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Labour Migrations of Bulgarians from Ukraine to the European Union Today and Tomorrow: Factors and Forecasts

SUMMARY

Labour migrations from Ukraine to the European Union are closely connected with the issues of interrelations between EU metropolitan countries and their Diasporas in Ukraine. Labour migration developments in independent Ukraine after 1991 have been moving towards their intensification. Migration trends among the Bulgarian Diaspora of South-Western Ukraine gained specific characteristics in the period of the world economic crisis. The enlargement of the EU in 2004 and 2007 led to the transformations in the preferences and choice factors of labour migrants, representatives of the Bulgarian Diaspora, while choosing the destination country in the EU. As a metropolitan country, Bulgaria has focused its policy on attracting its Diaspora groups, seeing them as labour and demographic potential for further development. This point of view is justified in many respects, though metropolitan country efforts must also be directed to the support of the Diaspora and its social, psychological, cultural and linguistic features.

KEY WORDS: migration, emigration, immigration trends, metropolitan countries, Diaspora, choice factors, economic crisis

INTRODUCTION

“The tribes migrated to the Danube plain in the Black Sea steppes, then Podolia and Galicia, the Carpathian mountain passes and the current Transcarpathia in the IXth century AD” (*Энциклопедия...*, 2006: 240).¹ Thus, the settlement of the Hungarians began, they being one of the ten largest Diasporas in the historical territory of modern Ukraine.

The formation of diaspora groups living in Ukraine took place at different times and under different circumstances. Change of epochs, borders and states led to the

¹ The initial version of this paper was presented at the International Conference “Migratory processes in Europe: Evolution of the Migratory Interactions between the EU, Central and Eastern European Countries” in Odessa, Ukraine, 24–25 September 2010.

emergence of Diasporas distanced from their metropolitan countries. Due to the prolonged duration and efforts of the socialist system, all the connections between migrants and their homeland were torn and mention of them was perceived as “negative nationalism”. However, the “Perestroika” (1985) and the subsequent collapse of the USSR (1991) gave a new impetus for interrelations between those communities and the metropolitan countries.

One of the brightest Diasporas in Ukraine is that of the Bulgarians; they are mostly localized on the territory of Bessarabia (the Southern areas of the Odessa region). It is this ethnic group that became the object of our research. Since the 1990s, the relations of the Diaspora with Bulgaria as a metropolitan country have reached a new level. Return migrations of the Bulgarians of Bessarabia to their ethnic country were gradually beginning. However, relations between the government and newly returned people left much to be desired: social and educational support programmes were not totally completed. As a result, the Bulgarians of Bessarabia focused their attention on other EU countries that attracted them primarily for economic reasons. Since 2002, they have been involved largely in seasonal labour migrations, mostly, to Finland. Many of them have left for seasonal work to other countries, both members and non-members of the EU.

In our research, we will try to find answers to certain questions that we consider to be topical.

The first set of questions to be answered is the attitude of Bulgarian group to migrations, namely: What are the main reasons for involving a Diaspora group in labour migrations? What are the migration preferences and factors underlying a destination country’s choice by Bulgarian Diaspora labour migrants? What is the share of labour earnings in the economic strategies of the group? What are the everyday and cultural changes that have emerged in migrant families after their trips?

The second set of questions is connected with Bulgaria’s attitude to its Diaspora, namely: What percentage of people is willing to leave and what is the percentage of people who have left for Bulgaria for labour migration (emigration)? What is the metropolitan country’s policy towards ethnic migrants? How much can the metropolitan country’s policy influence the migration choice of the Bulgarian Diaspora?

Thus, the subject of analyses at the micro level becomes the migration behaviour of individuals and families in the Bulgarian group, and their potential migration activity, individual development plans and strategies adopted for sustainable, multigenerational ethno cultural groups; and at the macro level – migration policy of Bulgaria towards its Diaspora and its influence on the migration choice of the group.

The empiric base of the research became the questionnaire results, interview materials and the author's personal observations, conducted among the Bulgarian Diaspora of Bessarabia, both during the Diaspora's stay abroad and at home.

Both of the groups were interviewed. The first group consisted of 157 people living in the Odessa region that wanted to leave for the EU countries through the "N" company. The group mentioned above was polyethnic, consisting mostly of Bulgarians from Bessarabia. The inhabitants of Vladychen village (Bolgrad district, Odessa region) made up the second group, who are ethnic Bulgarians, having not less than 3 to 5 years of migration experience. The total number of people interviewed was 55.

The questionnaire was drawn up by the author and consisted of 26 questions. The survey made it possible to characterize and compare the gender and age structure of the group, social identity, migration trends, preferable length of the group's stay, migration involvement in economic strategies, etc.

Interviews: there were 5 qualitative topical interviews conducted. The inhabitants of Vladychen acted as interlocutors, who were interviewed after their return from the labour season in Finland. Inhabitants of other villages in Bessarabia were also interviewed. Only interviews of ethnic Bulgarians with not less than 3-year experience in particular EU countries (Poland, Finland, Bulgaria) were used for sampling. The obtained material made it possible to define the reasons for the interlocutors' choice of certain destination countries, the main migration barriers, as well as the peculiarities of a migrant's psychology and life outlook.

The participant observation was conducted by the author both during the labour season group's stay in Finland in the summers of 2007 – 2008² and at home after their return.

A number of specific features of participant observation should be taken into consideration. The first feature of the observation is a specific of the connection between the observer and the object of observation. The second feature is the impossibility of avoiding subjective evaluation of the observed phenomena. And the third one is the complexity of repeated observations because of rapid changes in social life and its components (Блантер and Нагайцева, 2007: 277).

The questionnaire survey among the potential 2009 labour migrants conducted on December, 13th and 14th, 2008, enabled us to describe the gender and age struc-

² Ethnological research projects were conducted under the theme "European peripheries: rural transformation processes in Ukraine" within the project *Rural futures: ethnographies of transformation from Finland, Estonia, Ukraine and Russia*. The research project was funded by The Academy of Finland (2007–2010). The responsible director of the project is Dr. Soc. Sc. Laura Assmuth, and the other team researchers are Dr. Tuula Tuisku, Dr. Marina Hakkarainen, Eeva Pääkkönen, MA, and Eeva Uusitalo, MA. The sites of the research are the University of Helsinki, the University of Oulu and the European University of St. Petersburg.

ture of the group, its social stratification, immigration trends, and the fears and expectations of the migrants. The questionnaire was drawn up by the author of this article and consisted of 26 questions, the respondents gave their answers without any relevant influence. A total of 157 people, residents of the Odessa area who wished to go to work in the EU, taking advantage of the services of the “N” mediation company, were interviewed.

Thus, both the interview method and the participant observation method were used as empiric research methods.

The materials of the Ukrainian population census in 2001 were used in the research, as well as statistic information from the 2005 – 2009 database, provided by the administration of the “N” company, working in the territory of South-Western Ukraine.

MIGRATORY ACTIVITY IN THE INDEPENDENT UKRAINE

Geopolitical changes in Eastern Europe after the collapse of the socialist system greatly changed the atmosphere in terms of which the life activity of the ethnic Ukrainian communities unfolded. The intensity, focus, and nature of the external migration of the Ukrainian population in the early 1990s changed significantly compared with the previous period. Pre-existing limitations in realizing human rights to freedom of movement were cancelled (Малиновская, 2003). Economic crisis followed by deterioration of the population’s general welfare has led to a situation when people have difficulty in making ends meet. According to the International Labour Organization, the unemployment level in Ukraine in 2003 (January–September) was 9.1%, and if the situation with unemployment and economic growth has a positive trend, income has the opposite trend. The situation of the poorest segments of the Ukrainian population deteriorated. At the end of 2003, the real minimum monthly wage was only about 60% of the monthly minimum subsistence level, established by the law (Кириян and Линден, 2006).

Many inhabitants of Ukraine chose labour migration as a “lifeline”. S. Pirozhkov notes that the fact that the population tends to work and resettle abroad was determined by the economic crisis and may be realized only in the form of labour migration (Пирожков, 2001).

In only the 1995 – 1999 period, the Ukrainian population decreased by 462 thousand people due to migration. After 1996, migration losses in the Ukrainian population tended to decrease (131.2 thousand people in 1996; 97.6 thousand in 1997; 93.6 thousand in 1998; – and 44.8 thousand in 1999). Losses in the Ukrainian population in migration exchanges with distant countries abroad were higher than with the CIS countries (Пирожков, 2001).

The beginning of the XXIth century was established in the minds of the Ukrainian population with the stable tendency to create very negative evaluations of both the economic situation in Ukraine in general, and the quality of life. One of the most effective means of survival was temporary migration to foreign countries.

According to the data of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy of Ukraine as of 2010, the official number of Ukrainian citizens who had left for abroad in labour migrations reached 3 million people.

The nature of migration flows after the fall of “the Iron Curtain” has acquired special multiple directions. The process of intensification of the old direction of migration (regional and interstate within the CIS) was continuing, as well as the development of new forms of travel beyond the former USSR borders. Each of the Ukrainian regions has acquired specific features of the migration processes, depending on the ethnic range of people, territorial location and economic situation. I. M Pributkova notes that as of 2003 the most frequent citizens from the Western regions of Ukraine had work experience (36.8%, or more than every third family), more rarely – the inhabitants from Central and Eastern Regions (respectively 26.4% and 21.4%), and significantly more rarely – the inhabitants of the southern regions (total 15.4%). Residents of the western Ukrainian regions have been working in the Czech Republic more often than labour migrants from the other regions of the country (76.9%), Poland (29.0%), Slovakia (80.0%), and two Mediterranean countries – Spain and Portugal (respectively 50.0% and 40.0%) (Прибыткова, 2003).

The economic crisis that erupted in 2008 had a negative impact on the economic state of Ukrainian population. In addition, political instability in the country, bank “games” and regular price leaps on the market have led to greater impoverishment of the population. The consequence of this situation has been the increase in the number of unemployed people and dissatisfaction with social conditions and wages. There has been a threefold rise in population migration activity, which currently continues to grow rapidly (2009, September).

According to the latest census of 2001, more than 130 ethnic groups were living in Ukraine. The largest of them are Diaspora groups retaining the migration histories in the collective memory, which formed the basis of their current status. Moreover, throughout the centuries of residence in the territory of modern Ukraine, the Diasporas representatives have accumulated a diverse migration experience.

The eight largest Diasporas in Ukraine total more than 9.5 million people. More than 8 million, however, are Russian Diaspora (Table 1). These groups are the representatives of a significant demographic potential and labour resources. The migratory orientation of the Ukrainian population may depend on their sentiments in the future, located in the zone of influence of the European and Eurasian migration system.

Table 1: Selected Diasporas in Ukraine

Diaspora	Number (in thousands)	% of the total number	
		2001	1989
Russian	8334,1	17.3	22.1
Moldavian	258,6	0.5	0.6
Bulgarian	204,6	0.4	0.5
Hungarian	156,6	0.3	0.4
Romanian	151,0	0.3	0.3
Polish	144,1	0.3	0.4
Greek	91,5	0.2	0.2
German	33,3	0.1	0.1
Total	9373,8	19.4	24.6

Investigating the positions of Diasporas, it is important to note that they are historically established groups, having lived on the territory of Ukraine for centuries. This significantly differentiates them from the modern European Diasporas that appeared in the second half of the XXth – beginning of the XXIth century. The availability of deep social and cultural roots makes representatives of historical Diasporas more tied to their homeland, which is reflected in their migration strategies. Usually, they are not transnational communities (Vertovec, 2005).

Nevertheless, the Diasporas are a social phenomenon that readily undertake migration. They are active and mobile. At the same time, the situation in the border area significantly increases the potential migration activity of the population.

The collapse of the socialist system caused rapid Diaspora groups activity and the restoration of ties with the metropolitan countries. Re-emigration processes, training and labour migration established transnational networks (Ganchev, 2006; Ганчев, 2008a). The development of communications in the XXIth century has increased the mobility of people all over the world. The population of Ukraine is no exception. Future development of these networks will largely depend on the policies of the EU metropolitan countries.

MIGRATORY ACTIVITY IN THE ODESSA REGION

The Odessa region, the South-Western area of Ukraine, is the research place that became the basis for analysis of the current migration situation on the micro level. This is one of the most multinational areas of Ukraine. It is located in the border territory of Ukraine, Moldova and Romania, where several large diaspora groups live (Table 2).

Table 2: Odessa Region Diasporas

	Number (in thousands)	% of the total number	
		2001	1989
Odessa region	2455,7	100.0	100.0
Russian	508,5	20.7	27.4
Bulgarian	150,6	6.1	6.3
Moldavian	123,7	5.0	5.5
Gagauz	27,6	1.1	1.0

After the autochthonic population, the largest Diaspora is Bulgarian and it became the direct focus group of our research. Since 2002, the Bulgarian population of the area has been actively involved in the network of seasonal labour migrations to the EU countries. At the same time, their most preferred countries were Finland (90%) and Poland (10%) rather than Bulgaria that is similar to them both linguistically and culturally. This is what greatly differentiates the Bulgarian Diaspora from the other ethnic groups in the area.

Let us provide some data for comparison.

The data obtained after the interviewing of labour migration groups living in the Odessa region showed the domination of the Bulgarian Diaspora over the other Diasporas as to their activity in labour migrations (Figure 1).

It needs to be emphasized that the direction vector of labour migrations of the Bulgarian group is oriented to agricultural work in Finland, as opposed to the other representatives of ethnic groups that prefer to leave for countries that are similar to them linguistically and culturally.

Thus, village inhabitants who speak the Moldavian language look for work in Italy; this is connected with the fact that the similarity of the languages allows them to adapt more quickly and smoothly in the destination country, and, therefore, to obtain the best conditions and better paid jobs. However, Romania is less preferred as a recipient country. Another direction of migration is Turkey, which accepts a large number of labour migrants, speaking the Gagauz language.

These trends are reflected in the data on the ethnic composition of potential labour migrants in 2009, derived from the questionnaire (Figure 1).

Figure 1: The ethnic composition of labour migrants in 2009

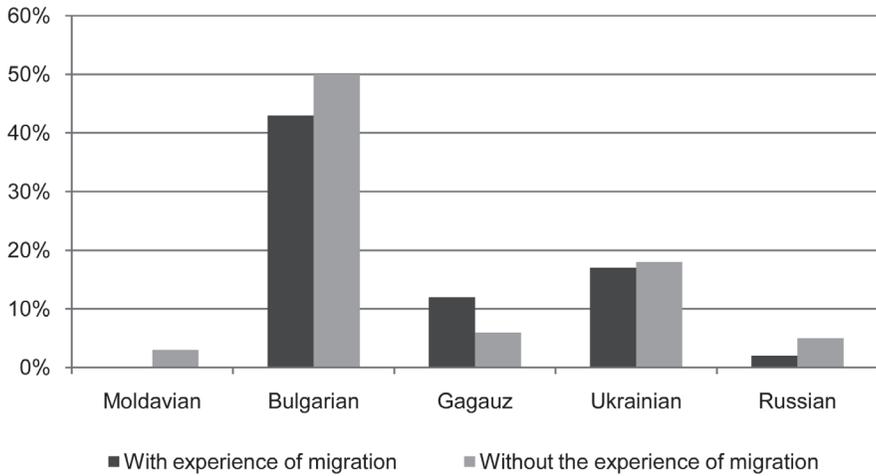


Figure 2: The number of migrant workers for years

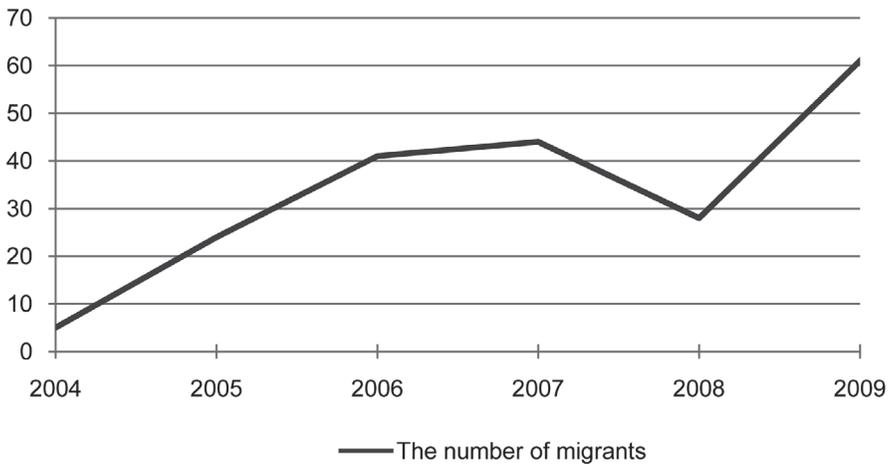


Figure 3: Gender ratio and the number of families (%)

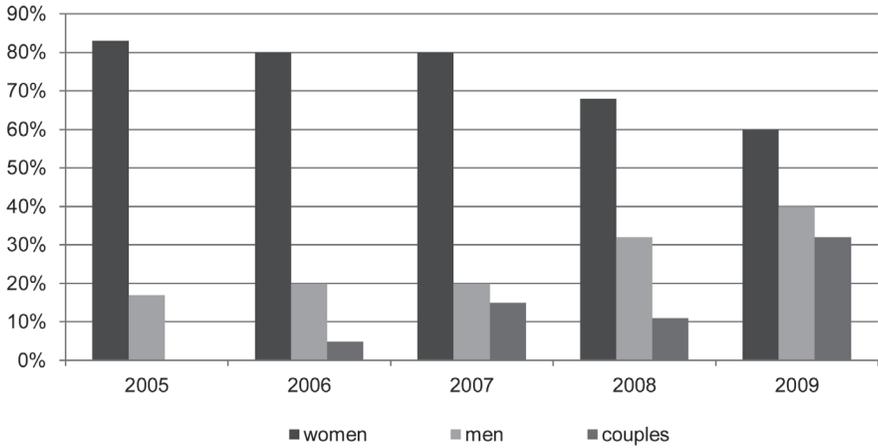
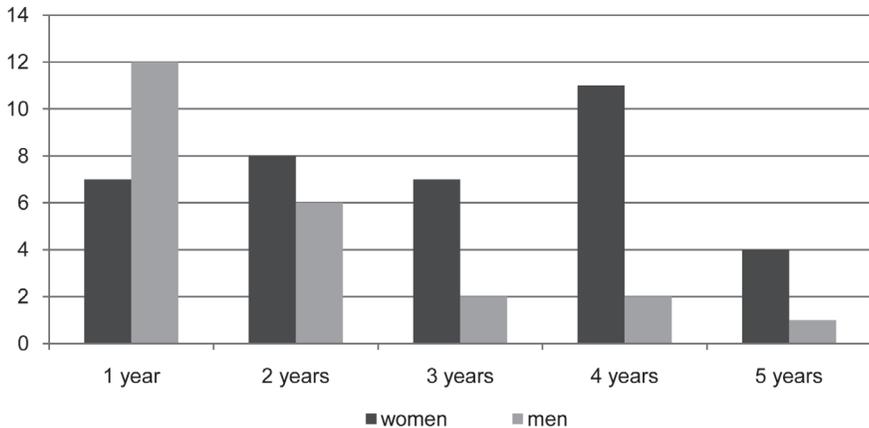


Figure 4: The gender structure of the group in 2009, differentiated by the experience of migration in Finland



The figure shows that departure to do agricultural work in Finland is more attractive to the Bulgarian population in the area, while representatives of other diaspora groups tend to find physically easier options for employment in other EU countries.

The economic crisis in 2008 spurred migration activity in the area. The basic reasons are the following:

1. Significant impoverishment of the rural population in the area; 2. The incidence of a large number of unemployed resulting from lay-offs; 3. The lack of funds received in the home country for loans payment; 4. Returns of guest workers from other countries affected by the crisis. 5. A large unemployed manpower group following abandonment of construction projects all over the former Soviet Union.

The quantitative analysis of the Bulgarian group of labour migrants, who have left the same place (the village of Vladychen, Bolgrad district, Odessa region) for seasonal agricultural work in Finland for a few years, showed the number of labour migrants increased in 2009, compared with 2008 – 2 and 5 times more (respectively 61 : 28), and somewhat less compared with the previous years (Figure 2). In Figure 3 we see the changes in the gender composition of migrants towards increasing the male representatives number. Moreover, the trend of going abroad with families is clearly evident. The number of married couples, who left Ukraine in 2009, is almost five times higher than in the previous year (respectively, 19: 4).

Figure 5: Gender and age composition of persons with experience of labour migration

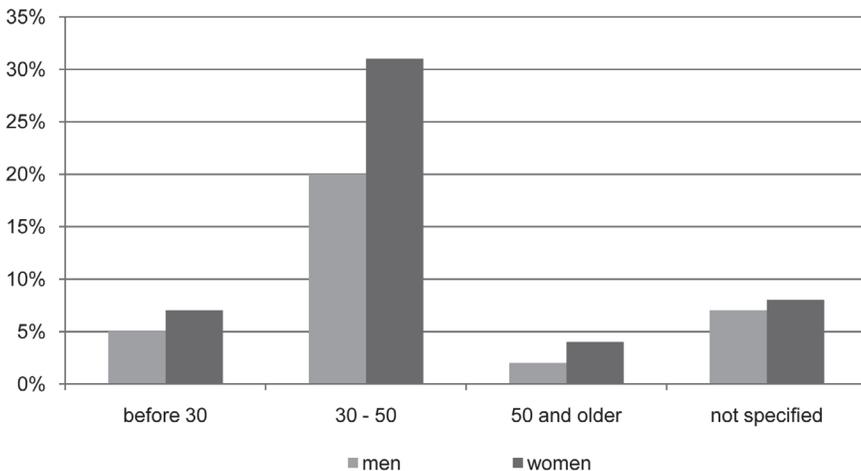
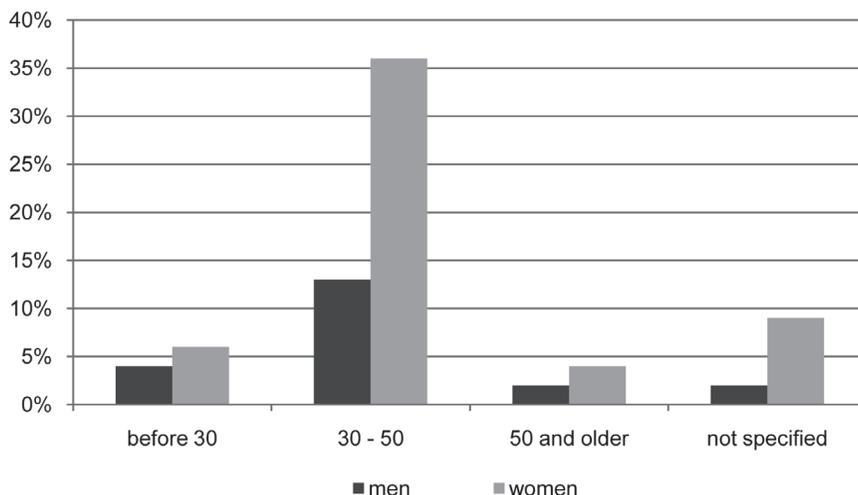


Figure 6: Gender and age composition of persons with no experience of labour migration



Worker's opinion:

This year (2008 – A.G.), when I went with my husband, I felt that I had not gone in vain, we have created all the conditions, even the banya, and repaired the front part of the house. My husband also has bought repairing tools and even gold jewellery for me. I couldn't afford this before. I feel the difference when both [of us] are working (respondent 1, female, 29 years).

Figure 4 shows the data on the gender composition of labour migrants in 2009, differentiated by the number of trips to Finland over the past 5 years. And we can see, those men who had lost their main job during the crisis prevailed among the first-year migrants.

From the same scheme, we see a fairly high frequency of departures to work abroad. Moreover, many of these people have experience in labour migration not only to Finland, but also to other EU countries.

The qualitative analysis of the migration situation in this village shows that there has been a significant transformation of the economic life in the village over the past few years. Families focusing on annual trips to work in Finland, Russia, Poland, Turkey, etc. do not cultivate their garden plots, explaining this by the fact that, in their absence, no one will take care of the gardens. Annual increase in the labour

migrants number leads to the fact that guest work becomes a survival strategy, not only on the individual level, but also on the family level.

Migration network development is carried out in two main ways: family ties and friendly contacts.

Workers' opinions:

We had very low wages. And now they are very low, too. I still get 580 UAH. It is not even 100 Euros. Prices are crazy. The children are growing up. When I go to work and earn 1500-2000 euros, then come back to Ukraine, I find my feet at least. I'll be going as long as I am healthy enough. We have no way out. It's impossible to earn such money in the village (respondent 2, female, 50 years).

I work at the shop and earn 400 UAH. This is only for food and is not enough. But as my husband and I both work, we earn 1000 - 1500 UAH. It's enough for food, shoes for our children, and that's it. We can not save money for the construction. But here in the village it's impossible to make any money. If we had a constant job, we would receive 2 – 4 thousand, then we could stop. But in this situation there is no sense. I say as long as I'm healthy, I'll go (respondent 1, female, 29 years).

Continuing the topic of population migration strategies, I would like to note that only 17 out of the 157 people interviewed indicated that they planned to have more children while four of them were still undecided.. This proves that despite the brevity of visits and seasonality of agricultural work in Finland (90 days per year), people plan their trips for some years in advance. Women wishing to have one more child do not do so, because it would prevent them travelling abroad for a few years.

We find interesting the fact of involvement in the labour migrant Diaspora network by individuals who already reside in the metropolitan country, and are the part of the emerging transnational communities of the metropolis-Diaspora. The crisis in 2008 made the citizens of economically less developed EU countries (Bulgaria, Romania) use the network of relatives and friends from Diaspora groups for temporary employment in another EU member state. Diasporas became the transit area of their own networks.

The data obtained from the survey conducted in December 2008 showed that the number of women of childbearing age prevails among potential migrants – both among those who have labour migration experience and among those who do not (Figures 5–6). This is largely connected with the higher migration activity of wom-

en. However, the demand for female labour in Finland is also higher. Women do agricultural work faster than men and, therefore, female labour is preferred.

The age group rates (Figures 5–6) demonstrate that in both cases, people older than 30 make up the basis of potential labour migrants. This indicates the highest unemployment level among middle-aged people, while young people turned out to be less affected by the economic crisis. People at retirement age showed quite a lot of activity, but due to the age restrictions set by Finnish employers, many of them failed to realize their migration plans.

While choosing one or another destination country, labour migrants are guided by several factors. We will call them the choice factors. Their combination has a crucial role in the destination country a migrant chooses. However, speaking of the choice factors, it should be noted that they become important only when potential labour migrants really have options for employment in different countries. Today, due to the accumulated migration experience of the population, as well as to the presence of a large number of legal, semi-legal and illegal intermediaries and the active functioning of the migrant social networks, a person who has decided to leave to work abroad has several options, in most cases differing in a number of factors.

A diversity of opportunities for going abroad and the economic attraction of the EU, the legal duration of stay and trip expenses, the length of working hours and accommodation, the cultural and linguistic environment and experience of adaptation among labour migrants, as well as the time of seasonal visits, are all variable. This combination determines the choice made by labour migrants.

Table 3: Factors of choice of labour migrants

Factors	Finland	Poland	Bulgaria
The type of work	unskilled	mixed	mixed
Salary	€700–1000	€300–400	€250–300
Working hours	8–10 hours	12–14 hours	undefined
Guarantee of payment	high	average	high
Conditions of accommodation	4–6 persons in one room €80-90	10 and more people room is provided free	undefined
The period of stay by visa	90 days	180 days	180 days
Mediation services	€150	€100	-----
Execution of documents	€50	€50	€50

Factors	Finland	Poland	Bulgaria
Transportation costs	€100	€50	€50
Providing own food	high prices	low prices	low prices
Cultural and linguistic environment	foreign	close	related
Social connections	weak	weak	strong

The data collected from the studies (including both questionnaire materials and results of interviewing interlocutors who left for some EU countries for labour migrations) are summarized in the comparative Table 3. As was mentioned above, it was the language barrier that forced the representatives of the Bulgarian Diaspora to look for unskilled labour employment in the European Union. Periodically, with the help of intermediary company services, men can find work at industrial sites, such as the ship repair shipyard in Gdansk.

Wages in Poland nowadays are twice less than migrants can earn in Finland. Moreover, the duration of an average working day in Poland is 4 hours more. As for the guarantees of payment in the latter, some respondents have their doubts. Total payment is sometimes made after a certain time limit fixed by the employer, which is a protection against turnover of unsatisfied guest workers. Accommodation conditions leave much to be desired as well, but they are mostly free.

However, Poland as a recipient country has a number of advantages. First of all, it should be noted that for the same amount of money (€35) migrants receive a visa for a period twice as long as in Finland. Expenses for receiving an invitation, documents registration and the trip itself are more than €100 lower, which is a considerable sum for the residents of the area under research. Moreover, food prices in Poland are much lower than in Finland. On the one hand, this reduces a costly item for migrants and, on the other, reduces the physical strain while moving, which is connected with delivery of a large stock of food, as is the case with Finland.

An important factor for migrants is the spatial distance of the countries. It takes no less than 50 hours to get to Finland with changes in Odessa and St. Petersburg that causes additional costs, fears and physical exertion. Travelling to Poland takes no more than a day and a night. One needs to take into consideration the psychological impact of a long distance from the home country and inability to return home quickly should it be necessary.

Cultural and linguistic differences of the destination country are significant factors for migrants, too, since the feelings of security and tranquillity are primarily related to them. The almost insurmountable language barrier in Finland and the

lack of opportunities to talk to local people primarily cause discomfort among migrants.

The migrants are absolutely deprived of their rights in cases in which there are conflicts and misunderstandings between labour migrants and employers in Finland. It is not that migrant workers are unprotected by Finnish law, but it is impossible to achieve anything without language knowledge, even at the lowest level. However, the situation in Poland is a little better. The Bulgarians, who speak three Slavic languages – native Bulgarian, Russian and Ukrainian in particular – perceive Polish as easy. The language barrier undoubtedly exists, but one can overcome it when needed.

Migrants' opinions in comparison:

	Finland	Poland
A round trip	<p><i>We went from St. Petersburg to Helsinki, from Helsinki we went to Kuopio, our employer came to Kuopio and picked us up there. It is 60 km away. The bus to Kuopio from Helsinki costs 55 euros. We made a circle ...</i></p> <p><i>It is terrible on the road. The trip is very long and tiring. We are afraid of losing the money, which we earned so hard. On the way there we can be robbed. I am afraid of swindlers very much, when we are in St. Petersburg.</i></p>	<p><i>We go by train to Lviv. And then by bus. We know which one to take, the regular. We were met. There were a lot of us, we called...</i></p> <p><i>We didn't go anywhere. There was a large flow of people. Actually, we did not even leave the bus. They took the passports away, stamped them and handed them in.</i></p>
Working day	<p><i>In the farm of my employer, for example, we work every day from 8am to 11pm. From 11am to noon we have lunch. From noon to 3pm, maximum to 4 pm, but in rush hour we work to 5-6 pm, sometimes it happens. There is a lake near the farm, so after work we can sunbathe, swim, relax, fish, there is all the necessary equipment for this. The nature is very beautiful. I come back home so relaxed, physically and mentally. Saturday is a day off. Sunday is a working day, if there is some work.</i></p>	<p><i>We worked for 12-13 hours, as the employer told us. But twice a day we had small 15-minute breaks for lunch (at 10am and again at 2pm), we usually had tea and sandwiches. We prepared meals ourselves. They didn't give us any food. We bought bread and other food ourselves. Nothing was given to us.</i></p> <p><i>We worked seven days a week, including Saturday and Sunday.</i></p>

	Finland	Poland
Guarantee of payment	<i>They paid for everything. Sometimes the employers gave some gifts to us. When we were leaving the farm, they gave shampoo and a lot of chocolate to each of us. They are grateful. Our employer likes honest, hardworking and neat people.</i>	<i>When we talked things over, everybody said that everything was good. I was told that if I worked for a month, I would have a good salary. If not, they wouldn't pay me 7.50 as promised, they would pay just 5.</i>
Conditions of accommodation	<i>Our employers are wonderful. If you enter the house, you see a little kitchen, a refrigerator, a stove, a microwave, a coffee maker, dishes, these all are at our disposal. Next to the kitchen we have a room for 4 people. The toilet is outside, with good light, with a toilet sink. There is available hot and cold water for washing hands. There is a sauna, we heat it, and the employer brings the firewood for us. The sauna is great.</i>	<i>I was pleased. When we got there, we saw a big room, bunk beds, and Victor and I were in this room together. The first night there were two of us. The next day, when we came back from work, there were men and women there; the room was full of people. We thought that only we had the keys, but the room was unlocked and the people were strangers, I began crying.</i>
Language environment	<i>We have a very good employer in Finland, all the time she tried to talk to me, but I did not understand. And she asked: "Do you speak English?" - I said that I did not speak. I speak only Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, a little French and understand little Moldavian.</i>	<i>I like that Polish is easier than Finnish. Of course, we do not work with Finns, in fact, we do not talk with them and that's why we do not learn it, we don't need it. There are a couple of words that we know. In Poland we worked with Poles, and there are many words that remind [one of] Ukrainian and Bulgarian and we even learned a lot of words for such a small period. It became easier and more pleasant in the end. She says something, you don't hear the word, but you understand what she wants.</i>
	Respondent 2 (female, 29 years)	Respondent 3 (female, 40 years)

Thus, we can state that Poland is financially less attractive today than Finland. However, the geographical location and consequently low transport costs, the possibility of a long legal stay, low food prices and linguistic affinities are the factors of attraction to Poland. Currently there are dozens of thousands people working

there, including many representatives of the Polish Diaspora who tend to go to their metropolitan country, using all the privileges it gives them.

As for Bulgaria, the metropolitan country, it is not fully economically attractive yet for the members of its Diaspora. But one should not underestimate the capacity of its attraction for the Diaspora in the group of a possible legal and social transformation. The generalised data (Table 3) tells us that with the possible doubling of wages in Bulgaria, it will become the country of choice for all the members of the Diaspora.

BULGARIA AND ITS DIASPORAS: FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE METROPOLITAN COUNTRY

Recent geopolitical changes in Europe in the context of the EU enlargement and the re-orientation of many states of the European Union to labour worker involvement significantly increased the attraction factors for the Diaspora in Ukraine. A distinctive feature of the South-Western Ukraine is its poly-ethnic and poly-linguistic composition, which becomes a base of multi-vector labour migration in the area.

Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Greece, etc. create special conditions and government programmes for encouraging their compatriots as demographic potential, training and labour migrants. Let us look at these processes through the eyes of a metropolitan country, for example, Bulgaria.

Bulgaria will provide special status for citizens of the third countries who are of Bulgarian origin (outside the EU). For example, about 300 thousand ethnic Bulgarians live in Ukraine. Their immigration will be eased greatly. The resettlement of families will be stimulated (newspaper Capital, 29.02.2008).

Such statements, news and information were widely spread in newspapers and the Internet at the beginning of 2008. Alongside this, the Ministry of Labour and the Social Policy of Bulgaria was preparing the “National Strategy of Bulgaria on Migration and Integration in 2008 – 2015” and the annual action plan for the rest of 2008. This strategy was adopted by the Cabinet of Ministers of Bulgaria on June 5th 2008, according to which actions in two directions are proposed. The first programme is aimed at returning Bulgarians who have gone abroad, and the second programme is aimed at attracting foreigners of Bulgarian origin, Diaspora Bulgarians, for permanent residence in Bulgaria.

The second strategic objective is the formation of mechanisms for Diaspora reception in the labour market in Bulgaria and their integration in Bulgarian society. Within the framework of the plan for 2008, labour exchanges are being created for the organization of direct contacts between representatives of young Bulgarian

emigration and representatives of the Bulgarian private initiative. In addition, they have started preparing the “Green Card” launching mechanism, which is planned to settle people of Bulgarian origin in Bulgaria.

The objectives pursued by the metropolitan country are quite natural. The demographic crisis in Bulgaria coincided with a significant worker outflow towards the EU countries, which are economically more developed. In 2007, there was an acute shortage of middle-class workers in the country. And the attention was focused on Diasporas.

Can the Diasporas respond to such challenges from the metropolitan country and what kind of help can they offer to their historical homeland? Let us try to find the answer to this question with the help of the statistics data on the Bulgarian Diaspora in Ukraine, by using the hypothetical modelling method. The Bolgrad district of the Odessa region is under analysis, where 80% of the population are Bulgarian and Gagauz Diasporas (Bulgaria recognizes Gagauz people as being of Bulgarian origin). The results obtained will be projected onto the general statistic information of Ukraine.

According to the latest population census in 2001, 74 thousand people live in the Bolgrad region. 59.6 thousand or 80.55% of them are Bulgarians and Gagauz people. By gender, they are divided as follows: 29 thousand men and 30.6 thousand women (*Всеукраїнський перепис населення '2001*). Speaking about labour migration, it should be noted that the population of active migration age is restricted (from 20 to 50). Thus, there are 12.7 thousand men in this age range and 13.4 thousand women. So, there are 26.1 thousand Bulgarians of active migration age in the Bolgrad district, or 100%.

From the amount obtained we subtract about 2000 students, who can not be involved in the labour market because of their studies. Over the past three years, about 2000 children have been born (*Всеукраїнський перепис населення '2001*) in the Bolgrad area. Thus, excluding their mothers and the women who are preparing to have babies from the total number, we arrive at some 22 thousand people, or about 85%.

What is most difficult, in our opinion, is to calculate the number of Bulgarians who, for various reasons, are not ready for labour migration, or who are seeking other ways to improve their financial welfare. According to my observations, they make up about 20% of the number of people of working age, thus decreasing the above percentage to 65%. The statistic data show that 54% of men and 65% of women in the 20 to 50 age groups are in official or common-law marriage relationships (*Всеукраїнський перепис населення '2001*). So, when one of spouses leaves for work, the second stays at home with the children. This happens at least in 70%

of cases. And it reduces the number of potential labour migrants by 4 thousand. There are about 13 thousand people or 50% remaining. And it does not end there.

Long-term monitoring of the Bulgarian Diaspora in Ukraine suggests that there are a considerable number of people whose financial condition does not give them an opportunity to pay the state fee for passport issue, and to pay organizing and travelling expenses to a place of work. Some people do not want to go abroad or are afraid to, and some can not do so because of health reasons, etc. And this is not less than 10%.

Thus, the Bulgarian population of the Bolgrad district, ready to go to work in Bulgaria under certain conditions, could reach about 40% (or approximately 10 thousand people) in the active migration age group. All this is similar in appearance to an inverted pyramid. Looking down on it, we see a large area, but looking from the side, we see that the base is much smaller.

Based on the original scheme of calculations, we project the final statistical result of the number of the Bulgarian Diaspora in Ukraine. In 2001, 204.6 thousand Bulgarians and 32 thousand Gagauzi (all in all – 236.6 thousand people) lived in Ukraine. According to this list, there are 103.7 thousand people aged from 20 to 50. About 13.5 thousand of them live in large Ukrainian cities and some 10 thousand are dispersed throughout the state and can not be included in the group of potential migrants. So, the Bulgarians of Ukraine of active migration age amount to about 80 thousand people. Subtracting 40%, we have arrived at the number about 32 thousand people.

Thus, the numbers of potential labour migrants from the Diaspora that the metropolitan country can count on – to some extent and under certain circumstances – compose not more than 13–14% of the total number.

CONCLUSIONS

Summarizing all the above and replying to the questions at the beginning of the article, we will focus on a few key findings:

- The main reason for involving the researched group of Bulgarians of Besarabia in labour migrations is a complicated financial situation caused by the high unemployment level in Ukraine.
- Accumulated migration experience among Diaspora groups on the territory of Ukraine leads to the expansion and strengthening of social and transnational networks of metropolitan countries. Networks, in turn, contribute to the increase in the number of labour migrants.

- A significant incidence of seasonal migrations leads to the formation of a new family, as well as economic and demographic policies. The re-orientation of large numbers of families generates destruction of the traditional economic-cultural type of the Diaspora, which leads to a social instability in the Diaspora group.
- The financial crisis of 2008 catalyzed the migration boom and transformed the gender and age structure in groups of labour migrants. A considerably high number of men, specialists of middle level, have to re-orient to unskilled labour in the EU, due to the lack of other offers. Labour migrants group have been enlarged by a considerable number of people with higher education, as well as with representatives of small business.
- The involvement of seasonal labour migrations in the network has improved the group's financial condition.
- Labour migrations are a part of the group's economic strategies, due to which new demographic tendencies have been formed; some transformations have also taken place in the stable traditional agricultural lifestyle of the group.
- The nature of the migration interrelations between Bulgaria and its researched group of Bulgarian Diaspora can be defined as developing. Legislative acts adopted by the EU, which are directed to attract representatives of their communities as labour migrants, and the demographic donors are in the process of testing and improvement.

As a result of a hypothetical modelling of the migration activity of the Bulgarian Diaspora in the most attractive terms, we arrived at 13–14% of the total number of the group. These numbers show that the collapse of the Diaspora is inevitable in such a situation. This means that the future policy of the metropolitan country should be directed not only to attracting congeners and their integration into their society, but to support Diasporas and their social, psychological, cultural and linguistic characteristics as well.

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Alexander GANCHEV

Radne migracije Bugara iz Ukrajine u Europsku uniju danas i sutra: čimbenici i predviđanja

SAŽETAK

Radne migracije iz Ukrajine u Europsku uniju tijesno su povezane s pitanjima međusobnih odnosa metropolitanskih zemalja Europske unije i njihovih dijaspora u Ukrajini. Nakon 1991. radne migracije u neovisnoj Ukrajini sve više jačaju. Migracijska kretanja bugarske dijasporе u sjeverozapadnoj Ukrajini zadobila su specifične značajke u razdoblju svjetske ekonomske krize. Proširenjem Europske unije 2004. i 2007. došlo je kod radnih migranata koji pripadaju bugarskoj dijaspori do promjene u davanju prvenstva i čimbenicima odabira prilikom odlučivanja o zemlji odredišta u Europskoj uniji. Kao metropolitanska zemlja Bugarska je svoju politiku usmjerila na privlačenje dijasporskih skupina, smatrajući ih radnim i demografskim potencijalom za daljnji razvoj. Takvo je stajalište opravdano s mnogo aspekata premda napori metropolitanske zemlje moraju biti usmjereni i na podršku dijaspori te njezinim društvenim, psihološkim, kulturnim i jezičnim osobitostima.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: migracija, emigracija, imigracijska kretanja, metropolitanske zemlje, dijaspora, faktori izbora, ekonomska kriza

Александр ГАНЧЕВ

Трудовые миграции Болгар из Украины в европейский союз Сегодня и завтра: факторы и прогнозы

РЕЗЮМЕ

В данной статье исследуются актуальные вопросы миграционных процессов в современной Украине, а именно: какие государства ЕС являются наиболее популярными как государства-дестинации для трудовых мигрантов и какие факторы обуславливают данный выбор; какие культурные и экономические взаимоотношения между государствами-метрополиями, которые входят в состав ЕС, и их диаспорами, проживающими на территории Украины. Фокус-группой исследования стали болгары Бессарабии, которые включены в сеть трудовых миграций в страны ЕС.

КЛЮЧЕВЫЕ СЛОВА: миграция, миграционные настроения, миграционные отношения, метрополия, диаспора, факторы выбора, экономический кризис