

INTRODUCTION

1. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.1. The concept of the research

What are the new challenges women face today, how they cope with them, what they need in order to improve their situation and to realize successfully themselves at work, in public life, in the family. These are some of the major questions, this project tried to find answers of. It was conducted in Bulgaria, Kazakhstan and Hungary with the UNIFEM's financial support.

The goal of the project is to study the issues, expectations and new roles of women at work and in the family regarding the dynamics of the global transformations in all spheres of public life. It also aims to assist women's access to the globalizing labour market, as well as to contribute to improvement women's opportunities for a free choice and decent work and family realization.

For this purpose, a team of experts and highly qualified researchers conducted a large-scale in-depth survey, applying up to the modern world standards quantitative and qualitative methods. Within the project, a lot of empirical information was collected, systematized and analyzed, the main part of which is presented in this report. The received findings could be implemented in forming of data base on women's problems, improving the methodology for collecting statistical information by gender, as well as for designing an employment policy accounting of the specific features of men and women, which may be implemented by both government and non-government organizations.

The concept of the survey was developed and specified through a series of discussions and actualizing of the main hypotheses. After a detailed analysis of theory, publications and available analyses on the topic, three main research hypotheses have been formulated.

The first hypothesis is that, the processes of worldwide globalization and economic, social and cultural transformations and reforms in the country change substantially the distribution of roles between men and women, adding more and more responsibilities for women.

The second hypothesis is that, as a result of the hard transition to market economy, women have more limited access to the labour market, but at the same time they are more adaptive and combinative compare to men.

The third is that, in comparison with men, women are more strongly injured considering payment, employment, holding high posts, as well as distribution of household labour. Women are more likely to fall in the poverty trap than men are and all this requires the employment policies and the strategies for improving the quality of life in the country to be specified by gender.

The research team implemented a complex approach to verify the hypotheses which elaboration passes through the following stages:

At the first stage, the concept of the survey was defined with the participation of authorized representatives of the three countries included in the project – Bulgaria, Kazakhstan and Hungary. This was made on a three-day workshop in Plovdiv in February 2001.

At the second stage, a consultative council to the main research team has been formed, in which experts from the academic community, from different government and business institutions have been involved. The aim of the council was to contribute to the improving of work on the project at each phase.

At the third stage, with the help of the consultative council, the research methods were defined and the organization plan of the survey was approved. The team working on the project orientated toward conducting a large-scale survey on the theme, including quantitative and qualitative world standard methods.

At the fourth stage, the research tools for conducting of the qualitative phase of the survey were designed and discussed – in-depth individual and group interviews, focus-groups, case-studies, content-analyses.

At the fifth stage, tools for conducting of the quantitative research were designed on the basis of findings from the previous, the qualitative phase, and from a systematization of statistical data.

The sixth stage covered collecting, processing and analyses of the social information received from a national representative survey of the whole population in the country aged 18 and older.

During *the seventh stage* of the survey, series of discussions and presentations have been organized, where the research findings were presented and popularized. At a one-day workshop in November 2001, the main results of the survey were discussed with the consultative council and with other experts. In December, a four-day national dialogue has been organized, where a wider range of participants were invited with whom the research findings and main conclusions, as well as the political recommendations toward the government and the authorities, were discussed¹. At the beginning of March 2002, a special scientific and practical conference was organized by the Agency for social analyses (ASA) together with CITUB, where the findings of the project have been presented and discussed. The media has broadly presented the project and the received findings as well.

1.2. Research methods and approaches

In order to attain the main objective of the survey, the research team has orientated toward collecting quantitative and qualitative information through the following methods:

- *Statistical data analysis*

The research work started with a detailed desk research on the available statistical data on women's status in the labour market over the period of active transformations in the country. Data from the National statistical institute have been processed and systematized considering activity rate, employment rate, unemployment rate by gender and in different dimensions (by level of education, age, family status) for the period 1993-2000². The whole information was processed for the same period by gender and demographic indicators.

- *Individual and group in-depth interviews with women from different social categories*

On the basis of the already outlined trends, the team designed the methodology for the first (qualitative) phase of the survey. For specifying the main challenges women face, which to be measured later with quantitative methods, series of different types of qualitative surveys were conducted:

- 11 in-depth interviews with experts from different institutions and with different roles in the process of transformations of society – politicians on national and regional level, representatives of government and non-government organizations, of trade-unions and employers, of academic and scientific community.
- 7 focus-groups with representatives of employed and unemployed women, of young women before the start of their working career and with women before retirement, and with Romany women, as well, conducted in different settlements in the country (village, small town, big town)
- Expert evaluations by specialists from the government and non-government sector, from trade unions, employers, university professors and researchers.

¹ The lists with the names of the included in the Consultative council, as well as of the participants in the National dialogue and in the one-day workshop are given in Appendix №1 and in Appendix №2.

² The main tables with statistical information for the pointed period are given in Appendix №5.

- Case study in typologically selected units from the bank sector. This type of survey was organized and conducted on the special insistence of experts from UNIFEM³.

- *National representative survey*

After the analysis of the received data, the research team realized the next phase – qualitative survey. In order to measure the registered during the first two phases problems of women at work and in the family, a national representative survey with the following main characteristics was conducted:

Sample type – two-stage cluster sample, through which 100 clusters from the whole country have been selected, where in each cluster 12 respondents have been studied.

Selection of respondents – Leslie Kish’s scheme.

Sample size – 1093 Bulgarian citizens from the whole country aged 18 or older.

Main fieldwork method – in-depth individual interview by living place of residence

Data processing – SPSS’8 for Windows.

Data analysis – Cluster analysis, Factor analysis, Correspondence analysis.

In the present report, the main findings of the analysis of the generalized empirical (both qualitative and quantitative) and statistical information are presented. In appendices statistical data are given, as well as explanations of the applied methodology.

2. GLOBALIZATION AS A CHALLENGE IN FRONT OF WOMEN’S EMPLOYMENT

Mostly pointed out, answering the question “what is globalization?” is the contribution of globalization to the worldwide economic development - increased economic integration between people living in different countries⁴(1), consolidating of national economies⁵(2) and on this basis – stable trade; extended political and cultural dialogue and confirmed world peace. The pessimism, concerning the opportunities globalization to improve living conditions in the long run, results from the assessment that not all countries could make use of its advantages.

The estimations of economic globalization agree that it refers to active international trade, direct investments, production and world markets integration⁶. The intensity of world trade as a share of exports and imports of GDP increases from 27% to 39% during the period 1987-1997. Only for the developing countries the increase is from 10% to 17%. (3)⁷.

Foreign direct investment flow has grown nearly three-fold over the period 1988-1998 (from 192 billion to 610 billion U.S. dollars). The developing countries have received about one third of these investments (4)⁸. Together with these direct deposits an intensive international trade on capital markets was observed, including developing countries.

³ The main results from the conducted case-study are given in Appendix №3.

⁴ (1) Assessing Globalization, Breifing Papers, World Bank Working Group, 2001. www.worldbank.org/html/pb/globalization/index.htm

⁵ (2) Globalization: Threat or Opportunity?, By IMF Staff, 01/2001. www.imf.org/external/index.htm

⁶ In historical plan, the process took place during the last two decades. In the latter half of 19-th century trade was greatly expanding; after World War II to the end of 1960’s followed a serious transnational production integration; and in 1980’s - financial decentralization and integration. After 1980’s a process of global integration on all fronts was realized. At the same time a reduction in duties, escalation in foreign direct investments and merging financial markets continued.

⁷ (3) World Bank’s World Development Indicators 2000.

⁸ (4) Gough, Jan and Kevin Farnsworth (2000) ‘The enhanced structural power of capital: a review and assessment’, in Jan Gough, Global Capital, Human Needs and Social Policies: Selected Essays 1994-99. Macmillan

Nowadays, the economic strength of a country depends on its position in the globalizing world. This means that if a country has been trying to reach an economic prosperity and well-being of its citizens, it should situate itself in the international networks in a way, which would assure effective contacts of its production factors and would maximize its access to markets⁹. If such networks do not exist – it is necessary their establishment to be initiated by a useful for development way.

At the same time the power of the world capital has been increasing compare to that of separate countries or other actors in civil society like trade unions, for example. In this way, the so-called capital “structural power”, and particularly business finance opportunities to influence directly state politics, has been stabilized. The big capital has always aspired to such influence. Its realization has a negative effect on “economically and political weak” subjects, as well as when studying the world processes. With regard to this fact, are the comments on deviding world economy into a small number of economic leadres and the majority – on developing economies working to provide the resources they need.

As the term globalization itself and the social roles of women, outlining the eventual changes in women’s positions (roles) in the contemporary globalizing world also has several aspects as well. In conformity with the objectives of the present research more attention deserves the relation “globalization – opportunities of employment of women”. It is not a question of direct cause-and-effect connection but of mutually connected relations.

In Bulgaria, the share of employed women was 46.7% of all the employed in 2000. Women prevail in branches like education (79.6%); health and social work (75.7%); financial intermediation (61.7%); hotels and restaurants (57.7%); trade and repairing activities (51,4%)¹⁰.

Basic share of GDP growth rate have trade and repairing activities; transport; manufacturing and power production (Table 1). There are branches which, although with temporal success, started generating employment, such as electricity, gas and water supply; trade and services; transport.

Table 1. GDP growth rate and employment growth rate by economic activity groupings and sector, 1997-2000. (5)¹¹

| | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 |
|---|-----------------|-------|------|-------|------------------------|------|-------|-------|
| | GDP growth rate | | | | Employment growth rate | | | |
| Agriculture | 32.9 | 1.4 | 0.6 | -10.1 | 0.0 | 3.1 | -3.6 | -1.2 |
| Industry | -11.3 | 4.3 | -4.4 | 15.3 | -5.6 | -4.4 | -7.7 | -10.2 |
| Mining and quarrying | -7.3 | 3.0 | -1.3 | -4.2 | -6.9 | -8.4 | -12.3 | -18.4 |
| Manufacturing | -14.9 | 6.5 | 5.9 | 19.5 | -3.8 | -3.9 | -9.9 | -11.1 |
| Electricity, gas and water supply | 23.7 | -5.2 | 0.5 | 14.7 | 2.3 | -1.0 | 1.1 | 1.1 |
| Construction | -21.4 | 5.8 | -3.6 | 5.9 | -16.3 | -7.1 | 2.3 | -7.9 |
| Services | -19.3 | 0.5 | 5.8 | 7.8 | -2.9 | -1.8 | 2.9 | -3.1 |
| Trade; repairing activities | -33.4 | 6.9 | 1.9 | 25.0 | -3.4 | 8.7 | 5.1 | -0.4 |
| Transport, communications | 1.7 | -3.2 | 5.2 | 22.7 | -9.5 | 3.7 | -1.5 | -4.9 |
| Financial intermediation | -74.6 | -13.4 | 44.6 | 6.9 | -6.8 | -5.9 | -8.2 | -6.6 |
| Other community, social and personal service activities | -1.9 | 0.8 | 4.3 | 0.9 | -0.4 | -7.1 | 3.8 | -3.7 |

Source: Statistical Yearbook, 2001, NSI.

⁹ On practice this usually means providing circumstances (special incentives) for including big national companies (and other economic subjects) in the world networks of these producers.

¹⁰ Източник: Заетост и безработица, 3/00, Изд. на НСИ.

¹¹ (5) Цанов Б, П. Луканова, Макроикономически взаимодействия на безработицата в България, колективна монография, 2001 г., (под печат).

In the short-term, on basis of the contribution of industries to GDP growth rate, the alterations in employment in general and the structure of female employment, we could expect new working places for women in trade and manufacturing industry, (the share of employed women in the latter is high although not prevailing). Education and health care are in process of reconstructing and decreasing of employment rate. Financial intermediation is intensifying its activities. The other branches have potential for expansion but only after a reconstruction and investments.

What are the possible perspectives before these female employment structures in terms of the future more intensive globalization of economy in the country? To answer this question, it is necessary to outline the present stage of globalization and its perspectives.

The main universally recognized indicators characterising the integration degree in the world economic structures are several: 1) intensity of participation in the world trade flows; 2) volume and intensity of investment inflow and outflow (mainly direct); 3) number and volume of foreign physical and juridical persons deposits in local banks.

There are also many other indicators for economic stability of the country, of banking stability, of political sustainability, of adequacy of the industrial policy, etc. For the purpose of the current research however two main groups of indicators are used:

- Intensity of the export and the situation of the balance of trade,
- Direct foreign investments to Bulgaria.

The foreign trade turnover has increased in 2000 (11,1 billion USD). The growth was by 18% as compared to 1999. The export volume reached 4.8 billion USD and the import volume - 6.4 billion USD (an increase respectively by 19,9% and 16,6 % compared to 1999). The registered negative balance (1.6 billion USD), however, was the highest since the beginning of transition period. The changes in the commodity structure of trade are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Commodity structure of trade in 1992 – 2000. (%) (6)¹²

| Commodity groups | Export | | Import | |
|--|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | 1992-1999 | 2000 | 1992-1999 | 2000 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Base metals and articles thereof | 18.8 | 20.8 | 6.3 | 6.2 |
| Chemical products | 13.2 | 10.4 | 9.4 | 7.5 |
| Food industry products | 11.8 | 4.9 | 5.0 | 3.0 |
| Textiles and articles thereof | 11.1 | 17.4 | 9.3 | 11.4 |
| Machinery, electrical machines and equipment parts thereof | 10.6 | 9.1 | 14.8 | 17.2 |
| Mineral products | 9.4 | 17.0 | 32.5 | 31.3 |
| Vegetable products | 4.4 | 3.4 | 1.8 | 1.3 |
| Plastics and articles thereof | 3.7 | 2.7 | 3.6 | 3.9 |
| Live animals | 3.1 | 1.8 | 1.2 | .9 |
| Transport equipment | 2.6 | 0.7 | 5.9 | 8.2 |
| Other | 11.3 | 11.8 | 10.2 | 9.1 |

Source: NSI

¹² (6) Узунов Стефан, Външна търговия, платежен баланс и външен дълг в: Икономиката на България до 2003 г., в. Пари, 28 юни 2001 г.

An increased concentration of the export volume in 2000 was observed (growth by 21.6% by prices for 1999). The first ten commodity groups formed 60.3% of the export compared with 51.8% in 1999. The highest was the growth in textiles – by 24%; mineral products – 35%; metals and chemical products - 50%¹³. The import volume (again by prices for 1999) is increasing by 22.8%. By commodity groups, the highest import growth was in metals (by 54%), timber (by 43%) and chemical products (by 30%).

The export value for the countries members of OECD and EU increased by 5.3% as that in 1999. The structure of export by countries was oriented to Italy and Turkey (25% of the export for 2000).

Bulgaria possesses comparative advantages in foreign trade which could be outlined on basis of calculated contribution to trade balance indexes (Table 3).

Таблица 3: Specialization of the candidate countries (contribution of basic commodities to trade balance index)*

| <i>STTC</i> | <i>P ol an d</i> | <i>Cze ch Re pub lic</i> | <i>Slo vak ia</i> | <i>Hu nga ry</i> | <i>Ro ma nia</i> | <i>Bul gar ia</i> | <i>Tur key</i> | <i>Slo ven ia</i> | <i>Est oni a</i> | <i>Lat via</i> | <i>Lit hua nia</i> | <i>Ma lta</i> | <i>Cy pru s</i> |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|--|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Cork and wood | 2 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 72 | 97 | 13 | 0 | -1 |
| Metal ores | 1 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | -1 | 15 | 4 | 16 | 1 | 1 |
| Oil | -2 | -3 | 1 | 3 | -2 | -3 | -1 | -7 | 14 | 18 | 12 | -28 | -5 |
| Fertilizers | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 0 |
| Products of wood and cork | 5 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 7 | 16 | 20 | 4 | -1 | -1 |
| Iron and steel | 1 | 1 | 11 | -3 | 5 | 18 | 2 | -2 | -8 | 3 | -2 | -3 | -1 |
| Non-ferrous metals | 4 | -3 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 20 | 0 | 7 | 1 | 3 | -1 | 0 | 1 |
| Power production machines | 0 | 0 | -9 | 43 | 1 | 1 | -2 | -1 | -1 | -4 | -2 | -3 | 5 |
| General industrial machines | -7 | -4 | -11 | -15 | -5 | -5 | -5 | -4 | -13 | -14 | -11 | -7 | -3 |
| Office machines | -4 | -7 | -2 | 17 | -3 | -5 | -3 | -6 | -5 | -10 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| Telecommunication | -1 | -9 | -7 | 11 | -7 | -9 | -5 | -7 | 37 | -10 | -4 | -2 | -3 |
| Electric machines | 1 | -3 | -3 | -1 | -6 | -7 | -3 | 15 | -62 | -14 | -3 | 16 | -3 |
| Road vehicles | -2 | 26 | 40 | -26 | -7 | -16 | -4 | 11 | -24 | -19 | -9 | -12 | 9 |
| Furniture, blankets, mattresses | 11 | 9 | 3 | 2 | 10 | 2 | 0 | 21 | 24 | 6 | 6 | 1 | -1 |
| Clothing | 13 | 6 | 18 | 16 | 55 | 42 | 31 | 15 | 27 | 25 | 36 | 52 | 5 |
| Footwear | 1 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 15 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 2 | -1 | 1 | 10 | -1 |
| Scientific material | -2 | -4 | -6 | -3 | -3 | -3 | -2 | 1 | -3 | -4 | -3 | 11 | 1 |

Source: Eurostat

The contribution of a commodity to trade balance shows the net export of this commodity as thousandths of GDP in comparison with its share of the theoretical trade balance if there was no specialization for the particular commodity. It is calculated as:

¹³ Exactly this increase of chemical products export is the reason for the changed export structure. tobacco and wood products drop out of the group of the first 10 commodity groups. Their place is taken by products of chemical industry (fertilisers and others).

$((E-I) - [(E-I) * ((E+I)/(E+I))] * 1000 / \text{GDP}$, where E is export, I – is import, GDP – Gross Domestic Product

Bulgaria has unfavorable foreign trade specialization. Basic contribution have metals (ferrous and non-ferrous), followed by clothing¹⁴. This structure of contribution provides an opportunity of expanding women's employment in wearing industry.

The foreign direct investments (FDI) inflow (table 4) still remains unfavorable. For the period 1992 – 2000 it reached 4 billion USD. According to data from the Bulgarian Foreign Investments Agency the inflow of FDI was oriented to manufacturing; trade and repairing activities; transport and communications. The investments in the first two branches would be of great importance for women's employment considering the structure of female labour.

Table 4. Foreign direct investments in non-finance enterprises as of 31.12 by economic activity groupings (thousands USD)

| <i>Economic activity groupings</i> | <i>1997</i> | <i>1998</i> | <i>1999</i> |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Total | 821066.0 | 1417954.7 | 1779914.0 |
| Agriculture, forestry | 1255 | 3128.4 | 4822.2 |
| Mining and quarrying | 27846 | 22816.7 | 13975.3 |
| Manufacturing | 320321 | 789732.5 | 1016253.7 |
| Electricity, gas and water supply | 34 | 52.9 | |
| Construction | 40993 | 20598.7 | 35607.3 |
| Trade, repairing activities | 228140 | 367681.3 | 390975.7 |
| Hotels and restaurants | 11494 | 34350.9 | 45174.4 |
| Transport and communications | 132646 | 89534.4 | 195636.9 |
| Real estate, renting and business activities | 47720 | 77267.7 | 69855.3 |
| Education | 5086 | 5349.8 | 6127.9 |
| Health and social work | 28 | 75.9 | |
| Other community, social and person services activities | 5503 | 7365.5 | 1386.6 |

Source: Statistical Yearbook, 2000, p. 183

There are general opportunities to stimulate women's employment in trade sector. They could be extended after using the investments for setting up a new, re-constructing and improving the existing road network, development of communications, services and foreign tourists flow.

Entering upon the international capital markets with an eurobonds emission was an important step for the country, as a part of the globalizing world (12.11.2001). After seven days, Sofia Stock Exchange started secondary trade with these first eurobonds. As a result the credit rating of Bulgaria has been increased.

Although only generally introduced, trade and investment indicators mark rather unfavorable conclusions for the position of Bulgaria in Europe and in the World. The country is still economically weak so as to profit by the globalization advantages. For the present moment it is more important to minimize the negative effects of globalization and to stabilize the national economy.

Regarding women's employment, the economic globalization till this moment has stimulated their participation in wearing industry and in the sphere of trade and services. There are threats which

¹⁴Wearing industry in Bulgaria uses cheap labour force and works with materials supplied by the client (import share of textiles and articles thereof – 11.4%, i.e. on third place in import structure in 2000). Considering the rendered high value of metals and clothing export, the present partial resource specialization refers to the general conclusion of ineffective structural reorganisation of economy in terms of its export orientation.

have an adverse effect on women's employment such as: more opportunities of employment but mostly for women with lower level of education; qualification in small range of activities; limited access to spheres for professional realization as well as limited opportunities of growth in career compared to men; general limited opportunities of employment and strong structural unemployment.

I. THE NEW SOCIO-ECONOMIC REALITY

1.1. Gender aspects of employment in the 90's

Global transformations in Bulgarian economy and the entering of market relations have a rather high social value and a dramatic impact both on men and women.

As a whole, according to the official statistics, the number of employed in Bulgaria tends permanently to decrease during the years of global transformations in the country. For the period 1988 – 2000, labour market “has impoverished” with more than 1 350 000 employees coming as a result of the structural reforms of Bulgarian economy. The

decrease for men is by 600 000, and for women – by over 760 000. From full employment for both men and women during the years of centralized economy, a decade after the beginning of transformations fewer people stay in the labour market and more and more people drop out of it.

Public opinion in the country has considered the employment situation as unfavorable over all the years of transition.

“After the beginning of transformations, most people were not prepared for the new situation where everyone had to orientate all alone. Most of the older and of the middle-aged generation has been brought-up with a collectivist way of life, which to a great extent limited own initiative. People proved to be unprepared to cope with their life problems, including problems with their realization on the labour market. This turned out to be fatal for a lot of them.

Journalist, Sofia

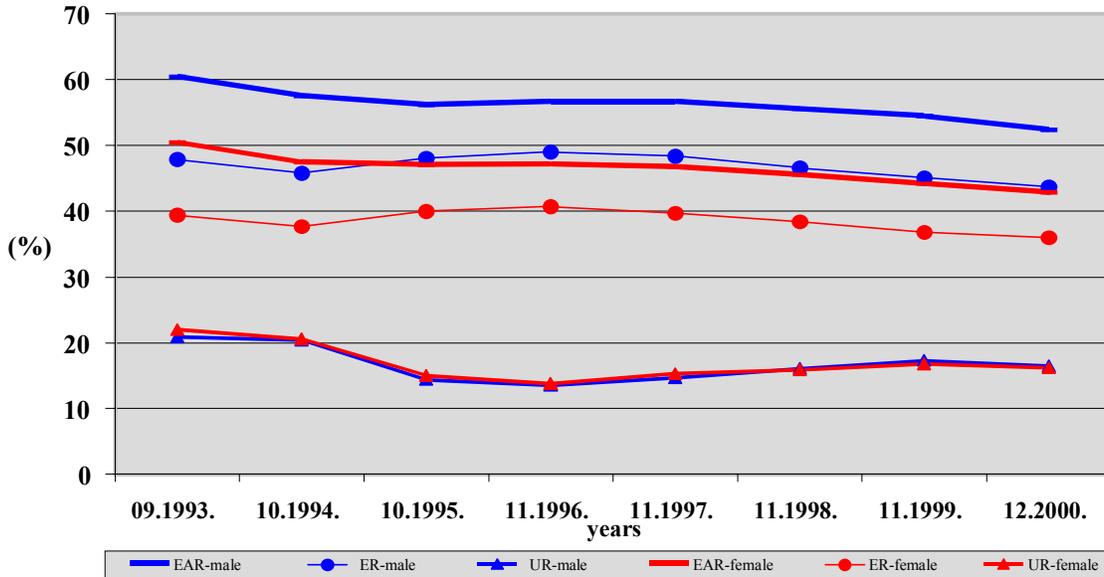
As labour force men are more than women, they are also more as employed and unemployed for all the surveyed years from 1993 to 2000. The major employment indicators by gender for the last 8 years, according to National Statistics, are shown in Appendix 4 (Table 1).

The economic activity rate and the employment rate are higher for men, but for both men and women, their values follow a steady tendency of falling. They are shown on Figure 1.

From 1993 to 2000, female labour force and the economic employment rate has been dropping.. The same was observed for the male labour force as well, which forms the main conclusion that gender differences in employment tendencies during the years of transformations are not particularly significant – for both men and women they are descending.

Figure 1.

Economic activity, employment and unemployment rates of men and women for the period 1993-2000



EAR¹ for men decreased by 8.1% for 8 years – from 60.5% in 1993 to 52.4% in 2000. For women – 7.6% decline for the same period – from 50.5% in 1993 to 42.9% in 2000.

ER² also marked a decline for 8 years – by 4.2% for men and by 3.4% for women, reaching some of their lowest values in 2000.

UR³ has been falling as well, although keeping relatively high levels. For men the reduction was by 4.4% and for women – by 5.8%. Despite this decrease, the level of the officially registered employment in the country was alarmingly high in 2000 – 16.4%. The only positive tendency was the balancing of the men-women ratio among unemployed, which was due mainly to the exhausted opportunities for discharges of women from reconstructed enterprises.

The situation on the labour market is adverse in national, as well as in world plan. Compared to the other candidate countries for EU accession, the employment situation in Bulgaria is one of the most adverse. (See Table 1).

Table 1. Employment and unemployment of the EU candidate-countries in 2000

| European countries | MALE | | | FEMALE | | |
|--------------------|------|------|------|--------|------|------|
| | ER | EAR | UR | ER | EAR | UR |
| EU | 72.5 | 78.1 | 7.0 | 54.0 | 59.9 | 9.7 |
| Denmark | 80.8 | 84.2 | 4.2 | 71.6 | 75.6 | 5.3 |
| Bulgaria | 56.1 | 67.4 | 16.6 | 47.2 | 56.1 | 15.8 |
| Cyprus | 78.9 | 81.6 | 3.2 | 52.5 | 56.7 | 7.4 |
| Czech Republic | 73.1 | 79.0 | 7.3 | 56.8 | 63.2 | 10.5 |
| Estonia | 64.3 | 75.6 | 14.7 | 57.1 | 64.8 | 11.6 |
| Hungary | 62.7 | 67.6 | 7.2 | 49.4 | 52.5 | 5.8 |
| Latvia | 62.3 | 73.6 | 15.0 | 54.3 | 62.8 | 13.2 |
| Lithuania | 61.8 | 75.5 | 17.9 | 58.5 | 67.6 | 13.0 |
| Poland | 61.2 | 71.8 | 14.6 | 49.3 | 60.5 | 18.3 |
| Romania | 69.5 | 75.7 | 7.5 | 59.0 | 63.6 | 6.4 |

¹ EAR – Economic activity rate – ratio between labour force and population of 15 years of age and over

² ER – Employment rate – employed population related to the population of 15 years of age and over

³ UR – Unemployment rate – ratio between unemployed persons and labour force

| | | | | | | |
|----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Slovakia | 61.6 | 76.5 | 19.4 | 51.1 | 62.8 | 18.6 |
| Slovenia | 66.7 | 71.7 | 6.8 | 58.5 | 63.1 | 7.1 |

Employment in Europe 2001, European Commission 2002.

In 2000, according to Eurostat data, employment rate for men and women in the country had the lowest values compared to all the other EU candidate-countries. Bulgaria ranked last considering employment rate for women, as well, although the transition period (like other countries from Central and East Europe) started from full employment and high participation of women on the labour market. In the country, however, as a result of the different structure of economics and the specific application of the global structural reforms scenario, labour market suffers greater cataclysms than the countries in analogous situation and drops more women on the labour exchange.

This has powerful influence on the unemployment level. The parallel by this indicator with the other countries, once again is not in our favour as Bulgaria registers some of the highest levels. In other words, Bulgaria has the most adverse economic activity, employment and unemployment characteristics compared to all other EU candidate countries. Bulgaria is far behind the average values for EU and Denmark in particular, considered by a lot of researchers to be the new “employment miracle of the world”.

Considering the general situation of economic activity and employment decline, but **the age ratio men-women** on the labour market is different. (See Table 3, Appendix 4).

The most significant gender differences were observed in *the group of the 25 – 34 years of age*. In 2000 the employed men from this age group were 67.7% and the women – 56.8%. This considerable difference of over 10 points has been preserved unchanged over the transition period and has come as a result of many reasons. One of them is that young women hardly find a job because the employers apprehend to employ future mothers. Another reason is that young women give birth to and raise their children just in this age interval. They have been faced with the dilemma work (i.e. incomes and career) or family (i.e. husband and children). Combining them proved to be a very difficult task for young women.

“It is a big problem for a woman when they ask her if she is married or if she has a child. Some years ago, I went to “Byrzakov” and he asked me of my length of service. I answered that I have no. Till that moment only “Detmag” existed and I was just graduating - from where to have length of service. Then he asked me if I’m married and if I have a child. It turned out that you should not have a child if you want to work at that store. That is discrimination and this is at a store where goods for children are sold.”

Unemployed woman, 35 years of age, Sofia

“Discrimination between male and female work has always been existing and is existing at the moment. Today if a woman tries to find a job, the employer would prefer a man to a woman, especially to a young woman; as he knows that she would marry, would to working because of it or if she gives birth to a child he should pay child allowance and sick-leaves, she would be absent from work for many reasons - and the situation with the man is different.”

Student, 21 years of age, UNSS, Sofia

The employers either lay down conditions in advance that young women should not have children while working for them, or they are not disposed to employ them at all. Especially for the small firms, which are prevailing in the country, paying child allowances and leave for child rearing, as well as other alleviations and social protections for mothers with little children appear as an additional and often unjustified burden for their business. Only the big and stable private firms could afford to disregard these circumstances hiring labour force in terms of its qualification and professional qualities and not according to expected eventual changes in their family and maternal status. Mass practice in

the informal sector is (and not only in the informal sector) pregnant women and mothers having small children to be dismissed without a warning.

“I was discharged although I’m a single mother, a head of a family. For three years now I have been at law with the enterprise and for three years they have kept putting me off. I have won the case at first and second instance. They should pay me a compensation and to reinstate me. But they find a loophole and protract. I don’t want to return but I have to so as to calculate the financial alleviation, unused relieves, etc. They would find a way to refuse me.”

Unemployed woman, 36 years of age, Sofia

The employment of young women is not only a matter of law arrangement and goodwill on the part of employers but also a clash of interest between the employer and the employee. It is in favour of young women to make a career but also to bring up children. Law guarantees combining these two functions but more or less the employer is also burdened. His interest is to develop his business and the absence of young mothers is an obstacle. Not all firms could afford to re-organize their work with fewer employees, especially the small ones and from there the conflicts and discriminatory attitudes toward young women arise.

“This is a very complex question. It difficult for an employer to hire a young woman who would take maternity leave, who would have to take care of children. He is obliged by law to provide several social gains, as well. These social gains have remained since before and they are a burden for employers, state should find a way to compensate wit its tax policy. But how? There should be a public debate which still has not been held. Childbirth, however, is not a concern of the employer.”

President of female NGO, Sofia

The other age categories also have not been deprived of contradictions, but the group of people between 35 and 44 is as though raising the least problems. The survey showed that the employment rate for the 35-44 years of age is relatively the highest. In 2000, 73.7% of the employed men and 72% of the employed women were in this age group. (However, both have declined compared to 1993 – men with 5.3% and women with 4.2. For women, this is the age when they could comparatively most successfully find their place on the labour market and realize their abilities and intentions. In this age there are better chances for greater flexibility and mobility, for success in re-training and “beginning all over again”. This is a favorable period for the married women as well, as their children have grown up and do not need constant and immediate care.

The situation for the next age group – 45 and 54 years of age - should be similar but this is true only on principle, but the multivariable analysis showed that over 45 years of age it is very difficult to find a job – both for men and especially for women. The employment rate in 2000 was rather high (69,5% for men and 66.4% for women), this, however, was due to a previous, rather than to a new employment. The reasons could be seen in the situation on the labour market, as well as in the personal attitudes. The reason “it’s too late to re-train at this age”, for example, is leading for every fifth woman at this age regarding their working re-integration.

“Everywhere today only young people are wanted. Should we, the older, die? Everywhere – to 25 – 30 years of age, not more. It’s too late for us to learn new things so as to take us.”

Worker, 45 years of age, village

The employers also hardly appoint women over 45, either because they think it is futureless to invest in labour force which is before retirement, or because of the requirements for a younger age by the particular job. Survey discovered that this category of women is endangered to be grasped in the poverty trap, and their chances for improvement are not so high

“There is no work for women over 45 years of age. Even if I travel, I agree to do that, there are no working places. I’m ready to work any job but there is nothing once again. I’m ready to work without contracts and insurance only to earn something.”

Unemployed, 52 years of age, town in the countryside

“Everywhere are wanted young women - 40 years of age and over simply have no chance and would accept any job for any salary.”

Schoolgirl, 18 years of age, village

The analysis of the *territorial dispersion* of the population at working and the economic activity rate showed that the number of women at working age in towns has followed an upward tendency and in villages has been gradually falling. Here, once again, we are speaking of depopulation of villages and concentration of population at working age in regions where it is relatively easier to find a job. The employment rate of women is higher in towns compared to that in village but both have similar dynamics - a growth to 1996 and after that - a constant decline. (Table 4 , Appendix 4) Data show that the scissors urban-rural opens more and more relating to activity rate, employment and unemployment. Differences in living place are higher than in gender¹⁵. For example in 1994 employment rate in urban areas is with 12 positions higher then in rurals and in 2000 the difference increase to 16 %. In 2000 the difference in employment rate between urban and riral women is 17,7% against rural. One of the main conclusion is, that the women’s (and also men’s) access to employment directly correlates with the type of municipality and it distance from a bogger administrative centre.

Family status is also a factor, which substantially affects economic activity, employment and labour status. The family status of the population in Bulgaria and the economic parameters in relation to this indicator are shown in Table 5 (Appendix 4). Between 1994 and 2000, the share of employed married women has been decreasing while there was an increase in the employment rate of unmarried and divorced. One of the reasons was the postponing of setting up a family, which, however, did not release young women from the engagement to earn their own living. Another reason was the growth of

¹⁵ EAR of women in towns in 1994 was 74,4%, and ER – 61%, while in rural areas thae rates were respectively EAR - 66,6%, and ER – 47,2%. (for men in towns in 1994 EAR was 76,9%, K3 – 63,3%, and for men in villages – EAR – 72,6%, ER – 52,5%). EAR of women in urban ares dropped to 48,6%, in 2000, ER – 41,6%, and in villages – EAR – 30,7%, ER – 23,9%. (gor men the values were respectively: for those in towns – EAR– 56,8%, ER– 28,5%, and for those in villages – EAR was 43,3%, ER – 33,9%).

the number of divorced which itself increased their share of the labour force. The mass scheme of living together without a marriage also has an effect on the structure of the employed by family status.

1.2. Unemployment as a problem of both women and men

After 1990, unemployment in Bulgaria appeared as a forgotten but at the same time as new phenomenon after the last 45 years, which was well known in countries with market economy and was expanding under the pressure of global rivalry. Right at the beginning of the transition period thousands workers and specialists have been sacked among whom there were a lot of high-educated and qualified and who experience painfully their new status quo out of board. Only in 1993 the number of the unemployed was getting on to half a million as the officially registered amounted to 21.4% of the labour force of the country.

UR³ has been falling as well, although keeping relatively high levels. For men the reduction was by 4.4% and for women – by 5.8%. Despite this decrease, the level of the officially registered employment in the country was alarmingly high in 2000 – 16.4%.

There real number was considerably higher. The difference between real and rendered unemployment exists also today and it is due to the criteria used by National Statistics when defining the unemployed and to the apprehended tactics to observe only the officially registered unemployed. Outside this category were left a lot of people who were actively seeking job or have fall off the registers.

According to data from the present national representative survey of ASA, the real share of the unemployed in 2000 exceeded 20% and even higher for separate regions of the country. In 41% of Bulgarian households¹⁶ there was at least one unemployed person. Every fifth of the unemployed was out of labour market more than two years. Even the official statistical data, although reduced and not reflecting the real situation, outlined an alarmingly high unemployment rate. In separate regions like Vidin it exceeded 35.6% in 2001.¹⁷

Till 1997 in the category of the unemployed women prevailed. During this period the so called feminization of unemployment was observed. The reason is that the women were the first to be dismissed.

“Women are first and they are more at discharges. There was a lot who collapsed the previous time. We’ll see what would be the situation this time.”

Woman employed in production, 48 years of age, village

After 1998 the ratio changed and in 2001 the unemployed men have been already more than the unemployed women. According to NSI data (See Appendix 4), in 2000 the unemployed women in the country were 16,2% and the men – 16.5%. According to Eurostat data for the same year, the unemployed women of 15 years and over in the country were 15.8% and the men in the same category – 16.6%. The reason was that a decade after the beginning of transformations the chances for dismissals of women have been greatly exhausted. The other reason was that part of the women out of the labour market have already fall off the registers. The practice to start with women at discharges, especially in productions and services where sex does not matter, continued in 2001 also.

³ UR – Unemployment rate – ratio between unemployed persons and labour force

¹⁶ “Women, work, globalization”, National representative survey of ASA, 2001, N=1093

¹⁷ НСИ. Данни за безработицата през септември 2001г.

The factors, which have influence on unemployment, are similar with those, which have impact on the level employment and on the economic activity. These are age, education, living place of residence, family status.

Education is one of the most important factors for a place in and out of the labour market and it would be examined more precisely in the next section. With the decrease in the level of education the risk of joining the category of the unemployed is increasing and vice versa. However, even a higher education diploma does not guarantee a job by all means. . Only in Sofia, in 2001, 25% of the unemployed were with higher education. The unemployed women with high education are more than the unemployed men with the same education status.

Age was outlined to be one of the differentiating factors not only for the employed but also for the unemployed men and women. The highest values of the unemployment rate were observed in the range of 25 – 34 years of age. Although descending for 8 years, in 2000 they were rather high – 17% for men and 16.7% for women. For the other age groups they are relatively lower. The only exception was the group of aged 15 – 24 years, where the unemployment rate was also rather high, but the situation there was not so dramatic was appropriate for a work start, as well as for training and continuing of education.

The lost of the working place is a dramatic event for each age group, but for women over 45 it is rather painful. For them it means not only decreasing the current living standard but also a higher risk for receiving pension. Analyses lead to the conclusion, that those women are among the most vulnerable ones for getting jobs.

“I have an year and a half to retirement and at the end of the month they would lay me off. But what could I say.”

Woman, employed in production, 46 years of age, town in the countryside

And when you are discharged, there is nothing you could do. I will be discharged. Where could I go with this little child – I’m alone, divorced and ill. Where could I go? I’m ready to do everything.

Single mother, 42 years of age, village

Living place of residence also has a great influence on unemployment level. The unemployment rate (UR) for women in towns and in villages sensibly differ. The share of unemployed women in the villages over the whole transition period has been higher than that of the women in the towns. In 2000, the village-town ratio for the unemployed women was 1 : 1.5. For men the picture was similar which revealed that more adverse is the employment and unemployment situation in the villages. This is something, by the way, which is in the characteristics and effects of the globalization processes. This fact, however, puts several crucial problems before Bulgarian society, and women in particular – high rural unemployment, depreciation of farm work, depopulation of rural areas.

Family status also affects the unemployment level. For both men and women, the UR is higher for unmarried persons. The unemployment rate of the unmarried women was higher than that of men till 1998(inclusive) and after that men gradually started exceeding when in 2000 UR for the unmarried women was 23.6% while for the unmarried men it was 24.6%. In 1999 the age at first marriage for men has already reached 27.1 years and for women – 23.8 years, i.e. with 3 years more on the average.

Cuts and dismissals as a result of the structural reforms of Bulgarian economy are most often reasons for unemployment. It is interesting that the highest values of the UR (Unemployment rate) were registered in 1993 – 94, i.e. before the privatization and the massive structural changes of Bulgarian enterprises. Women were relatively stronger affected by dismissals than men. In 2000, 58.2% of men and 62.8% of women were on the labour exchange because they had been cut or dismissed. Besides, women more rarely quit a job alone compared to men.

Survey discovered that women more often than men look for a job through public labour offices and use all the offered chances for qualification and training. For the period 1993 – 2000, the unemployed women who had registered with the labour offices were with about 10% more than men.

“Of all the unemployed who have passed qualification and training courses there were moments and years when the share of women was 2/3 of all the qualified unemployed persons. But in any case, the number of qualified unemployed women has been higher over this period, considering that professional training is a voluntary act which requires activity of the individual itself. It is obvious that they are looking for a way to make their “commodity” (labour force) more attractive and that men are more passive. We could talk about evident and hidden gender discrimination on behalf of employers. But this as though made women more organized. I assign it to their more active position on the labour market.”

Politician, a high government official, Sofia

Unemployed women more often and more successfully pass the training courses than men do. However, it does not mean that they have bigger guarantees that after the courses they will find a job, but at least the new certificate increases their chances for that.

“...these courses has been organized a little pre-electively. There were no courses the previous two years. Even one of the women at the labour office told me: “You must be thankful because elections are coming and that’s why there is money for courses.” It is a pity – I think there should be such courses. Everyone who had been cut or dismissed should have the opportunity to finish qualification course even to pay in part of money for it.”

Unemployed woman, attending course in a Labour office, 47 years of age, Sofia

“I would like courses to be organized when there is a free working place and after that we to make compromises. But in our case, we are all in front of the computer while the course is “Planting and something....”. Our teacher told us the first day that here we could not find a job. Then, what is this course for, why this money is given for so many people.

Unemployed woman, 42 years of age, Sofia

The alternative of finding a job through *direct relations with the employers* is used by considerably small part of the women compared to men – respectively 13.9% of the unemployed women against 17.8% men in 2000. Most applied by both men and women method of looking for jobs is the search through relatives and friends, while men more often take advantage of it. (52,8% men against 49% women)

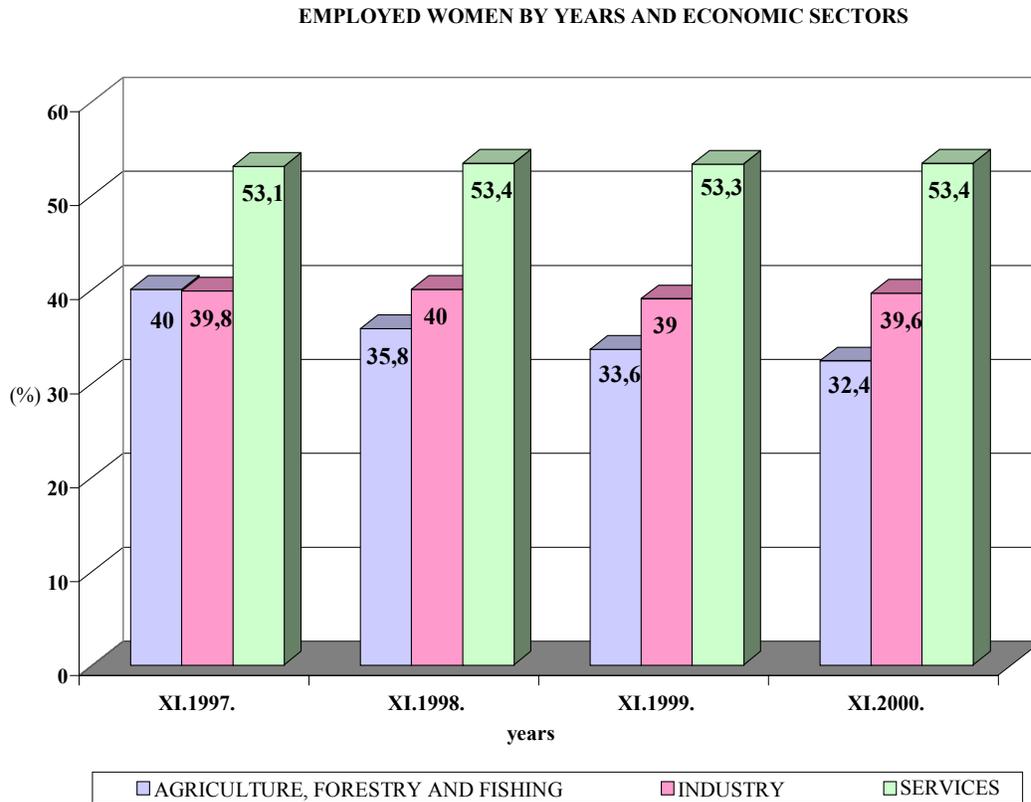
“I’ll first try by competition and after that, if nothing has happened, I will try using friends. One could always make good acquaintances, which could help him. Apparently you can no rely only on luck and knowledge so using friends is at least trustworthy. So, I will study, and after that – whatever happens.”

Schoolgirl, 17 years old, town in the countryside

1.3. Sectors of female employment

The dynamics of women’s participation in the different economic sectors in Bulgaria follows the general world and European trend. Under the influence of the globalization processes, agricultural and industrial sectors have been gradually shrinking at the expense of services. See Figure 2.

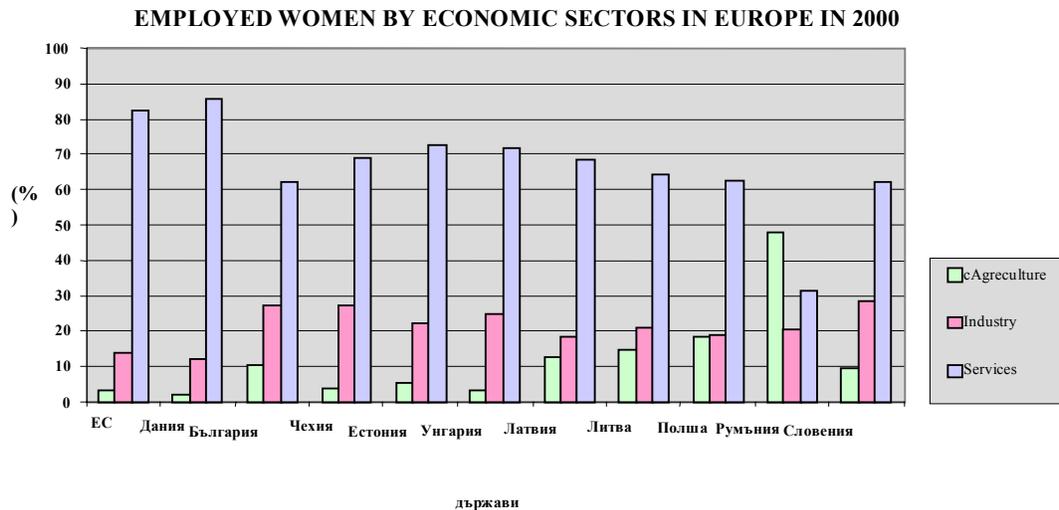
Figure 2. Employed women by years and economic sectors



Statistical Yearbook 2000, NSI, Sofia 2001.

The employment structure of women by economic sectors in Bulgaria follows the general logic of the globalization processes, even though not so intensively as other countries in Europe and in the world. In 2000, like all other candidate countries, most women in Bulgaria are employed in the sphere of services and a considerably smaller part work in the more labour-consuming branches of agriculture and industry. Women's participation reflects the development of Bulgarian economy and its reconstruction by sectors but women's presence on the labour market makes clear the feminization of services' sector. (See Figure 3).

Figure 3. Women's employment by sector in Europe in 2000



Employment in Europe 2001, European Commission.

Women mainly point at spheres like education and health care, which, however, are low-paid. The bank sector has also attracted a lot of women, especially in recent years, but it could not take so massive contingent of women as the other two sectors. Mainly women with high education orientate to these sectors and this is the reason for the disparity between the level of education and the size of the payment.

These branches require high level of education but at the same time the payment is degradingly low and do not correspond neither to the necessary qualification, nor to the put in efforts and responsibilities. Women are mainly executors in these sectors and this turns to be another reason for their lower payment compared to men. Data from national representative survey showed that women in Bulgaria receive for their work 67% of men's payment. The main reason was that women did not have access to high-paid positions and occupations on the labour market despite their level of education.

1.4. Problematic groups of women in terms of employment and unemployment

As a whole, the situation in the labour market in Bulgaria over the last 8 years has been unfavorable for both men and women. Among women, however, specific categories that deserve greater attention were formed.

The first is of *women between 25 and 34 years of age*. The more difficult access to the labour market of women at that age delays and in many cases impedes their professional and working development. There are no various alternatives in front of them. They could accept any job, on one side, so as to have economic and social independence. However, often job offers are demeaning and accompanied by straightforward sexual insinuations. On the other side, they could continue to be dependent on their parents who anyway are not so wealthy and hardly cope with their own life. Another alternative for them is to find a rich or not so rich husband and try to make a family. Recently, it has

become very popular to go to work abroad where better chances for finding a job and payment are supposed.

Whatsoever to choose young women, however, the labour market in Bulgaria deprives of qualified and particularly favorable for retraining labour force. That is why exactly this category should focus the attention of labour market development experts in the country because of its high investment potential in terms of the globalizing labour market. Gender differences, which definitely are not in favour of young women in Bulgaria, also deserve special attention mainly on part of legislation and the executive. Obviously, special preferential measures are necessary so as employers to employ young women no matter with or without children. Preferences exactly for young women because their economic and professional comfort is directly connected with the future development of the country. Another necessary condition is the infrastructure in the country, which allows raising children with both employed parents, to be rehabilitated and developed. Combining these two functions (parent and worker) obviously could not be accomplished only with the help of parents and relatives. As the analysis of the demographic situation showed, the decreased natural growth and the low birth rate of the population are due also to women's reaction resulting from the aggravated social and economic environment – to have less children or even none, as they could neither take care of them and provide the needed standard of living nor realize themselves.

The other problematic group includes women over 40 – 45 years of age. The main reasons for their higher risk are as follows:

- They have graduated in a situation of full and guaranteed by the state employment, and are not prepared for a free-choice reality.
- Their skills is usually high, but not adequate to the new challenges. They return on the labour market with difficulty if unemployed and usually are willing to do compromises so as to have income till retirement
- For this age group the “social dumping” of women in relation to men is strongly expressed. Men also face similar risks but they have more time to re-orientate because of the higher age for retirement.
- Except the present, they face several other impending problems. They are at the end of their active life and feel great uncertainty so as to change their working and/or life stereotypes. Obviously, there also special programs are needed – for re-training and re-integration to labour market and to social life. World experience, especially Japanese, would be of great use.

A separate problematic group is formed by *Romany women with predominantly low level of education and is put to ethnic intolerance mainly because of their different cultural model of behavior.*

“Romanies integration is also part of the globalization processes. This is important for Bulgaria.

However, a lot of attention has been paid, far too many programs have been worked out, too much energy has been put forth. This could turn in an independent problem as they are artificially set apart by the other ethnicity. If in one municipality half are unemployed and money is allotted only for the roman people, this fact inevitably causes and keeps tension.”

Labour office expert, 55 years of age, Sofia

Single women are also among the vulnerable groups. Survey registered that every fifth woman in Bulgaria lives on her own. Men in the same position are double less – 11,8%.

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In sum, the multifactoral analyses¹⁸, show that both men's and women's access to employment depends first of all on their age, followed with their education, place of living, languages and computer skills, and hardly then on gender.

¹⁸ The correspondence analyses is presented in the Appendix №5.

II. EDUCATION AND GENDER DIMENSIONS OF EMPLOYMENT STATUS

The share of women with higher level of education exceeds the share of men. Nearly every third woman in Bulgaria, in the category of the employed in 2000, had higher than secondary education or university degree, but as the survey showed the education itself could not ensure employment for women.

The start of global transformations found women in Bulgaria well and highly educated. Half of the Bulgarian women have relatively high level of education – secondary and over secondary, while their share followed an upward tendency during the years of transformations. This fact is due both to education, as a traditional value in Bulgarian national culture, and to the lack of gender limitations of access to educational institutions. It comes as a result from the education system of the country, as well, requiring compulsory primary education for all Bulgarians. This is a serious potential for more active and multilateral realization of women in the country, but, as the survey discovered, neither they, nor the employers take advantage of it.

One of the main conclusions of the survey is that about one tenth of women in Bulgaria are rather overeducated and could not utilize their potential on the present labour market, than with low of education. We are speaking of the level of acquired education not of that if its orientation is adequate to the contemporary requirements. The lack of correspondence between level and contents of the acquired education put women, and men as well, in unfavorable position on the labour market, as far as sometimes it is difficult even for people with diplomas for high education to express and realize themselves.

Statistical data reveal¹⁹, that every eighth woman in Bulgaria at working age in 1994 and every seventh in 2000 was with education higher than secondary.

The tendency is of increasing the level of education of women and decreasing the share of the low-educated. The number of women with higher education has increased over a 7- years period by over 2%. At the same time those with education lower than secondary have declined with about 6%. Data could be seen in Table 5 (Appendix). A similar tendency for men was observed but with lower values. For the period 1994-2000 the share of graduates has increased by 0.2% and the number of men with primary and lower education have decreased by 6%. As a whole, a process of growing education status of people at working age, both men and women, was observed – as for women this process was more intensive.

The education level of men and women in Bulgaria do not notably differ. In all levels of education men/women ratio in percents has similar values. Women at working age with education higher than secondary are more than men and the difference has been gradually increasing over the years. In 1994 women with higher education and undergraduates were with 1% more than the number of men in the same education category. In 2000 they were already with 3% more.

Higher – degree “Specialist” is a priority of women. Over the whole transition period, women undergraduates has been two times more than men. This is due mainly to the professions included in it – nurses, librarians, etc.

Similar dependence was observed for general secondary education to which women show greater affinity, especially in 1999. In 2000 women at working age with secondary education were with 5% more than men.

¹⁹ Comparative analysis of statistical data of education of the population by years turned to be a difficult task as NSI measures it with different indicators. After 1999 in the measure scale the category “college” was added, probably in the place of higher – degree “Specialist” which has dropped out. In the next year, 2000 “college” on its part also dropped out while between the categories “higher” and “secondary” education explanatory options for different levels of higher education has emerged. In 2000, however, it is not clear in which category undergraduates should be. For these reasons in the present analysis is offered information in three united groups – over secondary, secondary and under secondary education.

For secondary technical education a contrary tendency was observed – the number of men exceeded the number of women while during the years of transformations the difference has been growing until it reached 5% in 2000.

2.1. Education of the employed women

As a whole, the main part of the population at working age in the country had secondary or over secondary education while for the last 7 years this category has increased for both men and women with 6% at the expense of the low-educated. However, this has contradictory effect on their employment and status on the labour market (See Table 8, Appendix 3).

More detailed analysis showed, that the relative share of the higher educated women on the labour market exceeded the share of the men and the differences has been going deeper over the years of transition. The employed women with higher education increased from 24.8% in 1994 to 28.8% in 2000, while for men the growth was from 18.2% to 19.0%. In other words, nearly every third employed woman in Bulgaria has higher or over secondary education.

Most interesting turned to be the category of the **university graduates**. EAR for women with higher education was sensibly higher then that for men-graduates, as this was valid for the whole period (last 7 years) and the tendency is these differences to increase. In 1994 EAR for men with higher education was 76.9% and for women – 81.3%, i.e. the difference was with 4 points in favour of women. In 2000 the values were 53.2% and 75.9% respectively, i.e. women has already led with 13 points. One of the reasons was that throughout the years, the number of women-graduates at working age has been increasing more rapidly compared to the number of men. Women has kept their dominant positions in the highest but also in the lowest education categories. That is why it is difficult to say who is more educated – women or men. Women, however, are more inclined to raise their level of education and have better results, respectively. It could be argued that, generally, education capacity of women at working age is higher than that of men.

This, however, do not automatically lead to higher employment rate for the women-graduates in comparison with the men. In 2000 EAR women with higher education was with 13 points higher than that for men and women-graduates were only with 0.6% more on the labour market. We could draw the conclusion that it is the women, even with higher education, who have more difficulties finding access to the labour market.

Analysis discovered that these who were thrown out of the labour market were mainly low-educated, mostly women. If in 1994, 23.5% of the women were with primary or lower education, in 2000 their share decreased sensibly to 15.4%. For men a similar tendency with the same rates was observed (the decline was from 29.3% to 20.9%), while the men on the labour market with education lower than secondary were with 5% on the average more than women in this group. We can conclude, that one of the first and the most affected by the structural reforms in Bulgarian economy is the group of women with primary or lower education. Women with low education status were among the first to be cut or dismissed as firms were reconstructed.

The main part of the employed in the country, over 80% of the men and about 90% of the women were employed in state and private enterprises. As a result from the privatization processes, for 8 years after 1993 the ratio of the employed in private and in state enterprises has been constantly changing favour of the private. In 1993 the ratio for women, employed in private to employed in state enterprises, was 1:8 and for men it was 1:6 which showed that men orientate to a job in private firms or developing own business earlier than women.

Although the end of the privatization in the country has been officially announced, in 2000 in the ratio of employed in state/private sector, the state sector prevailed. For men this ratio was

1:1,1 and for women – 1:1,3. The number of women working in state enterprises continued to be higher than the number of those working in the private sector. The share of highly educated women in private enterprises has been increasing.

In state enterprises a radically contrary process was observed – the share of the highly educated women has been constantly decreasing (graduates, undergraduates, women with secondary technical education) at the expense of the low educated. We could suppose that after closing, privatization or liquidation of part of the public enterprises, the women employed in them have advanced to the private sector – a kind of merge of intellectual capital between enterprises and firms with different form of property.

The most serious gender differences have been observed on the management levels of economy and labour market and especially in the group of employers and self-employed. As a whole, the number of the employers dropped sharply after 1995 at the expense of a new category – the self-employed. However, for the whole surveyed period, women-employers were 1,5 times less than men.

The education status of women-employers has been gradually increasing. The share of women-graduates is growing but at the same time the share of those with the lowest levels of education (with primary and lower education) is also increasing. We could suppose that these women deal with “suitcase” or “street” trade or the firms are in their names but in fact they are not managers. Another possibility is this to be agricultural firms producing foods, tobacco, etc. Men-employers are more than women in all levels of education for all the years of the period.

The self-employed men and women are considerably more than employers and men again prevail. At the same time, the share of the self-employed women has been gradually decreasing while the number of men was growing. Within the group of the self-employed women, the share of low-educated is considerable. In 2001 the share of women, in contrast to men, reduced still further, when it reached the mere 6.8% in 2000. They continued not to be interested in entrepreneurship. The self-employed graduates were only 3.2% of all the women in this group and with the highest share were women with primary and lower education – 40.3%.

One of the main conclusions of the survey was that the high qualification is not directly connected with the high position on the labour market, regarding the occupation and the payment, as well as the employment sectors. At the same time, as multivariable analyses showed, university degree is the strongest category when trying to find a job (See Appendix 5).

2.2. Education status of the unemployed

In the structure of the unemployed in the country by education some interesting tendencies during the last 7 years were observed. In 1994, among the unemployed men, most were those with primary and lower education, followed by the undergraduates and those with higher education ranked last. Seven years later, after nearly finished privatization, low-educated and mid-educated have changed their places and the education structure of the unemployed men started resembling the structure of the unemployed women.

It is paradoxically, however, that *in the category of the unemployed* in 2000, those with the lowest education were not dominating. The highest share was that of both men and women with secondary education and just after them were those with primary and lower.

Considering women, the unemployed with secondary education prevailed already in 1994. They were 48% of all the unemployed women, followed by the women with primary education – 43% and after them were the graduates. In the first years of mass dismissals thousands of low-educated women have been thrown into the street. Not all of them, however, registered with the labour offices. The more educated women have done this and, probably, this was the reason for their prevailing share. Throughout the next 7 years, this structure was kept while the number of unemployed women with secondary and over secondary education followed an upward tendency. For the employed, as well as for the unemployed, the share of the educated men and women has been growing.

The situation of the unemployed graduates is especially interesting. Their share marks insignificant but steady tendency of growing – from 8.7% in 1994 to 12.1% in 2000. **Every tenth unemployed woman in Bulgaria had a higher education certificate**, while the graduates among the unemployed men were with 5% less. The imposed conclusion is that the education alone could not ensure a place on the labour market, particularly for women. As it was mentioned in the previous analysis, the women who have just finished their education find a job with more difficulty compared to men and more often get into group of the unemployed.

There is something else as well, labour market do not offer working places for people with higher education no matter that postulates say they are, by presumption, the more preferable labour force.

Paradoxes were also observed when women were obliged to hide their education so as to succeed in finding, even any, job. Employers, especially from small firms, are not disposed to employ not only young women, but highly educated as well, for it is supposed that they know their rights and would be more persistent standing up for them. Furthermore, employers apprehend that highly educated women could not be manipulated with low payment, longer work hours or not signed labour contract. The other thing is that the shrinking labour market today, as a whole, does not offer opportunities for realization of women with high level of education.

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As a whole , the limited labour market nowadays does not offer good opportunities for realization of women, and of men also, with a high level of education. Although education is the second important factor of employment and keeping a job, nowadays it is rather a necessary potential for access to the dynamic requirements of labour market.

However, regarding education nor only as a level, but mostly pointing its contents, answering the changing situation in terms of globalization.

III. WOMEN AT THE GLOBALIZED LABOUR MARKET

Women in Bulgaria want to work and for them work is not only a kind of economic compulsion but also a field of expression, self-confidence and independence. Finding an appropriate job, however, (corresponding to their qualification and abilities) proved to be a

Globalization processes in the labour sphere are mainly associated with wide-spread social and economic effects and after-effects. The changes, associated with the globalization of the labour market in Bulgaria, are first and foremost connected with privatization and the entering of multinational companies in the country. The attitude of man and women toward them is

contradictory and tend to negativism. The reasons could be seen in the changed employment situation as a result from the post-socialist re-constructing of economy and the mass discharges of labour force which feed up unemployment and uncertainty at work. The challenges which women at working age face are whether to work or take care of their families but how most successfully to find a job and keep their place on the labour market.

2.1. Attitude of men and women toward the globalization processes

Globalization as a phenomenon, process, effect is unfamiliar to Bulgarian public. 43.4% of the women and 36.0% of the men have not even heard of globalization while comparatively well acquainted are only 10.0% of men and 8.0% of women.

The evaluations of advantages and disadvantages of globalization are contradictory and are based on myths rather than on real arguments. On principle, positive judgements prevail: that globalization would push ahead the economy (34.1% of men and 30.8% of women), that multinational companies are good for the economy (56.0% of men and 44.2% of women), that Bulgaria will win from Euro-integration (64.1% of men and 52.1% of women). Membership in NATO will increase the national security consider 47.3% of the men and 35.6% of the women.

At the same time, when taking account of attitudes to particular globalization effects, such as for example the privatizing of Bulgarian enterprises or the opening of Bulgarian markets for foreign goods and services, negativism is dominating. Relatively high are also the reserves to the movement of work force to the country.

Survey discovered that both men and women in the country are positive to the extending of their opportunities for access to the global labour market and to travelling without limitations. The thing that globalization could give us as a supplement to the already gained, such as opportunities for development and progress, is well apprehended. And as it comes "outside", even not known very well, is apprehended as something potentially good, on account of low national self-confidence and exaggerated foreign advantages. When speaking of taking new responsibilities or breaching hitherto existing good stereotypes, however, things are different. (See Table 2).

Survey registered that a great deal of the women did not have adequate information especially referring to multinational companies and new technologies effects in the country. If speaking of new unknown processes, women more often, compared to men, answered with "can not estimate". This is typical mainly of the high age groups and those with low level of education. One of the reasons is the milder interest those women show in global phenomena exceeding their personal problems and priorities. Another reason is that women are more inclined, in comparison with men, to "confess" when they are not clear about something. That is why, so high is the relative share of those who "can not estimate" if

globalization processes would have positive or negative effect on the progress of the country and on their own progress as well. Whatever the reasons are, however, more adequate information policy among the low-educated women is needed.

Table 2. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? (%)

| Statement | AGREE | | NEITHER AGREE, NOR DISAGREE | | DISAGREE | | Can't choose | |
|--|--------------|--------|------------------------------------|--------|-----------------|--------|---------------------|--------|
| | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female |
| Bulgaria should limit the foreign products' import in order to protect its national economy. | 66,0 | 64,6 | 13,3 | 8,5 | 14,8 | 10,4 | 6,0 | 16,5 |
| Foreigners should not be allowed to buy land in Bulgaria. | 49,4 | 41,4 | 16,5 | 14,3 | 24,8 | 22,9 | 9,4 | 21,4 |
| Immigrants would take jobs away from Bulgarians. | 53,2 | 42,6 | 10,4 | 12,2 | 16,7 | 14,5 | 19,8 | 30,7 |
| Multinational companies are something good for Bulgarian economy. | 56,0 | 44,2 | 15,7 | 13,4 | 7,3 | 9,4 | 20,9 | 33,0 |
| New technologies would increase the number of jobs. | 17,0 | 17,7 | 13,0 | 11,5 | 51,0 | 38,5 | 18,9 | 32,5 |

Data analysis of the assets and drawbacks of entering of multinational companies in Bulgarian economy lead to the same conclusion (See Table3). In the opinions, there were irrational hopes and expectations that things are getting better rather than real evaluations of the situation. The more serious and dramatic the problems were, the greater the hopes, that with help outside situation would be improved, were. The high relative share of the women with no opinion again puts the question that more information is needed, especially for those living outside the capital, for low-educated and for those who are not working.

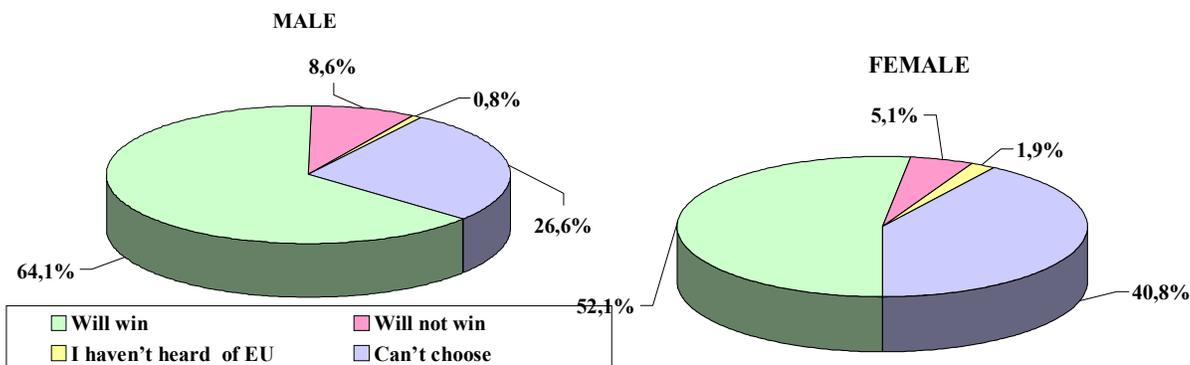
Table 3. What effect the entering of multinational companies would have...

| Effect on: | POSITIVE | | NEITHER POSITIVE, NOR NEGATIVE | | NEGATIVE | | Can't choose | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|--------|---------------------------------------|--------|-----------------|--------|---------------------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Opportunities to find a job | 78.5 | 67.1 | 8.2 | 7.0 | 2.5 | 4.4 | 10.7 | 21.5 |
| Payment | 66.7 | 53.0 | 12.1 | 14.8 | 5.0 | 6.4 | 16.3 | 25.8 |
| Working conditions | 67.0 | 50.6 | 13.4 | 13.5 | 4.22 | 7.4 | 15.5 | 28.5 |
| Job security | 43.2 | 33.5 | 21.0 | 20.4 | 15.2 | 14.3 | 20.7 | 31.8 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|------|------|------|-------|------|------|------|------|
| Labour discipline | 73.1 | 63.7 | 6.7 | 7.3 | 1.8 | 2.6 | 16.8 | 26.3 |
| Stress at work | 41.0 | 32.2 | 16.5 | 17.1 | 21.5 | 19.9 | 21.1 | 30.8 |
| Qualification of workers | 71.5 | 57.4 | 11.3 | 9.9 | 2.9 | 3.2 | 14.4 | 29.5 |
| Relations between the workers | 40.8 | 34.1 | 20.9 | 19.78 | 9.8 | 8.8 | 28.5 | 37.4 |
| Opportunities for career | 47.8 | 42.0 | 19.1 | 14.9 | 6.3 | 7.0 | 26.8 | 36.1 |
| Attitude toward women workers | 40.5 | 32.5 | 19.9 | 20.0 | 7.3 | 7.8 | 32.3 | 39.7 |
| Sexual harassment at work | 31.1 | 22.2 | 15.2 | 13.7 | 10.8 | 10.4 | 43.0 | 53.6 |

There is more information about **Euro-integration** processes compared to that for globalization processes and their eventual after-effects for the country due mainly to the communication strategy on a larger scale. Positions on the question if Euro-integration is something good for the country was not quite clear. The positive opinions were dominating but the relative share of answers “can not estimate” is also high (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Do you think Bulgaria will win if it becomes an EU member?



Once again, women in the country are not well informed and it is more difficult for them to give opinion on Euro-integration. Every fifth woman (21.3%) has never heard of European Union (as against 7.4% of the men). Reasons could be founded once more in women's stronger conviction that EU accessions is not among the natural priorities of the country.

Both men and women are of the opinion that to become a full EU member several prerequisites should be fulfilled as the most important are connected with improving the living standard in the country and alignment of the labour standards and legislation systems (Table 4).

The striking thing is that men are more sensitive than women when speaking of women's rights and gender equality. They are more inclined to see problems in this sphere compared women themselves. A greater deal of men are convinced that integration with the European values requires the guaranteeing not only equal rights and opportunities, but also overcoming torment at work and in the family.

The fact that women are comparatively more passive is due probably to their unwillingness to stand their ground as well as to poster their status, especially if it is lower than that of men .

Table 4. To become EU members it is important to...

| Conditions: | important | | NEITHER IMPORTANT, NOR NOT | | NOT IMPORTANT | | CAN'T CHOOSE | |
|--|------------------|--------|-----------------------------------|--------|----------------------|--------|---------------------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| improve the standard of living in the county. | 89.5 | 80.4 | 1.1 | 2.1 | 2.1 | 0.9 | 7.3 | 16.6 |
| make legislation in the country equal to the European legislation. | 84.8 | 74.1 | 3.6 | 2.5 | 1.4 | 0.6 | 10.2 | 22.8 |
| guarantee equal rights and opportunities for both men and women. | 78.0 | 67.8 | 9.0 | 10.6 | 3.8 | 2.5 | 9.2 | 19.1 |
| guarantee equal rights and opportunities for all ethnic groups. | 72.7 | 64.7 | 10.7 | 10.6 | 6.5 | 5.2 | 10.1 | 20.5 |
| overcome sexual torment at work. | 61.8 | 54.4 | 11.5 | 12.2 | 8.8 | 5.4 | 17.9 | 27.9 |
| stop ill-treatment of women in the family | 69.2 | 60.9 | 9.9 | 10.8 | 7.3 | 4.6 | 13.6 | 23.6 |
| make Bulgarian goods competitive at European markets. | 88.9 | 79.9 | 3.1 | 1.8 | 1.6 | 0.9 | 6.5 | 17.5 |
| Perceive the European way and discipline of work. | 87.5 | 78.3 | 3.3 | 4.2 | 1.8 | 0.8 | 7.5 | 16.8 |

4.1. Women's employment – constraint or a free choice

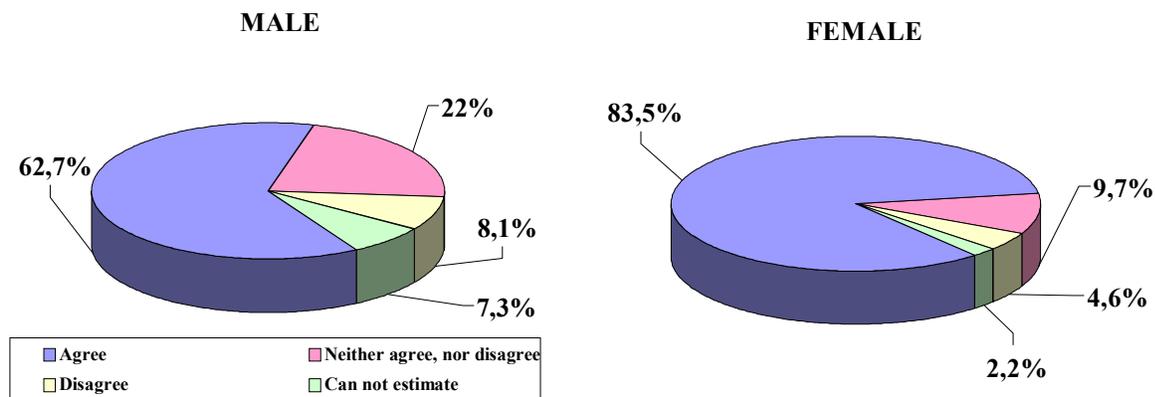
For Bulgarian ideas, the family and the paid job are not mutually incompatible, but female employment has turned into a social norm and is apprehended, both by men and women, as something in the nature of things.

Since the 60's till now, labour force has been increasing mainly at the expense of the women and their including in the labour sphere. But they do not work only to make a living, incomes are not the only reason. Women have come out of home, they have much more opportunities to realize their abilities and they are no more satisfied to be only housewives.

University lecturer, UNSS, Sofia

After more than 40 years of full employment and mass participation of women on the labour market, work and paid labour is already part of the stereotypes and way of life in Bulgaria. Even if they are of independent means, 74.4% of the working women now would continue going to work. Work for them is something more than source of income – this is above all economic and social independence but a chance for social contacts, as well, a necessary condition for realization and own approval (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Work is the best way for a woman to be independent (% employed)



Work brings personal satisfaction to 36% of the employed women that they are more than mothers and housewives. It allows them to keep their knowledge and abilities and to acquire new, as well. For them work is self-confidence and breaking up the dominating position of men. That is one of the reasons for the relatively more-reserved positions of men toward female employment. The apprehensions of the slipping leadership underlie in the outlined gender differences in the attitude toward female employment. It is also due to them the fact that the share of men who admit the role of work as a source of independence is with 20% less compare to men. For nearly half of the working men (48.0%) the role of the housewife is as valuable as the role of women as workers. However, the share of women who think in this way is very smaller – 31.0%.

Women in Bulgaria want to work and for them work is not only a kind of economic compulsion but serves as a field of expression as well. Of course, the fact that in Bulgaria it is impossible to provide for a family with one single salary only could not be ignored. The exceptions are rare cases. The hard economic situation has been forming mass public attitudes that both men and women should contribute to the family budget. That is the opinion of 85.1% of the men and 88.6% of the women.

Massive is the opinion that nowadays finding a job is a very hard and complicated task. Only 6.5% of now employed women and 10.4% of the employed men reckon that it would be easy for them,

if now they are looking for a job, to find a new one. The other are convinced that finding a job nowadays is very difficult.

The women, for whom it is not a problem finding a job, have place on the labour market at the moment, as well. Most frequently they work in foreign firm or in joint-venture, in the public sector, live in Sofia or in another big town and are in their most creative age between 30 and 39 years, divorced or separated have the greatest share, i.e. they do not have family responsibilities, have level of education over secondary and claim they have a secure job. We can conclude that as the present professional, social and economic status is considered to be secure, this fact reflects over the way access to the labour market is evaluated. Women reckon that once they have conquered positions, they could do it again if it is necessary.

“Most women with high education status have kept their place in the division of labour. This fact is valid mainly for the women from the capital and from the big towns.”

Woman, scientist, Sofia

Жените – песимистки за достъпа си до заетост са 52,3% (срещу 47,7% мъже) от заетите в момента, women dominate Women - pessimists of their access to the labour market – 52.3% (against 47.7% of men). Most of them were employed in private firms or unemployed, lived in small settlements, married, with secondary education and to 29 years of age, low-qualified. The ethnic cut showed that all representatives of the ethnic minorities in the country estimate their chances for access to the labour market as extremely difficult. The lower the level of education of women is and in more peripheral age group they are – to 29 or over 45 years, the smaller their chances to find a job are. The smaller is their place of residence – the same dependence is valid.

3.3. Satisfaction of women with their work

Women on the labour market are mostly satisfied with the essence of their work and with vertical and horizontal relations at their working place. Similar is the situation for the working men, as well (Table 5).

TABLE 5. SATISFACTION WITH LABOR BY SEX (% EMPLOYED)

| SATISFACTION WITH... | SATISFIED | | TO SOME EXTENT | | DISSATISFIED | |
|---|-----------|--------|----------------|--------|--------------|--------|
| | MALE | FEMALE | MALE | FEMALE | MALE | FEMALE |
| Your work as a whole. | 59.3 | 54.7 | 28.3 | 22.4 | 2.2 | 4.2 |
| Payment. | 31.2 | 16.4 | 21.4 | 21.6 | 44.9 | 59.1 |
| Working conditions | 38.0 | 49.3 | 25.6 | 25.6 | 33.3 | 23.7 |
| Labour organization | 43.6 | 53.7 | 31.6 | 22.0 | 20.1 | 29.1 |
| Perspectives for professional growth | 24.0 | 30.0 | 26.2 | 23.0 | 46.0 | 36.1 |
| Relations with managers. | 53.0 | 57.5 | 28.4 | 19.6 | 12.8 | 13.0 |
| Social acquisitions (canteens, holiday homes, etc.) | 14.6 | 23.3 | 14.1 | 16.8 | 59.4 | 51.4 |

The women are most greatly dissatisfied with the *payment for their work*. They think that for their efforts they deserve twice more. The same is true for men, even though their salaries and wages are higher than that of women. Men also have bigger claims compare to women considering desired salaries. (Table 6).

TABLE 6. REAL AND REGARDED AS FAIR SALARY BY GENDER

| | Male | Female | Difference | Share of male's income |
|---|----------|----------|------------|------------------------|
| Declared average monthly salary | 264 LV | 176 LV | 88 LV | 67 % |
| Judgements of deserved salary | 710 LV | 382 LV | 328 LV | 54 % |
| Differences between declared and considered as deserved salaries | - 446 LV | - 206 LV | 240 LV | |
| Differences between declared and considered as deserved salaries (in %) | 37 % | 46 % | | |

Survey registered that women receive 67 % of the men's salaries. The main reason for this, however, is not the evident but rather the hidden pressure of discrimination toward women, which is due mainly to the limited access to high-paid positions. Women are preferred for positions, which require less responsibility, mainly performers.

“It is reckoned that the women are better performers and the men are those who have brains and could be managers.”

Unemployed woman, 47 years old, Sofia

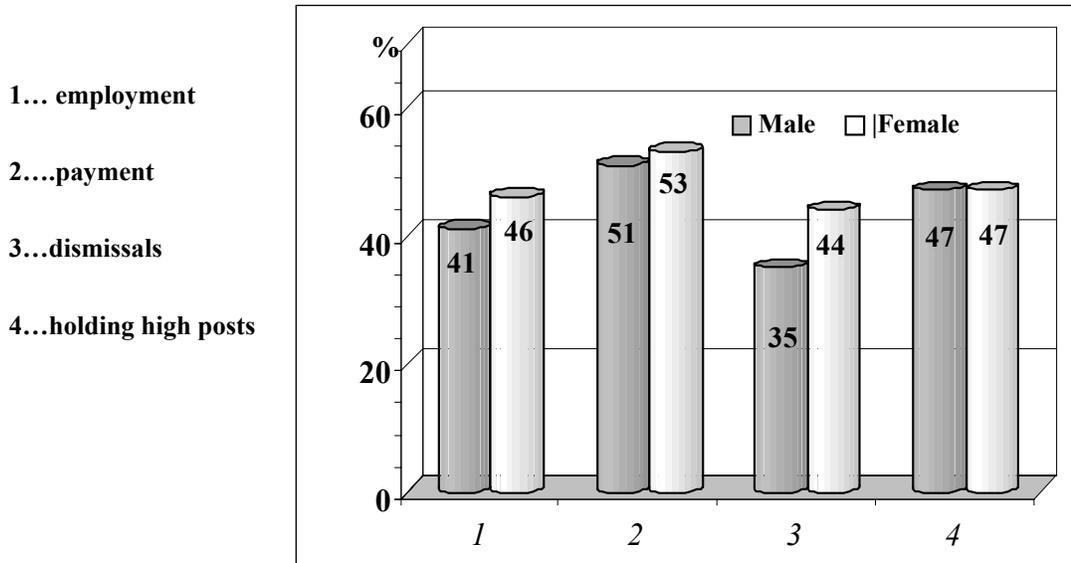
The main reason for the relatively lower payment of women is the fact that their positions and place on the labour market are lower as compared to those of men. Only 16.7% of all the surveyed women hold high posts against 27.8% of the men

“Gender differences in payment comes from the lower positions of women and not from the fact at one and the same position men receive more. Their inequality is a result from the not equivalent access of women to high-paid positions.”

High state official, Sofia

The other reason is in the employment sectors. Women work mainly in the spheres of education and health care where the received salaries are among the lowest. The paradox is that women are more educated and qualified in comparison with men, but because of their limited access to high-paid positions, they have lower payment, i.e. the so called “glass ceiling” for women is observed. The widespread public opinion that women are abused by several indicators on the labour market, including payment, is also due to this fact (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Public judgements that women are abused regarding...



По-неблагоприятните позиции на жените, така както ги вижда общественото мнение у нас, се дължат както на обективно регистрираната “скрита дискриминация”, така и на лично подценяване на възможностите и качествата от страна на самите жени. Жените са много по-склонни на компромиси от мъжете в името на сигурната си работа и сигурното бъдеще на децата си.

According to data from the survey, neither the men, not the women on the labour market are satisfied with the perspectives for *professional advancement*. Nearly half of the men (46.0%) and 36.1% of the women have been dissatisfied with the opportunities for growth, which their job offered them. 50.8% of the men and 44.4% of the women did not see a horizon of prosperity. This is due both to the limited chances for growth in the career and to differentiate ideas whom for what is suitable.

The social acquisitions at the working place also cause great dissatisfaction both among men and women. This is not a surprising fact as far as the economic reforms had a destructive effect on the holiday homes, canteens and the kindergartens established at many of the state enterprises. Privatization did not improve the social acquisitions with the new policy toward achieving economic profits. The existing bases for rest and relaxation at the enterprises have also been privatized and sold for acquittals. Workers today have the opportunity to use only some of them and mainly on market principle. Other enterprises have been liquidated together with their social bases. That is why the massive discontent of the employed is quite explicable, who besides job security are forced to part with acquisitions with which they have got used to and on which they still think have claim to.

“We used to have a sanatorium where we were able to recover - they have sold it long ago and the managers put the money in their pockets”

Worker, 48 years old, town in the countryside

Working conditions provoke also discontent and dissatisfaction among the employed men and women. It is more clearly expressed for men than for women. Competitive estimations revealed that a

man work under worse and harmful conditions compare to women. But there are also women (12.7%) who work under unhealthy conditions. They are employed mainly in production enterprises. They continue working with risk for their health because usually they have no choice. "I can't find other job" - claim two thirds of them. Under the conditions of high unemployment, health is one of the compromises which women consciously make in order to have a job.

"It doesn't matter if labour is hard or harmful. The question is that to be labour and you to be able to work. My teeth have fallen out by the gold (gold paint in the ceramic production), because of the fumes. There I get the diabetes also - everything hurts me, arms, legs...everything. But where could I go, but my child should eat, isn't it?"

Worker, single mother, 35 years of age, village

3.4. Labour standards deviations at work

One of the main conclusions of the analysis of the empirical material was that women on the labour market in Bulgaria feel themselves uncertain for their job, as well as men by the way, which makes them manageable. Nearly every second of the working women in Bulgaria(45.1%) and 44.7% of the men are under constant stress that they could lose their job; and 37.9% women and 40.8% men fear that may happen within one year. Because of the very limited labour market in the country they are ready to make compromises, even to swallow the obvious violating of their labour rights with the only purpose not to be thrown out of the labour market.

Survey has come across **several offenses against the Labour code and the labour standards:**
- 15.9% of the women and 19.6% of the men **do not receive regularly** their salaries and wages

"They haven't paid my salary since January and now we are at the end of April. Where could I take money from so as to live? The manager has locked himself last time so as not to give explanations. He has barricaded himself. Meeting us is very unpleasant for the chiefs. And when we want a meeting they go to Sofia. But we want our money which we have earned with honest spade work."

Worker, 42 years of age, village

- 13.6% of the women and 11.1% of the men work *without labour contract*

"It is a practice in these small firms in Bulgaria, which pay out of their pockets, to exploit you completely. As the owner pays out of his pocket he squeezes you as a lemon, because he wants in minimum time to accumulate maximum money. This means that he would not pay taxes but we should pay them. He would not pay to the workers as well, he would change them within month or two, if they put the question for promotion, he would not pay health insurance and would not sign on labour contracts - in this way he would make profits."

Unemployed woman, 32 years old, Sofia

- for 14.9% of the women and 15.7% for the men have no been calculated social insurance over the salary and for other 7% of women and 8.6% of men these insurance have been calculated over the minimum salary;

“Young people have been manipulated in this way. They are not employed on labour contracts, they are not paid social insurance, they are not ensured with nothing at all and the employers do not take any responsibility for them. Where could they go to for their rights? And they are forced to accept such job because there isn’t any other.”

Unemployed woman, 45 years old, Sofia

Half of the surveyed men and women have been working in enterprises where there were no *trade unions*. Two thirds of all the employed, however, were convinced that there should exist trade unions both in Bulgarian and in foreign firms, so as their rights to be asserted.

Considering job security, payment and opportunities for advancement, which are among the main problems of women on the labour market, the *sexual torment* issues are placed far behind them. Hardly 1.4% of the women and 2.6% of the employed complain of mockery and sexual torment at work. Most of them (87.4% of the women and 71.7% of the men) reckon this has never happened to them.

Evident sex discrimination is not the topic of the day as well. Over two thirds of the employed women (70.1%) and nearly half the men (47.8%) are convinced that sex doesn’t matter at their work - the important thing is to be a professional. However, the differences between the opinions of men and women on this matter were striking. The men usually are willing gallantly to acknowledge the rights and equality of their colleagues-women but preserving, although not always manifested, their leader’s status quo. Sex doesn’t really matter for them if only under a professional it is understood “a man”. Women on their part, struggling consciously or unconsciously for equal labour opportunities, apprehend their situation as equal to that of their colleagues. It is difficult, especially for those with higher level of education, to deny that in the professional competition with men they should try harder so as not to be eliminated by gender.

The whole survey showed that women rarely think of their situation as compared to men, regardless of the existence of “hidden discrimination” between them. Labour market is a strong example. The paradoxes are that, on principle, as mass attitudes, public opinion sees the unfair treatment of women with regard to employment, payment, holding high posts and dismissals. When, however, we come to the question of the particular discriminatory practices, women’s positions are – “things are a little different with us”, because they apprehend the labour market as equally seismic and risky both for them and for their colleagues-men.

Using the hitherto existing empirical data we can conclude that the greatest diversions from labour standards are observed in small private firms or in foreign firms (foreign owners) where there is no clear line between formal and informal economy. More precise picture could be drawn after conducting of a more purposive research.

“Many of the unemployed women, so as to avoid the threat of poverty, start working in the shady economy which helps them to solve their problems temporarily, but looking in perspective, this deprives them of social rights and ill-treats them.”

Woman, scientist, 57 years of age, Sofia

About half of the surveyed women apprehend *new technologies* as an alternative and hope for improving the situation on the labour market (See Table 7).

Table 7. Attitude toward introducing new technologies

(“strongly agree” and “agree”)

| № | Introducing new technologies in Bulgaria will ... | Male | | Female | |
|----|---|-------|----------|--------|----------|
| | | Total | Employed | Total | Employed |
| 1. | ... increase the number of jobs | 17,0 | 18,4 | 17,7 | 25,1 |
| 2. | ... make labour more interesting | 58,2 | 59,5 | 52,7 | 60,7 |
| 3. | ... make labour more simple | 42,8 | 44,7 | 40,4 | 56,5 |
| 4. | ... make labour more untroubled | 29,1 | 32,9 | 28,2 | 38,1 |
| 5. | ... make labour more appropriate for women | 38,6 | 35,5 | 44,1 | 49,6 |

The women, who were at the moment on the labour market, have been more optimistic considering the technical renovation and new technologies. The employed men have been comparatively more reserved compared to women. Both men and women, however, apprehend new technologies as something contradictory and ambiguous, more with hope they would improve the situation and not as new opportunities for realization requiring new type of qualification.

Most of the employed women (41.2%) were skeptical in their expectations that together with the entering of new technologies there would be new working places, as well. For men this skepticism was even more massive - 55.3% of the employed men thought technical renovation would inevitably lead to decline not to a increase in the number of the working places.

*

*

*

Generally speaking, women refer to globalization processes with hope for a change for the better, rather than concerning its advantages and challenges. That is why, it is quite necessary communication strategies to be elaborated so as the different social groups to be informed of the situation on the labour market and women’s access to it to be improved.

IV. WOMEN'S PREFERENCES

Women prefer a job that is high-paid, secure, with convenient working hours, which would not impede their family responsibilities, corresponding to their skills and abilities, which satisfies them and gives them opportunity to make a career, but also guarantees their old ages.

To what extent women's participation on the globalising labour market in the country corresponds to their desires and expectations, is their preferences different compare to those of men, and if yes, where is the difference – this is another set of questions, survey would try to answer. .

4.1. Work values and motivation

Survey proved that the good payment and the secure job are leading labour values in the country. Data did not register particular gender differences, which is a sign of the similar preferences of men and women to the character and the essence of their work.

The comparative analysis, however, revealed serious differences between preferences and reality - the job which men and women would like to have does not correspond to the job they really have. As it became apparent from the already presented analysis, a comparatively small part of the employed men and women are satisfied with their payment, with the security of their job and with the perspectives for advancement.

At the same time, survey showed that namely they have been among the most valuable labour characteristics - both by men and women (Table 15).

Table 15. Desired labour characteristics by gender (% employed)

| DESIRED CHARACTERISCS | MALE | | FEMALE | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | IMPORTANT FOR THEM PERSONALLY | IMPORTANT FOR A START AT WORK | IMPORTANT FOR THEM PERSONALLY | IMPORTANT FOR A START AT WORK |
| <i>Good payment</i> | 45,5 | 70,0 | 47,7 | 71,9 |
| Secure job | 36,9 | 57,2 | 33,2 | 54,2 |
| Interesting work | 12,4 | 18,4 | 15,4 | 19,9 |

In the scale of labour values, payment and security take leading positions. If women and men now look for a job, they would be decisive for their choice, if there is such. If they should advise a young woman at the beginning of her working life, their advice would be in the same direction.

The more detailed analysis revealed that for the different social groups security and payment change their places in the scale of values. One of the main conclusions of the survey was that the more difficult the access to the labour market is, the greater the importance of the secure job is and the payment is put on second.

“Something little, but certain. This is what the long-term unemployed have been looking for - this brings them calmness and confidence that things would go well. And it is not known if this would happen. While the others have been more ambitious, their conscience has not been deformed, they do not rely on the state to do their job and make plans.”

Employee in the Labour Office in Sofia

Secure job has been most appreciated highly by rural where the opportunities to find a job have been seriously limited. Security is a leading value also for the lower educated men and women, for the

minorities and for the people before retirement. Those, receiving comparatively low monthly income (between 50 and 100 LV personal income and between 100 and 200 family income), also appreciate security more highly than the payment. “A little, but certain” is their life maxim, formed as a result of the threat of dropping outside board.

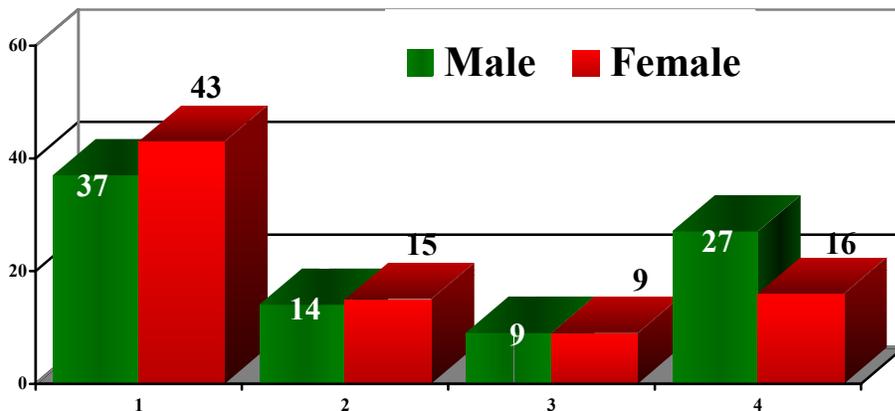
“I would not take the risk to look for a good job. I prefer it to be secure even with low salary, but to be secure. And not to work for “Thank you!” and to be unable to pay the electricity and telephone bills...”
Worker, 52 years old, village

Massively, good payment takes a leading place in the labour preferences of both men and women. The interesting thing is that with the increase in incomes - personal and family - the importance of the high payment is growing (K = 173, Phi = 293) and moves “the secure job” from the first place.

The employed at the moment would advise young women also to aim at highly-paid, secure job, which would not impede family life and care of the children. It is impressing that there are no differences in the opinions of men and women, as well as between the categories in and outside the labour market. The exceptions are only in reference to the suitable working time. It is more valuable for women than for men mainly because it influences their “second working day”.

In the ideal ideas of women, the good job is highly-paid, with suitable working time, which does not impede their family responsibilities, corresponds to their abilities, brings them satisfaction and gives them the opportunity to make a career, but also guarantees trustworthy old age. This complex of characteristics women connect mostly with state work and this is one of the leading reasons the greatest part of women prefer such type of work. (See Figure 7).

Figure 7. Job preferences by gender



| | |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1. State firm | 3. Foreign private firm |
| 2. Bulgarian private firm or joint-venture. | 4. Own business |

If they have a choice, 43.2% of now working women and 37.2% of their colleagues-men would aim at a state firm. A considerable small number would orientate to a private firm or to an own business. One of the main reasons could be seen in the labour values among which the security takes one of the leading places. The other reason is the negative attitude toward privatization and its effect on

the faith of the enterprises and those employed in them. As the survey showed, it has been massively considered that privatization has not improved, but worsened the situation of the economy and of the particular enterprises in the country – both as payment and as security of job places. State sector is connected with the more strict adhering to the labour norms and standards, with the better control and with the more regular paying off of social insurance.

There is something else – work for the government is apprehended as a synonym for “subscription to salary”, which on its part is one of the most negative consequences of the full employment during the period of socialism. At the time of the previous regime, turning labour into a compulsory public norm meanwhile has made it also an unavoidable “labour service”. Women had no opportunity to choose – to work or not to work. The few the labour markets have been stigmatized as lazy-bones and public vermin. The pursuit of growth and high payment has been qualified as job-hunting and timesaving and work in the name of society has been risen to a leading moral law.

Yet, the policy of the socialist type of salary and wages, which accounts for presence on practice, and not for the really finished job, formed the mentioned “ syndrome of subscription”. Labour contract is apprehended as subscription to salary, insurance, social payments and acquisitions. Under such a system, the importance of personal initiative, ambition and pursuit of professional perfection remain undeveloped or nearly disappear. The surveys, conducted during this period give evidence that for over two thirds of the employed at that time, the quality and quantity of their work did not reflect over their payment. The massive attitudes in society were that no matter how you work, if you are on labour contract your salary is certain and it would depend on everything else but not on your way of working²⁰. In other words – the labour contract certainly means both an assured salary and ensured years after retirement. This syndrome has been preserved in the nostalgic memories and today due to it is the so massive wish to work in a state firm. **Work for the government continues to be connected with guaranteed incomes and secure job place.**

Data showed that *the most preferable employment sectors by women* are trade (43.4%), tourism (39.8%), bank sector (23.3%), services (16.6%), light industry (15.7%), health care (15.3%), hotel-keeping (13.9%), state administration (12.7%), business services (12.6%). Most of the women are not only employed in the sphere of services but also their preferences are pointed at that sector. We could suppose that **the feminization of services would continue and obviously women themselves are willing to work in that sphere.**

A substantial part of the women (44.1%) have no clear idea of their professional orientation. From the others, the greatest number of the others want to become computer specialists (13.0%), doctors (8.8%) or to be a law graduate (7.9). Men have similar ranging of the most prestigious professions. Survey showed that there was none outlined preferable profession or professional sphere. Both women and men inclined to get high level of education in a more general sphere and after that to work something, depending on the particular circumstances and their luck.

If they choose a profession, only 3% of the women against 4.7% of the men turn to politics. For both men and women, “a politician” is not a prestigious profession nowadays. This is due to the mass alienation of the political class as a result from the series of experiments of the different governments in the years of post-socialist transformations. At politics would possibly point for the most part young women, but there is a wish for ostentation in their motives rather than real estimation of the work and responsibilities of politicians.

²⁰ Workers of the 80's – national representative surveys headed by Lilia Dimova

“Today with most prestige is the profession of a politician. They earn a lot of money, drive expensive cars, they are widely discussed. They are so famous and presume everything - how can you help desiring to be a politician.

Professions such as teachers, doctors, lawyers are somehow worthy but they don't have prestige. They work just for “thanks”, what a prestige then...”

Schoolgirl, 16 years.

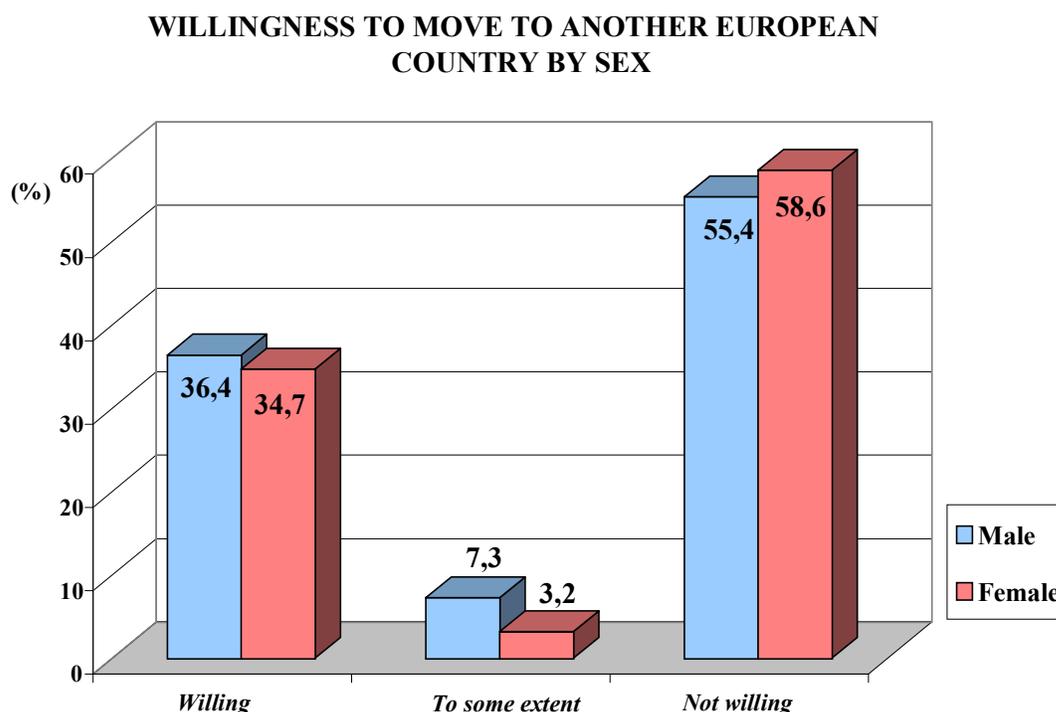
4.2. Emigration as an alternative

The emigration takes an increasingly serious place in the plans for the future and in the individual strategies for coping with the crisis. The potential emigration has been sharply growing in the last two years – both as personal desire to look for a better place to live and work abroad and as an intention to encourage the young people in Bulgaria to do it.

Mobility is not among the typical features of the Bulgarian mentality. It is not in our national culture to move, not to leave the country so as to make our living somewhere else. However, the years of transformations have changed dramatically the traditional conservative attitude toward the living place of residence. Today, more and more people are not only willing to move from one place to another, but also leave the country forced by the circumstances and by the lack of apparent perspectives for improvement in Bulgaria.

After the first massive emigrants' tide in 1992-93, surveys registered the same tendency at the end of the 90's. In 2001 a substantially great part of the population from all social groups were willing to leave the country so as to look for better living and working conditions. (See Figure 8). There are insignificant gender differences. Both men and women are ready to undertake such a step. The profile of the *potential emigrants*, men and women, revealed that these were mainly representatives of the high status groups, the young and well-educated generation, the employed, those living in Sofia and the big cities.

Figure 8. Willingness to move to another European country by sex



The emigration motives have been mostly economic – better conditions for work and life. They are connected also with the horizon people in the country, men and women, from all social categories, see in front of them.

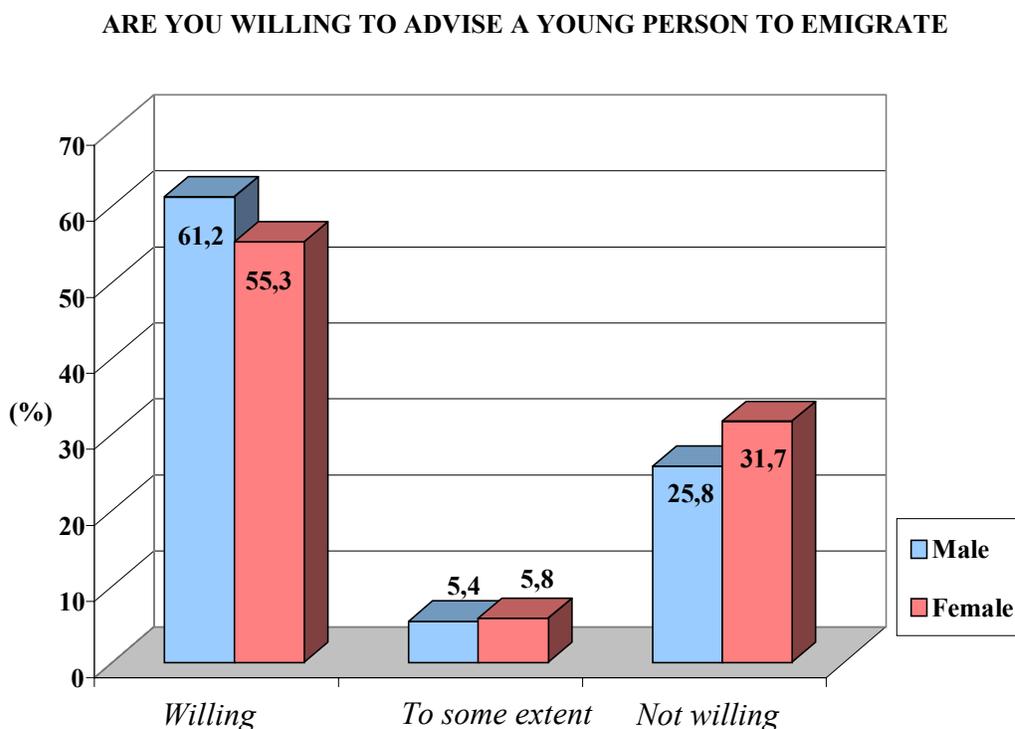
“Everybody has dreamed of working abroad. I would also do it, if I have the opportunity because there you have perspectives in front of you, you could grow and your work is appreciated. Of course if you find a good job here... , but even when looking for a job you have greater chances there.”

Student, 21 years of age, Sofia

With similar social profile have also been those who personally were not willing to leave (mainly because they have been advanced in years or unsure of their professional and training and language knowledge), but who **would advise young people to emigrate**. (Figure 9).

One of the main conclusions of the survey was that the emigration has been apprehended as a trusty way out of the crisis and poverty in the country. It is apprehended also as an alternative of futurelessness which men and women face nowadays. They did not see a horizon in front of them, did not see chances and opportunities for improvement, did not believe the political class could solve the problems of the country. The high pessimism indices are a strong proof of this fact. Under such attitudes, there is a real risk this tendency of “brain-drain” to continue. If they have the opportunity, the young, educated and perspective people of Bulgaria would go abroad, permanently or for some period of time, as they do not see favorable conditions for realization.

Figure 9. Willingness to advise a young person to move to another European country by gender



“I feel inclined to go West for half an year, whether to re-qualify or to show what my abilities are. I would like to take my child and my family, but I want to know that this has a beginning and an end and it is for a comparatively short time. And not as things are now – to work all the time but constantly to be short of money, not to know where my child is, when it has went to sleep and what has eaten. It will grow up and before you know where you can say knife, you understand there’s nothing you could give him.”

Unemployed woman-university graduate, 34 years old, Sofia

Even those who have a comparatively high income, a secure job and feel themselves of independent means would go abroad. They are been feeling social uncertainty in the country, they are dissatisfied with the reforms and estimate that transformations would not improve life in Bulgaria. It has been indicative that the higher post women and men have in the structure of society, the greater their wish to emigrate is. This is due mainly to the fact that they could not see any chances for prosperity and decent life neither for them, not for their children.

4.3. Reserves toward entrepreneurship.

One of the main issues concerned by the survey was if and to what extent women are willing to show self-dependent initiative and entrepreneurship., which are the obstacles they face and what will help them to overcome their problems.

Data illustrated that women show initiative and cope successfully with different situations when trying to find a way out of the crisis and prosperity in life in two main directions – extra work and developing own business.

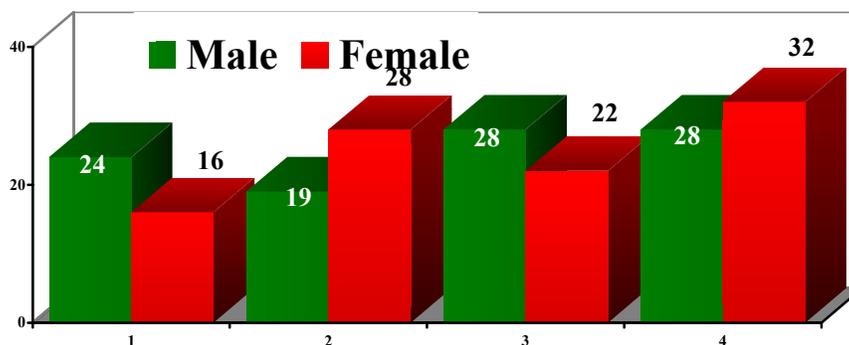
Extra work is not only means for additional earnings but also an opportunity to express and approve yourself on the labour market. One of the important conclusions of the empirical information analysis was that women in our country have greater education and qualification potential than they have the opportunity to use. Even at their main working place they do not utilize all the knowledge and skills they have acquired. Besides, one third of the women and every second man have more than one profession. This is a capacity which women could use only when there is relevant juncture and dynamics of the market.

“I have not come across an employer till this moment who adequately to utilize my potential. Only 10% from my potential is used. I have always wanted to have the opportunity to apply everything I can and know. Of course, I expect an adequate payment which to motivate me.”

Woman, professional orientation expert, 56 years of age, Sofia

Survey discovered that every sixth of the employed women and every fourth of the men on the labour market find a way to work some extra with their regular or reserve profession and often with no profession at all. Extra work and the additional salary turned out to be important and beneficial channels for improving the living standard and patching up the situation. Regarding this fact, professional potential is very important (See Figure 10).

Figure 10. Do you have opportunity to work some extra with your qualification?



| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| 1. Yes, and I do that | 3. Yes, but I have personal impediments |
| 2. Yes, there isn't where | 4. No |

Only one third of the employed women do not have potential to work extra. The other two thirds estimate that if they have the opportunity they would do it.

On more than one place work 16% of the women on the labour market. These are mainly representatives of the intelligence or state employees, with secondary or over secondary education, computer skills, aged between 40 and 45 years, not married, who live in the capital or in a big city. Their regular job is not intensive and this allows them to work extra. They do not have any family responsibilities, which give them the opportunity to spare more time on their career and on increasing their income.

Probably, the extra work is in the informal sector, on civil contract or without any contract. As the survey discovered, the so-called “shadow economy” is something contradictory so as to be totally rejected or admitted. Considering national interests and filling up the budget, undoubtedly tax and insurance savings have negative effect. From the viewpoint of people, however, in a situation of high and growing unemployment rate, limited access to the labour market and low income, the informal sector is a wanted rescue from and desired outcome. The day-to-day living orientation, itself a product of dynamic circumstances, also stimulates the search of temporary employment.

Those men and women who have the potential and the desire to work extra but because of one or another reason could not do it are also of interest. Their share is impressive – they are half of the population in the country. One of the main obstacles they face is the real situation on the labour market – the “basic” access to the labour market is hard to be realized and the “additional” is even harder. “I have the opportunity but there isn't where” is the most mentioned reason. Personal impediments like health, free time, age, family responsibilities, come as another reason. Women who most frequently point out this fact are mainly either before retirement, or aged between 30 and 39 years when most time and energy for childcare is needed.

Entrepreneurship and developing own business are new spheres for realization in the years of post-socialist reforms in Bulgarian economy where women have the opportunity to show initiative and could use them to cope successfully with different situations. Survey discovered, however, that “self-employment” is not very popular neither among women, nor among men in the country. Furthermore, the interest in it decreases, especially among women. The self-employed men were only 11.8% of all the employed in 2000 and the women in the same category were 6.8%, i.e. nearly twice less than men. Most of them were with primary and lower education – 47.2% of the men and 40.3% of the women.

Just about 7.3% of men-entrepreneurs and 3.2% of the women are with higher education²¹, which credibly proves that not the diploma but other factors determine the orientation to an own business.

Survey showed that the reservations toward entrepreneurship. come as a result from the adverse business environment and lack of financial resources. Every second man (51.6%) and nearly so many women (49.7%) estimate business climate in the country as unfavorable. We envisage the number of law disorders and autonomies, high taxes, disloyal rivalry, corruption, extortion, and many others which inevitably whither even the most enthusiastic. The enslaving conditions financial institutions attach when granting credits are also envisaged, including microcrediting program where one of the requirements is for real estate guarantees. As often family house is the only thing to mortgage, people seriously think about if it is worth loosing it considering the situation in the country nowadays.

The opinion that gender does not matter when developing a private business is massive. 64.4% of the men and 58.7% of the women think that both men and women could cope with this. Not few are also the estimations that men are more successful in business – such opinion share 22.0% of the men and 22.4% of the women. However, only 2% of the men and 6.4% of the women, deny women’s ability to do business underlying that is not women’s job. We can conclude that **not gender but the conditions and the personal qualities are main factors for developing own business.**

The survey showed that women’s and men’s interest in entrepreneurship is very similar. Men are more interested but there are no big differences. About 40%, of both men and women, were willing to develop own or family business but we should take into consideration the fact that we are speaking of attitudes, of possible alternatives for realization on the labour market and not of particular intentions and considered plans (See Table 16).

Table 16. Are you willing to develop own or family business (%)

| | Male | | Female | |
|-------------------------|-------|----------|--------|----------|
| | Total | Employed | Total | Employed |
| Willing | 43,2 | 58,1 | 37,6 | 52,4 |
| Neither willing, nor no | 4,6 | 4,2 | 3,2 | 4,9 |
| Not willing | 46,8 | 35,4 | 50,6 | 38,7 |

Data revealed that people who are on the labour market showed greater interest in developing own business compared to the others. The reasons are easy to be explained – these are mostly workers, unsatisfied with the working conditions and their payment, with the necessity to reckon somebody else’s orders and caprices and who think it is better to work for yourself.

Those who were *not willing to undertake own business* pointed out two main reasons – lack of financial recourses (28.9 % of men 21.2% of women) or the age and the bad health (25.9% men and 29.8% women). Health and age were the main problems of women while for men – the limited finances. Every tenth man and every sixth woman on the labour market in our country pointed as important reason to lack of favorable conditions for developing small business.

The other category, who were *willing to be entrepreneurs*, would orientated to trade (28.9% of the men and 27.9% of women), services (14.6% men and 16.1% women) or craftsmanship (10.7% men

²¹ Employment and unemployment 1994-2000, NSI

and 4.3 % women). Few women would turn to agriculture (3%) or to stock-breeding (2.8%). Consequently, most attractive are trade and services but not production.

To start own business, about 60% of men and women need first and above all financial recourses and not information, skills and knowledge how to start and run an own business. The conclusion is that **very few women, and men as well, are familiar with the challenges of entrepreneurship.** and the massive estimations are that if there are resources things would go well. All these facts argue for a relatively low business culture of people in the country and for the need such culture to be formed.

4.4. Between compromises and social dumping

Despite their wishes, stagnation of the labour market strongly restrains the choice of women what and where to work. This fact on its part sharply lowers their standards and reflects on their working values and job satisfaction. Massive is the opinion that you should make compromises, if you want to find an appropriate job nowadays. Place of residence is also one of the strongest factors (Table 17).

Table 17. Evaluations of conditions for access to labour market by sex and employment status

(% “strongly agree” and “agree”)

| STATEMENTS | MALE | | | FEMALE | | |
|---|-------|----------|------------|--------|----------|------------|
| | Total | Employed | Unemployed | Total | Employed | Unemployed |
| To find an appropriate job you should be to make compromises. | 72,5 | 76,9 | 72,8 | 67,5 | 77,4 | 67,4 |
| It's easy to find a job in the big towns than elsewhere. | 82,6 | 86,0 | 84,4 | 79,7 | 89,8 | 75,3 |

Women on the labour market are more with 10 points compared to the unemployed who think compromises today are necessary so as to have a job. As the survey showed we are speaking of compromises with health (work under harmful working conditions), with time for yourself and sometimes with labour rights as well.

“Circumstances themselves force you to make a compromise. When you have a child for whom you should provide food and clothing and you are unemployed with no means, you make compromises with everything – salary, working time, health, etc.”

Worker, 38 years old, Sofia

As a whole the unemployed women are less willing to pay such a price – although being out of board and wishing to have a job, there are different opinions.

“Our requirements – of women, have been already so lowered to make further compromises, it can't be helped.”

Unemployed woman, 45 years old, Sofia

The dumping of women is evident especially in terms of *payment*. As the survey showed, women receive 67% of the salaries men receive. The most interesting thing is that women are more

modest in their claims. That, which they consider for a real material equivalent of their work, constitutes 54% of that considered as deserved by men.

“Frequently, women alone limit themselves and are satisfied with lower salaries. As though they still follow the traditional stereotypes that women are stupid, not knowing their rights and not wanting too high payment.”

Director of NGO, Sofia

A great part, both of women and men, are ready to re-qualify or to orientate to other branch if by some kind of reason they lose their present job. **More women than men are prone to acquire new qualification or to change their sphere of work**, but comparatively smaller number of women would start a job they thought unacceptable till this moment (Table 18).

Table 18. If by some reason you lose your job, to what extent are you willing to...
(% employed)

| | Willing | | To some extent | | Not willing | |
|---|---------|--------|----------------|--------|-------------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| ...re-qualify | 59,3 | 65,9 | 12,0 | 8,9 | 20,6 | 20,1 |
| ...look for a job in another sphere | 72,7 | 75,2 | 12,0 | 7,9 | 13,2 | 14,0 |
| ...accept a job till this moment you considered as unacceptable | 54,1 | 47,9 | 17,6 | 18,8 | 25,3 | 27,8 |
| ...not to look for another job | 7,7 | 5,6 | 4,3 | 7,0 | 82,4 | 80,9 |

One of the directions of the social dumping is the willingness of women to accept *any job*. Survey registered that women to a greater extent were ready to work any job and to receive any salary, even under harmful working conditions, without a contract and insurance, with the only purpose to have incomes.

“Requirements, working conditions, health...Airs and graces! When your children have nothing to eat - you do not ask where would you work or how much would you receive!

Woman, employed in an enterprise with impending dismissals, 42 years old, village

Even highly-qualified and proved women-professionals, thrown out of the labour market, intended to turn back to their hitherto existing status, sometimes running to extremes, so as to provide for their families and shake off the feeling of being outsiders. Survey came across different life and labour histories, which although different have been united by one thing - the dramatic nature of life and the fact that women are combinative when trying to solve a problem.

“Four years ago, I found myself on the street. All my endeavors to start work after that have failed. It turned out that I’m suitable neither for an advertising agent, nor for a waitress or for a cleaner. I have been constantly thinking how to provide food for my children. We are able to survive thanks to the miserable pensions of my parents. I have depressed myself, I have lost hope. I’ll go to any lengths so as to make both ends meet.”

Single mother, talented actress, famous two decades ago

Women were forced to be and they are combinative mostly when they are looking for a job. If the preferences are for low level of education, for example, and this is the only alternative after months

of searching, women-university graduates have been willing to hide their diplomas so as to be employed. Those who are highly qualified also are ready to forget their abilities. They sometimes succeed but in this way a valuable capital of knowledge and experience remains not used.

“Women more easily than men swallow their self-respect if they should realize in spheres where a lower qualification than that which they really have is needed. As though men, from pure psychological point of view, suffer more painfully such a change, re-qualification in professions, which have been considered not so prestigious as that, they had been working till this moment. While women take the challenge and lead by one or other considerations - serving of the family or anything else, they find a way to realize themselves...”

SOCIAL WORKER AT A LABOUR OFFICE, WOMAN, SOFIA

*

*

*

Women are not so pretentious as men in their ambition to adapt to the new situation on the labour market. That makes them more easy to be manipulated and have been more preferred by employers who are looking for easy profits. In this way, however, women who themselves ignore their labour rights, mainly because they have no other choice, turn into a disloyal rivalry of men on the labour market. The social dumping which women make on the labour market does not contribute to the improving of the situation neither of women, nor of men.

V. DOUBLE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

Survey showed that, in the conditions of the post-socialist transformations in the country, the “work-family” conflict has been deepening. Working women now have more responsibilities than before, because except for the work and the family care, as public norms and cultural traditions prescribe, they should think about also how to keep their job.

The double burden of women at the labour market and at home is a serious test for the realization of both their main roles. Combining family and professional responsibilities has been estimated as one of the most serious factors for the gender inequality, since women have less time compare to men for education and qualification, for extra work or personal

development²².

5.1. “Work – family” conflict

The massive participation of women on the labour market in the past decades has formed public norms of the working woman as for something in the nature of things. The reverse version when the woman is not working continues to be apprehended as unnatural. Therefore the unemployment problems of both men and women have been equally dramatic. At the same time, the traditional ideas have been kept on, that household work is a responsibility of the woman and men at best “help”. On that account, the estimations that work and family are not always compatible are massive and women’s employment inevitably has an effect on bringing up children, on family relationship, on responsibilities at home.

Changes in the employment structure lead to re-arranging of women in this respect. With the entering of market economic relations in the country, an unfamiliar for the socialist period social category has appeared – this of the housewives. For the present it is comparatively small, but in the past ten years a tendency of growing was observed. Data from national representative surveys of ASA showed that in 1993 1.3% of the adult women had the status of housewives. Till 2001 their number has increased three times and now it amounts to 3.9%.

“All women before were in one and the same situation, i.e. they went to work and took care of children and their household. Most worked at 8-hour working day – she went to work, finished it and then returned at home. They have been working at these two fronts somehow in parallel and balanced. While, after the changes, women have divided into two groups and there is a strong differentiation between them. The first group of women set themselves the task of finding rich husbands, found them, at least I have such impression, and have remained at home. They deal with their manicure, hair-style, the child, drink coffee with friends. They do not have the ambition, nor there is a necessity, to make a career or to show themselves in some other way except for a lovely supplement, a beautiful companion of her husband on worldly events. The other group of women leaned over backwards. If lead only by personal ambition, or forced by the circumstances, they had rushed to make a career and to earn money. A third group also appeared – there are a lot of women, especially within the group of more highly-educated, who bear the responsibility to provide for their family and it is most difficult for hem. The “family-work” conflict remains for them and is deepening.”

Journalist, Sofia

²² ILO § UNDP. Women in poverty. 1998.

Those who want to work and would not become reconciled only to be a part of the kitchen's and children's room interior continue to be the prevailing category of women. As the survey showed, a comparatively small part of the women on the labour market (17.3%) would leave work, even if they were of independent means.

“The assumption, that women in Bulgaria could turn into housewives, stay voluntarily at home, is an illusion.”

University lecturer, UNSS, Sofia

Survey showed that, in the conditions of the post-socialist transformations in the country, the “work-family” conflict has been deepening. Working women now have more responsibilities than before, because except for the work and the family care, as public norms and cultural traditions prescribe, they should think about also how to keep their job. And this requires attitudes, time and sources for re-qualification and forming of adequate for the new situation discipline. This inevitably increases the number of the factors causing stress, to which women have been put.

“There exists a conflict between work and family responsibilities. This is the first conflict, which the outside world considers as big. And that, within the family itself, has been concealed on the whole. Women have an additional working day at home – they work with hours. Especially the older tragically limit their free time. And men do not do that. In my opinion, women have only themselves to blame...”

Director of women's NGO, Sofia

Empirical data showed that the “work-family” conflict was stronger for women than for men. The double burden put on working women reflects over their contradictory feeling of full value of both their roles. (Table 19).

Table 19. Impact of women's employment on family and children

(% “strongly agree” and “agree”)

| <i>Agreement with the statements</i> | MALE | | FEMALE | |
|--|-------|----------|--------|----------|
| | total | employed | total | employed |
| A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work. | 36,5 | 34,5 | 45,8 | 41,9 |
| A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works. | 62,3 | 62,8 | 61,0 | 53,5 |
| Family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job. | 48,5 | 44,5 | 46,5 | 43,0 |

Men have been comparatively more skeptical, especially those in the labour market, that women would be able to cope well with her mother-like responsibilities if she goes to work. Most women, however, were of the opposite opinion based on their gained personal experience and that of their mothers.

The multivariable analyses revealed that the employed women fell more burdened at home than at work. Things were the other way about for men – they were more burdened at work. Gender

differences are due mainly to the different type of responsibilities and the different character of the work, men and women have (See Table 20).

TABLE 20. HOW OFTEN, DURING THE PAST THREE MONTHS, HAS HAPPENED TO YOU...

| | Almost daily | | Several times a month | | Rarely | | Never | |
|--|--------------|--------|-----------------------|--------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| ...to come home too tired to do some of the household work which need to be done | 28.4 | 31.5 | 28.8 | 29.6 | 38.9 | 33.3 | 3.9 | 5.6 |
| ...to be difficult for you to fulfil your family responsibilities because of the time you spend on your work | 18.8 | 19.4 | 25.3 | 21.8 | 45.4 | 43.1 | 10.5 | 15.6 |
| ...to arrive a work too tired to work well because of your family responsibilities | 3.9 | 7.1 | 5.2 | 15.1 | 59.4 | 44.8 | 31.4 | 33.0 |
| ...to find it difficult to concentrate at work because of your family responsibilities | 4.4 | 4.7 | 4.8 | 9.9 | 53.3 | 48.1 | 37.4 | 37.3 |

The share of the employed which work has been accompanied by stress is impressive, but there are gender differences. Nearly half of the men (47.5%) against 39.1% of the women have been put to stress at work. It has different character, but its effect is one and the same – professional discomfort, which rarely is transferred at home.

“Tension and stress for us come as a result we meet clients, and all of them are different. Relations with the clients are connected with a lot of emotion and the work, as a whole, is tense and requires high responsibility.”

High bank official, a woman, UBB, Sofia

Stress in the family is not massively spread. For the most part, both men (65.5%) and women (61.5%), do not live in an environment causing stress. More women (46.2%) than men (35.2%), however, complained they have much work at home that often they do not have time to fulfil all their responsibilities. This is easy to be explained, as for women the time after work is actually the beginning of a second working day, whereas for most men this is the time for rest and recreation.

The conclusion is that **tension and stress at work have a greater negative effect compared to family problems**. Weariness from the working day has nearly the same effect on men and women, but women are those who continue at home.

“As a whole, the woman, no matter what the situation of the country is, has always been the more underprivileged. Her position is more labour-consuming. And the woman could be at work together with the men and then at home – the second working day. There are no social roles. And this second working day has been denied. In my opinion, women should be very strong as they bear all this.”

Student. 23 years old, UNSS, Sofia

The more responsibility women have at home inevitable reflected to a greater extent their efficiency and concentration at work, in comparison with men. This conflict affects their health status, which, as the survey revealed, is worse than that of men.

Every fourth woman in Bulgaria has serious health problems. Such complaints have a comparatively smaller part of the men – one fifth of them. According to statistic data, in the end of 1999 27.8% of men versus 38.8% of women who have bad health and the women suffering from chronic diseases are 1.5 times more than the number of men. The greater the age is, the bigger the number of health problems becomes. It is alarming, that one fifth of people in Bulgaria in their most active age (aged between 25 and 44) and half of those in the age group between 45 and 64 years have bad health. Most often women (and comparatively more than men) suffer from high blood pressure, from chronic spinal and heart troubles, from migraine and arthritis.

The price of the work-family conflict divides women into three main categories whereas each of them is convinced in its own rightness and in each of them women with different social and economic characteristics could be found.

Women who are ready to sacrifice their personal and professional development for family and children belong to the first category.

“Women are above all mothers. They turn back to their work and career, sometimes they ignore them...For the Bulgarian woman family is in the first place.”

Schoolgirl, 17 years old, village

The other category covers women who put their career and professional advancement, not the family, in the first place.

“Marriage would limit my opportunities. The ranging of priorities becomes inevitable – 1. Education, 2. Work, 3. Family. Furthermore, marriage decreases people’s mobility, their free time. Several emroilments arise...”

Student, 22 years of age, UNSS, Sofia

The third category includes women who try to balance and match both their roles without ignoring either their family, or the work. None of these groups, however, have a clear social profile.

Obviously, the priorities of each of them depend on the combination of value structure, family inherited traditions, new cultural environment and many others.

The new social and economic conditions, as well as the existing conflict between family and paid employment, also affect the attitude toward family and marriage. In recent years, a tendency of giving a new meaning to marriage has been observed. (Table 21).

Table 21. Changes in the attitude toward marriage and family life

| | (% “strongly agree” and “agree”) | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| | 1995r. | | 2001r. | |
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Married people are generally happier than unmarried people. | 62,4 | 72,2 | 50,7 | 49,6 |
| It is better to have a bad marriage than no marriage at all. | 25,7 | 27,7 | 16,9 | 12,5 |
| It is all right for a couple to live together without intending to get married. | 46,5 | 42,5 | 49,0 | 49,1 |

For six years only, the number of the upholders of “marriage by all means’ has decreased considerably. Data do not prove the traditional ideas that for the women marriage, even a bad one, is among their principal values. A comparatively small part – 12.5% - think in this way, as in 2001 they were twice less compared to their share in the mid- 90’s. Women who link their happiness with family life have decreased sensibly (with over 20 points). At their expense, those who are well-disposed to the variant of “family without marriage” has increased. During the same years, men have become bigger traditionalists than women, although they have suffered similar value changes. The reasons could be sought in the complicated conditions under which the leading role of men in the family is gradually disappearing and is shared or completely shifted upon women. Women are feeling more and more doubly responsible – on one side, providing the living and, on the other – cares for the children, the family and the husband. The reaction of a considerable part of them, especially of the highly-educated and those who have high employment status on the labour market, is at least to re-estimate the traditional worth of family and marriage.

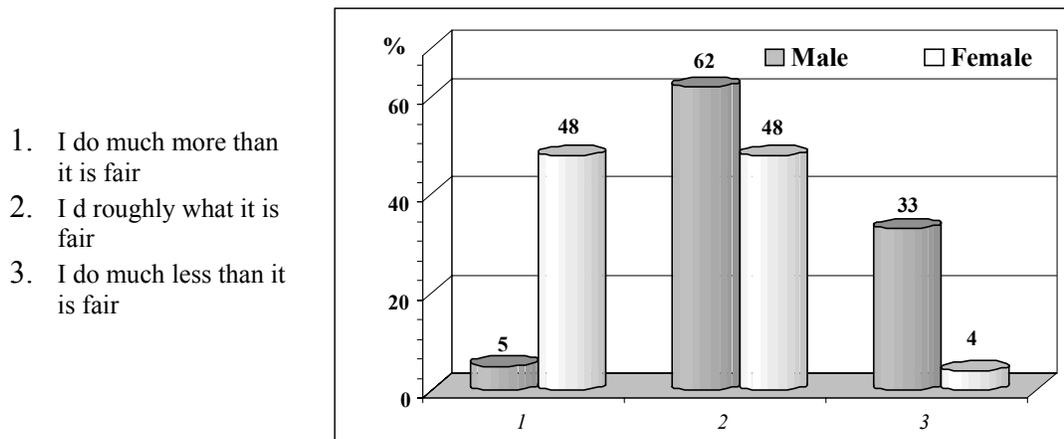
5.2. Distribution of household work

In the years of post-socialist transformations, under the complex survival circumstances; also under the influence of the massive European and world values entering our national culture; an intensive processes of breaking up the traditionalism, considering conscience and way of thinking, both of men and women in the country, have been observed. The traditional gender division of roles using as a basis male and female work, according to data from the survey, has nearly vanished.

Women’s social roles are considerably more clear than that of men. The men are heads of households rather formally than on practice and the concept itself has already no connotation. The traditional labour division according to the specific responsibilities of men and women (the men earn money and the women take care of the home), has no field to be manifested today. But only in respect of its first part – for the men’s work. Working is the person who could and had greater luck, household work, however, is simply women’s work. Massive is the opinion that both spouses should contribute to the family budget. That is to say, when we are speaking of equal contribution to the family budget, men are “FOR”, but when we are speaking of equality considering family responsibilities, the men, fully

comfortable status quo of leaders at home while somebody else (i.e. the woman) has been doing the ungrateful, stupefying and labour-consuming household work.

Figure 12. Do you agree that distribution of household work is fair?



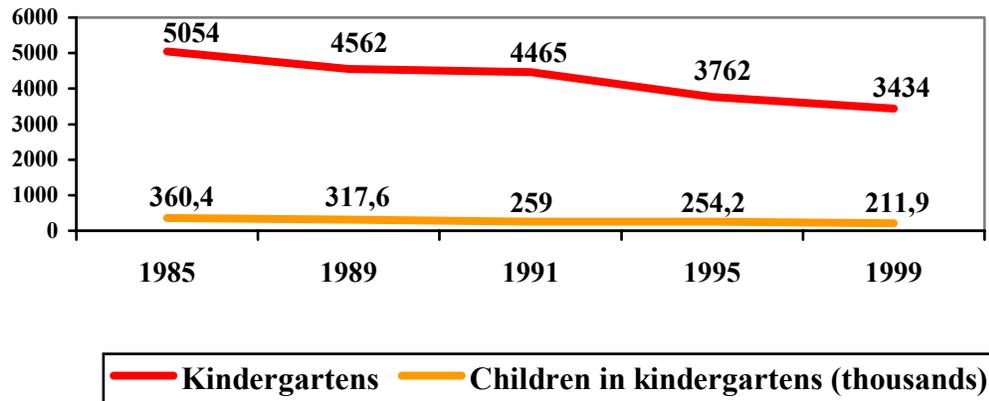
The conclusion is that women continue to undertake all the burden of household work despite the estimations that this is unfair. Furthermore, the crisis forces them out and do not let them make use of number of comforts as, for example, household appliances or the enriched variety of services. Survey data showed that only half of women in Bulgaria (55.8%) own an automatic washing-machine, one third (32.4%) continue cleaning without vacuum-cleaner and hardly 2.0% use washing-up-machine. The paradox is that the market has been more and more glutted with technical innovations facilitating household work and the purchasing capacity of the Bulgarian households has been more and more shrinking. In this way, in the arsenal of compulsory deprivations, the deprivations of services and things which make work easier have been added.

Child-care has a specific and independent place while distributing family responsibilities. Most of men (71.1%), as well as 83.1% of women estimate that men do not spend enough time on their children. To come to a more fair distribution of responsibilities between both parents, which is in interest of children themselves, massive is the conviction that men should participate more actively than it is now in upbringing and child care.

“The upbringing on the father’s part is important. The way he behaves toward the mother, the fact if he helps or not with the household work...If small boys have been taught to help and respect the labour of the woman-mother, they also would be different as men.”
 Student, 22 years old, Vratza

Equivalent distribution of parental responsibilities is necessary also because of the aggravated infrastructure. (See Figure 13). Transformations have sensibly affected children’s establishments which have made it significantly easier the upbringing of children in pre-school age over the former years. The full employment scheme at the time of the changes included a wide network of crèche and kindergartens over which two generations of Bulgarians have went. Re-construction had not passed over them as well – some were closed down, others – transformed in something else. Private ones appeared but only those who are comparatively wealthy could afford them and they are not prevailing in the country.

Figure 13. Kindergartens and children included there by years



The alternatives for upbringing the children are quite limited for the working mothers. The variants are either grandmothers and grandfathers to take the child care or the children's establishments whenever and wherever it is possible. Stagnation stratifies parents' choice and reproduces their status to the children as well. More wealthy parents could afford more qualitative care and better education while the others are forced to take into account their opportunities. There are reasons to suppose that the changes in the Family Assistance Law would intensify this stratification.

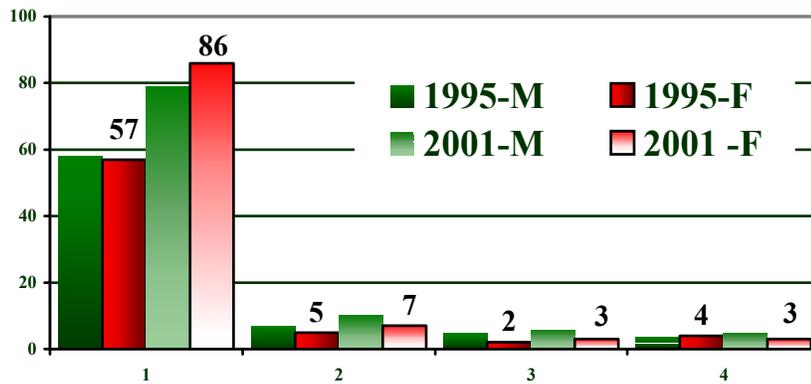
At all cases, however, the issue regarding the equivalent participation of both parents in the upbringing of their children is one of the main questions considering distribution of family responsibilities.

“The upbringing and education of the children is not only a woman's responsibilities. Household work and child care should be distributed, the spouses should be interchangeable.”

Student, 23 years old, Sofia

Survey showed that not only both spouses contribute to the family budget in Bulgaria, but also that they consume it on partners' principles. This has turned into a tradition which crisis had confirmed and not altered. (See Figure 14)

Figure 14. Distribution of family budget



1. Shared cash 2. The woman 3. The man 4. Separately

In 2001 households using shared cash were with 30% more. One of the conclusions was that the hardship of re-construction intensified the role of family and partnership, which is not necessary to be affixed with marriage. Regarding partnership in distribution of household work, however, trip over the traditional stereotypes and the comfort of men among them, despite the opinions, although in principle, that things should change.

“We could not be equal in society and work if we don’t have partnership at home. A balance in taking responsibilities is necessary so as women, first of all, to have the opportunity to recover physically; to have time for themselves; to have time to keep up their qualification. Otherwise they lag behind and risk to loose their job. And from this family wins nothing.”

Woman with own business, 43 years

Better distribution of household work and taking less work by women is substantial not only for regaining their feeling of justice. Survey proved that women who have no serious family responsibilities or could rely on their spouse’s support cope more successfully with the new challenges.

5.3. Women for their plans

Survey showed that, in this respect, the women could be divided into two categories of equal value – one of those who think about the future and other of those who live day-to-day.

A comparatively small part of the women (8.8%) and men (9.6%) have plans for their future and partly for that of their children.

The massive orientations are for a day-to-day life, without plans and visible perspectives. From those, living without planning their future, men (74.8%) prevailed over women (71.7%). Such present moment orientation, without thoughts of the future for the cultural model of poverty, which, as the survey showed, has wide social spectrum in the country.

“My personal plans are short-term and I think that most people in Bulgaria make maximum short-term not long-term plans. It is difficult to make long-term plans under such great dynamics. “In a country like Germany, for example, a person who starts work at the age of 26, knows as a whole what his job would be, what position he would have after 20 years. Here, this is impossible to be done because of the circumstances.”

Journalist, Sofia

The most massive explanatory scheme for the day-to-day orientation is the fact that nowadays it is very difficult to make plans.

“What plans could I make as I see things are not going well?”

Worker, 38 years old, town in the countryside

The situation has been estimated as so seismic, the changes as so dynamic and unpredictable, that they exclude any future projects. Ruined former plans also have effect because they keep up pessimism and form wait-and-see attitudes.

“I had plans to have a job, to receive regularly a salary which I have worked out, not like now...it turned out different – we go and beg, hang by the director’s door. And none pay pays us attention. What plans could I have in this case – nothing depends on me.”

Worker, 48 years of age, town in the countryside

For the women, their personal plans often give way to the desire of self-sacrifice in the name of their children and their future. This is characteristic for nearly all social groups, but most dramatic is the situation for the low status categories.

“We make plans to give an education to our children because we have not studied and know how bad is this. And we simply want they to study, to have work. Education is very important because there is no work nowadays if you do not have education.”

Unemployed Romany woman, 22 years old, Sofia

Although comparatively small in number *the men and women in the country, who plan their future*, deserve more attention. These are mainly young people to 39 years, who at the moment start their active life or have steady work, place themselves from the middle to the top of the social pyramid, live in the bigger cities, representatives of the intelligence, who think that despite the tremors, things in Bulgaria are going toward life improvement.

Women who have plans for the future are satisfied to some or other extent with their way of life and with the ongoing reforms and reckon that the situation is better now than before the transformations. They are optimistic for their future and are convinced that people like them and their families have real chances to improve their life as things are going on in the country. They envisage positive changes for Bulgaria as a result from the integration with the European structures and include Euro-integration in their personal plans. They are equally willing to leave the country or to stay in it; they need a little to take the one or the other decision. In the plans of some of them, there are intentions of starting an own business.

“I want to start from a lower stage in a firm which activity is connected with my specialty and to be able to come up the hierarchy. I want to start from some basis and bit by bit, gaining experience to have the opportunity to take more responsibilities. That’s my dream, these are my plans.”

Student, 23 years old, UNSS, Sofia

The conclusion from the data analysis is that the more comfortably and secure women are feeling, as well as men, the more they tend to plan their future and to rely on their own efforts for success. On the contrary, the greater their feeling of instability and dead-lock is, so their plans for the future have been thrown into the background by the direct problems of surviving. The second tendency markedly prevails in Bulgaria.

“I’m for the democracy and I have always been for it. But from over three years the situation of our family is very bad. My husband is unemployed and could not find a job. He is author of quite a lot of good projects. We try to go West... I think it is better considering his abilities to find more highly-paid job there. We had years ago two cars, mobile phones – the cars were old, the mobile phones were second-hand, but we had them. We frequented cafes, we went to Belchin Bania, to Maliovitza, to resorts at the seaside. But since half a year, we stay at home, our telephone was cut off, we have sold the cars, we have sold everything. Today I have borrowed some money to pay the kindergarten because they would take away the child...”

Unemployed woman, 34 years old, Sofia

The women, as the by the way, try to patch up the situation, to provide satisfying of their basic needs, mainly of the children, and if there is something left – of the elderly. As the survey showed besides several things with which they had become used to and taken for granted for a long time (as secure job, education, health care, pensions), women nowadays deprive themselves of their plans for the future. Whenever and whatever they could do, they think with priority about the children.

*

*

In general, double burden of women in Bulgaria has already tripled – they play the role of mothers, of workers and of job-seekers. There are hardships when everybody in the household has been working, but the situation is not dramatic as in the other case. The woman, besides her other duties at home, plays the role of a psychological buffer, the man being unemployed. As the survey showed, social price of transformations includes not only deteriorating family relations, but increasing women's role at supporting and distributing of family budget, as well.

VI. GLOBALIZATION AND QUALITY OF LIFE

Survey registered that the quality of life, both of men and women in Bulgaria, has lowered seriously during the years of reforms and transformations.

The global economic collapse and the shock therapy for introducing free market relations after the Cold War and especially after the disintegration of the Soviet bloc have been more disruptive and devastating even compared to the Great Depression²³. The global transformations of the transition from

centralized to market economy and the processes of public relations democratization in Central and East Europe have lead to sharp, dramatic and sensible lowering of quality of life of the main part of the population. Over the period, whole social groups have been brutally thrown out by the modern epoch far behind in the past centuries because they were not able to pay for basic things as electricity, heating and transport. The main reason for the lower quality of life could be founded on the economic transformations and privatization as a result of which thousands of workers have been thrown into the streets²⁴.

Bulgaria is not an exception and also continues suffering the hard social and economic consequences of globalization processes, ongoing as structural reforms in the country. A decade after the start of the transition period Bulgaria is not only the country with the lowest employment rate and the highest unemployment rate among all other EU candidate countries, but also the country with the lowest average monthly income from wages, salaries and pensions. Bulgaria is also among the countries with relatively high costs of basic needs – food and housing needs. According to official National Statistics, in 1999 the average wage in Bulgaria was 8 times lower than that in Slovenia, for example, and the average pension – 3 times. More detailed data could be seen in Table 23.

Table 23. Income and consumption in 2000 of some candidate countries for EU accession

| COUNTRY | GDP PER CAPITA IN \$ | AVERAGE WAGES AND SALARIES-\$ | AVERAGE PENSION IN \$ | SHARE OF FOOD COSTS | SHARE OF CLOTHING AND FOOTWEAR COSTS | SHARE OF HOUSING, WATER, ENERGY COSTS |
|----------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Bulgaria | 1573 | 120 | 45 | 42,2 | 5,4 | 16,3 |
| Czech Republic | 5267 | 373 | 170 | 21,3 | 6,2 | 16,9 |
| Hungary | 4936 | 338 | 127 | 34,9 | 6,3 | 20,2 |
| Poland | 4316 | 469 | 200 | 30,8 | 5,5 | 17,9 |
| Romania | 1893 | 153 | 50 | 37,4 | 8,5 | 19,0 |
| Slovenia | 10077 | 954 | 412 | 21,2 | 9,3 | 10,4 |
| Slovakia* | 3853 | 268 | 118 | 24,5 | 3,1 | 16,3 |

During the period 1990 – 1999, the greatest shares of the total costs of the Bulgarian population had food, housing and household needs and they tended to grow – from 51.3% in 1990 to 56.6% in 1999.²⁵ At the same time, although insignificant as considering the total household expenditure, there was a decline in clothing and footwear costs from 8.3% to 5.5%, education and recreation costs – respectively from 3.5% to 3.3%. In 1999, hardly 3.3% of

²³ Michel Chossudovsky, “Poverty globalization and effects of the IMF and WB reforms” “Pari +” / 17.11.2001

²⁴ Ibid.

* Data is for 1999.

²⁵ Statistical Yearbook, 2000, NSI

household expenditure in Bulgaria were for new furniture and household equipment, as this was with 1.4% less compared to 1990.

The conclusion we could draw from the statistic data is that in Bulgaria not only indicators of low living standard and low quality of life were observed, but this quality was also lowering through the years of reforms and transitions. Households in Bulgaria have the lowest income compared to the other candidate countries and spend them mainly on food and basic household needs.

The inner structure of the annual consumption of primary food products revealed that income was enough for bread (11.23 kg. per person in 2000 as for the other candidate countries it was under 9.67 kg) and primary foods. For one year only, from 2000 to 2001, consumption of bread and paste products, meat and meat products, milk and diary products has been decreased and has reached critically low levels.²⁶

Considering housing costs (about 13% in 1999), they were 2 –3 times lower than these in countries with high living standard. The reasons are in own houses of over 80% of the population acquired in the years before the transition period. The own house is one of the leading values in our national culture, together with the education and children, that is why the west experts accusations that living standard in the country could not be low as people have own houses sound strange.

5.1. Satisfaction with the changes in the country

If we take account of this fact, the massive dissatisfaction of people with the changes in the country is not surprising. The conducted in-depth qualitative and quantitative survey outlined that, 12 years after the beginning of transformations, negative attitude toward the things going on prevailed over the positive estimations. A comparatively small part of both men and women were satisfied with the changes in the economy, their quality of life and political situation in the country. The share of the dissatisfied was considerably higher (See Table 24).

²⁶ Living standards, CITUB, issue 1, 2001, p.45

Table 24. Degree of satisfaction with the changes (%)

| <i>Satisfaction with...</i> | Satisfied | | Neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied | | Dissatisfied | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|------|--|------|---------------------|------|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| ...own quality of life | 17,1 | 14,7 | 21,1 | 20,9 | 61,2 | 63,1 |
| ...political situation | 16,5 | 12,2 | 24,5 | 26,1 | 43,1 | 43,2 |
| ...gender equality | 46,6 | 38,1 | 24,4 | 21,5 | 15,9 | 27,2 |
| ...ongoing reforms | 17,6 | 14,8 | 23,6 | 19,8 | 45,3 | 49,3 |

The negative evaluations of economic and social reforms in the country were dominating, mainly because people connect and blame the reforms for the aggravated quality of life, impoverishment, insecurity, lack of opportunities of improving their status and that of their children. Over 85% of men and more than 88% of women did not think there was an improvement as a result from the reforms but just the opposite, this inevitably reflects over the general opinion of the ongoing transformations.

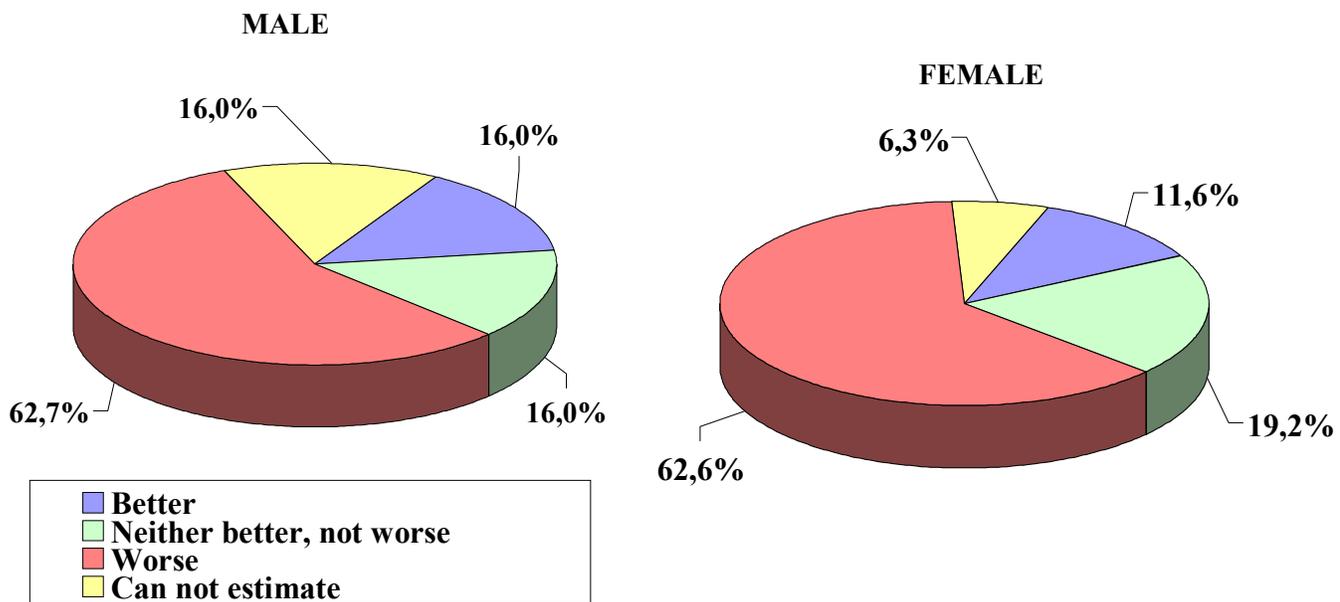
Most massive is discontent in regard of quality of life. As the survey showed, exactly **the quality of life is the main point of view in the light of which the achievements and omissions of each government in the country have been estimated.** Nearly two thirds of the people are dissatisfied with their standard of living. 63% both of men and women think that today they live worse than before the beginning of transformations. Every fourth man and every third woman assess their living standard as lower than the standard of their mothers when they were their age.

Referring to the *gender equality* in the country, however, positive attitudes dominate over negative. Current “level of equality” is more favorable for men than for women.

Gender differences in political freedom, which come as a result from the democratic changes in the country was observed. More men (47.2%) than women (39.0%) are of the opinion that democratization has extended women’s political freedom. One reason is that the problems of gender equality is not on the agenda of Bulgarian society and discussing these problems provokes only general arguments rather than experience based judgments. The other reason is that men overstate women’s rights and status in the country as they are not well acquainted with the facts. Women themselves, estimating on principle democracy contribution for extending their freedom, evaluate more realistically their own status. Young educated women tend to give positive evaluations of the effect of democratization on women’s freedom.

One of the main conclusions of the survey was that **the nostalgia for the former security is becoming stronger**. In the middle of 2001, over half of men and women in the country assess that now they live worse than before the beginning of transformations (Figure 15). This is peculiar mainly to the impoverished strata of society and data showed their share is over 80% of the population.

Figure 15. How do you live now as compared to the period before November 1989?



Women give more negative estimations of the current situation, compared to men, nostalgia for guaranteed security is more massive, they are more pessimistic for the future. The reason is that they are more concentrated on steps which on practice help them to cope with the crisis and more responsible when trying to find a solution of the hardships their family and children face. Women are more “inside” the problems of everyday life than men and respectively have limited opportunity to think about global society and world problems.

For women in Bulgaria quality of life means safe and decent life, without privation of basic needs. Good opportunities for development, freedom of choice if and where to work and live are expected. A great part of the women, however, do not rely on their own potential but on government. Life philosophy “*nothing depends on us*” is highly represented.

5.2. Polarization “THEY” and “WE”

An intensive process of social differentiation has started right after the beginning of transformations in the country. During the first years of the 90’s, according to in-depth social surveys of ASA, a new social stratification to “winners” and “losers” has started. In parallel with this scheme the “rich” – “poor” model has appeared. Till the second half of the 90’s, a relatively massive hope for chances of getting into the first groups so as not to be caught in the poverty trap was still observed. Over the whole period, however, pessimism for the present situation and for the future of the country has been prevailing.

From the middle of 1999 up to now, a process of new stratification type of Bulgarian society was observed – it was empirically registered as typical for the second half of the 80’s. We are speaking of “THEY” and “WE” division, i.e. “politicians” and “ordinary people”. “THEY” are rich, prosperous, corrupt and have been forgotten why are in power and who had put them there. For “THEM” there are different laws from these for the ordinary people. (Figure 16) The strong and massive aggravation of quality of life has lead to alienation from political class despite their color and posterred programs mainly as a result from the differences in “OUR” and “THEIR” standard. In the years of parliamentary elections, this alienation has been decreasing, but has not disappeared, very soon after that it started intensifying. This succession has turned into a ruling principle of the last three governments, including the present.

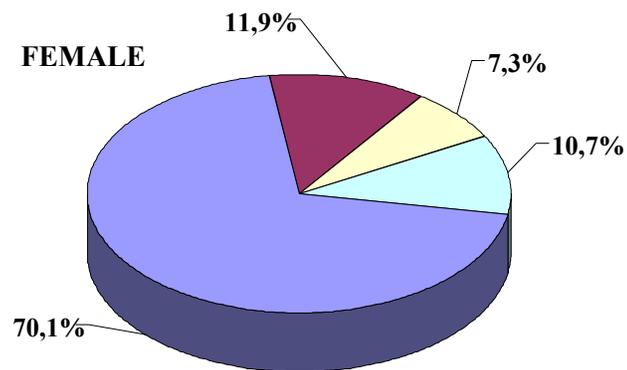
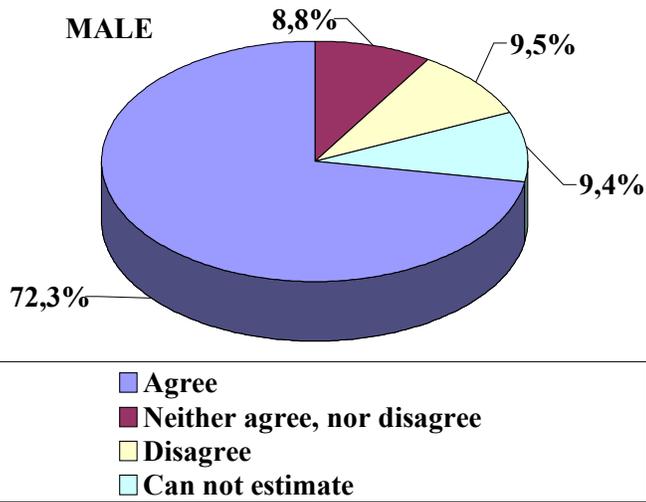


Figure 16. There are different laws for the rich and for the poor in Bulgaria



Both in 2000 and in 2001 social surveys outlined a serious gap between people’s priorities and the agenda of political elite, which causes and feeds up the

alienation between them. Data for 2001 (See Table 25) showed significant differences in ranging “real” and “desirable” political orientations.

Most both men and women point out Euro-integration and NATO membership as really leading in the current political orientation. But they rather in the rear of true priorities of people. One of the reasons is in the so called “language gap” between governors and governed – politicians are not able to interpret to ordinary people in normal and understandable language their programs and intentions, which itself leads to low or false informing where things in the country are going on and why in this direction. Another reason is – in strongly polarized society of “THEY” and “WE” and massive disbelief in politics formed as a result from the unjustified hopes and expectations over the transition period in the country.

Table 25. Real and desirable priorities of governmental policy

| <i>Priorities</i> | Real priorities | | | Desirable priorities | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|----------------|------------|------------|
| | Rang total | % | | Rang male | Rang female | % | |
| | | Male | Female | | | Male | Female |
| Euro-integration | 1 | 42,2 | 34,2 | 9 | 10 | 10,7 | 7,4 |
| Membership in NATO | 2 | 42,3 | 32,9 | 13 | 14 | 4,3 | 0,9 |
| Economy | 3 | 39,3 | 32,6 | 2 | 2 | 57,6 | 54,9 |
| Corruption | 4 | 27,6 | 24,5 | 4 | 6 | 26,5 | 20,1 |
| Criminality | 5 | 21,8 | 20,0 | 5 | 4 | 25,8 | 29,1 |
| Living standard | 6 | 22,5 | 15,4 | 1 | 1 | 61,3 | 57,7 |
| Financial stabilization | 7 | 19,3 | 18,1 | 6 | 7 | 17,8 | 15,0 |
| Employment | 8 | 12,1 | 10,0 | 3 | 3 | 36,8 | 31,9 |
| National interests | 9 | 11,3 | 10,5 | 8 | 11 | 11,7 | 7,0 |
| Health care | 10 | 8,2 | 11,1 | 7 | 5 | 17,0 | 21,6 |
| Education | 11 | 3,2 | 3,0 | 12 | 12 | 5,9 | 7,0 |
| Children and youths | 12 | 1,8 | 4,4 | 10 | 8 | 8,2 | 11,2 |
| Adults | 13 | 1,5 | 3,4 | 11 | 9 | 7,0 | 11,0 |
| Sport | 14 | 1,1 | 0,6 | 15 | 15 | 0,3 | 0,0 |
| Culture | 15 | 0,2 | 0,3 | 14 | 13 | 1,8 | 2,4 |
| <i>Can not estimate</i> | | <i>11,6</i> | <i>23,3</i> | | | <i>1,1</i> | <i>6,0</i> |

The interviewed have given to three answers so the total percent exceeds 100.

According to public, improving of living standard, economic stabilization, increasing the employment, struggle with crime and corruption should lead the governmental policy.

Hence, for people it is unusually important the internal problems of the country to be solved and only then or in parallel with it a place for the country European and World configuration should be looked for. According to the public, politicians should consider not international institutions estimations but the problems of their own voters. In this global plan, survey did not registered any significant gender differences – both men and women think in the same way.

Considering most serious problems of the country, in the decade of transition were repeated only changing its priority meaning during the particular years. Unemployment, poverty, crime, opportunities of improving the standard of

living, corruption take the leading positions. This means at least that **not one of the former governments succeeded in modifying social collapses of the economic transformations.** (Table 26).

Table 26. The most serious issues for Bulgaria in 2001 are...

(% “very serious” and “serious”)

| № | ISSUES | MALE | FEMALE |
|----------|--|-------------|---------------|
| 1. | Poverty / social uncertainty | 99,4 | 98,6 |
| 2. | Unemployment | 98,9 | 97,2 |
| 3. | Criminality | 95,2 | 96,4 |
| 4. | Corruption | 92,5 | 92,4 |
| 5. | Perspectives for improving quality of life | 92,3 | 87,5 |
| 6. | Aging of population | 85,9 | 88,0 |
| 7. | Emigration and “brain drain” | 80,8 | 76,07 |
| 8. | Environment | 64,6 | 64,7 |
| 9. | Education | 55,8 | 65,8 |
| 10. | Ethnic differences | 25,5 | 31,3 |

Employment and unemployment are among the most acute problems in the country. Two thirds of men and women in Bulgaria have been directly affected by poverty problems, and over half of the population – by unemployment. About 80% of both men and women see any chance for improvement, and two thirds worry about their children’s future judging by the current situation and by the visible alternatives.

5.3. Culture of dependency

All in-depth social surveys throughout the transition period outlined high and massive culture of dependency of people in Bulgaria. For solving their problems, people mostly rely on state, on authorities, on elite. Not only as inherent from the former totalitarian regime, but as a part of our national culture also, people seek support in institutions above, convicted that it is their responsibility to settle the situation in the country. They take the “freedom of subordinates” with the conviction that their engagement is to elect a government and pay taxes. Taking decisions is “outside” them and it is an elite’s prerogative.

In 2001, as during the past years, the claims that it is a state’s responsibility to assure employment and high living standard for its citizens (See Table 27).

Table 27. It should be the government’s responsibility to...

| Government’s responsibility is to ... | YES | | BOTH YES AND NO | | NO | | Can not estimate | |
|---|------|--------|--------------------|--------|------|--------|---------------------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| ...provide a job for everyone who wants one | 73.7 | 79.1 | 10.7 | 9.0 | 14.8 | 10.7 | 0.8 | 1.2 |
| ...assure education for all children | 89.4 | 88.0 | 7.1 | 5.5 | 2.7 | 5.0 | 0.8 | 1.6 |
| ...provide a minimum guaranteed income for everyone | 84.2 | 85.4 | 6.0 | 7.5 | 8.5 | 5.1 | 1.3 | 2.0 |
| ...reduce the income gap | 66.3 | 67.7 | 11.3 | 13.3 | 19.0 | 14.5 | 3.3 | 4.4 |
| ...protect women against | 92.7 | 88.9 | 4.2 | 3.7 | 1.6 | 4.1 | 1.5 | 3.2 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| violation | | | | | | | | |
| ...guarantee observing labour legislation in the private sector | 93.3 | 89.7 | 2.3 | 4.3 | 2.3 | 1.3 | 2.1 | 4.8 |
| ...guarantee observing labour standards in enterprises with foreign owners | 92.7 | 86.2 | 2.5 | 3.2 | 2.4 | 0.9 | 3.5 | 9.8 |

Over 3/4 of the people in our country, both men and women, count on state to provide jobs, to guarantee secure income, to make laws and control mechanisms defending their labour and civil rights. The negative impressions of privatization and managing of enterprises with foreign owners prompt 92% of men and 86.2% of women to expect state to guarantee the keeping of the labour standards in such enterprises.

“In the wearing enterprises with foreign owners there are really greater job opportunities for women but their rights... There is an absolute exploitation in them.”

Worker, 42 years old, village

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In general, men and women in Bulgaria share similar opinions that the quality of life in the country has been worsening and the governors are those who should take the responsibility for that. The alienation of power-possessors has been strengthening in the recent years, but at the same time the expectations are namely they to improve the situation. The culture of dependency is more strongly expressed and more massive regarding women than men.

VII. POVERTY AS A NATIONAL ISSUE

The turbulence of the ongoing transformations push out every third woman (34.4%) and every fourth man (26.5%) in Bulgaria toward a misery trap. Three fourth of the population in the country has been living more or less with a feeling of poverty. Poverty has been turning into a living standard and a cultural model of behavior, which reproduces and generates poverty in the next generations.

An increasing number of world experts associate with the thesis that globalization inevitably increases poverty, unemployment and inequality²⁷. Inequality turns into one of the basic characteristics of globalization, both on international and on national level. On a world level, differentiation follows the scheme of “rich North” and “poor South”, where in 7-8 countries from the North, which have 20% of the world population, flow 86% of the whole world GDP. On this grounds,

in 1999 the Council of Europe announced a special initiative – *Globalization without poverty*.²⁸

Inequality has also been increasing inside the countries – both in industrial and in developing countries. In UNO Development Report for 2001, for example, it was rendered that “in USA 40 million of people live without social insurance and of five adults one is functionally illiterate”.²⁹ The issues referred to poverty, unemployment and the decline of human values provoke tension for the future of national and world development.³⁰

A process of “poverty globalization” is also apparent. Cross-national analyses come to the conclusion that “the late XX century will go down in the world history as a period of global impoverishment, marked with the collapse of productive systems in developing countries, crushing of national institutions and ruining educational systems and health care”³¹. In the name of the global economic reconstruction, works and factories were closed, small and middle-sized enterprises had bankrupted, professionals wandered about, as unemployed, human and physical capital was not used because of “effectiveness”.

In these turbulent processes, Bulgaria turned to be in the group of the losers and those who were strongly affected. One of the most dramatic characteristics of transition period to market economy is the massive impoverishment of population and the strong polarization of society to “rich – poor”.

Not all countries in transition, however, face so massively the problems of impoverishment and poverty. According to data of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, in 1999 Bulgaria has the highest share of the poor compared to the other candidate-countries for EU accession and covers one third of the whole population in the country (Table 28).

TABLE 28. SHARE OF THE POOR IN EU CANDIDATE-COUNTRIES

| COUNTRY | Relative share of poor | COUNTRY | Relative share of poor |
|----------------|------------------------|----------|------------------------|
| Bulgaria | 33 % | Romania | 30 % |
| Czech Republic | 1 % | Slovakia | 1 % |
| Hungary | 2 % | Slovenia | 1 % |
| Poland | 13 % | | |

²⁷ Huan Somavia, President of the International Labour Office, “Lio Tan”, July 24, 2000r.

²⁸ UNDP. Human Development Report. 1999.

²⁹ Bonei Katakumba, President of The Chamber of Commerce of the 77-s, Havana, “Pari”, April 11-12, 2001

³⁰ Lilliana Paneva,”, “Pari”, August 18, 2001

³¹ Michel Chossudovsky, op. cit

Comparative data showed that Bulgaria is the country with the lowest employment rate, with the lowest income from salaries, wages and pensions, with the highest unemployment rate and with the greatest share of poor people.³² At the same time, the paradox is that Bulgarians are more educated than population of the European Union as a whole and particularly than the English, the French, the Italian, the Greek, the Spaniard, the Portuguese, the Belgian and than the Hungarian and the Romanian, as well.³³

7.1. Poverty structure

Poverty as a phenomenon and concept is coming in Bulgarian way of life and vocabulary from the beginning of the 90's and since then permanently goes along with the social and economic transformations.

“It is a trouble that in Bulgaria there has already no middle class. We separated to rich and poor... Middle class just disappeared.”

Woman before retirement, town in the countryside near Sofia

Poverty in Bulgaria is different from the poverty in Africa or Latin America, for example, but there are not few people in the country who does not have sufficient sources and opportunities for a decent life. Poverty in Bulgaria has some basic characteristics:

- In Bulgaria, the prevailing share of poor people have been “impoverished”, i.e. those who are poor today has lowered their standard of living as compared to the previous period of planned economy and full employment. They have the opportunity and the basis to make a comparison between “before” and “now” which makes their situation even more dramatic.
- The feeling of poverty comes mainly as a result from the low purchasing capacity and from the compulsory material and non-material deprivations to which over 70% of the population is put to. As contrasted with the western standards, in Bulgaria to the group of the poor belong also people who have own houses, as a rule acquired before the transformations.
- Impoverishment of the population during the first half of the 90's was not yet such an acute problem as in the recent years. The reason is that in the first years of transformations people could still rely on unexhausted reserves and accumulated material acquisitions, which inevitably vanish with the years.
- The category of the poor in the country is not a homogeneous group with clear social profile. Those living in poverty have similarities only considering the privations they are put to and the feeling of dead-lock, but among them you could find people with different level of education, sex, ethnic identity, age, religion. Apart from pensioners and unemployed, who according to the classic criteria are very likely to be grasped in the poverty trap, this group includes also employed because of their low or not regularly paid salaries and wages.
- Till the mid- 90's social research registered the phenomenon “poverty feminization”, i.e. considerably more women than men have been falling into the group of the poor –

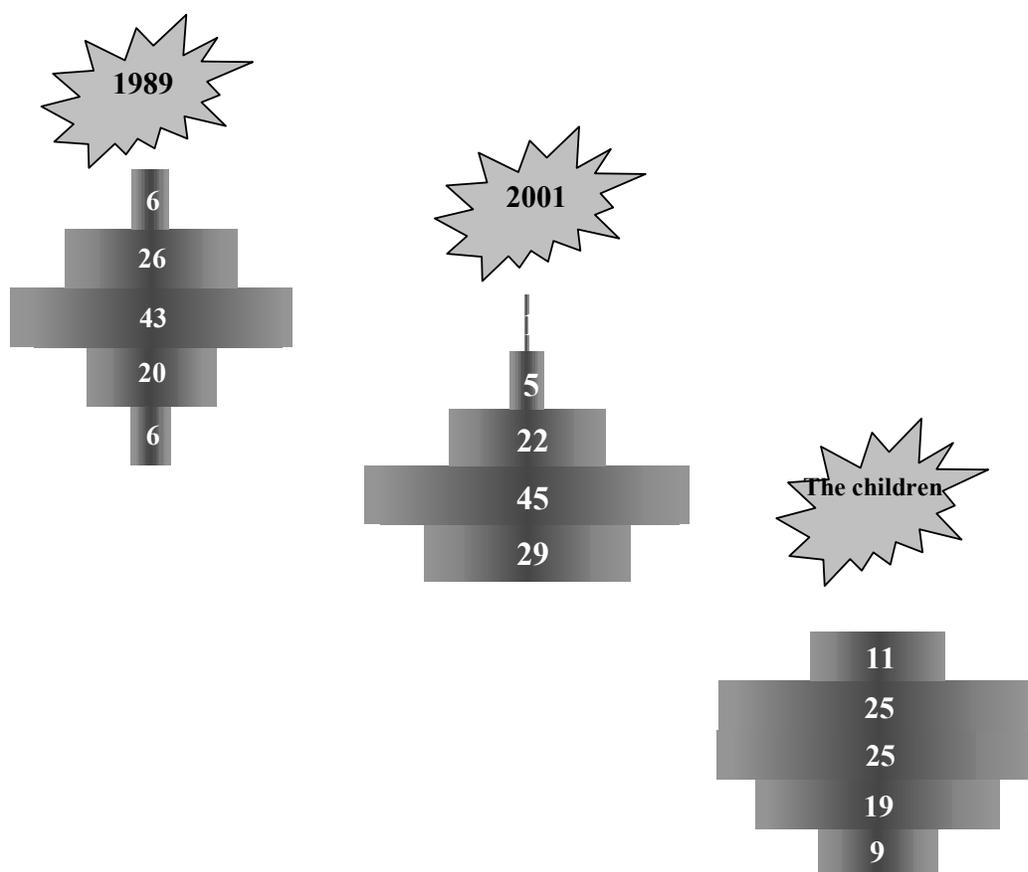
³² European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Country Assessment Report, 2000

³³ EC. Education in Europe – 1999-2000.

these were mainly single mothers, women-heads of households, single old women. After that, however, there were gender differences, but they were insignificant on account of the continuing impoverishment of the population and the fall of more and more men in the category of the “poor”.

In 2001, the structure of Bulgarian society (according to self-estimations of poverty 10 point scale “Rich-1” – “Poor-10”)³⁴ was with insignificant elite at the top, relatively small middle class (22%) and the great mass of people from the middle to the bottom of the social pyramid. Graped in poverty trap felt 29% of the Bulgarians who “live bad” and “hardly meet both ends” (See Figure 17). These were mostly pensioners, unemployed, but also 15% of the employee’s. **Women were 58% of those who identify themselves as “poor”.**

Figure 17. Structure of Bulgarian society according to self-estimations of poverty on “Rich – Poor” scale



³⁴ The Agency for Social Analyses (ASA) follows the poverty dynamics from 1993 till now. The annually applied methods were executed in the present survey as well, which gives the opportunity to study the changes in structure and social range of the poor and the culture of poverty.

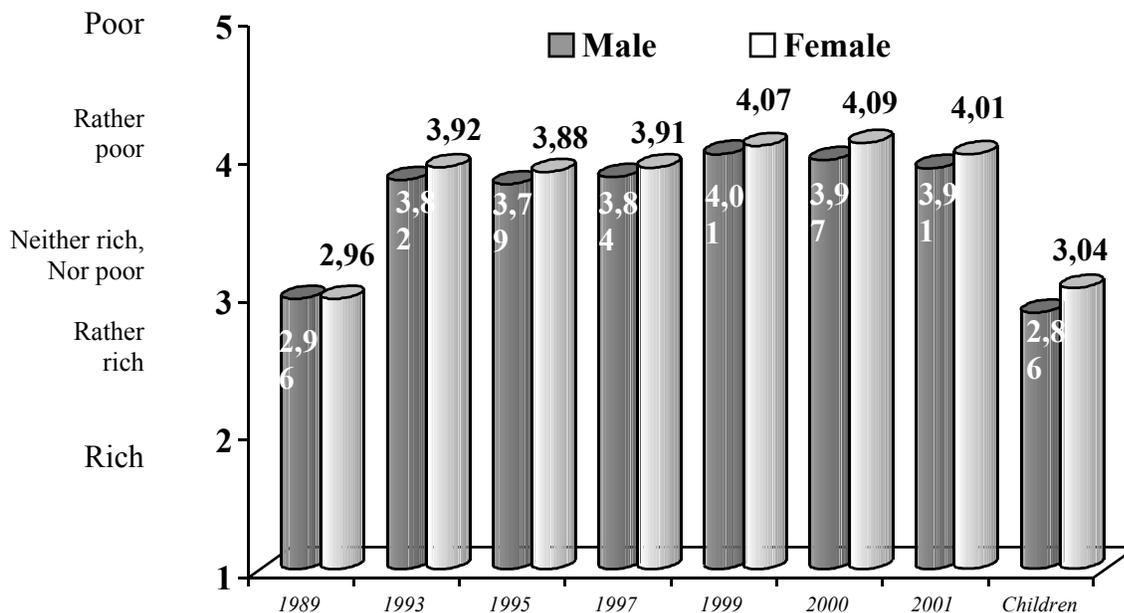
The type of society, based on the respondents' retrospective evaluations ("Where were you in 1989 on the same scale?"), was different before the beginning of transformations – not many people at the top and at the bottom and dominant majority in the middle of the social pyramid. Before the transition period only 6% of the people in the country felt poor.

People's expectations of their own children's status, which are hopes and wishes rather than real forecasts, reproduce the type of society before the transformations but with stronger presence from the middle to the top of the social pyramid. Everybody hopes that his children would live in a society with many people near the top and only few near the bottom. However, every third of the poor expects his children also to be poor.

Followed through years and sex, poverty indices³⁵ show interesting tendencies and dependencies (See Figure 18). The most favorable values were till the beginning of the transition period in the country. In 1989 they were from the top to the middle of the social pyramid. Values by sex completely coincide – both men and women at that time have more or less good material status but did not feel poor.

After 1993, however, poverty indices sharply changed to impoverishment and gender differences appeared. The indices are slightly higher for women. Most people dropped from the middle to the bottom of society and women to a comparatively greater degree suffer the hits of the crisis.

Figure 18. Poverty indices by age and gender



After 1999 and especially in 2000 crisis and impoverishment grew to an enormous size. This was the period of comparatively most intensive economic and social reform in the country – privatization, pension and health reforms, educational and military re-construction. The social price became apparent in even more massive feeling of collapse, poverty and lack of perspectives for the future. In 2001, the year of the parliamentary and president elections, hopes for improvement

³⁵ On the basis of empirical data from national representative surveys of the Agency for Social Analyses, poverty indices are computed as weighted mean from self-estimations of poverty on 10-point scale "Rich – Poor". They vary from 1 to 5. The nearer to 5 is the index value the more massive is poverty in the country. Indices which gravitate to 1 are the closest to the ideal of "welfare society".

concerning the new government had influenced self-estimations and, both for men and women, the poverty indices were lower compared to 2000. But in 2001, poverty also could be defined as an acute national issue – 72.8% of the men and 73.7% of the women felt somehow poor.

Poverty stands out for a life philosophy and an overwhelming barrier to forming of normal self-confidence and own human dignity. Poverty is also a prism in the light of which desires and intentions are formed. Research came across cases when single old people have shrunk their consumption to only basic food products, that they feel proud to fit in 50 LV per month without need to starve and that makes them self-confident.

“It is very difficult for the pensioners ...some people complain. I don’t know what to tell you ...I live with economy and could not complain. I manage with 50 LV. And I do not deprive – if I feel like drinking boza – I drink, if I feel like eating a wafer – I buy one...”

Old man, widower, town in the countryside

Survey registered a high level of deprivation not only in the group of those who estimate themselves as poor. When the insufficient family budget should be distributed, it is started with the so called non-material deprivations – entertainment, free time, recreation. These are i.e. things which in other circumstances are appreciated but which are not so important and one could live without them in extreme situations like today. Over 80% of the people in the country have not gone with years on vacation, to the cinema, to the theater or to a concert, haven’t bought books. It turned out, however, that men also rarely rest or entertain, but do it comparatively more often than women. Women feel more engaged and more responsible for the children and the family and usually first start depriving.

The registered level of *material deprivations* in the country is also high. Over half of both men and women have no new clothes for the last one year. New clothes and footwear have not allowed for 56.4% of Bulgarian women for the last 12 months. There was nothing new for children in every third household as well.

“I could not buy clothes or shoes because I prefer my child to have something to eat. Books – I haven’t bought books for a long time, since three years or more. And this was my favorite thing – to buy books. Now, if I could take from somewhere or if we could exchange with somebody who had bought before like us... “

Single mother, 45 years old, town in the countryside

In 5% of the households, the purchase even of essential commodities or of commodities for hygiene and health care, such as soap and toothpaste, is limited. As a whole over one third of the population of the country is practically outside the market because of its low purchasing capacity and rely mainly either on natural aid or on “subdermal fats” (housing, furniture, clothing and footwear), accumulated before the transformations.

Women feel comparatively more harshly the crisis and they are more threatened to drop to the bottom of society. Survey showed that every third Bulgarian woman (34.4%) against every fourth man (26.5%) has been living in poverty. The profile of the poor by sex outlined interesting gender differences as well.

Frequently, the poor women are pensioners, with primary education, who are living in small towns and villages to 2000 residents, in two-member households. Their monthly personal incomes do not exceed 50 LV and those of the family – 100 LV. Every tenth of the poor women do not have

personal income. The poorest women at working age are usually wives of unregistered unemployed persons.

Half of the women on the labour market also feel poor whereas 13.1% of the surveyed employed women placed themselves just on the bottom. They have usually worked in private Bulgarian enterprises and were not confident that Bulgarian proprietors provided better working conditions compare to the foreign. However, most of them (45%) were of the opinion that the foreign owners were more inclined to exploit Bulgarian workers, including women. Every second of the poor women find it a myth the statement that in private enterprises women received high salaries and wages.

“Globalization is entering the country but at its worst – as small foreign investments which do not flow in big towns because the investors choose remote villages with abandoned production capacities and with to some extent educated labour force. We could see them mainly in the textile and footwear industry, in the wearing workshops, where women are employed but the owners lay down their conditions as foreigners. And the Bulgarians working for them consider the Bulgarian labour laws are not valid for them as they are foreigners. Or they take advantage of the opportunity to corrupt government officials or merely there is no state control observing the labour rights.”

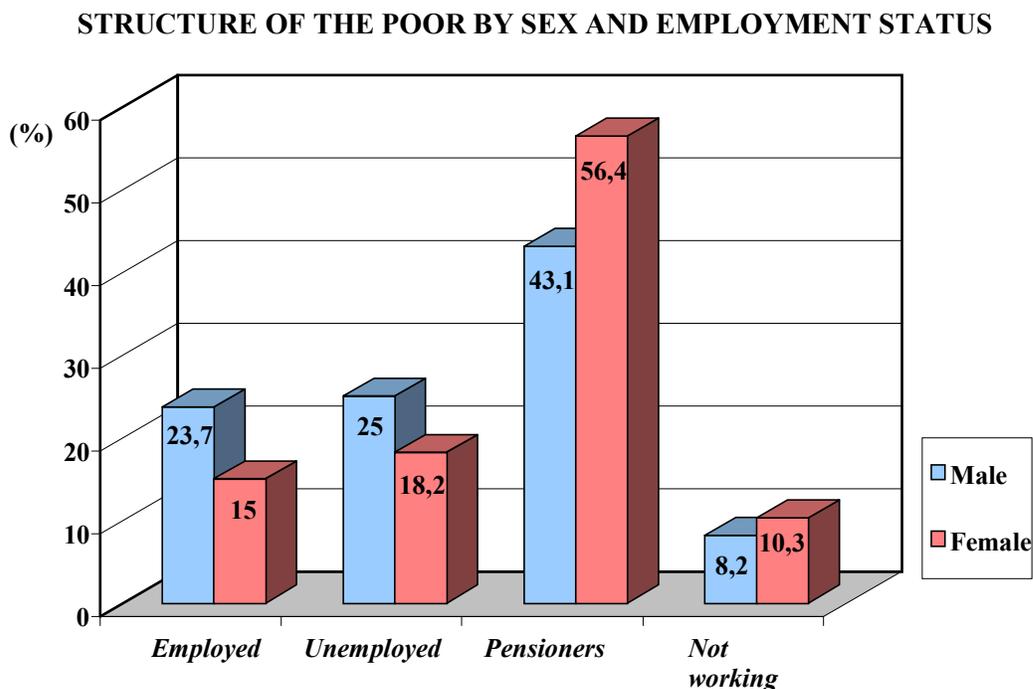
President of NGO, Sofia

Poor men have as a whole similar profile. Survey, however registered serious differences considering single men and women. It is more likely single women to be caught in poverty trap compare to men. The reasons could be seen in their lower incomes, no matter if we are talking about salaries and wages or about pensions. Every second of the widows fall under the group of the poor. For single mothers and women-heads of households it is also more difficult to cope with the poverty problems and the crisis compare to men in the same situation.

In the structure by employment status of the poor pensioners prevailed (50.9%). They are twice the other classic group – the unemployed which are 21.1% of all the poor. The share of the poor-employed, however, is serious – 19.4% while there is no significant difference with the share of the unemployed. We can conclude that at the present juncture of the labour market and those who are working, people outside the labour market are threatened to fall into the group of the poor. The reasons could be seen in the level of payment as well as in the irregularly received incomes.

Survey registered significant gender differences in the profile of the poor men and women by their place on the labour market (See Figure 19). Despite their comparatively lower payment, the employed women in poverty are less than men in the same situation, so as the unemployed women. When, however, women move to the category of pensioners, and especially if they live alone, it is almost inevitable to be caught in poverty trap.

Figure 19. Structure of the poor by sex and employment status



When they have work, women feel more confident and have lower sensation of poverty than men. Considering the high unemployment and the strongly limited labour market, the most important thing for them is to work so as to have incomes and to support the family budget. Frequently, the payment and the essence of work are put on second place compare to the alternative to be thrown out of the labour market. The men, however, comparatively more dramatically accept low payment and are not so inclined to compromise with their qualification and with their expectations for adequate payment. For both men and women, life in poverty have a seriously affects their family relations, their living philosophy and their plans for the future.

“MEN HAVE ONE PROUD, IN MY FAMILY PARTICULARLY IS SO – MY MOTHER RECEIVES A SALARY HIGHER THAN THAT OF MY FATHER’S AND I SEE THIS HURTS HIM, BECAUSE HE IS NOT THE MAIN SOURCE OF INCOME.”

SCHOOLGIRL, 16 YEARS OF AGE, BIG TOWN

Survey registered the symptoms of the so-called **“cultural model of poverty”** in the country³⁶. The basic characteristics of this model on *an individual level* are a strong feeling of marginalization, of

³⁶ The American sociologist Oscar Lewis already during the 50’s works out his ideas for the culture of poverty as a specific “design for living” with its own norms and values and which could be transferred from generation to generation.

helplessness, dependency and inferiority, of fatalism and predestination, of strong day-to-day orientation³⁷.

On a *family level*, life of the poor is characterized with increasing the role of the mother as far as she takes the responsibility to distribute the limited family budget. Single mothers and women heads of households are a common phenomenon within the group of the poor, as well.

On a *community level*, the behaviour of those living in poverty is distinguished with isolation from public life, with relative reticence in a limited social circle. For poor people, family and relatives are often the only institutions to which they belong. As a rule, they are not members of political parties and associations, comparatively rarely or they do not vote at all, because of their low purchasing capacities they have limited access to the commodity and services market. Their access to education, health care and social security is also reduced to a minimum.

One of the most serious problems of the poor men and women in the country are those concerning unemployment, social insecurity and lack of opportunities for improving their situation.

For the poor women, however, health is a more serious problem than for men. As a whole, the health status of women is worse but in the group of the poor gender differences are not substantial – 76.5% of the poor women have health problems against 67.2% of the poor men.

Survey revealed contradictory differences in the positions of the poor men and women. Both men and women face similar challenges which turn poverty into a prism, in the light of which the situation has been evaluated and plans for the future have been made. But certainly there are differences and they are mainly considering apprehension of life in poverty and strategies undertaken so as to overcome the crisis.

Life in poverty has different effect on the psyche and the self-confidence of men and women. Women in poverty are more flexible than men, more adaptive and stronger orientated to solving the particular everyday and family problems, but are not so interested in more global issues referring to public or world development. Women also are more inclined to make compromises so as to cope with the crisis.

Poor women have lower national spirits as compared to men. Nearly every second woman (46.8%) against 32.3% of the men do not find any grounds to be proud that she is a Bulgarian citizen and judges that the world is looking at the country with suspicion and do not think we are equal. With other words, poverty in the country is forming a strong feeling of inferiority and social rejection both in pure human and in national plan. For women these symptoms are stronger than for men. These symptoms are stronger for women compare to men. The multivariable analyses showed that the closer to the bottom people are, the more threatened by the poverty trap they feel, the greater their discontent of the situation in the country is.

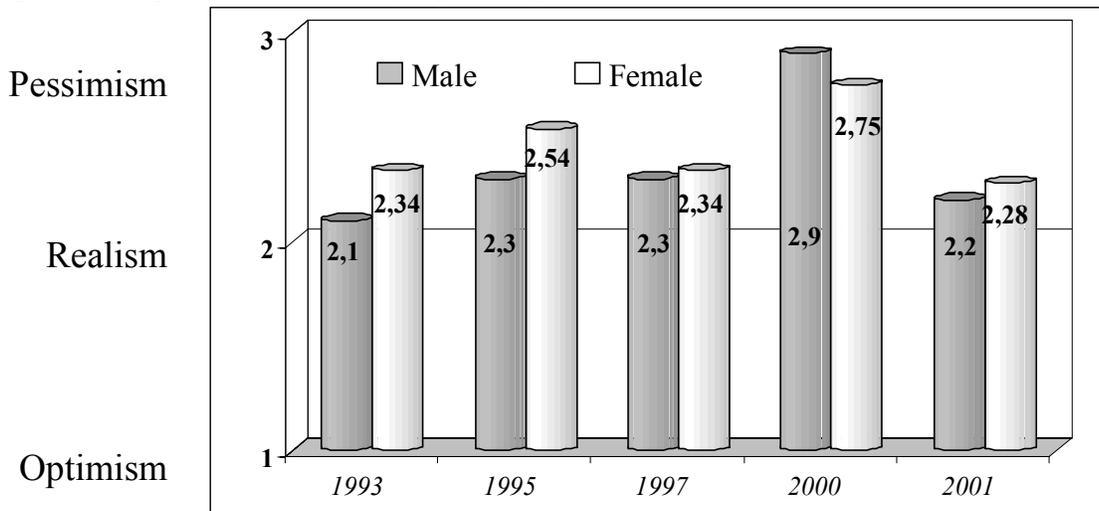
6.2. INDIVIDUAL STRATEGIES FOR A DECENT LIFE

Pessimism is one of the typical characteristics of life in crisis and in poverty. Throughout the whole transition period the pessimists in the country prevailed over the optimists. Optimism and pessimism indices show that the dominating part of the men and women find themselves between everyday realism and pessimism for the future.

Optimism-pessimism indices reflect evaluations of the surveyed to what extent people like them and their family have the opportunity to improve their standard of living judging by the present situation in Bulgaria. The indices assume values from 1 to 3 – the nearer to 3 is the value, the more pessimistic public attitudes are (See Figure 20).

³⁷ Lewis, O. Five Families. Basic Books, New York, 1959

Figure 20. Optimism indices by age and gender



This index has similar high values as the poverty indices. The fluctuations in 1997 and in 2001 toward greater optimism were based on hopes for better life which people lay on the new governments in years of parliamentary elections and a situation of a deepening crisis.

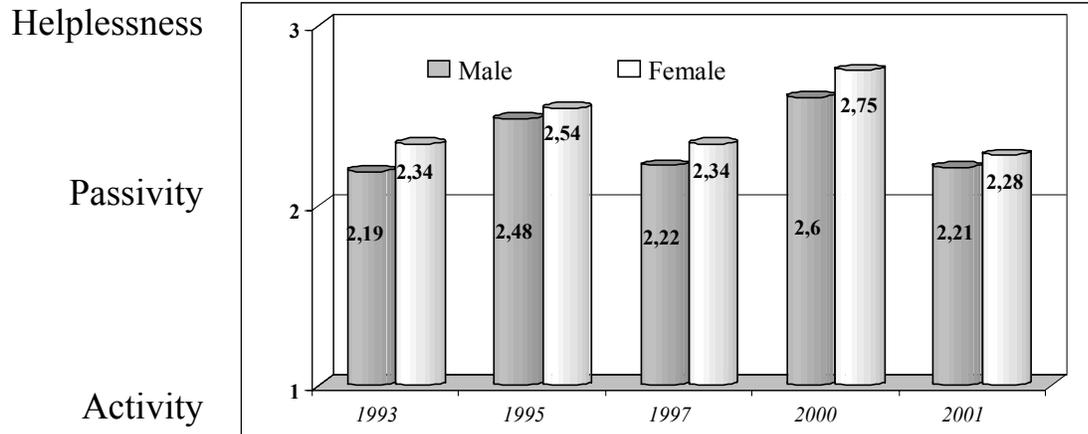
Except for 2000, which by all studied indicators is the year of the greatest discontent power and changes in the country, the indices for the women have not significant but higher values than that for men. Women were more skeptical and had more reserves to the opportunities for improving their living standard.

To a great extent the optimistic or the pessimistic view of the future and of the chances for improvement is connected to the *individual strategies* for coping with the situation. As the survey showed, among the population of the country strongly overweigh the passive, verging on helplessness, strategies. Their dynamics could be followed on Figure 21, where the activity-passivity³⁸ indices by gender and by age are given.

³⁸ Activity indices register individual strategies of people in the country for coping with the crisis. They assume values from 1 to 3. Values near 1 indicate for active actions, and values near 3 - for helplessness and waiting for "help outside", mainly from government.

The active strategies include looking for opportunities of developing own business or receiving additional incomes, mostly in the sphere of the alternative informal economy. The *passive* ones are linked with "fastening the belts" and shrinking the consumption. They namely prevailed in the years of transformations in the country.

Figure 21. Activity indices by age and gender



Women are comparatively more passive when choosing alternatives for improving their living status. They rely on their own potential less than man. The prevailing share of women (55.9% - against 51.9% for men) usually shrinks their consumption and count on “fastening the belts”.

Working women are more inclined to apply active strategies for improving their standard of living compare to the women outside the labour market. They look for additional sources of incomes or orientated to own business to a greater degree than those who are not working. For the women, who are on the labour market, the ratio between the active and the passive strategies for improvement of standard of living is 1:1. For the categories outside the labour market (pensioners, unemployed, housewives), the passive strategies occur two times more frequently than the active. The conclusion is that besides the independently received incomes, work makes women more self-confident and stimulates their activity in finding some answers which to help them improve their material and social status. Logically, the place on the labour market provides greater opportunities for extra work than a status outside the board.

The extra work and the additional sources of incomes are most frequently connected to the informal economy. And if for the employed the “shady” forms of employment provide an opportunity to earn some extra or to escape from the poverty trap, for those who are not working this is an alternative of subsistence. We speaking of work without a labour contract, without insurance, without guaranteeing security of the working place, but yet a job, which brings some income.

At this stage, the shady economy is a necessary evil. It saves a lot of people from hunger and misery, or at least relieves their situation.

“At this stage, the shady economy is a necessary evil. It saves a lot of people from hunger and misery, or at least relieves their situation. No matter how much we deny it, this gives an additional and often the only one “gulf of air” for survival.”

Woman on a high post in the executive, 50 years of age.

Survey has given a lot of arguments that it is necessary to give a new meaning to the assets and drawbacks of informal economy in the country, which we would study further in the analysis. Undoubtedly, one fact has outlined – simply setting “plus” or “minus” over the shady economy without rendering particular circumstances and motivation of the people involved in it, would give us an incomplete and curved picture of the situation.

Employment itself does not solve poverty problems neither for men, nor for women. The category “employed-poor” stands permanently in poverty structure of the country and has been almost unaltered as a relative share over the years of transformations. People are forced, besides looking for a job and place on the labour market, to look for additional sources of incomes that would guarantee them existence and a life without basic deprivations.

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The general tendency of keeping high values of poverty indices in the country itself is a symptom for forming of a long-standing “cultural model of poverty”. There is a real risk of “second poor generation”, accounting on its capacity for transmitting to the next generation, which would be an unknown challenge for the Bulgarian reality in the most modern history of the country. With poor women and their upbringing at home on its part, it is more probable to a generation to be formed which from an early age to live with a self-confidence of a pauper. There are grounds to be supposed that without changes in the government agenda, the eventual second poor generation could have the same broad social range as the present. And there is a risk present poor Bulgaria to remain in this situation for an indefinite period while poverty would turn from a national issue into a national characteristic.

INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION – RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

“The equal employment opportunities of men and women are not only a command for social justice, but also an economic necessity. ...It is considered for the EU, as a whole, that about one fifth of the annual GDP growth with 2.3% comes as a result from the increasing participation of women as labour force.”

In Bulgaria, globalization processes have been defined as a “structural reform”. It has its own stages and aims at a fundamental change in economic relations. This so-called “transition to market economy” is based on the presumption, that all things considered, economy would be more effective, more stable and more productive if it orientates in accordance with the market in long term rather than goods and services be protected, subsidized or manufactured by the country.

Already for twelve years, these processes have not lead to a better quality of life. On the contrary, the social price of the reforms is so high, that the citizens consider them unfair and the women – even more unfair. On practice, women work for money, one third less, do two thirds of the unpaid family work, own one third of the firms, most of them being micro-businesses with a low labour productivity, which is a characteristic feature of most feminized branches (for example, health care, education, administration).

As a country with a small open economy with a number of small and not competitive firms, Bulgaria feels strongly the influence of the globalization processes. Even if macro-economic balance becomes more stable with the accepting of Bulgaria for an EU full member, this is rather far in time.

*“There should be an agreement on the economic reforms as well. **Such an objective could be reaching a competitive economy, but not at the expense of the standard of living, i.e. to be competitive on the grounds of human capital and dignity investments.** In this situation, government should concentrate its efforts on human resources development. There exist a lot of proofs in other countries that **the expanding of access to the higher levels of the education system, the technologies and programmes improving assists economic growth.** The government measures in this direction present **an urgent priority, which could preserve the acquired advantages of Bulgaria, but to lay the foundations of a further better competitiveness as well**”³⁹.*

Globalization and foreign direct investments change the export structure of Bulgaria (the import structure, respectively) toward branches with greater opportunities for participation of women – textiles, tourism, communications, financial services, trade, but as (low-paid) workers rather than as managers and employers. Therefore, the average level of women’s income, salaries and wages would remain lower compared to that of men, thence their pensions as well.

For the present, investors take successfully full advantage of the arising social dumping and especially of cheap female labour force. Some of them exercise an open discrimination in respect of women without being sanctioned. The fiscal policy of Bulgarian governments, supported by the international financial institutions, impedes employers with small businesses to open up job places and

³⁹ Economic policy Review, Market Economy Institute, volume II, № 55, January 2002

still more – to employ women, on the condition that they adhere to the Labour code orders. Since 1992 till 2001, the state itself incited to unequal payment for an equal work by abrogating the law guarantee for this. Observing the labour rights of women and rejecting discrimination practices is a question of the economic opportunities of the employer.

Horizontal and vertical gender segregation in the economy continues deepening:

- 98% of Bulgarian firms are private and employ nearly half of the labour force. Most of them employ not more than 15 workers. Here men prevail.
- The other half of the labour force is employed in the small number of still not privatized state enterprises and in the public sector. Here women prevail.
- The new employers and owners are mainly men, who have managed to take a greater advantage of privatization in comparison with women.

Factors for men's success: accumulated own capital, experience, financial and non-financial contacts (from the previous work in a state enterprise), greater willingness to take a risk, greater territorial mobility (including education abroad, the so-called “academy type” of entrepreneur), greater time budget, better professional orientation, initially more favorable export structure – export in non-feminized branches (minerals, fuels, machines, chemical products).

Factors for the relative unsuccess of women: women tend to sell their labour force at a lower price, as well as to accept “any job”, unsuccessful professional orientation of young women, unemployment among young women and mothers cuts off the opportunities for gaining experience and professional growth, limited time budget, missed chances to accumulate a primary capital (financial and non-financial) at the time of privatization, women's traditional psychology and their culture of dependency, self-limitation as a territorial mobility, refusing re-training at a middle and a mature age.

As a whole, globalization in Bulgaria intensifies economic and social gender inequality. It creates pre-conditions for:

- Unequal payment and underestimating of women's labour
- Discrimination practices at recruitment, selection and employment
- Refusal from promotion and access to qualification
- Stereotyped professional orientation and intermediation for the free job places
- Denial from public education through state media, which is the main source of information for women

The programme of the government, at the end of 2001 in “Social policy and labour market” sphere, points out “increasing the economic activity rate of women with more than 8 points and the employment rate of women with more than 8 points” among its priorities, and “Preliminary consequences assessment of poverty and income distribution policy decisions, observation and evaluation of its impact” and “conducting a constructive social dialog”.

Our recommendations are on the same lines and they aim:

- **Women to keep and increase their economic activity**
- **Women to have equal access to perspective professional realization**
- **Family work to receive a worthy public evaluation**
- Government to take its own responsibility as a change catalyst through a clear equal opportunities state policy, an active education work and interaction with the institutions and civil society

On the basis of the findings from the conducted large-scale in-depth survey, the following recommendations to the particular Ministries could be made:

Ministry of Education and Science:

- To introduce accessible credits for education and training of young people and women after a work break by family reasons ;
- To introduce an effective work orientation, free from the traditional stereotypes for men and women, for pupils in secondary general and professional schools, for candidate-students and university graduates;
- To invest in technological equipment and schools computerization in order to provide equal opportunities for a career start of marginalized groups (children from poor families, children with Romanies origin, children from incomplete families) and introducing education for girls;
- To introduce the principles of economy and business, finances and credit as a subject in secondary schools;
- To encourage accessible and various in accordance with the individual needs forms of children's establishments, including such forms to firms and departments;
- To encourage permanent education and training and re-training through tax preferences for the learners (young and elderly men and women), for the training organizations, as well as overcoming of the stereotypes regarding age, high technologies and psycho-social advantages of particular age groups through an active education campaign.

Ministry of Labour and Social Policy:

- Employment agencies: to accomplish and/or subsidize law consultations on labour issues, motivation courses, assertive abilities courses and orientation courses for young unemployed women, mothers and all the women who after a break return to the labour market;
- To propose the Parliament to vote for decreasing of maternity and parenthood leave to 12 months;
- To encourage private/public labour mediators' activity, who should offer detailed information regarding different career and growth opportunities – especially for women, women's pensions should be calculated adding a percent/coefficient of reared children;
- To bring to the public an education campaign for a fair family work distribution, worthy fatherhood and to encourage paternity leave after the example of the Scandinavian countries and Slovenia ;
- To assist providing own shelter (free rent as a factor of poverty) for the young people through social houses and preferential credits.

Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and Ministry of Justice:

- To ensure an effective protection against all forms of discrimination in employment on the grounds of gender and family status (including unequal payment, at selection and employment, equal working conditions, sexual harassment at work);
- To undertake a large-scale public campaign in education to prevent the traffic of women and children in the framework of the national programme against the traffic;
- To establish a network of family and marriage consultations and mediation, schools for parents.

Ministry of Health care:

- To improve health prevention and to introduce compulsory preventive examinations connected with health insurance of women (health prevention at work, different forms of cancer, high blood pressure, spinal and chronic heart diseases, arthritis, migraine).

Ministry of Health care and Ministry of Labour and Social Policy:

- To introduce a qualitative sexual education, taking into consideration the equal responsibility and the freedom of choice, providing free medical advice and contraceptives for the young people without own incomes in order to decrease the number of births outside marriage and minor mothers births (doubled for the last 10 years) and considering the higher unemployment rate of the unmarried.

Ministry of Economics:

- The state, as the biggest employer, should set an example for an active policy aiming to achieve a balance between the employed men and women in administration, education, health care, public enterprises;
- To encourage the employment of women as managers through education, motivation and positive role models and firm practices examples after the example of the EU member-countries;
- To provide preferential credits for starting a micro- and small business by young people and women;
- To encourage women's business and self-employment – through an education campaign, mentor's programmes, business directories, forums.

Ministry of Finances:

- To introduce tax preferences for performing training and education activities and human capital investments;
- To stimulate the employers to employ and keep young women who have just finished their education/training;
- To provide shared responsibility of both parents and of real children's support by parent taxation;

APPENDIX 1.

List of National consultative council participants for the survey “Women-work-globalization” 2001г.

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14. Ani Marinova, Dialogos, facilitator

APPENDIX 2.

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APPENDIX 3.

Table 1. Key macroeconomic indicators

| INDICATORS | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Population (end-year millions) | | 8,48 | 8,46 | 8,43 | 8,38 | 8,34 | 8,28 | 8,23 | 8,20 | 7,97 |
| GDP per capita (\$) | | 1,014 | 1,281 | 1,152 | 1,563 | 1,179 | 1,230 | 1,490 | 1,513 | 1,573 |
| Real GDP growth (% change) | | | | 1,8 | 2,1 | -10,9 | -6,9 | 3,5 | 2,4 | 5,0 |
| Share of trade in GDP (per cent) | 98,4 | 94,4 | 77,0 | 81,2 | 80,6 | 97,6 | 93,2 | 71,5 | 73,3 | |
| Share of industry in GDP (per cent) | | 39,0 | 32,7 | 29,9 | 31,0 | 28,5 | 25,3 | 25,5 | 24,6 | |
| Share of agriculture in GDP (per cent) | | 11,6 | 9,9 | 11,5 | 12,7 | 14,5 | 23,8 | 18,8 | 15,9 | |
| Private sector share in GDP (per cent) | 20,0 | 25,0 | 35,0 | 40,0 | 50,0 | 55,0 | 60,0 | 65,0 | 70,0 | |
| Current account/GDP (per cent) | | -4,2 | -10,1 | -0,3 | -0,2 | 0,2 | 4,2 | -0,5 | -5,5 | -5,5 |
| External depth – reserves (\$ millions) | | 12,904 | 13,181 | 10,337 | 8,912 | 9,084 | 7,639 | 7,581 | 7,089 | |
| External depth/GDP (per cent) | | 160,4 | 127,7 | 116,8 | 77,4 | 97,7 | 95,8 | 83,7 | 80,5 | |
| External depth/exports of goods and services (per cent) | | 274,6 | 282,5 | 218,4 | 149,8 | 153,5 | 155,5 | 171,5 | 172,5 | |
| Inflation rate | | | | 96,3 | 62,0 | 123,0 | 1082,0 | 22,2 | 0,7 | 9,9 |
| Exports (\$ millions) | | | | 3935 | 5345 | 4890 | 4940 | 4193 | 4006 | 4808 |
| Imports (millions) | | | | 3952 | 5224 | 4703 | 4559 | 4574 | 5087 | 5981 |
| Foreign direct investments, net | | 42 | 40 | 105 | 98 | 138 | 507 | 537 | 806 | 500 |
| Foreign direct investments (\$ millions) | | | | 105 | 98 | 138 | 507 | 537 | 806 | 975 |
| Unemployment rate (end-year) | | 15,3 | 16,4 | 12,8 | 11,1 | 12,5 | 13,7 | 12,2 | 16,0 | 17,9 |
| labour force (annual average) | | -3,3 | -0,1 | -3,1 | -0,6 | 1,6 | -2,2 | -1,7 | | |
| Employment (annual average in per cent of labour force) | | -8,1 | -1,6 | 0,6 | 1,3 | 0,1 | -3,9 | -0,1 | -6,9 | |
| Life Expectancy (years) | | | | 71,0 | 70,9 | 70,8 | 70,7 | 70,8 | 71,1 | 71,0 |

NSI, Statistical Yearbook, Sofia, 2000.

APPENDIX 3.

Table 2. CALENDAR OF KEY TRANSFORMATION PROCESSES IN BULGARIA

| Liberalization, stabilization, privatization | Years | Enterprises, infrastructure, finance and social reforms |
|--|-------|---|
| | 1938 | - Law according to which women have the right to elect municipal councillors comes into force; |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All women get the right to be elected for deputies; - For the first time 14 women have been elected; | 1945 | - Electoral law adopted, according to which all Bulgarian citizens, aged 18, have the right to vote; |
| | 1951 | - Labour code, part III, referring to public social insurance, promulgated; |
| | 1957 | - Pensions law promulgated; |
| | 1968 | - Stimulating birth rate decree promulgated; |
| | 1986 | - Amendment to the Labour code, referring to working conditions, promulgated; |
| | 1989 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No women in Politburo; - Despite the practiced quota (about 90%), women do not real power in politics; |
| | 1990 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The share of women in the Parliament drops sharply; - Political forces try to enroll more women in their lists; - Women do not have equal positions with men in party lists; |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Most consumer prices liberalized - Import controls removed; - Interest rates liberalized; - Unified exchange rate introduced; | 1991 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Competition law adopted; - Competition agency established; - Commercial code enacted; - First Bulgarian Stock exchange established; - New Bulgarian Constitution adopted; |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Privatization rate adopted | 1992 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Banking law adopted; - Stock exchange begins trading; - Public insurance decree referring to those practicing liberal professions or working without labour agreement adopted; |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Small-scale privatization law adopted; - Large-scale privatization begins; - EFTA membership; | 1993 | - BIS capital adequacy enacted; |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Currency crisis; - Vat introduced; | 1994 | - Bankruptcy law adopted; |

| | | |
|--|------|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - EU Association Agreement; - Price control reinstalled; | 1995 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Securities law adopted; - Social insurance law adopted; |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Стартира първият етап на приватизацията (масова); - Членство в WTO; | 1996 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bankruptcy law adopted; - Special restructuring programme enacted; |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Macroeconomic crisis peaks; - Currency board introduced; - New Foreign Investment Act adopted; | 1997 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Party leaders do not give women real chances to be elected; - Financial crisis peaks; - First bank privatization; - New banking law adopted; |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Privatization law amended; - First company privatized through the stock exchange; - Full current account convertibility; | 1998 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New telecommunications law adopted; - Energy sector reforms begins; |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CEFTA membership; - Second voucher privatization round begins; - First municipal Eurobond issued; - Currency redominated; | 1999 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Law on additional voluntary pension insurance passed; - New Energy law enacted; - Health Insurance Fund established; - First corporate Eurobond issued; |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Eu accession negotiations begins; | 2000 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Law on securities offerings adopted; |

APPENDIX 3

Table 3. Major employment indicators by gender

| GENDE R | EAR ⁴⁰ (%) | ER ⁴¹ (%) | UR ⁴² (%) | EMPLOYMENT STATUS | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | | | | Employers ⁴³ | <i>Self- employed</i> | Employed in private enterprises | Employed in public enterprises | Unpaid family workers |
| | | | | Structure (%) | Structure (%) | Structure (%) | Structure (%) | Structure (%) |
| MALE | | | | | | | | |
| 09.1993. | 60,5 | 47,9 | 20,9 | 11.9 | - | 11.8 | 75.1 | 1.0 |
| 10.1994. | 57,6 | 45,8 | 20,4 | 11.0 | - | 17.7 | 70.6 | 0.5 |
| 10.1995. | 56,2 | 48,1 | 14,4 | 12.6 | - | 19.1 | 67.4 | 0.7 |
| 11.1996. | 56,7 | 49,0 | 13,6 | 3.0 | - | 22.4 | 63.1 | 0.8 |
| 11.1997. | 56,7 | 48,4 | 14,7 | 2.8 | 11.5 | 25.6 | 58.5 | 1.2 |
| 11.1998. | 55,6 | 46,6 | 16,1 | 3.3 | 11.1 | 31.4 | 53.0 | 1.0 |
| 11.1999. | 54,5 | 45,1 | 17,3 | 3.5 | 11.8 | 36.4 | 47.4 | 0.8 |
| 12.2000. | 52,4 | 43,7 | 16,5 | 3.5 | 11.8 | 40.3 | 43.1 | 0.7 |
| FEMALE | | | | | | | | |
| 09.1993. | 50,5 | 39,4 | 22,0 | 7.3 | - | 10.6 | 80.1 | 1.9 |
| 10.1994. | 47,5 | 37,7 | 20,6 | 5.8 | - | 14.2 | 78.5 | 1.2 |
| 10.1995. | 47,1 | 40,0 | 15,0 | 6.8 | - | 16.6 | 75.1 | 1.4 |
| 11.1996. | 47,2 | 40,7 | 13,8 | 0.8 | - | 19.3 | 71.6 | 1.9 |
| 11.1997. | 46,8 | 39,7 | 15,3 | 0.9 | 7.7 | 23.6 | 64.6 | 2.8 |
| 11.1998. | 45,6 | 38,4 | 15,9 | 1.3 | 7.4 | 29.4 | 59.8 | 1.8 |
| 11.1999. | 44,2 | 36,8 | 16,8 | 1.3 | 6.6 | 33.6 | 56.1 | 1.7 |
| 12.2000. | 42,9 | 36,0 | 16,2 | 1.3 | 6.8 | 39.1 | 50.7 | 1.6 |

Employment and unemployment, NSI, Sofia 1994 – 2000.

⁴⁰ EAR – Economic activity rate in per cents

⁴¹ ER – employment rate in per cents

⁴² UR - unemployment rate in per cents

⁴³ General percent for employers and own-account workers. It refers to data in this column for the period 09.1993 – 11.1996 inclusive.

APPENDIX 3.

Table 4. EAR, ER and UR of the Bulgarian population by gender and age groups

| YEARS GENDER | TOTAL | | | AGE GROUPS | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| | | | | 15-24 | | | 25-34 | | | 35-44 | | | 45-54 | | | 55-64 | | |
| | EAR ⁴⁴ (%) | ER ⁴⁵ (%) | UR ⁴⁶ (%) | EAR (%) | ER (%) | UR (%) |
| MALE | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 09.1993. | 60,5 | 47,9 | 20,9 | 42,7 | 22,2 | 48,0 | 92,7 | 72,9 | 21,3 | 93,4 | 79,0 | 15,3 | 87,2 | 75,3 | 13,7 | 39,8 | 33,2 | 16,6 |
| 10.1994. | 57,6 | 45,8 | 20,4 | 39,7 | 21,1 | 46,9 | 90,3 | 71,8 | 20,4 | 91,1 | 76,9 | 15,6 | 86,3 | 74,8 | 13,4 | 35,9 | 30,1 | 16,0 |
| 10.1995. | 56,2 | 48,1 | 14,4 | 34,5 | 21,7 | 37,0 | 87,4 | 74,5 | 14,7 | 91,5 | 81,7 | 10,8 | 86,5 | 78,0 | 9,8 | 36,0 | 32,9 | 8,7 |
| 11.1996. | 56,7 | 49,0 | 13,6 | 32,9 | 21,7 | 33,9 | 88,5 | 74,5 | 15,8 | 92,1 | 82,4 | 10,5 | 86,2 | 78,4 | 9,0 | 35,6 | 33,2 | 6,7 |
| 11.1997. | 56,7 | 48,4 | 14,7 | 33,2 | 21,2 | 36,1 | 87,1 | 73,0 | 16,2 | 91,2 | 80,6 | 11,7 | 87,0 | 78,2 | 10,1 | 37,9 | 34,5 | 8,9 |
| 11.1998. | 55,6 | 46,6 | 16,1 | 33,8 | 21,4 | 36,8 | 84,3 | 70,1 | 16,9 | 90,0 | 78,0 | 13,4 | 83,2 | 73,6 | 11,5 | 36,9 | 33,0 | 10,6 |
| 11.1999. | 54,5 | 45,1 | 17,3 | 33,9 | 21,1 | 37,6 | 82,4 | 68,8 | 16,4 | 87,6 | 74,9 | 14,4 | 82,9 | 71,4 | 13,8 | 36,9 | 32,1 | 13,1 |
| 12.2000. | 52,4 | 43,7 | 16,5 | 29,5 | 18,9 | 36,0 | 80,8 | 67,0 | 17,0 | 85,1 | 73,7 | 13,4 | 79,8 | 69,5 | 12,9 | 37,1 | 32,0 | 13,8 |
| FEMALE | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 09.1993. | 50,5 | 39,4 | 22,0 | 43,2 | 23,3 | 46,0 | 82,0 | 63,4 | 22,7 | 91,4 | 76,2 | 16,6 | 80,0 | 68,4 | 14,5 | 12,0 | 9,5 | 20,9 |
| 10.1994. | 47,5 | 37,7 | 20,6 | 36,7 | 21,1 | 42,6 | 79,6 | 61,6 | 22,6 | 89,0 | 75,6 | 15,1 | 80,3 | 68,8 | 14,3 | 8,9 | 6,9 | 22,1 |
| 10.1995. | 47,1 | 40,0 | 15,0 | 32,2 | 19,8 | 38,4 | 77,5 | 65,2 | 15,8 | 89,2 | 79,1 | 11,3 | 82,8 | 74,7 | 9,8 | 7,8 | 7,2 | 8,2 |
| 11.1996. | 47,2 | 40,7 | 13,8 | 30,5 | 20,4 | 33,0 | 76,9 | 65,1 | 15,3 | 90,0 | 80,5 | 10,6 | 82,5 | 74,6 | 9,5 | 9,4 | 8,4 | 10,3 |
| 11.1997. | 46,8 | 39,7 | 15,3 | 30,0 | 19,3 | 35,8 | 77,1 | 64,4 | 16,5 | 88,7 | 78,4 | 11,6 | 83,5 | 73,6 | 11,9 | 10,8 | 9,9 | 8,4 |
| 11.1998. | 45,6 | 38,4 | 15,9 | 30,9 | 20,1 | 35,0 | 73,3 | 60,3 | 17,7 | 86,2 | 76,1 | 11,7 | 79,2 | 69,6 | 12,2 | 10,3 | 9,1 | 11,7 |
| 11.1999. | 44,2 | 36,8 | 16,8 | 27,9 | 18,0 | 35,7 | 70,6 | 58,5 | 17,1 | 85,1 | 73,8 | 13,2 | 78,7 | 67,5 | 14,2 | 10,6 | 9,3 | 13,0 |
| 12.2000. | 42,9 | 36,0 | 16,2 | 26,0 | 17,7 | 32,1 | 68,1 | 56,8 | 16,7 | 82,6 | 72,0 | 12,8 | 77,8 | 66,4 | 14,7 | 12,0 | 10,3 | 13,9 |

Employment and unemployment, NSI, Sofia 1994-2000.

⁴⁴ EAR – Economic activity rate in percents

⁴⁵ ER – Employment rate in percents

⁴⁶ UR – Unemployment rate in percents

APPENDIX 3. Table 5. Population of 15 years of age and over by family status and economic activity

| SEX FAMILY STATUS | EAR (%) | ER (%) | UR (%) | SEX FAMILYSTATUS | EAR (%) | ER (%) | UR (%) |
|-----------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| FEMALE - 1994 | 47.5 | 37.7 | 20.6 | MALE - 1994 | 57.6 | 45.8 | 20.4 |
| Unmarried | 38.2 | 24.3 | 36.4 | Unmarried | 45.3 | 29.0 | 36.0 |
| Married | 56.2 | 45.6 | 18.8 | Married | 64.1 | 53.3 | 16.8 |
| Divorced | 72.4 | 59.8 | 17.4 | Divorced | 71.7 | 54.4 | 24.0 |
| Widowed | 11.6 | 9.6 | 17.5 | Widowed | 12.9 | 10.8 | 16.0 |
| FEMALE - 1995 | 47.1 | 40.0 | 15.0 | MALE - 1995 | 56.2 | 48.1 | 14.4 |
| Unmarried | 34.8 | 24.6 | 29.2 | Unmarried | 41.7 | 30.8 | 26.2 |
| Married | 56.7 | 49.1 | 13.3 | Married | 63.6 | 56.2 | 11.5 |
| Divorced | 72.8 | 62.4 | 14.2 | Divorced | 69.6 | 56.1 | 19.3 |
| Widowed | 10.9 | 9.7 | 10.5 | Widowed | 11.6 | 9.9 | 14.8 |
| FEMALE - 1996 | 48.0 | 41.5 | 13.4 | MALE - 1996 | 57.4 | 49.6 | 13.5 |
| Unmarried | 36.0 | 27.3 | 24.3 | Unmarried | 44.4 | 33.7 | 21.1 |
| Married | 57.8 | 51.0 | 11.9 | Married | 64.4 | 57.4 | 10.4 |
| Divorced | 74.9 | 64.7 | 13.7 | Divorced | 73.5 | 60.0 | 18.4 |
| Widowed | 12.0 | 10.6 | 12.3 | Widowed | 11.4 | 10.0 | 12.4 |
| FEMALE - 1997 | 46.8 | 39.7 | 15.3 | MALE - 1997 | 56.7 | 48.4 | 14.7 |
| Unmarried | 35.4 | 25.6 | 27.6 | Unmarried | 43.7 | 32.7 | 25.3 |
| Married | 56.7 | 49.0 | 13.6 | Married | 64.0 | 56.3 | 12.0 |
| Divorced | 73.1 | 62.6 | 14.3 | Divorced | 76.0 | 62.4 | 17.9 |
| Widowed | 10.5 | 9.3 | 11.2 | Widowed | 10.1 | 8.7 | 14.0 |
| FEMALE - 1998 | 45.6 | 38.4 | 15.9 | MALE - 1998 | 55.6 | 46.6 | 16.1 |
| Unmarried | 37.4 | 27.0 | 27.8 | Unmarried | 45.0 | 33.1 | 26.6 |
| Married | 54.8 | 47.1 | 13.9 | Married | 62.1 | 53.9 | 13.1 |
| Divorced | 68.1 | 56.8 | 16.6 | Divorced | 72.7 | 59.1 | 18.8 |
| Widowed | 12.0 | 10.4 | 13.3 | Widowed | 10.5 | 9.0 | 14.1 |
| FEMALE - 1999 | 44.2 | 36.8 | 16.8 | MALE - 1999 | 54.5 | 45.1 | 17.3 |
| Unmarried | 36.4 | 26.3 | 27.7 | Unmarried | 45.5 | 32.8 | 27.8 |
| Married | 52.8 | 45.0 | 14.7 | Married | 60.5 | 52.1 | 13.9 |
| Divorced | 68.1 | 56.5 | 17.0 | Divorced | 70.6 | 53.3 | 24.4 |
| Widowed | 11.1 | 9.2 | 17.5 | Widowed | 10.3 | 8.9 | 13.9 |
| FEMALE - 2000 | 42.9 | 36.0 | 16.2 | MALE - 2000 | 52.4 | 43.7 | 16.5 |
| Unmarried | 36.0 | 27.5 | 23.6 | Unmarried | 43.8 | 33.0 | 24.6 |
| Married | 51.4 | 43.8 | 14.8 | Married | 58.3 | 50.1 | 14.0 |
| Divorced | 66.6 | 56.4 | 15.3 | Divorced | 65.4 | 52.4 | 19.9 |
| Widowed | 10.4 | 8.5 | 17.9 | Widowed | 9.7 | 8.1 | 16.0 |

APPENDIX 3.

Table 6.1. Population at working age by years, living place of residence, gender and economic activity

| LIVING PLACE GENDER | TOTAL (thousands) | LABOUR FORCE | | | PERSONS OUT OF LABOUR FORCE (thousands) | ECONOMIC ACTIVITY RATE (thousands) | EMPLOYMENT RATE (thousands) | UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (thousands) |
|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|---|--|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | | TOTAL (thousands) | EMPLOYED (thousands) | UNEMPLOYED (thousands) | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| TOTAL – 1994 | 4725,2 | 3493,9 | 2776,6 | 717,3 | 1231,3 | 73,9 | 58,8 | 20,5 |
| MALE | 2468,2 | 1866,1 | 1484,0 | 832,1 | 602,1 | 75,6 | 60,1 | 20,5 |
| FEMALE | 2257,0 | 1627,8 | 1292,6 | 335,2 | 629,2 | 72,1 | 57,3 | 20,6 |
| IN TOWNS | 3393,3 | 2567,1 | 2109,4 | 457,7 | 826,2 | 75,7 | 62,2 | 17,8 |
| MALE | 1741,4 | 1338,8 | 1102,1 | 236,7 | 402,6 | 76,9 | 63,3 | 17,7 |
| FEMALE | 1651,9 | 1228,3 | 1007,2 | 221,0 | 423,6 | 74,4 | 61,0 | 18,0 |
| IN VILLAGES | 1331,9 | 926,8 | 667,2 | 259,6 | 405,1 | 69,6 | 50,1 | 28,0 |
| MALE | 726,8 | 527,3 | 381,9 | 145,4 | 199,5 | 72,6 | 52,5 | 27,6 |
| FEMALE | 605,1 | 399,5 | 285,3 | 114,2 | 205,6 | 66,6 | 47,2 | 28,6 |
| TOTAL – 1995 | 4724,2 | 3446,5 | 2935,0 | 511,4 | 1277,7 | 73,0 | 62,1 | 14,8 |
| MALE | 2473,5 | 1825,6 | 1559,5 | 266,1 | 647,9 | 73,8 | 63,0 | 14,6 |
| FEMALE | 2250,7 | 1620,9 | 1375,5 | 245,3 | 629,8 | 72,0 | 61,1 | 15,1 |
| IN TOWNS | 3372,4 | 2511,9 | 2185,2 | 326,6 | 860,5 | 74,5 | 64,8 | 13,0 |
| MALE | 1729,7 | 1297,4 | 1131,5 | 165,9 | 432,3 | 75,0 | 65,4 | 12,8 |
| FEMALE | 1642,7 | 1214,5 | 1053,7 | 160,8 | 428,2 | 73,9 | 64,1 | 13,2 |
| IN VILLAGES | 1351,8 | 934,6 | 749,8 | 184,8 | 417,2 | 69,1 | 55,5 | 19,8 |
| MALE | 743,8 | 528,2 | 428,0 | 100,2 | 215,6 | 71,0 | 57,5 | 19,0 |
| FEMALE | 608,0 | 406,4 | 321,9 | 84,6 | 201,6 | 66,8 | 52,9 | 20,8 |
| TOTAL – 1996 | 4760,4 | 3517,3 | 3037,0 | 480,3 | 1243,1 | 73,4 | 63,8 | 13,7 |
| MALE | 2489,6 | 1868,0 | 1611,4 | 256,5 | 621,7 | 75,0 | 64,7 | 13,7 |
| FEMALE | 2270,8 | 1649,4 | 1425,6 | 223,8 | 621,4 | 72,6 | 62,8 | 13,6 |
| IN TOWNS | 3450,7 | 2582,2 | 2256,2 | 326,0 | 868,5 | 74,8 | 65,4 | 12,6 |
| MALE | 1764,4 | 1334,7 | 1165,0 | 169,7 | 424,6 | 75,6 | 66,0 | 12,7 |
| FEMALE | 1686,3 | 1247,5 | 1091,2 | 156,3 | 438,8 | 74,0 | 64,7 | 12,5 |
| IN VILLAGES | 1309,7 | 935,1 | 780,8 | 154,3 | 374,6 | 71,4 | 59,6 | 16,5 |
| MALE | 725,3 | 533,2 | 446,4 | 86,8 | 192,0 | 73,5 | 61,6 | 16,5 |
| FEMALE | 584,5 | 401,9 | 334,4 | 67,5 | 182,6 | 68,8 | 57,2 | 16,8 |
| TOTAL - 1997 | 4734,4 | 3447,6 | 2922,8 | 524,8 | 1286,8 | 72,8 | 61,7 | 15,2 |
| MALE | 2477,5 | 1841,7 | 1566,9 | 274,8 | 635,8 | 74,3 | 63,2 | 14,9 |

APPENDIX 3.

Table 6.2. Population at working age by years, living place of residence, gender and economic activity

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| FEMALE | 2256,9 | 1606,0 | 1355,9 | 250,0 | 651,0 | 71,2 | 60,1 | 15,6 |
| IN TOWNS | 3440,0 | 2541,1 | 2178,3 | 362,8 | 898,9 | 73,9 | 63,3 | 14,3 |
| MALE | 1759,3 | 1322,0 | 1137,0 | 185,1 | 437,2 | 75,1 | 64,6 | 14,0 |
| FEMALE | 1680,7 | 1219,1 | 1041,3 | 177,7 | 461,6 | 72,5 | 62,0 | 14,6 |
| IN VILLAGES | 1294,5 | 906,5 | 744,5 | 162,0 | 387,9 | 70,0 | 57,5 | 17,9 |
| MALE | 718,2 | 519,6 | 429,9 | 98,7 | 198,6 | 72,4 | 59,9 | 17,3 |
| FEMALE | 576,2 | 386,9 | 314,6 | 72,3 | 189,3 | 67,1 | 54,6 | 18,7 |
| TOTAL – 1998 | 4758.4 | 3367.3 | 2822.9 | 544.4 | 1391.1 | 70.8 | 59.3 | 16.2 |
| MALE | 2485.3 | 1801.9 | 1508.2 | 293.7 | 683.4 | 72.5 | 60.7 | 16.3 |
| FEMALE | 2273.1 | 1565.3 | 1314.7 | 250.7 | 707.7 | 68.9 | 57.8 | 16.0 |
| IN TOWNS | 3461.8 | 2525.0 | 2154.2 | 370.8 | 936.9 | 72.9 | 62.2 | 14.7 |
| MALE | 1768.9 | 1320.7 | 1124.9 | 195.8 | 448.1 | 74.7 | 63.6 | 14.8 |
| FEMALE | 1693.0 | 1204.2 | 1029.3 | 175.0 | 488.7 | 71.7 | 60.8 | 14.5 |
| IN VILLAGES | 1296.6 | 842.3 | 668.7 | 173.6 | 454.3 | 65.0 | 51.6 | 20.6 |
| MALE | 716.5 | 481.2 | 383.3 | 97.9 | 235.3 | 67.2 | 53.5 | 20.3 |
| FEMALE | 580.1 | 361.1 | 285.4 | 75.7 | 219.0 | 62.2 | 49.2 | 21.0 |
| TOTAL – 1999 | 4738.8 | 3283.8 | 2718.2 | 565.6 | 1455.0 | 69.3 | 57.4 | 17.2 |
| MALE | 2476.7 | 1768.2 | 1459.1 | 309.1 | 708.5 | 71.4 | 58.9 | 17.5 |
| FEMALE | 2262.1 | 1515.6 | 1259.1 | 256.5 | 746.6 | 67.0 | 55.7 | 19.9 |
| IN TOWNS | 3446.5 | 2451.0 | 2071.9 | 379.1 | 995.5 | 71.1 | 60.1 | 15.5 |
| MALE | 1760.1 | 1281.6 | 1080.7 | 200.9 | 478.5 | 72.8 | 61.4 | 15.7 |
| FEMALE | 1686.3 | 1169.4 | 991.2 | 178.2 | 517.0 | 69.3 | 58.8 | 15.2 |
| IN VILLAGES | 1292.4 | 832.8 | 646.3 | 186.5 | 459.5 | 64.4 | 50.0 | 22.4 |
| MALE | 716.6 | 486.6 | 378.4 | 108.2 | 229.9 | 67.9 | 52.8 | 22.2 |
| FEMALE | 575.8 | 346.2 | 267.9 | 78.3 | 229.6 | 60.1 | 46.5 | 22.6 |
| TOTAL – 2000 | 6890,0 | 3272,2 | 2735,5 | 536,7 | 3617,8 | 47,5 | 39,7 | 16,4 |
| MALE | 3324,2 | 1741,2 | 1453,1 | 288,0 | 1583,0 | 52,4 | 43,7 | 16,5 |
| FEMALE | 3565,8 | 1531,0 | 1282,4 | 248,6 | 2034,8 | 42,9 | 36,0 | 16,2 |
| IN TOWNS | 4674,2 | 2454,9 | 2097,8 | 357,1 | 2219,3 | 52,5 | 44,9 | 14,5 |
| MALE | 2238,5 | 1271,0 | 1085,2 | 185,8 | 967,5 | 56,8 | 48,5 | 14,6 |
| FEMALE | 2435,7 | 1184,0 | 1012,7 | 171,3 | 1252,8 | 48,6 | 41,6 | 14,5 |
| IN VILLAGES | 2215,7 | 817,2 | 637,7 | 179,6 | 1398,5 | 36,9 | 28,8 | 22,0 |
| MALE | 1085,7 | 740,2 | 367,9 | 102,2 | 615,5 | 43,3 | 33,9 | 21,7 |
| FEMALE | 1130,0 | 347,1 | 269,8 | 77,3 | 783,0 | 30,7 | 23,9 | 22,3 |

Employment and unemployment, NSI, Sofia 1994-2000.

APPENDIX 3.

Table 7. Unemployed by gender and methods of looking for a job

| YEARS | TOTAL | | METHODS OF LOOKING FOR A JOB ⁴⁷ | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|-----|--|------------|----------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------------|------------|------------------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|
| | | | REGISTRATION WITH A LABOUR OFFICE | | DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE EMPLOYER | | SEARCH THROUGH RELATIVES AND FRIENDS | | GIVE JOB ANNOUNCEMENTS | | ANSWER JOB ANNOUNCEMENTS | |
| | | | In thousands | Percentage | In thousands | Percentage | In thousands | Percentage | In thousands | Percentage | In thousands | Percentage |
| TOTAL | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 09.1993. | 814,7 | 100 | 474,4 | 58,2 | 161,7 | 19,8 | 343,7 | 42,2 | 35,8 | 4,4 | 80,9 | 9,9 |
| 10.1994. | 740,2 | 100 | 376,5 | 50,9 | 142,1 | 19,2 | 385,3 | 52,1 | 42,5 | 5,7 | 77,2 | 10,4 |
| 10.1995. | 520,8 | 100 | 251,9 | 48,4 | 103,3 | 19,8 | 292,0 | 56,1 | 28,5 | 5,5 | 51,3 | 9,9 |
| 11.1996. | 490,8 | 100 | 227,1 | 46,3 | 103,0 | 21,0 | 268,8 | 54,8 | 29,8 | 6,1 | 55,4 | 11,3 |
| 11.1997. | 534,1 | 100 | 289,4 | 54,2 | 112,5 | 21,1 | 281,1 | 52,6 | 31,5 | 5,9 | 62,1 | 11,6 |
| 11.1998. | 556,1 | 100 | 265,4 | 47,7 | 107,8 | 19,4 | 304,5 | 54,8 | 29,0 | 5,2 | 75,5 | 13,6 |
| 11.1999. | 576,9 | 100 | 297,0 | 51,5 | 106,5 | 18,5 | 311,6 | 54,0 | 30,6 | 5,3 | 79,5 | 13,8 |
| 12.2000. | 536,7 | 100 | 296,5 | 55,1 | 87,5 | 16,0 | 273,7 | 51,0 | 26,4 | 4,9 | 64,6 | 12,0 |
| MALE | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 09.1993. | 421,3 | 100 | 253,7 | 55,9 | 89,0 | 21,1 | 182,3 | 43,2 | 17,6 | 4,2 | 40,6 | 9,6 |
| 10.1994. | 392,5 | 100 | 191,8 | 48,9 | 79,3 | 20,2 | 205,9 | 52,5 | 20,9 | 5,3 | 39,3 | 10,0 |
| 10.1995. | 270,4 | 100 | 121,1 | 44,8 | 58,1 | 21,4 | 155,8 | 57,6 | 13,6 | 5,0 | 24,8 | 9,2 |
| 11.1996. | 285,2 | 100 | 112,7 | 43,6 | 57,6 | 22,3 | 143,9 | 55,7 | 17,1 | 6,6 | 28,3 | 11,0 |
| 11.1997. | 278,7 | 100 | 141,5 | 50,8 | 63,5 | 22,8 | 152,4 | 54,7 | 14,9 | 5,3 | 31,6 | 11,3 |
| 11.1998. | 279,7 | 100 | 129,2 | 43,4 | 61,0 | 20,5 | 169,5 | 56,9 | 15,7 | 5,3 | 40,0 | 13,4 |
| 11.1999. | 312,9 | 100 | 150,8 | 48,2 | 61,9 | 19,8 | 177,0 | 56,6 | 14,6 | 4,7 | 42,3 | 13,5 |
| 12.2000. | 288,0 | 100 | 145,8 | 50,6 | 51,2 | 17,8 | 152,0 | 52,8 | 13,5 | 4,7 | 32,6 | 11,3 |
| FEMALE | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 09.1993. | 393,4 | 100 | 238,7 | 60,7 | 72,6 | 18,5 | 161,5 | 41,0 | 18,2 | 4,6 | 40,4 | 10,3 |
| 10.1994. | 347,6 | 100 | 184,7 | 53,1 | 62,8 | 18,1 | 179,3 | 51,6 | 21,7 | 6,2 | 37,9 | 10,9 |
| 10.1995. | 250,4 | 100 | 130,8 | 52,2 | 45,3 | 18,1 | 136,2 | 54,4 | 14,8 | 5,9 | 26,5 | 10,6 |
| 11.1996. | 232,6 | 100 | 114,4 | 49,2 | 45,3 | 19,5 | 124,9 | 53,7 | 12,7 | 5,5 | 27,1 | 11,6 |
| 11.1997. | 255,4 | 100 | 147,9 | 57,9 | 49,0 | 19,2 | 128,7 | 50,4 | 16,6 | 6,5 | 30,5 | 12,0 |
| 11.1998. | 258,4 | 100 | 136,2 | 52,7 | 46,8 | 18,1 | 135,1 | 52,3 | 13,3 | 5,1 | 35,5 | 13,7 |
| 11.1999. | 264,0 | 100 | 146,1 | 55,4 | 44,5 | 16,9 | 134,6 | 51,0 | 16,0 | 6,1 | 37,2 | 14,1 |
| 12.2000. | 248,6 | 100 | 149,9 | 60,3 | 34,5 | 13,9 | 121,8 | 49,0 | 12,8 | 5,2 | 32,0 | 12,9 |

Employment and unemployment, NSI, 1994-2000.

⁴⁷ More than one method of looking for a job was pointed out by one person

APPENDIX 3.

Table 8. Education status of population of 15 years of age and over by gender and economic activity

| EMPLOYMENT EDUCATION | Higher than secondary | | Secondary | | Lower than secondary | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|--------|-----------|--------|----------------------|--------|
| | MALE | FEMALE | MALE | FEMALE | MALE | FEMALE |
| 1994. | 100.0 | | 100.0 | | 100.0 | |
| EMPLOYED | 70.3 | 72.4 | 59.8 | 52.7 | 28.1 | 17.7 |
| UNEMPLOYED | 6.3 | 6.6 | 13.1 | 12.7 | 11.9 | 8.5 |
| OUT OF LABOUR FORCE | 23.4 | 21.0 | 27.1 | 34.6 | 60.0 | 73.8 |
| 1995. | 100.0 | | 100.0 | | 100.0 | |
| EMPLOYED | 70.5 | 73.6 | 61.8 | 51.3 | 29.8 | 19.1 |
| UNEMPLOYED | 3.7 | 4.1 | 8.9 | 9.1 | 8.5 | 6.8 |
| OUT OF LABOUR FORCE | 25.8 | 22.3 | 29.3 | 39.6 | 61.7 | 74.1 |
| 1996. | 100.0 | | 100.0 | | 100.0 | |
| EMPLOYED | 73.3 | 75.0 | 63.7 | 56.2 | 30.6 | 20.4 |
| UNEMPLOYED | 3.8 | 3.7 | 8.5 | 8.1 | 8.1 | 5.9 |
| OUT OF LABOUR FORCE | 22.9 | 21.3 | 27.8 | 35.7 | 61.3 | 73.7 |
| 1997. | 100.0 | | 100.0 | | 100.0 | |
| EMPLOYED | 70.9 | 72.0 | 61.5 | 52.0 | 29.4 | 18.4 |
| UNEMPLOYED | 4.5 | 5.2 | 9.5 | 9.3 | 8.2 | 5.8 |
| OUT OF LABOUR FORCE | 24.6 | 22.8 | 29.0 | 38.7 | 62.4 | 75.8 |
| 1998. | 100.0 | | 100.0 | | 100.0 | |
| EMPLOYED | 69.4 | 70.6 | 60.6 | 52.0 | 25.9 | 16.0 |
| UNEMPLOYED | 4.5 | 5.6 | 10.1 | 9.3 | 8.9 | 6.0 |
| OUT OF LABOUR FORCE | 26.1 | 23.8 | 29.3 | 38.7 | 65.2 | 78.0 |
| 1999. | 100.0 | | 100.0 | | 100.0 | |
| EMPLOYED | 69.0 | 70.4 | 49.5 | 49.4 | 13.9 | 13.9 |
| UNEMPLOYED | 4.8 | 5.1 | 9.8 | 9.8 | 6.0 | 6.0 |
| OUT OF LABOUR FORCE | 26.2 | 24.5 | 40.7 | 40.8 | 80.1 | 80.1 |
| 2000. | 100.0 | | 100.0 | | 100.0 | |
| EMPLOYED | 69.0 | 68.9 | 56.9 | 49.1 | 21.8 | 12.6 |
| UNEMPLOYED | 4.4 | 5.6 | 10.0 | 9.1 | 8.4 | 5.5 |
| OUT OF LABOUR FORCE | 26.6 | 25.5 | 33.1 | 41.8 | 69.8 | 81.9 |

Employment and unemployment, NSI, 1994-2000.

APPENDIX 3.

Table 9. EAR, ER and UR of the population of 15 years of age and over by gender and level of education

| GENDER YEARS | ECONOMIC ACTIVITY RATE | | | | | EMPLOYMENT RATE | | | | | UNEMPLOYMENT RATE | | | | |
|-----------------|------------------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | University graduates | Undergraduates | Secondary technical | Secondary general | Primary and lower | University graduates | Undergraduates | Secondary technical | Secondary general | Primary and lower | University graduates | Undergraduates | Secondary technical | Secondary general | Primary and lower |
| TOTAL | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10.1994. | 78.9 | 75.6 | 76.1 | 65.0 | 32.7 | 72.5 | 69.0 | 64.0 | 51.6 | 22.6 | 8.1 | 8.8 | 15.8 | 20.7 | 31.0 |
| 10.1995. | 77.8 | 72.4 | 74.8 | 62.5 | 31.7 | 73.7 | 68.7 | 66.4 | 53.6 | 24.1 | 5.2 | 5.1 | 11.2 | 14.2 | 23.9 |
| 06.1996. | 79.7 | 74.1 | 75.7 | 63.9 | 32.2 | 76.0 | 69.9 | 67.6 | 55.5 | 25.2 | 4.6 | 5.6 | 10.7 | 13.1 | 21.5 |
| 11.1997. | 78.7 | 71.2 | 74.9 | 62.8 | 30.5 | 73.9 | 66.0 | 65.5 | 53.2 | 23.5 | 6.1 | 7.2 | 12.6 | 15.3 | 22.7 |
| 11.1998. | 77.4 | 69.8 | 73.8 | 61.5 | 28.1 | 72.2 | 64.9 | 63.9 | 51.8 | 20.7 | 6.7 | 7.0 | 13.3 | 15.7 | 26.4 |
| 11.1999. | 77.5 | 68.1 | 71.6 | 60.7 | 26.3 | 72.1 | 64.0 | 61.6 | 49.5 | 18.7 | 7.0 | 6.0 | 14.0 | 10.2 | 7.7 |
| 12.2000. | 74.9 | 69.8 | 70.3 | 58.6 | 23.8 | 70.1 | 64.3 | 60.6 | 49.1 | 17.0 | 4.9 | 8.0 | 13.9 | 9.4 | 6.9 |
| MALE | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10.1994. | 76.9 | 75.8 | 77.6 | 69.6 | 40.0 | 70.0 | 67.6 | 66.0 | 55.5 | 28.0 | 6.7 | 10.8 | 14.9 | 20.3 | 29.9 |
| 10.1995. | 75.6 | 69.0 | 76.6 | 66.7 | 38.3 | 72.0 | 64.9 | 68.2 | 57.4 | 29.8 | 4.8 | 5.9 | 10.9 | 14.0 | 22.1 |
| 11.1996. | 78.0 | 73.4 | 77.3 | 68.8 | 38.7 | 74.4 | 67.9 | 69.3 | 60.0 | 30.6 | 4.6 | 7.6 | 10.4 | 12.8 | 20.8 |
| 11.1997. | 76.7 | 70.0 | 76.6 | 67.3 | 37.6 | 72.3 | 65.2 | 67.7 | 57.5 | 29.4 | 5.7 | 7.0 | 12.0 | 14.5 | 21.9 |
| 11.1998. | 75.0 | 68.9 | 76.2 | 67.0 | 34.9 | 70.5 | 64.45 | 66.4 | 56.7 | 25.9 | 6.0 | 6.4 | 12.9 | 15.5 | 25.6 |
| 11.1999. | 75.1 | 67.7 | 73.2 | 65.7 | 33.6 | 70.3 | 63.0 | 63.5 | 54.6 | 24.8 | 6.5 | 6.9 | 13.2 | 10.9 | 9.5 |
| 12.2000. | 53.2 | 70.8 | 72.2 | 63.8 | 30.2 | 69.6 | 65.1 | 62.8 | 53.3 | 21.8 | 4.2 | 8.1 | 13.0 | 10.4 | 8.4 |
| FEMALE | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10.1994. | 81.3 | 75.6 | 74.2 | 60.6 | 26.2 | 74.3 | 69.5 | 61.7 | 47.8 | 17.7 | 8.6 | 8.0 | 16.9 | 21.1 | 32.5 |
| 10.1995. | 80.2 | 73.8 | 72.6 | 58.5 | 25.9 | 75.7 | 70.3 | 64.2 | 50.0 | 19.1 | 5.7 | 4.8 | 11.6 | 14.4 | 26.2 |
| 11.1996. | 81.5 | 74.3 | 73.8 | 59.2 | 26.3 | 77.8 | 70.7 | 65.6 | 51.2 | 20.4 | 4.6 | 4.8 | 11.1 | 13.5 | 22.5 |
| 11.1997. | 80.7 | 71.6 | 72.7 | 58.5 | 24.1 | 75.6 | 66.4 | 62.9 | 49.0 | 18.4 | 6.4 | 7.3 | 13.4 | 16.2 | 23.9 |
| 11.1998. | 79.7 | 70.2 | 70.8 | 56.1 | 22.0 | 73.9 | 65.1 | 61.0 | 47.2 | 16.0 | 7.3 | 7.2 | 13.9 | 16.0 | 27.5 |
| 11.1999. | 79.7 | 68.3 | 69.5 | 54.2 | 19.9 | 73.8 | 64.5 | 59.1 | 44.7 | 13.9 | 7.4 | 5.6 | 15.0 | 9.5 | 6.0 |
| 12.2000. | 75.9 | 69.4 | 67.9 | 53.6 | 18.1 | 70.2 | 63.9 | 57.7 | 45.1 | 12.6 | 5.6 | 7.9 | 15.0 | 8.5 | 5.5 |

Employment and unemployment, NSI, 1994-2000.

APPENDIX 3.

Table 10. Employed by gender, level of education and employment status

| GENDER EDUCATION | EMPLOYMENT STATUS | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|------------------|-----|
| | EMPLOYERS | | SELF-EMPLOYED | | EMPLOYED | | | | | | UNPAID FAMILY WORKERS | | НЕПОСОЧЕН СТАТУС | |
| | | | | | TOTAL | | IN PRIVATE ENTERPRISES | | IN PUBLIC ENTERPRISES | | | | | |
| MALE Str. (%) | FEMALE Str. (%) | MALE Str. (%) | FEMALE Str. (%) | MALE Str. (%) | FEMALE Str. (%) | MALE Str. (%) | FEMALE Str. (%) | MALE Str. (%) | FEMALE Str. (%) | MALE Str. (%) | FEMALE Str. (%) | MALE Str. (%) | FEMALE Str. (%) | |
| 1994 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Higher than secondary | 9.5 | 3.3 | - | - | 89.9 | 96.0 | 13.7 | 8.4 | 76.2 | 87.8 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.2 |
| Secondary | 9.7 | 4.8 | - | - | 89.7 | 94.0 | 18.9 | 18.0 | 63.0 | 76.0 | 0.4 | 0.9 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| Lower than secondary | 14.2 | 10.6 | - | - | 84.6 | 86.6 | 18.1 | 12.2 | 66.6 | 74.4 | 0.9 | 2.7 | 0.2 | 0.1 |
| 1995 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Higher than secondary | 10.1 | 3.4 | - | - | 89.5 | 96.0 | 13.0 | 9.9 | 76.5 | 86.1 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Secondary | 11.3 | 4.9 | - | - | 87.7 | 93.6 | 20.6 | 20.6 | 67.1 | 73.0 | 0.7 | 1.3 | 0.2 | 0.1 |
| Lower than secondary | 16.5 | 14.6 | - | - | 82.2 | 82.5 | 20.0 | 14.8 | 62.2 | 67.7 | 1.0 | 2.7 | 0.3 | 0.2 |
| 1996 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Higher than secondary | 4.2 | 1.1 | 6.6 | 2.6 | 88.6 | 95.5 | 14.5 | 11.0 | 74.0 | 84.6 | 0.2 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.3 |
| Secondary | 2.8 | 1.0 | 8.0 | 4.6 | 88.4 | 92.8 | 23.5 | 23.4 | 64.9 | 69.3 | 0.6 | 1.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| Lower than secondary | 1.4 | 0.3 | 16.8 | 16.7 | 79.6 | 77.6 | 23.5 | 17.1 | 56.1 | 60.5 | 1.8 | 5.1 | 0.4 | 0.3 |
| 1997 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Higher than secondary | 4.1 | 1.3 | 5.6 | 2.3 | 80.9 | 95.3 | 14.1 | 13.1 | 66.8 | 82.2 | 0.3 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| Secondary | 3.1 | 0.9 | 9.1 | 5.2 | 86.3 | 61.3 | 28.4 | 29.7 | 35.6 | 61.6 | 1.0 | 2.0 | 0.4 | 0.4 |
| Lower than secondary | 1.3 | 0.5 | 19.8 | 19.9 | 76.5 | 72.3 | 26.5 | 21.4 | 50.0 | 50.8 | 2.1 | 7.1 | 0.2 | 0.3 |
| 1998 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Higher than secondary | 5.6 | 1.7 | 7.3 | 2.7 | 86.9 | 95.1 | 21.6 | 16.9 | 65.4 | 78.3 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.3 |
| Secondary | 3.5 | 1.4 | 9.2 | 5.8 | 86.4 | 91.1 | 33.9 | 36.7 | 52.5 | 54.3 | 0.7 | 1.4 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| Lower than secondary | 1.1 | 0.3 | 18.6 | 18.9 | 77.7 | 75.2 | 32.6 | 26.4 | 45.1 | 48.8 | 2.4 | 5.4 | 0.2 | 0.3 |
| 1999 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Higher than secondary | 5.7 | 1.5 | 7.2 | 3.2 | 87.7 | 94.6 | 24.2 | 18.8 | 62.3 | 75.8 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.4 |
| Secondary | 3.7 | 1.4 | 9.9 | 5.6 | 85.7 | 91.2 | 39.8 | 42.7 | 45.8 | 48.6 | 0.5 | 1.4 | 0.3 | 0.4 |
| Lower than secondary | 1.4 | 0.7 | 19.3 | 16.1 | 76.9 | 77.9 | 37.4 | 30.4 | 39.5 | 47.5 | 2.2 | 4.8 | 0.2 | 0.4 |
| 2000 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Higher than secondary | 0.5 | 1.5 | 7.3 | 3.2 | 86.6 | 94.3 | 29.5 | 23.7 | 57.0 | 70.6 | 0.1 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.3 |
| Secondary | 3.5 | 1.3 | 10.2 | 5.8 | 84.9 | 91.1 | 43.6 | 47.6 | 41.4 | 43.5 | 0.7 | 1.3 | 0.6 | 0.4 |
| Lower than secondary | 1.5 | 0.9 | 20.6 | 17.4 | 76.1 | 77.4 | 40.7 | 37.3 | 35.4 | 40.0 | 1.3 | 4.0 | 0.5 | 0.3 |

Employment and unemployment, NSI, 1994-2000.

APPENDIX № 4

MULTIVARIABLE ANALYSES OF EMPLOYMENT ACCESS

(Correspondence Analysis)

Martyn Dimov,

Master's degree in statistics and econometric

I. Correspondence analysis of employment access on the labour market*1. Methodological framework of the analysis:*

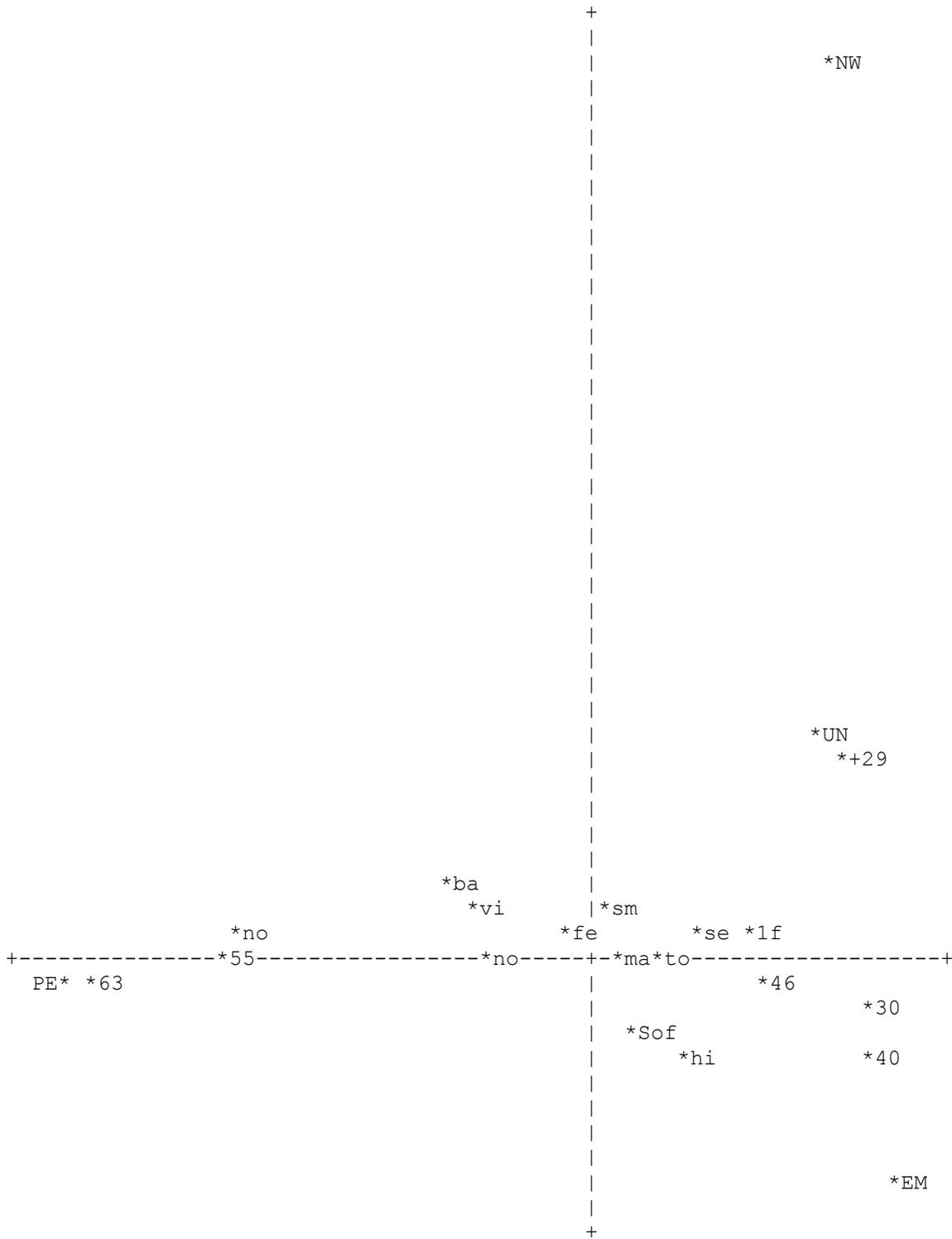
- ◆ For the statistic data processing is used Simple correspondence analysis
- ◆ The size of the total variation (inertness) is $\lambda = 0,2583$.
- ◆ The x-axis explains $\lambda = 0,2191$ or 84,82% of the total variation. The y-axis explains 12,52% or $\lambda = 0,0323$.
- ◆ In Table 1 are shown the variables and their abbreviations used in Figure 1. "Employment" is used for an integrated variable.

TABLE 1. USED VARIABLES AND ABBREVIATIONS

| <i>Variable label</i> | <i>Used abbreviation</i> |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Sex | |
| Man | ma |
| Woman | fe |
| Age groups | |
| Up to 29 | +29 |
| 30 –39 | 30-39 |
| 40 –45 | 40-45 |
| 46 –55 | 46-55 |
| 55 – 63 | 55-63 |
| Over 63 | 63+ |
| Education | |
| Lower than primary | nob |
| Primary | ba |
| Secondary | se |
| Higher | hi |
| Settlement type | |
| Village | vi |
| Small town | sm |
| Town | to |
| Sofia | so |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|
| Foreign languages | |
| One foreign language | 1fo |
| I do not speak a foreign language | no |
| Employment | |
| Employed | EM |
| Unemployed | UN |
| Retired | PE |
| Not working | NW |

FIGURE 1. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES OF ACCESS TO THE LABOUR MARKET (ASYMMETRIC CARD)



2. Main conclusions and observations:

- The used demographic characteristics (gender, age, education, settlement type, employment status and foreign languages) can explain 97,3% of the variation of the phenomenon “Employment access on the labour market”. In this sense the specified factors could be defined as leading at its identification. The high percentage of the explained inertness, as well as the fact that the categories are nearer to the x-axis, which on practice show the graphic image of the analyzed phenomenon point to this fact.
- The strongest factor, when clarifying the employment access on the labour market structure, is age. It is followed by the level of education, settlement type, speaking foreign languages and their number and in the last place – gender. The factor “gender” gives the slightest explanation of the differences in given answers. This could be seen by the near position of the “fe” categories (the symbol standing for women in the present analysis) and “ma” (the symbol standing for men) and their immediate location to the center (the intersection point of the two straight lines).
- Frequently the employed are ages between 40 46 years, with higher education and living in Sofia.
- The greatest differences have been observed between the category of the employed (EM) and the pensioners. In this sense, they could be defined as inter-homogeneous social groups that have radically different structure compare to the others.
- Higher education appears to be the strongest category when finding a job. This level of education has a considerably stronger impact than the others.
- Using foreign languages and their significance for the labour status change has two characteristic features. In the first place, speaking more than one language at this stage is not a critic factor, which make it easier to find a job. In the next place, using a foreign language is weaker factor than the complete education and especially than its highest level.

II. Correspondence analysis of job security

1. Methodological framework of the analysis

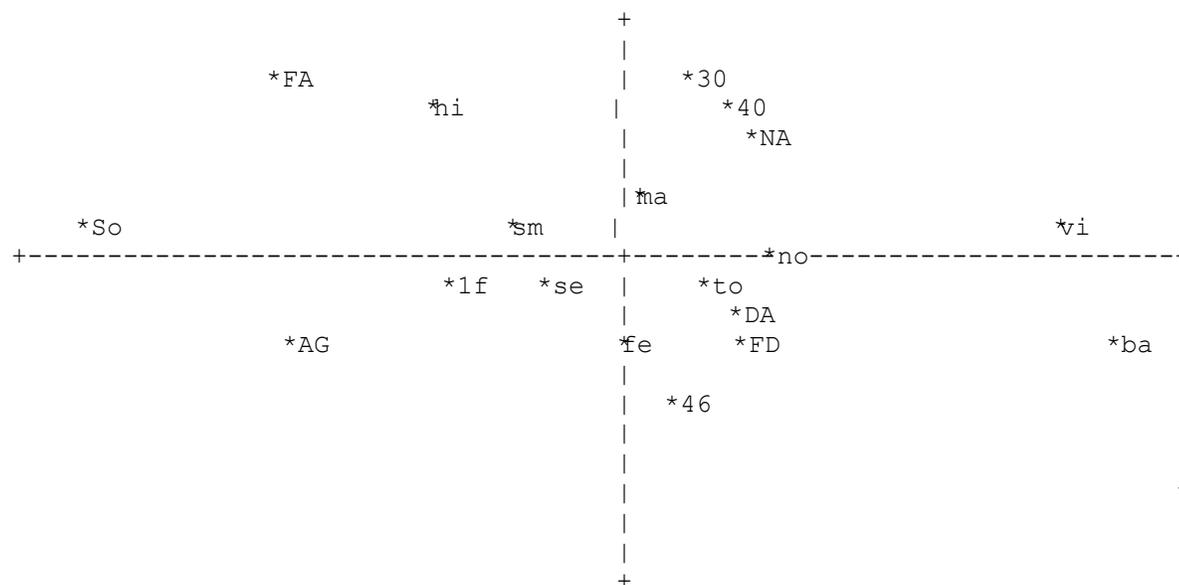
- ◆ For the statistic data processing is used Simple correspondence analysis
- ◆ The size of the total variation (inertness) is $\lambda = 0,0488$.
- ◆ The x-axis explains $\lambda = 0,0329$ or 67.58% of the total variation. The y-axis explains 24.91% or $\lambda = 0,0121$.
- ◆ In Table 1 are shown the variables and their abbreviations used in Figure 1. “Job security” is used for an integrated variable.
- ◆ The categories “55-63” and “over 63” in the variable “Age” and “to primary” of the variable “Education” have been excluded from the analysis because of the insignificant accumulation of units in them.

TABLE 2. USED VARIABLES AND ABBREVIATIONS

| <i>Variable label</i> | <i>Used abbreviation</i> |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| Gender | |
| Man | ma |
| Woman | fe |
| Age groups | |
| to 29 | +29 |

| | |
|--|-------|
| 30 –39 | 30-39 |
| 40 –45 | 40-45 |
| 46 –55 | 46-55 |
| Education | |
| Primary | ba |
| Secondary | se |
| Higher | hi |
| Settlement type | |
| Village | vi |
| Small town | sm |
| Town | to |
| Sofia | so |
| Foreign languages | |
| One foreign language | 1fo |
| I do not speak a foreign language | no |
| I have a secure job place without risk to become unemployed | |
| Fully agree | FA |
| Agree | A |
| Neither agree, nor disagree | NN |
| Disagree | DA |
| Fully disagree | FD |

Figure 2. Job security – demographic profiles (symmetric card)



2. *Main conclusions and observations::*

- **When evaluating the security of the present employment status the living place of residence is of the greatest importance.** People who live in small the towns and especially those from the villages feel more worried to be left without resources. Most significant is the interval between the categories **vi** (village) and **Sof** (Sofia). The difference between these two categories exactly could be defined as most significant when explaining answers variation.
- The rest of the categories in this group do not have significant impact on people's feeling of security for their present job.
- **Gender does not have a substantial effect on the extent to which people feel job security.** Still. If we separate the opinions by this indicator, we could say that women feel themselves worried they would remain jobless to a greater extent while men have more neutral position considering this question.
- **Women aged about 46 years with secondary level of education,** particularly, feel more embarrassed for their employment status. This observation, however, needs additional empirical proofs to be accepted unconditionally.
- **Regarding education, the university graduates to a greatest extent their position on job security matter.** In this sense, the highest level of education is a warrant for constant incomes and security in the future.

APPENDIX №5

CASE STUDY IN THE BANK SECTOR

**Polina Radeva,
Bachelor in Sociology**

According to the research plan of the survey “Women-work-globalization”, conducted by the Agency for social analyses, various qualitative information of the bank sector using the case study method has been collected. Target of the survey was one of the biggest banks in Bulgaria. The in-depth and multilateral survey gave data considering the characteristics of the bank sector in the country and the studied unit in particular, the occurred and the current changes in it, personnel selection and training methods and the gender specific characters of the sector.

According to the received data, till 1989 in nearly all banks the women formed 99% of the personnel. The prevailing deal of women in the sector has been kept after the political status quo changes, but at the same time the relative high salaries in it have been also preserved. In the studied unit, at its foundation in 1995, over 95% the staff were women. At the first privatization of the bank in 1997, great changes in the personnel structure occurred. Over 1000 were dismissed according to the new personnel requirements. After founding of a “twining” personnel education program by the Ireland United Banks, teams from the bank have worked two years on change management.

Only bank services sellers remained employed in the branches after the centralization of all the supplementary bank activities (advertising, marketing, planning and analysis). Together with these reforms wide spread are also the new technologies and software products, which make the existence of some traditional occupations needless – accountants, for example. Mainly the sector’s development and the entering of the new technologies have prompted the main dismissal criteria. There is no data showing any age or gender characteristics at dismissals.

There are also no data showing that gender, age, ethnicity and appearance are leading or decisive when selecting or employing personnel. The main requirements the applicants should suit are appropriate qualification, higher education and experience in the bank sector. People without experience are also employed and trained by an inter-bank system for personnel development. Young people, who could be trained, who have a motivation and a desire for work and development, are accepted with priority. The main goal of personnel recruiting is to balance between age and experience. The average age of the staff is 37 years. For the entire new job places the institution announces a competition – at first internal for the organization and after that in the media as well. The new employees are appointed for a 6 months test period and trained. Growth in career also is connected with an additional training and qualification. The new market requirements suppose a constant change in the competence and knowledge in the occupation, as well as at passing through different occupations. Most of the people in the bank speak several languages, they are constantly working with and using information from Internet. One of the main questions at the interview with the new candidates is: “Do you work under stress?”

The inter-organization personnel education and training system is widely practiced in the bank. The bank also provides education programs for its employees and sends them to Western Europe to study for a master’s degree. These employees, after they have finished their education, return and continue working in the bank. There are no gender differences at the candidate selection – men and women have equal chances, the only criteria are their qualities. The candidates should win a competition because the scholarships have been granted by various foundations and under international programs. Before departing, they sit for a professional qualification examination, as they would receive salary at the place they are going to. These programs are for the so-called “key personnel” – managers of high and middle level and part of the specialists, i.e. the linear managers on low level. The employees from the lower

levels of hierarchy also and have the opportunity to apply for these programs if they are active and if they have formed high prestige.

At the end of every year, the bank defines its education program for the next year. These programs have different priorities. Some of them are for more than one year (the so-called module programs). The main lecturers are from the organization and the themes are with a particular practical orientation – conducting negotiations, time and stress control, management skills and training according to the standards for a qualitative service. Apart from them, there are special inter-bank training courses that give a relevant certificate. A lot of external organizations take up the training of the bank staff and they also grant the relevant diplomas and certificates. To be on a world level and to correspond to the world standards are one of the main requirements these programs should fulfill. Personnel competitiveness is of great importance for the good work and development of the bank. There are cases when employees, who work in other European banks, have integrated quickly and successfully themselves. Personnel policy of the bank is part of an international system.

Since constantly there are employees attending various courses and training programs, the rest of their colleagues should be able to take the work of the occupied. The ability for teamwork is a necessary condition for the successful work in the group. It is of great importance for the success of the bank, its employees to be interchangeable. In the opinion of trade-unions leaders, the places of women who are on maternity leave have been taken by their colleagues and the bank policy is to observe strictly the rights provided by the Bulgarian legislation. Most of the women themselves, however, prefer to return at work earlier than it is allowed in the law in order not to lose their qualification and their relatively good payment.

The work in the bank sector is connected with a lot of stress and tension and a special program is created so as to overcome and control the stress. There is a psychologist in the bank for this purpose, who works with the employees put to stress working conditions. This is a relaxation program within the day for eliminating of the outer environment. Special attention is paid to limitation the effect of negative factors. Consultations are made in order to find the reasons and factors for stress and tension, including these in the family. There is a medical service as well, guided by a woman. Basic and preventive medical examinations, job places evaluation are made, the reasons for women's sick rate are studied, special attention is paid to the women aged 40 years as they enter a "special" age.

It is normal for a woman to reach the high authorities levels in the studies institution. The bank has more than 57 branches in the country and in more than half of them there are women managers. In the main office work 20 managers, 9 of who are women. One of the two executive director at present is a woman. Not to let gender discrimination on not a single management level or at employment is a fundamental principle in bank policy. However, for the women working in the bank there are special programs and preferences. The employed women there do not worry to have children. From 5400 personnel, there are about 70 women on maternity leave. At the same time, the women using such leaves return to work very soon, before their child complete 1 year. This has been prompted by the living conditions in the country. Obviously, women prefer to receive their salary that is far more than the average for the country. The average salary in the bank is 400 leva. This is not the only factor which make women return quickly to work. Their wish for a successful career is very strong. The bank gives them the opportunity to retrieve quickly their qualification, which has fallen behind during the time they were on maternity leave. They attend with priority seminars and training programs, in order quickly to return their abilities, to actualize their knowledge and skills and to be able easily to integrate in the work-team. Women themselves decide what part of their maternity leave to use because their titular place is kept till the complete time limit is expired.

There is existing and operating a well-developed trade-union organization in the bank, which is a part of the Bank Employees Trade Union in Bulgaria. Although the bank owners are foreigners, this organization has had no problems regarding their activities, till this moment, on their part. The objective of both sides is teamwork for business and bank development. A lot of social clauses considering various

social payments underlie in the signed collective labour agreement – at marriage, child birth, serious illness. For the trade unions all the bank employees have an equal law status, no matter what their gender is, mentioning even the fact that men in the bank are rather a minority and most of the acquisitions are for the women.