Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster

UNIVERSITEIT TWENTE.

The profile of the Bulgarian emigrant

Bachelor Thesis

by

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15.05.2012

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I. Introduction:

Migrants are defined as people "who cross international borders in order to settle in another country, even temporarily" (IOM, 2012a). Currently, about three per cent of the world's population is living outside its country of birth, which makes us the most mobile generation in the human history (IOM, 2012b). The globalization, the encouraged mobility, the lowering costs of obtaining information, the development in communications and the global demand for workers have accelerated the migration flows also from Bulgaria. In the last two decades, the country has turned into a large source of migrants and has been significantly affected by the consequences of the outflows. Since the fall of the Communist regime in 1989, the population of the country has decreased by about 18% or about one million and sixty hundred thousand people in absolute figures (Table 1). Although the low birth rates and high mortality remain the main reasons for this population reduction, the migration has also played an important role.

Since the beginning of the democratic changes, Bulgaria has transformed from a state-owned economy to market-driven capitalism and this transition resulted in dramatic recession. The country faced high inflation, high unemployment and decline in wages and living standards. These factors together with the removal of the migration restrictions and visa requirements are often mentioned as the primary reasons for the increased emigration, which has become a grave problem for Bulgaria due to its negative impact on the development of the country and on its economic and population growth. The migration issues and the highly problematic situation, which they have led to, are at the forefront of policy agenda. The fears of mass emigration outflows have provoked intense discussion about the great need for a comprehensive understanding of population movements, because the more we know about the migration processes, the bigger is the possibility to influence them adequately. The first stage of the problem solving process is the identification of the profile of the potential emigrants.

According to research, most of the people in Bulgaria, which have not emigrated, increasingly consider this option. While most of the studies focus on actual migration flows, this thesis generates valuable information about the social and demographic context, in which the intentions for migration occur. What makes it unique is the fact that it does not focus on the actual or potential migration from Bulgaria in a certain time period, but try to establish a relatively universal relationship between the socio-demographic characteristics of the

Bulgarians and their migration intentions. It studies the individual attitudes concerning the likelihood of cross-border mobility and not the actual implementation of these intentions. Migration behavior tends to be more flexible than the systems developed to register it. Intentions precede migration, but not always lead to it, because it is much easier to declare migration intentions than actually to realize them in practice (Manski, 1990). Although the focus on intentions is often criticized as being unreliable for predicting actual population movements, it can show us which individuals are most likely to leave the country. In this way, the migration policy could be directed toward them, trying to influence and reduce their migration intentions.

The focus of the following thesis is on the socio-demographic aspect and particularly on the profile characteristics of the potential migrants as some of the factors determining their choice of a foreign country as better option for personal development. I will try to explain how differentials such as gender, age, family status, education, ethnicity, type of settlement, employment, migration experience and income level influence the people's mobility and which individuals often exhibit a high migration propensity.

In order to understand how the profile characteristics of the Bulgarians influence their migration behavior, I have to outline the profile of the potential migrants and investigate, which socio-demographic factors are significant. I have decided to study the way the profile characteristics influence the migration behavior, because according to the theories they appear to have strong explanatory power. The purpose of my work is to conclude, "To what extent do the theories of migration predict the socio-demographic profile of the potential Bulgarian migrants?". My research question is inspired by the willingness to examine whether the general theories of migration are applicable in Bulgaria and whether they can rightly predict the personal characteristics of the Bulgarian potential migrants.

The following thesis is intended to test the assumptions of the international migration theories. It starts by reviewing the existing scientific literature, which provides the overall framework of analysis and the basis for the development of testable hypotheses. Because of the complexity of the phenomenon, at present, there is no a comprehensive theory about the personal characteristics, which influence the migration behavior. The different disciplines provide us with variety of explanations. However, a common assumption of the theories is that most likely to migrate are usually young adults and people with migration experience.

While these statements are relatively unquestionable, there are many contradictory allegations about the other socio-demographic characteristics of the migrants. Some theories argue that the low skilled are more mobile than the highly skilled. Others that the highly skilled can expect higher returns on migration and hence are more inclined to migrate. There are also many contradictions about the gender, family status, ethnicity, type of settlement, employment and income level of the migrants. However, rather than favoring one theory over another, in order to extract the relevant information for my research, I will discuss each of the theories, which are relevant for the issue of migrant selectivity, and their key assumptions separately.

Migration studies require reliable and comparable statistical information. Although the emigration problem of Bulgaria is of present interest and concerns the whole society, the available empirical data remain extremely weak. The research which I will work on uses micro-data, based on questionnaires. It incorporates socio-demographic characteristics such as gender, age, family status, education, ethnicity, type of settlement, employment, migration experience and income level as independent variables and treats them as determinants of the respondents' likelihood of migration. Each of the analyzed variables provides an opportunity to test the assumptions of the theories, summarized in section two. In the empirical part, I will find out whether a dependency exists between the socio-demographic characteristics and the migration intentions of the Bulgarians and then see whether this dependency confirms the theoretical assumptions. Moreover, I intend to use regression analysis in order to test which of the independent variables has the biggest explanatory power and what is the relative importance of the whole model.

This thesis is divided into five sections. After a short introduction in section one, section two contains a review of the existing scientific literature related to the topic. The empirical model and the analysis of the results will be discussed in section three and four. Thereafter, the thesis concludes with a summary of the main findings.

II. Theoretical basis:

Most of the studies on migration show that migrants do not make up an exact cross-section of the country's population and that they are selected in comparison with those still domiciled. The demographers have found out that age and the migration experience are the most

important variable for selection, but that gender, family status, education, ethnicity, type of settlement, employment and income level also have some selective characteristics.

Although none of the theories offers a detailed explanation of the migrants' profile, the literature provides us with variety of explanations at micro, meso and macro level, which are usually not contradictory. While the micro theories' assumptions are about the individual choice and migration decision-making, the meso theories discuss the importance of the household and the social networks for the migration behavior. On the other hand, the macro theories examine the cross-border mobility at the aggregate level and focus on forces operating at national and international level. I will take the assumptions of the theories as complementary and suggest that the decision to migrate could be taken by rational individuals (micro level), which are affected by social networks (meso level) and macro structural forces (macro level).

In order to answer my research question "To what extent do the theories of migration predict the socio-demographic profile of the potential Bulgarian migrants?" and to extract all the relevant information for my research, I will discuss all levels of analysis and review their main theories, which consider the personal characteristics as determinants of cross-border mobility. On this basis, at the end of the theoretical part I will develop testable hypotheses about the relationship between the socio-demographic characteristics of the individuals and their migration behavior.

1. Ravenstein's "laws of migration":

The English geographer Ernst Georg Ravenstein (1876; 1885; 1889) outlined the first systematic macro theory of migration. From his observations, he formulated a series of "laws of migration" which attempt to explain migration patterns. His laws provide the basis for the future researches on this topic. The laws are as follows:

1. Migration is usually over a short distance (Ravenstein, 1885; 1889).
2. Migration occurs step-by-step (Ravenstein, 1876; 1885).
3. Long-distance migrants generally move to urban areas (Ravenstein, 1885).
4. Each current of migration produces a counter-current (Ravenstein, 1876; 1885; 1889).
5. Urban residents are less migratory than the rural ones (Ravenstein, 1885).

6. Within the country of origin, women are more migratory than men, but men are more migratory over long distances (Ravenstein, 1876; 1885; 1889).
7. Most migrants are young adults: families are usually not likely to migrate out of their own country (Ravenstein, 1876).
8. Large towns grow more by migration than by natural increase (Ravenstein, 1876; 1889).
9. Migration increases with economic development (Ravenstein, 1889).
10. The major direction of migration is from rural to urban areas (Ravenstein, 1876).
11. The main reasons for migration are economic (Ravenstein, 1885; 1889).

According to the laws, some socio-demographic characteristics of the migrants such as type of settlement, gender, age and family status influence their migration behaviour. Ravenstein suggested that at national level women are greater migrants than men, but that men are more likely to undertake international movement than women. The predominance of female migrants within the country could be explained by the "lack of employment opportunities in rural areas, urban demand for domestic servants and the fact that it was normally women who moved at marriage" (Grigg, 1997, p.49). Although other researchers have established the exact age group of the people with highest migration intentions, Ravenstein was the first who detected that the age of the migrants is of great importance for their migration behavior. Regarding the family status, he concluded that the migration of whole families is usually only the very last resort. According to his laws, the main reasons for the migration and especially for this from rural to urban areas are economic such as different employment opportunities and wages. Therefore, the type of settlement as factor, explaining the migration behavior is consider to be closely related to the advantages of urban areas compared to those of rural ones.

The different demographic and social characteristics of the migration streams are also focus of Dorothy Swaine Thomas' work (1938). In her Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials, she explained the demographic context in which the incentive to migrate occurs. The differentials, which she examined are age, sex, family status, physical and mental health, intelligence and education, occupation, and differentials in motivation and assimilation. Actually according to her, the only universal generalization that could be made for the personal characteristics of the migrants is that they are usually young children, who are moving with their parents, young adults or people in their late teens.

2. Push-pull model:

Everett S. Lee (1966) revised and refined Ravenstein`s "laws of migration" and introduced a new macro theoretical framework, known as the "push-pull" model. According to it, the migration processes are caused by four types of factors: those in the area of origin, those in the area of destination, intervening obstacles and personal factors. In regard to the origin and destination areas, he distinguishes between push and pull factors. Push factors in the country are those that repel people from it and push them into migration. They are the reason for the dissatisfaction of the individual with his present location. For example, a push factor could be the lack of employment and other opportunities, bad climate conditions, lack of health services, natural disasters, lack of political or religious freedom, discrimination, poor chances of marrying, war, criminality, etc. On the other hand, pull factors of an area are those that hold people within it or attract them to it. Examples for pull factors are employment opportunities, high standard of living, political and religious freedom, education opportunities, good state of health services, attractive climate, security, good chances of marrying, etc. Both the origin and the destination countries have push and pull factors and they are complementary. Migration occurs if the host country offers a solution for the relevant problem (push factor) in the source country. Migration could also be expected when by considering the positives of the both countries, the pulls of the destination are more than the pulls of the origin. Therefore, according to Lee, the volume of migration is related to the number of opportunities of the host country.

Comparing the migration behavior of the rural and urban population in the context of the push-pull theory, we can assume that more likely to migrate will be the rural residents, because of the more opportunities in the urban areas. For example, the industry in the urban areas attracts the immigrants, which have become unemployed, because of the mechanization of the agriculture in the rural areas.

The migration from one place to another may not take place if there are intervening obstacles between them in the form of restrictions and entry requirements. According to the theory, the more intervening variables exist, the smaller is the number of migrants. The receiving countries regulate the immigration through their policy. They can either tighten up the national immigration restrictions in case of immigration surplus or loosen them in case of

labor demand. In order to attract highly qualified foreign-born workers, many countries have selectively opened their labor markets for them.

The member countries of the European Union have different immigration programs in terms of foreign work programs. In the United Kingdom for example, there is a point-based system for the highly skilled and limits on non-EU low skilled migration. In Germany, permanent residence permits are accessible for the highest skilled, but for the other immigrants there are strict requirements. In the Netherlands, there are some restrictions for the low skilled immigrants and those without Dutch language skills, which are lowered for the highly skilled foreign-born workers (Boswell and Geddes, 2010, p.78).

Lee also suggested that the migration process is characterized by a certain degree of selectivity, because the individuals respond differently to the factors at the sending and at the receiving countries and they have not got equal chances to cope with the intervening obstacles. He emphasized the importance of the individual factors, because they are supposed to be related to differences in the migration behavior. According to him, the personal factors that matter most are age, gender, education, employment, marital status and housing situation. Therefore Lee argued that migrants are rarely representative of their community of origin. The selection could be positive or negative. "Migrants responding primarily to plus factors at destination tend to be positively selected…Migrants responding primarily to minus factors at origin tend to be negatively selected…The degree of positive selection increases with the dificulty of the intervening obstacles" (Lee, 1966, p.56).

Phillip Neal Ritchey (1976) extended Lee's push-pull model including the community and family factor. He suggested that presence of kinship and friendship relations impedes migration and their absence encourage it. According to him, the large family, the social contacts with friends, the marriage and the children increase one's ties to the community and hence deter migration. Ritchey provided three possible explanations: First, the Affinity Hypothesis assumes that the attachment to family and friends constrains migration. Second, the Information Hypothesis assumes that their absence encourages and directs migration, because they provide migratory information about the destination area. Third, the Facilitating Hypothesis assumes that distant location of relatives and friends encourages and directs migration by facilitating the integration process at the destination (Ritchey, 1976).

3. Neo-classical economic theory:

The well-known neo-classical economic theory is focused on income differences as main determinants of migration. According to this theory, migration at macro-level could be explained by geographical differences in the supply and demand for labor. The assumption of this model is that the low-wage countries have a labor surplus relative to capital, and the high-wage countries have a capital surplus relative to labor. The difference in the wages causes movement of low-skilled labor from low- to high-wages areas and usually from densely to sparsely populated areas (Castles and Miller, 2009, p.21). Subsequently, as the labor supply in the sending country decreases, this of the destination country increases. In the perfectly neo-classical world, this process will lead to equalization between wages and at the end will remove the incentive to migrate (Harris and Todaro, 1970, p.139).

According to the theory, the capital moves in the opposite direction, from capital-rich and high-wage countries to capital- poor and low-wage countries. The human capital investment framework is part of the capital movement. The theory is developed by Gary Becker (1964) and according to it, the expenditure on education and training, on acquiring information about the economic, political or social system and on the improvement of the emotional and physical health is an investment, which aims to increase the future personal income by providing the workers with useful skills and physical abilities, which will raise their productivity. In other words, the people's lifetime earnings depend on the rate of return on the human capital they one.

At micro-level, the neo-classical theory considers the migration behavior as an individual choice, based on cost-benefits analyses (Sjaastad, 1962). According to the theory, rational actors migrate, when the expected benefits exceed the expected costs and this movement is considered an investment in human capital. The human capital is one of the most popular micro-level approaches to explain migration behavior. It assumes that people migrate in order to maximize their productivity and hence earn the highest possible wages.

On the one hand, the migration process is associated with many costs and risks such as the costs of travelling, temporary unemployment, learning new language and culture, psychological costs, etc. On the other hand, the potential benefits in the form of high wages depend on the labor market conditions in the destination country and on the personal skills of

the migrants, their age, gender, marital status, occupation, labor market status, etc. The human capital theory incorporates the socio-demographic characteristics of the individual as an important determinant of migration at the micro-level. Depending on the specific type of labour demand in migrant receiving countries, migrants will be selected depending on their personal characteristics. This theory enables to explain theoretically why migrants are typically not representative of the societies they come from. According to it, migrants tend to be relatively high educated and skilled, because then they can expect to reap higher returns. Therefore we can assume that more likely to migrate are individuals with special skills, physical abilities, education, qualifications and experience.

One of the micro-economic assumptions of the theory is that individual characteristics and social conditions that lower migration costs increase the net returns of migration and raise the probability of international movement (Massey et al., 1993, p.435). Young people are more likely to migrate than the older, because they have longer working lives and their costs from moving are lower. For example, the psychological costs of moving usually increase with the age, because the older people are, the more they have invested in family and other social contacts. Furthermore, married migrants are expected to migrate less then unattached, because they have more obligations and transportation costs to worry about. Having children can also restrict someone's mobility, because of the higher costs related to the relocation of whole family. We can also assume that people with migration experience in a certain country will be very likely to migrate there again, because they have already paid some of the costs of migration such as learning the language and the culture. Moreover, the personal experience abroad is also a type of human capital, which according to the theory, increases the return of migration.

In contrast to the general feeling, that the migrants are usually the poorest people from the least developed areas, the studies of migration argue that most of the migrants are actually middle-income people from countries, facing economic and/or social challenges (Castles and Miller, 2009, p.23). Possible explanation could be that the low-income people do not have the resources to pay the economic costs of migration, as defined by this theory.

The neo-classical economic theory can be used to explain international migration within the European Union, because there are less entry restrictions and requirements, which is very crucial in lowering the material and psychological costs of migration.

4. Dual labor market theory:

According to the dual labor market theory, the economy could be divided into two sectors: primary (formal) and secondary (informal) segment. While the first one is characterised by a capital-intensive method of production, the second one adopts the labor-intensive method. The theory assumes that there is a positive selection in the formal sector based on human capital, membership in majority ethnic groups and male gender (Castles and Miller, 2009, p.23). The highly skilled employees in the primary segment usually enjoy long-term employment, job stability, higher social status and higher earnings compared to those of the workers in the other segment. Conversely, in the secondary labor market segment, the low and unskilled employees such as taxicab drivers, cashiers, clerks, waiters, cleaners, receptionists, caretakers, etc. prevail. These occupations offer bad employment conditions, low payment and no opportunities for advancement, but are easily accessible and very attractive to the low skilled minority members.

The dual labor market approach focuses on the macro-level of analyzes and consider international migration as a consequence of "the intrinsic labor demands of the modern industrial societies" (Massey et al., 1993, p.440). Developed by Michael Piore (1979), the theory argues that the push factors of the origin country are of no importance and that only the pull factors of the destination country give rise to migration flows. According to the theory, the need of foreign labor could be explained by general labor shortages, labor shortages in the informal sector and the need to fill the vacancies there, which compel the employers in the advanced economies to appoint foreign workers. One of the reasons for this shortage is the so-called motivational problem, which arise when domestic workers refuse to enter the secondary segment, because it is characterized by low social status (Massey et al., 1993, p.441). Usually, the low skilled immigrants do not face such a problem, because they do not have promotion ambitions and want only to make their living. When there is a labor shortage in the informal sector, the government does not have many other options and usually lower its entry requirements, enabling more immigrants to reside in the country.

One of the standard assumptions of the migration literature is that economic migrants tend to be selected for labor market success. In the developed economies, the majority of foreign-born workers are to be found in the low-skilled forms of employment such as services jobs.

Very often, they are preferred by the employers, because they tend to be more motivated to work longer and flexible hours than the natives (Castles and Miller, 2009, p.225). However, beside the demand for low-skilled workers, in some European countries there is also a great need for highly qualified labor (Boswell and Geddes, 2010, p.76).

5. New economics of labor migration:

The new economics of labor migration assumes that migration decisions are made by social entities such as families or households and therefore is considered meso-level theory. According to it, other factors, than the utility maximization, cause the cross-border mobility of the people. It asserts that the migrants aim not only to maximize their income, but also to minimize risks of insufficient household income. Households and families attempt to diversify their risk and income sources by sending one or more family members to work in foreign labor market, which is "negatively or weakly correlated" with the local one (Massey et al., 1993, p.436). In this case, if the economy of the origin country worsens and the income of the household decreases, it can rely on the family member abroad for financial support, which will help the family in the source country to cope with the problem.

Within the household, the uncertainty of the household income is the main determinant of labour migration. According to the theory, even in the absence of wage differentials between the origin and destination country, the risk-sharing motive is sufficient reason for migration. The existing risks are usually related to local market failure in unstable economies and are in the form of lack of access to capital, insurance, consumer credit market, etc. Such imperfect markets force people to self-insure themselves against the risks through migration. The key assumption of the theory is that the migration behavior is part of a family strategy to minimize risk by overcoming the market constraints. The remittances of the household member abroad improve the welfare and minimize the income risk of the non-migrating household members (Stark and Bloom, 1985, p.174). In the context of the NELM, it can be expected that in order to minimize the risk the family will send abroad the household member with migration experience, if there is such.

6. Network theory:

The Network theory explains the migration also at meso-level. According to it, when many people of same nationality migrate to a particular destination, they usually form a migrant network there. Migrant networks can be defined as "sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and nonmigrants in origin and destination areas through bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin" (Massey et al., 1993, p.448). A social connection to migrants at a certain destination is a source of assistance and first hand information, which is very crucial in lowering the costs and risks associated with migration.

In the context of the human capital model, which posits that individual migrates in order to gain the highest possible returns on its investment, social networks lower the costs of migration by providing information about transportation, work, accommodation and education possibilities. All these facilitations increase the net return of migration and hence the probability of cross border mobility. According to the theory, individuals related to migrants or former migrants are far more likely to migrate than individuals without such relationship (Massey et al., 1993, p. 449).

The community factor and the social networks could be one of the reasons for the greater propensity of young adults among migrants. The already migrated individuals establish a migrant network in the destination country, which lowers the costs of moving for the future migrants. Most likely to benefit from such social networks are the youth, because they tend to have more acquaintances with other young people, which as established by the other theories are the most mobile age group (McKenzie, 2006, p.6).

In the context of the network theory, we can assume that people who have already been abroad will be more likely to migrate than those who have not, because they have the social connections to migrants at a certain destination and the necessary information about the transportation, accommodation, work and education possibilities there.

The ethnic affiliation could also be partly predicted by the network theory. It is a well-known fact that the Roma and the Turkish minorities have large social networks in whole Europe, which facilitate their movement.

7. Jackman and Savouri model:

Employment is also a major determinant of cross border mobility. In general, we expect that those who are employed will be less likely to migrate than those who are unemployed. Richard Jackman and Savvas Savouri (1992) have developed a model, which explains the migration as a result of job matching. The theory posits that an individual migrates to a certain area, because it has found the appropriate job there. According to the model, most of the migrants will be unemployed and will come from areas with high unemployment rates. Therefore, the assumption is that the migration flows are determined by the unemployment in the source country and the employment opportunities in the receiving one.

8. Evaluation of the theories and the case of Bulgaria:

The theoretical part of this thesis examines macro, micro and meso-level explanatory approaches. They are combined in a new model, because each of them has limitations and shortcomings, which are partly improved by the others. In this way, the new model examines the relationship between the socio-demographic characteristics of the people and their migration intentions at all levels of analysis, including as many as possible potential determinants.

A common disadvantage of the migration theories is that they usually examine only one factor as determinant for the cross-border mobility of the population. Beside the push-pull model, all the other approaches cover only the economic context of migration such as unemployment and employment opportunities, wage differences, income risk, labor demand and supply, cost-benefit calculation, etc. Therefore, I have included in my model the push-pull theory, which takes into consideration also the political and social determinants of migration, as well as the intervening obstacles. Macro-level approaches are incorporated, because they explain the forces operating at national and international level and enrich the model. However, they are criticized as being negligent of the human actor and its personal motivation and their generalizations are often considered unreliable and inapplicable at individual level (Morawska, 2007). Moreover, some of them such as the Ravenstein's "laws of migration" and the push-pull theory are rather descriptive and not explanatory. On the other hand, the micro theories take into consideration the individual actor, but pay insufficient attention to the macro-level processes and to the social and household values. In order to eliminate this shortcoming, the linking meso theories are included in the model. Beside the different levels of analysis, the theories have also other limitations. For example, while the focus of the Dual

labor market theory is on the low qualified individuals, this of the neo- classical economic theory is on the high qualified. In order to avoid possible wrong interpretations, the model should examine both theories.

Migration theories offer reasons to expect that the typical potential migrant is young unattached and unemployed middle-income man from a rural area with migration experience. He usually comes from a developing sparsely populated country and migrates to a developed more densely populated area. There are some contradictions about the educational level of the migrants. While according to the human capital theory, the educated people are more likely to migrate than those with the lowest level of educational attainment, the dual labor market theory assumes the opposite. The ethnic affiliation of the typical migrant is also questionable. Although some theories such as the Dual Labor Market Theory argue that minority members are more migratory than the majority ones, there are some contrary assumptions, provided by the other theories. For example, the minority members have usually large families, which according to Ritchey (1976) will impede their movement. In addition, they usually do not have the required resources to invest in migration and to pay the costs of moving, as defined by the economic theories of migration. Moreover, in the context of the human capital theory, the minorities are usually less educated and less qualified than the majority members and hence are less likely to migrate. However, in order to predict the ethnicity of the migrants from a certain country, we should take into account the present political, economic and social situation there and the factors which could pull them abroad, such as employment opportunities and social networks, especially when they are considered by some of the theories more important than the push factors.

Before proceeding to the development of the hypotheses, the theories of migration are discussed in the context of Bulgaria. In this way, information about the situation in the country could strengthen or weaken some of the assumptions of the literature.

Since the beginning of the democratic changes, Bulgaria is experiencing a demographic shock. After a peak of almost 9 million in 1989, the Bulgarian population has decreased significantly to 7,4 million in 2011 (NSI, 2011). The negative population growth, which has led to demographic crisis, is a result of low fertility, high mortality, aging population and negative migration rates.

Lifting the restrictions on migration after the fall of the Communist regime has led to mass emigration. In the context of the neo-classical economic theory and the dual market labor theory the emigration is satisfying the demand for labor in the developed countries. According to the literature, labor shortage is experienced in the two extremes of the labor market: the low and the high skilled jobs, as well as in the seasonal labor. Although the theories assume that there is a positive selection in the formal sector based on human capital and male gender, it is disputable, whether the highly skilled Bulgarian migrants are men, because circa two thirds of the higher education graduates in the country are women (Table 4). Moreover, the low skilled positions such as domestic and service jobs are usually occupied by female migrant workers. The seasonal labor is almost equally distributed between men and women. It follows from all of this that there is no clear tendency concerning the gender characteristics of the Bulgarian migrants. Although there is a feminization of the migration in the last few decades, which could lead to equalization between the male and female migration, most of the theories predict higher male participation in the migration stream. I would rather stick to the literature and hypothesize that the Bulgarian men are more migratory than the Bulgarian women.

The emigration has led to depopulation of some areas in the country. Compared to the main destinations of the Bulgarian migrants, which according to Mintchev's research are Spain, Germany, United Kingdom, United Stated, Greece, Italy and France, the population density of Bulgaria is almost the lowest one (Table 3), which is enough reason for me to reject the theoretical assumption that people usually migrate from densely to sparsely populated areas. The big cities in the country profit most from the foreign investments and therefore the urban population of the country has increased to almost 72% (NSI, 2011). Therefore, I argue that the theoretical assumption that the rural population is more likely to migrate than the urban one will be valid for the case of Bulgaria.

Bulgaria has far below the GDP of the main destination countries (Table 2). This is a result of the dramatic recessions in the transition from a state-owned economy to market driven capitalism. The high inflation, the decline in living standards, the increased unemployment and the big wage differentials between Bulgaria and the receiving country are usually mentioned as the main factors, pushing the Bulgarians into migration. The main pull factor abroad appears to be the higher GDP per capita rates. As mentioned, the main destinations of the Bulgarian migrants are the developed countries from the Western World. In the context of the neo-classical economic theory, we can assume that Bulgarian will move to countries with

higher GDP per capita rates and hence with higher wages. However, in order to migrate, they have to pay the cost of the movement, which requires financial resources. In the case of Bulgaria, the income of the population is very low, compared to this of the destination countries, which mean that the potential migrants should be at least middle-income.

According to the push-pull theory, the political situation is also among the possible push factors for migration. The violence between groups of citizens and the criminality could threaten the safety of the individuals and they could consider the migration as a possible solution. For example, the present ethnic conflict between the Roma minority and the society may compel some parts of the population to leave the country. The Roma minority is victim of discrimination and racist violence in Bulgaria. Moreover, the number of Roma people in the European countries is very high, which according to the network theory of migration will facilitate their movement and pull them abroad. Furthermore, we cannot deny the assumption of the dual labor market theory that the low qualified jobs in the informal market sector are extremely attractive to the minorities. The Turks have large social networks abroad, too. On the one hand, they move to Turkey, where they are welcomed and on the other, they migrate to other European countries like Germany, where there is a large Turkish community. They are to be found in the secondary market segment, too.

Lifting the restrictions on migration and the visa requirements were a major reason for the big migration outflows from Bulgaria. In the context of the pull-push theory of migration, they were the intervening obstacles, used to filter out migrants. In the context of neo-classical theory of migration, the restriction policies increase costs of migration and in this way used to limit it.

9. Hypotheses:

Basing on the theoretical review, I expect that the socio-demographic characteristics of the Bulgarian citizens will have a great influence on their migration behavior. I argue that the dependent variable (migration intention) and the independent variables (gender, age, family status, education, ethnicity, type of settlement, employment, migration experience and income level) will correlate with each other. According to the literature, the age and the migration experience will be the most significant factors, determining the migration decision. In respect

of the socio-demographic characteristics, I have formulated the following hypotheses, which are to be testes in the subsequent part of this thesis. Basing on the theories, I hypothesize that:

H1: The age and the migration experience of the Bulgarians are the most influential variables for migration selection.

H2 (gender): The Bulgarian men are more likely to migrate than the Bulgarian women.

H3 (age): The adolescents and the young adults are more likely to emigrate from Bulgaria than the older adults.

H4 (family status): The unattached Bulgarians are more likely to migrate than the married ones.

According to the human capital theory, the education is positively related to migration, because the highly skilled people can expect higher return on migration and hence:
H5 (education): The educated Bulgarians are more likely to migrate than those with the lowest level of educational attainment.

On the other hand, dual labor market theory assumes that there is a labor shortage in the informal sector of the markets in the developed countries, which pulls the low-skilled people abroad. Therefore, we can also hypothesize that:
H6 (education): The low skilled Bulgarians are more likely to migrate than the highly skilled.
The hypotheses 5 and 6 are mutually exclusive and I will test, which of them predicts better the educational level of the Bulgarian potential migrants.

H7 (ethnicity): The minorities' members are more likely to migrate than the members of the Bulgarian ethnic group.

H8 (type of settlement): The Bulgarian rural residents are more likely to migrate than those of the urban areas.

H9 (employment): The unemployed Bulgarians are more likely to migrate than the employed.

H10 (migration experience): The Bulgarians with migration experience are more likely to migrate than those, who have not been abroad.

H11 (income level): The middle-income people are more likely to emigrate from Bulgaria than the low-income people.

III. Empirical research:

The available empirical data about the emigration from Bulgaria is weak. Moreover, the researches usually cover issues such as remittance and very rarely examine the socio-demographic characteristics of the migrants, and especially these of the potential ones. However, the Bulgarian scholar Vesselin Mintchev is interested in this topic and has conducted several researches about the profile of the potential Bulgarian migrants. The following sections use empirical data from his studies and analyze it in the context of the of the topic and research question of this thesis.

The author has published researches for the years 2003 and 2007. After reviewing the advantages and disadvantages of these studies, I have established that this from 2003 is the best suited for my thesis, because it is operationalized in a way that could help me to test my hypotheses and answer my research question. Although it is a relative old one, I will use it as basis and compare its findings with these from 2007. In the study from 2007 some of the in this thesis examined independent variables are not included, which makes the measurement of the predictive power of the whole model impossible. Beside the missing variables, some important statistical coefficients are not calculated. Moreover, the sample size of the study from 2007 is larger and more factors are detected as significant. Although the results of these two studies are not directly comparable, because of their different sample sizes, it is extremely necessary to be mentioned that their conclusions about the relationship between the socio-demographic characteristics of the individuals and their migration intentions are very similar.

This empirical research tests the formulized hypotheses, using available survey-level variables, which are considered appropriate measures of the concepts. The first study of Mintchev uses opinion poll data from 2003. The survey is conducted by the Center for Comparative Studies in Sofia and the ALPHA Research sociological agency. It contains

questions about the socio-demographic background of the respondents and their attitudes toward migration. The sample size is 1100 individuals aged 17 and over. The second study of Mintchev uses data from a survey conducted in 2007 by the Agency for Socioeconomic Analysis and the Center for Comparative Studies. It is based on questionnaire with similar questions to these from 2003. The sample size is 2 725 individuals aged between 15 and 60.

In both studies, the respondents are classified into four groups by two criteria: "likelihood to emigrate" and "duration of the stay abroad" (Mintchev, 2004 and 2007). In order to be distinguished between potential migrants and non-migrants the poll contains a question about the probability of emigration, which offers four possible answers: very likely, somewhat likely, little likely and unlikely. According to the planned duration of the stay abroad, the potential migrants are further divided into three categories. If the respondent intends to stay abroad several months, he is defined by Mintchev (2004 and 2007) as potential short-term migrant. If he wants to stay abroad more than one year, he is considered potential long-term migrant. If he plans to settle permanently in another country, he is classified as potential settler or permanent migrant (Table 5).

Although this classification complicates my research and does not fit completely to it, because its aim is not to distinguish between the different types of migrants, it gives us valuable information not only about the way the socio-demographic characteristics influence the intentions for migration, but also about the way they influence the duration of the planned movement.

Mintchev incorporates the three groups of potential migrants as dependent variables. On the other hand, the socio-demographic factors are included in the model as independent variables and considered determinants of the migration behavior of the Bulgarian population. In the Mintchev's researches, the independent variables have the following answer categories:

	2003	2007
Gender	Women/ Men	Women/ Men
Age	Up to 30/ 31-40/ 41-50/ Over 50	Up to 20/ 21-20/ 31-40/ 41-50/ 51-60
Family status	Single/ Married	-
Education	Primary or lower/ Secondary/ Higher	Primary or lower/ Secondary general/ Secondary vocational/ Higher
Ethnic group	Bulgarian/ Turkish/ Roma	Bulgarian/ Turkish/ Roma/ Other
Settlement	Rural/ Urban/ Capital	Capital/ District town/ Other town/ Village

Employment	No/ Yes	No/ Yes/ Other
Prior stay abroad	No/ Yes	No/ Yes
Personal income	Up to 1 minimum salary (MS)/ 1-2 MS's/ 2-3 MS's/ Over 3 MS's	-

The measurement of the independent variables has of course some weaknesses. There are different answer categories by the age variable. The family status variable from 2007 does not distinguish between single and married respondents, but between these with and without children. The results are of course incomparable. Because of the fact that my hypothesis is about the marital status of the potential migrants, the data about this variable from 2007 are ignored. The education factor in the research from 2003 does not discern between secondary general and secondary vocational education, but it should be mentioned that people with secondary vocational education could be considered relatively qualified. According to me, the answer categories for the factor personal income are also inappropriate. The average monthly salary in Bulgaria is about 363 euro. In the same time, the minimum wage is 139 euro. This means that the middle income Bulgarian become about three minimum salaries per month and hence we can assume that the category "Over 3 MS's" represents the middle-income population. Unfortunately, there are no data about the income level of the respondents from 2007.

There are two research methods, used by Mintchev in his analyses. Firstly, the results are illustrated through the indicators "range" and "intensity". The intensity shows the frequency of the respondent's migration intentions within a certain migrants group. The range is the structure of the respondents according to their socio-demographic characteristics (Table 6 and 8). Secondly, the binary logistical regressions test to what extend the independent variables predict the dependent one. They give information about the causal relationship between two and more variables and help us to evaluate the effect of the socio-demographic variables on the migration behavior (Table 7 and 9). Binary logistical regression is a regression analysis with a dummy dependent variable. In his research, Mintchev assigns each of the potential migrants' categories code 1 and the group of the non-migrants code 0. In the regression analysis, "β" is standardized coefficient that will show us the change in the dependent variable per one-unit change in the value of the independent one. "Sig." is the significance level of the coefficient, which shows whether there is a dependency between the dependent and the independent variables or not. ΔP (%) is the change of the chance for the respondents to fall into a certain population category. It shows us, which of the independent variables has

the biggest influence on migration intentions. Because of the larger sample size, we can expect that compared to 2003, in 2007 more factors will be significant. McFadden LRI is the McFadden's likelihood ratio index. It falls between 0 and 1 and shows the explanatory power of the whole model (Table 7).

IV. Data analysis:

Using the methodological tools, explained in the previous part of this thesis, in this section the results from Mintchev's researches will be analyzed (Table 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10). The aim is to test whether and to what extent the theories of migration predict the socio-demographic profile of the Bulgarian potential migrants.

Gender: While the majority of the short- and long-term potential migrants are men, the gender structure of the potential settlers shows equal shares of both sexes. However, the intensity of migration intentions is higher among men in all population categories and in both years. By looking at the binary logistical regression, we can see that the gender factor is significant for the first two migrant types, but it is irrelevant for the group of potential permanent migrants. Therefore, we can conclude that the hypothesis (H2) which assumes that men are more likely to migrate than women is confirmed for the short- and long-term migrants, but is rejected for the permanent migrants. In respect to the research question, it could be concluded that in the short- and long-term migrant categories the gender of the potential Bulgarian migrants could be predicted by the theories.

Age: According to the binary logistical regression, age is a significant factor in all migrant categories and in both years. As expected, the majority of potential migrants are up to 30 years old and the intensity among them is the highest one. People over 40 declare remarkably lower migration likelihood. The conclusion is that the young Bulgarians are more likely to migrate than the older and this totally supports my hypothesis (H3). Obviously, it could be claimed that the theories of migration rightly predict the age of the potential Bulgarian migrants.

Family status: The structure indicator shows that the majority of the migrants are married, but the intensity of migration intentions is higher among the single individuals. According to the regression, the factor is significant in two of the three migrant categories and supports my

hypothesis that the unattached Bulgarians are more likely to migrate than the married ones (H4). The hypothesis is not confirmed in the short-term migrant category. The family status is of no importance for the short-term migrants, where the intentions are equally distributed among the single and the married individuals. Unfortunately, there is no data about the marital status of the potential migrants in 2007. However, the significance of the family status detected in 2003 by so small sample size means that there is a huge difference between the migration behavior of the singles and married individuals. Therefore, I will assume that the family status is an influential factor for the long-term and permanent migration intentions. It could be concluded that the marital status of the Bulgarian long-term and permanent potential migrants could be predicted by the theories.

Education: The majority of the potential migrants have completed secondary education. The shares of the migrants, who have finished primary and higher education, are almost equal. In both years, the factor education is significant only for the short-term migration. In 2003, the intensity is the lowest in the first answer category (primary or lower). The frequency of the short-term migration intentions is high by the most educated and the highest by the individual completed secondary education. In 2007, the results show that most likely to migrate are people finished secondary vocational education. Taking into consideration the assumption that some of the people with secondary education could be considered relatively qualified, we can conclude that the educated Bulgarians are more likely to migrate in short-term than those with the lowest level of educational attainment. This means that my hypothesis (H5) is confirmed for the short-term migration and rejected for the other migrant categories. On the other hand, my hypothesis that the low skilled Bulgarians are more likely to migrate than the highly skilled is automatically rejected (H6), because they are mutually exclusive. It can be concluded that the human capital theory better predicts the educational level of the Bulgarian potential short-term migrants than the dual labor market theory. In the context of the dual labor market theory, possible explanation for the insignificance of the results in other migrant groups could be that the demand for low skilled labor in the developed economies does not exceed their demand for highly skilled.

Ethnic group: As expected the majority of the potential migrants are Bulgarians. The results reflect the ethnic composition of the population in the country. The intensity of intentions varies in the different categories and years. In 2003, the factor ethnicity was significant for the short-term and for the permanent migration. In these two migrant categories, most likely to

leave the country were the Roma people. In 2007, the factor was significant for the short- and long-term migration. The Turkish have declared the highest intentions for cross border mobility. Although the ethnic groups with the highest migration intentions in the studies are different, in both cases minority members are more migratory than the Bulgarians. This thesis aims to compare the migration behavior of the Bulgarians with this of the minorities and not the minorities with each other. Therefore, we can conclude that my hypothesis is valid for the case of the short-term potential migrants and the settlers (H7) and that the minority members are more likely to migrate than the members of the Bulgarian ethnic group. The hypothesis is rejected in the long-term migrant category, because the factor shows statistical significance only in 2007. In respect to the research question, it could be concluded that the minority/majority membership of the Bulgarian short-term and permanent potential migrants could be predicted by the literature.

Settlement: The majority of the potential migrants are urban residents. The factor was not significant in 2003, which means that the type of settlement did not influence the migration intentions. In 2007, the factor was significant only for the capital citizens and only for the long-term and permanent migration. We can conclude that in 2007 the capital residents were more likely to migrate than the other Bulgarians. Although there is no evidence for the opposite, none of the results confirms my hypothesis that the rural residents are more likely to migrate than the urban residents (H8). However, the regression shows significance only for 2007, when the sample size was larger and more factors were detected as significant. Therefore, we cannot argue that the results from 2007 are generally valid. It could be concluded that the theories of international migration cannot predict the type of settlement of the potential Bulgarian migrants.

Employment: According to the structure indicator, the majority of the migrants are employed. However, the employment status does not show any statistical significance and this is enough reason for me, to reject the hypothesis that the unemployed Bulgarians are more likely to migrate than the employed (H9). Unfortunately, in this case, the theories of migration do not have predictive power.

Prior stay abroad: Undoubtedly, the migration experience is very influential for the migration behavior. Although more than two thirds of the potential migrants have not been abroad, the frequency of the intentions is much higher among the people with migration

experience. The factor is significant in all migrant categories without exception and in both years and the likelihood of cross-border mobility is much higher by people with migration experience. This result totally confirms the hypothesis that the Bulgarians with migration experience are more likely to migrate than those, who have not been abroad (H10). Apparently, the theories could predict the migration experience of the potential Bulgarian migrants.

Personal income: The structure shows that the majority of the people, which have declared migration intentions have personal income up to two minimum salaries. However, with the exception of the potential settlers, the intensity among them is the lowest. Intentions for permanent migration are high in the two extremes income categories ("up to 1 MS" and "over 3 MS's'). This means that the poorest people in the country usually emigrate for good. Unfortunately, the income level is not included in the regression analysis and it cannot be established, whether it is a significant factor or not. However, the highest intentions for all kind of migration are declared by the people with personal income over 3 MS's. Taking into consideration the assumption that the category "Over 3 MS's" represents the middle-income population, we can confirm the hypothesis that the middle-income Bulgarians are more likely to migrate than the low-income (H11). In respect to the research question, driving this thesis, it should be mentioned that the theories of migration predict rightly the income level of the Bulgarian potential migrants.

Summary of the results: According to the research, there is a statistical dependency between the migration intention of the Bulgarians and some of the independent variables. It turns out that significant factors are the gender, age, family status, education, ethnic group and migration experience of the population. The factors settlement and employment are not significant and do not influence the migration behavior (Table 7, 9 and 10).

ΔP (%) shows, which of the independent variables has the biggest influence on the migration intentions (Table 7 and 9). In my research, the most influential independent variables are the age and the migration experience, which totally coincides with the results, expected from the hypothesis (H1).

The McFadden's LRI, estimated by Mintchev in his research from 2003 indicates relatively low explanatory power of the socio-demographic characteristics for the short-term model

(0.186). According to the study, they could explain better the potential settlers' behaviour (0.248). With index's value of 0.308, best predicted by the personal profile of the individuals could be the long-term migration. Unfortunately, the McFadden's LRI is not estimated for year 2007, but it also would not be useful, because there are some missing variables in the model from this year. Although they are from being the only determinants of the cross border mobility, the socio-demographic characteristics explain between 19% and 30% of the variance in the migration intentions and therefore deserve to be studied.

V. Conclusion:

In this final section, the main findings of the thesis are synthesized and critically assessed. Moreover, some suggestions for future research are discussed and possible policy implications are considered. The conclusion ends with the answer of the research question, driving this thesis.

The object of this thesis is to answer the question: "To what extent do the theories of migration predict the socio-demographic profile of the potential Bulgarian migrants?". In order to carry it out, I have reviewed the existing literature on this topic and developed testable hypotheses. Thereafter, the data was carefully analyzed. The findings have largely confirmed the assumptions of the theories and the hypotheses developed. It has turned out that the factors gender, age, family status, education, ethnic group and migration experience are significant for the cross border mobility of the Bulgarian population. According to my research, the factors settlement and employment cannot be predicted, because they are insignificant and do not influence the migration behavior.

It must be taken into consideration that because of the lack of available data, this thesis is not intended to evaluate the current migration potential of Bulgaria, but only to find a relationship between the personal profile of the population and its migration behavior. The aim of the results is to turn the public attention to the individuals with the highest propensity to migrate. In this way, the migration policy could be directed toward them, influencing and reducing their migration intentions. For example, it turns out that special attention should be paid to the young people (including students), to the minority members and to people with migration experience, because they are most likely to leave the country. In order to keep the young people within the country, the government should offer them more attractive conditions and

opportunities for professional and personal development. In the case of the students and young people, the best practice could be not to deter them from wanting to migrate, but to let them increase their human capital abroad and then attract them back to Bulgaria and benefit from their international experience. The situation by the people with previous stay abroad is similar. The government should facilitate their reemployment in Bulgaria and benefit from their experience, and not push them into migration again. Although it is disputable, whether the Roma population is beneficial for the country or not, because it is usually unemployed and dependent on the social welfare system, in order to prevent future population decline, caused by migration, the situation of the minority people in the country should also be improved. Their human rights and fundamental freedoms should be respected and any kind of discrimination avoided. Moreover, equally employment and education opportunities should be promoted to all ethnic groups.

Because of its limited size, this thesis has provided only aggregated information about the personal characteristics of the individuals, which influence their migration behaviour. The model could be extended by cross tabulation of the factors with each other. In this way, the knowledge about the socio-demographic context, in which the incentives for migration occur, will be enriched and the potential migrants will be more easily indentified.

Interesting results are obtained for the factors settlement and ethnicity. The findings about the settlement do not confirm the hypothesis developed and totally contradict the theories. Possible explanation for this result is provided by Ravenstein, who assumed that the migration occurs in steps. This means that initially the population migrates to the big cities and to the capital of its origin country and thereafter undertakes international movements. This theory is completely applicable for the case of Bulgaria and if we ignore it, the results could be wrong interpreted. In the capital of Bulgaria live 1 359 520 people, which are 18.5% of the whole population (NSI, 2011). Many of them are internal migrants, which already have become citizens of the capital, but originally come from rural areas. By the opinion polls, these people are registered as capital residents, which leads to data confusion, wrong analysis and conclusion, which contradicts the theoretical assumption that rural residents are more migratory than the urban ones. Therefore, I argue that not the theories, but the data are reason for this confusion, because they are not sensitive enough and do not distinguish between actual capital/urban residents and people who have migrated to the big cities, but are originally from rural areas.

Although the hypothesis about the ethnic affiliations of the potential migrants is largely confirmed, the differences in the intentions between the Roma and the Turkish minority groups are not explained, because it is a very broad topic without simple answer. Therefore, the ethnicity and the type of settlement as determinants for migration could be an object of observation for further researches on this topic.

In order to give a precise answer to my research question "To what extent do the theories of migration predict the socio-demographic profile of the potential Bulgarian migrants?", I have to see to what extent the hypotheses developed are confirmed by the results. Six from all nine socio-demographic factors, included in this thesis or about 67% of the profile of the short-term potential Bulgarian migrant could be predicted by the literature. In the case of the long-term migrants and settlers, the theories could predict five personal factors or about 56% of their profile. Therefore, I would conclude that the theories of migration could predict to a great extent the profile of the potential Bulgarian migrant.

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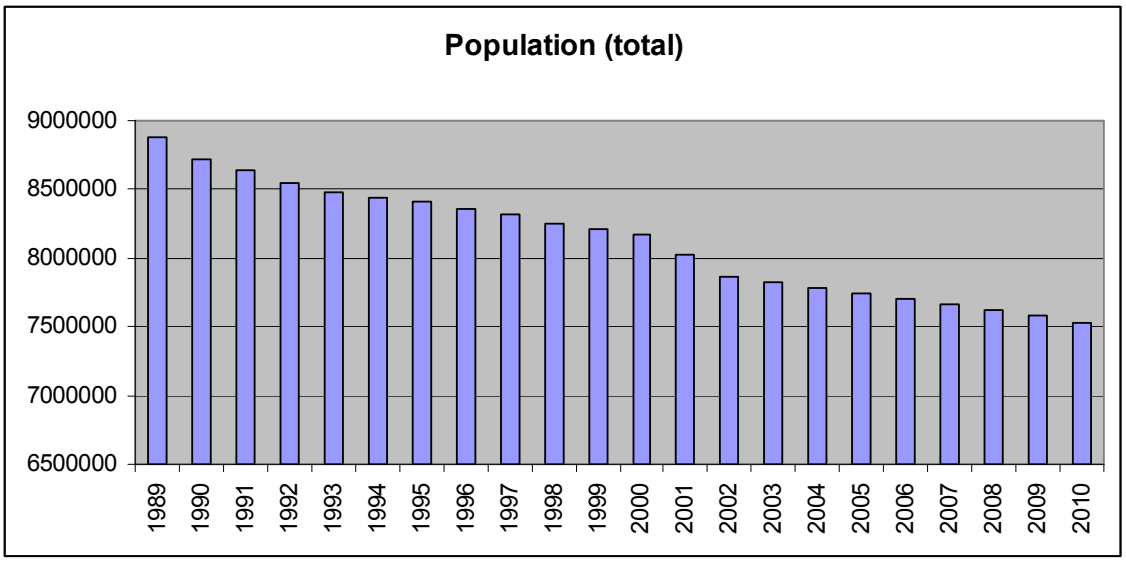
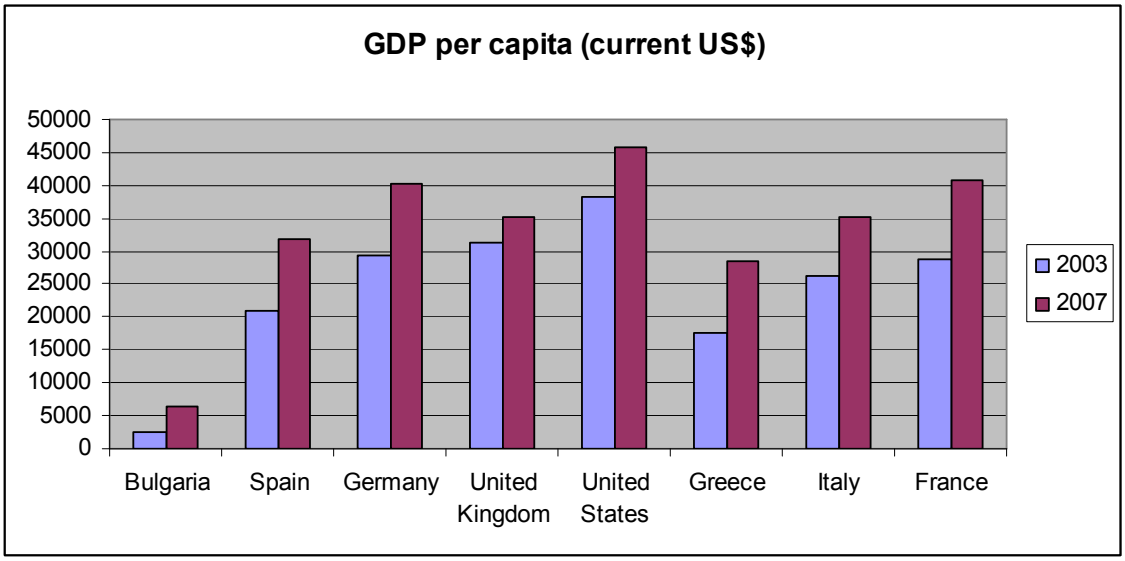
VII. Annexes:

Table 1



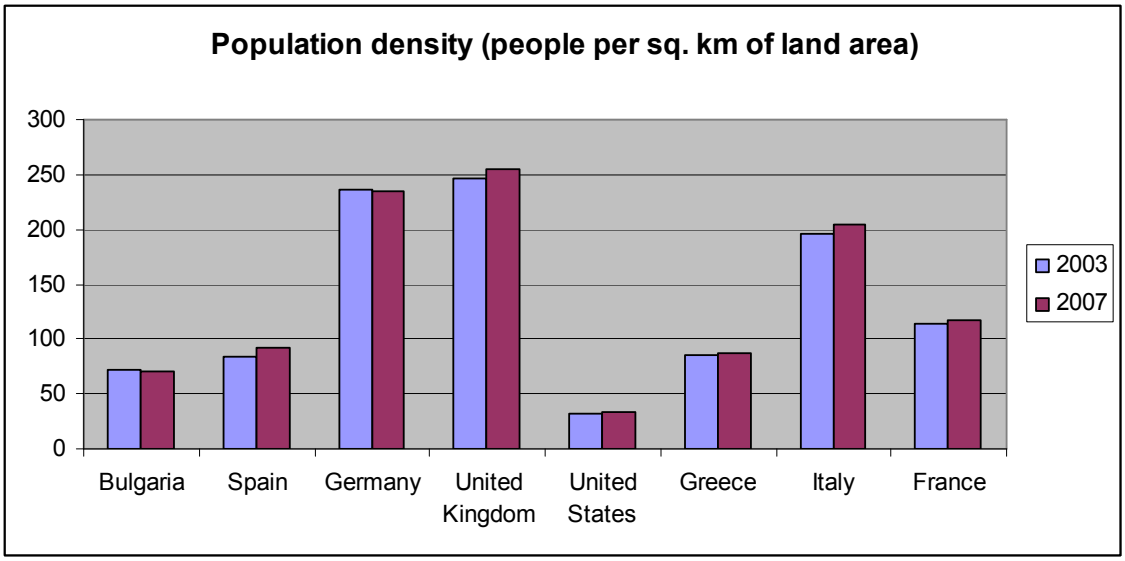
Source: The World Bank Group (1989-2010)

Table 2



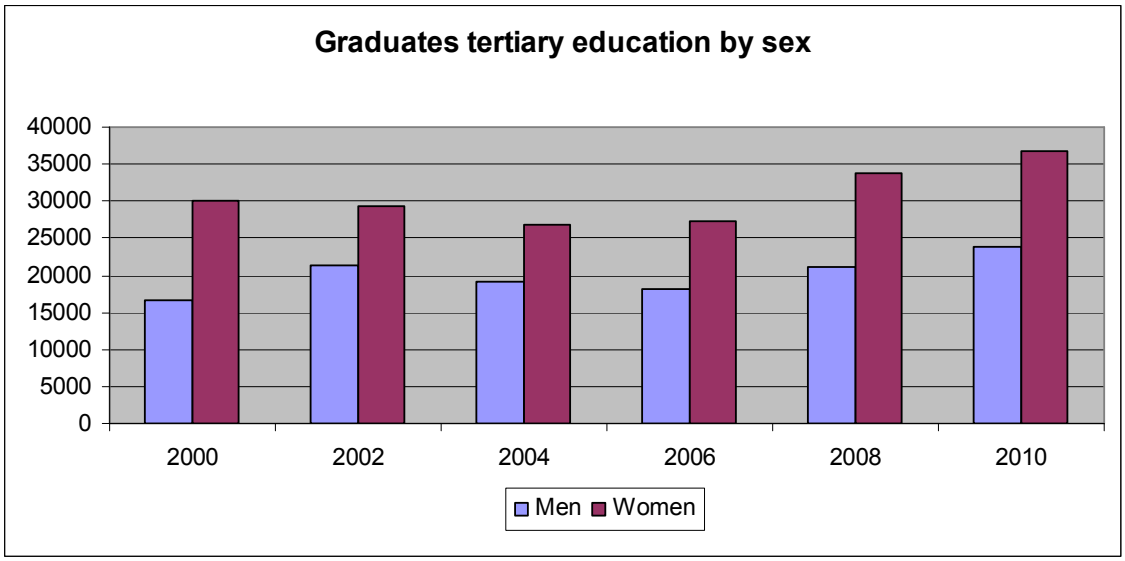
Source: The World Bank Group (2003 and 2007)

Table 3



Source: The World Bank Group (2003 and 2007)

Table 4



Source: Bulgarian National Statistical Institute (2000-2010)

Table 5

	Likelihood to emigrate			
Duration of the stay abroad	**Very likely**	**Somewhat likely**	**Little likely**	**Unlikely**
Several months	Short-term migrants		Non-migrants	
More than one year	Long-term migrants			
To settle	Settlers			

Table 6

	Short-term		Long-term		Settlers	
	Structure	**Intensity**	**Structure**	**Intensity**	**Structure**	**Intensity**
Gender						
Women	35.4	3.2	32.9	4.9	49.3	6.9
Men	64.6	6.6	67.1	11.2	50.7	8
Age						
Up to 30	41.7	8.5	51.9	17.4	52	16.6
31-40	18.8	4.3	26.6	10	30.7	11
41-50	27.1	6.2	19	7.2	10.7	3.8
Over 50	12.5	1.7	2.5	0.6	6.7	1.4
Family status						
Singles	31.3	5.3	46.2	12.6	45.9	11.9
Married	68.8	4.6	53.8	5.9	54.1	5.6
Education						
Primary or lower	18.8	2.9	16.5	4.1	18.7	4.5
Secondary	62.5	5.8	65.8	10	56	8.1
Higher	18.8	5.2	17.7	8.1	25.3	11
Ethnic group						
Bulgarian	77.1	4.5	82.3	8	86.1	7.6
Turkish	8.3	5	15.2	15	4.2	3.8

Roma	14.6	10.4	2.5	3	9.7	10.4
Settlement						
Rural	33.3	5.1	34.2	8.7	16	3.9
Urban	54.2	4.6	46.8	6.6	65.3	8.7
Capital	12.5	4.5	19	11.2	18.7	10.4
Employment						
No	43.8	4.5	40.3	6.7	44	7.1
Yes	56.3	5.1	59.7	8.6	56	7.9
Prior stay abroad						
No	70.8	3.8	65.8	5.8	72	6.1
Yes	29.2	12.1	34.2	23.3	28	18.1
Personal income						
Up to 1 minimum salary (MS)	37	4.1	42.3	7.9	50	8.6
1-2 MS's	37	4.4	37.2	7.6	29.2	5.5
2-3 MS's	15.2	6.6	11.5	8.5	9.7	6.6
Over 3 MS's	10.9	7.8	9	10.9	11.1	12.5

Source: Mintchev (2004)

Table 7

Target group (1):	**Short-term**			**Long-term**			**Settlers**		
	B	**Sig.**	**ΔP(%)**	**B**	**Sig.**	**ΔP(%)**	**B**	**Sig.**	**ΔP(%)**
Gender									
Men	0.968	**0.004**	0.3	0.836	**0.004**	0.1	0.066	0.816	0.02
Age									
Up to 30	2.075	**0**	**0.6**	4.626	**0**	**0.4**	2.898	**0**	**0.89**
31-40	1.067	**0.066**	0.3	3.953	**0**	**0.4**	2.575	**0**	**0.79**
41-50	1.198	**0.028**	0.3	3.242	**0.002**	0.3	0.904	0.157	0.28
Family status									
Singles	-0.056	0.885	0	0.764	**0.017**	0.1	0.737	**0.015**	0.23
Education									
Secondary	1.287	**0.024**	0.4	0.292	0.474	0	0.345	0.447	0.11
Higher	1.451	**0.037**	0.4	0.458	0.393	0	0.772	0.152	0.24
Ethnic group									
Turkish	-0.174	0.787	0	0.107	0.829	0	-1.359	**0.067**	-0.42
Roma	1.729	**0.01**	0.5	-0.819	0.316	-0.1	0.42	0.481	0.13
Settlement									
Urban	-0.178	0.638	-0.1	-0.429	0.221	0	0.576	0.13	0.18
Capital	-0.437	0.45	-0.1	-0.218	0.641	0	0.224	0.664	0.07
Employment									
No	0.259	0.483	0.1	0.182	0.553	0	0.392	0.212	0.12
Prior stay abroad									
Yes	2.131	**0**	**0.6**	2.362	**0**	0.2	2.517	**0**	**0.77**
McFadden's LRI	**0.186**			**0.308**			**0.248**		

Independent variable	**Reference category**
Gender	Women
Age	Over 50
Family Status	Married

Education	Primary or lower
Ethnic group	Bulgarian
Settlement	Rural
Employment	Yes
Prior stay abroad	No

Source: Mintchev (2004)

Table 8

	Short-term		Long-term		Settlers	
	Intensity	Structure	Intensity	Structure	Intensity	Structure
Gender						
Men	8.9	51.6	9.9	64.8	5.4	49.6
Women	7.5	48.4	4.8	35.2	4.9	50.4
Age						
Up to 20	8.7	13.9	11.2	20.5	9.8	24.8
21-30	12.5	31.4	9.1	26.2	7.2	28.4
31-40	9.8	26.5	9.3	28.7	6.4	27.7
41-50	4.9	11.7	5.1	13.8	3.4	12.8
51-60	5.5	16.6	3.1	10.8	1.3	6.4
Education						
Primary or lower	6.9	20.2	8.2	27.7	5.2	24.1
Secondary general	7.9	25.6	6.6	24.1	4.9	24.8
Secondary vocational	10.2	34.1	7.3	27.7	5.2	27.7
Higher	7.5	20.2	6.6	20.5	5.5	23.4
Ethnic group						
Bulgarian	8.2	82.1	6.3	72.4	5.4	86.5
Turkish	13.6	15.7	13.2	17.3	3.1	5.7
Roma	2.2	1.8	9.7	9.2	5.4	7.1
Other	3.1	0.4	6.3	1	3.1	0.7
Settlement						
Capital	6.5	12.6	4	8.7	2.6	7.8
District town	9.2	36.3	8.2	36.7	6.8	42.6
Other town	7.5	22.4	8	27	6.3	29.8
Village	8.5	28.7	7.2	27.6	3.7	19.9
Employment						
Yes	8.5	63.7	6.7	57.5	4.9	58.6
No	8.1	15.7	10.1	22.8	5.8	17.9
Other	7.8	20.6	6.5	19.7	5.6	23.6

Source: Mihailov and Mintchev (2007)

Table 9

Target group (1):	Short-term			Long-term			Settlers		
	B	Sig.	ΔP(%)	B	Sig.	ΔP(%)	B	Sig.	ΔP(%)
Gender									
Men	0.265	**0.056**	0.94	0.637	**0**	0.83	0.121	0.487	0.16

Age									
till 30	0.448	**0.025**	1.6	0.987	**0**	1.29	1.054	**0**	1.42
31-40	0.29	0.203	1.03	0.922	**0.001**	1.21	0.869	**0.008**	1.17
41-50	-0.312	0.248	-1.11	0.468	0.124	0.61	0.481	0.178	0.65
Education									
Secondary	0.603	**0.015**	2.15	0.301	0.264	-0.39	0.49	0.1	0.66
Higher	0.57	**0.003**	2.03	0.169	0.414	0.22	0.343	0.15	0.46
Ethnic group									
Turkish	0.633	**0.006**	2.26	0.572	**0.024**	0.75	-0.429	0.263	-0.58
Roma	0.048	0.848	0.17	0.251	0.319	0.33	-0.188	0.533	-0.25
Settlement									
Town	-0.132	0.588	-0.47	-0.201	0.511	-0.26	-0.586	0.118	-0.79
Capital	0.097	0.561	0.35	0.404	**0.032**	0.53	0.546	**0.014**	0.74
Employment									
No	-0.061	0.754	-0.22	0.135	0.504	0.18	0.167	0.489	0.23
Prior stay abroad									
Yes	2.211	**0**	**7.89**	2.884	**0**	**3.77**	2.358	**0**	**3.18**

Independent variable	**Reference category**
Gender	Women
Age	Over 50
Education	Primary or lower
Ethnic group	Bulgarian
Settlement	Rural
Employment	Yes
Prior stay abroad	No

Source: Mihailov and Mintchev (2007)

Table 10

Theories	Hypotheses	Significance						Intensity					
		Short- term		Long- term		Settlers		Short- term		Long- term		Settlers	
		2003	2007	2003	2007	2003	2007	2003	2007	2003	2007	2003	2007
Gender	Male	Sig.	Sig.	Sig.	Sig.	-	-	Male	Male	Male	Male	-	-
Age	Up to 30	Sig.	Sig.	Sig.	Sig.	Sig.	Sig.	Up to 30	21-30	Up to 30	Up to 20	Up to 30	Up to 20
Family status	Single	-	x	Sig.	x	Sig.	x	-	x	Single	x	Single	x
Education	High or Low	Sig.	Sig.	-	-	-	-	Secondary	Secondary vocational	-	-	-	-
Ethnicity	Minority	Sig.	Sig.	-	Sig.	Sig.	-	Roma	Turkish	-	Turkish	Roma	-
Settlement	Rural	-	-	-	Sig.	-	Sig.	-	-	-	Capital		Capital
Employment	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Migration experience	Yes	Sig.	Sig.	Sig.	Sig.	Sig.	Sig.	Yes	x	Yes	x	Yes	x
Income level	Middle	x	x	x	x	x	x	Middle	x	Middle	x	Middle	x

Sig	Significant factor
-	Insignificant factor
X	No data
	Differences between 2003 and 2007