1.3	**46.7**	8.6	11.8	25.0	**13.6**
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

It is noteworthy that potential migrants: first, tend to target the same sectors in which returnees (or so-called "circular" migrants) have been employed; and second, on the other hand potential migrants do not expect such high involvement in construction and household work, as this happens in practice.

Regarding the occupations held by returnees during their stay abroad – the respondents indicate mainly low-skilled jobs (36.1% of the total, 43.6% of men) or employment in services to the local population (29.6% of the total and over 76% of women; a relatively even distribution is observed for the age groups). Among returnees, nearly 20% are highly qualified workers (i.e. every fifth) and about one fourth of the men; again, in respect of the staff employed in services to the population, the distribution by age groups is relatively even (Table 19).

Potential migrants express interests in such positions as well – i.e. low- and high-skilled jobs, employment in services to the population, etc. – however, with lower expectations for jobs in both low- and high-skilled segment, as compared to the actual practice of returnees.

Table 19

Occupations held by returnees during their stay abroad (%, 2011)

Positions according to the applied classifiers	Gender		Age groups			Total
	Male	Female	Up to 30	31-45	over 45	
Managerial employees	2.6	-	3.0	2.0	-	1.9
Applied specialists	2.6	-	-	3.9	-	1.9
Staff engaged in services for the population, security and trade	11.5	**76.7**	30.3	29.4	29.2	**29.6**
Producers in agriculture, forestry and fisheries, hunting	2.6	3.3	3.0	2.0	4.2	2.8
Skilled industrial workers	**24.4**	3.3	15.2	21.6	16.7	**18.5**
Operators of plant and vehicles	12.8	-	6.1	11.8	8.3	9.3
Low skilled workers	**43.6**	16.7	42.4	29.4	41.7	**36.1**
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

5.5. Self-organization of return migrants during their stay abroad.

With some of the questions aimed in outlining issues related to the "self-organization" of our compatriots when resided abroad. We are interested in whom they approached when they had difficulties; whether they were involved in activities of the Bulgarians abroad; whether they were interested in what was happening in Bulgaria, and so on. This information could be compared to the similar information about the Bulgarian community in Spain (see for example, the article about the Bulgarian community in Spain in this issue).

Firstly, almost half of the respondents said that they didn't have any problems and there was no need to seek someone else assistance to solve them (42.7%). By the way, this is not the case in Spain where people who declared that they did not need assistance are just 1/4.

Table 20

Search for assistance in case of problems

Usually, whom did you turn to when you experienced difficulties? (in %)	Up to 30	31-45	over 45	Total
Friends – Bulgarians	53.2	48.1	40	**48.1**
Friends – foreigners	19.1	24.1	10	**19.1**
Bulgarian clubs / associations	2.1	-	-	0.8
Bulgarian official representations	-	-	-	-
Authorities in the country	4.3	3.7	-	3.1
Civil/non-governmental organizations in the country	2.1	-	-	0.8
I never had any difficulties	38.3	38.9	56.7	**42.7**

Table 21

Participation in events of/for the Bulgarian community

During your stay abroad did you attend any events organized by/for the Bulgarian community? (%)	Up to 30	31-45	over 45	Total
Yes, I visited Bulgarian cultural events (concerts, theaters, etc.) with artists from Bulgaria	10.6	7.4	-	**6.8**
Yes, informal meetings in Bulgarian restaurants	12.8	**14.8**	9.4	**12.8**
Yes, courses organized by the local administration	4.3	1.9	-	2.3
Yes, religious celebrations	2.1	-	-	0.8
Yes, fora organized by official representations of Bulgaria	2.1	-	-	0.8
Yes, fora organized by local Bulgarian clubs/associations	8.5	1.9	-	3.8
No, I have not attended	78.7	79.6	90.6	**82.8**

In cases when they had any problems, returnees used to turn mostly to friends-Bulgarians (48% of the responses), to foreigners (i.e. the local people – 19%), and rarely to the local authorities. Practically, people used to turn for assistance to the diplomatic missions of Bulgaria as an exception – a similar behavior is observed regarding the Bulgarian migrants in Spain. This data suggests that returnees (and to a greater extent – those who have settled in Spain), along with their preferences for informal purely Bulgarian channels for solving problems (where they occur), used to be open to contacts with the local people.

On the other hand, return migrants participated relatively less in events of the community – meetings, cultural and other events – compared to our compatriots established in Spain (Table 21). In more than 82% of the cases absence of any interest in such events has been declared. However, about 20% of respondents were interested in informal meetings with compatriots and in Bulgarian cultural events.

Table 22

Interest in the events in Bulgaria (information channels)

Were you interested in the events in Bulgaria during your stay abroad? (in %)	Up to 30	31-45	over 45	Total
Yes, from the Internet editions of the Bulgarian press	61.7	48.1	15.6	**45**
Yes, from Bulgarian electronic media - television, radio, etc.	34	59.6	56.3	**49.6**
Yes, from newspapers and magazines distributed by the official Bulgarian representations	4.3	7.7	12.5	7.6
Yes, from newspapers and magazines distributed by Bulgarian clubs and associations	4.3	7.7	6.3	6.1
Yes, from Bulgarian newspapers and magazines published abroad	6.4	13.5	9.4	9.9
No, I was not interested	25.5	11.5	31.3	**21.4**

Table 23

Voters in Bulgarian elections and in local elections in the host country by gender and age (%)

Have you voted in the Bulgarian elections for parliament or president during your stay abroad?	Gender		Age groups			Total
	Male	Female	Up to 30	31-45	over 45	
Yes	5.6	2.3	4.3	5.6	3.1	**4.5**
No	74.4	76.7	70.2	79.6	75.0	**75.2**
There were no elections for parliament or president	20.0	20.9	25.5	14.8	21.9	20.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Have you voted for local authorities of the place where you lived abroad / For example, for mayor of a city in Spain/?	Gender		Age groups			Total
	Male	Female	Up to 30	31-45	over 45	
Yes	1.1	2.4	-	1.9	3.1	**1.5**
No	88.6	85.7	82.6	94.2	84.4	87.7
While I was abroad there were no elections for local authorities	10.2	11.9	17.4	3.8	12.5	10.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

During their stay abroad, return migrants used to follow closely what was happening in Bulgaria – mainly from internet editions of the press and the electronic media. However, the responses showing indifference are not negligible – over 20%, or twice more than similar responses of Bulgarians in Spain. Somewhat surprisingly, in most cases these respondents were people under 30 and over 45 years old (Table 22).

Alternatively, the rare political involvement of returnees during their stay abroad is not particularly surprising. Only 5% of them voted in Bulgarian elections when abroad and over 75% did not; about 20% of the respondents have not exercised their voting right simply because there were no such elections during their stay abroad. In this regard, men and those aged 31-45 were more active. At the same time, only 1.5% of returnees have voted in local elections in the respective countries (Table 23).

Finally, we provide results about the attitudes toward migration (Table 24) – all respondents were asked to answer the same question during the three different sample surveys conducted respectively in 2001 (abolishment of visas for Bulgarian nationals for EU Member States), 2007 (Bulgaria joined the EU), and 2011.

No substantial changes are observed regarding the attitude of Bulgarian public to migration processes in the first decade of the 21st century (in any case, this was true before the outbreak of the refugee crisis in Europe). However, between 51% (in 2001) and 60% (2011) of the respondents considered as acceptable the statement that "*everybody has the right to live/work where s/he wishes"*. In the same time, the people who believe that "*the presence of foreign nationals in the country should be restricted*" are clearly more than those who accept that immigrants "*will help the country's development*". Apparently, the

experience of return migrants has not convinced sufficiently enough Bulgarians that by working abroad they contribute to the development of respective host countries.

Table 24

Attitude of Bulgarian nationals to migration (2001, 2007 and 2011)

Many foreigners come to work and live in our country. What is your opinion about this?	2001		2007		2011	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
They will help the country's development	1773	**6.9**	298	**10.9**	112	**9.3**
Everybody has the right to live/work where s/he wishes	13208	**51.7**	1486	**54.5**	723	**60.0**
The presence of foreign nationals in the country should be restricted	4421	**17.3**	383	**14.1**	162	**13.5**
I cannot say	5486	21.5	536	19.7	178	14.8
Non responding	654	2.6	22	0.8	29	2.4
Total	25542	100.0	2725	100.0	1204	100.0

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Appendix

Table 1

Distribution of the sample by gender and districts

District	Gender				Total	
	Males		Females		Number	%
	Number	%	Number	%		
Sofia-city	102	17.3	108	17.6	210	17.4
Sofia - region	15	2.5	21	3.4	36	3.0
Shumen	15	2.5	15	2.4	30	2.5
Yambol	9	1.5	9	1.5	18	1.5
Kardzhali	15	2.5	15	2.4	30	2.5
Pleven	21	3.6	21	3.4	42	3.5
Vidin	8	1.4	10	1.6	18	1.5
Lovech	9	1.5	9	1.5	18	1.5
Pernik	8	1.4	10	1.6	18	1.5
Haskovo	22	3.7	21	3.4	43	3.6
Stara Zagora	27	4.6	27	4.4	54	4.5
Kyustendil	9	1.5	9	1.5	18	1.5
Smolyan	9	1.5	9	1.5	18	1.5
Vratsa	15	2.5	15	2.4	30	2.5
Montana	12	2.0	12	2.0	24	2.0
Gabrovo	12	2.0	12	2.0	24	2.0
Targovishte	11	1.9	13	2.1	24	2.0
Pazardzhik	24	4.1	24	3.9	48	4.0
Varna	35	5.9	37	6.0	72	6.0
Silistra	12	2.0	12	2.0	24	2.0
Veliko Tarnovo	20	3.4	22	3.6	42	3.5
Plovdiv	56	9.5	55	9.0	111	9.2
Burgas	35	5.9	37	6.0	72	6.0
Sliven	14	2.4	16	2.6	30	2.5
Blagoevgrad	26	4.4	28	4.6	54	4.5
Razgrad	13	2.2	11	1.8	24	2.0
Rousse	22	3.7	20	3.3	42	3.5
Dobrich	15	2.5	15	2.4	30	2.5
Total	591	100.0	613	100.0	1204	100.0

Table 2

Distribution of the sample by gender and age

Age groups	Gender				Total	
	Male		Female			
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
15-24 г.	116	19.6	111	18.1	227	18.9
25-34 г.	136	23.0	152	24.8	288	23.8
35-44 г.	131	22.2	153	25.0	284	23.6
45-54 г.	133	22.5	128	20.9	261	21.7
55-60 г.	75	12.7	69	11.2	144	12.0
Total	591	100.0	613	100.0	1204	100.0

Table 3

Comparison of the distribution of respondents in the sample by gender and age with the structure of the population according to the Census of 2011 (in %).

Age groups	Gender				Total	
	Male		Female		Census	Sample
	Census	Sample	Census	Sample		
15-24 г.	19.5	19.6	19.1	18.1	19.3	18.9
25-34 г.	23.3	23.0	22.3	24.8	22.8	23.8
35-44 г.	23.9	22.2	23.3	25.0	23.6	23.6
45-54 г.	22.2	22.5	22.9	20.9	22.6	21.7
55-59 г.	11.1	12.7	12.4	11.2	11.7	12.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NSI (http://censusresults.nsi.bg/Reports/2/2/R1.aspx)

ИКОНОМИЧЕСКИ ИЗСЛЕДВАНИЯ
ECONOMIC STUDIES

ГОДИНА XXV, 2016, 5

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THE BULGARIAN COMMUNITY IN SPAIN (WILL THE BULGARIANS RETURN FROM SPAIN?)

The article presents a selection of results from a representative sample survey among the Bulgarian population residing in Spain. The sample includes 506 individuals living in 25 different settlements in this country interviewed in 2011. The data provides various opportunities for deriving social, demographic, and economic status of Bulgarians residing in Spain. The transfer behavior of Bulgarians in this country is compared to the practices revealed by return migrants studied in the framework of a representative survey conducted in Bulgaria. The article suggests evidence about the degree of knowledge of Bulgarian language by the youngest generation as well as the frequency of contacts between the Bulgarian Diaspora and the relatives left behind. The question "Will the Bulgarians return from Spain?" is discussed as well.
JEL: F22; F24; Z13

1. Information Basis: Empirical Survey of Bulgarians Residing in Spain

Bulgarian community in Spain is one of the largest Bulgarian communities in Western Europe. According to the well known NGO, based in Valencia – *CeiMigra* – 16.6% of 923 000 Bulgarians living abroad reside in Spain.[3] This motivated the fulfillment of a representative questionnaire survey among Bulgarians in Spain in the period May-June 2011, as part of a research project entitled "*Bulgarian Diaspora in Western Europe*: cross *border mobility*, *national identity and development*".[4] To our knowledge this is one of the first studies concerning a broad range of issues related to the Bulgarian Diaspora in Spain, on the basis of a relatively large sample carried out in about 25 settlements in the country

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[3] Ciudadanos del mundo, ciudadanos de Bulgaria, Colleccion: Miradas sobre la inmigracion, (http://www.ceimigra.net/observatorio/images/stories/mirada_25.bulgaria.pdf).
[4] Part of these results is presented in Kaltchev, I. and I. Zareva (2012). Socio-demographic specifics of the Bulgarian immigration in Spain. – In: Mintchev, V. (ed.), Bulgarian Emigration: Theories, Policies, Empirical Studies. Sofia: Ikopis. pp.201-219.

(planned sample size – 500 individuals; fulfilled – 506 individuals).[5] However, although Bulgarians are about 2-3% of the foreign population in Spain, they decreased markedly over the last few years – from 176 000 in 2012 to 151 000 in 2014.[6] Of these, at 1st January 2014, 52% were male, 48% – female. Just the opposite trend is observed in Germany, for example, where the number of Bulgarians increased by 93 000 in 2010 to 183 000 in 2014.[7]

1.1. Sample planning

The survey was designed as:

- representative sample survey among Bulgarian population in Spain;
- quota sample formed according to gender and age structure of the Bulgarian population in the various regions of the country.

General target set covers registered Bulgarian population ("country of origin – Bulgaria") – according to the National Statistical Institute (INE) of Spain at 2010.[8] The data is taken from the electronic platform of INE, containing information on foreigners residing in a certain settlement – by country of origin, gender, age, etc.

Demographic information aggregated at "province" and "autonomous region" level was used in to form quotas by gender and age. At the time of the survey nearly 170 000 Bulgarians were registered in Spain.

To ensure representativeness of the survey, a sample design was adopted in a way similar to the "two-step cluster sample with selection proportional to the size of the clusters" ("PPS – probability proportional to size" sampling). A cumulative number of individuals registered in settlements ("municipalities" with a 5-digit administrative code) with at least 100 individuals from Bulgarian origin was formed for this purpose, obtained in descending order. The sample design provided opportunity for selecting settlements[9], covering subset of 123 000 individuals from the 169 000 registered, which amounted to nearly 73% of the Bulgarian population in Spain.

The selection of clusters (settlements) was made by the standard procedure of the sampling model, using a starting number selected within the range [1; K], where "K" is the step of selection. It is defined as the ratio of the number of surveyed population and the number of settlements from which a cluster of 20 individuals is to be surveyed (K=122973/25=4919).

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[5] In 2007, in Spain was conducted an extensive survey of the foreign population – with sample size of 15 500 individuals and covering also about 380 Bulgarian citizens (Recher and Requena, 2009, pp. 253-278). Part of the information from this study concerning the Bulgarians and Romanians is analyzed in Stanek, 2009, pp. 1627-1644.

[6] http://www.ine.es/jaxi/Datos.htm?path=/t20/e245/p08/l0/&file=01005.px(last check 14.03.2016).

[7] https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/StatistischesJahrbuch/StatistischesJahrbuch2015.pdf?__blob=publicationFile (last check 14.03.2016).

[8] Instituto Nacional de Estadistica, www.ine.es (Municipal Register: Foreign Population).

[9] In 2010, more than 100 Bulgarians lived in 274 settlements in Spain.

Thus the settlements within the sample were selected. The model has the following particularity – if the "step of selection" fell more than once in the same settlement, this settlement was treated as "aggregate cluster" comprising two or more individual clusters. Then the sample size for such cluster will be two or more times the specified number of respondents (20 persons). It is understood that these are large cities with significant Bulgarian population, like Madrid, Valencia, etc. Table 2 in Appendix – contains the planned sample size distributed by settlements and provinces.

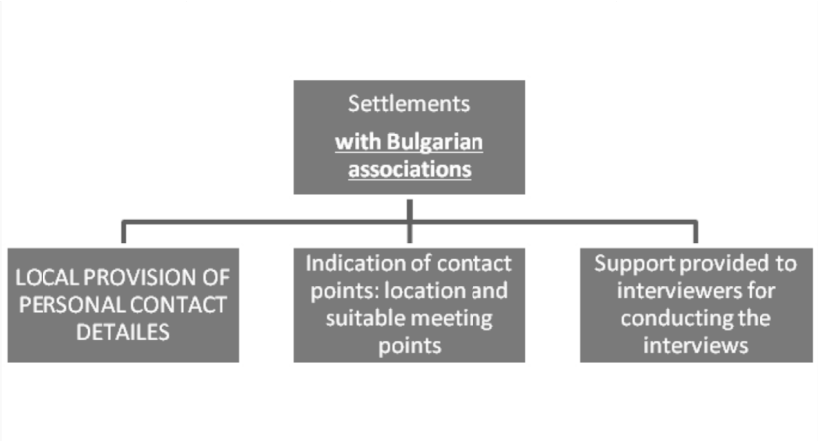
During the second stage the respondents were selected by setting quotas for surveying men and women from the relevant age groups. Quotas were set at "province" level according to the available data for gender and age structure of the Bulgarian population therein (Tables 1 and 3 in Appendix). As already mentioned, the planned number of respondents was 500 distributed in 25 clusters and the fulfilled number was 506 individuals.

1.2. Conducting the questionnaire sample-survey

Fieldwork was carried out by a specialized agency for sociological and marketing research DatoBase (member of the group of companies DATOS DE OPINION SL and SALAS DATO BASE SL) based in Valencia. The agency is QMS ISO 9001 certified and applies its own control procedures. A randomly selected 40% of the questionnaires were subject to control and this share could increase if the supervisor found inaccuracies in the work of an interviewer.

Figure 1

Establishing contacts with the Bulgarian community in settlements where there are Bulgarian associations

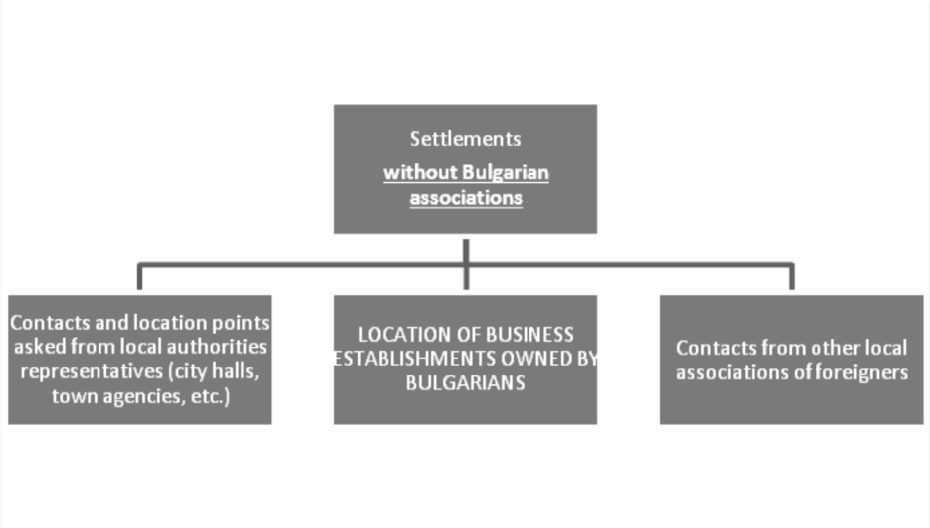


In each settlement all possible channels through which interviewers could identify the location of the Bulgarians living there were used in order to determine the individuals for taking part in the survey. The most common "reference locations" were Bulgarian retail outlets (shops, cafes, and restaurants) or, alternatively, locations of representatives of the

Bulgarian associations. Where there were difficulties in the fulfillment of quotas additional respondents were sought and interviewed in similar by size settlements in the same province. Where necessary, respondents were determined using the "snowball" principle as information about Bulgarian inhabitants was obtained from other Bulgarians with whom the interviewers had established personal contacts (e.g. in Murcia, León, Burgos, etc.). The very schematic principles of respondents' identification are presented in the two figures herein (Figure 1 and 2). It should be emphasized that Bulgarian associations had supported the interviewers' team.

Figure 2

Establishing contacts with the Bulgarian community in settlements where there are no Bulgarian associations



The questionnaire implemented in Spain included 76 questions generating 200 variables. The questions were grouped into five distinct sections:

- *Section A. Conditions in Bulgaria before leaving for Spain*

Describing the situation of the respondent before his/her departure for Spain – mainly property and employment status;

- *Section B. Arrival, employment and "remittances" from Spain*

It includes standard questions about the causes and ways of organizing the departure, activities in the country – employment sector, position held, income and expenses etc.

- *Section C. Relations with the Bulgarian community and with Bulgaria*

This section focuses on communication between Bulgarians in Spain and between them and their relatives living in Bulgaria; on assessing the attitude of the local people and

administration towards the Diaspora; and on evaluating their participation in national cultural and religious events and political elections.

- *Section D. Children*

The section accentuates on the adaptation of Bulgarian teenagers to the Spanish milieu.

- *Section E. Potential return to Bulgaria and evaluation of the impact of emigration*

The last section emphasizes on whether the plans of Bulgarians in Spain include possible return to Bulgaria; draw attention to the attitude of the Diaspora towards migration processes and policies.

Based on this information, in the paper we will consider:

- Since when and why Bulgarian citizens prefer Spain?
- Modes of departure from Bulgaria.
- Educational and employment status of Bulgarians in Spain.
- Income, expenses and "remittance" behavior.
- Language abilities, contacts with compatriots in Spain and with relatives left behind, etc.
- Will the Bulgarians return from Spain?

2. Why and Since When Bulgarian Citizens Prefer Spain?

Over the last decade Spain was among the "top" destinations for potential emigration from Bulgaria. In 2007, it was the most preferred, and in 2011 and 2013 – among the first three leading destinations. This determines the increased research interest in migration from Bulgaria by many authors (Markova and Reilly, 2007; Martinez, 2008; Stanek, 2009; Gomez-Mestres and Molina, 2010; Slavkova, 2012). Nevertheless, emigration from Bulgaria to Spain is a relatively new phenomenon (a limited number of Bulgarian gardeners were documented to have settled there before the Civil War). This is evident also from data of the sample survey conducted in 2011, which we refer to in this paper. Only about 1/4 of the respondents have settled in Spain before 2000, meanwhile 60% during the period 2001-2006 and slightly over 15% – thereafter (Table 1).

In fact, it could be argued that this data follows the changes in the Spanish migration policy. Spain, like other Southern European countries – EU member states – practices periodic "regularizations" of the foreign population (Misheva, 2012, pp. 83-92). This might be one of the reasons for the high share of Bulgarian immigrants who settled there in the period 2001-2006.

In any case, one should not underestimate the fact that during the period 2000-2009, Spain was second to the US in attracting foreign population. In the same time according to various estimates in 2000-2005 at least 1/2 of the GDP growth in the country was due to the

influx of immigrants. In this sense, Spain can be perceived as an example of successful (at least for the observed period) "*Mediterranean migration model*".

Table 1

Arrival of Bulgarians in Spain

Year of arrival in Spain	Number	%	Regularisations in Spain
Before 1995	10	1.98	1991
1996-2000	112	22.13	1996, 2000/1
2001-2006	304	60.08	2000/2001, 2002, 2005
2007-2011	80	15.81	
Total	506	100.00	

Source: The data used in tables 1-3 is from the survey among Bulgarians in Spain from May-June 2011, conducted within the project "*Bulgarian Diaspora in Western Europe*: *cross-border mobility*, *national identity and development*".

Several motives urging Bulgarians to settle in Spain can be outlined:

Economic reasons:

- "To have a higher standard of living"
- "Higher payment"
- "To support family"

The first group of factors has precedence determined by the general long-term reason – "To have a higher standard of living" compared to the short-term looking for "higher payment". Among return ("circular") migrants, the reasoning is the same with the demand for "higher payment" being the most significant factor (For more details see the article about potential and return migrants in this issue). On the other hand, merely family factors are also important. More than 23% of the respondents say that either they accompany or go to their relatives in Spain. At the same time, nearly 7% of responses simply show an affinity for the lifestyle in Spain ("I just want to live in Spain"). The percentages in the Table 2 exceed 100 because respondents were asked to give more than one answer.

Table 2

Reasons for Bulgarians settling in Spain (%)

To have a higher standard of living	63.6
Higher pay	37.7
Better career opportunities	9.5
To support family or other relatives in Bulgaria	12.5
To provide the desired education for me and / or my children	4.7
Marriage	1.0
Go to parents and / or relatives	15.0
To accompany husband / wife, spouse / partner, parents, children	8.3
To get foreign nationality for me and my family	0.2
I just wanted to live in Spain (pleasant climate; attractive social environment)	6.9

If among the abovementioned reasons it is difficult to differentiate the so-called push from the pull factors for settling in Spain, then the milieu, the attitude of the local administration and employers is an extremely important pull factor. Over 90% of respondents (and more precisely – 94.9%) define the attitude of the Spaniards as "good" (42.7%) or "very good" (52.2%); the attitude of the administration (90%) as well as of the employers (82%) is evaluated similarly.

Table 3

Attitude towards Bulgarian community in Spain (%)

	Very good	Good	Bad	I am not sure
How do you rate the attitude of local people towards the Bulgarians in Spain?	52.2	42.7	1.8	3.3
How do you rate the attitude of the administrative authorities towards the Bulgarians in Spain?	45.1	44.9	5.3	4.7
How do you rate the attitude of employers towards the Bulgarians in Spain?	33.0	49.0	10.3	7.7

3. Modes of Departure

There are differences in the modes of departure between those who already settled in Spain, returnees and potential migrants. It is impressive that 1/3 of those who have settled in Spain stated that they did this rather spontaneously, based on personal preference and presumably without preparation. This correlates with data from studies of potential migration over the years – repeatedly over 1/2 of the respondents stated that they would go abroad, without having clear plans for realization there, even though, as evidenced by the recent data (in 2011 and after), potential migrants were already aware about their activities abroad.

A preferred mode of departure for all three categories of migrants is "By invitation from relatives, friends". This applies for every second respondent of those who have settled in Spain and almost for every third of return and potential migrants, which confirms the existence of networks and contacts facilitating the migration processes (See for instance Gomez-Mestres and Molina, 2010). That is why; numbers of theories argue that the migration is a phenomenon that once started cannot be restricted and is getting deeper.[10]

From those who have settled in Spain – only one out of 10 persons has relied on intermediary company or individual contract – while for returnees – this applies for every third person. Whereas almost half of the potential migrants (44.9%) imagine they could go abroad in these two ways (intermediary company/individual contract).

Expectations to realize out-migration move through continuing education, applying for a green card or participating in a bilateral intergovernmental agreement persist among the

[10] These views are in the context of the network theory of migration, using terms such as "cumulative causation" and associated with authors such as Myrdal; Lands and Poor; Massey; Markova, 2012, p.17.

potential migrants. In practice, however, more important are the trips supported by relatives – as evidenced by data on Bulgarians in Spain.

The "*institutionalization"* of migration through intermediary companies (initially these companies are subject to a license regulations, and actually – to a simple registration procedure), individual contracts (which are supposed to be registered within the National Employment Agency) - popular among returnees and hence among potential migrants, is in the context of migration policies of the host countries – "Welcome the skilled, Rotate the Unskilled" (Martin, 2006) – oriented towards permanent commitment of high-skilled immigrants and to maintain some kind of "circulation" of the low-skilled.

Table 4

Modes of departure of the Bulgarians settled in Spain, returnees ("circular" migrants) and of potential migrants from Bulgaria (%)

How did you organize your departure abroad?	Bulgarians in Spain	Returnees	Potential migrants
Through company – intermediary	4.7	26.5	27.2
On individual employment contract	4.9	15	17.7
By invitation from relatives, friends	52	38.1	28.4
By applying for/continuing education	0.6	2.7	6.9
Through bilateral convention for exchange of labor force	-	1.8	4.8
By applying for a "green card"	-	2.7	5.4
Through marriage/cohabitation	1	-	0.9
I came to Spain without prior preparation	33.2	-	-
Other	1	13.3	8.7
The trip was organized by my parents	2.6	-	-

Source: The data is from surveys of Bulgarians in Spain, and of potential and return migrants in Bulgaria, conducted within the project "*Bulgarian Diaspora in Western Europe*: *cross-border mobility*, *national identity and Development*".

4. Educational and Employment Status of the Bulgarians in Spain

According to the Observatory on Immigration Issues[11] (Institution at the Ministry of Labour and Immigration of Spain) immigrants with the highest education in the country are from some Latin American countries like Argentina and Venezuela; and with relatively low education are those coming from Morocco and China (among whom there is a high percentage of people without education). Bulgarians have similar educational profile as other Eastern Europeans – Romanians and Ukrainians.

The carried out sample survey allows assessing the educational status of Bulgarians in Spain; employment sectors in Bulgaria before departure and in Spain; the occupied positions – again in Bulgaria and in Spain; as well as assessment of companies where they are employed.

[11] http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es/ObservatorioPermanenteInmigracion/Publicaciones/archivos/OPI_28_Inmigracion_y_Mercado_de_trabajo-Informe2011.pdf.

4.1. Educational status

Nearly half of the Bulgarians in Spain - about 51% (i.e. every second person) has secondary education (secondary general – 22.8% of the respondents and secondary vocational education – 28.3%); the percentage of university degrees holders is also high (14.9% bachelors and 8.1% – masters).

There is some difference in educational profile between men and women. For men – every third has secondary vocational education (compared to 24.4% for women); the proportion of men and women with secondary general education is similar (22.5% for men and 23.1% for women). Women prevail among immigrants with master's and doctor's degrees. At the same time a total of 5-6% are people with no education or only with primary education.

Table 5

Educational status of the Bulgarians in Spain

	Gender				TOTAL	
	Male		Female		Number	%
	Number	%	Number	%		
Without education	10	3.7	2	0.8	12	2.4
Primary	8	3.0	7	2.9	15	3.0
Basic	56	21.0	45	18.9	101	20.0
Secondary general	60	22.5	55	23.1	115	22.8
Secondary vocational	85	31.8	58	24.4	143	28.3
Bachelor	39	14.6	36	15.1	75	14.9
Master	9	3.4	32	13.4	41	8.1
Doctor of Science	-	-	3	1.3	3	0.6

Source: The data used in tables 5-8 is from the survey among Bulgarians in Spain.

Attention should be paid to the efforts of Bulgarian residents in Spain for validating their diplomas – 15% said that their diplomas have already been recognized; another 4% were in the process of validation, i.e. almost every one out of 5 respondents in Spain has validated documents for a level of education, which, in itself, is a positive fact (Kaltchev and Zareva, 2012, p. 203).

4.2. Employment sector

Three main groups of sectors accessible for the Bulgarians in Spain can be outlined:

- Sectors with high employment opportunities for our compatriots both at home before departure and in Spain (once settled there) – these sectors are construction, trade, hotels and restaurants, etc.;
- Sectors with high employment opportunities in Bulgaria and significantly lower in Spain such as manufacturing industries, public administration and education;
- And sectors with higher employment opportunities in Spain after settling there like agriculture; activities in households, etc.

Table 6

Employment sector in Bulgaria before the departure and in Spain

Employment sector	In Bulgaria		In Spain	
	Number	%	Number	%
Agriculture, hunting and forestry	23	6.1	43	12.2
Mining and quarrying	5	1.3	2	0.6
Manufacturing industry	67	17.8	21	6.0
Production and distribution of electric and heat energy, gaseous fuels and water	2	0.5	2	0.6
Construction	40	10.6	39	11.1
Trade, repair and technical services of motor vehicles, personal belongings and household goods	39	10.4	31	8.80
Hotels and restaurants	47	12.5	56	15.9
Transport, warehousing and communication	38	10.1	33	9.4
Financial brokerage	7	1.9	-	-
Real estate operations, renting and business services	1	0.3	-	-
Public administration and defense; compulsory social security	15	4.0	4	1.1
Education	20	5.3	4	1.1
Healthcare and social work	22	5.9	14	4.0
Other activities for social and personal services	44	11.7	49	13.9
Activities in households / families (assistant, caregiver, cook, gardener, etc.)	5	1.3	51	14.5
Extra-territorial organizations and agencies	1	0.3	3	0.9

4.3. Occupied positions and companies employing Bulgarians in Spain

It is noteworthy that a relatively high percentage of respondents said they were "managerial employees" – 5.6% in Bulgaria and 7.9% in Spain. This, to some extent, is due to the specifics of the implementation of the planned sample – the agency DatoBase, Valencia approached Bulgarian businesses, clubs, etc. in order to establish contacts with the Bulgarian community. Thus, the sample had covered number of respondents with their own business in Bulgaria or in Spain. There were also quite a lot of respondents – "high-skilled industrial workers" and "operators of machinery and equipment" prior and after the departure (See Table 7). As a whole half of the Bulgarians were "managerial employees", "highly-qualified workers" and "operators of machinery and equipment" before they left (a total of 47.5% of the respondents). In Spain similar positions achieved just over 1/4 of the respondents (and more precisely – 25.4%).

The share of individuals employed in services (including trade, security, etc.), both in Bulgaria before departure and in Spain, is high. On the other hand, the share of respondents who had held positions of "applied specialist" in Bulgaria is much higher than their share in Spain. As for the people who identify themselves as "low-skilled workers" – in Bulgaria such were around 15% of the respondents, and in Spain – after they established there – about 1/4.

Without being exhaustive, it can be concluded that Bulgaria loses a creative part of its population, which although retreat from the "positions" occupied in Bulgaria, has managed to adapt to the Spanish labour market.

Table 7

Position held in Bulgaria before leaving and in Spain

Position	In Bulgaria		In Spain	
	Number	%	Number	%
1. Managerial employees	21	5.6	28	7.9
2. Analytical specialists	6	1.6	3	0.8
3. Applied specialists	59	15.7	22	6.2
4. Support staff	21	5.6	8	2.3
5. Staff engaged in services for the population, security and trade	88	23.4	107	30.3
6. Producers in agriculture, forestry and fisheries	2	0.5	4	1.1
7. Skilled industrial workers	78	20.7	65	18.4
8. Operators of plant and vehicles	42	11.2	32	9.1
9. Low skilled workers	59	15.7	84	23.8

On the other hand, the high proportion of individuals employed in companies of Bulgarians is impressive (almost 22% of the respontents). Of course, this is due to the way of establishing contact with the respondents; nevertheless, it appears that there are Bulgarian businesses in Spain relying on staff coming from Bulgaria. Every fifth respondent was employed in a company owned by Bulgarians. At the same time, nearly 2/3 of males and 40% of females were employed in businesses owned by Spaniards. It is also noteworthy that every fifth Bulgarian woman in Spain is engaged in domestic work (as housemaid) (Table 8).

Table 8

Companies employing Bulgarians in Spain

Where do you work at present?	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
In a company of a person of Spanish nationality	122	67.0	71	41.5	193	54.7
In a company of a person of Bulgarian nationality	36	19.8	41	24.0	77	21.8
In a company of other national	2	1.1	10	5.8	12	3.4
In a household/ family (assistant, caregiver, cook, gardener, etc.)	-	-	43	25.1	43	12.2
In agriculture/ farm	22	12.1	6	3.5	28	7.9

5. Income, expenses, and "remittance" behavior

5.1. Income

The surveys allow an estimation of income, expenses and remittance behavior, of both the so-called return (or perhaps "circular") migrants and of the Bulgarians in Spain (On the remittances of Bulgarians from Spain, see also Christova-Balkanska, 2012, pp. 341-354.).

On average, Bulgarians abroad earn not more than EUR 1200 a month – this applies to about 2/3 of return migrants, as well as to the Bulgarians living in Spain. About 30% of the returnees and about 27% of those residing in Spain got between EUR 400 and 800 compared to an average monthly income of almost EUR 900 (more precisely EUR 897) for returnees and EUR 878 for Bulgarians who have settled in Spain.

Table 9

Average monthly income of returnees and of those settled in Spain

What was/is your approximate average income per month?	During your stay abroad		In Spain	
	Number	%	Number	%
Up to 400 EUR	11	8.1	42	8.3
Over 400 to 800 EUR	39	28.7	162	32.0
Over 800 to 1200 EUR	42	30.9	137	27.1
Over 1200 to 1600 EUR	17	12.5	47	9.3
Over 1600 EUR	7	5.1	35	6.9
I have not worked	14	10.3	78	15.4
Not responding	6	4.4	5	1.0
Total	136	100.0	506	100.0

Source: The data used in tables 9-12 is from two sample surveys of Bulgarians in Spain, and of potential and return migrants in Bulgaria.

Virtually, one of every three individuals had an average monthly income below EUR 800, without significant difference between the income of returnees and of those settled in Spain. On the other hand – between 17-18% of the respondents from both groups – returnees and residents in Spain, had an average monthly income exceeding EUR 1200.

5.2. Expenses abroad and remittance bahavior

If in terms of average monthly income of returnees (during their stay abroad) and of Bulgarians residing in Spain it is difficult to outline important dissimilarities, the analysis of expenses of these two groups indicates the existence of significant differences. More than 77% of the returnees said they had spent less than half of their earnings, while 66% of those who have settled in Spain declared that they spent there almost the entire income.

There is an understandable difference in the attitudes of both groups in terms of the expenses they make. Return ("circular") migrants limit their spending during their stay abroad, while those living in Spain – on the contrary – spend their earnings there.

Table 10

Expenses abroad of returnees and of those settled in Spain

What portion of your income do you spend...?	During your stay abroad		In Spain	
	Number	%	Number	%
Not more than 1/4 (very small portion)	32	23.53	13	2.57
About 1/3	35	25.74	16	3.16
1/2 (About half of it)	39	28.68	38	7.51
About 2/3	5	3.68	34	6.72
About 3/4 (more than half)	3	2.21	44	8.70
Almost all the income	11	8.09	337	66.60
I have no income	-	-	23	4.55
Not responding	11	8.09	1	0.20
Total	136	100.00	506	100.00

All of this determines a different remittance behavior of the two main groups of migrants discussed in this section. One in three of returnees had sent to Bulgaria half or at least 1/3 of the earnings abroad; and one in five had not transferred any funds (probably the earnings were brought as a lump sum – upon return to the country). Regarding the Bulgarian community in Spain, we found that over 73% of the respondents transferred as much as 1/4 of their income; and another about 15% transferred up to 1/3 of their income.

Obviously the attitude of return ("circular") migrants is to minimize the costs abroad and to save a large part of the earnings to be spent later in Bulgaria; while the attitude of Bulgarians in Spain is oriented towards a regular financial support to the relatives left behind, but with relatively limited share of the income.

Table 11

Remittance bahavior

Usually what part of your income do you send to relatives in Bulgaria?	During your stay abroad		In Spain	
	Number	%	Number	%
I did not send any	28	20.59	3	1.67
Not more than 1/4 (very small portion)	14	10.29	132	73.33
About 1/3	25	18.38	26	14.44
1/2 (About half of it)	18	13.24	12	6.67
About 2/3	6	4.41	5	2.78
About 3/4 (more than half)	3	2.21	2	1.11
Almost all of it	5	3.68	-	-
Not responding	37	27.21	-	-
Total	136	100.00	180	100.00

The information obtained from the two sample surveys used in this paper enables to estimate the whole remittances and these from Spain (in particular). The estimates presented in the table 12 below are based on the anticipated number of return and current migrants; average monthly income; length of stay abroad; share of incurred expenses and of

remittances made[12]; estimates of remittances from Spain were made in a similar way (Mintchev and Boshnakov, 2012, pp. 131-146).

As already stated in the paper about potential and return migrants, the individuals residing abroad in the period 2006-2011 and located in Bulgaria at the time of the survey amounted to 450 000. And those currently residing abroad in 2011 were approximately 256 000. That is, about 10% of the country's working age population had commitment in a foreign country during the period concerned and another 6% were currently abroad at the time of the survey. The average monthly income of Bulgarian migrants amounted to nearly EUR 900 and the average length of stay abroad – 18.2 months. The share of funds transferred to Bulgaria amounted to 31.2% of average monthly income. Therefore, it comes out that this category of migrants has brought into the country about EUR 458 million (only in 2010). If the estimated remittances of those who at that time were residing abroad (assuming that their behavior will be similar to that of returnees) are added to this sum, it can be derived that the so-called "return" and "current" migrants have brought into the country an amount exceeding EUR 690 million (in the year preceding the survey) (Mintchev and Boshnakov, 2012, pp. 131-146).

Table 12

Estimate of remittances of the returnees (during their stay abroad) and of migrants settled in Spain, 2011

	Return and current migrants	Spain
Average monthly income, euro	897	878
Share of current expenses	42.4%	>70.0%
Share of cash remittances	31.2%	>25.0%
Average annual amount of savings, euro	586 620 923	–
Average annual amount of cash remittances, euro	694 102 266	162 229 952
Savings + remittances, euro	1 280 723 189	–

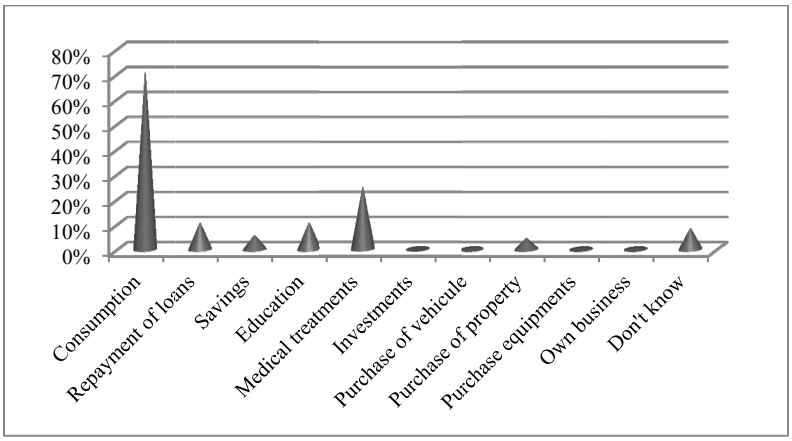
We estimate the amount of remittances sent from Spain to Bulgaria following the same algorithm. Based on the survey data from Spain, we find that 73.3% of the respondents send about 1/4 of their average monthly income to their relatives at home (Table 11). We assume that the behavior of 123 000 Bulgarians "covered" by the sample is similar to that of the respondents. Thus, we derive that in 2010, between EUR 109 and 119 million were sent to Bulgaria. Further, if we assume that the other Bulgarians in Spain have the same remittance behavior, we can estimate that the Bulgarian Diaspora, sent to Bulgaria between EUR 154 and 169 million (or EUR 162 million on average) only in 2010. Incidentally, this estimate coincides with Eurostat data for remittances from Spain to Bulgaria in that year. Indeed, amid a total of over EUR 7 billion of remittances from Spain in 2010[13], the estimation of the remittances of Bulgarian migrants seems realistic representing modest share of all remittances from this country.

[12] See also the article "Potential and return migrants in Bulgaria – demographic and socio-economic aspects".

[13] http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_PUBLIC/2-12122011-AP/EN/2-12122011-AP-EN.PDF

Figure 3

Use of remittances sent by Bulgarian residents in Spain



According to the opinion of the respondents (Figure 3) the remittances are used mainly for current consumption and healthcare, and to a lesser extent, to repay loans and education; i.e. the level of consumption in the country, health care and education, as well as the banking system, depend (in some extend) on the capabilities of migrants (including those in Spain) to support their relatives and close persons left behind.

5.3. Property status

The property status of Bulgarians in Spain looks more than solid. A high share - slightly over 80% of them – own (or have possessed) residential property in Bulgaria before departure; and every third (38.1%) - agricultural land. At the same time, 26.5% declared that they owned residential property in Spain; but only 0.6% possessed agricultural land in this country. The interest in financial assets, though not high, is visible enough – about 9% were interested in securities before they left and 4.7% had such interest in Spain.

Table 13

Property status of Bulgarians in Spain (in Bulgaria – before departure and in Spain)

Which of the following types of property do you own?	In Bulgaria – on departure		In Spain	
	Number	%	Number	%
Residential property	409	80.8	134	26.5
Motor vehicle	278	54.9	373	73.7
Shares / financial instruments	45	8.9	24	4.7
Agricultural land	193	38.1	3	0.6
Total	505	99.8	-	-
Not responding	1	0.2	-	-
Total	506	100.0	506	100.0

Source: The data used in table 13-22 is from the survey among Bulgarians in Spain from May-June 2011.

6. Language knowledge, contacts with compatriots, and contacts with close persons left behind by Bulgarian residents in Spain

6.1. The Bulgarian language in Spain

According to INE data, at the end of 2010, about 24 000 Bulgarian children under the age of 15 lived in Spain and nearly 5000 of whom were born there. In the period 2008-2012, about 10 000 of the Bulgarians settled in Spain were under 19 years of age. In this regard, we were curious to find out what were the language skills of Bulgarian teenagers in Spain.

It seems that teenagers have a better knowledge of the Spanish (Castilian) language than the Bulgarian. Nearly 89% of respondents said that their children knew Spanish "very well" and "well" and 82% said that with respect to the Bulgarian language. The level of knowledge of the Bulgarian language is similar to command of the language of the respective Autonomous region (Catalan, Valencian, Galician, etc.).

According to 18% of the respondents, the children's knowledge/understanding of the Bulgarian language is relatively poor ("poor" or they just don't know the Bulgarian) compared to 11% who consider unsatisfactory the knowledge of the Spanish by their children. Therefore, it can be expected that almost every fifth Bulgarian child in Spain struggles to communicate in Bulgarian and every one in 10 – in Spanish. This is understandable bearing in mind the attitude of Bulgarians for permanent settlement in Spain.

Table 14

Language skills of Bulgarian children in Spain

What is the knowledge of your children of....? (%)	Spanish language (Castilian)	The language of the Autonomus region	Bulgarian language
None	3.75	5.68	2.71
Poor	7.51	13.64	15.25
Good	22.87	25.00	32.88
Very good	65.87	55.68	49.15

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that almost half of those who settled in Spain before 2000, talk to their children in both languages – Bulgarian and Spanish; this is also true for 1/3 of the respondents who settled there in 2001-2006 (over 60% of all respondents interviewed) and for approximately 12-13% of those who settled after 2007 (about 15% of those covered by the sample).

Apparently, despite the evoking respect efforts of the Bulgarian authorities to maintain the native language among communities abroad (e.g. the program of Ministry of Education and Science "*Native language and culture abroad*" (Zareva, 2012, pp. 57-70)) the Bulgarian language is gradually losing "positions". One way or another, the country is facing the challenge to develop policy addressing the "second generation" of migrants.

Table 15

Language of communication in the families of Bulgarian immigrants in Spain

	Arriving in Spain			Total
	By 2000	2001-2006	2007-2011	
Bulgarian	53.2	63.6	81.3	62.7
Spanish	2.5	2.2	-	2.0
Bulgarian and Spanish	43.0	33.2	12.5	33.6
Other language	1.3	1.1	6.3	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

6.2. The Bulgarian community: Whom do Bulgarians turn to in case of difficulties? Events of the community.

Facing difficulties, the Bulgarians in Spain turn most often to friends compatriots – almost 60% of the responses – the percentage is higher among the younger population – up to 25 years of age (78%) and those aged between 26 and 35 years (61%). At the same time, the respondents also turn to friends – Spaniards (just over 21% of all respondents), where the share of responses of those aged between 36 to 45 years reaches 1/4.

The proportion of people who tend to turn to the Spanish authorities reached 7%; while – to the Bulgarian official representatations and clubs – exceeded 3% (this percentage is higher among individuals older than 45 years).

Table 16

Demand for assistance in case of problems

When you experience difficulties, usually whom do you turn to?	Age				Total
	Up to 25	26-35	36-45	over 45	
Friends – Bulgarians	78.21	61.38	52.73	55.93	59.88
Friends – foreigners	19.23	20.69	24.24	18.64	21.15
Bulgarian clubs/associations	1.28	2.07	1.21	8.47	3.16
Bulgarian official representations	0.00	0.69	1.21	1.69	0.99
Authorities in the country	1.28	8.28	8.48	5.93	6.72
Civil/non-governmental organizations in the country	0.00	2.07	2.42	3.39	2.17
I never had any difficulties	14.10	24.83	31.52	27.97	26.09

It is noteworthy that almost every one out of 3 respondents demonstrates good self-esteem – these are those respondents who declare that they had no problems or that they solve their problems without any need of help.

If this question is viewed through the prism of the actual debate on "Diaspora – transnationalism" matters (Faist, 2010), one could judge about formation/differentiation of Bulgarian community, on the one hand, and about active communication with the local people facilitating the integration of Bulgarian immigrants in Spanish society, on the other.

Table 17

Participation in events of/for the Bulgarian community

Do you attend any events organized by / for the Bulgarian community? (%)	Age				Total
	Up to 25	26-35	36-45	over 45	
Yes, I visit Bulgarian cultural events (concerts, theaters, etc.) with artists from Bulgaria	20.51	17.24	30.3	24.58	23.7
Yes, informal meetings in Bulgarian restaurants	16.67	28.97	25.45	32.2	26.7
Yes, at courses organized by the local administration	3.85	5.52	6.06	9.32	6.3
Yes, at sports events	8.97	12.41	8.48	7.63	9.5
Yes, at religious celebrations	1.28	6.9	9.7	11.02	7.9
Yes, in fora organized by official representations of Bulgaria	0.00	4.83	6.06	6.78	4.9
Yes, in fora organized by local Bulgarian clubs/associations	1.28	7.59	9.7	11.86	8.3
No, I don't participate	66.67	54.48	52.12	50.85	54.7

Arguments in favor of sociability and integration of the Bulgarian community in Spain can be searched for also in the data presented in the table 17 (the percentages exceed 100 because more than one answer was given). Virtually every second of respondents would refrain from participating in Bulgarian events. Of course, this may be due to the size of Spain, both in terms of territory and population. Moreover, Bulgarians are dispersed in several thousand settlements (although, as already mentioned, 2/3 of them live in settlements where there are at least 100 Bulgarians).

Among those participating in various events related to the Bulgarian Diaspora, prevail responses outlining affinity for informal ("*fellow-villager"*) meetings and interest in cultural events – in both cases – about 1/4 of the respondents. Such gatherings are more popular among the older respondents (aged over 35 and over 45 years). Furthermore, both religious and sports events prove to be attractive (almost every 10-th of the respondents visits such activities).

6.3. Contacts with Bulgaria (news from the country - ways of keeping informed and frequency of contacts with relatives who remained in the country; trips to Bulgaria)

Despite the modest re-migration potential (Table 21) and the losing position of Bulgarian language (Table 14), the contacts that the respondents have with Bulgaria evoke interest:

Firstly – in relation to the way they keep track of what is happening in the country,

Secondly – regarding the frequency of contacts with their relatives and close persons,

And finally – concerning their travels to Bulgaria.

Only about 10% of the responses received indicate indifference and lack of interest in what is happening in the country. People are informed primarily from the Bulgarian electronic media (about 2/3 of respondents) as well as from Internet publications of the Bulgarian

press (more than 1/3). About 12% of the respondents rely on the Spanish media, and also on Bulgarian media published in Spain.[14]

Table 18

Interest in the events in Bulgaria (information channels)

Are you interested in the events in Bulgaria? (%)	Age				Total
	Up to 25	26-35	36-45	over 45	
Yes, from the Spanish mass media	5.13	9.66	12.73	20.34	12.45
Yes, from the Internet editions of the Bulgarian press	30.77	42.07	38.79	31.36	36.76
Yes, from Bulgarian electronic media - television, radio, etc.	74.36	68.97	67.27	63.56	67.98
Yes, from newspapers and magazines distributed by the official Bulgarian representations	2.56	4.14	7.27	5.93	5.34
Yes, from newspapers and magazines distributed by Bulgarian clubs and associations	0.00	2.76	2.42	8.47	3.56
Yes, from Bulgarian newspapers and magazines published abroad	3.85	9.66	14.55	18.64	12.45
No, I am not interested	14.10	9.66	10.30	9.32	10.47

Vis-à-vis the frequency of contacts with relatives in Bulgaria – over 40% of the respondents communicate with them on a weekly basis; and over 20% – daily (i.e. nearly 2/3 of the Bulgarians in Spain are in contact with their relatives at least once a week), and another about 22% – monthly. Slightly above 8% of respondents either already have no relatives in the country or do not keep contact with them (Table 19).

Table 19

Frequency of contacts with relatives left behind in Bulgaria

	Number	%
Daily	104	20.55
Weekly	214	42.29
Monthly	110	21.74
Once in 3 months	18	3.56
Once in 6 months	6	1.19
Once a year	7	1.38
Less than once a year	5	0.99
Do not keep in contact	12	3.75
I have relatives living in Bulgaria	30	4.55
Total	506	100.00

And finally, regarding the trips to Bulgaria – practically one in every ten of our compatriots in Spain has not traveled to Bulgaria since he got there. Nearly 1/3 of the "non-travelling" have settled in Spain after 2007. The majority – 34.8% – have traveled to their homeland

[14] For example, the published in Madrid Bulgarian newspaper "Nova Duma" (http://www.novaduma.com/) is distributed in more than 300 points on the territory of Spain.

only 1-2 times; and another 31% – from 3 to 5 times. Only about 6% of the respondents have traveled more than 10 times (Table 20).

Table 20

Travel to Bulgaria

How many times have you traveled to Bulgaria? (%)	Year of arrival in Spain				Total
	By 1995	1996-2000	2001-2006	2007-2011	
I have not	-	2.7	8.2	28.8	10.1
1-2 times	10	15.2	39.1	48.8	34.8
3-5 times	20	38.4	32.2	17.5	31.0
6-10 times	40	27.7	17.8	2.5	18.0
More than 10 times	30	16.1	2.6	2.5	6.1
Total	100	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

7. Will the Bulgarians return from Spain?

Apparently even in the crisis year of 2011, the Bulgarians settled in Spain were reluctant to return to Bulgaria or resettle in another country. Over 2/3 of the respondents said they would stay in Spain over the next five years (2012-2017) and just over 5% expressed willingness to return to Bulgaria. In absolute figures, this makes about 6 to 8 thousand people (actually it can be expected that only 10% of them would have carried out their intention to return). The percentage of those who hesitate was also high – almost 19%, i.e. virtually every one in five had faced the question whether "*to come back, to stay or to go to another country*". If we compare this data with similar data on the attitudes of the Bulgarians from the monitoring of the foreign population, conducted by INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadistica) and GEPS (Grupo de Estudios de Poblacion y Sociedad) in 2007 (Recher and Requena, 2009, pp. 253-278) (the survey covered 15 500 people, including about 380 Bulgarian citizens) we could find that in 2007 about 85% of the Bulgarians declared that they would remain in Spain over the next 5 years (2008-2013) and those hesitating were considerably less. Obviously the crisis and the problems in the Spanish labour market (characterized by one of the highest unemployment rates in Europe) 5 years later made part of Bulgarian migrants to lose confidence in determining their future plans.

Table 21

Migration attitudes of the Bulgarians in Spain

What are your intentions for the next five years?	Number	%
To stay in Spain	371	73.32
To return to Bulgaria	26	5.14
To go to another country	14	2.77
I do not know / Cannot say	94	18.58
Total	505	99.80
Nonresponding	1	0.20
Total	506	100.00

Individuals who said they would move to another country are quite few in 2011 – less than 3% of the respondents (Table 21). This looks somewhat strange having in mind the negative migration balance of Spain in recent years.

Table 22

Encouraging the children of Bulgarian immigrants in Spain to return to Bulgaria

Would you encourage your children to return to Bulgaria?	To study		To work		To settle	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Yes	97	19.2	77	15.2	84	16.6
I am not sure	81	16.0	1105	20.8	111	21.9
No	328	64.8	323	64.0	311	61.5

The modest re-migration potential of Bulgarians living in Spain is confirmed also by the pessimistic fact that people who would encourage their children to return to Bulgaria are under 20% and about the same percentage are hesitant. Those who would not advise their children to return to Bulgaria (to study, work or settle) were over 60%. Moreover, this percentage is higher among women than among men.

8. Conclusion

Spain is an attractive destination for Bulgarian emigration. The fact that part of the respondents in the sample survey explored above declared spontaneously that they wanted just to live in Spain, places the analysis beyond the standard neoclassical "push-pull" perspective (Lee, 1966, pp. 47-57).

In terms of education, employment, and property status the Bulgarian community in Spain reveales the following socio-economic characteristics:

- Adequate education of the Bulgarian Diaspora and desire to validate it (at least compared to immigrants from Morocco or China).
- Despite the retreat from positions (employment sector or work positions) held in Bulgaria before departure, the Bulgarians "manage relatively well" on the Spanish labor market (of course, we are talking about the time before the crisis that gave some Southern European countries the unkind name "PIGS" – Portugal, Italy, Greece, Spain).
- There is an obvious difference in the attitudes of return ("circular") migrants and those settled in Spain – returnees used to reduce their expenses to a minimum during their stay abroad – on the contrary, those settled in Spain spend there most of their earnings.
- The above mentioned determines a different remittance behavior of returnees and those settled in Spain. The attitude of return migrants is towards cost minimization abroad and targeted saving (the earnings to be spent later in Bulgaria), while the Bulgarian immigrants in Spain provide regular financial support to their relatives who remained home, but do this with a relatively limited share of their income.

In this regard, the question *Will the Bulgarians return from Spain* is rhetorical – moreover, Bulgarians (and Bulgarian women in particular) are reluctant to advise their children to return back to their homeland. Therefore, re-migration potential remains very modest (especially during a favourable state of affairs in Spain or in any other host country). Nevertheless, Bulgarians keep their interest in what is happening in the home country. Although most people maintain weekly and even daily contact with their relatives, the Bulgarian language begins to "lose positions" – one in three Bulgarian children living in Spain has difficulties to communicate in mother tongue. This leads us to believe that Bulgaria is facing the need to develop incorporative policies aimed at the second generation of Bulgarians abroad.

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Appendix

Table 1

Structure of the Bulgarian population in Spain by gender and age (%, 2010)

Age group	Total	Male	Female
0-4	4.50	4.40	4.70
05-09	4.40	4.20	4.60
10-14	4.30	4.20	4.60
15-19	5.40	5.10	5.80
20-24	9.40	8.90	10.00
25-29	12.90	12.60	13.20
30-34	14.90	15.80	13.90
35-39	12.50	13.20	11.60
40-44	10.20	10.60	9.60
45-49	8.70	9.20	8.20
50-54	6.30	6.20	6.30
55-59	3.80	3.60	4.10
60-64	1.70	1.40	2.10
65-69	0.60	0.40	0.80
70-74	0.20	0.10	0.40
75-79	0.10	0.10	0.20
80-84	0.10	0.00	0.10
85 and older	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
By gender:	*54.20*	*45.80*	*100.00*

Source: INE, Municipal Register, 2010 (www.ine.es).

Table 2

Planned sample size by settlements and provinces (number)

Province	City	Number
28. Madrid	28079-Madrid	20
28. Madrid	28079-Madrid	20
07. Balears (Illes)	07040 Palma de Mallorca	20
46. Valencia	46131-Gandia	20
46. Valencia	46250-Valencia	20
47. Valladolid	47186 Valladolid	20
30. Murcia	30030-Murcia	20
28. Madrid	28005-Alcala de Henares	20
28. Madrid	28047-Collado Villalba	20
09. Burgos	09059 Burgos	20
29. Malaga	29067 Malaga	20
28. Madrid	28092-Mostoles	20
50. Zaragoza	50095-Ejea de los Caballeros	20
09. Burgos	09018 Aranda de Duero	20
04. Almeria	04013 Almeria	20
24. Leon	24089 Leon	20
46. Valencia	46020-Alc£dia de Crespins (l')	20
46. Valencia	46179-Navarras	20
49. Zamora	49021 Benavente	20
40. Segovia	40043 Carbonero el Mayor	20
45. Toledo	45168 Toledo	20
40. Segovia	40906 San Cist¢bal de Segovia	20
43. Tarragona	43171 Vila-seca	20
28. Madrid	28038-Cercedilla	20
19. Guadalajara	19279 Torre del Burgo	20
	Total:	500
Planned size in total by provinces:		20
04. Almeria		20
07. Balears (Illes)		40
09. Burgos		20
19. Guadalajara		20
24. Leon		120
28. Madrid		20
29. Malaga		20
30. Murcia		40
40. Segovia		20
43. Tarragona		20
45. Toledo		80
46. Valencia		20
47. Valladolid		20
49. Zamora		20
50. Zaragoza		
	Total:	500

Table 3

Quotas covered in the selected provinces (number)

Province	Male	16-44	45-64	Female	16-44	45-64
04. Almeria	11	8	3	9	7	2
07. Balears (Illes)	10	8	2	10	7	3
09. Burgos	21	16	5	19	14	5
19. Guadalajara	11	8	3	9	7	2
24. Leon	11	8	3	9	7	2
28. Madrid	63	46	17	57	40	17
29. Malaga	10	7	3	10	7	3
30. Murcia	11	8	3	9	7	2
40. Segovia	21	16	5	19	14	5
43. Tarragona	11	8	3	9	7	2
45. Toledo	11	8	3	9	7	2
46. Valencia	45	34	11	35	26	9
47. Valladolid	11	8	3	9	7	2
49. Zamora	10	8	2	10	8	2
50. Zaragoza	11	8	3	9	7	2
Total	268	199	69	232	172	60

ИНСТИТУТ ЗА ИКОНОМИЧЕСКИ ИЗСЛЕДВАНИЯ НА БЪЛГАРСКАТА АКАДЕМИЯ НА НАУКИТЕ
ИКОНОМИЧЕСКИ ИЗСЛЕДВАНИЯ
ECONOMIC STUDIES

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SETTLERS AND TEMPORARY MIGRANTS IN GERMANY (Results of Empirical Survey of Individuals Travelling by Busses from Bulgaria to Germany)

The article presents a selection of results from a sample questionnaire survey of Bulgarian citizens travelling by busses from Bulgaria to Germany in May 2012. Two main segments are delineated – Bulgarians that are permanently or temporary residing in this country. Their socio-demographic profiles are explored separately and in comparative perspective, including their actual and expected realization on the labour market abroad. The migration intentions of both segments are identified in the context of the current debate regarding the EU-2 (Bulgarian and Romanian) migration flows to Germany.
JEL: F22; J21; Z13

1. Introduction

Assuming that the last 6 countries which dropped their labour market restrictions for Bulgarians and Romanians are enthusiastic over the next wave of Southeast European workers is a clueless illusion. The emigration from EU-2 (i.e. Bulgaria and Romania) is *"emigration of the poor"* – a popular term in Germany. The debate is politicized and concerns the meaning of the concept for "welfare state" that resonates on the "universalistic" (like the British) or "contributor" (like the German) social systems. The expectations are that Bulgarians and Romanians will induce particular tension in the low-skilled labour market segment. After January 1st 2014, for instance, between 100 and 180 thousand Bulgarians and Romanians are expected to relocate in Germany, apart from the others.

According to data of IAB (Institute for Employment Research, Nuremberg) so far in Germany only 7.4% of EU-2 are unemployed, compared to 7.7% of the local population and to 14.7% of the total immigrant population of the country. Therefore, something in the

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debate does not correspond to the figures that experts like H. Brücker refer to[2]. However, having in mind the favourable demographics of the new immigrant population it is considered that it can contribute (comparatively) more to the social systems than the local people. Yet again according to IAB, 65% of Bulgarians and Romanians pay taxes in Germany and those who receive social benefits are not more than 10% – a little higher share than the 7% of local population that lives on benefits.[3]

The lower skill level of the new emigrants also raises a concern in the host countries. In Germany it is considered that 1/3 of the Bulgarians and Romanians working there have no qualification (compared to 11% low-skilled among the local workers). According to some media (Ulrich, 2014), in towns like Duisburg and Dortmund only 10% of the new immigrants from Bulgaria occupy positions generating taxes. However, there are also opinions that the new Balkan immigration brings rather benefits than problems. Thus, according to the German press, the renowned Institute of Economic Studies (DIW – Deutsche Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, Berlin) estimates the employment rate of the new immigrants arriving from Bulgaria and Romania in the period 2007-2011 at 62.6% (Ulrich, 2014).

Actually, the influx from both countries decreased in 2013, compared with 2012. However, the immigration from Italy increases, but this does not raise political debates and terms like *"emigration of the poor"* (Evans and Bristow, 2014).

Such type of debates motivated the initiation of a sample survey among Bulgarians travelling by bus to Germany in order to obtain information about the profile of the Bulgarians settled permanently or residing temporary in this country.

2. Between Bulgaria and Germany – Sample Questionnaire-Based Survey of People Travelling by Bus from Bulgaria to Germany

The objective of this article is to explore consistently the following set of important questions related to the commented debate in the German press:

- What are socio-demographic characteristics of our compatriots settled in Germany?
- Which are the main characteristics of labour/temporary migrants – having (or looking for) realization in Germany (including "return" and/or "circular" migrants)?
- What patterns of the general migration intentions among Bulgarians travelling by means of bus transport to Germany can be identified?

[2] The gates are open – Rich EU countries fret about social-benefits tourism after the lifting of restrictions on the free movement of workers from Romania and Bulgaria on January 1st (http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21592673-rich-eu-countries-fret-about-social-benefits-tourism-after-lifting-restrictions-free).
[3] Ibid.

The study[4] is based on a planned sample of 800 standardized "face to face" interviews with passengers who check-in to travel by bus from Bulgaria to Germany. The bus lines are treated as "clusters" from which a certain number of passengers are selected for interviewing before the departure of the bus.

A statistical frame comprising of the full list of the bus lines travelling from Bulgaria to Germany (from Sofia and from the rest of the country) was provided – on the basis of "screening" of offers and consultations with all international bus companies, a total of 160 bus lines were identified that travel weekly to Germany from the cities of Sofia, Pazardjik, Sliven, Plovdiv, Kardjali, Varna, Ruse, Haskovo, Burgas and Stara Zagora. However, just some of the bus lines actually travel – only in cases that there are enough passengers and there are options for matching with local lines to transfer via Sofia.

Thus, the number of the regularly travelling bus lines to Germany in the survey period (May 2012) was reduced to 70 per week. They travel respectively from Sofia, Pazardjik, Plovdiv, Kardjali, Varna, Ruse, Haskovo and Stara Zagora. All of them are comprehensively covered in the sample. The sample selection includes the following steps:

1. *Step I:* Distribution of the clusters proportionaly to their sizes in Sofia and in the country. As a result, certain quotas are determined for the bus lines coming from relevant towns where a bus line from Bulgaria to Germany is offered.
2. *Step II:* Random selection of individuals within the cluster (i.e. the selected bus line) where the "sampling frame" contains all individuals that are Bulgarian citizens aged 18+. This way, the sample could potentialy include also individuals travelling to Germany for a personal visit or tourism.

Table 1

Number of busses and questionnaires, by cities of departure to Germany

	Number of buses per week	Number of collected questionnaires
Sofia	36	593
Pazardzhik	6	30
Plovdiv	7	30
Kardzhali	4	12
Varna	7	105
Russe	3	7
Haskovo	2	9
Stara Zagora	5	21
TOTAL	70	807

[4] The survey is conducted by A.S.A. Sociological Agency managed by Dr. D. Mihailov in the framework of the Project *"Bulgarian Diaspora in Western Europe: cross-border mobility, national identity, and development"* (Contract No DID-02/21 from 17.12.2009 and Annex to the contract from 12.12.2011 between ERI-BAS and The Bulgarian National Science Fund, "Ideas" Programme). The processing of the primary information is a joint effort between the author and Dr. Venelin Boshnakov (UNWE) and Dr. Docho Mihailov (A.S.A.).

The final accomplished sample includes 807 interviews by which questionnaire data has been collected from 70 bus lines that travel to Germany each week for the whole country (Table 1).

The questionnaire consists of 34 questions generating 56 variables. The first question divides the interviewed people into "permanently residing" in Germany and "living in Bulgaria". The first part of the questions (Q2-Q19, 33 variables) aims in those permanently residing in Germany. Some of them are similar to questions from previous studies among Bulgarians in Spain and among return migrants located in Bulgaria (Kaltchev, 2012). The second block of questions (Q20-Q26, 16 variables) is focused on those permanently residing in Bulgaria. These questions are similar to the set of items typically used in previous surveys of the so-called potential migrants (Kaltchev, 2012). This way of collecting information allows us to compare two distinguished groups – permanently residing in Germany and in Bulgaria – as the bulk of the latter are classified as "temporary migrants".

3. Permanently Residing in Germany – Duration and Place of Stay

The survey data shows that the majority of Bulgarians travelling by buses to Germany (666 interviewed, i.e. 82.5% of all intevriewed) live in Bulgaria and only one sixth reside in Germany (Table 2).

Table 2

Permanent residence of the sampled individuals (checked in busses to Germany)

Where have you lived the longest during the last 12 months?	Number	%
Bulgaria	666	82.5
Germany	140	17.3
Other country	1	0.1
Total	807	100.0

This allows us to differentiate the profiles of those permanently residing in Germany from the temporary migrants (i.e. people living predominantly in Bulgaria and looking for options to get a temporary job in Germany) as well as to explore separately and in comparative perspective the socio-demographic and other characteristics of both subsets ("permanently residing in Germany" and "temporary emigrants").

Most of those classified as permanently residing in Germany state that they have lived there during the last 5 years, i.e. exactly since 2007 (the study was conducted in May 2012). As a whole, about 30% of respondents declare a period longer than 5 years (11.5% with a period over 10 years). This confirms the findings of some authors and internet portals about the restrictions enabled before 2007 (Naydenova and Christova-Balkanska, 2010) and about the accelerated moves from Bulgaria after that year.[5]

[5] "How many Bulgarians are there in Germany?" (http://yurukov.net/blog/2012/03/14/kolko-sa-balgarite-v-germaniq/).

Table 3

Duration of stay in Germany

For how long approximately do you permanently live in Germany?	Number	%
For a year	7	5.9
More than 1 up to 5 years	76	63.9
More than 5 up to 10 years	22	18.5
More than 10 years	14	11.8
Total	119	100.0

Despite the traditions,[6] the current Bulgarian presence in Germany is a relatively new phenomenon. Furthermore, as indicated in Table 4, Bulgarians are concentrated predominantly in large German cities (including Berlin), mainly in provinces as North Rhine-Westphalia and Bavaria.[7]

Table 4

Settlement in Germany

In what settlement do you live in Germany?	%
Berlin	6.5
Big city with population over 500 000 people (Hamburg, Munich, Cologne, Frankfurt, etc.)	71.7
Other city/town	19.5
Small settlement/farm	2.2
Total	100.0

4. Sociodemographic Characteristics of Bulgarians Settled in Germany and of Temporary Migrants

The information in Table 5 presents the profile of the respondents permanently residing in Germany and those looking for short-term realization in this country. The distribution by gender is surprising – men are 58.6% of the permanent residents and about half of the short-term ones – probably this is due to the specifics of the survey (we interviewed people using busses where women are less keen to use such mode of transport).

[6] For example, prominent Bulgarian renaissance leaders like Dr. Petar Beron, Dr. Ivan Bogorov, etc. received their education in Germany; furthermore, the first Bulgarian students' association was established more than a century ago in Berlin, back in 1908 (Naydenova, Christova-Balkanska, 2010, pp. 141-178).

[7] On territorial distribution of Bulgarians in Germany till 2007 see Naydenova, Christova-Balkanska, 2010, pp. 141-178.

Table 5

Socio-demographic profile of Bulgarians settled in Germany and of the temporary migrants (May 2012)

	Permanent residents		Temporary migrants	
	Number	%	Number	%
Gender				
Male	82	58.6	341	51.2
Female	58	41.4	325	48.8
Total	140	100.0	666	100.0
Age group				
Up to 25	14	10.1	102	15.4
26-35	48	34.8	266	40.1
36-45	51	37.0	183	27.6
45+	25	18.1	113	17.0
Total	138	100.0	664	100.0
Completed education (diploma, certificate)				
No education			7	1.1
Elementary	1	0.7	16	2.4
Primary	2	1.4	40	6.0
Secondary – general	23	16.5	175	26.4
Secondary – vocational	64	46.0	297	44.7
Higher (Bachelor's)	19	13.7	77	11.6
Higher (Master's)	28	20.1	49	7.4
Academic degree (Ph.D. or Dr.Sc.)	2	1.4	3	0.5
Total	139	100.0	664	100.0
Marital status				
Married (in cohabitation)	90	64.7	331	49.9
Single (not in cohabitation)	38	27.3	281	42.4
Separated, divorced	11	7.9	42	6.3
Widower/widow			9	1.4
Total	139	100.0	663	100.0
Ethnicity				
Bulgarian	121	87.7	591	89.1
Turkish	16	11.6	27	4.1
Roma			43	6.5
Other	1	0.7	2	0.3
Total	138	100.0	663	100.0
Citizenship				
Bulgarian	122	88.4	661	99.7
Bulgarian and German	16	11.6	1	0.2
Other			1	0.2
Total	138	100.0	663	100.0

Regarding the distribution by age, the temporary migrants are definitely younger. The permanently residing are mostly aged between 26 and 45. Amongst temporary migrants,

those aged between 26 and 35 predominate and allocate over 40% of the respondents. In both cases we talk about young population in active working age. This makes many researchers in Germany to consider the presence of Bulgarians and Romanians on the labour market of the Federal Republic more as a benefit than a threat.[8]

Regarding the educational status of both categories, those permanently residing certainly have a higher educational level. Practically every third person of those residing in Germany has tertiary education (Bachelor, Master, or PhD). Among the short-term migrants the share of people with such education is below 20%. In fact, both groups are dominated by people with secondary vocational education. Still, the share of people with no education, primary or secondary general education is higher among the short-term migrants.

People in marital relationship (marriage/cohabitation) dominate in both subsets, but their share is considerably higher for those permanently settled in Germany.

There are substantial differences in the distributions by ethnic affiliation. Among the respondents settled in Germany we identify mostly Bulgarians and Bulgarian Turks, while among the temporary migrants the share of Romas is higher than the one of the Turks.

Also, we cannot ignore the obvious presence of people possesing double citizenship amongst the permanently residing in Germany, which practically does not exist among the temporary migrants.

5. Reasons to Settle in Germany– for Those Permanently Residing There

Among the reasons for settling in Germany we outline the major ones having economic nature – "higher payment" (every third of the responses) and "higher living standard" (every fifth of the responses).

This is in a certain dissonance with the data about the Bulgarians living in Spain, and in unison with the responses of the return and potential migrants from previous studies (Kalchev and Zareva, 2012). At the same time, the motive for a better professional realization is also obvious.

[8] According to analyst like Herbert Brücker, due to their favourable demographics the newcomers from Bulgaria and Romania contribute to the social systems to a considerably higher extent, as compared to the local population. See: The gates are open – Rich EU countries fret about social-benefits tourism after the lifting of restrictions on the free movement of workers from Romania and Bulgaria on January 1st, The Economist, January 4th, 2014.
http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21592673-rich-eu-countries-fret-about-social-benefits-tourism-after-lifting-restrictions-free.

Table 6

Reasons for settling in Germany

What are the main reasons to settle in Germany?	Responses		% of the cases
	Number	%	
Higher living standard	51	20.2	37.5
Higher payment	94	37.3	69.1
Better professional realization	24	9.5	17.6
To support my family or other relatives in Bulgaria	38	15.1	27.9
To ensure the desired education for me and my children	13	5.2	9.6
Marriage/relationship	12	4.8	8.8
To visit parents and/or relatives	1	0.4	0.7
To accompany husband / wife, spouse / partner, parents, children	9	3.6	6.6
To get foreign nationality for me and my family	2	0.8	1.5
I just wanted to live in Germany	8	3.2	5.9
Total	252	100.0	

On the other hand, almost 1/3 of the respondents indicate motives for settling in Germany concerning family matters, namely:

- to support my family or other relatives in Bulgaria (15.1% of the responses);
- to ensure the desired education for me and my children (5.2% of the responses);
- marriage/relationship (4.8% of responses);
- to accompany spouse/partner, parents, or children (3.6%).

6. Reasons for temporary migrants to travel to Germany

More than half of the people travelling by bus to Germany (permanently residing in Bulgaria, classified as "temporary" migrants) have a clear intention to work there. The share of people stating that they will "try to work" in Germany, or that they will "look for a short-term job", is almost two thirds (Table 7). At the same time, every fourth person is motivated by different personal reasons – visits, medical treatment, etc.

Table 7

Reasons for permanent Bulgarian residents to travel to Germany

	Number	%
Vacation, excursion	43	6.5
Work in Germany	309	46.4
Personal reasons: visiting relatives, family reasons, medical treatment, etc.	156	23.4
Business reasons: business trip, private business, education/training	35	5.3
Looking for temporary employment in Germany	109	16.4
Looking for education	5	0.8
I am leaving Bulgaria to settle in Germany	4	0.6
I travel to another country	2	0.3
Other	3	0.5
Total	666	100.0

7. Labour Market – Occupation of the Permanently Residing in Germany, Occupation in Bulgaria before Leaving to Germany, and Expected Occupation of Temporary Migrants

The data provides options to identify many aspects of the labour markets both in Germany and in Bulgaria, in the respect of their roles as "demand-pull" and "supply-push" factors (Zimmermann, 1995), motivating the permanent (or final) settling of Bulgarians in Germany, as well as the attitudes to short-term realization.

Many of the temporary migrants (one in every four) aim to work in agriculture (without having had such an experience in Bulgaria). On the contrast, this is rather an exception among the permanently residing in Germany.

On the other hand, taking a job as a "construction worker" is almost equally popular among both subsets, however, with certain prevalence among the temporary residents. A popular job opportunity –which is relatively unknown in Bulgaria – is the employment as "personal assistant".

Table 8

Professional "structure" of permanent residents in Germany and temporary migrants (%, May 2012)

Occupation	Occupation in Germany	Occupation in Bulgaria before departure	Expected occupation in Germany	Occupation in Bulgaria before departure
	Permanent residents		*Temporary migrants*	
Agricultural worker	1.8	0.9	25.8	2.8
Construction worker	28.6	25.4	22.5	19.6
Personal assistant	11.6		11.9	0.9
Driver	4.5	3.5	2.3	7.3
Medium-qualified technical staff	12.5	13.2	6.8	16.5
Assistant in household/cleaner	4.5	0.9	4.3	0.9
Medium-qualified personnel in trade and tourism	16.1	17.5	10.6	21.2
High-qualified personnel	12.5	25.4	3.5	17.9
Medium-qualified personnel in other area	7.1	8.8	1.5	3.8
Low-qualified personnel/unskilled worker	0.9	2.6	0.8	3.1
No profession			10.1	5.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

People are also interested in jobs as medium-skilled personnel in trade and tourism sectors – most of the permanently residing respondents have occupied such positions also in Bulgaria before moving to Germany. These positions are popular among the temporary

migrants too. Similar interest is also evident with regard to positions of medium-qualified technical staff. At the same time, one in every 10 of the temporary migrants has not specified a particular occupation during the survey.

8. Labour Agreements, Income, and Remittance Behaviour of the Permanently Residing in Germany

Concerning the contract relations of the permanently residing active Bulgarians it is notable that over 40% of the respondents have permanent labour agreements and another over 43% have temporary ones. The self-employed are as many as the engaged in informal relations – about 6-7%.

The statements about the benefits for the host countries from the new Southeuropeans arriving there (EU-2 – Bulgaria and Romania) seem completely reasonable – despite the already popular clichés like "emigration of the poor" in countries like Germany, as discussed above. Noticeable is the high percentage of people with permanent labour agreements aged 40+ (56.6%) as well as the share of women (48.8%). Regarding the temporary contracts, they are most common among men and quite naturally – among younger people. Every tenth person aged under 30 is employed on the basis of informal relations and almost every tenth of the men is self-employed.

Regarding the income – data is indicative, since over half of the interviewed did not answer this question – it seems that Bulgarian migrants in Germany (quite expectedly) are in a better financial position than returnees to Bulgaria as well as than Bulgarians in Spain (Christova-Balkanska and Mitchev, 2012). Almost half of those responded to the income question declare income of EUR 1000 to 1500 and almost 1/4 – between EUR 1500 and 2000.

Table 9

Types of labour agreements of Bulgarians residing permanently in Germany (%)

	Gender		Age group			Total
	Male	Female	Up to 30	31-39	40 and older	
Permanent labour agreement	37.2	48.8	33.3	26.8	56.6	41.2
Temporary contract	46.2	39.0	54.2	56.1	30.2	43.7
No contract/informal relations	6.4	7.3	12.5	4.9	5.7	6.7
Self-employed/family company	9.0	2.4		9.8	5.7	6.7

Table 10

Income structure of Bulgarians residing permanently in Germany

Approximate average monthly income	%
Up to 1000 EUR	25.5
Over 1000 to 1500 EUR	43.6
Over 1500 to 2000 EUR	23.6
Over 2000 EUR	7.3
	100.0

On the other hand, there is a clear income differentiation by gender – if men receive on average about EUR 1630, the average income of women does not exceed EUR 1280. The difference is obviously substantial. Surprisingly, people with lower education are slightly better paid than those having university degree – respectively, EUR 1933 for the former compared to EUR 1700 for the latter. However, this may also be due to the fact that better educated people tended to avoid answering this question.

It worths noting that among those responded to this question individuals with Turkish ethnicity are somewhat better paid than the Bulgarians (respectively, on average EUR 1550 for the former and EUR 1504 for the latter).

About 13% of the respondents declare that they do not send money to their relatives in the home country; another 8% did not respond to the question (*Do you send money to your family or other relatives while you live in Germany?*). It is noticeable that the remittance behaviour of the permanently residing in Germany differs from the one of the Bulgarians in Spain, and is close to the remittance of funds by the so-called "return" or "circular" migrants (Christova-Balkanska and Mitchev, 2012). This may be due to the specifics of the surveyed population – "Bulgarians (age 18+) travelling by busses from Bulgaria to Germany".

Table 11

Share of income transferred to Bulgaria by gender, age and ethnicity (%)

	Gender		Age group			Ethnicity		Total
	Male	Female	<30	31-39	40+	Bulgarian	Turkish	
Not more than 1/4 (very small part)	19.4	31.7	15.8	23.8	28.3	24.7	15.4	24.1
About 1/3 (less than half)	31.3	41.5	57.9	31.0	30.4	36.6	23.1	35.2
About 1/2 (about half)	41.8	22.0	26.3	35.7	34.8	33.3	46.2	34.3
About 2/3 (more than half)	6.0	2.4	-	7.1	4.3	3.2	15.4	4.6
About 3/4 (very big part)	1.5	-	-	-	2.2	1.1	-	0.9
Almost all the income	-	2.4	-	2.4		1.1	-	0.9

High percentage of the respondents (35.2%) declares that they send 1/3 of their earnings to Bulgaria; moreover, another 34.3% send about half of their income. For the representatives of the Bulgarian Turks community as well as the men, the share of individuals sending 1/2 of their income is over 40%.

9. Bulgarian Community in Germany through the Lens of the Attitude of the Host Society, Its Contacts and Political Involvement

9.1. Attitude towards Bulgarians in Germany

An attractive factor for the Bulgarians in Germany is the very positive in general attitude of the locals – 27% of the respondents consider it "very good", and almost 60% – "relatively good".

There are certain variations in these judgements by gender – almost one third of the women define the attitude towards Bulgarians as "very good". This share is even higher for the

people aged 40+. There are certain variations of the judgements also by ethnic affiliation – it seems that Bulgarian Turks are more reserved towards the generally high appreciation of the attitude of the locals regarding Bulgarians. On the other hand, the respondents who consider their financial situation as "good" perceived the host society as very friendly – over 43% of them consider the attitude of the local people as "very good", and every second respondent – as "relatively good".

Evidently, these judgements can be interpreted both as a serious "pull" factors as well as a factor contributing to the adequate inclusion and integration of Bulgarian migrants in Germany.

Table 12.1

Attitude of the local people towards Bulgarians – by gender and age (%)

How do you appreciate the attitude of the local people towards the Bulgarians in Germany?	Gender		Age group			Total
	Male	Female	Under and including 30	31-39	40+	
Very good	23.5	32.1	22.9	17.0	38.9	27.0
Relatively good	65.4	51.8	62.9	70.2	48.1	59.9
Bad	4.9	8.9	5.7	4.3	9.3	6.6
I am not sure	6.2	7.1	8.6	8.5	3.7	6.6

Table 12.2

Attitude of the local people towards Bulgarians – based on self-assessed financial status and ethnicity (%)

How do you appreciate the attitude of the local people towards the Bulgarians in Germany?	Self-evaluated financial state			Ethnic group		Total
	good	average	bad	Bulgarian	Turkish	
Very good	43.5	11.8	16.7	28.6	12.5	27.0
Relatively good	50.0	70.6	50.0	58.8	68.8	59.9
Bad	3.2	8.8	16.7	6.7	6.3	6.6
I am not sure	3.2	8.	16.7	5.9	12.5	6.6

9.2. Contacts with other Bulgarians in Germany and with relatives and close friends in Bulgaria

The information regarding the frequency of the contacts of Bulgarians in Germany sets the context of the debate on "forming a Diaspora" (i.e. formation of a community, contacts mostly with other people of the Bulgarian community) and "transnationalism" – openness to the host country (Table 13.1 and 13.2).

The type of migrant segment we discuss here (permanently residing in Germany, travelling by bus) leaves the impression of certain closeness within the community. About 55-60% of the permanently residing communicates with other Bulgarians every week. The percentage of daily contacts is over 40% for men and 66% among individuals with basic or lower education.

The share of respondents maintaining monthly contacts with Bulgaria is over 70%. Every third Bulgarian woman communicates daily with her relatives in Bulgaria. This is so also with almost two thirds of the individuals with basic or lower level of education.

Table 13.1

Contacts with other Bulgarians in Germany – by gender, age and level of education (%)

How often do you keep contacts with Bulgarians in Germany?	Gender		Age group			Education			Total
	Male	Female	Under and including 30	31-39	40+	Basic or lower	Secondary	University and higher	
Daily	40.7	12.3	17.1	37.5	29.6	66.7	37.2	12.2	29.0
Several times a week	21.0	36.8	34.3	25.0	24.1		22.1	38.8	27.5
Several times a month	18.5	21.1	8.6	18.8	27.8		17.4	24.5	19.6
Rarely	14.8	21.1	37.1	14.6	7.4	33.3	18.6	14.3	17.4
Almost no contacts with Bulgarians in Germany	4.9	8.8	2.9	4.2	11.1		4.7	10.2	6.5

Table 13.2

Contacts with relatives and close friends in Bulgaria – by gender, age and education (%)

How often do you keep contacts with relatives and close friends in Bulgaria?	Gender		Age group			Education			Total
	Male	Female	Under and inclu-ding 30	31-39	40+	Basic or lower	Secondary	University and higher	
Daily	19.8	33.3	11.4	33.3	27.8	66.7	24.4	24.5	25.4
Several times a week	48.1	43.9	51.4	45.8	42.6		47.7	46.9	46.4
Several times a month	29.6	19.3	37.1	18.8	24.1		26.7	24.5	25.4
Rarely	2.5	3.5		2.1	5.6	33.3	1.2	4.1	2.9

In this sense, any migration sample survey carried out in a sending country provides an opportunity to identify the segment of migrants which maintain active contacts with Bulgaria. Obviously, this is a typical feature of the first migrant generation (i.e. those who were born in the "country of origin").

9.3. Participation in elections

The election voting of the Bulgarians in Germany seems higher than in Spain – over 14% have voted in elections for Bulgarian Parliament or President, but only 5% – in local elections. More active in the Parliamentary and Presidential elections have been those living in Berlin (over 40% of the respondents have voted there during Bulgarian elections), the Turkish ethnic community (one in every four persons has voted, i.e. about 25%, compared to only 13% of the Bulgarians), and those who self-assess their financial status as "very good".

Table 14

Participation in elections in Germany
(Bulgarian Parliament and Presidential elections; local elections)

	Number	%
Have you voted in Bulgarian elections (for parliament or president) in Germany?		
Yes	20	14.5
No	114	82.6
There were no elections for parliament of president	4	2.9
Total	138	100.0
Have you voted in local elections in Germany – in the town where you live?		
Yes	7	5.1
No	129	93.5
There were no local elections since I have been there	2	1.4
Total	138	100.0

On the other hand, Bulgarians are not so active in elections for local authorities. Those living in Berlin, or considering their financial status as "very good" vote more frequently in local election in the receiving country.

10. Migration Attitudes of the Permanently Residing and Temporary Migrants in Germany

Surprisingly, the Bulgarians permanently residing in Germany and travelling by bus are more inclined to return and are considerably more hesitant regarding their future plans, as compared to the Bulgarians in Spain – over 22% would return, and one in every three individuals is hesitant to take such step (Mintchev, 2014). On the other hand, over 44% of the respondents do not face this dilemma – they definitely stay in Germany. Probably this result is influenced by the specifics of the survey to reach particular kind of respondents, but also by the fact that Bulgarians reside in Germany for quite a shorter time (Bulgarian presence in this country has doubled recently, e.g. since year 2007[9]).

As regards the migration intentions of the so-called "temporary migrants"[10], they are clearly more in favour of the short-term migration – over 70% of the respondents from this subset declare that they leave Bulgaria to work abroad for a few months. For 56% this is "very likely", and for another 14.3% it is "somewhat likely". About 40% in total are inclined also to take long-term engagements (for more than a year). Yet, about 85% of the respondents state that they would not settle permanently in Germany.

[9] http://yurukov.net/blog/2012/03/14/kolko-sa-balgarite-v-germaniq/.
[10] In this case they are "Bulgarian residents permanently living in Bulgaria, aged 18+, and travelling by bus to Germany".

Table 15

Migration intentions of those residing in Germany (May 2012)

What are your intentions for the next 5 years?	Number	%
To stay in Germany	62	44.9
To come back to Bulgaria	31	22.5
To leave for another country	2	1.4
I do not know/I cannot say	43	31.2
Total	138	100.0

Table 16

Migration intentions of those living in Bulgaria and travelling by bus to Germany (results are summed separately on each line) (%)

What is the probability in the near future to:	Not likely	Little likely	Somewhat likely	Very likely	Total
Work in Germany for a few months	23.3	6.5	14.3	55.9	100.0
Study in Germany for a few months	84.7	9.2	3.5	2.7	100.0
Work in Germany for more than a year	39.1	20.4	21.5	19.0	100.0
Study in Germany for more than a year	85.0	9.3	3.7	2.0	100.0
Move and settle in Germany	62.4	23.5	9.1	5.0	100.0

Obviously, here we consider a typical case of short-term mobility (or labour migration) which could be an alternative to the "emigration for good" (permanent emigration), and in this sense, the analysis of this phenomenon deserves a special attention.

11. Conclusion

The survey data under analysis in this paper indicates rather serious benefits for the so-called "host countries" from the attraction of young active population from Eastern Europe with relatively good qualification level. Noticeably, the dropping of many restrictions after 2007, including restrictions for access to the labour market in the Federal Republic from January 1st 2014, as well as the generally friendly attitude towards Bulgarian individuals, will continue to motivate many Bulgarians to look for realization in this country.

The qualification level of the permanently residing in Germany seems more solid than the one of those temporary residing. The popular concerns regarding the skill level of the new migrants (from EU-2) are most likely due to the strict requirements for validating their qualification –which is probably much harder to be achieved by the temporary migrants. On the other hand, despite the hesitations – mainly of those permanently residing in Germany concerning their future migration plans – it would be naïve to expect soon a "trend reversal" and amplification of attitudes towards returning to Bulgaria.

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SUMMARIES

Paolo Ruspini
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BETWEEN RETURN AND CIRCULATION: EXPERIENCES OF BULGARIAN MIGRANTS

This article assesses the extent and specifics of return and circular migration in Bulgaria, a South-eastern European country that joined the European Union in 2007. After defining return migration and reviewing the main theories contemplating return (and circular) migration, the principal section of the article deals with the current Bulgarian migration scenario. It draws from quantitative research data as well as insights from semi-structured interviews carried out in the country in summer 2014 for the research project "Migration and Transnationalism Between Switzerland and Bulgaria". At the end, a typical biography of a return and circular migrant is presented and compared.
JEL: F22; J61

Irena Zareva

SOCIAL INEQUALITIES AND MIGRATION. THE CASE OF BULGARIA

There are various causes for, and consequences of, international migration and some of the most significant are the availability of economic and social differentials, and the possibilities for their reduction. The relationship between social inequalities and migration is examined in the paper from three different aspects: 1) social inequalities between countries and within sending countries as an important determinant of migration processes; 2) social (in) equality as a result of migration – immigrants' integration and position in the society of the destination countries; 3) migrants' transfers as a premise for reduction of social inequalities in sending countries. Analysis and assessment of the quality of life disparities between Bulgaria, the EU average level, and some of the desired by Bulgarian migrants EU countries of destination, and of inequalities in Bulgaria are made. They are based on official statistical data and on the results of an empirical study of Bulgarian migrants.
JEL: I31; O15; F22

Vesselin Mintchev
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MIGRATION OF BULGARIAN POPULATION – CHARACTERISTICS AND RELATIONS TO THE REGIONAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC DISPARITIES

The paper suggests a short overview of migration processes in Bulgaria since the start of its democratization and transition to market economy. The socio-demographic structure of both potential and return migrants is evaluated empirically using a large sample data for 2013 representative for Bulgarian population aged 18-65. On the basis of a ranking of Bulgarian regions and districts by an integral score of their socio-economic development (involving a set of development indicators) a range of regional disparities are revealed in respect of migration potential, return migration, and

remittances allocation and utilization. The rich empirical evidence suggests that Bulgarian migration policies should emphasize substantially on the issues of regional disbalances in order to offset the evaluated distortions.
JEL: F22; R11

Dotcho Mihailov

BUS OR PLANE? PROFILES OF BULGARIAN TRAVELLERS TO SWITZERLAND

The paper compares the profiles of Bulgarian migrants travelling to Switzerland by two different means of transport – airway and bus. It provides evidence in respect of the question "Which are the socio-demographic factors that differentiate the subsample of the airway travellers from the bus passengers?". The study shows how observations allocated to different social strata, approached by altered sampling methods, raise diverse assumptions about important migration issues such as employment, education and networking models. In terms of occupation shifts, results from a survey of Bulgarians residing in Switzerland shows an overall pattern of diminishing level of required qualification when moving from Bulgaria to Switzerland.
JEL: F22; R49; Z13

Vesselin Mintchev

POTENTIAL AND RETURN MIGRANTS IN BULGARIA – DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS

The article suggests results from a study of external migration in Bulgaria as a sending country where the so called potential migrants and returnees from abroad are explored. The purpose of the paper is to outline the profile, attitudes and labour realization (expected – concerning the potential migrants, and factual of the returnees) in both groups. The comparison between them shows whether the migration experience of returnees relates to the attitudes and expectations of potential migrants. On the other hand, the monitoring of external migration attitudes of Bulgarian population allows the estimation of the country's migration potential and description of the employment and income status of return migrants during their stay abroad. Furthermore, the attitudes of Bulgarians towards the influx of foreign population into the country are duscussed on the basis of data from three consecutive sample surveys (2001, 2007, and 2011).
JEL: F22; J11; O15

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THE BULGARIAN COMMUNITY IN SPAIN (WILL THE BULGARIANS RETURN FROM SPAIN?)

The article presents a selection of results from a representative sample survey among the Bulgarian population residing in Spain. The sample includes 506 individuals living in 25 different settlements in this country interviewed in 2011. The data provides various opportunities for deriving social, demographic, and economic status of Bulgarians residing in Spain. The transfer behavior of Bulgarians in this country is compared to the practices revealed by return migrants studied in the framework of a representative survey conducted in Bulgaria. The article suggests evidence about the degree of knowledge of Bulgarian language by the youngest generation as well as the frequency of

contacts between the Bulgarian Diaspora and the relatives left behind. The question "Will the Bulgarians return from Spain?" is discussed as well.
JEL: F22; F24; Z13

Vesselin Mintchev

SETTLERS AND TEMPORARY MIGRANTS IN GERMANY (Results of Empirical Survey of Individuals Travelling by Busses from Bulgaria to Germany)

The article presents a selection of results from a sample questionnaire survey of Bulgarian citizens travelling by busses from Bulgaria to Germany in May 2012. Two main segments are delineated – Bulgarians that are permanently or temporary residing in this country. Their socio-demographic profiles are explored separately and in comparative perspective, including their actual and expected realization on the labour market abroad. The migration intentions of both segments are identified in the context of the current debate regarding the EU-2 (Bulgarian and Romanian) migration flows to Germany.
JEL: F22; J21; Z13