



Migration – Perception and Reality

Analysis of the results from a survey carried out in implementation of **Vacancy Profile 1: Conducting field interviews in Roma communities to provide data and develop a comprehensive analysis/assessment of the situation of the Roma population in relation to migration issues**, within the framework of the project "Raising the awareness of local communities in areas with a significant presence of the Roma population on issues related to asylum and migration", funded under the Norwegian Financial Mechanism 2014-2021 under Contract No. BGHOMEAFFAIRS-3.003-0001-C01 and implemented by the International Organization for Migration.

September 2021



This document was created with the financial support of the Norwegian Financial Mechanism 2014-2021. All responsibility for the content of the document rests with the authors and under no circumstances can it be assumed that this document reflects the official opinion of the IOM, the Kingdom of Norway and the Responsible Authority.

Contents

1. Introduction	3
2. Conducting the field research	8
2.1. Time of field research and field researchers	8
2.2. Implementation of the sample	8
2.3. Deviations and problems in the implementation of field research	9
3. Analysis of results	12
3.1. Limitations	12
3.2. Social profile of respondents	12
3.3. Experience/knowledge of/about living abroad - willingness and planning to migrate	17
3.4. Those unwilling and not planning to go abroad	31
3.5. Knowledge of migration risks	35
3.6. What is "human trafficking"?	40
3.7. If they had a choice - what occupation would they choose and where would they like to do it?	43
Conclusion	46

1. Introduction

Activities according to the assignment:

- Research of documents and studies
- Development of a methodology for field research
- Participation in preparatory meetings with IOM
- Testing fieldwork
- Training of interviewers
- Conducting field interviews
- Processing the interviews
- Analysis/assessment of the situation
- Presentation of results (presentation, preparatory workshop and public events)

The work on the implementation of the tasks includes the sequential implementation of the following activities:

1. Study of documents, research results, publications to identify the specific problems related to migration and asylum in EU and EEA countries

The focus of the study covers the following topics: regulation of access to the labor market and social services for migrants¹; risks and challenges faced by migrants; attitudes towards migrants; good practices for the integration of migrants into local communities; existing models of labor and sexual exploitation of migrants;

(See Annex 1).

¹ In this report we use **migrant** for any person who freely takes the decision to migrate, i.e. to leave their habitual residence, temporarily or permanently, regardless of the reason for this decision (See <https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms>).

2. Specifying the subject of the field research

The following topics are at the focus of research:

- ✓ Experience/knowledge of/about living abroad;
- ✓ Attitudes and motivation for migration;
- ✓ Knowledge about the access to the labor market and social services for migrants in a chosen for migration/any EU country;
- ✓ Knowledge of the risks and challenges faced by migrants (trafficking for labor and/or sexual exploitation);
- ✓ Experience/knowledge from/about meetings with refugees/immigrants in Bulgaria – knowledge about trafficking/smuggling amongst refugees, about marrying refugees in order to secure citizenship, etc.

3. Selection of locations - designated Roma neighborhoods² for conducting the field research.

The selection is based on the following criteria:

- ✓ high unemployment rate among the residents of the neighborhood;
- ✓ a high proportion of neighborhood residents who permanently or seasonally reside in an EU country;
- ✓ registered cases of human trafficking.

The selected locations are:

- ✓ northwestern Bulgaria – **Breznik and Tran**
- ✓ northeastern Bulgaria – **Provadiya**
- ✓ south-eastern Bulgaria – **Harmanli**
- ✓ Sofia – **Filipovtsi District**

For a brief description of the selected neighborhoods, see **Annex 2**.

² "Designated Roma neighborhood" means a separated - physically and/or symbolically - space in a populated area inhabited by Bulgarian citizens who self-identify as Roma or the other residents of the settlement identify them as Roma.

4. Selection of target groups - object of the study

The research of previous studies, analyzes and documents provides sufficient grounds to outline the profile of two main groups which will be the subject of this study:

➤ **(Family)³ men and women aged 18-35 with minor children:**

- ✓ some of them have experience of living abroad with their parent/s (possibly there is a positive **childhood** experience of **living** in a different "colorful world", unburdened by worries) and/or as adults (this experience might vary greatly: from successful realization and satisfactory income - to difficult escape from networks of some kind of exploitation);
- ✓ the risk for them is a consequence of: the entanglement of the idea that "there" is better - even if only in the sense of better living conditions for the children and regardless of the previous experience, which albeit negative can be suppressed by the living conditions, unemployment and the poverty 'here' - and the desire to achieve a better future for one's children;
- ✓ the risk increases significantly when, for various reasons, women/men raise their child/children alone (without a partner);
- ✓ there is also a risk for children, who out of the relatively closed family environment and the unwelcoming neighborhood space find themselves in the above mentioned "colorful world" where everything seems to be possible; the difficulties of adaptation in this environment - especially in the teenage years - can easily be exploited both by networks of "entrepreneurs" (mainly for sexual services) and be involved in local networks of distribution and use of drugs, prostitution, theft, etc.

➤ **Unmarried youth aged 18-25:**

- ✓ already of legal age, they can (choose to) travel on their own;

³ We describe the two groups of respondents as "unmarried" and "married", but with the latter the emphasis is on the presence of minor children - i.e. it is possible the so-called "family" respondents not to have a spouse or a partner at all or at the time of the survey.

- ✓ some of them have experience living abroad with their parent/s;
- ✓ this experience for most of them is probably positive - better living conditions, more financial resources in the family, more tolerant attitude of the locals towards them;
- ✓ whether they have experience living abroad or only knowledge gained from parents/ relatives/ friends, most of them can probably get involved easily or be drawn by "entrepreneurs" into networks providing (cheap) labor abroad or involving youth into providing sexual services against their will or with their consent, due to coercion of another nature (illness in the family, lack of work, poor living conditions...);
- ✓ the risk for them is a consequence of: the interweaving of positive **childhood** experience of **life** abroad and inability to find fulfilment/income and achieve better living in the inhabited place in the country; the notion that childhood **experience** has given them enough knowledge about life "there" to cope with any kind of challenges.

5. Field research method

5.1. *Interview Questionnaire*

The prepared standardized questionnaire for a direct face-to-face interview was tested at the end of May 2021 by Tsveta Petkova. The interviews conducted by her showed that the respondents understand the questions and are willing to answer; the open questions allow for sharing of personal experiences, so it is not appropriate to have them closed; two questions were reformulated and one question was removed.

The final version of **Questionnaire 1** – married men and women aged 18-35 contains 61 questions, of which 11 questions refer to the spouse. Since there are groups of questions that refer to respondents with/without experience of living abroad, as well as wives/husbands who have lived abroad, and respondents with/without plans to move abroad, the questions that each respondent answers varies.

The final version of **Questionnaire 2** – unmarried men and women aged 18-25, contains the same questions as Questionnaire 1 without the questions relating to the spouse – a total of 50. (See **Appendix 3**).

In Breznik and Tran, 25 interviews were planned to be conducted with married men and women and 25 with unmarried men and women, and in Provadiya, Sofia and Harmanli - 50 interviews in each city with representatives of the two groups of described respondents.

5.2. Focus Group Guide

The decision to organize one focus group per each of the settlements was made after the pilot stage focus group was held to test the interview questionnaire. The conducted group discussion demonstrated that young people were open to sharing knowledge about their experiences and about experience of being involved in irregular employment networks abroad and/or in networks of trafficking/smuggling and/or settlement of irregular migrants in Bulgaria. Focus group participants were supposed to be young men and women aged 18-35 who were not included in the interview sample.

(See Annex 4).

Two online training sessions were conducted for the interviewers. The first, on 29 May 2021, led by Prof. Maja Grekova, was focused on the selection of respondents and on conducting the interviews with them. The second, on 8 June 2021, led by IOM experts, was dedicated to familiarizing the interviewers with the basic terminology related to migration.

2. Conducting the field research

2.1. Time of conducting the field study and field researchers

The field research was conducted in the period **30 May - 30 June 2021** in the selected locations by the following field researchers:

- ✓ Breznik: interviewer Daniela Zakhova, health mediator (HM); focus group moderator Dora Petkova, assistant Yavor Lilov.
- ✓ Prodaviya: interviewers Kadrie Mehmedova, HM, and Nadia Stoyanova, HM; focus group moderator Tsveta Petkova.
- ✓ Sofia, Filipovtsi District: interviewer Mariana Ivanova, HM; focus group moderator Dora Petkova, assistant Yavor Lilov.
- ✓ Tran: interviewers Dimitar Milanov, HM, and Anton Anachkov, HM; focus group moderator Dora Petkova.
- ✓ Harmanli: interviewer Fani Ivanova, HM; focus group moderator Tsveta Petkova.

Dora Petkova and Tsveta Petkova, experts in the Consortium, provided assistance to the interviewers both at the beginning of the field work and throughout the entire period of its implementation when questions arose from the interviewers.

2.2. Implementation of the sample

During the first training for conducting field surveys (29 May 2021), interviewers were instructed on how to randomly select respondents, subject to the following restrictions:

- ✓ One person from one of the two groups is surveyed at one address/in one household;
- ✓ The neighboring address/household where there is a person from one of the two groups is omitted;

- ✓ If a person from the sampled household refuses, a person from the next address/ household is interviewed.

Table 1. Respondents from both groups and by gender in the settlements

Place	Interviewed family	Interviewed unmarried	Focus group
Breznik	28 people: ✓ 2 men ✓ 26 women	22 people: ✓ 15 men ✓ 7 women	6 women
Provadiya	48 people: ✓ 10 men ✓ 38 women	52 people: ✓ 23 men ✓ 29 women	3 men и 3 women
Sofia	81 people: ✓ 12 men ✓ 69 women	16 people: ✓ 10 men ✓ 6 women	4 men и 2 women
Tran	26 people: ✓ 14 men ✓ 12 women	23 people: ✓ 18 men ✓ 5 women	2 men и 8 women
Harmanli	69 people: ✓ 26 men ✓ 43 women	31 people: ✓ 18 men ✓ 13 women	2 men и 4 women

The total number of respondents is 396⁴; 252 of them married (64 men and 188 women), unmarried – 144 (84 men and 60 women).

2.3. Deviations and problems in the implementation of field research

➤ Expected deviations

- ✓ The preliminary conversations with the health mediators-field researchers gave reason to expect difficulties to the point of impossibility to fulfil the sample of the unmarried group due to the relatively early age of entry into marriage/cohabitation. As can be seen from Table 1, this happened to a significant extent in Sofia (Filipovtzi quarter), as well as to a large extent in Harmanli.

⁴ 4 questionnaires were annulled.

- ✓ Our experience from previous research in the Roma communities gave reason to expect that female respondents would predominate. In general, there are two reasons for this: it is more likely that the woman in the family is at home - mostly because of the care of a child/children; in cases where both spouses are at home – the woman is more likely to respond to the invitation to be interviewed. An additional factor is that the interviewers are women. As it can be seen from the data in Table 1, this expectation was confirmed in all settlements, except Tran, where the interviewers were male.

These two deviations in the implementation of the sample do not interfere with the preliminary design of the study. Regarding the sample of the unmarried which was not reached, we must assume that it is a consequence of the actual married-to-unmarried ratio in the respective neighbourhoods/towns. For the family respondents, the gender of the respondent is not essential. On the one hand, the respondent also shares information about his/her spouse's experiences/problems if and when he/she resided abroad. On the other hand, our experience shows that women are more open to sharing and, accordingly, to more detailed answers to the open questions, which are of key importance for planning the upcoming project activities.

➤ **Unexpected problems**

- ✓ Signing the Informed Consent Declaration to participate in the study was a problem, which in some places led to the refusal for participation. It is not clear whether the reasons are a misunderstanding of the meaning of the declaration, and/or a reluctance to leave a signed document whose content is not understood, and/or in the insufficient explanation by the interviewers of why and what potential respondents are invited to read and sign. Overall, this problem was not widespread, but should be considered in future studies.
- ✓ We created two questionnaires (Questionnaire 1 for family, and Questionnaire 2 for unmarried) to avoid the need to additionally skip questions and flip through pages with questions that do not apply to a respondent who is not married. However, it is unclear why this turned out to be a problem in two of the locations, resulting in missing data for

the spouse due to filling in Questionnaire 2 instead of Questionnaire 1. Thus, among 81 interviewed family members in Sofia, 7 of which are divorced/separated after cohabitation, i.e. the expected data is for 74 wives/husbands, the data for 24 wives/husbands is missing; among 69 interviewed family persons in Harmanli, 15 of which are divorced/separated after cohabitation, i.e. the expected data is for 54 wives/husbands, the data for 18 wives/husbands is missing. In the other three locations, this problem did not occur.

We included a set of questions about the respondent's spouse/partner in order to obtain a larger volume of data on the experience of living abroad and the problems encountered there. However, the results show that in almost all cases of family respondents who resided abroad, the spouse also resided (with or without the spouse/partner), so no meaningful additional information is available. There are negligibly few cases of respondents who did not reside abroad, and the spouse/partner did reside. Therefore, this unexpected problem did not lead to a lack of information essential from the point of view of the study's objectives.

3. Analysis of results

3.1. Restrictions

The results and their analysis are valid only for the neighborhoods in which the research was conducted and for the time of the field research.

There is no data on the number and profile of residents for any of the neighborhoods; on the number and profile of residents migrating in the country and abroad. I.e. there is no way to know whether the characteristics of the persons covered by the field research are typologically similar to those of the migrants absent from the settlement. Therefore, the highlighted specificity of the respondents in each of the neighborhoods is valid in relation to the residents of the neighborhood at the time of the field study.

Before conducting the field research, we had information from the health mediators that a large part of the residents of the neighborhood (Breznik) had already moved abroad, and in another (Harmanli) - that during the field survey, workers working abroad were expected to return temporarily, mostly because of relatives' weddings. This further brought specificity to the data – in Breznik, Tran and Sofia, there were no respondents who indicated that they live/work abroad, while in Harmanli - 37 respondents did so, and in Provadiya - 17 respondents did so.

The generalizations made for the entire set of respondents are in all cases only with a view to future project activities, since the situation in the selected neighborhoods is too different. The differences are determined both by the size of the neighborhood and the city, and by the general economic circumstances of the region; probably also from the history of coexistence between Roma and Bulgarians; as well as from the specifics of the local Roma community.

3.2. Social profile of respondents

We will outline the profile of the respondents through the following indicators: marital status, number of children, education, and occupation. Here, as in the following sections, we use both the data for the entire population surveyed and data for the target neighborhoods to look into their specifics. The data for the entire population serves us more as a reference point against which we can determine the deviations. The specificity of the neighborhoods is important to be

highlighted in view of the planned activities of the project. But also as a further proof of the need to know the current situation of each Roma community for planning any local integration policies. Because sticking to aggregate data and popular generalizations risks any good intentions to fail.

Already with the first indicator – marital status, the data for the entire population surveyed people is a good illustration of the possibility of being misled by them instead of looking at the particularities of the specific places.

Table 2. Marital status of respondents

	Number	Percentage
1 married male/female (marriage)	76	19,2
2 divorced	7	1,8
3 in a cohabitation	138	34,8
4 separated after cohabitation	32	8,1
5 widow	2	0,5
6 unmarried	139	35,1
Did not respond	2	0,5
Total	396	100,0

From the data in **Table 2**, we could conclude that there are nearly two times more respondents who live in cohabitation than those who are married. The results in some neighborhoods show a significant deviation from those for the entire population of respondents: in Breznik they are almost equal (11 respondents are cohabiting – 12 are married), as well as in Provadiya (21 respondents are in cohabitation - 20 married), while in Harmanli the ratio is close to 4:1 (42 respondents are cohabiting - 11 married), as well as in Tran - 4:1 (20 cohabiting - 5 married).

The only indicator on which the data shows no significant deviations between neighborhoods is the number of children the respondents have. For the totality of all married respondents the distribution is as follows:

Table 3. Number of children

	Number	Percentage	Cumulated percentage
1 no children	16	6.35	6.35
2 one child	93	36.9	43.25
3 two children	100	39.7	82.95
4 three children	35	13.9	96.85
5 four children	7	2.78	99.63
6 five children	1	0,4	100,0
Total	252	100,0	

82.95% of the surveyed married respondents aged 18-35 do not have a child, have one child or two children. There is no significant difference by district: in Breznik this share is 85.7%, in Tran – 88.5%, in Harmanli 79.7%, in Sofia 76.5%. Only in Provadiya the share exceeds by more than 10% the share in the entire studied population - it is 93.8%.

The data on the education of the respondents differs significantly by district. The data for the entire population surveyed is:

Table 4. Education of respondents

	Number	Percentage
1 Has not attended school	2	0,5
2 Has no completed education degree	12	3,0
3 Elementary	82	20,7
4 Middle	131	33,1
5 Secondary	160	40,4
6 Higher	9	2,3
Total	396	100,0

42.7% of the respondents have a secondary or higher education, but their share differs significantly in the districts: in Breznik it is 62.0%, Provadiya is 60.0%, while in Harmanli it is 21.0%. Accordingly, the share of respondents who did not attend school, do not have a completed educational degree or have only primary education for the whole population is 24.2%, but their share in Harmanli is 41.0% and in Provadiya - 8.0%.

Table 5. Education per districts

	Breznik	Tran	Provadiya	Sofia	Harmanli
	number / %	number / %	number / %	number / %	number / %
1 Has not attended school	-	1 / 2%	-	1 / 1%	-
2 Has no completed education degree	-	-	2 / 2%	6 / 6,2%	4 / 4%
3 Elementary	8 / 16%	13 / 26,5%	8 / 8%	16 / 16,5%	37 / 37%
4 Middle	11 / 22%	15 / 30,6%	30 / 30%	37 / 38,1%	38 / 38%
5 Secondary	31 / 62%	20 / 40,8%	52 / 52%	36 / 37,1%	21 / 21%
6 Higher	-	-	8 / 8%	1 / 1%	-
Total	50 / 100%	49 / 100%	100 / 100%	97 / 100%	100 / 100%

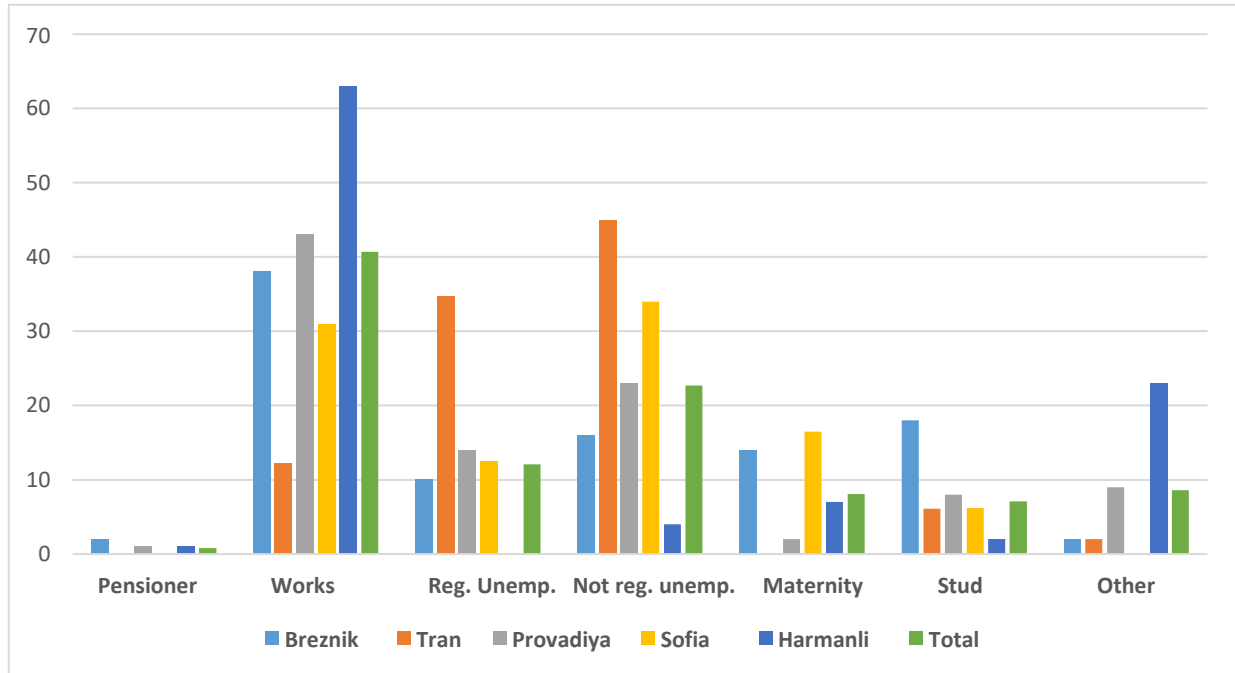
In a similar way, the data for the entire population surveyed regarding the occupation is also misleading.

Table 6. Occupation of the respondents

	Number	Percentage
1 Pensioner due to illness	3	0,8
2 Works	161	40,7
3 Self-employed / company ownership	4	1,0
4 Unemployed (registered)	48	12,1
5 Unemployed (not registered)	90	22,7
6 Maternity	32	8,1
7 Student	28	7,1
8 Other	29	7,3
Did not respond	1	0,3
Total	396	100,0

According to the data in **Table 6**, the employed (161 people) are more than the unemployed (48 registered as unemployed and 90 not registered as unemployed). But in the surveyed neighborhoods, the situation is significantly different.

Graphic 1. Occupation per district



In Breznik – 19 respondents work, 5 are registered as unemployed, 8 – not registered as unemployed;

In Provadiya – 43 respondents work, 14 are registered as unemployed, 23 – not registered as unemployed (3 respondents indicated “take care of the child/children”), and the only 4 self-employed respondents;

In Harmanli – 63 respondents work, 4 are registered as unemployed (13 respondents who indicated "take care of the child/children" and are in the section "other");

In Sofia – 30 respondents work, 12 are registered as unemployed, 33 – not registered as unemployed.

In Tran – 6 respondents work, 17 are registered as unemployed, 22 – not registered as unemployed.

We could summarize: the neighborhood in Provadiya stands out from the rest of the surveyed neighborhoods - a higher proportion of working people and the only 4 respondents who indicated that they have their own business, a larger share with secondary education (and

8 respondents with higher education), a very large share of families with 1 and 2 children.

This neighborhood data is important to us not only as further evidence of how different the profile of Roma communities is by location, but also from the point of view of migration-related issues, which we will analyze further.

3.3. Experience/knowledge of/about living abroad - willingness and planning to migrate

From the entire population of studied persons, 396 people:

- ✓ 148 people (37.4%) have lived abroad,
- ✓ 54 people (13.6%) live abroad, and during the field study they have temporarily returned to the city,
- ✓ 194 people (49.0%) did not live abroad.

More than half of all respondents have experience living abroad. To them should be added an unknown number of residents of the surveyed neighborhoods who, at the time of the survey, live abroad. This experience has been gained from a different number of residences in different European countries, for different duration and from different occupations.

Perhaps this is the place to clarify who we accept as **having experience** of living abroad. If he/she has been on an excursion or visiting, is this "living abroad" and therefore can we assume that he/she has acquired experience of living abroad?

The question to the respondents is "Have you lived abroad?". After a positive answer to this question, the respondent answers a group of questions aimed at specifying how many times they have lived abroad, with whom they stayed there, how long was each stay, what did they do during each stay, etc.

Briefly for the entire population: out of 188 respondents who answered the question of what they did during their first stay abroad, 14 people indicated visiting/excursion; of 109 respondents who answered the question about their occupation during the second residence abroad, 8 people

guests/excursion; out of 51 respondents who answered the question about their occupation during their third stay abroad, 4 people indicated visiting/excursion. Apart from the relatively small proportion of respondents, we must keep in mind that the answer "visiting/excursion" in most cases (if not in all) means "with relatives, spouse, friends", i.e. in an environment from which **experience of life abroad is drawn**. Therefore, in the processing of the data and in its analysis, we do not exclude any respondent who answered positively to the question whether he/she lived abroad, regardless of the length of residence and the occupation there.

Of those living and living abroad, 202 people⁵ (married and unmarried):

- ✓ 83 people (41.1%) lived once,
- ✓ 54 people (26.7%) lived twice,
- ✓ 55 people (27.2%) have lived three times,
- ✓ 9 people (4.5%) lived four times.

During the first stay abroad, the cases of respondents who were with parents significantly predominate - 39.0% (17.0% - with spouse/partner and child/children; 17.0% - with spouse/partner); while for the third residence, the share of respondents who were with parents was 17.2%, and with a spouse and child/children – 32.8%. To these data we can add:

- ✓ Out of 27 family respondents who travelled the first time with their parents and who have travelled a second time, 14 travelled the second time with a spouse/partner (7 of them also with a child/children) and 11 respondents travelled again with parents;

⁵ One respondent did not answer the question of how many times they have lived abroad.

- ✓ Out of 7 married respondents who travelled the second time with parents and travelled the third time, 3 travelled the second time with a spouse/partner (2 of them also with child/children) and 2 again with parents.

We can assume that the first migration abroad with parents creates or stabilizes the attitude of young people for further migration as they create their own family. Of course, if the experience of this migration for the child was positive.

Abroad issues and attitudes towards migration

Only 48 respondents (23.9%) of those living abroad (a total of 202 people) said that they had **problems**: with searching/finding accommodation, with finding (legal; with social insurance) work, due to not knowing the language.

„finding accommodation for a few months, we live in abandoned buildings“
„I couldn't find accommodation and live with 12 people and returned to Bulgaria“
„It's hard to find a job with social insurance, we earn more working illegally for Turks“
„If you don't know the language it's hard, that's how you work for the Turks in Germany“
„We were not paid regularly, and we left - the accommodation was shared and the bathroom also“

There are two reasons to assume that other respondents also encountered problems and probably they were different. One reason is the reluctance shared by several respondents to talk about problems they encountered while living abroad: "I don't want to share", "with many problems, I don't feel like talking". The other reason is the share of those wishing to go abroad **again**: 61.5% of married members who lived abroad and 72.7% of singles who lived abroad (part of both groups of respondents live abroad and temporarily returned during the field survey).

The differences between the studied neighborhoods are significant – as in the ratio lived/not lived abroad as well as in the ratio between lived abroad/wishing/planning to live abroad again.

Tran:

- ✓ Married – 12 people have lived, 14 people have not lived;

Out of 12 people who have lived abroad, 4 want to live abroad **again** and 3 of them plan to do so. Only 1 of those who have not lived abroad has a desire to live abroad.

- ✓ Unmarried – 7 people have lived, 16 people have not lived abroad;

Out of 7 who lived abroad, 4 want to live abroad **again**, and 3 of them plan to do so. Out of 16 who have not lived abroad, 6 have a desire to live abroad, 3 of them plan to do so.

Breznik:

- ✓ Married – 10 people have lived, 18 people have not lived abroad;

Out of 10 who have lived abroad, 8 want to live abroad **again**, and 6 plan to do so. Out of 18 who have not lived abroad, 3 have a desire to live abroad and 2 plan to do so.

- ✓ Unmarried – 1 has lived, 21 have not lived abroad;

The person who has lived abroad wants and plans to live abroad **again**. Out of 21 people who do not live abroad, 3 have a desire to live abroad, and 2 plan to do so.

Provadiya:

- ✓ Married – 16 have lived, 13 are living and 19 have not lived abroad;

Out of 16 who lived abroad, 7 want to live abroad **again** and plan to do so. Out of 19 who have not lived abroad, 4 have a desire to live abroad and 3 plan to do so.

- ✓ Unmarried – 18 have lived, 4 are living and 30 have not lived abroad;

Out of the 18 who lived abroad, 12 want to live abroad **again**, and 11 plan to do so. Out of 30 who have not lived abroad, 13 have a desire to live abroad and 9 plan to do so.

Sofia:

- ✓ Married – 36 have lived and 45 have not lived abroad;

Out of 36 who lived abroad, 15 have the desire to live abroad **again** and 7 of them plan to do so. Out of 45 who have not lived abroad, 22 have a desire to live abroad and 9 out of them plan to do so.

- ✓ Unmarried – 2 have lived and 14 have not lived abroad;

The two who lived abroad have a desire to live abroad **again**, and one of them plans to do so. Out of 14 not living abroad, 10 have a desire to live abroad, and 4 of them plan to do so.

Harmanli:

- ✓ Married – 30 have lived, 29 are living and 10 have not lived abroad;

All who have lived abroad have a desire to live abroad **again** and have planned to do so. Out of 10 people who have not lived abroad, 6 have a desire to live abroad and plan to do so.

- ✓ Unmarried – 16 have lived, 8 are living and 7 have not lived abroad;

Out of 16 who lived abroad, 13 want to live abroad **again** and plan to do so. Out of 7 people who have not lived abroad, 4 have a desire to live abroad and plan to do so.

From the data on those living abroad, who during the field survey are included in the sample due to a temporary return to Harmanli, a total of 37 people, 7 are abroad for the first time, 12 – for the second time, 10 – for the third time. Only one reports that he/she had problem when staying abroad and it is "with the employer and the organizer of the group".

If we try to summarise:

- ✓ Among the **married** who have lived abroad, the smallest share of those who want to live abroad again are those surveyed in Tran (1/3), the largest share is in Harmanli - all who have lived abroad wish and plan to live there again. The smallest share of those who have not lived abroad and who wish to live abroad are again in Tran - 1 (not planning) out of 14 people, and the largest share are in Harmanli - 6 out of 10 and all 6 plan to do so; the share of those willing is also high in Sofia - 22 out of 45, but only 9 out of 22 plan to do so.

- ✓ Among the **unmarried** who have lived abroad, the shares of those wishing to live there again are greater in all places, but: in Breznik only one unmarried person has lived abroad, and in Sofia - two; in Harmanli out of 16 people – 13 want and have planned to live abroad again. The shares of those who have not lived abroad and who want to live abroad are relatively high (without Breznik) – between ½ and 1/3, but those who plan to do so are significantly lower; but, again in Harmanli – out of 10 people, 6 want and plan to live abroad.

We should try to explain these differences. The expectation that residents of a given neighborhood migrate to one or two countries, which could be a reason for a different experience and hence – desire/unwillingness for further migration, is not justified. Regardless of the fact that there is a certain predominance - e.g. a large number of residents of Provadiya have experience of living in Germany and Greece, we cannot claim that this is decisive for the established differences. There is even less reason to explain the different experiences of doing certain types of work: the data shows that migrants did very different jobs, although, again, there is some accumulation in seasonal work/agriculture – but in different countries (Greece, Spain, and the Netherlands). We may assume that the indicated differences between the neighborhoods are the result of a combination of different factors: cases of unsuccessful/problematic migration of people from the neighborhood (being involved in labour, sexual exploitation; misleading by a group organizer and/or employer; ...) in different countries, while of people from the neighborhood with different educational/social status and work experience.

Desired destinations of those planning to migrate

In the entire population of respondents - 396 people, 222 people have a desire to go abroad (again) and 179 of them plan to go (54 of them because they live abroad and at the time of the field study they have temporarily returned to Provadiya and Harmanli).

Most of those planning to leave chose Germany (57 people), followed by the Netherlands (43 people), the UK (22 people), Spain (17 people). If we exclude those who have more or less settled - "I live/work and we live/work there" and this determines their choice, we can group the arguments of the remaining respondents into three groups:

- ✓ I have relatives, close people, friends there. We can assume that in these cases the knowledge of the desired and planned destination is acquired "first-hand", those who have settled "there" are relied upon to help with finding work and accommodation, as well as with overall orientation in the new environment. These answers significantly prevail.
- ✓ There is work there, the salaries are good, it is good/better there, "life is better". In these cases, we should assume that the choice is based on knowledge with uncertain origin, "I was told that...", or of a somehow organized departure for work.
- ✓ „I am familiar and I like it" indicates a choice determined by previous residence "there" - probably not for work.

But regardless of the motive/argument given by the respondents for choosing a migration destination, knowledge of the social/health requirements/conditions "there" is too unclear and scarce - as shared by respondents. Here the answers can be grouped into several groups:

- ✓ „a well-developed country with a good health and social system", "everything is very easy and arranged", "everything is very fine and they give a lot of money for the children" - answers of this type speak of a factual lack of knowledge about requirements/conditions, rather for the hope that "it is better there than in Bulgaria";
- ✓ "there is a person who arranges the documents", "who knows the language and helps" - answers of this type are a sign of lack of interest (and of opportunity - due to not knowing the language) to gain knowledge (in advance or on the spot) about the requirements and the conditions of the functioning social systems "there"; "there is someone to help" refers to both a "person from the community" and a local institution - "when you go to the social services, they guide you about everything";

- ✓ "I know", "I know the language", "I know how to prepare my documents" - answers of this type are relatively few and speak of the attitude of the respondent to manage on their own in a probably not completely unknown "there".

With such a vague knowledge of the social conditions and requirements "there", it is not surprising that the question "Who do you rely on to help you find accommodation, get involved in the social, health, education system?" is significantly dominated by the answers "on parents/relatives/close people/friends", sometimes combined with "of the social services", rarely only the "services in the respective country" are indicated, and even more rarely - "on myself". These results are not surprising in the context of the obtained different research knowledge that migration in the dominant number of cases is realized in and with the help of a kinship/ friendship circle that attracts/draws new migrants to itself "there".

It is strange that to the question "Which institutions will you turn to for help abroad?", almost all respondents mentioned social services, the municipality, the police, while to the question "Have you ever sought help from any institution in Bulgaria?", from 71 respondents who answer positively, only 2 mention the municipality, 1 – the police, and all the others indicate the Directorate for Social Assistance, social care. It is known that Bulgarian citizens (and specifically citizens of Roma origin) do not trust Bulgarian institutions and avoid contact with them as much as possible. But it is precisely against this background the declared trust in institutions abroad is strange - I emphasize **declared**, since it is not clear whether in a situation of need for help the respondents will turn to the relevant institution; but still, even if just declared, it is a question of **trust** in institutions that lack trust in Bulgaria. We should assume that the lack of trust is not in the institution as such, but in the way it functions in Bulgarian conditions.

Knowledge of the language of the planned country of migration

Not knowing the language of the country in which part of the interviewed persons reside or have resided, is indicated by some of them as the reason for problems. Only 38 (21.2%) of the respondents who stated that they live/work abroad or planned to go abroad (179 people in total) know the language of the country, "I have studied it" (although hardly in all cases having studied the language is a guarantee of knowledge). Another 45 respondents (25.1%) say they know little, "as far as buying something, asking what is where"; but 82 respondents (45.8%) admit that they do not know the language, and another 11 (6.1%) - that they do not need to know it.

The lack of knowledge of the language certainly makes migrants dependent – on mediators/organizers – Bulgarians or Turks (several respondents indicated that they do not need to know the language, as they work with Turks) and/or from the goodwill of employers who respect the agreement and at the same time respect the laws of the respective country. Both factors for dependence carry risks for migrants.

With whom do they plan to go abroad, what do they plan to do and whom they rely on to find work

One third of the respondents who plan to go abroad (33.3% of 179 people) will do so with their spouse or partner and children, 16.7% - with their spouse or partner, 18.9% - alone. The share of those who plan to leave with a parent/s is relatively small (8.3%).

The share of those respondents who state that they have a secured job is relatively large - 42.5%, to them we should add those respondents who stated that they will not work because they will take care of the children - 15.6%, since we should assume that these are wives of workers, an equally large share respondents hope to find a job as (...) – 15.6%. But the share of those who set out with the attitude of working "whatever" is not small either - 19.0%. The hope of finding a job as (...) probably rests on past experience - but the labor market situation is too dynamic. Willingness to work "whatever" is risky, as it is a sign of expected uncertainty – "I will find something", where this "something" may turn out to be illegal work, a labor or sexual exploitation network.

Out of the 151 respondents who answered the question "Is there someone you rely on to help you find a job?", 123 (81.5%) answered positively and indicated parents - 18 people, relatives/close people - 93 people, a friend - 37 people.⁶

Regardless of who they are leaving with and how secure their job is, 42.0% of those planning to leave plan to stay abroad "as long as possible", and another 17.9% do not plan to return to Bulgaria.

Expectations of life abroad

We can summarize the respondents' expectations in several groups:

✓ **Unspecified:** "I hope that good things happen to me", "Good life and legal work", "I would like to find a job that I like and to organize my life", "Everything I can't build here", "To stay in this country because I like it very much".

✓ **Related to the children** are the expectations of the majority of respondents – 52 respondents explicitly mention a child/children, but to them we should add at least some of those who associate expectations with "my family". In some cases, the expectations are more general: "To give a good future to my children", "All the best for my children to study", "To provide a future for my son", "Getting well financially to help my children", "The children to study abroad", "For my children to study and graduate abroad in order to realize themselves"; in others, they are aimed at providing an opportunity to reunite with the children who are left in the care of parents/relatives in Bulgaria: "To find a separate accommodation and take my child with me", "Me and my wife to work and gain money and take the children with us", "To rent accommodation and take my children".

⁶ The answers are more than the number of respondents as some of the respondents have given more than one answer.

✓ **Related to getting a job, “money”, “financial stability”:** “big change, better income”, “get richer and buy a house”, “better income”. In some cases, this is related to a desire to improve living conditions upon returning to Bulgaria - "To work and collect money to buy or build a house in Bulgaria", "To work with my wife and collect money to complete the construction of the house and furnish, maybe then we will return to Bulgaria".

✓ Several respondents directly linked the expectations of living abroad with their **reluctance to return to Bulgaria:** "To settle down and not return to Bulgaria, because they hate us here", "To develop freely without being asked which neighborhood I'm from, because when I go to look for a job and see my address, they don't want to talk to me".

Motivation for migration abroad

Last of the group of questions asked to the respondents who stated that they wanted and are planning to go abroad, is "And why do you want to go?". The question allows for more than one answer and the distribution of answers is as follows:

Table 7. Motives for migration abroad

	Number of replies	Percentage replies
1 there is no work here	58	32,6%
2 here the living conditions are not good	115	64,6%
3 here we are treated as "second-hand" people	16	9,0%
4 at school (kindergarten) my children do not feel well	3	1,7%
5 I want to live independently	8	4,5%
6 I want to leave the neighborhood	10	5,6%
7 I want to leave Bulgaria	14	7,9%
8 other	13	7,3%
Total	237	133,1%

Somewhat unexpectedly, the main motive of those planning to migrate is not the lack of work in Bulgaria, but rather a general dissatisfaction with the life of the respondents in Bulgaria. This does not mean that they had or could have a job here. It could be interpreted as having a basis for comparison – i.e. experience of life outside Bulgaria (not necessarily in the current destination), in which comparison it is known or assumed that life "there" (wherever it is) must

be better than here. As it is known from other studies, and from observations in Roma neighborhoods, the experience of living abroad engenders sensitivity to the living conditions in the "neighborhood" - people begin to notice and not to accept as "normal" that the neighborhood lacks the built in others parts of cities infrastructure networks (streets, water supply, sewage system), lack of garbage collection.

In relation to the whole group of questions related to a migration plan, let's look at the specifics by location. We will look at the data from the neighborhoods in Harmanli and Sofia - they are significantly different in terms of desire/planning to migrate abroad, the number surveyed in them is almost equal.

Harmanli:

Married

- **65 out of 69** married respondents have a desire and plan to go abroad (29 live abroad);
- **Only 2 respondents had any problems** while staying abroad ("I couldn't find accommodation and to live with 12 people and returned to Bulgaria"); "problems with the employer and with the organizer of the group");
- **50 respondents rely on parents (8), relatives, relatives**, 9 respondents on a friend to find a job;
- **42 have a secured job as (...), 19 – will not work, will take care of the children**, only 1 respondent would work "whatever";
- **9 respondents studied the language of the country** they plan to go to, 8 know as little as..., 39 - do not know the language, 7 state that they do not need it;
- **29 respondents plan to leave with spouse/partner and child/children, 18 – with spouse/partner**, 3 - with child/children, 3 – with parents, 5 – with relatives, 2 – with friends, 5 – alone;
- 8 respondents have not planned how long they will stay, 2 – a few months, 45 – **"as long as possible", 10 - "I don't plan to return"**;
- **Expectations:** 30 respondents - "to have our own accommodation and take the children" (and my wife, my parents, my sister); 9 – to work and collect money to buy or build a house in Bulgaria; 15 – life is good there/different from the neighborhood, I want to live there/children study/realize there;
- **The reasons for leaving:** 50 answers "the living conditions here are not good", 15 answers "there is no work here".

Unmarried

- **25 out of 31** respondents have a desire to go (again) abroad;
- **25 out of 25 respondents plan to go abroad** (8 live abroad)
- **Only 1 respondent had problems** ("I don't know the language");
- **29 respondents rely on parents, a relative, a close person**, 5 respondents - on a friend;
- **16 respondents have a secured job as (...)**, 6 are ready to work "whatever";
- **8 respondents know the language "yes, I have studied it"**, "I know a little..." - 3, "I don't need it" – 3, do not know – 10;

- 12 respondents plan to leave with parents/relatives, 12 - "with no one/alone", with spouse/partner - 1;
- **14 respondents plan to leave for "as long as possible, 6 respondents do not plan to return**, 4 - "I have not planned"; 1 for several months;
- **Expectations:** "Life is good there/we work/live/have a house" – 6 respondents; "to take my parents (and my brother) (to Germany)" - 3 respondents; "To realize myself (in Austria) (after finishing my higher education in finance to work in my specialty) (and start a family in Spain)" – 5 respondents; "Find a job with good pay", "For now I'm happy with my job and I'm staying there as long as possible";
- **Reasons for leaving: 23 answers** "living conditions here are not good", 3 - "there is no work here".

Sofia:

Married

- **37 out of 81 respondents have a desire to go** (again) abroad;
- **16 out of 37 respondents plan** to go abroad
- **10 respondents had some problems** while staying abroad: when looking for a job, address registration, accommodation, health insurance;
- 8 respondents plan to leave with spouse/partner and child/children, 6 – with spouse/partner, 2 – “with parent/s/with family”;
- **8 respondents would work anything**, 2 have a secured job, 4 hope to find a job as...;
- **1 respondent has studied the language of the country** he plans to go to, 9 – they know as little as...; 5 – do not know the language, 1 states that he does not need it;
- 4 respondents rely on relatives, relatives, 6 – on a friend to find a job;
- 2 respondents have not planned how long they will stay, 1 respondent plans to leave for a few months, 3 – 3-4 years, 1 – until the children grow up, 4 – as long as possible, 2 – do not plan to return ; 1 - "it depends on whether we get settled", 1 – seasonal;
- **Expectations:** "All the best for the good of my children to study", "To give good future to the children", "to live more peacefully and my children to be better", "to show the children cultural life, to teach them about education, they do not respect us here"; "to collect money for a house and I'm going back to Bulgaria", "to collect money to leave the neighborhood" (2);
- **Reasons for leaving:** 2 answers "there is no work here", 3 answers "here the living conditions are not good", 5 answers "here we are treated as "second hand", 1 - "at school (kindergarten) my children do not feel well", 1 answer "I want to live independently", 7 answers - "I want to leave the neighborhood", 1 answer "I want to leave Bulgaria".

Unmarried

- **12 out of 16 respondents have a desire to go** (again) abroad;
- **5 out of 12 respondents plan** to go abroad;
- 2 respondents rely on a relative, close person, 1 – on a friend;
- 1 respondent plans to go with parents, 2 – with friends – 2; 2 – "with no one/alone";
- 2 respondents have a secured job as..., 1 hopes to work as...;

- 3 respondents stated that they studied the language, 1 - "I know a little...";
- 2 respondents do not plan to return, 2 – plan to stay as long as possible, 1 respondent did not plan;
- **Expectations:** "To stay in this country because I like it very much", "To develop freely without being asked which neighborhood I'm from, because when I go to look for a job and see my address they don't want to talk to me". "To settle down and not return to Bulgaria, because they hate us here", "To rest a little from Bulgaria. Development”.
- **Reasons for leaving:** "I want to leave Bulgaria" - 2, "we are treated as second-hand here" - 1, "I want to leave the neighborhood" - 1;

So, the differences are visible, to some extent they are due to the fact that the Harmanli samples include respondents who have returned to the city temporarily - 29 among the married and 8 among the unmarried live abroad. But only to a certain extent. What could account for the differences?

3.4. Those unwilling and not planning to go abroad

Those who expressed **reluctance** to go abroad or those who wished but did not plan to leave (on the date of the interview) - a total of 217 respondents - answered another group of questions. The first of these is "What has to happen for you to leave?". The question is open and implies the indication of a condition and/or description of a situation in which reluctance/not planning can be rethought and lead to a decision to go abroad. The answers varied, but can be divided into several groups:

- ✓ **A clearly stated condition tied to the respondent's situation here** – if the respondent and/or spouse become unemployed and/or have financial problems: "If I/we remain without work/money"/"lack of money" - a total of 91 people.
- ✓ **A relatively clear condition tied to opportunities and/or “someone” abroad:** "To be promised that there is a job", "To go to a close person, for him to "pull" me, to be sure", "To find a secure job so that I won't be scammed" - a total of 23 people.
- ✓ **Undefined condition for opportunities "there":** "If there is a good salary"/"If I can earn money for an electricity base - 3000 BGN - I will go", "If someone supports me", "If someone offers development in my specialty, training" - 8 people.
- ✓ **Categorical reluctance to live abroad:** "There is nothing that would make me leave", "There is no point in going to pay for accommodation and you can work here", "Nothing, my parents are here, they help me a lot", "I don't want to go abroad, I work" - 32 people.

✓ **Emergency situation in different versions:** "If my parents leave", "If all the animals I look after die", 'Get in trouble with the authorities', 'If my husband tells me' - 26 people.

The next question puts the respondent in a hypothetical choice situation: "Would you personally go abroad if someone promises you 'good money'?". Here the condition 'good money' was left open to respondents' interpretation because we assumed it meant different things and, as we shall see shortly, this assumption was confirmed.

- ✓ 47 respondents (21.7%) answered with a definite "Yes";
- ✓ 88 respondents (40.6%) answered with a definite "No" and "No, I don't believe in promises";
- ✓ A total of 73 respondents (33.6%) answered conditionally "Yes" - "Yes, but I will ask around first" (25, 11.5%), "Yes, but it depends on the job they offer me" (25, 11.5%), "Yes, but only if I trust the person" (23, 10.6%).

We may conclude that "good money" (however understood) alone is not a sufficient incentive to migrate abroad. Which is a confirmation of the validity of the stated conditions, under which the respondents (unwilling and not planning to go abroad) would change their opinion. Of course, it is also important who promises - i.e. the question of whom the respondents would trust to make the decision to go abroad is important. As expected, trust is reserved for the close circle - parents and relatives (138 answers, 60.5%⁷); 31 respondents (13.6% of responses) would trust a friend. The promise of "good money", regardless of who gave it, does not inspire confidence in 38 respondents (16.7%).

But let's see what the respondents think of as "good money". The question is left open and logically closed in the following options:

Table 8. What is 'good money'?

	Number	Percentage
1 to support my family	47	22,8
2 up to 1000 euros	31	15,0
3 1000-2000 euros	35	17,0
4 2000-3000 euros	28	13,6
5 over 3000 euros	8	3,9
6 other	57	27,7
Total	206	100,0

⁷ The answers are more than the number of respondents as some of them gave more than one answer.

Some of the answers falling into "other" are interesting:

- ✓ 15 respondents by "good money" understand money earned by honest work, secure job with employment contract: "money with honest work, to struggle for it", "regular and legal work".
- ✓ For another 12 respondents, "good money" means an opportunity to save, "to fix our house", "to have something for one's enjoyment".

And it remains to be seen what the respondents are willing to work to earn "good money":

Table 9. What would I do to make "good money"?

	Number	Percentage
1 anything	24	11,7
2 anything as long as it's legal	98	47,8
3 anything as long as they treat me well	10	4,9
4 work related to my specialty	17	8,3
5 I don't know	25	12,2
6 I can't make "good money"	14	6,8
7 other	17	8,3
Total	205	100,0

It is important to note the answer of 98 respondents (45.2%) who agree to any work as long as it is legal, as well as 17 respondents (7.8%) who believe that work should be related to their specialty. Only 24 respondents (11.1%) do not set any conditions for the nature/conditions of the work they would do to earn 'good money'. Another 14 respondents (6.5%) are certain that there is no way to make good money.

The answers to both questions point to a need to clarify what is meant by "legal work": whether all/most respondents it means only non-law-breaking **activity** or do they also mean **legal conditions** for exercise of such activity by them? (E.g. construction activities are legal but if the worker does not have an employment contract and/or does not have the right of residence in the country, their activity is illegal.)

We can outline several profiles of the respondents who do not want and do not plan to go abroad:

- ✓ People who have some work in the place where they live and do not imagine that it is possible to have better living conditions abroad. Job loss is likely to lead to a decision to go abroad if they have relatives, they trust to provide housing and work.

- ✓ People who are unemployed or do unregulated work, who tend to trust (under certain conditions) "someone" to provide for themselves (and their family) some acceptable conditions of existence.
- ✓ People who, regardless of whether or not they have a job, and regardless of whether they would be without a job/income, i.e. under no circumstances would they leave because they are afraid of the unknown, incl. they are afraid of being lied to.

For all three conditionally demarcated groups of persons, it is important to obtain specific knowledge both about the possibilities to work legally abroad, and about the necessary conditions and restrictions for a "normal" life "there". Although "there" is quite diverse in the five localities, several countries emerge with a predominant number of people who have lived abroad (and living abroad - in the cases of Harmanli and Provadiya).

We can assume (at least for Harmanli and Provadiya) that the following countries would be targeted by the unwilling and unplanned at the time of the survey respondents if the conditions in which they would change their opinion about migrating arise:

- ✓ **Harmanli:** the Netherlands, Germany, the UK, Spain, Austria;
- ✓ **Provadiya:** Germany, Greece;
- ✓ **Breznik:** Germany;
- ✓ **Tran:** Spain, the Czech Republic;
- ✓ **Sofia:** Germany, the UK, Austria;

3.5. Knowledge of migration risks

Regardless of the fact that most respondents trust relatives and friends, it is known that there are an unknown number of cases (also of Bulgarians, not only of Roma) when an enticing offer to work/live abroad from a random person, or just an acquaintance, or so-called "group organizer" was accepted with trust; and respondents also share about cases in which close people (husband, friend) involve people in sexual and/or labor exploitation. A group of questions is aimed precisely at verifying this knowledge - whether it has been experienced, suffered by the respondent, or by a "first-hand" relative, or simply "heard" that there are such cases. The first question from this group is "Have you heard people from the neighborhood who go abroad with arranged work and good conditions, and when they go there it turns out that the conditions and the work are not as they were initially presented. Please tell me!" A total of 199 respondents (50.3%) answered "yes"; 101 (25.5%) are respondents who have either personally experienced such a situation or have "first-hand" knowledge - a relative/close person who has been lied to. Let's check if there are significant differences in the different places - because this knowledge could be a factor affecting the willingness/unwillingness to go abroad (again).

But companies lie a lot, there are many ads on the Internet that say "there is work, come here" and they go and nothing happens. You sign a contract with the company, they pick you up from here, drive you, and then you wait - for them to employ you. You have nowhere to sleep, you are waiting, you have been lied to... and the people from Sofia lie a lot. There are many fake companies. There are many fake contracts, but these are Bulgarian companies. They lie a lot. People suffer a lot. You stay on the street. Then when you look for the companies, you can't find them. People borrow money, get into debt. (FG)

He points out fraud in the payment as the main problem. The Italian employer hires workers through a Bulgarian intermediary who collects three-quarters of the wage - out of 12 euros a day, the worker receives only 3 euros.

As a second problem comes the miserable conditions for which they are in advance deceived being good. The workers are accommodated in bungalows in the middle of the fields - remote from settlements, without running water. (notes from FG)

Everyone goes abroad blindly; it is pure luck so to say. It is difficult. If you have relatives, a stable relative [abroad] can support you. One of my brothers is with a German company and everything is loyal, well, he is loyal [the employer]. The other two work for Turks in France. They pay them, but they are not loyal with the insurances, and they don't always pay, well they don't pay insurances in France. (FG)

The positive answers in places are as follows:

- ✓ In Tran, only one respondent shared knowledge (from a relative) of being in such a situation.
- ✓ In Breznik, 41 (out of 50) respondents have knowledge of people who have fallen into such a situation and 20 of them experienced it or acquired this knowledge from a close person.
- ✓ In Provadiya, 53 respondents have knowledge of people who have fallen into such a situation and 18 of them have experienced it or acquired this knowledge from a close person.
- ✓ In Sofia, 77 respondents have knowledge of people who have fallen into such a situation and 54 of them have experienced it or acquired this knowledge from a close person.
- ✓ In Harmanli, 27 respondents have knowledge of people who have fallen into such a situation and 8 of them have experienced it or acquired this knowledge from a close person.

There is reason to assume that the knowledge of people generally being lied/deceived to go abroad and more or less suffering from improper treatment, especially if such a situation is experienced or shared by a close person, makes respondents hesitate in their desire to leave at work abroad. As we have seen from previous results, this desire is weakest represented by the respondents from Sofia, more than half of whom have "first-hand" experience or knowledge of the risk of trusting an "organizer", an employer and even a friend/close person. The data for Breznik are similar.

"I was like that and stayed with my finger in my mouth. They took my wife and I lost my job. I had a hard time getting money to get home."

"My father is now in Germany and he is in a similar situation, we are collecting money to send him home to Bulgaria."

„My father gathered 4 people, went to England with arranged accommodation, worked for 1 month in construction and they did not pay them. We collected money to get them home.“

"My cousin went away and was left to live in the fields, he stayed for 2 weeks and came home, his wife sent him money."

"Groups of people from the neighbourhood go to 3 countries – the UK, France and Germany, organized by people in the neighborhood and they mislead our boys."

"Many of my acquaintances were lied to, misled, because they trusted the wrong people."

"A lot of people in the neighborhood were lied to this way. My partner's entire family went abroad. For some it worked, for some it didn't, it's luck."

"My parents trusted acquaintances and went abroad by signing a work contract in advance, but it turned out to be fake and they returned to Bulgaria."

"My husband was like that. A man from the neighborhood lied to him, he didn't want to go, but we had a lot of loans and he left. In the end we regretted it, but it was too late."

"My husband went to work, his mother's relatives arranged for him. When he went, they wanted to make him a pimp and he refused and returned home. He doesn't want to go abroad anymore."

"A friend left with a secured job, but there nothing is as promised."

"People go on trust and there are Bulgarians who arrange people and then leave them on the street.“

The respondents from Tran demonstrate a significant deviation – most do not wish to go abroad, but they also do not state knowledge of the risk of falling into an unfavourable situation. Among the respondents from Tran, there is another interesting deviation - 12 out of 49 respondents stated their desire if they could choose where to exercise the desired (dream) profession, that is the city in which they currently live. Probably, to some extent, this sense of belonging to the local community and, more generally, to the city, has a restraining effect, so that they do not want to go abroad.

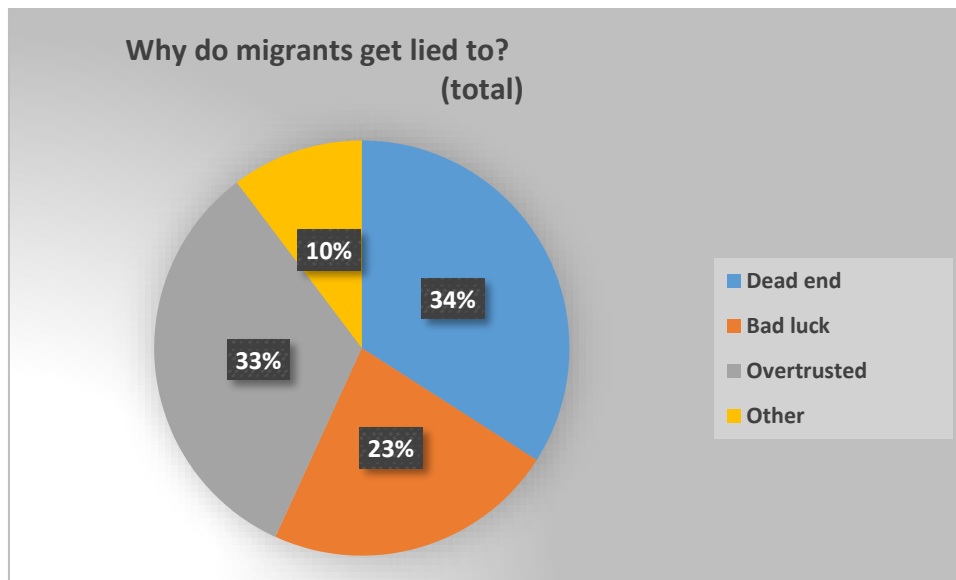
How do the respondents explain what happened to such people - do they think of it as bad luck has befallen them ("it happens"), or as a bad decision on their part ("they over trusted", "they are stupid"), or as a result of no other option - a de facto compulsion to take risks in order to survive. The question is "Why do you think this happened to them?" and the results for the whole population are in *Table 10*.

Table 10. Why do migrants get lied to?

	Number ⁸	Percentage
1 they are too poor	112	26,9%
2 they have a lot of children to look after	30	7,2%
3 they had no reason to doubt when going abroad	95	22,8%
4 they did not research, they trusted random people	137	32,9%
5 other	43	10,3%
Total	417	100,0%

If we combine answers 1 and 2 under the answer "no other option", we label answer 3 as 'bad luck', answer 4 as 'they overtrusted' we will get the following distribution for the whole population: almost equally distributed answers between "no other option" and "overtrusted", with 10% less for "bad luck" (here and in the following figures in "other" we can almost equally recognize each of these three responses).

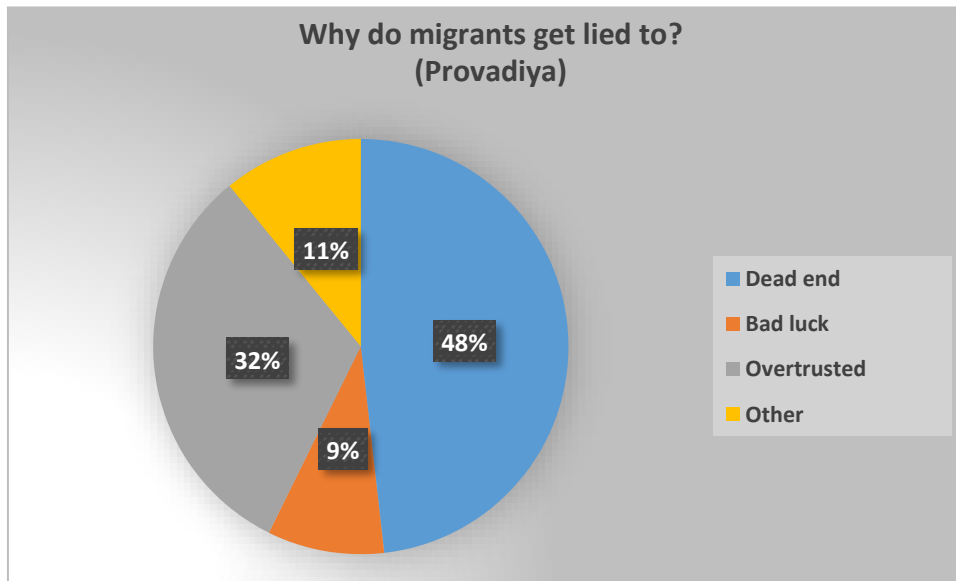
Figure 1



The deviations in places are significant. For example, in Provadiya, almost half of the responses fall under the answer of "dead end", while bad luck is given less of a role in the occurrence of adversity abroad.

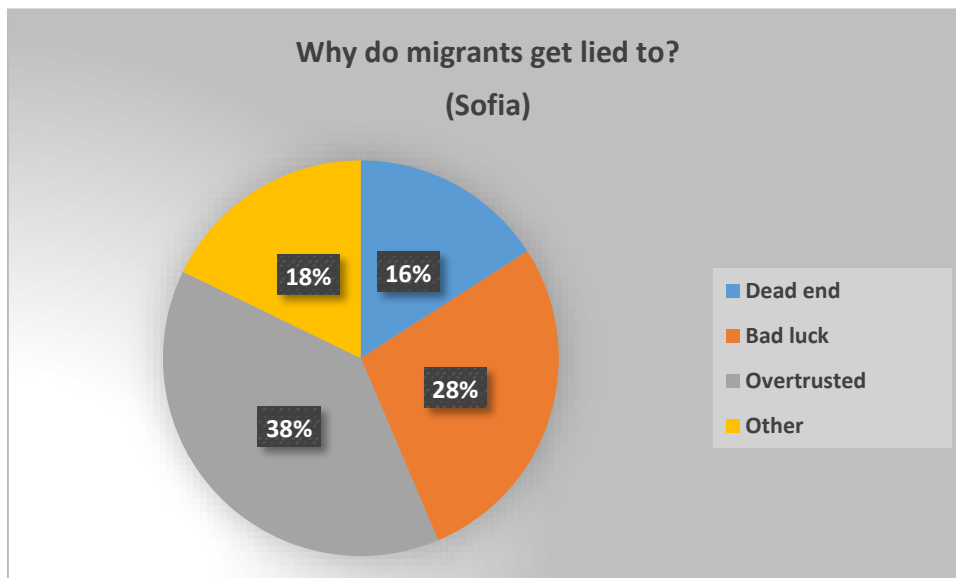
⁸ The answers are more than the number of respondents, as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Figure 2.



And the respondents from Sofia are significantly less inclined to explain the misfortune that happened to some people with a "dead end" - the prevailing opinion is that for the misfortunes when migrating abroad are the responsibility of the migrant.

Figure 3.



Asked to imagine how they would deal with a similar situation ("What would you do/who would you turn to for help if you imagined yourself in such a situation?"), Harmanli respondents, a large proportion of whom live abroad or plan to leave, give a clear preference to local institutions (56.4% of responses) and not a single respondent imagines that they would turn to

a Bulgarian institution for help; and ¼ of the respondents are convinced that they cannot find themselves in such a situation. While the responses of the respondents from Tran, which, as we have seen no plan to migrate abroad and some of them are strongly attached to the local community/city, they are almost equally divided between "I will seek help from relatives and friends" (33.9%) and "I will turn to Bulgarian institutions" (29.0%), only one respondent believes that he cannot find himself in such a situation.

Returning to the question of what accounts for the significant variance in Harmanli respondents' results regarding willingness and planning to migrate, there is reason to assume that for unknown reasons (impossible to ascertain with the present study) the migrants from the neighborhood did not face serious problems abroad and, accordingly, knowledge of the risk of fraud (from the organizer, employer) is not spread among the people of the neighborhoods. Is this due to the stability and correctness of the networks they fall into abroad and/or to local characteristics of the Roma community? This question deserves further investigation.

3.6. What is “human trafficking”?

With a few questions, we want to find out what the respondents associate with the broadly used phrase “trafficking in human beings” (“people smuggling”), how they treat “victims' of trafficking”. We assumed that "human trafficking" was mostly associated with refugees/foreigners, especially by respondents in Harmanli, where one of the so-called refugee centers (Registration and reception center - Harmanli) is located.

We meet the refugees everywhere, in the shops, in the parks. They are not bad people. We have heard that the rates are from 5 to 10,000 euros for marriages between refugees and Bulgarians. (FG)

The results are surprising: it is the respondents from Harmanli when asked "What do you imagine when you hear "human trafficking"?", answer "no" (whatever that means!), "I don't know", "I haven't heard" - a total of 81 respondents (the rest differently "thinking" of "people who deal with/smuggle refugees") and a total of 89 respondents gave the same answers to the question "What do you think about people who say they are "victims of trafficking"?". The only explanation for these responses to both questions seems to be: **avoidance** of response due to reluctance to share knowledge of existing traffic/traffickers.

However, two respondents share their personal experience: "I was a victim, it was hell and a big nightmare, it was very difficult to get rid of it", "Yes, I personally experienced it on my back. Something very bad, I don't wish it to anyone."

In the other districts, only few of the respondents answered "I don't know" to these questions. Their answers to the open question of "human trafficking" can be summarized in several groups:

- ✓ Part of the respondents emphasize on the perpetrators. They are bandits, liars "people who are involved in human trafficking", "human organ abusers", "illegal mobsters", "mobsters", "drug traffickers", "people who help refugees" (only about 10 answers in the whole population!);
- ✓ Part of the respondents remember the victims. They are "women who are forced into prostitution", "undocumented people who are lied to", "kidnapped from their countries for beggars, for transplants", "people in a dead end", "refugees" (only about 20 responses in the whole sample!)
- ✓ Part of the respondents rather describe the activity: "fraud", "everything that is illegal", "extracting and selling female flesh", prostitution, "kidnapping small children", "torturing people".

In most cases, the attitude of the respondents to the people who say that they are "victims of trafficking", is pity - expressed directly with this word, or implied: "people who are stuck, with no choice", "forced by poverty", "unfortunate people". But there are also several answers, in which we can rather read overlooking: "simple people, they have overtrusted", illiterate/ stupid/ foolish/ incompetent/ lazy people. And there are answers that question

their self-definition as victims: "they pay a lot of money to get out, and then they have no way out", "they did it to themselves", "they deserve everything that happens to them", "I think that they lie, that they are looking for trouble ", "this is very nasty, but this cannot happen without the consent of the person, they are not victims".

The answers to these two questions point to the need for explanatory work on the subject, which could be formulated as follows:

Human trafficking - a crime and personal responsibility.

Despite our assumption that respondents would "think" of refugees when answering the "trafficking in persons" question, we also included a direct question on "trafficking of foreign nationals/refugees". As is clear from the above data, the number of cases in which respondents associate "human trafficking" with refugees is insignificant.

And the answers to the question "Have you heard about trafficking of foreign citizens/refugees?" from the respondents in Harmanli are surprising again: only 5 respondents answered "yes" and 95 respondents answered "no"! And if these answers reinforce the explanation given above for the avoidance of an answer about "human trafficking", the avoidance of a positive answer to the question "Have you met refugees in Bulgaria?" has no explanation. Everyone knows - no matter how incorrect such a statement is in principle - that there is a refugee center in Harmanli and that it is inevitable to meet foreign nationals (easily recognized in appearance) that are accommodated in it. And there are only four positive answers to this question: "Harmanli has many refugees", "Harmanli, when I return in the summer there are many refugees, there is a camp" (from Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran). To the question "And have you heard of cases of people from the neighborhood marrying refugees in order to legalize their residence in Bulgaria or for love?", which we included precisely because we had preliminary information that there are such cases in various Roma neighborhoods and this is not a secret, the respondents who answered positively in Harmanli are only 6: 2 "for love", 3 "for citizenship" and one "there is, but most do not admit it".

The responses of respondents from the other neighborhoods again differed from those of respondents from Harmanli but in general it is strange that only 35.1% of respondents (139 people) answered positively to the question of whether they had heard of trafficking of foreign

citizens/refugees and of these only 54 respondents have met such ("in the neighborhood", in other Bulgarian cities, abroad). It is not surprising that the largest share of respondents from Sofia know about trafficking of foreign citizens/refugees, have met them and have heard about cases of marriages with foreign citizens. It is not surprising, not only because the neighborhood is larger than the others, and Sofia is a significantly larger and more colorful city than the others, but also because it is "known" that several Sofia neighborhoods are distribution points for the traffickers.

3.7. If they had a choice - what occupation would they choose and where would they like to do it??

With the last two questions, we suggest that the respondents imagine that it is possible for them alone to decide what to do and where to live while doing it. In a sense, we offer them to dream. We realize that it is difficult to imagine such a situation when you are unemployed or forced by circumstances to initially be deprived of the opportunity to make a choice; when everyday you face the difficulties of providing means of survival - to yourself and to your family; when you are uneducated and you understand that it is inevitable that your options for choosing an occupation are limited... Despite these restrictions on dreaming, more or less common to respondents from the five localities, the results by location are significantly different. Here we will outline only specifics by location in four positions: rejection of a "dream", dreaming of a "good"/"prestigious"/high-paying job, and the polar "dreams" - low-skilled activities-highly specialized professions.

✓ **Rejection of a "dream"**: in both groups - married, unmarried - in all places there are respondents who answer with "whatever", "whatever there is", "all for the money", "I want to find a job", "it is not time for me to dream";

✓ **Dream of a "normal"/high-paid job**: the accumulation of similar responses among married respondents from Harmanli - 37 in total, and among the unmarried respondents - 9 in total, is striking. Similar responses are absent elsewhere.

✓ **"Selection" of low-skilled jobs** ("washer", "hygienist", in a factory/ kitchen/ hospital): mainly among the married in Breznik (8 people), Tran (13 people), Sofia (17 people), but in Provadiya - only 3 people, and in Harmanli - there is not a single one.

✓ **Selection of highly specialized professions** (agronomist, journalist, teacher, "chef", but also "own business"): mainly among the unmarried in Breznik (13 people), Tran (9 people), Provadiya (15 people), but only one in Harmanli.

Regarding the choice of a place to realize the "dream" (with or without quotes) occupation/profession, we could interpret the answers more generally - as a choice of a place to live. The results are interesting in themselves, but it is more important to see what share of those who plan to migrate abroad would like to live in Bulgaria. We could define them as "migrants forced by the circumstances/unemployment".

Two examples of a desirable place to live: Sofia, where we registered the lowest readiness for migration among respondents, and Harmanli, where the planned migration of respondents is most strongly represented.

Figure 4.

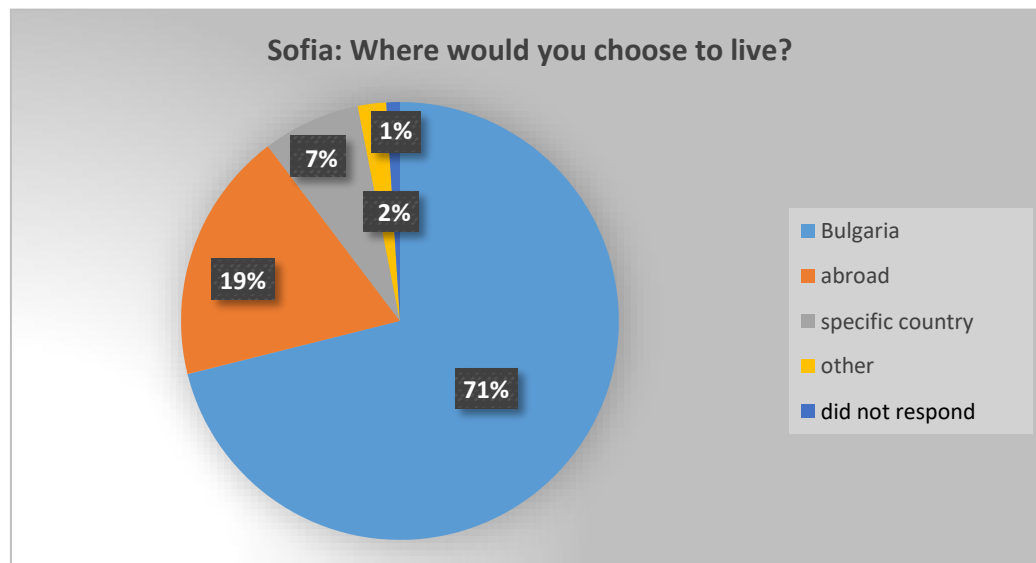
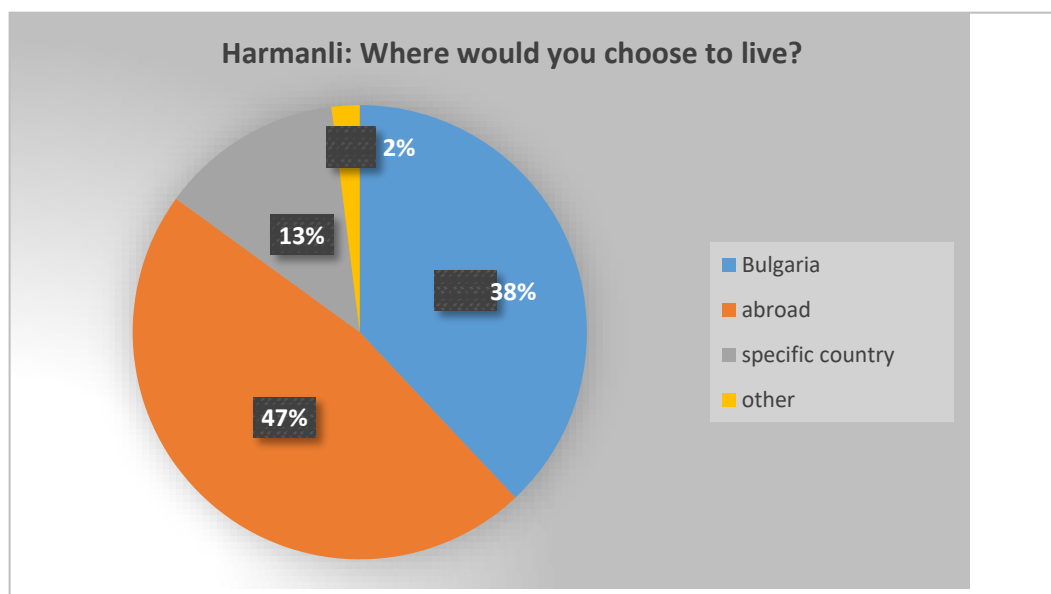


Figure 5.



The difference between the respondents from Sofia and the respondents from Harmanli regarding the choice of place of residence is visible. And yet, there are respondents from Harmanli who plan to migrate abroad (or live abroad) but indicate Bulgaria as a desirable place to live; there are respondents from Sofia who do not plan to migrate but their desire is to live abroad. Let's see what the shares are in both cases.

- ✓ In Harmanli: 29 respondents out of 90 who plan to migrate abroad wish to live in Bulgaria (in Provadiya: 12 respondents out of 46 who plan to migrate abroad wish to live in Bulgaria);
- ✓ In Sofia: 5 respondents out of 44 unwilling to go abroad would like to live abroad.

We can define as **forced to migrate** (in search of work, of better living conditions) about 1/3 of respondents from Harmanli and about ¼ of respondents from Provadiya planning to migrate.

A small share of respondents from Sofia who do not wish to go abroad dream of living abroad.

Conclusion

Over 85% of the respondents indicate as the main characteristic of life in the past year in the conditions of a pandemic, the growing unemployment and its related consequences. And the results of a study by the "Open Society - Sofia" Institute, conducted in 2021,⁹ show that the main concern of the residents of Roma neighborhoods is to be unemployed - whether due to the suspension of production, layoffs or due to measures restricting the movement. Many of the people working abroad have kept their jobs or received financial compensation for limited/suspended production, supported their family in Bulgaria; others have lost the opportunity to work, have returned to Bulgaria, but at the first sign of finding work abroad, they become migrants again.

Lack of work and/or adequate wages is a major motivation for migration.

But also the main risk for the migrant - the one forced by the lack of means of livelihood for the family can hardly make a thoughtful and careful choice of an opportunity to provide for them. And there is hardly a range of possibilities to choose from.

The point is not to scare people with possible migration risks, so that they don't migrate. The aim of the future activities of the project is to support them with knowledge and skills so that they can minimize the risk of fraud and improper treatment of organizers/employers, to know their legal employment rights and related insurances. But also to be aware of the responsibilities they assume before the institutions of the foreign country; to know and follow the rules in the new conditions.

If there is work here, no one will go abroad, everyone will be here in Bulgaria, but they don't have work and people are running away... And if they call me now, I will go again, they don't pay, but I will leave again. (FG)

⁹ See e.g. "Covid-19 in Roma neighborhoods in Bulgaria (March - December 2020)", Institute "Open Society - Sofia" (<https://osis.bg/?p=3926>).

Not a weaker incentive for migration is **the poor living conditions in some neighborhoods** and the knowledge of living conditions abroad (despite the difficulties in finding accommodation and work). It is clear that getting acquainted with the living conditions "there" (especially in childhood), returning to the neighborhood here and comparing strengthens the desire for next migration.

But the unfavourable experience abroad - personal or that of a loved one, the fear of repeated disadvantage or concerns that "it could happen to me too", suppresses the desire to migrate abroad. Examples of fraud, involvement in traffic, non-fulfilment of agreed conditions for work and housing are found in all neighborhoods. The combination of persistent unemployment and fear/ apprehension of migrating to secure a better life is harmful to every person. We will repeat: the aim is not to spread these examples in order to weaken the desire for labor migration, but to help avoid the risks when a person is forced by circumstances to look for work elsewhere and/ or has the desire to "try their luck" elsewhere.

*

*

*

The data from the survey allows for the formulation of several themes on which to focus the next activities of the project:

1. What is "legitimate work"?

Respondents from both groups – those planning to migrate abroad and those not planning – mention "legitimate" work as a modifier of work they would accept. However, how do they interpret the legality of the work? Whether only as the opposite of illegal work (involvement in trafficking, prostitution, drug distribution, etc.), i.e. solely as a modifier of the activity, or understand that the residence in abroad is limited by various conditions, which - if not fulfilled - becomes illegal; that an important determinant of the legality of the work is also the terms of employment - if there are none a written contract between an employee and an employer, the employee is not protected by the law in case of breach of the verbal contract by the employer; etc.

2. What are the conditions for legal residence in the EU countries and what specific requirements for the migrants as well as what migrant rights exist in them.

The emphasis could be placed on the EU countries which, in the respective locality, according to the research data, are the residents' usual destinations for migrating. Even if this turns out to be untrue and those to plan to migrate have turned to another country/s, in the course of the discussion it could be also attracted additional information about them. The important thing is to provoke people's interest in obtaining specific and useful knowledge for them.

3. What does "secured" work mean?

There is a large share of respondents planning to migrate abroad who state that "they have a secure job". Some of them are temporary returnees, for whom it is clear that they have received permission from their employers to be absent and will return to the same job. But for others? Did someone promise them something? Did they sign a contract? The data show that trust in relatives is extremely high both for getting help in any problem situations and for finding a job. But relatives are rarely employers. They may want and make efforts to "secure" a job, but they are more or less limited in these efforts, so they could hardly be sure of the positive outcome from them.

4. Human trafficking – a crime and personal responsibility.

The surprising data from Harmanli as well as the general lack of association of "human trafficking" with foreign nationals/refugees, gives reason to believe that the topic is being avoided either due to fear of sharing knowledge of trafficking cases/local traffickers or because of accepting "human trafficking" as a fact of life. In all cases, it is necessary to find a suitable key to freely discuss the topic and to clarify the main legal concepts and norms as well as for familiarization with institutions to which a person can turn for help when he has fallen into a network of traffickers.

Finally, a suggestion that goes beyond the aims and objectives of the project but fits into the deeper meaning of both the project and the IOM: to establish a closer cooperation between the IOM missions within the EU to support the intra-EU migration of citizens from Member States.

Like an initial step in this direction, within the project framework a team meeting could be organized with IOM representatives from the countries where there are the most migrants from the Roma neighborhoods targeted by the project.