

Chapter Seven

►► HOUSEHOLDS, WORK AND FLEXIBILITY Country Survey Reports

BULGARIA

[Siyka Kovacheva and Tanja Pancheva, University of Plovdiv]

[Contents]

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY [345]

INTRODUCTION [347]

1. PATTERNS OF WORK FLEXIBILITY [348]

Patterns of Time Flexibility || Patterns of Place Flexibility || Patterns of Flexibility of Conditions || Career Flexibility || Perceptions of Flexibility and Potential for the Future

2. PATTERNS OF WORK [361]

Accumulation of Different Kinds of Work || Patterns of Informal and Voluntary Work || Financial Efficiency of Flexible Work

3. HOUSEHOLD ORGANISATION [364]

Households Structures || Domestic Roles || Patterns of Decision Making in the Household

4. WORK/HOUSEHOLD RELATIONS [368]

Economic Standard of Households in Bulgaria || Integration of Home and Work || Employment and Childcare Arrangements || Perceptions of Family/Work Arrangements

CONCLUSION [373]

ANNEX [376]

Technical Report on the Survey || Tables and Figures

[List of tables and figures]

Table 1.	Usual Weekly Working Time according to Gender (per cent).....	377
Table 2.	Working Schedules according to Gender (per cent).....	378
Table 3.	Working Schedules according to Age (per cent).....	378
Table 4.	Willingness to Work the Same, More or Less Hours according to Type of Settlement (per cent).....	378
Table 5.	Motivation for Working Less Hours according to Gender (per cent).....	378
Table 6.	Working at Home on Additional Jobs (AJ) (per cent of those holding such jobs).....	379
Table 7.	Types of Work Contract according to Gender (per cent).....	379
Table 8.	Types of Contract according to Age (per cent).....	379
Table 9.	Type of Contract according to Educational Level (per cent).....	380
Table 10.	Changes in Work Careers after 1989 according to Gender.....	380
Table 11.	Changes in Work Careers after 1989 according to Age (per cent).....	381
Table 12.	Changes in Work Careers after 1989 according to Types of Settlement (per cent).....	381
Table 13.	Main reasons for Changing Employment According to Age (per cent).....	381
Table 14.	Main reasons for Changing Employment According to Area (per cent).....	382
Table 15.	Potential for Work Flexibility.....	382
Table 16.	Potential for Work Flexibility according to Gender (per cent)*.....	382
Table 17.	Potential for Work Flexibility according to Age (per cent)*.....	383
Table 18.	Different Activities as Sources of Income in the Past Year (only shares in per cent of respondents who have been engaged in such activities).....	383
Table 19.	Individual Income by Education (per cent).....	383
Table 20.	Personal Income by Employment Status (per cent).....	384
Table 21.	Personal Income by Type of Contract on the Main Job (per cent).....	384
Table 22.	Personal Income by Career Changes since 1989 (per cent).....	384
Table 23.	Personal Income by Number of Current Activities (per cent).....	384
Table 24.	Division of Domestic Tasks between Household Members (per cent) (How is the task usually done?).....	385
Table 25.	Gender Division of Labour within the Household (per cent).....	385
Table 26.	Patterns of Decision Making in the Households (percentage of responses in three choices)	385
Table 27.	Agreements and Disagreements in Household Decisions (per cent).....	386
Table 28.	Conflicts in Households with Small Children (per cent).....	386
Table 29.	Housing Equipment according to Area Type (per cent of those fitted with).....	386
Table 30.	Structure of Household Incomes by the Most Important Source.....	387
Table 31.	Household Income by Area.....	387
Table 32.	Household Incomes by Main Source of Income.....	387
Table 33.	Households by the Number of Possessions (per cent).....	388
Table 34.	Personal Satisfaction with Current Situation (per cent).....	388
Table 35.	Evaluation of the Present and Expectations for the Future (per cent).....	388
Table 36.	Evaluation of the Current Situation by Income Groups (per cent).....	388
Table 37.	Households by Type and Purpose of Home Preserved Food (per cent).....	389
Table 38.	Value Orientations Concerning Family/Work Arrangements.....	389
Table 39.	Self-Declared Employment Status (multiple response, per cent of whole sample).....	389

Figure 1.	Usual Weekly Working Time in Hours.....	348
Figure 2.	Working Schedules.....	349
Figure 3.	Willingness to Work the Same, More or Less Hours	350
Figure 4.	Flexibility in Terms of Working Place.....	352
Figure 5.	Work Flexibility in Terms of Conditions (per cent)	354
Figure 6.	Types of Contracts in Additional Jobs (AJ)	355
Figure 7.	Main Reasons for Changing Employment according to Gender	358
Figure 8.	Patterns of Informal and Voluntary Work (per cent).....	363
Figure 9.	Households according to the Number of Their Members	365
Figure 10.	Reasons for Leaving the Household.....	366
Figure 11.	Households according to the Number of Children below 14 Years of Age	390
Figure 12.	Household Types.....	390
Figure 13.	Households according to Ethnicity (of the Interviewed Member.....	391
Figure 14.	Households according to Ethnicity (of the Interviewed Member.....	391
Figure 15.	Households by Type of Their Housing.....	392
Figure 16.	Households by the Number of Rooms in Their Housing	392
Figure 17.	Patterns of Decision Making in the Household	393
Figure 18.	Expected Sources of Support in a Grave Financial Situation	393
Figure 19.	Home Production in Bulgarian Households.....	372

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report analyses work flexibility in the context of post-communist Bulgaria on the basis of results from a nation-wide face-to-face survey carried out in February 2001. The two-stage probability sample included 1806 individuals in working age, who provided information about their own and their household members' work career and individual and household strategies to combine work and care.

The survey revealed the following patterns of flexible work:

- A high degree of time flexibility: 20 per cent of the sample worked less and 14 per cent more than the standard working time; and 40 per cent had some form of flexible working schedule.
- A slightly lower degree of place flexibility: 22 per cent had a flexible working place (at home, in another settlement or changing) and 28 per cent had varying working places over time.
- Highest was the degree of flexibility of conditions, encompassing close to a half of the sample – 42.4 per cent and its most typical patterns were working on a fixed-term contract or without a legal contract, and self-employment.
- Career flexibility was also very high – 36 per cent have changed jobs at least twice, 20 per cent have changed their profession (occupation), 36 per cent have lost their jobs at least twice in the past ten years.

- The individual potential for work flexibility in the future is even higher than the realised flexibility.

The household as a community has also relied upon certain types of flexibility in the transition period. Home production, in which over a half of the households were engaged (52.5 per cent), had a great importance for households in Bulgaria, particularly for producing and preserving food. Domestic tasks were all done by members of the household and very rarely in the market. Only 0.1 per cent of households paid for caring for a sick member or gardening, and 1.4 per cent paid for using skilled labour for the maintenance and repair of the dwelling interior.

Given this high integration of home and work, household members had to participate in a complex set of relations. Our survey measured a remarkably fixed gender and age division of labour instead of a process of negotiating of domestic and employment roles among the members. It was the adult women who held the main responsibility for performing the unpaid work in the home. Despite this unequal division of domestic work, the patterns of family/work arrangements were largely unquestioned, as was the decision-making in the household.

The twelve years of market reforms in Bulgaria have created a situation, in which the high incidence of flexible work in the sphere of paid labour is combined with a high involvement in informal home production and in unpaid domestic services. Forced by the new economic condi-

tions and strengthened by cultural traditions, these family/work arrangements were generally accepted by all household members. They devise united household strategies, mixing paid and un-

paid work to survive the current difficulties, and hope for a better future with the success of the country's transition.

INTRODUCTION

The year 2001 was marked by a public debate over flexible work in Bulgaria. It started with a discussion of the legal conditions for employment and dismissal of workers culminating in the changes in the Labour Code adopted in February. In October mass media exposed the wide practice of working without contract and the year ended up with the new Law for Encouraging Employment, adopted on December 27, aiming to speed up the flexibilisation of labour, while introducing legal measures and economic stimuli to curtail the unofficial labour market. The issue of work flexibility did not fade from public attention throughout the year, despite the important internal and external political events: the return of the former king and his involvement in Bulgarian politics, the parliamentary election in June and the presidential election in November, the new government's negotiations with the International Monetary Fund over the conditions for a new loan, the terrorist attacks in the USA the bombing of Afghanistan, the economic collapse in Argentina, to name just a few.

The lack of representative empirical data about flexibility in Bulgaria makes the public discussion look like an ideological controversy rather than a strict assessment of the real situation in the labour market. Policy analyses are based more on the recommendations in the European Union

documents than on research of market trends. Social surveys are focused either on the informal work or on household strategies but not on the interplay of the flexible patterns of work in the official and unofficial labour market and their place in the combined strategies of household members (See Work Package 1. Critical Literature Reviews, Chapter 8).

This report is an attempt to analyse the issue on the basis of results from a nation-wide face-to-face survey carried out in February 2001. The two-stage probability sample included 1806 individuals in working age, who provided information about their own and their household members' work career and individual and household strategies to combine work and care (Full description of the methodology is provided in the Appendix). The report starts with a discussion of the patterns of flexibility in terms of time, place and conditions according to sex, age, education, and place of living, and proceeds with a description of career flexibility and accumulation of different kinds of work. The second part of the report analyses the patterns of integration of home and work, the flexible combinations of childcare, formal, informal and voluntary work, as well as the perceptions of family and work arrangements and modes of decision making in the household.

1. PATTERNS OF WORK FLEXIBILITY

1.1. Patterns of Time Flexibility

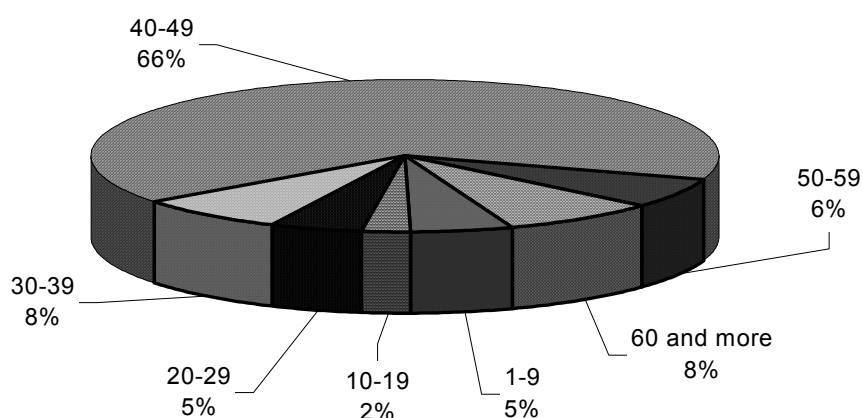
A typical form of flexible employment is working less or more hours than the norm for a given country. Flexibility of work is also created by a more changeable structure of working time through a shift work, flexitime, or other irregular schedules. It is usually perceived that flexible work creates opportunities for employers to make a better use of technological equipment and raise the productivity of labour. For employees it frees time to spend in other activities and meet other commitments. Flexibilisation in terms of working time might be employer led or employees led. It might also be opposed by both sides. Our survey measured the current situation of flexible working time in Bulgaria, as well as people's perceptions and motivations for and against it.

The normal working time per week in Bulgaria is 40 hours. Statistical surveys consider the range of 40-49 hours as the norm. If we accept this definition, close to two thirds of the workforce has standard employment in terms of working time. A fifth of our respondents work on their main job less than the normal working time per week – 20.2

per cent. Longer than the normal time work 14.4 per cent of the workforce in Bulgaria. However, if we define the period 40-42 as standard, according to the Labour Code, then 27.8 per cent of the workforce is working more hours, thus surpassing those who work less than the norm. Our data supports such a thesis about narrowing the normal period: the median and mode are 40 hours, the mean is 40.26 and the standard deviation is 13.82. For now we will stick to the accepted structure of equal periods of ten-hour range.

While the shares of men and women working less than 20 hours are very similar, the shares of women in the other two part-time groups – 20-29 and 30-39 are with a third higher than those of men (See Table 1 in the Appendix). Women also dominate in the group with the standard working time. Slightly more men than women work 50-59 hours a week. The biggest difference is in the shares of those working more than 60 hours a week – here the share of men is more than twice higher than that of women.

Figure 1. Usual Weekly Working Time in Hours



Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

We have divided the sample into age groups in the following way:

- 18-24 – Youth, who are in the process of transition from education to employment
- 25-35 – Young adults, who are trying to establish themselves in their career
- 36-50 – Middle-age adults, the generation in their ‘top’ career years
- 51-60 – The oldest working-age group, in their career’s last stage

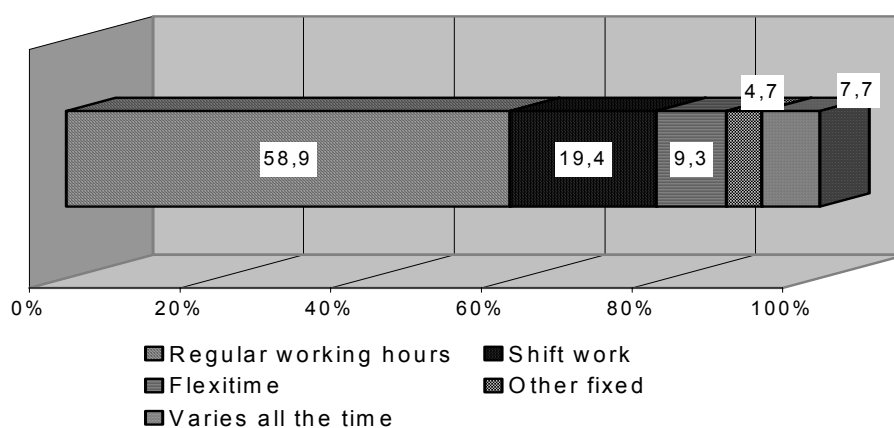
We expected that the younger age groups would be concentrated among those working less than the standard hours. In fact those aged up to 24 had the same share as the population as a whole and those aged 25 to 35 – even less than that. In fact, it was the oldest working generation that was over represented among part-time workers. Those aged 36-50 had the highest share of people working overtime. Here the divide rural/urban area was clearly visible – people in rural areas more often worked part-time than people in urban areas and less often worked over time. There was no

clear pattern of influence coming from the particular type of settlement – people in the capital being similar to the dwellers in small towns in their work patterns while those in big cities were similar to those in villages.

Education affected people’s modes of working time, without forming a clear line of dependency. Those with primary and basic education had the lowest shares of people with standard-time jobs. They were over represented among the groups with shorter working time. Those with primary education had the highest share of overtime workers, as well. The groups with college education and BA degrees had the smallest shares of people working over time. However, those with BA degrees worked on a reduced working time most often than all other groups.

The survey also measured the flexibility of the working schedules. About 60 per cent of the respondents had regular working hours and 40 per cent had some kind of flexible schedule.

Figure 2. Working Schedules



Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

The most common form of irregular schedule in Bulgaria is the shift work – every fifth person works shifts. One in ten only has a flexible work-

ing schedule. Women work regular hours more often than men (Table 2). However, they are also over-represented among the shift workers as well.

Men work irregular hours more often than women and particularly more often their schedule varies all the time. With age the incidence of working regular hours rises. In the opposite direction is the pattern of doing shift work – it is most common among youth and declines with age. The other types of flexible working hours form more varied patterns of change with age (Table 3).

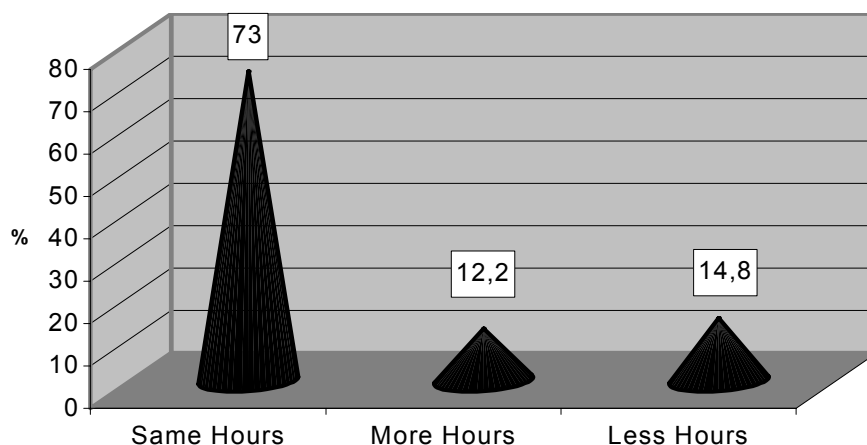
There are no big differences in working regular or irregular schedules among the types of settlement but educational level has a significant influence. Those with completed university education (BA, MA or PhD) have higher shares of people working on a regular schedule. Less than half of those with primary education work regular hours. About 27 per cent of them and 15 per cent of people with basic education do work on an irregular changeable schedule. Those with college education have the highest share of shift employees. This is largely due to the fact that up to 1995 (the year when the Law on Higher Education was

adopted) this type of education was predominantly for nurses and librarians – categories that do shift work mostly.

The prevailing type of shift work is rotating shifts – it is common for three quarters of those working on shifts. Daily shifts are typical for 15 per cent of this group, night shifts – for 3 per cent while on evening shifts work less than 2 per cent. The most common types of regular working schedule are annualised hour contract, a four-day week and term-time working. In most cases it is the employer who decides the working schedule for the employees. Only 18 per cent of the respondents decide for themselves and 6 per cent do so together with their employer.

Data about people's preferences show that three quarters of our respondents would like to keep working the same number of hours while 12 per cent prefer to work more hours and 15 per cent – less hours.

Figure 3. Willingness to Work the Same, More or Less Hours



Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Gender does not make significant difference – women and men are almost equally divided between the three categories. Age makes difference

mostly for the wish to work less time – the share of those wishing to work less time declines from 18 per cent in youth to 12 per cent in the oldest

working age group. Education also does not show a clear pattern of influence over the willingness to work the same, more or less working hours. The wish to work more hours is the highest between those with the lowest and highest educational level. Significant differences are displayed between groups according to their living place.

People in rural areas are most satisfied with the number of working hours they do at present (Table 4). Those willing to work longer hours are mostly living in small towns. Citizens in the capital have the lowest share of those willing to work longer hours and the highest share of those willing to work fewer hours.

Those willing to work more hours have one main reason – they need more money (82.2 per cent). Career concerns or getting more opportunities to do interesting tasks are shared by minute shares of people. The second most important reason, but only for 12 per cent of the respondents, is to manage to do more work. Among those wishing to work more hours, men and women have very similar motivation. The same is valid for the four age groups and four types of settlement. It is interesting to note that no one among the youngest age group has chosen ‘career concerns’ as a reason to work longer hours – for youth spending more time on the job is not a route to career growth. Among educational groups the highest significance to earning more money is attached by the two lowest education groups, but also by those with college education. However, only a half those, holding a BA degree, wish to work longer hours due to financial reasons. For them interesting tasks and career concerns are also very important.

The motivation for working less hours is more varied. The first most important reason for wanting to work fewer hours at the main job is to have more time to meet domestic commitments and spend time with the family. Much more women than men choose this option for explanation of their willingness to give less time to their job. Every fifth respondent thinks that he or she is unable or unwilling to work longer hours. The

third most important reason is to have more time for other ways of earning money. This reason is chosen by a quarter of our male respondents and only by 1.5 per cent of women. Almost 10 per cent of women and less than 2 per cent of men would like to diminish the time spent in paid work in order to do some education or training. Nobody considers that their family earns enough as a reason for willingness to work fewer hours.

In general, men and women have very different reasons to reduce working time – for women it is to have more time for domestic commitments and for additional education and training (Table 5). For men spending more time for family is also important but not in such extent as for women and they do less hours on the main job in order to be able to pursue other ways for earning money. Different age groups also have divergent reasons for working less on the main job. For youth the two most important reasons are that they would not like to work longer hours and that they would like to have more time to study or train – each with a third of all answers in this group. Family responsibilities are cited most often by the oldest working age group – 45 per cent. Family commitments are important for the two middle age groups but they choose different second reasons: unwillingness to work longer hours by 22 per cent of young adults aged 25-35 and in favour of other ways to earn money by 17 per cent of middle-age adults.

The two types of areas also have different motivation for working less time. Respondents living in rural areas cite family commitments in two thirds of the cases – 65 per cent. For those living in the capital dislike of longer working time and willingness to study have greater importance than for the other groups. Family commitments are the most important reason for the lower educated groups – up to secondary education. For those with college and university education the family is also the most important reason but with smaller shares. They attach greater significance to unwillingness to work longer and to having time for other ways of earning money.

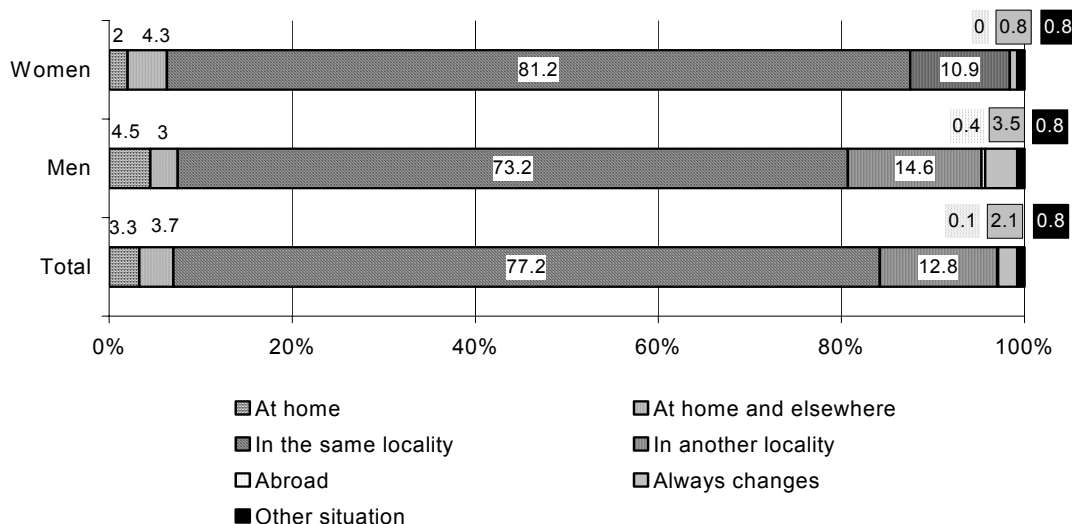
1.2. Patterns of Place Flexibility

Place flexibility manifests itself in the shift of work from within the traditional structure of the industrial enterprise into new locations: toward the home or abroad, or various combinations of different working places. There is also an internal flexibility of the working place concerning its specific structure and organisation within the company. It takes the forms of rotation of working places, division of the job between two employed persons, functional flexibility and flexible specialisation of tasks. In this report we are more interested in the patterns of external flexibility, such as the accomplishment of company tasks in the home, either as work at home only or as work both at home and in the company. The change of working place over the week or the year is another indicator of flexibility. The mobility of the

workforce, that is, work in a different settlement or in a different country should also be included among these forms of external, spatial flexibility of work.

The survey measured a very low level of the typical pattern of place flexibility – home working. About 7 per cent of working respondents work at home or both at home and elsewhere on their main job. The incidence of commuting for work is higher – workplaces in another locality have 13 per cent of those who have given an answer. Those working abroad are a negligible share while 2 per cent have a constantly changing workplace. In total some pattern of place flexibility is common for 22 per cent of the workforce in Bulgaria.

Figure 4. Flexibility in Terms of Working Place



Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Men tend to work at home twice more often than women while women more often perform work at home and elsewhere on their main job. Men are more mobile than women in their work location –

men travel to work in another location everyday more often than women. Flexibility of work in terms of place concerns men more often than women. Age also makes a difference in the place

of work – it is more often the middle age group that works at home or combines work at home with elsewhere. They also travel more often than the youngest (15-24) and the oldest (over 50) age groups among the workforce. The youngest age group is a leader in only one form of flexible working place – ‘always changing’ working place.

Place flexibility shows a tendency to rise with the decline in the size of the settlement. The lowest is the share of those working in the same locality where they live among those living in villages – 62 per cent and it is the highest among those living in settlements with over 200 000 citizens – 85.3 per cent. Those living in rural areas more often work at home (7 per cent) or combine working at home with elsewhere (4.5 per cent), they also travel more often to work in another locality – (24.4 per cent).

Another form of place flexibility is the changing of working place in time. Over two thirds of respondents work in their main job on the same working place throughout the year. For the rest the working place changes everyday – 11 per cent, every week – 6 per cent and every month – 2 per cent. Seasonal changes in the workplace are common for 9 per cent of the respondents. In total these patterns of place flexibility are typical for 28 per cent of respondents.

If we add the additional jobs the picture of place flexibility changes a lot (See Table 6). The survey information about the additional jobs suggests much higher place flexibility than the one characteristic of the main job. While 7 per cent of all respondents work at home always or from time to time on their main job, half of the first additional jobs are carried out from the home either

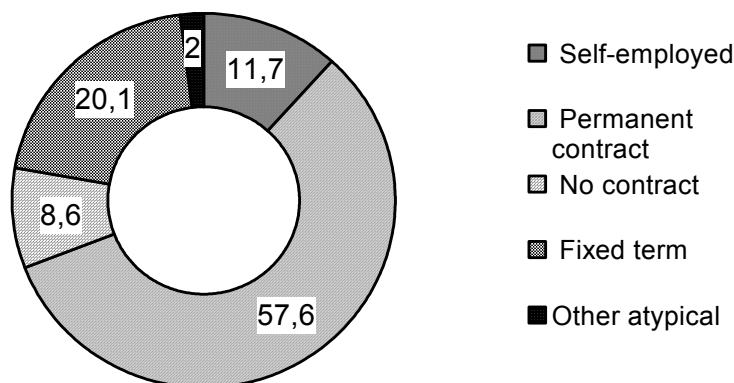
totally or in part. The incidence of home working is even higher for the second and third additional jobs. Much higher in the additional jobs is also the flexibility in terms of changing of the workplace. The work place of those with one additional job changes in 44.5 per cent of the cases, with two additional jobs – 43.8 per cent of the cases and with a third additional job – 100 per cent.

Data about people’s motivation for a particular working place throws more light on the type of place flexibility typical for Bulgaria. The most common reason for working at home chosen by over a third the respondents was ‘lack of other opportunities’. The pressure from domestic commitments was pointed at three times more rarely and the desire to spend more time with the family – six times more rarely. The arrangements of working place suit most respondents – 80 per cent feel rather or fully satisfied with the current situation. In fact the most flexible workers in terms of working place are the least satisfied. The highest share of dissatisfied (fully or somewhat) respondents – 28.6 per cent – is found among those whose working place always changes, then among those working at home – 22.6 per cent, and then among those travelling to another locality – 16 per cent. It is very rarely that people themselves decide where to fulfil their work tasks. Data reveal that one in five decides autonomously and one in ten do this together with their employers. Most often it is the employer who defines where the job should be done. Place flexibility is a forced solution to the workforce in the country under the current conditions.

1.3. Patterns of Flexibility of Conditions

The sort of contract an employee holds is an indicator for the flexibility of work, which is determined by the legal and institutional conditions of work in the country and the policies and practices

of employment of the workforce. The survey data present the following distribution of respondents between the different types of work contract:

Figure 5. Work Flexibility in Terms of Conditions (per cent)

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

This is the most common form of flexibility in the context of Bulgaria – 42.4 per cent of the workforce work under non-standard conditions. A fifth of all respondents hold a fixed-term contract and it is slightly more typical for women than for men (Table 7). The reverse is the situation with the work without contract – this practice, shared by 9 per cent of the respondents, is less typical for women than for men. The other flexible form of work – self-employment – distinguishes 12 per cent of the workforce. More men than women are self-employed. Other patterns of flexible conditions of work are a contract with a reduced or no working time, ‘on call’ basis, work for a temporary work agency, on a fee only basis, or subject to performance. These type of contracts are very rare for the main job of Bulgarian workforce and yet, men tend to hold such contracts twice more often than women. In general women tend to prefer the more secure and legally binding forms of contracts. The standard form – permanent contract – is held by just over a half of the respondents and it is more typical for women than for men.

The most common period of the fixed term contracts was between one and 11 months – 59.2 per cent. Every fifth respondent or 21.4 per cent of those holding a fixed-term job did not have a definite period for the contract. Contracts with

longer periods – between 1 and 5 years and over 5 years were held by 16.5 per cent and 2.9 per cent respectively. Fixed-term jobs in Bulgaria are usually quite short. The most typical contract of this kind is for 6 months.

Age clearly sets limits for the legal conditions of the main job that people hold (table 8). The youngest age group – up to 24 years – has the lowest share of those with permanent contracts and the highest share of those working without contract. Every third young person has a fixed term of other temporary contract. The oldest age group among the employed – over 50 years – has the highest share of permanent contracts. Self-employment is most typical for the adult generation – those in ‘prime age’ 36-50. The incidence of having some kind of fixed-term or temporary job declines with age – from a share of 31 per cent in the youngest age cohort to a share of 18 per cent in the oldest age cohort. In conclusion, youth is the group with the highest level of flexibility in terms of the legal conditions of work.

Education also produces differences in the types of contract people have access to (table 9). The incidence of having a permanent contract rises with the rise of educational level of the workforce. The opposite is the trend concerning work without a contract or temporary work – it rises

with the decline of years spent at school. In practice the lowest educational groups have chances to find a job either on a temporary contract or outside the official labour market. In Bulgaria flexibility in the legal conditions of work is most common for the low educated groups.

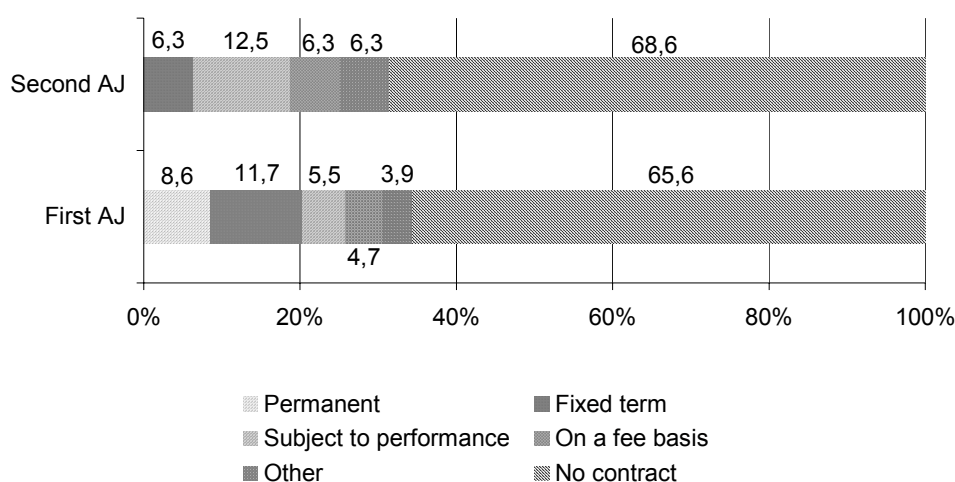
Our hypothesis was that more people (than 8.6 per cent of the respondents) would be working without a contract – the most ‘flexible’ form in Bulgarian conditions. One reason for this low share might be that the respondents did not want to declare this illegal form of work (the non-response rate was high). The other reason might be that people in the country prefer to have some form of a legal contract as a main job and work off the records additionally. To check this opportunity we looked into the forms of contracts typical for the additional jobs. Data about the additional jobs confirmed the popularity of the practice of holding non-standard more flexible jobs parallel to the formal main job. Those having one addi-

tional job were almost equally divided in three groups: self-employment, employment and ‘other situation’. Half of those holding two additional jobs were self-employed. The only respondent with three additional jobs was working without a contract. Those employed with one or two additional jobs most often did not have a contract or had some non-standard contract.

While permanent contract was the most common form in the main job, it was very rare among the additional jobs. Two thirds of the people holding one or two additional jobs worked off the record. On the basis of these data we can make two conclusions:

- The greatest flexibility in terms of conditions is found among the additional jobs.
- The most widespread type of flexibility of work in Bulgaria is flexibility of conditions (rather than part-time or fixed-term or home working).

Figure 6. Types of Contracts in Additional Jobs (AJ)



Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Both employers and employees accept work without contract. Employers particularly in the private small and medium size businesses have an interest to recruit workers unofficially, economising on taxes and social security payments. For the employees this might be a forced solution under the conditions of high unemployment. However, it might be that they also have an interest in not paying taxes and social security by not signing a formal contract. The same ambivalence exists in the evaluation of the fixed term or other atypical contracts – whether this is a widening of people's opportunities to choose jobs suitable for their individual preferences or it is a forced option imposed over them. To check people's attitudes we looked at their explanations why they are not holding standard jobs.

The most common reason given by the employees was 'I was offered only this type of contract'. Two thirds of the respondents chose this answer. Only one per cent answered that they did not want a permanent contract. Due to the very low share (1 per cent) of those who preferred the fixed-term contract, we could not get statistically

significant distribution about their reasons. 'Very satisfied' with their job as a whole were 23.3 per cent of those with a permanent contract, 16.8 per cent of the self-employed, 14.9 per cent of those with a fixed term contract and only 8.4 per cent of those working without contract. The same declining trend of satisfaction was shown toward the security of the job. Every fifth person of those with a permanent contract or 21.9 per cent were very satisfied with their job security while only 14.2 per cent of the self-employed, 8.4 per cent of those without a contract and 6.2 per cent of those with a fixed-term jobs. These data suggest that contract flexibility is rather a forced option for Bulgarians, at least on their main job. The survey did not provide data about the motivation or satisfaction about the additional jobs where in Bulgaria we find the greatest flexibility in terms of conditions. On the basis of expert opinions we might conclude that there is a consensus among employers and employees concerning the additional jobs being performed off the record. Employees do such kind of jobs for additional income, not for greater insurance.

1.4. Career Flexibility

The feeling about dramatic changes in the sphere of work is prevalent in Bulgarian society. The regime change coupled with the proclaimed transition from a centrally planned to a market economy created a sense of insecurity, a sense of a loss of full employment and guaranteed life long jobs. The economic restructuring and particularly privatisation affected strongly the system of employment, causing job losses and mass unemployment. The labour markets that developed are very strained, with limited openings. While the need to adapt to the new market conditions is massive, career changes might be a forced option or a desired purposive flexibility. Our survey provides data about the dynamics in the work career over a ten-year period – after 1989 which is the year widely accepted as the start of the reforms in Bulgaria.

We do not have data to compare work careers before and after the start of the transition in Bulgaria. Although the thesis about 'life-long jobs' and full employment during communism is an exaggeration, yet our data about the 1990s show a very high degree of work mobility (Table 10). Every third person has changed their jobs at least once, every third has an experience of unemployment, and every fifth person has changed their profession at least once. The low shares of those who have started a private business and who have been promoted in their job (both 7 per cent) and of those who have started a second job (5 per cent) do not allow the conclusion that the transition to a market economy has opened up a lot of new opportunities. Rather the changes in employment have been forced upon the individuals.

The social changes in the country have strongly affected both men and women and the shifts in their work careers are very similar. A greater share of women have retired because our sample included people up to the age of 60 while women's retirement age was 55 up to 1998. It is more often men than women who have started their own business. While women have lost their jobs once more often than men, more men have been unemployed more than once. Similar is the situation with the change in professions. Women have changes their professions once more often than men. It is more often men who have changed their professions several times.

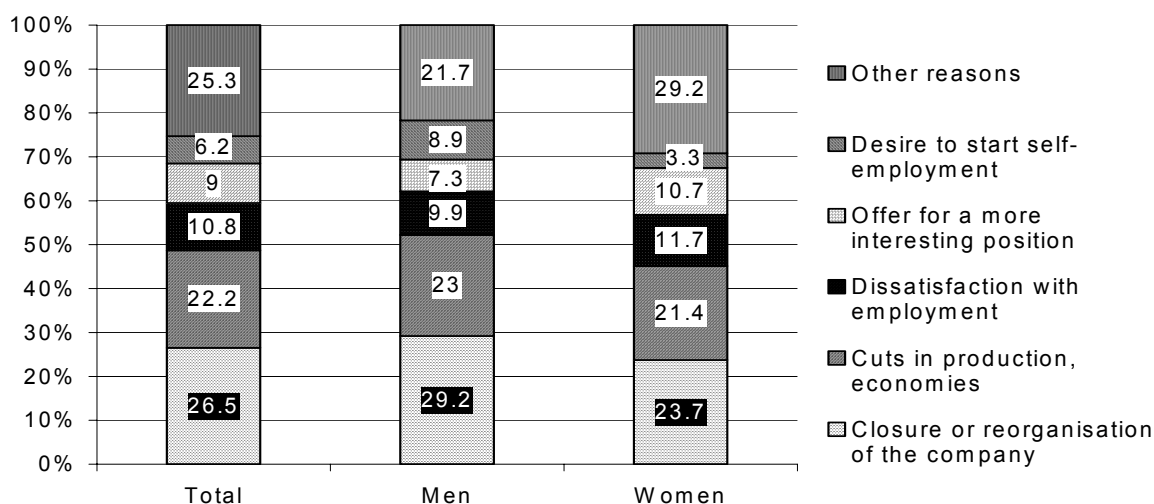
What our data shows is that every fifth young person (from the first group) has changed employment at least once; every fifth among them have been unemployed at least once, more often than one in ten have changed their profession (Table 11). Hardly any young people aged to 24 have started private business or working in a second job. This is also the group with the lowest share of those who have been promoted in their job. Half of the second generation have also started job for the first time in the period of reforms, close to 40 per cent of them have experience from unemployment and even a higher share have changed employment at least once. Those aged 25-35 have started private business or work in a second job more often than the previous generation. This is the group with the highest share of those who have been promoted in their job. The third generation have been hit by unemployment and have had to change employment as often as the second age group. They seem to have had more opportunities to start their own businesses but have started to work in a second job less often than the previous group. The fourth generation have not been spared the cataclysms of the market transition – a third of them have been unemployed and a third have changed employment more than once. Rarely they have been promoted to a higher position or started a private business. They have started to work on a second job more

often than the average but rarer than the third generation. The young adults in the age group of 25-35 have been the most flexible in their work careers, experiencing most of the changes with greater intensity than the other age groups.

Education has also influenced career developments of the workforce. Our data reveal a downward tendency in the incidence of unemployment with the rise of education level. Yet, 26 per cent of those holding a BA and 23.4 per cent of those with degrees such as MA or PhD have been unemployed at least once. The persons with higher educational level have been more mobile in their work careers than those with lower education. Half of those holding university degrees (MA, PhD) and 40 per cent of those with college education (BA) have changed employment at least once while only a fifth of those with primary education or less. The highly educated have changed their professions, started private business and taken additional jobs more often than the rest. They have been promoted to higher positions more often than the other education groups. It seems that they are the group who has profited the most from the changes, being the most flexible group in developing their career.

The type of settlement has also influenced people's careers (Table 12). In general, people living in rural areas have experienced more unemployment while those in the country's capital and big cities have experienced more changes in their employment and professions. The differences in entering and retiring from employment between urban and rural areas are not only due to the ageing on rural population but also to the better employment opportunities in urban settings and especially in the capital. Citizens in Sofia are have received promotion in their job or have changed jobs and professions more often than the other groups. They are the ones who have most often started private business and taken on a second job. In conclusion, career flexibility is greater in urban areas than in rural with the capital offering the highest opportunities.

Figure 7. Main Reasons for Changing Employment according to Gender



Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Those of our respondents who have changed employment in the past en years gave the explanations among which dominated external factors imposed over the individuals rather than their own ambitions and career strategies.

The two most common reasons, which explain the changes in employment for half of our respondents, are the closure of the company in which they have worked or cuts in production. The next three reasons are more often associated with internal motivation and planning. Here men and women manifest significant differences. Self-employment has been a desired option for twice more men than women while women more often than men have left their job due to dissatisfaction with it or in search of a more interesting job.

The two older age groups have changed employment due to company's closure or decline in production more often than the young (Table 13). The two young groups more often have done so due to dissatisfaction with the last job or because they have received an offer for a more interesting job. The leading reason for changing employment among youth has been job dissatisfaction. Greatest desire to establish their own business has been

manifested by the adult age group. The last age group – over 50 years – have shown the least personal initiative and perceive their employment changes as undesired, forced moves. The reasons chosen by the two youngest age groups – youth and young adults – describe them as having the most active and flexible career strategies.

Education has influenced the career changes of our respondents by limiting or prompting their employment moves. Thus the groups with the lowest educational level have suffered more from introduction of economies in their companies – half of those without completed primary education and 40 per cent of those with primary education have been made redundant. Company's closure is more evenly distributed among educational groups but it is highest among those with secondary education a third of this group has pointed at this answer. The group with secondary education consisted mostly of qualified workers who were the backbone of Bulgaria's industry and who lost their jobs with the shut down of large industrial enterprises in the 1990s. People with higher education and particularly those holding university degrees have most often changed their

employment in search of a more interesting job, dissatisfaction with the previous one or led by desire to start private business.

The places of living have influenced the career choices of our respondents in significant ways (Table 14). There is a clear tendency toward a rise in employment changes due to economies in production when we move from the capital through the big city and small town to the village. Most state companies have been closed in small towns. Dissatisfaction with the previous job and desire to find a more interesting one are most common among citizens of the capital and big cities. In the capital one in ten have changed employment as a personal choice to start private business.

The present situation of those who have changed employment is quite varied. One fifth are currently unemployed or looking for a job. Very few have withdrawn from the labour force and stay at home – 2.5 per cent. From the rest the majority have followed the change in economic structures: one fifth have moved to a newly created company, 15 per cent – to a company that had existed in some form before 1989 and 8 per cent work in the same place but their company has changed having been restructured substantially or privatised. Those who have chosen more flexible types of work are a minority – less than 10 per cent have started self-employment, 4 per cent do casual work, and 3 per cent have gone to work in agriculture. In the first years of reforms there was the expectation that many people will return to the land and become farmers when the land is privatised. Obviously this is not a preferred op-

tion for Bulgarians in the beginning of the 21st century.

Half of the respondents have worked on their current main job for more than 5 years (49.2 per cent). A third have been doing it for a period between one and five years. Very few respondents have started a new job recently – 14 per cent in the past year and 3 per cent in the past month. These figures suggest a slowdown in employment changes.

In conclusion, there have been a lot of changes in work careers of people in Bulgaria after the start of the reforms. The macro societal transformations have affected individual development in the sphere of work toward a greater mobility. However, the measured shifts in employment can be interpreted as a career growth for a very small share of the respondents. Less than 7 per cent have been promoted on their job and a slightly higher share has started private businesses. For a quarter of the workforce unemployment has meant a break in their career development, a threat to their occupational skills and qualifications. The crisis in employment has resulted in a crisis of professional development for a great many of our respondents. The job changes have been forced upon the most of them rather than being a result of their conscientious career planning. Those who have been most mobile in their careers and who have managed to turn this mobility into a career growth are people with higher education, living in the capital and big cities. They have used their bigger educational and social resources to make the job changes into steps toward a higher social position.

1.5. Perceptions of Flexibility and Potential for the Future

The first four paragraphs of this report have discussed the patterns of flexibility as revealed in current and past labour market situations of our respondents. We were also interested to reveal the future potential in people's perceptions and preferences. We measured this by placing respondents in two imaginary situations, and offering

them several choices. We wanted to see how much flexibility of work people would accept in confined circumstances (in order to find a way out of unemployment) and for improving their prospects (in order to get a better paid job).

Our data suggest that widening people's perspectives, that is offering them positive stimuli, is

more conducive to flexible work, than forcing them by limiting their freedom to choose. The readiness to work longer hours, move to another settlement, retrain for a new profession or learn a new language is higher with about 10 per cent in the positive than in the negative circumstances (Table 15).

Bulgarians show a very high readiness to work longer hours – more than a half say ‘definitely yes’ if in such a case they will find a way out of unemployment and close to three quarters will definitely do this if they get a higher salary. The potential to retrain or learn a new language is also very high – from over a third to over a half of the respondents. People are somewhat dubious whether to accept less attractive work conditions but still a third will do this in a restrictive situation and 42 per cent in a stimulating situation. The action about which people in Bulgaria feel the least inclined to do in both situations is move to another settlement. The low territorial mobility of the workforce has been established in other surveys as well. The high financial costs of moving to and establishing a household in another living place, as well as the probable loss of informal social support in the new place might explain this attitude.

The inclination to work longer hours per week is an indicator for potential flexibility of work. However, it might be perceived as a factor limiting one form of flexibility, which is most typical in the West – part-time work. The low salaries make people search for jobs with more, rather than with less working hours per week. This is a potential for taking up additional jobs, but also for accepting to work for the current employer longer than the legal working time. Instead of developing a market of part-time jobs which can be taken as additional employment or making the sphere of work accessible to more people, in Bulgaria the private business is using this readiness to impel the same employees to work longer hours against the legal regulations. Thus they save the payments for social security and taxes, as well as money for training a new personnel.

On most indicators women express less potential flexibility of work than men, particularly on attitudes toward moving to another settlement and working longer hours (Table 16). Women perceive these types of flexibility as threatening their social roles within the home. On the other side, they are very positive toward training and education, almost equalising men’s readiness to retrain for another profession and surpassing men’s willingness to learn another language.

The groups with different educational levels manifest different types of flexibility potential. The first three lowest groups are more willing to work longer hours and accept less attractive working conditions. All groups have similar levels of unwillingness to move to another settlement. The three highest educational groups are more willing to retrain for a new profession and learn a new language. On the latter indicator in a situation of a twice higher salary the shares of answers ‘yes’ are 8 per cent for the lowest level, that is without completed primary and 70 per cent for the highest level, that is with university degrees. For those with primary and basic education the negative circumstances are a stronger motivator for flexibility than for those with college and university education. The highly educated groups are more motivated by the higher salary to a degree that their willingness to work longer hours and accept worse work conditions almost reaches that of the lower educated groups.

Similar is the influence of the type of settlement people live in. Under strained circumstances the less privileged economically and educationally areas – villages and small cities – prompted respondents to express a higher readiness to work longer hours, move to another dwelling place and accept worse work conditions. The more privileged areas – the capital and big cities – expressed more willingness to learn new languages. Meaningful differences from the distribution of flexibility potential according to education is not only the remarkably lower unwillingness of city dwellers to move to another settlement, but also the almost equal readiness of all groups according to area to

retrain for a new profession. When placed in a positive situation to accept a job offer with a higher salary the influence of the type of settlement remains the same with the significant exception of working longer hours. On this indicator those living in the capital and big cities demonstrate a high readiness similar to that of small town and village dwellers.

The influence of age upon the potential for work flexibility is no linear (Table 17). The only simple patterns is shown by the oldest working age group – they are less inclined to accept work flexibility upon all indicators in comparison with the other age groups. All other age groups prefer different types of work flexibility. The youngest age group is less willing to accept jobs with longer work hours or less attractive working conditions. However, they show a higher potential than the other age groups in their readiness to move to another settlement, retrain for a new profession and learn a new language. People aged 25-35 display a similar pattern to those aged up to 24, but for them the high salary seems a stronger incen-

tive to accept worse working conditions and retrain for another profession. They show the highest readiness to work longer hours than the other age groups. The third age group is less flexible than the two younger and more flexible than the oldest on almost all indicators except working conditions. Those aged 36-50 would be more inclined to accept working in less attractive conditions is pressed by unemployment.

In conclusion, Bulgarians hold a notable potential for work flexibility, which will be developed if economic conditions stimulated them to do so. Positive incentives affect people stronger than negative pressures. Men score higher than women on indicators of flexible attitudes with the exception of willingness to train and learn new languages. The different age groups focus on different forms of flexibility potential, youth being more mobile and ready to retrain, young adults more willing to work longer hours, adults in greatest degree are willing to accept less attractive work conditions and the oldest working generation being less flexible on all indicators.

2. PATTERNS OF WORK

We have already discussed the flexibility in terms of time, place and conditions, manifested in taking up additional jobs by our respondents. Here

we shall concentrate more on the type of the activities themselves, their content and perspectives.

2.1. Accumulation of Different Kinds of Work

The practice of taking on more than one job is quite rare in Bulgaria. Currently, only 4.5 per cent of the respondents declare to have additional jobs: 4 per cent have one, 0.4 per cent have two and 0.1 per cent have three such jobs besides their main activity. In experts' estimate this is lower than the real situation in the country. It might be that the respondents did not wish to reveal these additional sources of income as they are not regulated legally and not reported to the tax officials. Another reason might be the length of the questionnaire and respondents' desire to cut off the time

for its filling in. However, the real reasons for the low incidence of performing additional work lie in the lack of economic growth, the underdevelopment of flexible forms in the official labour market in the country. The heavy burden of domestic work might be another significant factor.

Additional employment – second, third and fourth jobs – is concentrated in the service sector and in agriculture. Most of those jobs are low qualified and manual. The greatest number of respondents are engaged in agricultural work – growing vegetables and fruits, breeding cattle,

sheep, poultry, and wine and tobacco production. The second largest sphere for additional employment is trade and trade intermediation, transport and car repairs, catering. Knitting and dressmaking are also common, as well as house repairs. Another types are the professional services among additional jobs: accounting, business administration, consultancy, and teaching. Our data suggest that the sphere of professional expertise as additional employment is either quite small, or in the shadow economy making our respondents unwilling to declare it.

The chances to hold additional jobs are different for the different social groups. In general, they rise with the educational level, are higher for the middle age groups than for the youngest and the oldest, and are lower in rural areas than in urban. Women's chances to get a second or third job besides their main one are slightly lower than that of men.

The type of flexibility of work measured by performing different activities over time is some-

what higher than the current combining of jobs. One fifth of the respondents have received income from some kind of additional work (Table 18). Small-scale agricultural work is a more common source of additional income than self-employment. Relying on the land for making ends meet is a typical survival strategy for many households in Bulgaria and it will be discussed in more length in the second part of the report. Manual short-term or casual work has been performed by about the same share of respondents – 7.2 per cent. Much rarer is the practice of doing professional services or agency work as additional work on a short-term contract or without contract.

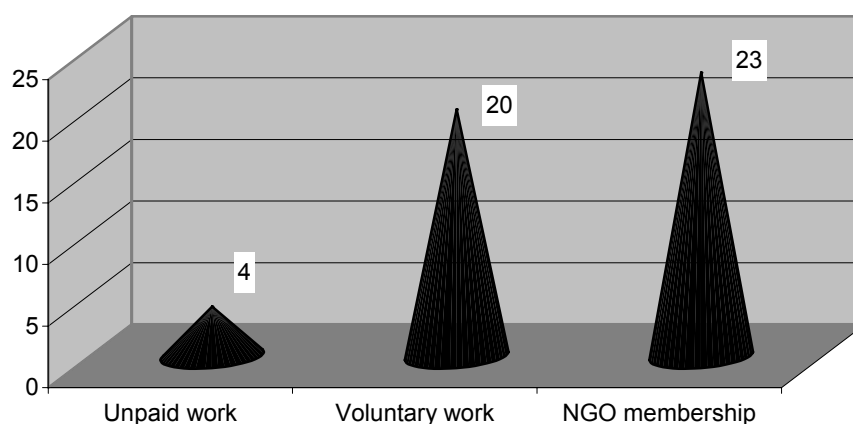
Yet, the additional jobs are very flexible according to all our indicators, as seen in Chapter 1. Most often they are part-time or casual work, done at home, short-term or seasonal, and above all without contract. It seems that there is a greater potential in this pattern of flexibility than is currently developed.

2.2. Patterns of Informal and Voluntary Work

Despite our expectations, our data reveal a low level of respondents' involvement in informal and voluntary work. One fifth have done unpaid work for a friend or relative outside the home in the past year and less than 4 per cent have performed voluntary labour for a non-profit association such as charity, church, sport club, and others on a regular basis, that is at least monthly. Men tend to do informal and voluntary unpaid work slightly more often than women. So do those living in villages or small towns. The incidence of voluntary

work for a non-profit organisation rises with age and with education but the latter not so significantly.

Only a quarter (23,2 per cent) of all respondents officially belong to a nongovernmental organisation. Trade union membership is most common – 10.5 per cent of the respondents are members of trade unions. Women more often belong to a trade union, church and cultural organisations. Men are more often members in sport organisations and political parties.

Figure 8. Patterns of Informal and Voluntary Work (per cent)

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

2.3. Financial Efficiency of Flexible Work

We tried to measure the effect of various patterns of work flexibility and accumulation of different types of work in terms of financial rewards for the individual. The main indicator used was personal income, recorded as a self-declared sum by the respondent in an open-ended question. The amount of the monthly income was given in BGL and its mean was 136.4 while the medium was 110. We found that the amount of personal income was not significantly different for the two genders but it was strongly correlated with the place of living, those in the capital underrepresented among the two poorest groups and over represented in the two wealthiest groups. From those living in villages 30 per cent belong to the group with the smallest income and 10 per cent in the group with the highest income. Personal income is also influenced by the level of education the respondent has completed (Table 19). Thus the three lowest categories were concentrated in the two lowest income groups. Those with secondary and post secondary (college) education dominated in the middle and the second highest income group. Individuals with university education holding BA and MA and PhD degrees were

over represented in the two highest income groups. Higher income was also associated with having additional education.

The influence of flexibility in working time over the personal income is not very high. More important seems to be respondents' employment status (Table 20). Self-employment brings the greatest rewards. While those working part-time are not concentrated in the top income group, they are under represented among the two lowest income groups. Over a half of the part-timers belong to the two highest income groups. It seems that part-time work can provide financial stability. Farmers, casual workers and those on fixed-term contracts are clearly deprived.

Flexibility in terms of working place does not necessarily mean worse or better financial rewards. Of those working totally from home 15 per cent belong to the lowest income group and 27 per cent - to the top income group. Of those working outside the home in the same living place 7 per cent belong to the lowest and 25 per cent to the highest group. Flexibility in terms of contract confirms that self-employment guarantees high income - two thirds of those whose

main activity is self-employment belong to the two highest groups – similar is the share of those with a permanent contract for their main job (Table 21). People working without a contract on their main job are distributed among the income groups in the following way: 42 per cent are concentrated in the middle income category, 25 per cent belong to the two lowest and 33 per cent to the two highest income categories. Comparing this distribution with persons having a permanent contract, we can say that flexibility in the form of informal work does not make people rich but in general it allows them to raise their standard of living well above the one that social transfers would give them.

Changing activities in the past 12 months however is not a definitely successful strategy as it slightly raises the chances of the individual to get to the higher income groups (Table 22). However, major transitions in one's career in the past 12 years influences personal living standard. As might be expected starting job for the first time raises the probability to shift up in the income scale

while retirement results in moving down the scale. For three quarters of the respondents being promoted to a higher position has meant moving into the two highest income categories. Those who have lost their jobs once or more times in the period of changes are over-represented among the two lower income categories. More interesting is the effect of individual mobility in terms of changing jobs and professions. Data suggest that changing a job or a profession and particularly starting self-employment and working additionally improve people's chances to belong to the higher income groups. For many people in Bulgaria career flexibility has meant raising personal living chances.

Accumulating jobs is a successful financial strategy (Table 23). Combining two or more jobs raising the shares of those belonging to the top income group – from 6 per cent of those without a paid job through 24 per cent of those having one job to 36 per cent of those having two jobs. The number of respondents having three and more jobs is too small to be divided among income categories.

3. HOUSEHOLD ORGANISATION

When studying flexible work, we are not interested only in its distribution in society as a whole. Our interest is to see how it impacts over the household and the relations between its members. Or rather, how household members combine flexibility in paid work with other flexible household strategies. Informal work for friends and relatives, voluntary work for the community or de-privileged groups, home-produced goods and services are all characteristics of flexibilisation under the conditions of post-communist restructuring.

Different households have different resources for devising flexible strategies. Without a

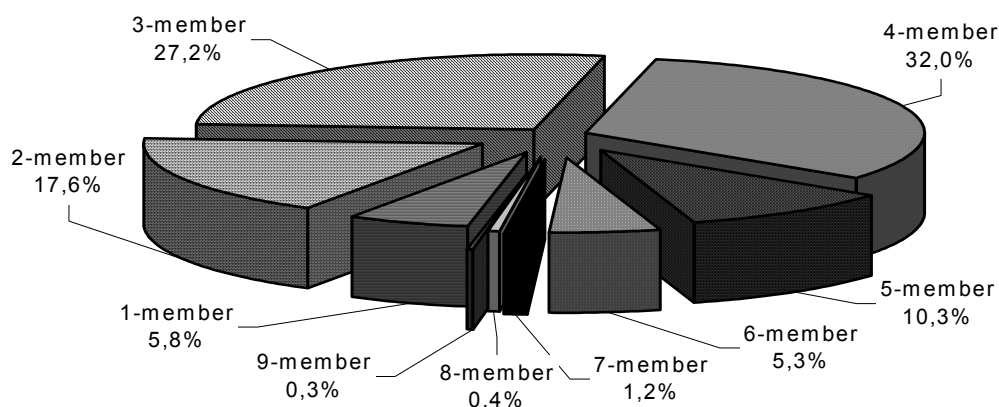
doubt, these strategies lead to success for some and failure for others in achieving the defined goals. We are interested in the values that guide people's behaviour within the family and in the outside world of employment, as well as in the processes of negotiations between household members when distributing paid and unpaid work among themselves. What patterns of household strategies emerge from the combining of domestic and market roles, formal and informal work of household members?

3.1. Households Structures

The survey gathered information about 1806 households in Bulgaria on the basis of interviews with one of the household members. Our sample was drawn from individuals in working age, that

is 18-60. That means that our sample is 'younger' than all households in Bulgaria.

The households were divided in the following groups according to their size:

Figure 9. Households according to the Number of Their Members

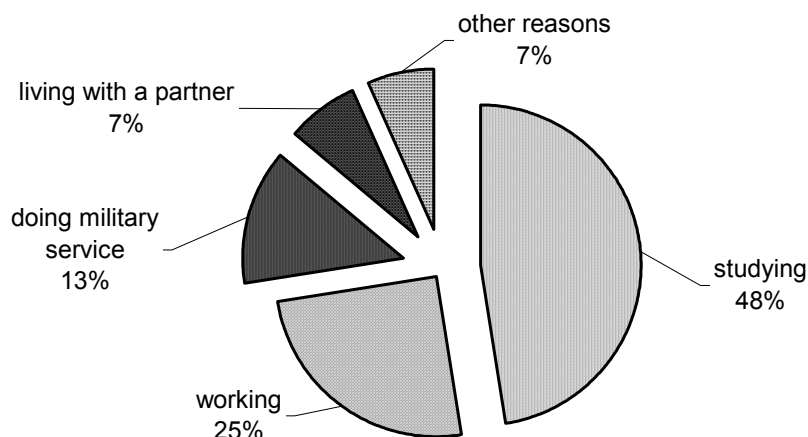
Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Half of all households in our sample are three- and four- member households. A quarter of all are single-member and two-member households. Bigger households, which comprise of five or more persons, are 17.5 per cent, that is less than a fifth of the sample. The average number of members per household is 3.48, which is significantly higher than the official statistics in the country. The 1992 census measured 2.8 members per household in the average. This is due mostly to the fact that we surveyed individuals in working age – 18-60 years while small households in Bulgaria mostly consist of pensioners only. Besides, our survey encouraged the respondents to take account of the household members that have left the household temporarily while the census did not do so. Also, our sample was designed to be representative on the individual level, as its frame were individual respondents and not households.

At the time of the interview 9.7 per cent of the households (174) had a member temporarily living elsewhere. In the Bulgarian survey we had a question asking about their reasons for leaving the household and their destinations. Almost half of the members who had left the household tem-

porarily had done so to study. The second most common reason was 'to work', followed by 'doing the obligatory military service' and 'living with a partner'.

Two thirds of those who had left the household temporarily had moved to a different dwelling place in Bulgaria. A quarter of the household members who had left temporarily were abroad at the time of the interview and the remaining 10 per cent were in the same settlement but living outside the household. When members of the household leave it temporarily in order to study, they most often move to another settlement in the country (83 per cent). In 13 per cent of the cases according to this reason, the household members study abroad. When the household members leave the household temporarily to work, they usually go abroad (56 per cent). Another settlement is the destination of the rest. Military service is usually done in another settlement in the country – 96 per cent of the cases. When the household members leave temporarily to co-habit with a partner, they do so in the same living place (92 per cent).

Figure 10. Reasons for Leaving the Household

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Children below the age of 14 live in 40 per cent of the households in our survey. In 17 per cent of the households there are children younger than 6 and in 23 per cent of the households there are children aged 7-14 (See Figure 11 in the Appendix). The census data measured a higher share of families with two children - 15.1 per cent but they took into consideration 16 years of age as the upper limit for children.

Single member households among our sample of working age population were 6 per cent (Figure 12). They comprised more often of men than of women (61 per cent: 39 per cent) and more often of persons from the youngest age groups - up to 35 and of the oldest (over 50) age group. They lived in urban areas more often (74 per cent) than the other households. Single parent families constituted 7 per cent of the sample. There were more women than men (60.5:39.5) heading such families and the middle age group (36-50) and young adults (25-35) were overrepresented in this group. Single parent families lived most often in large cities and least often in small towns. One-generation families (adult partners with no children) were 17 per cent. Similar was the share of

three-generation households. Such households were quite rare in the capital Sofia - 9 per cent of the relevant group while they comprised 40 per cent of households living in rural areas.

The ethnic structure of households is presented in Figure 13. According to the ethnicity of the interviewed member, 80 per cent of all households belong to the Bulgarian majority, with 10 per cent Turkish households, followed by 7 per cent Roma, and 2 per cent Pomaks. This distribution presents slightly higher shares for ethnic minorities than the 1992 census. We also asked for the ethnicity of the spouse or partner of the respondent. One fifth of the respondents had not answered this question. If we exclude those, then the distribution of households according to the ethnicity of the spouse or partner is roughly the same. The share of spouses belonging to the Bulgarian majority is with two per cent lower than that of the respondent and the shares of spouses from the Turkish and Roma ethnic groups are with one per cent higher. About 20 per cent of the population belong to ethnic minorities while only 2 per cent declare that their partners have a different ethnicity. Without claiming to have precise

data on the indicators, we would say that ethnically mixed households are quite rare in Bulgaria.

A very high percentage of respondents had given their religious affiliation – 99.6 per cent. Less than 10 per cent considered themselves as non-religious. The religious structure of the popu-

lation was similar to the ethnic one with 76 per cent belonging to Orthodox Christianity, the Turks and Pomaks belonging to Islam and the Romany split between Orthodox and Islam. Less than two per cent belong to smaller denominations (Figure 14).

3.2. Domestic Roles

When living in a household people have to perform many domestic tasks with different repeatability, intensity, time consumption, and significance for the functioning of the household. They have to make decisions how to divide the various tasks among themselves and accept or change traditional domestic roles. In the survey we asked our respondents who usually performed nine of the most common domestic tasks.

The table demonstrates a high specialization of tasks in Bulgarian households – very rarely the responsibility and work is equally divided among the household members in the home. The highest share of equal burden gets the work in the garden or agricultural plot – in one fifth of the households. This is followed by shopping and care for a sick relative – responsibility is shared equally in 15 per cent of the households.

Domestic roles are different for the different age and gender groups. There is a clear pattern of division of household tasks between generations – in most households the adults do most of the housework. When the children usually do a task, it is more often the daughter than the son. When the sons do something, it is usually only house repairs. Daughters never do repairs but they more often than sons clean, take care of a sick child and other tasks. The involvement of the older (third) generation when living in the same household is higher than that of children and is also clearly biased toward more work done by women than men. The only task that men from this generation do more often than women is house repairs.

Women usually do all the rest of the tasks when done by this generation.

The gender division among partners is also highly developed and fixed (Table 25). Despite the fact that the interviewed partner more often thinks that he/she does most of the work, women usually do the cooking, cleaning, washing, shopping, daily care for children, care for sick children, and care for sick relatives. Men most often do house repairs while work in the garden is almost equally divided between male and female partners. The female partner in over 95 per cent of the cases usually does the cleaning, washing, and cooking. About 90 per cent of the female partners usually do the daily care of children, take care of a sick child or a sick relative. In 20 per cent of the cases the male partner does the shopping. Work in the garden or agricultural plot is done by male partners in over 50 per cent of the cases and 95 per cent of male partners usually do the house repairs.

When we take into consideration the informal and voluntary work outside the home, we can conclude that in Bulgarian households it is definitely women who do most of the unpaid work in the home, while men tend to do most of the unpaid work outside the home for a charity and friend. The survey did not measure the amount of time allocated to these tasks, but it is clear that the female role is associated with more regular and time-consuming activities. The male role involves more irregular, accidental tasks.

3.3. Patterns of Decision Making in the Household

Who takes important decisions within the household? The respondents were presented with opportunities to give multiple responses to the question concerning the taking of important decisions in the household (Table 26). As the situations are quite varied, that is some respondents had taken into consideration their own marriage, others that of their children, the answers are not truly comparable. We calculated the mean percentage of choices for the three options in each category. Comparing the division between the partners, it seems that both have taken part in the process and there is a high tolerance between them. Comparing children and parents, it seems that the children had a lot of freedom in making their own choices. Parents had a relatively high 'say' in two cases: the decision where to live and in major purchases.

In the Bulgarian questionnaire we included two additional questions concerning the decision-making in the household. The first of them concerned the usual ways of taking decisions about

the distribution of household finances (Figure 16). Half of the households have a participatory model of decision making. Very high is the share of respondents accepting the notion of 'family head' – 22.5 per cent. In over a fifth of the households decisions are taken in a 'monocratic' manner. Independent (separate) financial strategies of members are typical for less than 5 per cent of the households.

When asked to place themselves in an imaginary situation of a deep financial crisis and in need of an outside help, most of the respondents (almost a half of the sample) said that they would look for help in the circle of close relatives. We can interpret this fact as a confirmation of the significance of kinship relations in Bulgaria. One in ten would rely on friends. Neither the state nor the third sector seemed a reliable source of support in financial difficulties. Over 40 per cent declared that they could not rely on anybody or institution outside the immediate family (Figure 17).

4. WORK/HOUSEHOLD RELATIONS

4.1. Economic Standard of Households in Bulgaria

Housing situation

Our survey measured a very high share of privately owned housing in Bulgaria (Figure 14). Seven out of ten households owned the dwelling they lived in. Additionally, one fifth of the households lived in dwellings owned by another relative, usually one of their parents, with the expectation that they would inherit it. Such a situation might be misleading to overestimate the economic standard of Bulgarian households. As our country context report demonstrated, the housing in Bulgaria is usually small-sized, quite old and with poor infrastructure.

Our survey also confirmed the assertion that despite the high incidence of private ownership of the housing by the households in Bulgaria, it was usually small sized and did not meet high stan-

dards of living. Figure 15 shows that one fifth of the households live in one-bedroom flats. Of these only 12 per cent are one-member households. Living in housing with less rooms than the number of household members are 21 per cent of the two-member households, 61 per cent of the three-member households, 80 per cent of the four-member households, 88 per cent of the five-member households, and over 95 per cent of the six-member and larger households.

One and two-bedroom flats are 77 per cent of the housing in Sofia, 74 per cent of that in large cities, 59 per cent in towns and 32 per cent of that in villages. While in rural areas households are not so pressed by the small area of their housing, they do not share the same conditions in terms of housing equipment, as the households in urban

areas. Data in Table 28 reveal the deprived situation of rural households: 10 per cent lack running water, 80 per cent lack indoor toilet, and 98 per cent lack a bath in the bathroom or a central heating system and all lack an air conditioner. In general, the bigger the household, the less spacious and less equipped is its housing.

Household Incomes

The households in the survey rely mostly on wage income. Wages are the most important source of income for over a half of the sample. The second most important source is pensions, followed by income from self-employment and unemployment benefits. Table 30 demonstrates the importance of wage income in Bulgarian households. It does not confirm the thesis of some authors that there is a tendency toward 'naturalisation' of production, at least as far as households with earners in working age are concerned. Own farming is the most important source for only 3 per cent of the households. A strategy to work on the land and other types of home production is an additional source, a way to supplement the main income, which comes from the market sphere. This tendency might be valid for older households where all members are over 60 years of age. Yet, is the proportion of households in Bulgaria relying predominantly on social transfers is very high for the sample. It reaches almost a quarter (22.3 per cent) of all households in which there is at least one member in working age (18-60).

Bulgarian households relying mainly on income from flexible work are one in ten. For the majority flexible work is an addition to the main income rather than the major income earning strategy. Self-employed earnings were most often the main income in two- and three-generation households while single-member households tended to rely more often on additional work.

In half of all households it was the respondent who brought the most important source of income in the household. When other members of the household were the greatest earners, they were usually the spouse/partner (in three-

quarters of the households) or the parent (in over a fifth of the households).

Incomes in Bulgaria are notoriously low and the country is the poorest among the 12 pre-accession countries with its 23 per cent of the average income of the European Union per head of the population. The open-ended question about the amount of household income in our survey was answered by 89 per cent of the respondents. The results show that the mean monthly income per household is 273 BGL (=273 DM), the median is lower 230 BGL and the mode is 300 BGL.

When we divide the sample in decile groups according to their household income, the data show that the household income rises with the shift from rural to urban settlement, the richest households concentrated in the capital (Table 31). Single households are concentrated in the two lowest income groups – nearly 80 per cent of one-member households belong in these groups. Half of the two-member households belong to the two lowest income groups, as do 32 per cent of the three member households, 19 per cent of the four member households and 35 per cent of the households with 5 and more members. The families with one dependent child almost reproduce the general distribution of households in the five income groups. However, having two and more children below 14 years of age raises the chances of the household to belong to the two lowest income groups and strongly diminished their chance to be in the highest income group. If we divide this total household income by the number of household members, we see that the economic situation of larger households and particularly those with two and more dependent children is severe.

Overwhelmingly the households depending on social transfers as the main source of income belong to the two lowest income groups, the most critical being the situation of those with unemployment benefits as the main source of income. Similarly bad is the situation of those relying upon private transfers. The best is the situation of those receiving profits from business – over a half

(53 per cent) of these households belong to the highest income group and another third to the second highest one. Those relying on investments and savings also have a privileged economic situation. The households in which own farming is the main source of income are almost equally divided between the first four income groups and only 5 per cent of them belong to the highest income group.

The flexible types of work do not influence the economic situation of the household in one predictable direction. Those relying on additional jobs are concentrated among the poor groups while those relying on self-employment are most often found among the two richest groups (Table 32).

Similar shares – about 90 per cent – of households in all income categories have one property. The difference comes in the second and third properties, which are more common for the two highest income groups. Over 12 per cent of the richest twenty-per-cent of the households own a second property while only 2 per cent of the poorest group. More pronounced is the difference among the income groups according to the consumption items they possess such as mobile phones, PC and Internet connections.

Household consumption

The survey provides data about some households' possessions, which in turn throws light upon their consumption patterns and more generally, their standard of living (See Table 33). Most common possessions in Bulgarian households are the fridge, the phone and a house or flat. One in two households owned a car. Cable TV was also quite common – almost every second household was equipped with it. The rarest possessions were computers and Internet links, followed by telephone secretaries and mobile phones.

This structure of consumption items indicates not only a quite low standard of living. It shows that Bulgarian households are extremely deprived of high-tech equipment allowing modern communications. The lack of mobile phones, PCs and Internet links is a barrier in front of the development of children's education and family business, as well as many forms of flexible jobs.

Satisfaction with the Economic Standard and Expectations for the Future

Over a half of the respondents in Bulgaria were dissatisfied with the way of life and almost three quarters were dissatisfied with the economic situation of their household. Data in Table 34 suggest a wide spread feeling of deprivation among our respondents. About 70 per cent of the respondents considered that their economic situation at present had deteriorated from that of five years ago (See Table 35). The data about their future expectations are not so negative but also, they do not reveal wide spread optimism – less than one in five respondents expected improvement and almost a half expected no change. Over a third predicted worsening of their household's economic situation.

The share of those who consider that their present economic situation is 'clearly worse' than the one five years ago drops from 28 per cent in the lowest income group to 7 per cent in the highest income group (Table 36). Less than five per cent of the lowest group see a significant improvement of their present situation while nearly 60 per cent of the highest income group. Similar are their expectations for the future. A third of all pessimists ('the situation will deteriorate clearly') are found among the lowest income group while only 6 per cent among the highest income group. Expecting significant improvement in one-year time are 4 per cent in the two lowest groups, and 30 per cent of the highest income group.

4.2. Integration of Home and Work

Since Max Weber the division between home and work was seen as a factor for raising the efficiency of work and protecting personal freedom in the private sphere. In late modernity the borders have become blurred and now the integration of home and work is the issue at stake. In Bulgarian society the belated industrialisation was carried out by the communist regime in the second half of the 20th century. Besides economic rationality, there was one more reason to separate the home and work. The world of work was under the strict party control while the private world could be protected from outside interference. However, economic necessities, the permanent deficits of the centrally planned economy and low living standards of the population in particular, made the home a productive unity.

With the reforms toward a market economy it was expected that the household's business initiative would be liberated and family businesses would develop while the rest of the population would have enough income from paid labour to give up the inefficient home production. However, the mass impoverishment and the restrictions in front of small and medium size businesses did not confirm this expectation. Our survey reveal that household members in Bulgaria in their vast majority continue to combine paid work outside the home and unpaid work inside the home. As seen from Paragraph 3.2. of this report, most domestic tasks are carried out by household members themselves. Market mechanisms appear to have entered only in the sphere of house repairs and even here only one and a half per cent of the households afford to pay someone to do this task (See Table 24). This share is too low to be split into the main socio-demographic categories in order to measure factor influences.

What is specific for Bulgaria, unlike the situation in advanced market economies, is that not only services on the market are underdeveloped but that a lot of food is produced by the household for its own consumption, thus playing an important part in household economy. Home

production is a specific form of integration of home and work in Bulgarian context.

Over a third of the households in our sample (37.3 per cent) possessed land. These were usually small plots of several Hectares, the average being 5. Instead of worrying about the colour or thickness of the lawn, as do the people from the soap operas Bulgarians watch on their TV, they usually grow vegetables and fruits on their home plot of land. Ten to twenty per cent of the households raise animals for meat and milk. Poultry production is even more common – a third of the households use meat and eggs from this type of home production.

Our data reveal the mass scope of home production. Over a half of the households (52.5 per cent) in Bulgaria are engaged in some form of home production (See Figure 19) Data suggest that only 5 per cent of the households produce for the market. For the rest – almost a half of all Bulgarian households – the goal is household consumption. The share of the households producing goods for home consumption declines from 58.5 per cent of the lowest-income households, through 52.9 per cent of the second poorest, 48.8 per cent of the middle-income group, and 47.4 per cent of the second richest group to 33.9 per cent of the highest income group. While home production is a widely spread strategy in Bulgaria, it is more typical for those with less income than for those with the highest incomes.

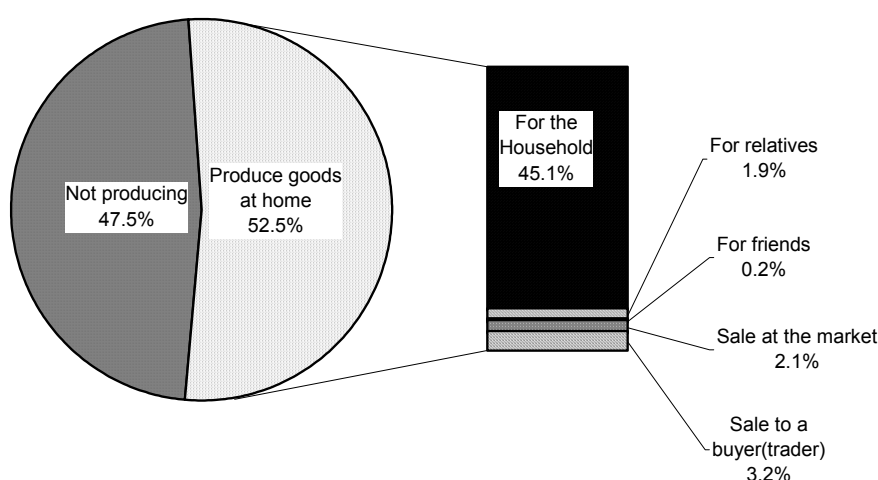
A common form of home production for Bulgarians is the preservation of fruits and vegetables in bottles or jars for the winter season. This starts in spring and reaches its peak in the autumn. While during socialism the main objective of home preservation was to fill in the shortages of the centrally planned economy, under post-communism this is predominantly a strategy to save money income. Under the previous regime, the jars were not only intended for the household, they also circulated between relatives and friends as a form of support, usually from the rural to the urban relatives and from parents to children.

While some sociologists in the country expected this to subside with the development of the market, others claimed that this declined due to mass impoverishment and high prices of vegetables and fruits, oil and electricity.

We found that 90 per cent of Bulgarian households had home preserved fruits and vege-

tables at their table (See Table 37 in the Appendix). Fifty per cent consumed home preserved meat. The incidence of exchange, though, is very low. While we cannot compare the incidence and the proportion of market and home production of fruits and vegetables, this seems to be a common strategy for Bulgarian households in 2001.

Figure 19. Home Production in Bulgarian Households



Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

4.3. Employment and Childcare Arrangements

Traditionally Bulgarian women have combined employment and unpaid childcare at home. In this they were helped by the extensive set of state-funded crèches and kindergartens, and by the informal network of grandparents and other relatives (See Workpackage 2. Country Context Report).

Our data disclose the continuation of this practice despite the reduction of places and growing parents' contributions to the funding of public childcare. Market organised childcare or care for children when sick is not practiced by Bulgarian

households (Table 24 on p. 24). Both everyday childcare and care of a sick child are performed by female partners – in about 90 per cent of the cases (Table 25 in the Appendix). Grandparents do these tasks twice more often when living in three-generation households than in two-generation households. Parents accept the help of grandparents more often in everyday childcare than when the child is sick. Grandparents' support and care for children is most important in single-member households.

4.4. Perceptions of Family/Work Arrangements

We were interested to see how people perceived the established division between paid and unpaid work, between employment and family responsibilities.

Our respondents felt that their work made it difficult to do some of the household tasks that needed to be done more often than that that work made it difficult for them to fulfil their responsibilities towards their family and other important persons. The opposite situation was even rarer – the respondents did not feel pressed by family responsibilities which to prevent them from doing their job adequately. A very low share – about 10 per cent took work from employment to finish at home. Despite these seemingly satisfactorily divisions between work and home, a high percentage – 28.2 – felt that they preferred to spend more time at work than spend more time at home.

It was single-member and one-generation households who felt more rarely that their work was a hindrance for their housework and family relations. The wish to take work at home was equally rare among all types of households, as was the feeling that the family hindered their work.

Given the strongly unequal division of labour within the household concerning the domes-

tic tasks, we expected more conflicts among members over this issue. However, this is the field in which households in Bulgaria had the least disagreements (Table 27). As one of our female respondents put it: ‘We all agree that I have to do everything’. If anything makes people dubious whether the agreement or disagreement prevails in their household, it is not the issue of distribution of finances, but the distribution of time – time spent together and time spent at work. Yet, more than two thirds of all respondents say that they ‘always’ agree on these issues while less than 5 per cent declare having disagreements ‘always’ and ‘sometimes’ taken together. Gender, education, living in rural or urban area, having or no children do not make a difference in these attitudes, only the youngest age group reports less agreement than the rest. Families with children and particularly those with children aged less than 7 are more conflictuous than the rest (Table 28). The shares of households ‘always disagreeing’ over time spent at work and finances are twice higher than the corresponding shares among all households.

CONCLUSION

As seen from Work Package 1. Critical Literature Reviews, there are diverging definitions of work flexibility in European context, as well as various models for measuring it. If a limited definition is applied to the Bulgarian labour market in 2001, then it seems very inflexible. Thus on the indicator ‘self-declared employment status’ (question 1.06 from the HWF questionnaire) only 4 per cent of the respondents in our survey have defined themselves as part-time employees, 3 per cent were working on a fixed-term contract, 7 per cent defined themselves as self-employed, 2 per cent were casual workers, and 1 per cent were farmers

(Table 39). However, this low degree of flexibility of labour, as it is usually measured in large-scale surveys in Bulgaria, is misleading. If a more detailed research model of flexible work is applied, we will find a much greater diversity of working conditions in the country.

This report is based on the analysis of the spread of work flexibility in terms of time, place and conditions, career mobility and accumulation of jobs. Along these more precise indicators we measured:

- A high degree of time flexibility: 20 per cent of the sample worked less and 14 per cent

more than the standard working time, and 40 per cent had some form of flexible working schedule.

- A slightly lower but still higher than expected degree of place flexibility: 22 per cent had a flexible working place (at home, in another settlement or changing) and 28 per cent had varying working places over time.
- The highest was the degree of flexibility of conditions, encompassing close to a half of the sample – 42.4 per cent. Its most typical patterns were working on a fixed-term contract or without a legal contract, and self-employment.
- Career flexibility was also very high – 36 per cent have changed jobs at least twice, 20 per cent have changed their profession (occupation), 36 per cent have lost their jobs at least twice in the past ten years.
- The individual potential for work flexibility in the future is even higher than the realised flexibility.

The household as a community has also relied upon certain types of flexibility in the transition period. Home production, in which over a half of the households were engaged (52.5 per cent), had high importance for households in Bulgaria, particularly in producing and preserving food. While holding additional jobs was quite rare, such additional income earning activities were typical for every second household. In the Bulgarian mixture of pre-modern and post-modern conditions the household has become an important economic unit, producing as well as consuming goods and services. Domestic tasks, not only the routine cooking, cleaning the house or washing the laundry, but also the more time-consuming and skills-requiring activities such as taking care of a sick relative, working in the garden and house repairs were all done by members of the household. Buying such services in the market was very rare: only 0.1 per cent of the households paid for caring for the sick or gardening, and 1.4 per cent paid for using skilled labour for the maintenance and re-

pair of the dwelling interior. Many households just did without long due repairs.

Given this high integration of home and work, household members had to participate in a complex set of relations. Our survey measured a remarkably fixed division of labour instead of a process of negotiating of domestic and employment roles among the members. Particularly strict was the gender division of labour. Women did most of the unpaid work in the home in addition to their formal jobs in the labour market, while men limited themselves to paid work outside the home and tended to engage themselves only in house repairs or do slightly more voluntary work outside the home. The division of labour in the home burdened mostly the middle generation that took the main responsibility for all domestic tasks while the older and the younger household members were only 'helping' them.

Despite this highly unequal division of unpaid work in the home, the patterns of family/work arrangements were largely unquestioned, as was the decision-making in the household. Half of the households had a participatory model of decision making while close to a quarter had a household member playing the role of 'family head'. Disagreements in the household were reported by less than 5 per cent of the respondents and the reason was more household finances than the amount of time spent at work or at home.

The twelve years of market reforms in Bulgaria have created a situation, very different from the advanced market economies in the West to which the state and general public in the country aspire. For the majority of the population in the West work flexibility is a way to invest more time and energy in the home for a higher quality of family relations and leisure. For the majority of Bulgarian population work flexibility is a way to increase income and has to be complemented by high involvement in unpaid work in the home. While the legal regulations do not bolster work flexibility in the official labour market (See Work Package 2. Country Context Reports. Chapter 8), the widespread informal income-earning activities

are very flexible. Close to a half of all respondents have experienced some pattern of flexible work. This high incidence of flexible work in the sphere of paid labour is combined with a very inflexible division of labour in the home. Married women take the main responsibility of domestic tasks without leaving their paid jobs in the market.

Forced by the new economic conditions and strengthened by cultural traditions, these family/work arrangements are accepted by all household members. Family members stick together in their household strategies, combining paid and unpaid work to survive the current difficulties and hope for a better future.

ANNEX

I. Technical Report on the Survey

The sample of the survey in Bulgaria was a two-stage probability sample with 200 clusters, each with ten cases. The sample units were named individuals, randomly selected via the social security numbers, which produce a better list than the election registers. The sample is representative for the population aged 18-60. The planned size was 2000 cases, the actual size – 1912. A hundred and six persons were aged over 60 and they were ex-

cluded after that giving a total sample of 1806. The main reasons for the failure to interview the selected cases were impossibility to find the selected person at the address (people were not living any longer at this address or were on long trips abroad) and personal refusals.

The characteristics of the sample are very similar to those of the population as whole.

Table A1. Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Population and the Actual Sample* (per cent)

	Characteristics	The population	The respondents
Age	20-29	25.0	22.0
	30-39	25.8	23.6
	40-49	26.4	26.8
	50-59	22.9	27.6
Gender	Male	49.7	48.4
	Female	50.3	51.6
Ethnic group	Bulgarian	85.7	80.1
	Turk	9.4	10.3
	Roma	3.7	6.6
	Others	1.2	2.9
Dwelling place	Capital city	14.2	13.5
	Regional centres	31.8	30.5
	Towns	22.2	23.7
	Villages	31.9	32.3
Education	Higher	11.6	15.9
	Secondary	53.4	57.1
	Basic	27.6	21.1
	Primary	5.2	4.2
	Lower	2.2	1.6

Note: * Data for the population are taken from the last (1992) census of the National Statistical Institute.

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

The English version of the questionnaire was translated into Bulgarian, then again into English and the two versions were compared and a final

translation was decided by the Bulgarian team. All the core questions and most of the optional with three additional questions were included in

the Bulgarian Questionnaire. The questionnaire was sent to researchers in Bulgaria whose comments were incorporated into the final design. Five researchers conducted a couple of face-to-face interviews using the questionnaire. They made proposals for further changes in the questionnaire, as did Fact agency after their pilot. The comments predominantly concerned the optional questions with which we tried to reflect some national specifics. The research team first did the pilot study independently from the subcontracted agency and then *Fact* agency did a pilot on their own. Also, great attention was paid to the ISCO and ISCED codes in Bulgarian. Consultations were made with the National Statistical Institute, as well as with European Union documentation and colleagues from the international HWF team, and finally produced codes valid for the Bulgarian context and comparable with the international ones.

The fieldwork was carried out by Fact survey agency and took the period from February 18 to March 5. It was followed by logical review of the questionnaires and data correction. The SPSS data file was delivered on March 16. The method used was face-to-face interviews. There was a formal instruction of the leaders of the regional teams of interviewers in Sofia in the first half of February. The interviewers did not report any major problems during the fieldwork. The independent check of the fieldwork took place from March 17 to March 27. Ten clusters were reviewed over the phone and in ten others respondents were contacted personally by the research team. The results were very satisfactory.

The Bulgarian version of the data set was produced in SPSS format in April 2001 and then the file was transformed into a unified coding frame (See the HWF Data Entry Manual) common for the international research team.

II. Tables and Figures

Table 1. Usual Weekly Working Time according to Gender (per cent)

Working Time in Hours	Total	Men	Women
1-9	5.3	5.5	5.1
10-19	2.4	2.7	2.1
20-29	4.7	3.8	5.5
30-39	7.8	6.6	9.1
40-49	65.3	63.2	67.4
50-59	6.3	6.8	5.9
60 and more	8.1	11.4	4.9

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 2. Working Schedules according to Gender (per cent)

Schedule	Total	Men	Women
Regular working hours	58.9	55.4	62.5
Shift work	19.4	17.5	21.4
Flexitime	9.3	11.3	7.3
Other fixed	4.7	4.5	4.8
Varies all the time	7.7	11.3	4.0

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 3. Working Schedules according to Age (per cent)

Schedule/Age	18-24	25-35	36-50	51-60
Regular working hours	52.2	56.9	60.9	61.3
Shift work	29.0	21.3	17.7	17.1
Flexitime	11.6	8.2	8.2	11.6
Other fixed	2.9	5.2	4.5	5.0
Varies all the time	4.3	8.2	8.9	5.0

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 4. Willingness to Work the Same, More or Less Hours according to Type of Settlement (per cent)

Type of Settlement	Same Hours	More Hours	Less Hours
Capital city	64.8	9.7	25.5
City	74.4	10.5	15.1
Town	67.8	16.9	15.3
Village	80.8	11.4	7.8
Total	73.0	12.2	14.8

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 5. Motivation for Working Less Hours according to Gender (per cent)

Chosen Motives	Rank	Total	Men	Women
Earning enough	VI	2.4	3.3	1.5
Household has enough		–	–	–
Unwillingness or inability	II	20.6	23.0	18.5
In favour of other ways of earning money	III	12.7	24.6	1.5
Wants to drop this activity	V	3.3	6.2	4.8
In favour of education or training	IV	5.6	1.6	9.2
More time for family	I	36.5	29.5	43.1
Other reasons		17.5	14.8	20.0

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 6. Working at Home on Additional Jobs (AJ) (per cent of those holding such jobs)

	First AJ	Second AJ	Third AJ
Always	28.3	12.5	100.0
Most often	10.2	12.5	–
Sometimes	11.8	37.5	–
Never	49.6	37.5	–
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	63	6	3

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 7. Types of Work Contract according to Gender (per cent)

Type of Contract	Total	Men	Women
1. Permanent contract	57.6	54.9	60.2
2. Self-employed	11.7	14.1	9.1
3. No contract	8.6	10.3	6.8
4. Fixed term	20.1	17.9	22.4
5. Contract with no working time	0.1	–	0.2
6. On call	0.8	1.4	0.2
7. Temporary work agency	0.1	0.2	–
8. On a fee only basis	0.5	0.2	0.8
9. Subject to performance	0.5	0.8	0.2
10. Total atypical (2 – 9)	42.4	45.1	39.8

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 8. Types of Contract according to Age (per cent)

Type of contract/Age	15-24	25-35	36-50	51 and over
No contract	19.7	6.3	7.3	10.7
Self-employed	5.6	11.4	14.0	8.4
Permanent contract	43.7	60.1	56.1	62.9
Fixed-term and other temporary	31.0	22.2	22.6	18.0

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 9. Type of Contract according to Educational Level (per cent)

Education (ISCED codes)	No contract	Self-employed	Permanent	Temporary
0 (no primary)	–	33.3	–	66.7
1 (primary)	40.0	6.7	6.7	46.7
2 (basic)	23.6	8.9	40.7	26.8
3 (secondary)	7.1	13.7	56.5	22.7
4 (college)	3.1	1.6	75.0	20.3
5 (university BA)	4.9	11.7	67.0	16.5
6 MA, PhD	1.9	9.3	73.8	15.0

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 10. Changes in Work Careers after 1989 according to Gender

Career Changes	Total		Structure	
	Number	%	Men	Women
Entered employment for the 1 st time.	374	20.7	21.5	20.0
Retired from employment.	178	9.9	6.9	12.7
Changed employment only once.	280	15.5	15.4	15.6
Changed employment more than once.	375	20.8	22.1	19.5
Changed profession only once.	177	9.8	9.3	10.3
Changed profession more than once.	190	10.5	12.6	8.6
Started private business.	126	7.0	8.8	5.3
Promoted to a higher position.	121	6.7	6.5	6.9
Demoted to a lower position.	32	1.8	1.7	1.8
Started to work in a second job.	83	4.6	4.8	4.4
Lost employment only once.	356	19.7	19.0	20.4
Lost employment more than once.	302	16.7	19.9	13.7

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 11. Changes in Work Careers after 1989 according to Age (per cent)

Career changes/Age	18-24	25-35	36-50	51-60
Entered employment for the 1 st time.	46.5	48.4	6.1	2.3
Retired from employment.	0.9	0.7	3.4	34.8
Changed employment only once.	8.8	14.9	17.3	16.6
Changed employment more than once.	12.1	28.7	22.7	13.6
Changed profession only once.	4.2	10.5	11.3	9.3
Changed profession more than once.	7.4	16.4	10.8	5.4
Started private business.	0.9	8.3	10.2	3.3
Promoted to a higher position.	4.2	8.8	7.6	4.2
Demoted to a lower position.	0.9	1.1	1.8	2.8
Lost employment only once.	10.2	19.3	23.5	18.7
Lost employment more than once.	11.6	18.8	19.5	12.4
Started to work in a second job	2.3	6.1	3.8	5.4

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 12. Changes in Work Careers after 1989 according to Types of Settlement (per cent)

Career changes	Capital	Cities	Towns	Village
Entered employment for the 1 st time.	27.9	25.5	21.3	12.3
Retired from employment.	7.8	9.8	7.5	12.5
Changed employment only once.	18.9	17.8	11.4	14.9
Changed employment more than once.	23.8	21.6	20.6	18.8
Changed profession only once.	13.5	10.5	7.0	9.6
Changed profession more than once.	10.7	10.5	13.3	8.4
Started private business.	9.8	6.9	8.2	5.0
Promoted to a higher position.	13.5	8.5	5.6	2.9
Demoted to a lower position.	4.9	1.8	0.7	1.2
Lost employment only once.	16.8	18.0	18.5	23.5
Lost employment more than once.	13.9	14.9	19.4	17.6
Started to work in a second job	9.8	4.7	3.3	3.3

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 13. Main reasons for Changing Employment According to Age (per cent)

Reasons/Age	15-24	25-35	36-50	51 and over
Closure or reorganisation of the company	9.5	20.4	27.4	39.7
Cuts in production, economies	16.7	17.2	27.0	21.5
Dissatisfaction with employment	21.4	14.0	9.1	5.8
Offer for a more interesting position	9.5	11.3	9.5	4.1
Desire to start self-employment	2.4	4.8	8.7	4.7
Other reasons	40.5	32.3	18.3	24.8

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 14. Main reasons for Changing Employment According to Area (per cent)

Reasons	Capital	City	Town	Village
Closure or reorganisation of the company	26.7	24.5	31.5	25.0
Cuts in production, economies	5.8	18.5	25.4	31.3
Dissatisfaction with employment	16.3	13.7	9.2	6.3
Offer for a more interesting position	16.3	8.8	10.0	5.2
Desire to start self-employment	9.3	5.4	4.6	6.8
Other reasons	25.6	28.9	19.2	25.5

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 15. Potential for Work Flexibility

Willingness to:	Rank	In case of no job (%)			For a higher salary (%)		
		Yes	Maybe	No	Yes	Maybe	No
Work more than 40 hours per week	I	57.5	26.4	16.1	70.1	17.2	12.7
Move to another settlement	V	27.3	23.7	49.0	36.2	21.0	42.9
Accept less attractive work conditions	IV	33.0	29.6	37.5	41.6	25.5	32.9
Retrain for another profession	II	46.2	28.5	25.3	54.0	22.6	23.3
Learn a new language	III	36.9	20.1	42.9	44.2	16.8	39.0

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 16. Potential for Work Flexibility according to Gender (per cent)*

Willingness to:	In case of no job		For a higher salary	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Work more than 40 hours per week	63.6	51.8	74.2	66.1
Move to another settlement	34.5	20.4	43.5	29.2
Accept less attractive work conditions	39.2	27.1	48.9	34.8
Retrain for another profession	49.2	43.4	55.9	52.2
Learn a new language	34.8	38.9	43.6	44.8

Note: * Only percentages of those answering 'yes' to the items.

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 17. Potential for Work Flexibility according to Age (per cent)*

Willingness to:	In case of no job				For a twice higher salary			
	15-24	25-35	36-50	51-60	15-24	25-35	36-50	51-60
Work more than 40 hours per week	55.7	64.7	61.4	44.0	76.5	77.7	73.8	52.0
Move to another settlement	32.2	31.0	29.0	17.2	45.1	44.6	36.9	20.8
Accept worse work conditions	33.2	33.2	35.4	28.4	41.7	47.5	44.6	30.0
Retrain for another profession	62.7	57.0	48.4	22.1	67.2	70.2	55.9	26.1
Learn a new language	62.6	55.1	32.1	11.8	68.5	65.5	40.7	14.1

Note: * Only percentages of those answering 'yes' to the items.

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 18 Different Activities as Sources of Income in the Past Year
(only shares in per cent of respondents who have been engaged in such activities)

Activities	Per cent
Self-employed job	6.0
Small-scale agriculture	7.2
Seasonal construction or agricultural work for employer	1.6
Unskilled casual work	3.3
Skilled manual work on short-term contract or no contract	2.3
Professional services	1.6
Agency and distribution work	0.5

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 19. Individual Income by Education (per cent)

Income groups*	Less than Elementary	Elementary	Basic	Secondary	College	BA	MA and PhD	Additional (courses)
I	59.1	50.0	34.9	14.7	7.0	3.3	1.8	9.2
II	27.3	25.0	26.0	17.7	9.3	13.3	3.5	12.1
III	13.6	20.3	20.3	21.2	32.6	16.7	14.9	17.7
IV		1.6	13.1	28.8	33.7	35.0	36.8	30.5
V		3.1	5.7	17.6	17.4	31.7	43.0	30.5

Note: *Starting from the lowest decile.

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 20. Personal Income by Employment Status (per cent)

Income groups	Full-time employed	Part-time employed	Fixed-term	Self-employed	Casual worker	Farmer
I	5.2	8.1	21.2	4.7	22.6	29.4
II	12.1	4.8	17.3	9.3	19.4	-
III	20.8	30.6	34.6	14.0	16.1	29.4
IV	35.1	41.9	17.3	33.7	22.6	29.4
V	26.8	14.5	9.6	38.4	19.4	11.8

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 21. Personal Income by Type of Contract on the Main Job (per cent)

Income groups	No contract	Self-employed	Permanent contract
I	12.8	8.3	3.4
II	11.5	10.7	12.2
III	42.3	14.3	19.5
IV	19.2	34.5	37.9
V	14.1	32.1	27.0

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 22. Personal Income by Career Changes since 1989 (per cent)

Income groups(Lv)	Changed Job Once	Changed Job More than Once	Changed Profession Once	Changed Profession More than Once	Started Private Business	Started to Work in a Second Job
I	14.0	16.4	14.8	17.9	19.5	13.9
II	15.6	20.9	20.1	20.0	12.2	8.3
III	20.2	19.9	18.8	18.6	11.0	13.9
IV	28.8	24.4	26.8	26.2	25.6	27.8
V	21.4	18.5	19.5	17.2	31.7	36.1

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 23. Personal Income by Number of Current Activities (per cent)

Income groups	None	One	Two
I	35.4	7.2	8.3
II	26.0	12.9	2.8
III	19.6	21.7	13.9
IV	12.8	33.8	38.9
V	6.3	24.3	36.1

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 24. Division of Domestic Tasks between Household Members (per cent) (How is the task usually done?)

Tasks	Repair	Cooking	Cleaning	Washing	Shopping	Child care	Care of sick child	Care of a sick relative	Work in the garden
Respondent	48.5	45.0	45.3	46.5	45.0	28.3	27.8	25.7	20.5
Partner	32.5	31.3	29.2	32.5	24.8	18.6	18.6	11.7	9.7
Father	9.0	0.5	0.4	0.4	1.2	0.5	0.5	0.4	2.8
Mother	0.6	16.3	11.8	12.9	9.4	6.7	6.3	6.1	3.8
Son	2.1	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.3
Daughter	–	1.1	2.1	1.7	1.7	1.7	2.1	0.4	0.1
Member	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.2
Equally	3.6	4.7	10.5	4.9	15.8	11.4	10.6	14.6	21.5
Outsider	0.8	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	–	–	0.1	0.1
Pay s.o.	1.4	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.1	0.1
Other	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.1
Not appl.	0.5	0.2	0.1	–	0.1	31.6	33.2	39.8	40.8

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 25. Gender Division of Labour within the Household (per cent)

Tasks	The Respondent Who Usually does		The Partner Who Usually does	
	Male	Female	Female	Male
	Repair	83.8	16.2	4.6
Cooking	11.8	88.2	95.2	4.8
Cleaning	12.6	87.4	97.1	2.9
Washing	10.7	89.3	96.9	3.1
Shopping	29.7	70.3	78.7	21.3
Child care	15.0	85.0	92.5	7.2
Care of sick child	13.5	86.5	93.4	6.6
Care of a sick relative	25.3	74.7	89.8	10.2
Work in the garden	53.9	46.1	41.4	58.6

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 26. Patterns of Decision Making in the Households (percentage of responses in three choices)

	Respondent	Partner	Children	Parents	Relatives	Friends	Others
Who to marry	17.2	33.2	28.3	7.5	1.6	1.7	0.3
When a child	16.7	36.8	30.6	2.0	3.0	0.1	0.2
What school	16.5	31.6	38.8	4.7	0.2	–	–
What occupation	18.2	30.5	38.1	5.6	0.8	–	–
Where to live	20.9	35.6	22.5	15.0	3.7	–	–
Where to work	23.2	32.2	31.1	7.1	1.6	0.4	–
Where to go	37.3	37.8	16.4	2.7	1.0	–	–
What to buy	18.7	34.5	25.6	11.3	3.7	–	–

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 27. Agreements and Disagreements in Household Decisions (per cent)

	Always agree	Sometimes agree	Neither	Sometimes disagree	Always disagree
Finances	71.2	19.1	3.6	4.5	1.5
Household tasks	71.4	21.9	2.0	3.5	1.3
Time with family	69.4	21.2	6.2	2.2	1.0
Time at work	68.6	15.3	13.6	1.8	0.7

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 28. Conflicts in Households with Small Children (per cent)

	Always agree	Sometimes agree	Neither	Sometimes disagree	Always disagree
Finances (all)	71.2	19.1	3.6	4.5	1.5
Children aged 6	68.6	19.3	4.1	5.1	3.0
Children 7-14	74.8	15.6	2.4	5.8	1.4
Household tasks(all)	71.4	21.9	2.0	3.5	1.3
Children aged 6	70.6	23.0	1.7	3.0	1.7
Children 7-14	73.0	20.7	2.2	2.9	1.2
Time with family(all)	69.4	21.2	6.2	2.2	1.0
Children aged 6	66.9	25.3	4.1	2.4	1.4
Children 7-14	68.7	21.7	6.3	2.4	1.0
Time at work(all)	68.6	15.3	13.6	1.8	0.7
Children aged 6	65.1	16.5	13.7	3.2	1.4
Children 7-14	68.7	14.9	13.9	2.2	0.2

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 29. Housing Equipment according to Area Type (per cent of those fitted with)

Home equipment	Total	Capital	City	Town	Village
Running water	95.1	98.8	98.2	97.0	89.4
Indoor toilet	62.6	97.5	88.0	71.3	17.8
Central heating	17.3	69.3	18.0	7.2	2.4
A bath in the bathroom	11.8	37.7	12.9	9.1	2.1
Air-conditioner	1.2	2.0	2.2	1.2	–

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 30. Structure of Household Incomes by the Most Important Source

Source of Income	%
Wage	58.8
Self-employment	6.6
Additional jobs	3.4
Own farming	3.2
Pension	14.5
Unemployment benefits	5.3
Grants	0.1
Other social transfers	2.4
Investments/savings	0.3
Business profit	1.3
Private transfers	2.1
Other	2.1

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 31. Household Income by Area

Household income*	Capital %	Big city %	Town %	Village %
I	7.2	13.0	17.7	29.0
II	9.6	15.0	17.7	23.9
III	18.1	22.6	21.0	19.5
IV	26.5	27.8	27.9	20.3
V	38.6	21.6	15.6	7.3

Note: *Starting from the lowest decile.

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 32. Household Incomes by Main Source of Income

Household income	Self-employed earnings (%)	Additional jobs (%)
I	5.0	32.7
II	7.5	20.4
III	20.0	28.6
IV	30.0	8.2
V	37.5	10.2

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 33. Households by the Number of Possessions (per cent)

Possessions	No	One	Two	More
Cars	51.2	46.5	2.0	0.3
Mobile phones	87.4	11.3	1.0	0.3
Computers	94.3	5.5	0.2	–
Internet	96.5	3.4	0.1	–
Properties	28.1	65.5	6.1	0.3
Satellite dish	89.9	10.0	0.1	0.1
Cable TV	53.8	46.1	0.1	–
Telephone	28.6	70.8	0.4	0.2
Phone secretary	96.8	3.0	0.1	0.1
Automatic wash. Machine	44.8	54.9	0.2	0.1
Refrigerator	11.3	87.2	1.4	0.1
Freezer	66.8	32.7	0.3	0.2

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 34. Personal Satisfaction with Current Situation (per cent)

Satisfaction with:	Very Satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Neither	Somewhat dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
Way of life	3.3	25.9	13.8	26.8	30.1
Economic situation of the household	1.2	17.3	9.8	30.0	41.8

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 35. Evaluation of the Present and Expectations for the Future (per cent)

	Clearly improved/ Will improve	Somewhat improved/ will improve	Stayed/will stay the same	Somewhat deteriorated/ will deteriorate	Clearly deteriorated/ will deteriorate
The present situation compared with that of 5 years ago	1.6	10.2	18.9	25.4	44.0
The situation in one year	1.8	16.5	45.2	14.9	21.7

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 36. Evaluation of the Current Situation by Income Groups (per cent)

Household income (BGL)	Clearly deteriorated	Somewhat deteriorated	Stayed the same	Somewhat improved	Clearly improved
Up to 110	27.8	14.3	13.8	3.8	4.5
111-180	23.1	17.9	14.1	6.4	4.5
181-260	22.4	19.9	19.3	19.1	9.1
261– 400	19.2	29.8	30.0	29.9	22.7
401 and over	7.4	18.2	22.8	40.8	59.1

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 37. Households by Type and Purpose of Home Preserved Food (per cent)

Types of home preserved food	Yes, for the household	Yes, for the household and other relatives	No, but our household gets such food	We do not preserve or get such food
Fruits	77.3	5.4	4.2	13.1
Vegetables	77.2	5.5	4.0	13.2
Meat	38.7	4.2	5.1	52.1

Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 38. Value Orientations Concerning Family/Work Arrangements

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
My work hinders housework	1.6	6.4	13.9	12.6	65.5
My work hinders family relations	1.1	4.8	9.8	13.9	70.4
Family hinders work	0.4	0.9	4.3	9.5	85.0
I take work at home	0.7	2.3	4.8	5.1	87.2
I wish to spend more time at work	6.9	5.1	8.3	7.8	71.8

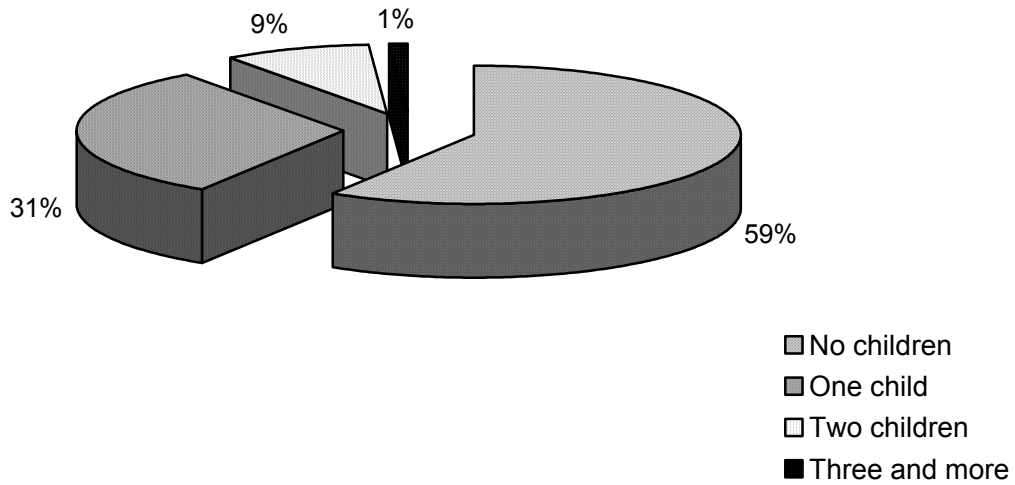
Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Table 39. Self-Declared Employment Status (multiple response, per cent of whole sample)

Status	%
Employed full time	41.4
Employed part time	3.9
Employed on fixed contract	3.0
In employment but temporarily laid off	0.3
Self employed	6.6
Casual worker	1.9
Farmer	1.0
Pupil/student in education or training	3.2
Government training scheme	–
Unpaid worker in family business	0.2
Unemployed	27.4
Retired from paid work	8.8
Housekeeper	2.5
Sick or disabled	2.6
Other	1.6

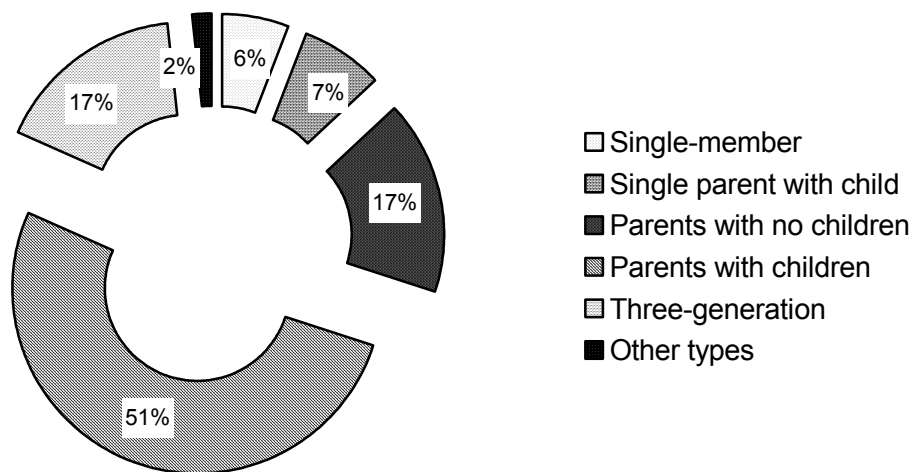
Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Figure 11. Households according to the Number of Children below 14 Years of Age



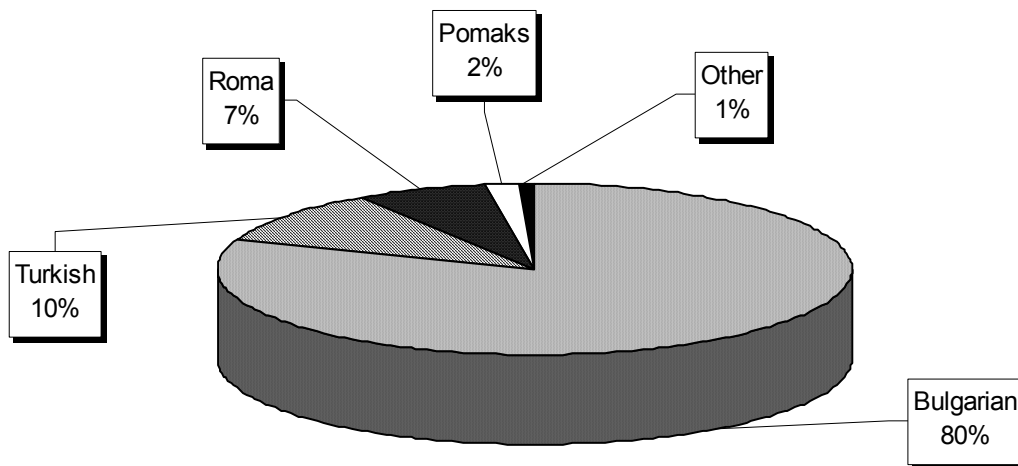
Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Figure 12. Household Types



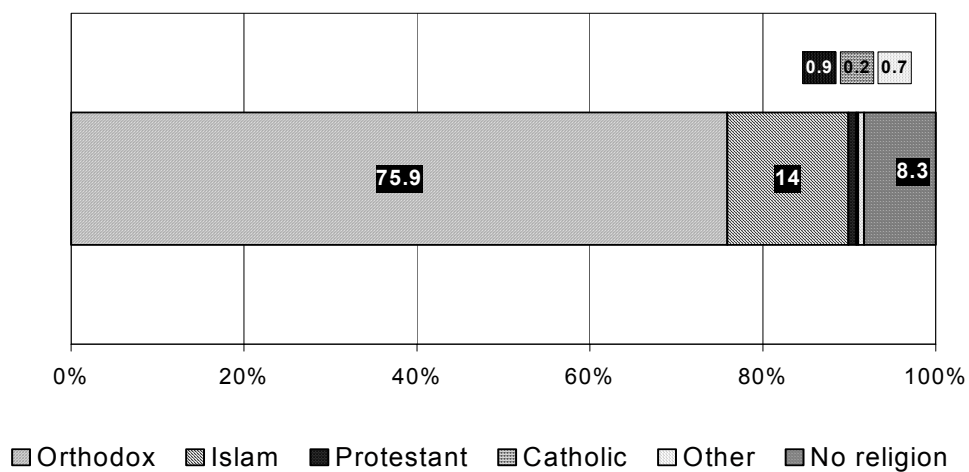
Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Figure 13. Households according to Ethnicity (of the Interviewed Member)



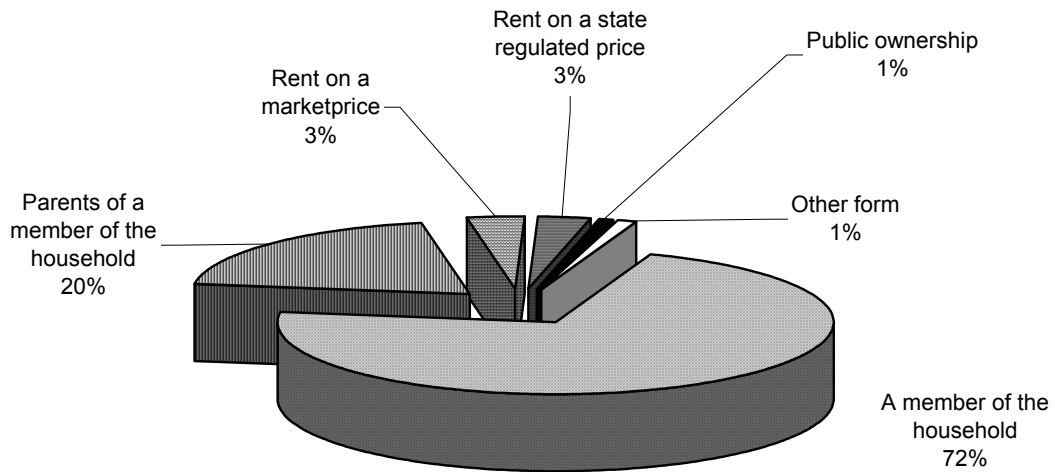
Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Figure 14. Households according to Ethnicity (of the Interviewed Member)



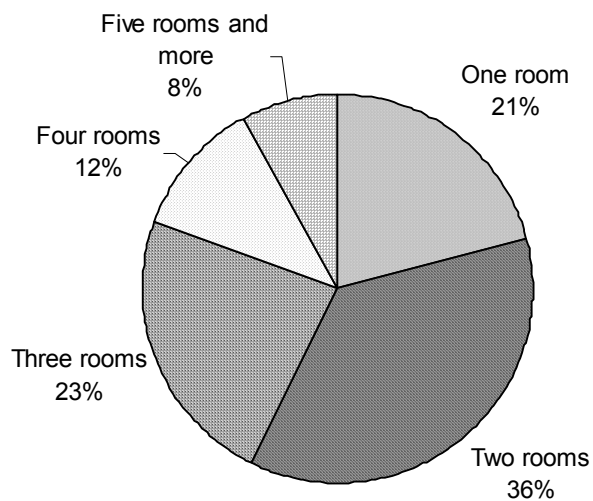
Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Figure 15. Households by Type of Their Housing



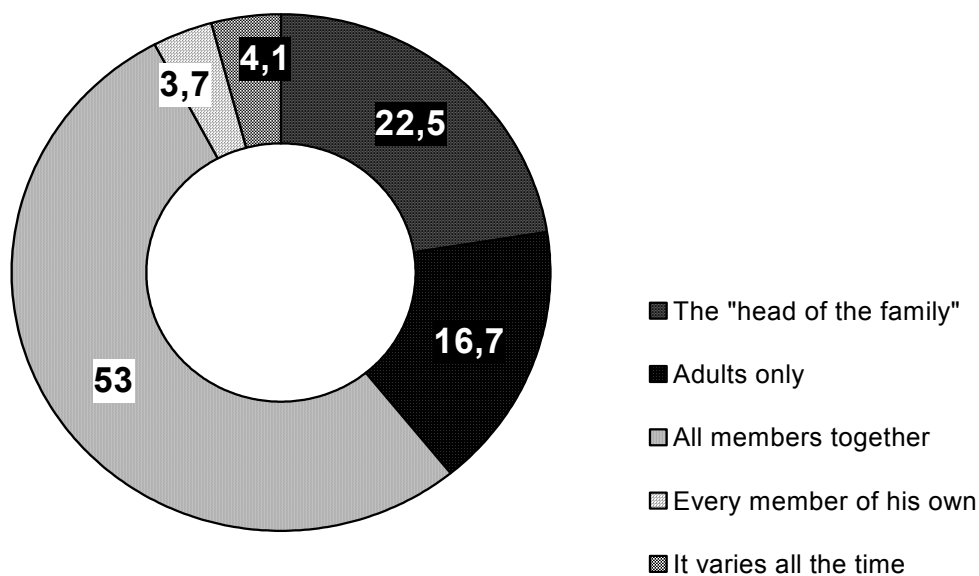
Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Figure 16. Households by the Number of Rooms in Their Housing



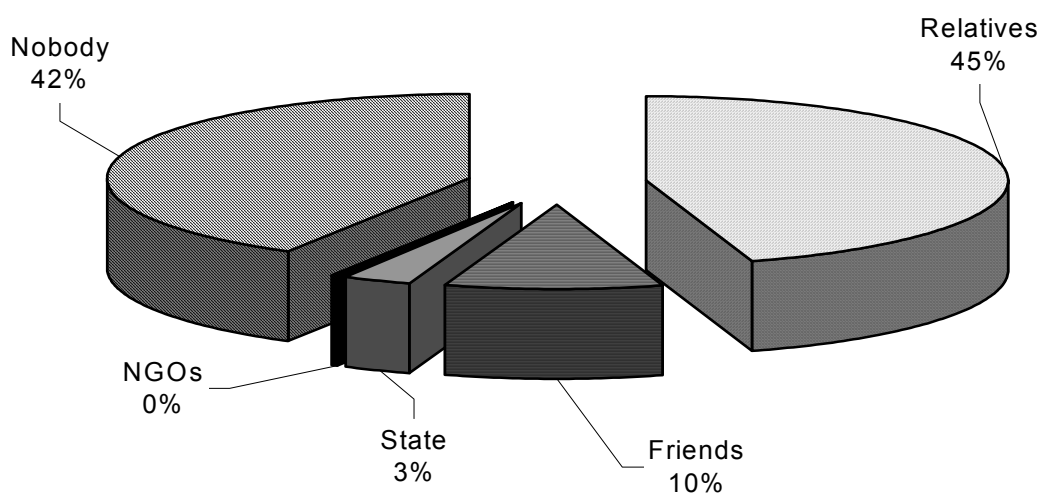
Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Figure 17. Patterns of Decision Making in the Household



Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

Figure 18. Expected Sources of Support in a Grave Financial Situation



Source: HWF Survey: Bulgaria, 2001

