

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 transportation² 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 ticket 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 is your current main activity in Switzerland?	What was your main activity in Bulgaria before settling down 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 professions⁵ 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 positions⁶. 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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