

Gender Dimension of the New Bulgaria's Migration: Comments on Empirical Data

Dr. Rossitsa Rangelova

This article presents the main findings of contributors at the workshop Gender Dimension of the New Bulgarian Migration.¹ The aim of the workshop was to increase gender awareness and open channels of discussion in the field of contemporary migrations from Bulgaria and thus to contribute to providing innovative tools and addressing the needs of migrants at the national level.

1. Background

1.1. Legacy of the gender dimension from the past

Typical of the migration from the Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries, Bulgaria can be characterised by having a comparatively high percentage of female migrants.² It is widely known that, due mainly to ideological and political reasons, unemployment did not exist in the former centrally-planned economies. Women took on roles as labourers, rather than the traditional role as household care-providers, firstly because of economic necessity during the years following the Second World War, and secondly because of an oversimplified understanding about the equality between men and women. Women were encouraged to take part in paid work and education, as well as to pursue a professional career. Thus they cultivated within themselves economic self-reliance and the skills necessary to cope with given situations on par with men. Women are better prepared than men to work under burdensome and intense conditions because for them employment is the means of supporting their families.

¹ The workshop was organised by the Institute of Economics at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences with the financial support of the Foundation "The Feminist Review Trust" – from the UK. Researchers from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, University for National and World Economy Sofia and experts from the National Statistical Institute presented papers which were discussed with representatives of the official executive and relevant NGOs.

² Actually at present all over the world it can be observed that there are a rather higher percentage of female migrants than in the past; this phenomenon has been called the 'feminisation of migration.'

Bulgarian women have a high level of education and intellectual potential. In this context it is relevant to refer to a study of the Population Crisis Committee in Washington D.C., carried out in 1988 and titled “Country Rankings of the Status of Women”. In this study of 99 countries, representing 2.3 billion women (92 percent of the world's female population), 20 indicators measure women's well-being across five sectors: health, marriage and children, education, employment and social equality. The highest ranked country was Sweden, the lowest Bangladesh. Bulgaria held an advanced position, being placed in ninth place after Sweden, Finland, the USA, ex-East Germany, Norway, Canada, Denmark, Australia, but before Belgium, ex-Czechoslovakia, Hungary, ex-USSR, France, ex-West Germany, Austria, Poland, the Netherlands and the UK. This detailed analysis highlighted that Bulgaria’s high ranking was mainly due to the strong involvement of women in education and employment, but that this was to the detriment of health, marriage and children and especially social equality.

1.2. Why consider migration?

The importance of the linkage between gender and migration could be explained in relation to the scale of the new Bulgaria's migration. To get a better idea of why the current migration from Bulgaria is so overwhelming in scale, one has to take into account that for over 40 years, the country did not allow the population to freely travel abroad. Since 1989 there have been massive levels of external migration, which have over time gradually decreased, but which are still significant.

The first wave of emigration was political in character and, on an ethnic basis, concerned Bulgarian Turks. According to data of the National Statistical Institute (NSI) 218,000 people left the country in 1989 to move to Turkey, in reaction to the program of forced name changing in 1985.³

After the collapse of the centrally planned economy a new type of emigration directed towards the developed industrial countries could be observed. Since 1989 Bulgaria’s transition to a market economy has been accompanied by the consequences of a large-scale

³ In the early 1980s some indications and terrorist actions undertaken by separatists inspired representatives of the Bulgarian Turks were observed. After that the Bulgarian Official Powers forced the from this minority group to change their Muslim names to Bulgarian ones. The mass response of the Bulgarian Turks was to leave the country (mainly in 1989) to live in Turkey. After the collapse of the administrative-command system in 1989 some of these people have returned to the country, but most of them have only visited (to see relatives, take pensions or other social benefits or to take part in Parliamentary elections). Political and social interpretation of these events is out of the scope of this article.

emigration of, primarily, young and active people. The emigration wave was in part a result of the lifting of the administrative barriers and restrictions, the significant difference between the living standards in Bulgaria and the developed countries and the reticence of the regime during the period of 1945-1989. In the first years, external migration from Bulgaria was driven mainly by disparities in earnings and unemployment. People were often willing to accept jobs which did not match their education or qualifications. In the following years the emigration varied between 40,000 and 70,000 people per year. According to official data from 1989 to 2006, nearly 750,000 people emigrated, or approximately nine percent of the total population in 1989 (Table 1).

Table 1. Scale of the migration from Bulgaria, 1989-2006

Period/year	Number of migrants
1989	218 000
1990 -1992	252 000
1993 – 2000	221 000
Total 1989-2000	691 000
Total 1989-2006	750 000

Source: National Statistical Institute, Sofia.

The problems of migration from Bulgaria are important not only because of the large percentage of migrants, but also in the context of the ongoing European integration and development of a common strategy in the field of migration, employment policy and social cohesion.

1.3. Gender-specific data on migration

Official data on the profile of potential Bulgarian migrants can be obtained from two sources – the NSI's population census (carried out in 1992 and 2001) and the International Organisation for Migration's (IOM) sample surveys, which took place in 1992, 1996 and 2001. Both sources however present information on the potential but not actual (real) migration, which means the responses represent only an approximation of the intent to migrate. In addition, the gender aspect is barely considered. Gender statistics still face serious difficulties in terms of the introduction of relevant indicators, in the different spheres of political and social life on the national level.

2. Profile of the potential migrants from Bulgaria – a gender perspective

2.1. Basic data

- **Reasons for migration from Bulgaria since 1989:**
 - The lifting of administrative barriers and restrictions for travelling abroad
 - Low living standards in the country
 - Increasing unemployment
 - Political and economic instability
 - Lack of legislation on business activity

- **Purpose of migration – looking for:**
 - Labour activity
 - Higher living standards/the solving of material problems
 - Professional and educational fulfilment

- **Geographical destination:**
 - In the period after 1989 - neighbouring countries (mainly Turkey), Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and countries in Central Europe
 - Closer to the present there has been intensified migration to Western European states (Germany, Austria, Italy) and African countries
 - Most recently – a widening of the geographical range of migration destinations - other Western European countries, USA, Canada, Australia, South Africa

- **Structure of the potential migrants by gender:**
 - Men are more likely to emigrate than women
 - Female migration was highest in 1990 and 1991 (ratio of men to women was 52:48 and 54:46 respectively)
 - Since 1992 women have constituted nearly 1/3 of the total number of migrants

2.2. Main results for the study regarding potential migration from Bulgaria, 2001

A representative sample study of approximately 2,542 people aged from 15 to 60 was carried out by the NSI during the Population Census in March 2001.⁴ The intensity of the potential emigrants varies in accordance with gender. The male population is almost double (nearly 9 percent) the female population (5 percent). As a result of this difference, nearly two thirds of the potential migrants are male.⁵ Five basic groups of potential migrants can be formed dependent upon the willingness to travel, the reason to stay abroad and likelihood to migrate within the next few years (Figure 1):

I Group - *potential settlers*. Consisting of people who plan to or are “likely” to resettle and live in another country (they represent 8.5 percent of total respondents).

II Group - *labour migrants*. Including people who want to and are “very likely” or “to a certain extent likely” to move to another country to work/study for more than a year (6.8 percent of total respondents).

III Group - *short-term migrants*. This covers people who are “likely” or “to a certain extent likely” to go abroad to work/study for a shorter period - several months but no longer than a year (4.5 percent of total respondents).

IV Group - *potential tourists*. These are people who plan to travel abroad as tourists or as guests of their relatives (10.9 percent of total respondents).

V Group - *people who do not want to travel abroad* or who express definite intention to travel abroad, but for one reason or another there is almost see no chance of doing this “in the next few years” (69.3 percent of total respondents).

Studying migration from a given country is particularly important in regards to the first two groups, which present the so called *long-term potential migrants*. The absence of these people from the country impacts upon the deepening of the demographic crisis (the average rate of natural population increase in Bulgaria is -5.2 per 1000 people during the last decade), aging population, human capital and labour potential status and in general the socio-economic development. The migrants from these two groups are important for relevant

⁴ Kaltchev, J. T. (2002), Sample Survey of Mobility of Population. Population Census in Bulgaria 2001, Vol. 6, Book 3 "Territorial Mobility of Population". National Statistical Institute, Sofia.

⁵ The intensity of the potential emigrants is measured by the magnitude of the coefficient of the potential emigrants (CPE), which is the number of potential emigrants per 1000 people - total and by category population. The scope of emigration is measured by the percentage of the number of emigrants by different category potential emigrants in the total number potential emigrants.

international organisations and different states in regards to the ongoing processes of globalisation and European integration (Table 2).⁶

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

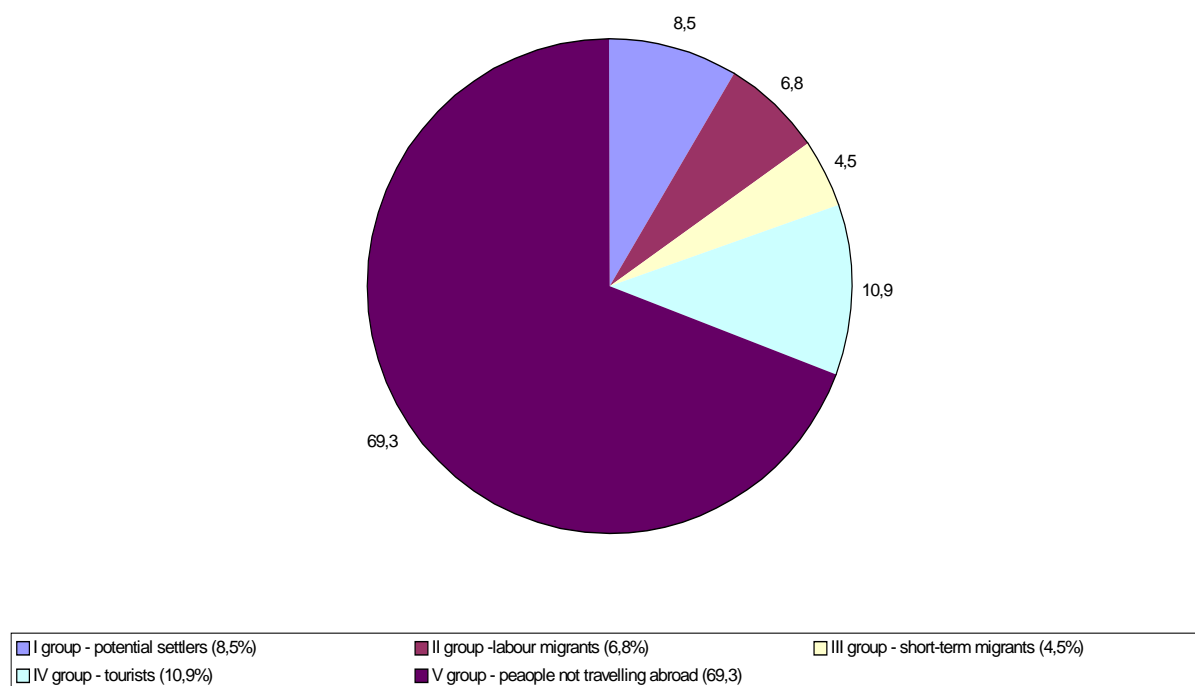


Table 2. Number and distribution of the potential migrants by gender

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

Findings:

- Men are more prominent in the two considered groups of potential migrants

⁶ It should be noted that there is a decreasing share of these two groups over time. According to a similar study in 1996 the scope of the first two groups is about 25 percent, while in 2001 it was nearly 15 percent.

- Women constitute nearly 40 percent of the total number
- Women are more likely to resettle abroad than men
- Male migration is connected predominantly with labour activity/long-term migration (64.6 percent : 35.4 percent towards women)

The empirical results of the NSI 2001 survey, related to the potential gender migration, can further illuminate the differences in migratory activity:

Age structure:

Table 3. Age structure of the potential migrants by gender, %

Sex	Migrants	Age (years)			Total
		15- 29	30 – 49	50 +	
Men	I group	<i>49.0</i>	<i>43.4</i>	<i>7.6</i>	<i>100.0</i>
		53.6	51.6	51.6	52.6
	II group	<i>47.1</i>	<i>45.1</i>	<i>7.8</i>	<i>100.0</i>
		46.4	48.4	48.4	47.4
	Total	<i>48.1</i>	<i>44.2</i>	<i>7.7</i>	<i>100.0</i>
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Women	I group	<i>55.2</i>	<i>36.6</i>	<i>8.2</i>	<i>100.0</i>
		62.2	57.1	60.8	60.1
	II group	<i>50.6</i>	<i>41.5</i>	<i>8.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>
		37.8	42.9	39.2	39.9
	Total	<i>53.3</i>	<i>38.5</i>	<i>8.1</i>	<i>100.0</i>
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Findings:

- In the youngest age category (15-29), women outnumber men
- More women than men are classified as permanent migrants (I group)
- The youngest female migrants aged 15 to 29 make up the majority of permanent migrants (over 55 percent). In other words this trend declines over age. In the youngest category, one in every two women is planning to resettle, though it is one in every three women for the age interval 30-40 years and only 8.2 percent for women aged 50 and over

Educational structure:

Table 4. Educational structure of the potential migrants by gender, %

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

Findings:

- Amongst potential migrants with higher levels of education, women outnumber men both in total (23.1 percent against 13.2 percent) and in the two considered groups - 23.5 percent versus 15.9 percent in the first group and 22.6 percent versus 10.2 percent in the second group
- The largest represented group of potential migrants choosing to settle abroad is that of men with high levels of education
- Among potential permanent male migrants the following tendency is exhibited: the lower the degree of education, the lower the scope of migration
- Men with high levels of education dominate women of the same educational level in the two considered groups– those wishing to resettle and work for a long time abroad. In the other three degrees of education, women wishing to settle abroad prevail over men

Ethnic structure:

Table 5. Ethnic structure of the potential migrants by gender, %

Gender	Migrant Groups	Ethnic group					Total
		Bulgarian	Turks	Roma	Other	Not identified	
Men	I group	<i>82.4</i>	<i>12.8</i>	<i>2.0</i>	<i>2.1</i>	<i>0.6</i>	<i>100.0</i>
		54.8	49.1	22.7	54.2	53.3	52.5
	II group	<i>75.1</i>	<i>14.7</i>	<i>7.6</i>	<i>2.0</i>	<i>0.6</i>	<i>100.0</i>
		45.2	50.9	77.3	45.8	46.7	47.5
	Total	<i>78.9</i>	<i>13.7</i>	<i>4.7</i>	<i>2.0</i>	<i>0.6</i>	<i>100.0</i>
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Women	I group	<i>81.1</i>	<i>13.9</i>	<i>2.7</i>	<i>1.7</i>	<i>0.6</i>	<i>100.0</i>
		60.7	70.3	30.9	55.2	75.0	60.2
	II group	<i>79.5</i>	<i>8.9</i>	<i>9.2</i>	<i>2.1</i>	<i>0.3</i>	<i>100.0</i>
		39.3	29.7	69.1	44.8	25.0	39.8
	Total	<i>80.4</i>	<i>11.9</i>	<i>5.3</i>	<i>1.9</i>	<i>0.5</i>	<i>100.0</i>
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Findings:

- No significant differences can be observed in the patterns of distribution of the potential migrants by gender if we consider them by ethnic group
- For Bulgarians in the first group (settlers), women have a larger presence than men (64.7 percent vs. 54.8 percent)
- Considering intensity amongst potential female resettlers, the highest levels exist among women in the Turkish ethnic group (70.3 percent), followed by the Bulgarian ethnic group (60.7 percent) and lastly, the Roma community (30.9 percent)
- The Roma people (both men and women) prefer long-term rather than permanent migration

Destination country:

Table 6. Structure of the potential migrants by destination country and gender, %, Total=100

Country	Gender		Total	Country	Gender		Total
	Men	Women			Men	Women	
Germany	25.3	19.7	23.1	Austria	1.4	1.5	1.5
USA	20.3	22.1	21.0	Belgium	1.6	1.0	1.4
Spain	8.0	8.7	8.2	Netherlands	1.6	1.0	1.4
UK	6.7	7.3	6.9	Switzerland	1.2	1.5	1.3
Greece	5.4	8.1	6.4	Israel	1.2	0.8	1.1
Canada	5.7	5.6	5.6	New Zealand	1.1	0.7	1.0
Other	5.5	5.4	5.5	Portugal	0.6	0.3	0.5
Italy	4.5	5.7	5.0	Russia	0.7	0.1	0.5
Turkey	2.7	4.1	3.3	Cyprus	0.6	0.5	0.5
France	2.6	3.7	3.0	Sweden	0.7	0.3	0.5
Australia	2.1	1.6	1.9	South Africa	0.5	0.2	0.4

Preferred country for migration:

Men: Germany, USA, Spain, UK, Canada, Greece

Women: USA, Germany, Spain, Greece, Italy, Canada

Purpose of migration:

Table 7. Structure of the potential migrants by purpose of migration and gender, %

Sex	Purpose of migration									Total
	Migrant groups	Higher living standard	Solving material problems	To obtain desired education	Professional realisation	Do not want to live in Bulgaria	To gain experience	To get married	Other	
Men	I	<i>56.4</i>	<i>20.3</i>	<i>3.0</i>	<i>2.3</i>	<i>10.2</i>	<i>1.6</i>	<i>0.4</i>	<i>5.8</i>	<i>100.0</i>
		64.5	31.6	47.4	48.3	85.2	42.2	62.5		52.90
	II	<i>34.8</i>	<i>49.2</i>	<i>3.8</i>	<i>2.8</i>	<i>2.0</i>	<i>2.4</i>	<i>0.3</i>	<i>4.7</i>	<i>100.00</i>
		35.5	68.4	52.6	51.7	14.8	57.8	37.5		47.1
	Total	<i>46.2</i>	<i>33.9</i>	<i>3.4</i>	<i>2.6</i>	<i>6.3</i>	<i>2.0</i>	<i>0.4</i>	<i>5.2</i>	<i>100.0</i>
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0
Women	I	<i>51.5</i>	<i>18.2</i>	<i>6.3</i>	<i>2.2</i>	<i>8.2</i>	<i>2.2</i>	<i>0.9</i>	<i>10.5</i>	<i>100.0</i>
		69.1	39.7	59.1	40.4	90.0	55.9	61.5		60.3
	II	<i>35.0</i>	<i>42.1</i>	<i>6.6</i>	<i>4.9</i>	<i>1.4</i>	<i>2.6</i>	<i>0.9</i>	<i>6.5</i>	<i>100.0</i>
		30.9	60.3	40.9	59.6	10.0	44.1	38.5		39.7
	Total	<i>45.0</i>	<i>27.7</i>	<i>6.4</i>	<i>3.2</i>	<i>5.5</i>	<i>2.3</i>	<i>0.9</i>	<i>9.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0

Findings:

- The distribution of the potential migrants by purpose of migration is similar for both sexes; a majority people desired higher living standards (46.2 percent of men and 45.0 percent of women), followed by those who intend to solve material problems, again men have a larger representation than women (33.9 percent vs 27.7 percent respectively)
- Among those who migrate for educational purposes, women outnumber men nearly two to one (3.4 percent for men and 6.4 percent for women)

Intention of labour activity:

**Table 8. Structure of the potential migrants by intention of labour activity and gender, %
(Total=100)**

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

Findings:

- Among both men and women, over 40 percent have no idea what work they will be engaged in after their emigration abroad
- Men expect to be engaged mainly in crafts, agriculture, trade and hotel services, while the largest proportion of females expect to continue their education

- The diversity of activity is widest among the women surveyed, including: continuing education, trade and hotel services, crafts, agriculture, health services, tourism, research and teaching.

Perception of realisation of goals abroad:

Table 9. Structure of the potential migrants by perception that the purpose of migration will be realised, %

	Degree of conviction	Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Are you convinced that you will realise your purpose of migration?	I am sure	69.7	69.3	69.6
	I doubt it	7.6	6.0	7.0
	I have no idea	22.6	24.6	23.4
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Findings:

- Nearly 70 percent of the potential migrants are sure that they will realise the goals of their purpose abroad; the share of people who doubt this is 10 times lower (about 7 percent)
- The share of the potential migrants who have no idea whether they will realise their purpose abroad is considerably high - one in every four people
- There is no difference between men and women in the perception of whether they believe that they will realise their purpose in the host country

Parents' encouragement to migrate:

Table 10. Would you encourage your children to....

(structure of the potential migrants by gender):

Would you encourage your children to:	Answer	Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Study abroad	Yes	87.3	89.3	88.1
	No	12.7	10.7	11.9
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Work abroad	Yes	89.7	89.6	89.6
	No	10.3	10.4	10.4
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Settle abroad	Yes	54.8	54.1	54.5
	No	45.2	45.9	45.5
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Findings:

- There is no essential difference between men and women in the tendency to encourage their children to emigrate
- For both men and women the percentage of people encouraging their children to study or work abroad is very high - nearly 90 percent
- The percentage of people encouraging their children to settle abroad is lower than that regarding the first two activities (to study or work abroad), but it is also very high - nearly 55 percent

Box 1 presents a profile of a potential migrant, summarised by the results of the International Organisation for Migration 2001 study, which confirms the described features of the profile of the NSI 2001 study, as well as giving additional information.

Box 1. The profile of potential migrants

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

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

3. Gender Differences in the Realisation of Labour goals

The past pattern of mainly male migration - to go abroad for some time to make a living - has radically changed. In the context of modern conditions, such as extended transport and communication links all over the world, easy information exchange, higher educational levels, etc., one may find it comparatively easy to move from one country to another and to go back more often than in the past to his/her own country.

Considering migrants' by gender, we can further divide them into three basic groups:⁵

- those who are connected with the phenomenon of 'brain drain'
- legal labour migrants
- illegal migrants

⁵ See Rangelova, R. (2002), Gender and Labour Relations and EU Enlargement. South East Europe Review (SEER) for Labour and Social Affairs. Hans Boeckler Stiftung, Issue 3, 76-95; Rangelova, R. (2005), Gender Dimension of the Bulgaria's New Migration. In: "European Future of Bulgaria and Population Development". Centre for Population Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, 2005, 304-315.

In Bulgaria like in other CEE countries, the mobility of highly-qualified people is regarded mainly as a personal choice. Many bright researchers and professors (be they men or women) do their best to move between, and work at, prestigious scientific centres or universities in developed countries, in order to practice their profession in a more productive manner. The economic factor, which means in this case the researcher's poor salary, is important but could not be considered the only 'push' factor to emigrate. It tells only part of the story about the exodus of highly-qualified people and their motivation for leaving. The quality of the research system ranks first as a priority factor, followed by the quality of life in a broader sense. One of the reasons for scientists to leave their home country is that they are fed up with local frustrations and the complexities of the environment.⁶

One can speculate that the small differences in the realisation of professional goals found in the first group, is due to educational levels and high professional skills, not gender identity. This group is followed by the legal labour migrants, where the differences evolve mainly from the professional specificity (see Box 2). The illegal emigrants are in the least favorable situation, particularly women, who are the lowest-skilled in comparison with the two other groups and have no choice when looking for a job. The most likely way for them to move abroad is using the so-called trafficking of women aimed at sexual exploitation. This group is the smallest when compared with the other two, and among them women of Roma ethnicity are most prevailint. For people in this group, the likelihood of achieving one's reasons for migration are drastically low in comparison with the other two groups. But due to the lack of information, any consideration of the problems would be limited to speculations on the basis of sporadic and scanty information.⁷

The biggest group is labour migrants, and this is why they are of great interest for study. Furthermore the labour migrants are important because they demonstrate effects on the labour markets both in host countries and countries of origin, but particularly because of the sharpened sensitivity of the former due to the active mobility of CEE citizens, in particular Bulgarians.

⁶ Sretenova, N. (2003), Scientific Mobility and 'Brain-Drain' Issues in the Higher Education Sector in Bulgaria. Research Project No 2, CSLPE, University of Leeds. Symposium on Science Policy, Mobility and Brain-Drain, July 26-28, Leeds, the UK.

⁷ See CABIRIA. Women and Migration in Europe. Strategies and Employment. DAPHNE Programme. Co-financed by the European Commission, 2004.

Box 2. Similarity and differences between Bulgaria's migrants in Greece and Spain

- The first and significant migrant outflow to Greece was at the beginning of the 1990s, while the migration to Spain began later.
- In Greece female-emigrants from Bulgaria are predominate, while in Spain the emigrants are mostly men.
- In Greece migration is most likely individual, while in Spain it is of family units. The husband first arrives, and is later joined by relatives.
- The market niches for the new-comer Bulgarians in Greece and Spain are similar: for women-- domestic staff, cleaning staff, nursing old people and children; both for men and women-- hotel staff, kitchen staff, fruit-pickers; for men-- day labourers, construction workers. Advertising and delivery of brochures for nightclubs, restaurants, etc. are often a starting activity for Bulgarians in Spain.
- The interviewed Bulgarians claim there is no difference in wages for Spanish and Bulgarian workers for the same work. This is not the case in Greece, where Greek workers can be paid 40 percent higher than Bulgarian immigrants for the same work.

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

4. Conclusions

(a) There is a necessity for systematic and reliable information about actual, not just potential migration due to the fact that it is a very important modern phenomenon. The latter will develop in the future depending up on factors and preconditions which are both external and internal for Bulgaria and it will continue to impact the social, demographic and economic life in the country.

NSI is expected to increase gender-specific data on migrants providing reliable statistics on real (not only potential) migration based on monitoring of migration flows.

(b) Main findings on the tendency to emigrate:

- In general, men are more inclined to migrate than women; the same tendency is valid for long-term migration; women are more inclined to resettle than men.
- Women are more demanding in terms of the environment and to a higher extent do not see possibilities for themselves and their families to live in Bulgaria.
- Women are less informed about labour opportunities abroad which could be one explanation for their lower desire to migrate when compared with men .
- There are certain conditions and circumstances that allow for manipulation and misuse of potential female migrants.
- Labour market experience of the migrants from Bulgaria, independent of gender, is connected first of all with their educational level and professional skills. As a rule, the higher the level of skills, the higher the likelihood of reaching one's professional goals.
- There is evidence that Bulgaria is still likely to experience an outflow of skilled labour when current EU members open their labour markets, unless an economic "catching up" with current EU members occurs more quickly than expected.
- Concerning migration trends by group, younger and better-educated individuals are more likely to move. Very well-paid workers are less likely to emigrate and, in contrast, the youngest and most educated emigrants are the least likely to return.

The author can be reached at: Institute of Economics, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 3, Aksakov Street, 1040 Sofia, Bulgaria; e-mail r.rangelova@iki.bas.bg.