Settlers and Temporary Migrants in Germany (Results of Empirical Survey of Individuals Travelling by Busses from Bulgaria to Germany)

Mintchev, Vesselin

Economic Research Institute at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, International Business School, Botevgrad, Bulgaria

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Vesselin Mintchev[1]

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Abstract:
The article presents a selection of results from a sample questionnaire survey of Bulgarian citizens travelling by busses from Bulgaria to Germany in May 2012. Two main segments are delineated – Bulgarians that are permanently or temporary residing in this country. Their socio-demographic profiles are explored separately and in comparative perspective, including their actual and expected realization on the labour market abroad. The migration intentions of both segments are identified in the context of the current debate regarding the EU-2 (Bulgarian and Romanian) migration flows to Germany.
JEL: F22, J21, Z13

1. Introduction

Assuming that the last 6 countries which dropped their labour market restrictions for Bulgarians and Romanians are enthusiastic over the next wave of Southeast European workers is a clueless illusion. The emigration from EU-2 (i.e. Bulgaria and Romania) is *"emigration of the poor"* – a popular term in Germany. The debate is politicized and concerns the meaning of the concept for "welfare state" that resonates on the "universalistic" (like the British) or "contributor" (like the German) social systems. The expectations are that Bulgarians and Romanians will induce particular tension in the low-skilled labour market segment. After January 1st 2014, for instance, between 100 and 180 thousand Bulgarians and Romanians are expected to relocate in Germany, apart from the others.

According to data of IAB (Institute for Employment Research, Nuremberg) so far in Germany only 7.4% of EU-2 are unemployed, compared to 7.7% of the local population and to 14.7% of the total immigrant population of the country. Therefore, something in the debate does not correspond to the figures that experts like H. Brücker refer to[2]. However, having in mind the favourable demographics of the new immigrant population it is considered that it can contribute (comparatively) more to the social systems than the local people. Yet again according to IAB, 65% of Bulgarians and Romanians pay taxes in

[1] *Vesselin Mintchev is from Economic Research Institute at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and from International Business School, Botevgrad, Bulgaria, phone: +359-886-283295, e-mail: v.mintchev@iki.bas.bg.*
[2] The gates are open – Rich EU countries fret about social-benefits tourism after the lifting of restrictions on the free movement of workers from Romania and Bulgaria on January 1st (http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21592673-rich-eu-countries-fret-about-social-benefits-tourism-after-lifting-restrictions-free).

Germany and those who receive social benefits are not more than 10% – a little higher share than the 7% of local population that lives on benefits.[3]

The lower skill level of the new emigrants also raises a concern in the host countries. In Germany it is considered that 1/3 of the Bulgarians and Romanians working there have no qualification (compared to 11% low-skilled among the local workers). According to some media (Ulrich, 2014), in towns like Duisburg and Dortmund only 10% of the new immigrants from Bulgaria occupy positions generating taxes. However, there are also opinions that the new Balkan immigration brings rather benefits than problems. Thus, according to the German press, the renowned Institute of Economic Studies (DIW – Deutsche Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, Berlin) estimates the employment rate of the new immigrants arriving from Bulgaria and Romania in the period 2007-2011 at 62.6% (Ulrich, 2014).

Actually, the influx from both countries decreased in 2013, compared with 2012. However, the immigration from Italy increases, but this does not raise political debates and terms like *"emigration of the poor"* (Evans and Bristow, 2014).

Such type of debates motivated the initiation of a sample survey among Bulgarians travelling by bus to Germany in order to obtain information about the profile of the Bulgarians settled permanently or residing temporary in this country.

2. Between Bulgaria and Germany – sample questionnaire-based survey of people travelling by bus from Bulgaria to Germany

The objective of this article is to explore consistently the following set of important questions related to the commented debate in the German press:

- What are socio-demographic characteristics of our compatriots settled in Germany?
- Which are the main characteristics of labour/temporary migrants – having (or looking for) realization in Germany (including "return" and/or "circular" migrants)?
- What patterns of the general migration intentions among Bulgarians travelling by means of bus transport to Germany can be identified?

The study[4] is based on a planned sample of 800 standardized "face to face" interviews with passengers who check-in to travel by bus from Bulgaria to Germany. The bus lines are treated as "clusters" from which a certain number of passengers are selected for interviewing before the departure of the bus.

[3] Ibid.

[4] The survey is conducted by A.S.A. Sociological Agency managed by Dr. D. Mihailov in the framework of the Project *"Bulgarian Diaspora in Western Europe: cross-border mobility, national identity, and development"* (Contract No DID-02/21 from 17.12.2009 and Annex to the contract from 12.12.2011 between ERI-BAS and The Bulgarian National Science Fund, "Ideas" Programme). The processing of the primary information is a joint effort between the author and Dr. Venelin Boshnakov /UNWE/ and Dr. Docho Mihailov /A.S.A./.

A statistical frame comprising of the full list of the bus lines travelling from Bulgaria to Germany (from Sofia and from the rest of the country) was provided – on the basis of "screening" of offers and consultations with all international bus companies, a total of 160 bus lines were identified that travel weekly to Germany from the cities of Sofia, Pazardjik, Sliven, Plovdiv, Kardjali, Varna, Ruse, Haskovo, Burgas and Stara Zagora. However, just some of the bus lines actually travel – only in cases that there are enough passengers and there are options for matching with local lines to transfer via Sofia.

Thus, the number of the regularly travelling bus lines to Germany in the survey period (May 2012) was reduced to 70 per week. They travel respectively from Sofia, Pazardjik, Plovdiv, Kardjali, Varna, Ruse, Haskovo and Stara Zagora. All of them are comprehensively covered in the sample. The sample selection includes the following steps:

1. *Step I:* Distribution of the clusters proportionaly to their sizes in Sofia and in the country. As a result, certain quotas are determined for the bus lines coming from relevant towns where a bus line from Bulgaria to Germany is offered.
2. *Step II:* Random selection of individuals within the cluster (i.e. the selected bus line) where the "sampling frame" contains all individuals that are Bulgarian citizens aged 18+. This way, the sample could potentialy include also individuals travelling to Germany for a personal visit or tourism.

Table 1.

Number of busses and questionnaires, by cities of departure to Germany

	Number of buses per week	Number of collected questionnaires
Sofia	36	593
Pazardzhik	6	30
Plovdiv	7	30
Kardzhali	4	12
Varna	7	105
Russe	3	7
Haskovo	2	9
Stara Zagora	5	21
TOTAL	70	807

The final accomplished sample includes 807 interviews by which questionnaire data has been collected from 70 bus lines that travel to Germany each week for the whole country (table 1).

The questionnaire consists of 34 questions generating 56 variables. The first question divides the interviewed people into "permanently residing" in Germany and "living in Bulgaria". The first part of the questions (Q2-Q19, 33 variables) aims in those permanently residing in Germany. Some of them are similar to questions from previous studies among Bulgarians in Spain and among return migrants located in Bulgaria (Kaltchev, 2012). The second block of questions (Q20-Q26, 16 variables) is focused on those permanently residing in Bulgaria. These questions are similar to the set of items typically used in previous surveys of the so-called potential migrants (Kaltchev, 2012). This way of

collecting information allows us to compare two distinguished groups – permanently residing in Germany and in Bulgaria – as the bulk of the latter are classified as "temporary migrants".

3. Permanently residing in Germany – duration and place of stay

The survey data shows that the majority of Bulgarians travelling by buses to Germany (666 interviewed, i.e. 82.5% of all intevriewed) live in Bulgaria and only one sixth reside in Germany (table 2).

Table 2.

Permanent residence of the sampled individuals (checked in busses to Germany).

Where have you lived the longest during the last 12 months?	Number	%
Bulgaria	666	82.5
Germany	140	17.3
Other country	1	0.1
Total	807	100.0

This allows us to differentiate the profiles of those permanently residing in Germany from the temporary migrants (i.e. people living predominantly in Bulgaria and looking for options to get a temporary job in Germany) as well as to explore separately and in comparative perspective the socio-demographic and other characteristics of both subsets ("permanently residing in Germany" and "temporary emigrants").

Most of those classified as permanently residing in Germany state that they have lived there during the last 5 years, i.e. exactly since 2007 (the study was conducted in May 2012). As a whole, about 30% of respondents declare a period longer than 5 years (11.5% with a period over 10 years). This confirms the findings of some authors and internet portals about the restrictions enabled before 2007 (Naydenova and Christova-Balkanska, 2010) and about the accelerated moves from Bulgaria after that year.[5]

Table 3.

Duration of stay in Germany.

For how long approximately do you permanently live in Germany?	Number	%
For a year	7	5.9
More than 1 up to 5 years	76	63.9
More than 5 up to 10 years	22	18.5
More than 10 years	14	11.8
Total	119	100.0

[5] "How many Bulgarians are there in Germany?" (http://yurukov.net/blog/2012/03/14/kolko-sa-balgarite-v-germaniq/).

Despite the traditions,[6] the current Bulgarian presence in Germany is a relatively new phenomenon. Furthermore, as indicated in table 4, Bulgarians are concentrated predominantly in large German cities (including Berlin), mainly in provinces as North Rhine-Westphalia and Bavaria.[7]

Table 4.

Settlement in Germany.

In what settlement do you live in Germany?	%
Berlin	6.5
Big city with population over 500 000 people (Hamburg, Munich, Cologne, Frankfurt, etc.)	71.7
Other city/town	19.5
Small settlement/farm	2.2
Total	100.0

4. Sociodemographic characteristics of Bulgarians settled in Germany and of temporary migrants

The information in table 5 below presents the profile of the respondents permanently residing in Germany and those looking for short-term realization in this country. The distribution by gender is surprising – men are 58.6% of the permanent residents and about half of the short-term ones – probably this is due to the specifics of the survey (we interviewed people using busses where women are less keen to use such mode of transport).

Regarding the distribution by age, the temporary migrants are definitely younger. The permanently residing are mostly aged between 26 and 45. Amongst temporary migrants, those aged between 26 and 35 predominate and allocate over 40% of the respondents. In both cases we talk about young population in active working age. This makes many

[6] For example, prominent Bulgarian renaissance leaders like Dr. Petar Beron, Dr. Ivan Bogorov, etc. received their education in Germany; furthermore, the first Bulgarian students' association was established more than a century ago in Berlin, back in 1908 (see Naydenova, P. and Christova-Balkanska, I. (2010). Bulgarian emigrants in Germany. – In: *Sustainable Development and Diversity in Bulgaria* Conference Proceedings, Sofia: Ikopis, pp. 141-178.

[7] On territorial distribution of Bulgarians in Germany till 2007 see Naydenova, P. and Christova-Balkanska, I. (2010). Bulgarian emigrants in Germany. – In: Sustainable development and diversity in Bulgaria. Proceedings, Sofia: Ikopis, pp. 141-178.

researchers in Germany to consider the presence of Bulgarians and Romanians on the labour market of the Federal Republic more as a benefit than a threat.[8]

Table 5.
Socio-demographic profile of Bulgarians settled in Germany and of the temporary migrants (May 2012).

	Permanent residents		Temporary migrants	
	Number	%	Number	%
Gender				
Male	82	58.6	341	51.2
Female	58	41.4	325	48.8
Total	140	100.0	666	100.0
Age group				
Up to 25	14	10.1	102	15.4
26-35	48	34.8	266	40.1
36-45	51	37.0	183	27.6
45+	25	18.1	113	17.0
Total	138	100.0	664	100.0
Completed education (diploma, certificate)				
No education			7	1.1
Elementary	1	0.7	16	2.4
Primary	2	1.4	40	6.0
Secondary – general	23	16.5	175	26.4
Secondary – vocational	64	46.0	297	44.7
Higher (Bachelor's)	19	13.7	77	11.6
Higher (Master's)	28	20.1	49	7.4
Academic degree (Ph.D. or Dr.Sc.)	2	1.4	3	0.5
Total	139	100.0	664	100.0
Marital status				
Married (in cohabitation)	90	64.7	331	49.9
Single (not in cohabitation)	38	27.3	281	42.4
Separated, divorced	11	7.9	42	6.3
Widower/widow			9	1.4
Total	139	100.0	663	100.0
Ethnicity				
Bulgarian	121	87.7	591	89.1
Turkish	16	11.6	27	4.1
Roma			43	6.5
Other	1	0.7	2	0.3

[8] According to analyst like Herbert Brücker, due to their favourable demographics the newcomers from Bulgaria and Romania contribute to the social systems to a considerably higher extent, as compared to the local population. See: The gates are open – Rich EU countries fret about social-benefits tourism after the lifting of restrictions on the free movement of workers from Romania and Bulgaria on January 1st, The Economist, January 4th, 2014.
http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21592673-rich-eu-countries-fret-about-social-benefits-tourism-after-lifting-restrictions-free.

Total	138	100.0	663	100.0
Citizenship				
Bulgarian	122	88.4	661	99.7
Bulgarian and German	16	11.6	1	0.2
Other			1	0.2
Total	138	100.0	663	100.0

Regarding the educational status of both categories, those permanently residing certainly have a higher educational level. Practically every third person of those residing in Germany has tertiary education (Bachelor, Master, or PhD). Among the short-term migrants the share of people with such education is below 20%. In fact, both groups are dominated by people with secondary vocational education. Still, the share of people with no education, primary or secondary general education is higher among the short-term migrants.

People in marital relationship (marriage/cohabitation) dominate in both subsets, but their share is considerably higher for those permanently settled in Germany.

There are substantial differences in the distributions by ethnic affiliation. Among the respondents settled in Germany we identify mostly Bulgarians and Bulgarian Turks, while among the temporary migrants the share of Romas is higher than the one of the Turks.

Also, we cannot ignore the obvious presence of people possesing double citizenship amongst the permanently residing in Germany, which practically does not exist among the temporary migrants.

5. Reasons to settle in Germany– for those permanently residing there

Among the reasons for settling in Germany we outline the major ones having economic nature – "higher payment" (every third of the responses) and "higher living standard" (every fifth of the responses).

This is in a certain dissonance with the data about the Bulgarians living in Spain, and in unison with the responses of the return and potential migrants from previous studies (See e.g. Kalchev and Zareva 2012). At the same time, the motive for a better professional realization is also obvious.

On the other hand, almost 1/3 of the respondents indicate motives for settling in Germany concerning family matters, namely:

- to support my family or other relatives in Bulgaria (15.1% of the responses);
- to ensure the desired education for me and my children (5.2% of the responses);
- marriage/relationship (4.8% of responses);
- to accompany spouse/partner, parents, or children (3.6%).

Table 6.

Reasons for settling in Germany.

What are the main reasons to settle in Germany?	Responses		% of the cases
	Number	%	
Higher living standard	51	20.2	37.5
Higher payment	94	37.3	69.1
Better professional realization	24	9.5	17.6
To support my family or other relatives in Bulgaria	38	15.1	27.9
To ensure the desired education for me and my children	13	5.2	9.6
Marriage/relationship	12	4.8	8.8
To visit parents and/or relatives	1	0.4	0.7
To accompany husband / wife, spouse / partner, parents, children	9	3.6	6.6
To get foreign nationality for me and my family	2	0.8	1.5
I just wanted to live in Germany	8	3.2	5.9
Total	252	100.0	

6. Reasons for temporary migrants to travel to Germany

More than half of the people travelling by bus to Germany (permanently residing in Bulgaria, classified as "temporary" migrants) have a clear intention to work there. The share of people stating that they will "try to work" in Germany, or that they will "look for a short-term job", is almost two thirds (table 7). At the same time, every fourth person is motivated by different personal reasons – visits, medical treatment, etc.

Table 7.

Reasons for permanent Bulgarian residents to travel to Germany.

	Number	%
Vacation, excursion	43	6.5
Work in Germany	309	46.4
Personal reasons: visiting relatives, family reasons, medical treatment, etc.	156	23.4
Business reasons: business trip, private business, education/training	35	5.3
Looking for temporary employment in Germany	109	16.4
Looking for education	5	0.8
I am leaving Bulgaria to settle in Germany	4	0.6
I travel to another country	2	0.3
Other	3	0.5
Total	666	100.0

7. Labour market – occupation of the permanently residing in Germany, occupation in Bulgaria before leaving to Germany, and expected occupation of temporary migrants

The data provides options to identify many aspects of the labour markets both in Germany and in Bulgaria, in the respect of their roles as "demand-pull" and "supply-push" factors (See Zimmermann, 1995), motivating the permanent (or final) settling of Bulgarians in Germany, as well as the attitudes to short-term realization.

Many of the temporary migrants (one in every four) aim to work in agriculture (without having had such an experience in Bulgaria). On the contrast, this is rather an exception among the permanently residing in Germany.

On the other hand, taking a job as a "construction worker" is almost equally popular among both subsets, however, with certain prevalence among the temporary residents. A popular job opportunity –which is relatively unknown in Bulgaria – is the employment as "personal assistant".

People are also interested in jobs as medium-skilled personnel in trade and tourism sectors – most of the permanently residing respondents have occupied such positions also in Bulgaria before moving to Germany. These positions are popular among the temporary migrants too. Similar interest is also evident with regard to positions of medium-qualified technical staff. At the same time, one in every 10 of the temporary migrants has not specified a particular occupation during the survey.

Table 8.

Professional "structure" of permanent residents in Germany and temporary migrants (in %, May 2012).

Occupation	Occupation in Germany	Occupation in Bulgaria before departure	Expected occupation in Germany	Occupation in Bulgaria before departure
	Permanent residents		*Temporary migrants*	
Agricultural worker	1.8	0.9	25.8	2.8
Construction worker	28.6	25.4	22.5	19.6
Personal assistant	11.6		11.9	0.9
Driver	4.5	3.5	2.3	7.3
Medium-qualified technical staff	12.5	13.2	6.8	16.5
Assistant in household/cleaner	4.5	0.9	4.3	0.9
Medium-qualified personnel in trade and tourism	16.1	17.5	10.6	21.2
High-qualified personnel	12.5	25.4	3.5	17.9
Medium-qualified personnel in other area	7.1	8.8	1.5	3.8
Low-qualified personnel/unskilled worker	0.9	2.6	0.8	3.1
No profession			10.1	5.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

8. Labour agreements, income, and remittance behaviour of the permanently residing in Germany

Concerning the contract relations of the permanently residing active Bulgarians it is notable that over 40% of the respondents have permanent labour agreements and another over 43% have temporary ones. The self-employed are as many as the engaged in informal relations – about 6-7%.

The statements about the benefits for the host countries from the new Southeuropeans arriving there (EU-2 – Bulgaria and Romania) seem completely reasonable – despite the already popular clichés like "emigration of the poor" in countries like Germany, as discussed above. Noticeable is the high percentage of people with permanent labour agreements aged 40+ (56.6%) as well as the share of women (48.8%). Regarding the temporary contracts, they are most common among men and quite naturally – among younger people. Every tenth person aged under 30 is employed on the basis of informal relations and almost every tenth of the men is self-employed.

Regarding the income – data is indicative, since over half of the interviewed did not answer this question – it seems that Bulgarian migrants in Germany (quite expectedly) are in a better financial position than returnees to Bulgaria as well as than Bulgarians in Spain (Christova-Balkanska and Mitchev, 2012). Almost half of those responded to the income question declare income of EUR 1000 to 1500 and almost 1/4 – between EUR 1500 and 2000.

Table 9.

Types of labour agreements of Bulgarians residing permanently in Germany (%).

	Gender		Age group			Total
	Male	Female	Up to 30	31-39	40 and older	
Permanent labour agreement	37.2	48.8	33.3	26.8	56.6	41.2
Temporary contract	46.2	39.0	54.2	56.1	30.2	43.7
No contract/informal relations	6.4	7.3	12.5	4.9	5.7	6.7
Self-employed/family company	9.0	2.4		9.8	5.7	6.7

Table 10.

Income structure of Bulgarians residing permanently in Germany

Approximate average monthly income	%
Up to 1000 EUR	25.5
Over 1000 to 1500 EUR	43.6
Over 1500 to 2000 EUR	23.6
Over 2000 EUR	7.3
	100.0

On the other hand, there is a clear income differentiation by gender – if men receive on average about EUR 1630, the average income of women does not exceed EUR 1280. The difference is obviously substantial. Surprisingly, people with lower education are slightly better paid than those having university degree – respectively, EUR 1933 for the former compared to EUR 1700 for the latter. However, this may also be due to the fact that better educated people tended to avoid answering this question.

It worths noting that among those responded to this question individuals with Turkish ethnicity are somewhat better paid than the Bulgarians (respectively, on average EUR 1550 for the former and EUR 1504 for the latter).

About 13% of the respondents declare that they do not send money to their relatives in the home country; another 8% did not respond to the question (*Do you send money to your family or other relatives while you live in Germany?*). It is noticeable that the remittance behaviour of the permanently residing in Germany differs from the one of the Bulgarians in Spain, and is close to the remittance of funds by the so-called "return" or "circular" migrants (Christova-Balkanska and Mitchev, 2012). This may be due to the specifics of the surveyed population – "Bulgarians (age 18+) travelling by busses from Bulgaria to Germany".

Table 11.

Share of income transferred to Bulgaria by gender, age and ethnicity (%).

	Gender		Age group			Ethnicity		Total
	Male	Female	< 30	31-39	40+	Bulga-rian	Turkish	
Not more than 1/4 (very small part)	19.4	31.7	15.8	23.8	28.3	24.7	15.4	24.1
About 1/3 (less than half)	31.3	41.5	57.9	31.0	30.4	36.6	23.1	35.2
About 1/2 (about half)	41.8	22.0	26.3	35.7	34.8	33.3	46.2	34.3
About 2/3 (more than half)	6.0	2.4	-	7.1	4.3	3.2	15.4	4.6
About 3/4 (very big part)	1.5	-	-	-	2.2	1.1	-	0.9
Almost all the income	-	2.4	-	2.4		1.1	-	0.9

High percentage of the respondents (35.2%) declares that they send 1/3 of their earnings to Bulgaria; moreover, another 34.3% send about half of their income. For the representatives of the Bulgarian Turks community as well as the men, the share of individuals sending 1/2 of their income is over 40%.

9. Bulgarian community in Germany through the lens of the attitude of the host society, its contacts and political involvement

9.1. Attitude towards Bulgarians in Germany

An attractive factor for the Bulgarians in Germany is the very positive in general attitude of the locals – 27% of the respondents consider it "very good", and almost 60% – "relatively good".

There are certain variations in these judgements by gender – almost one third of the women define the attitude towards Bulgarians as "very good". This share is even higher for the people aged 40+. There are certain variations of the judgements also by ethnic affiliation – it seems that Bulgarian Turks are more reserved towards the generally high appreciation of the attitude of the locals regarding Bulgarians. On the other hand, the respondents who consider their financial situation as "good" perceived the host society as very friendly – over 43% of them consider the attitude of the local people as "very good", and every second respondent – as "relatively good".

Evidently, these judgements can be interpreted both as a serious "pull" factors as well as a factor contributing to the adequate inclusion and integration of Bulgarian migrants in Germany.

Table 12.1.

Attitude of the local people towards Bulgarians – by gender and age (%).

How do you appreciate the attitude of the local people towards the Bulgarians in Germany?	Gender		Age group			Total
	Male	Female	Under and including 30	31-39	40+	
Very good	23.5	32.1	22.9	17.0	38.9	27.0
Relatively good	65.4	51.8	62.9	70.2	48.1	59.9
Bad	4.9	8.9	5.7	4.3	9.3	6.6
I am not sure	6.2	7.1	8.6	8.5	3.7	6.6

Table 12.2.

Attitude of the local people towards Bulgarians – based on self-assessed financial status and ethnicity (%).

How do you appreciate the attitude of the local people towards the Bulgarians in Germany?	Self-evaluated financial state			Ethnic group		Total
	good	average	bad	Bulgarian	Turkish	
Very good	43.5	11.8	16.7	28.6	12.5	27.0
Relatively good	50.0	70.6	50.0	58.8	68.8	59.9
Bad	3.2	8.8	16.7	6.7	6.3	6.6
I am not sure	3.2	8.	16.7	5.9	12.5	6.6

9.2. Contacts with other Bulgarians in Germany and with relatives and close friends in Bulgaria

The information regarding the frequency of the contacts of Bulgarians in Germany sets the context of the debate on "forming a Diaspora" (i.e. formation of a community, contacts mostly with other people of the Bulgarian community) and "transnationalism" – openness to the host country (see table 13.1 and 13.2 below).

The type of migrant segment we discuss here (permanently residing in Germany, travelling by bus) leaves the impression of certain closeness within the community. About 55-60% of the permanently residing communicates with other Bulgarians every week. The percentage of daily contacts is over 40% for men and 66% among individuals with basic or lower education.

The share of respondents maintaining monthly contacts with Bulgaria is over 70%. Every third Bulgarian woman communicates daily with her relatives in Bulgaria. This is so also with almost two thirds of the individuals with basic or lower level of education.

Table 13.1.

Contacts with other Bulgarians in Germany – by gender, age and level of education (%).

How often do you keep contacts with Bulgarians in Germany?	Gender		Age group			Education			Total
	Male	Female	Under and including 30	31-39	40+	Basic or lower	Secon-dary	Universi-ty and higher	
Daily	40.7	12.3	17.1	37.5	29.6	66.7	37.2	12.2	29.0
Several times a week	21.0	36.8	34.3	25.0	24.1		22.1	38.8	27.5
Several times a month	18.5	21.1	8.6	18.8	27.8		17.4	24.5	19.6
Rarely	14.8	21.1	37.1	14.6	7.4	33.3	18.6	14.3	17.4
Almost no contacts with Bulgarians in Germany	4.9	8.8	2.9	4.2	11.1		4.7	10.2	6.5

Table 13.2

Contacts with relatives and close friends in Bulgaria – by gender, age and education (%)

How often do you keep contacts with relatives and close friends in Bulgaria?	Gender		Age group			Education			Total
	Male	Female	Under and inclu-ding 30	31-39	40+	Basic or lower	Secon-dary	Univer-sity and higher	
Daily	19.8	33.3	11.4	33.3	27.8	66.7	24.4	24.5	25.4
Several times a week	48.1	43.9	51.4	45.8	42.6		47.7	46.9	46.4
Several times a month	29.6	19.3	37.1	18.8	24.1		26.7	24.5	25.4
Rarely	2.5	3.5		2.1	5.6	33.3	1.2	4.1	2.9

In this sense, any migration sample survey carried out in a sending country provides an opportunity to identify the segment of migrants which maintain active contacts with Bulgaria. Obviously, this is a typical feature of the first migrant generation (i.e. those who were born in the "country of origin").

9.3. Participation in elections

The election voting of the Bulgarians in Germany seems higher than in Spain – over 14% have voted in elections for Bulgarian Parliament or President, but only 5% – in local elections. More active in the Parliamentary and Presidential elections have been those living in Berlin (over 40% of the respondents have voted there during Bulgarian elections), the Turkish ethnic community (one in every four persons has voted, i.e. about 25%, compared to only 13% of the Bulgarians), and those who self-assess their financial status as "very good".

Table 14.

Participation in elections in Germany
(Bulgarian Parliament and Presidential elections; local elections).

	Number	%
Have you voted in Bulgarian elections (for parliament or president) in Germany?		
Yes	20	14.5
No	114	82.6
There were no elections for parliament of president	4	2.9
Total	138	100.0
Have you voted in local elections in Germany – in the town where you live?		
Yes	7	5.1
No	129	93.5
There were no local elections since I have been there	2	1.4
Total	138	100.0

On the other hand, Bulgarians are not so active in elections for local authorities. Those living in Berlin, or considering their financial status as "very good" vote more frequently in local election in the receiving country.

10. Migration attitudes of the permanently residing and temporary migrants in Germany

Surprisingly, the Bulgarians permanently residing in Germany and travelling by bus are more inclined to return and are considerably more hesitant regarding their future plans, as compared to the Bulgarians in Spain – over 22% would return, and one in every three individuals is hesitant to take such step (Mintchev, 2014). On the other hand, over 44% of the respondents do not face this dilemma – they definitely stay in Germany. Probably this

result is influenced by the specifics of the survey to reach particular kind of respondents, but also by the fact that Bulgarians reside in Germany for quite a shorter time (Bulgarian presence in this country has doubled recently, e.g. since year 2007[9]).

As regards the migration intentions of the so-called "temporary migrants"[10], they are clearly more in favour of the short-term migration – over 70% of the respondents from this subset declare that they leave Bulgaria to work abroad for a few months. For 56% this is "very likely", and for another 14.3% it is "somewhat likely". About 40% in total are inclined also to take long-term engagements (for more than a year). Yet, about 85% of the respondents state that they would not settle permanently in Germany.

Table 15.

Migration intentions of those residing in Germany (May 2012).

What are your intentions for the next 5 years?	Number	%
To stay in Germany	62	44.9
To come back to Bulgaria	31	22.5
To leave for another country	2	1.4
I do not know/I cannot say	43	31.2
Total	138	100.0

Table 16.

Migration intentions of those living in Bulgaria and travelling by bus to Germany (results are summed separately on each line) (%)

What is the probability in the near future to:	Not likely	Little likely	Some what likely	Very likely	Total
Work in Germany for a few months	23.3	6.5	14.3	55.9	100.0
Study in Germany for a few months	84.7	9.2	3.5	2.7	100.0
Work in Germany for more than a year	39.1	20.4	21.5	19.0	100.0
Study in Germany for more than a year	85.0	9.3	3.7	2.0	100.0
Move and settle in Germany	62.4	23.5	9.1	5.0	100.0

Obviously, here we consider a typical case of short-term mobility (or labour migration) which could be an alternative to the "emigration for good" (permanent emigration), and in this sense, the analysis of this phenomenon deserves a special attention.

[9] http://yurukov.net/blog/2012/03/14/kolko-sa-balgarite-v-germaniq/.

[10] In this case they are "Bulgarian residents permanently living in Bulgaria, aged 18+, and travelling by bus to Germany".

11. Conclusion

The survey data under analysis in this paper indicates rather serious benefits for the so-called "host countries" from the attraction of young active population from Eastern Europe with relatively good qualification level. Noticeably, the dropping of many restrictions after 2007, including restrictions for access to the labour market in the Federal Republic from January 1st 2014, as well as the generally friendly attitude towards Bulgarian individuals, will continue to motivate many Bulgarians to look for realization in this country.

The qualification level of the permanently residing in Germany seems more solid than the one of those temporary residing. The popular concerns regarding the skill level of the new migrants (from EU-2) are most likely due to the strict requirements for validating their qualification –which is probably much harder to be achieved by the temporary migrants. On the other hand, despite the hesitations – mainly of those permanently residing in Germany concerning their future migration plans – it would be naïve to expect soon a "trend reversal" and amplification of attitudes towards returning to Bulgaria.

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