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Gender Dimensions of the Division of Labor in the Family

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Summary: This article is devoted to the investigation of the changes in male and female participation in paid professional work and unpaid work in the Bulgarian family. For the purpose of evaluation of the extent of significance of this problem for working men and women with family responsibilities the question concerning the gender distribution of time for paid work and for family and the unequal division of labour between the family partners is analyzed with a view to the level of family welfare. In conformity with this the gender analysis of the paid economic activity and of the unpaid work in the household and in the family is done, based on the National Statistical Institute's Time-Budget Survey data. The applied approach allows for the evaluation of the extent of the real male and female participation in these two main spheres of work in temporal dimension as well as the extent of harmonization of the family responsibilities.

Key words: gender, family, paid work, unpaid work.

JEL: J16, J2, I31.

Since the mid 90s, the question of the participation of women and men in paid professional work and unpaid work in the household/family, and the problem of their balance has become a subject of in-depth attention in Europe, where it is considered in

the context of with the economic and social modifications in contemporary societies, which influence to a great extent the domain of work and family relationships between genders. During the last years, a growing interest and concern with respect to the achievement of a "work-life" gender balance is beginning to be visible in Bulgaria as well in both academic circles and at the institutional level.

In order to determine the importance of this problem for working women and men with family responsibilities, it is necessary in the first place to explore the issue of time distribution of women and men between work and family. This should be perceived, on one hand, as one of the most essential gender problems at a micro level, to a certain extent explaining most of the differences in the model of professional development and the types of organization of the work and working time of women and men; on the other hand, this question should be considered in view of the statement "changes of the time budget are in reality dimensions of utilization of human capital" [1]. As the results of international research in this field have shown, [2] in most countries – both developed and developing, an analogous gender division of labor exists (of course, with culture-specificity in time and space), where the work of men is oriented mostly towards market activities, whereas women are oriented to the domain of unpaid labor; in other words, there is a division between participation in the market and in the household by providing the most part of the unpaid house work consisting in services and care for the family. This unequal division of

labor and time distribution, often perceived as an optimal form of organization of work in a household, influences considerably the stability of families in terms of welfare level, as well as the different dimensions of work and family life of women and their position in society: a more limited investment in their human capital (continuous professional education and healthy lifestyle); an evidently lower in comparison with men employment status, respectively lower income, and therefore – a lower input in the economy and the welfare of children and family; a secondary role in the distribution of family resources and investment. No doubt the fact that reaching a balance between family and professional life creates problematic situations for both partners, but for women it is related to specific difficulties of both physical and psychological nature: on one hand, women have to meet subject to higher requirements in the domain of paid work, being confronted with the permanent necessity to prove that they are not interested only in “knitting”, on the other hand, they are in a state of constant pressing of expectations – social and familial – to express themselves as perfect spouses, mothers and housewives. In this sense, the statement that “the family does not ensure equal conditions of life to its members, but is a field, where a specific type of social inequality is manifested” [3] should be accepted as correct. There are sharper and more categorical evaluations of gender division of labor: for example, the French researcher Danielle Kergoat, known by her studies in this field, claims that the social division of labor between genders is realized not in an unjust, but in an antagonistic way, which sends us back to the equality problem [4]. The unequal division of labor between family partners can be considered as a principal determinant of family stability: whether cohesion of the family community improves as a consequence of the respective division of activities and goals, or a conflicting family environment is in place as a consequence of the unequal opportunities for

career development and the unjust distribution of family responsibilities and resources.

This so called conventional division of labor in the family, among other things, has its impact on the inter-family system of division of power, which is in most cases based on the dominant position of men in making decisions about gender roles, the development of families and the distribution of the family budget. Despite the considerable changes in the conditions of gender-based division of labor during the last decades, “the latter is always structured according to a hierarchical principle, organized around the notion of value of labor (the value of male labor stays always higher than the value of female labor)” [5], irrespective of its character. The studies in the developed European countries [6] show that in correspondence with this fact, the limits of women power usually extend to decisions, related to the division of specific tasks and the everyday problems in the family, and are limited to domains like food diet, care for children and elderly people, choice of clothing, paying bills and other routine expenses. As far as decisions exceeding the ordinary needs of the family are concerned, they are the prerogative of men, i.e. men exert the control over family material resources and women – the management of the part of family life and budget, which covers the everyday needs of the family community. The inequality in the distribution of power functions between the partners, on its turn, results in a deepening of the differences in the participation of women and men in paid and unpaid labor and in inequality of the division of labor in the family with a view of taking family responsibilities that are different in type and volume.

What has been said so far makes it necessary to make a gender analysis of paid economic activity and unpaid work of women and men on the basis of the analysis of NSI data on the time budget of population in our country, which allows the evaluation of the degree of their real

participation in the two fundamental domains of work in temporal terms, as well as the degree of harmonization of family responsibilities. The used approach is based on the following work hypothesis, developed by the French researcher Giauida Seily: "Time for hired work, time for house work, social time, etc. – all times are not divided in an analogical way, but depending on whether you are a men or a women. It is for this reason that the notion of gender times introduces the gender distinction as a central element" [7].

The mass-scale participation of women in paid employment has resulted in the development of a trend towards redistribution of the total time fund between women and men, which is related to their participation in both paid and unpaid labor, as well as to the opportunities of using free time.

The relative share of the respective types of activity in the 24-hours life cycle of people demonstrate the daytime differences between women and men. Their analysis allows making the following more general conclusions and statements related to:

- *Participation in paid work.* Because of the ageing of population, (the pensioners are included in the sample, observed by NSI) and

unemployment, the level of paid employment is decreasing in the course of time between the three censuses for both men and women, which results in the decrease of the relative share of time for paid labor in the 24-hours time fund of the population by sex, where women spend less time for paid labor than men. Nevertheless, a trend towards rapprochement of time for paid labor of men and women is observed as a result of the growing participation of women: the distance between them has decreased from 1 h. 25 min. in 1976/77 to 1 h. 6 min. in 1988, and to the insignificant 38 min. in 2001/2002.

- *Participation in unpaid work.* Time for unpaid work has decreased through the years for both men and women, but for men it is 10 % on average from the total time fund for the period, while for women it is twice as high – 20 %, i.e. the work of women at the workplace "household" takes one fifth of their time in 24 hours. It must be noted that in comparison with 1988, the data shows an increase of participation of men in unpaid labor (although it is still lower with respect to the 70 s), but this does not provide any "relief" to women, whose time for participation in this field of work stays remarkably constant – 4 h. 59 min. in 1976/77, 4 h. 40 min. in 1988, and 2001/2002, which is about twice as much as the time of men.

Table 1. Structure of the total 24-hours time fund of men u women

	1976/1977		1988		2001/2002	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Paid work	16.9	11.0	16.3	11.7	9.2	6.5
Unpaid work	11.7	20.8	8.8	19.4	10.6	19.5
Free time	14.2	13.2	19.6	14.9	22.6	17.9
Sleep and other physiological needs						
Other	48.2	48.1	46.7	46.8	51.4	51.1
Total	9.0	6.9	8.6	7.2	6.2	5.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: calculated on data from "Time budget of the population", NSI, S., 2005.

- *Time for sleep, food, personal hygiene and other physiological necessities* is not significantly different between women and men, as the physiological needs for maintaining and recovery are identical for both sexes.
- *Free time.* An increase of free time of both women and men is observed during the considered period, but there is a negative trend of increasing the difference between them by 4.5 – from 15 min. in the 70s to 1 h. 08 min. in 1988 and 1 h. 07 min. in 2001/2002 at the expense of free time of women, who spend much less time than men for rest and recreation, sports, hobbies and games, television, social life, both in the family and outside. In this sense, in the analysis of the time budget, “to talk about alternation of work and absence of work, of work and free time has a meaning only for the male population. For women, it is meaningful to talk only about the alternation of professional and house work”[8]. This finding is confirmed by the results obtained in a number of statistical studies: 41% of respondents consider that women are disadvantaged in terms of their free time (National Center for Study of Public Opinion, August and November 2000); the way of using free time and familial relationships are perceived as one of the domains of women discrimination (National Center for Study of Public Opinion, November 2000) [9]; one forth of Bulgarian women have less than 60 min. in 24 hours personally for themselves, and one of every seven women cannot allocate even this amount of time [10]; answering the question “what do you usually do in your free time”, 57.8% of women say “household work and care for the children”, and 40.4% – “work in the garden/ individual farm ” [11]; free time is a luxury that few women can afford and the result is “the syndrome of the exhausted housewife” [12]. It should be taken into account that the association of the notions “free time” and “unpaid work”, even unconsciously, is typical of many women in our country, and their disadvantaged position is aggravated by a number of other unfavorable

circumstances. For example, most women perform many activities simultaneously and it is sometimes difficult to determine, which of them is work, and which is not: activities like taking care of with children, breast-feeding, care for flowers can be very pleasant, although they are necessary activities, requiring time and concentration, and limiting the free time “for themselves”. Also, research has demonstrated [13] that even when watching television or going for a walk, women continue to be overwhelmed with thoughts and planning about what they still have to do in the household, which is an additional psychological burden, limiting the real rest and the equal distribution and organization of free time compared to men. The fact is also important that for most women the latter is to a great extent dependent on the necessity for everyday coordination of time for the realization of personal interests with the needs and time of stay at home of her children and husband, i.e. “the time limits, in which the everyday life of women takes place, are mediated by the other members of the family, and therefore they are not perceived as truly “own” organization of time” [14].

The differences in the participation of women and men in paid and unpaid labor are most apparent in the analysis of *their overall working time in all activities*, which, according to the methods of the World Bank, is considered one of the two main indicators of gender equality in the distribution/use of time (the second indicator is the number of hours dedicated to non-market activities) [15].

The data in Table 2 show that the total working time of women is higher than that of men due to the several times higher ineffective share of time spent on different types of unpaid activities – like care for the household and family, as well as production of commodities for own consumption in the family. The conclusion can be made on this basis that about four-fifths of the total

working time of women is unpaid and the traditional gender division of labor is in place, having a “price” for their paid employment and their positions on the labor market, as well as for their health status, the time for professional development, for rest and the independence of women as a whole. It is remarkable that while during the considered period the decrease of the average daily working time (mostly because of the decrease of paid employment for the reasons mentioned above), the scale is different – the decrease is by 2 h. for men and by 1 h. 24 min. for women. At the same time, the distance between them on this indicator is increasing – from 46 min. in the 70s to 1 h. 27 min. in 1988, and to 1 h. 29 min. in 2001/2002, which constitutes a stable trend toward a longer workday of women. According to the results of a sociological study, women usually work at least 12 h. a day, and this includes hired employment, additional, often informal work, household duties, upbringing and education of children, care for older and sick relatives, work on the individual farm [16]. The calculations of the author on the basis of data on time budgets demonstrate that the time for unpaid labor (or “the second shift”, according to the expression of the professor in the University of California Arly Hochschild [17]), is transformed on average for one woman into two months additional daily

work per year, without any 13th and 14th salary, and for employed women the additional house work increases the working week to 10 eight-hour working days.

In the comparison of time for paid and unpaid labor of women and men, a new trend that can be followed, characteristic for the last decade – although to a much lesser degree than it is for women, the relative share of time for unpaid labor of men in their overall working time in 2001/2002 is, for the first time, higher than their share of time for paid labor, which is probably a consequence of the continued economic crisis, influencing the necessity of participation of men in family survival strategies – for example the relative share of time, spent by men in activities, resulting in income for the household, is higher by 0.2 % than the same for women [18]. In this sense, there is a qualitative integration of unpaid activities into the work biography of women and men, with a mixed character of the work preformed by them.

The analysis of the total working time of women and men confirms the presence of a compromise model of family in our country: both partners work for payment and the women assume the biggest part of family responsibilities, because although men are increasing their participation in

Table 2. The distribution of time for paid and unpaid work in the total working time of men/women

	1976/1977		1988		2001/2002	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Average total working time – paid and unpaid (hour/ min.)						
Time for paid labor	6 : 52	7 : 38	6 : 01	7 : 28	4 : 45	6 : 14
Share of paid labor	4 : 04	2 : 39	3 : 54	2 : 48	2 : 12	1 : 34
Time for unpaid labor	62%	32%	59%	34%	48%	22%
Share of unpaid labor	2 : 48	4 : 59	2 : 07	4 : 40	2 : 33	4 : 40
	38%	68%	41%	66%	52%	78%

Source: calculated on the basis of data from “Time budget of the population”, NSI, S., 2005.

household duties, the inequality in the hours still remains. Consequently, the double employment model is much more characteristic for women, which results in the establishment of a rather contradictory situation: the paid employment of women contributes to the financial welfare of the family, enriches their lives, seemingly decreases the dependency from the husband and the family as a whole and influences a higher socialization of women, but, at the same time, it is characterized by their secondary role in the labor market and does not change essentially their traditional role in the family .

It must be pointed out that with respect to time for unpaid labor of women and men, the situation in Bulgaria is not essentially different in comparison with the situation in other countries, the difference is basically in the higher physical burden on women in our country in the field of unpaid labor because the more limited availability of modern household equipment and the lower financial capacity to use the respective paid services. According to UN data [19], in most countries the time, spent by women for unpaid activities, is about twice as high as that of men. In certain cases, the difference is much higher: for example, in Japan women spend for unpaid labor 9 times more time than men. In developed countries, between two thirds and one fourth of the household responsibilities are performed by women – women spend on average 30 h. a week for such activities compared to 10-15 h. for men, including when they are employed full time in the professional field.

The situation is different, however, in the analysis of the distribution of participation of women and men in paid and unpaid work. It is interesting to follow in this respect the indicator used by UNDP of women workload – a ratio between the total working time of women and men, calculated as a percentage of women working time to men working time: it is 105 % on average for OECD countries, the highest

level of this ratio is in Austria and Latvia – 111 %, and only in two countries the total working time of women and men is equal – in Germany and in Great Britain, respectively 100 % [20]. The calculations of the author for Bulgaria show considerably higher values of his ratio and a trend towards its worsening can be followed from 124 % in 1988 to 131 % in 2001/2002. The same conclusion can be drawn for another UNDP indicator, demonstrating the unequal distribution of working time of women – the ratio of time spent by them in market and non-market activities: for OECD countries, it is 37 % on average in market activities and 64 % in non-market activities for women, while for men it is 69 % in market activities and 31 % in non-market activities. In Bulgaria in 2001/2002, this ratio for women is much far higher – 22 % in market activities and 78 % in non-market activities. For men, as it can be seen in table 8, it is 48 %: 52, which at first glance seems favorable in comparison with other countries; however this seeming difference is due to the much lower time of paid employment of men in our country: for example, the average daily time for employment of men at the age 20-74 in other European countries is 3 h. 46 min., while in Bulgaria it is 2 h. 51 min. (for Bulgarian women the difference with other European women is only 23 min.) [21]. As for the total hours load in paid and unpaid labor in Bulgaria, for women it is about 1 hour more than the average for European countries, and for men – more than 1 hour less.

It should be emphasized that such an unequal distribution of work responsibilities of women is perceived in a stereotype way as something normal by the population in our country, which is supported by the results of sociological research: 91.8 % of the respondents think that women must continue to work in paid employment and to make a contribution to the family budget [22]; men do not object to their wives participating in paid labor, but they do not

want to do “women’s work” (it is interesting that not only women, but also men assess this as an unfair distribution) [23]; even in the category of the unemployed, male participation in household work is shorter by more than 12 hours in comparison of that of women [24].

The assessment of the differences in participation of women and men in paid and unpaid labor requires a more detailed analysis of *the gender distribution of time of persons, directly engaged in different types of activities*.

The following trends can be observed in *the domain of paid employment*:

- In spite of the lower employment of both men and women (the relative share of employed men in 2001/2002 is 25.1 %, and of women – 19.5 %, which is a decrease compared to 1988 , when it was respectively 44.8 % for men and 36.5 % for women), the working time is increasing for all types of employment. This trend demonstrates a considerable increase of the tension in the life rhythm of women and men because of the longer working time, mainly

as a consequence of non-regulated working time, widespread in the last years, especially in the case of self-employed persons or employers, who do not observe the labor legislation of working time regulation. This results in a situation, when the relative share of employed persons, defining their work as stressful, is 33.2 % [25]; 31.5 % of women and 28.4 % of men almost daily, and 29.6 % of women and 28.8% of men several times a month, come back “from work too tired to do some of the things that should be done” [26].

- The increase of the employment time during the considered period is 79.9 min. for men and 80.7 min. for women, and the higher registered increase for women results in worsening of the time limits of their double employment at work and in the household. The influence of the shortened distance between women and men with respect to their working time – from 1,5 h. in 1988 to about 40 min. in 2001/2002 is in the same direction.
- Men spend more time on their main job (8.1 h. compared to 7.5 h. for women), and women – in their additional and informal employment , i.e. women work more than men

Table 3. Average time of one person, participating in employment by gender (minutes)

	1988		2001/2002	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Employment	430.0	391.0	509.9	471.7
- Main job	446.0	431.0	489.7	450.3
- Additional job	205.0	170.0	261.7	303.1
- Activities, related to employment				
- Breaks during the job	157.0	94.0	60.0	60.0
- Time on the workplace before/after work; time of looking for a job	87.0	73.0	53.8	61.2
Informal employment	18.0	15.0	47.4	26.4
	-	-	61.5	67.7

Source: calculated on the basis of data from “Time budget of the population”, NSI, S., 1990, p. 87, 2005, p. 46.

with a non-typical working time, characteristic for these types of employment, with all negative consequences for themselves, the family and the children.

- Men, as they are less restricted by family and household duties in comparison with women, remain about twice as much time as women before and after working hours, and they spend much more time looking for work, i.e. they have more opportunities to improve their positions in the labor market and on the job.

The growing employment rate of women in the last decade means that family, marriage and the presence of children do not have a priority influence on the economic activity of women. They “adapt themselves” to life and family circumstances – to financial resources of the family, the availability of childcare facilities, personal professional ambitions, etc. – which do not influence the decision of the women whether to work or not, but mainly the choices of the respective employment model. In this sense, the distribution of time for work and of the life priorities of women and men is different, and for each gender it has a different influence on the employment type and the level of workload, which is a consequence of the necessity of a balanced participation in paid and unpaid labor, as well as of the potential available time with the respective consequences for the career and family [27]. Social attitudes confirm the interdependence between the choice of employment model of women and their family situation: according to the international empirical sociological study ISSP’94, the woman should work full time after getting married and before having children according to 78.9 % of the respondents and when children leave home – 85.8%; the woman should not work when she has children of pre-school age – 60.3 %, and after the youngest child starts school – 32.5 %; less than half of the respondents – 41.4 % think that in these situations the woman should work full time.

How much, however, the real trends in the choice of the type of work and working time correspond to the attitudes of women and men in our country? It is important to point out the existing opportunities and the way of *organization of work and working time* represent an important aspect of the problem of the achievement of balance in the distribution of time for paid and unpaid labor of women and men. The different gender roles in society – those of a working person, parent, housekeeper, producer of products for covering the basic needs of the family, determine the type and the organization of work of women and men.

Working time organization. The prevailing proportion of women and men work with a fixed beginning and end of the working day – 44.7 % of the men and 55.3 % of the women from the total number of employed persons [28]. These are 87.3 % of the employed men and 91.3 % of the employed women. Those, who work at a working time with shifting working hours, are 12.6 % of the employed men and 8.7 % of the employed women, which shows the insufficient use of this form of flexible working time by the employers. The data reflect the interesting fact that men have a higher access to forms of flexible working hours than women, because they have more opportunities in terms of time to go to work earlier or to stay longer. It should be noted, nevertheless, that according to the European study of work conditions in acceding countries, conducted in 2001 [29], men usually do not use their “growing flexibility” for household activities and duties at the difference of women, who, in spite of the high employment at a fixed working time, manage to take children to the respective facilities and to take them back home, to do the shopping, etc. In this sense, the conclusion is obvious that the flexible working time does not always contribute to the equality in the family or at the labor market.

The average working time length in Bulgaria has decreased from 43.1 h. in 2001 to 41 h.

in 2004, being only 0.5 h. longer for men than for women (41.4 h. – men, 40.6 h. – women). According to the European study, 54.2 % of men and 60.2 % of women work 40-44 h. a week on average, respectively 7.9 % and 13.7 % work less than 39 h., 31.5 % and 23.4 % work 45-60 h., and 6.4 % u 2.7 % – over 60 h. per week. An important fact is also that, according to the results of an empirical sociological study, carried out by the Center of population studies at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Employment Agency, 44 % of women and 40 % of men do not have a break during their working time, and 25.8 % of women and 42.5 % of men work over time every week or often [30].

The relationship between higher working time per week and employment status can be also observed: the most representational group of women and men working 40-44 h. per week have permanent work contracts, but one of every four employed in this group works extra time more than 60 h. As a comparison, women and men working 45 h. per week in EU-15 are only 20 %, while in Bulgaria they are 32 % of all employed persons. This indicates a widespread violation of labor legislation with respect to working hours on the part of Bulgarian employers, as well as a large relative share of non-regulated work in our country. Those employed on a temporary contract have a more flexible working time and less working hours – for most of them, the working week is from 30 to 39 h.; however, one of three employed in this group works over 45 h. per week. Self-employed persons have the longest working time– one third of them work more than 60 h., and 47 % – 45-60 h. per week. It is interesting to mention a result of the European study, showing that persons with lower education work longer hours to compensate the lower payment by a longer working time.

Non-typical working time. According to the NSI survey, 64.6 % of employed men and 54 % of employed women work on their main job

in conditions of different types of non-typical working time, i.e. which is out of the generally established for the country, respectively: in the evening – 45.1 % and 36.2 %; at night – 22.3 % and 10.7 %; on Saturday – 60.3 % and 46.7 %; on Sunday – 40.8 % and 24.7 %; and in the conditions of all types of non-typical working time simultaneously – 19.3 % of the employed men and 8.2 % of the employed women. According to the data of the European study, mentioned above, 41 % of all employed in our country work regularly in the evenings, 51 % – on Saturdays and 35 % – on Sundays, while the average for EU-15 is 27 %.

In spite of the significant employment of both men and women in the conditions of non-typical working time, men and women employed at this type of working time express an unexpectedly high level of satisfaction with such work with a view of balancing work and family responsibilities – 2/3 of women and over 70 % of men consider the work in the evenings or on weekends convenient in this respect; men are most unsatisfied with work on Sunday, and women – with work at night. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that such extra work has negative consequences for rest, communication in the family and children, satisfying their intellectual needs and the household duties, which accumulate and eat up even more from the insufficient free time of women and men.

Part time work. The work at incomplete working time is not widespread in Bulgaria – only 3.1 % of employed men and 3.7 % of employed women compared to 17 % on average for EU-15 work this way. According to the data of the European study, there is a controversial evaluation of this type of work on the part of Bulgarian women and men: 50 % feel satisfied, 37.5 % would like to work more, and 12.5 % would like to have even shorter working hours. It should be noted that for 2/3 of men this is involuntary because the lack of full-time work (21.1 hour per week

on average), which, according to NSI data, is indicated by 68.8 % of women and 62.5 % of men, working this way.

The form of part time work in our country is working at less than a full working day – 81.4 % of the part time employed women and 65.4 % of the men work using this form. An insignificant number of women and men prefer the second form of part time work – working less than five days in a week also with a lower working day: 7.8 % of the part time employed women and 13.7 % of the men use this form.

Working women and men express especially high satisfaction with work in shifts as they consider that it provides more opportunities to combine professional and family life: in 2001, 74 % of the employed persons at this regime of work have positive attitude to it, in 2004 the number of those satisfied with respect to this issue is up to 84.8 % of men and 81.9 % of women for the relatively high and equal for women and men employment in work in shifts – 23.4 % of employed men and 21.2 % of employed women. Gender becomes significant only in the choice of the regime of work in shifts: women prefer the two-shift work regime (64.4 % of women working in shifts), while 50 % of men work in the 3 and 4-shift regime in the uninterrupted cycle of work.

The following conclusions can be made on the basis of the analysis:

- The continuous unregulated working time in paid employment; the fixed hours of starting and finishing work; the lack of flexible working hours, adapted to personal and family needs of employees; the higher job requirements, resulting in widespread extra work and extra time at work, the tiredness and the need for more rest; the difficult balance between working hours and hours spent on childcare, school and administrative institutions and with the working

time of partners can be determined as the main reasons for the extremely negative impact that the working time has on striking a balance between professional and family life: according to the quoted NSI study, 43 % of employed women and men consider that their work creates temporary or permanent difficulties in the maintaining of this balance; 43.4 % believe that this balance requires additional personal efforts which results in a higher stress.

- This applies to a great extent to working women, who cannot give up full time work because of the financial situation of the family. As a consequence, about 70 % of employed women compared to 16 % of employed men do not freely dispose of their days off according to the data of the quoted empirical sociological study of the Center of Population Studies at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Employment Agency. Double employment has a direct negative effect on both the psychic and physical condition of women themselves, who face the necessity to continue with the "second shift" at home, as well as for children, who either spend their time at home with no control, or at the workplace of their mothers, which is quite a widespread practice mostly for self-employed women.

- In compliance with the traditional role of women in the household and family, they try to combine market activities with non-market ones, which traps them into non-standard working time and non-typical forms of employment, such as temporary work, work at home, unpaid work in family businesses, employment in the informal sector (according to the study of the Center for Study of Democracy, the relative share of participation of women in the informal economy is between 30 and 40 % [31]). Therefore, also as a consequence of assuming the main part of the responsibilities of household work, according to the data of the already quoted European study, higher levels of stress are reported for women, as well as lower levels of satisfaction with the necessity to maintain the work-life balance than for men.

- The combination of paid and unpaid labor is especially difficult for young women, when children are still in their pre-school or first school years, and at the same time this is the life period that is the most favorable for pursuing a career for both women and men of adult age, which provides arguments for the NSI conclusion that problems in the balance of time are more related to age than to gender of employed persons.

The assessment of the balance between paid and unpaid labor, achieved by women and men, requires the analysis of their real participation in different types of “after work” unpaid activities.

As to the distribution of time in the domain of unpaid work, the following trends can be observed:

- A little more than two thirds of men (76.9 %) participate in household work and so do practically all women (92.3 %), taking into account that all persons above 7 years of age are included in the sample.
- Men spend 3 h. on average on household work, including the individual farm, while women spend 5 h. for these activities .
- More men can participate in activities, resulting in income for the household – 1.2 %, compared to 0.5 % for women, but as for the time that is really spent, it is higher for women – 6.5 h. compared to 5.2 h. for men.

- Men spend more time for voluntary work [32] than women, probably because they are less busy at home.

- In the analysis of time, spent by women and men on activities of different type at home (incl. sleep, personal needs, etc.), 3 h. more are recorded for women (women spend at home 19 h. a day on average, while men spend 16 h.), which results in a real risk of social isolation and the presence of problems related to women socialization.

- The much higher participation of women in household work creates some difficulties for their adequate realization at the workplace in paid employment: for example, 36.8 % of women and a half of this percentage of men – 18.3 %, state that it happens to them almost every day or several times a months to arrive at work too tired of family duties, so that they are not able to work at full capacity, nor to concentrate at their workplace, because of family responsibilities [33].

The participation of women and men in paid and unpaid labor, and its influence on the distribution of family responsibilities is determined to a great extent by the *family status of participants in the respective activities*.

Unfortunately, the official statistics does not provide data on time for paid and unpaid labor by family status, gender, or by presence of

Table 4. Average time of men and women, participating in unpaid labor by type of activity (minutes)

	1988		2001/2002	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Women and men, participating in the activity			
Household work	160.0	300.0	194.0	301.7
Activities, resulting in income for the household	-	-	308.7	389.0
Voluntary work	-	-	148.7	124.1

Source: “Time budget of the population”, NSI, S., 1990, p. 87, 2005, p. 386.

children, their number and age. Nevertheless, the available data allows making some more general conclusion in this respect:

- Single individuals are “most free” to participate in paid labor, spending half of the time that the other two groups of persons spend for unpaid labor.
- Married individuals are “most deprived” of free time and this applies mainly to working people with family responsibilities: they have the lowest leisure time and are most busy with taking care for the family and household. Married partners obviously prefer regular permanent jobs, because they spend the lowest amount of time for participation in informal employment, i.e. risk-taking and non-regulated work conditions are probably perceived as a danger to family wellbeing.
- While the total time, spent on activities, resulting in income for the household, is considerable, it is the lowest for married couples, which is a proof for the higher stability of persons living together compared to those living alone and the divorced, especially if they have children.

The distribution of time between paid and unpaid labor in the family depends to a great extent on the scale and directions of the contributions made by *family partners*, particularly for working women. The analysis of the results of a sociological study demonstrate that cases

where the husband takes part in household work, especially in villages and small towns, are exceptions [34]. In this respect, we are close to the situation in the countries of South Europe, where men help the least in their families in comparison with other EU member countries: according a Eurostat study, the opinions of wives are that 80 % of husbands in Spain and 72 % in Portugal do not provide any help in the family, which is the highest share in the EU [35].

It should be taken into account, however, that in our country some positive changes with respect to sharing of household duties can be observed in families during the last years. This applies especially to couples with children, working full time, to some of those participating in family business, as well as to families of women entrepreneurs, mainly self-employed. For example, according to the results of a study of women entrepreneurship [36]: 70 % of female entrepreneurs are supported by their husbands in both household duties and the management of their business; 81 % – are supported by their husbands in upbringing of children; 54 % of the female respondents indicate the equal distribution of household duties with their husbands; only 7 % of the business ladies in Bulgaria do their household work on their own.

Table 5. Average time of one person, participating in paid and unpaid labor by family status (2001/2002) (minutes)

	Unmarried	Married or living with a partner	Divorced
Employment, including other activities, related to employment	540.1	530.8	506.1
Informal employment	64.1	43.9	66.7
Household work	140.3	289.2	233.9
Activities, resulting in income for the household	386.9	326.9	342.5
Free time	173.6	110.3	121.3

Source: “Time budget of the population”, NSI, S., 2005, p. 240.

An interesting fact is that the achievement of balance of participation in both fields of work is directly dependant on the age and life experience of the members of the family couple: 39 % of women entrepreneurs under 30 affirm that they do not have any or have a very little help from their husbands. The mentioned data allow making the conclusion that the combination of private business and family for women, despite the traditional expectations, does not have a negative influence neither on the way of life, nor on the structure of Bulgarian families. This is confirmed by the results of respective studies in this field:

- According to the data of the mentioned study, 87 % of women entrepreneurs consider that their participation in business has had a positive effect on the family (50 %) or has not significantly changed their personal life (37 %).
- Over 4/5 of entrepreneurs of the microbusiness domain are married; 56 % of women entrepreneurs have two children and manage to meet the challenges of business and family [37]. As a comparison, in Great Britain 31 % of women managers are not married; in Germany the share of unmarried women is 43 %, and 74 % of women managers do not have children [38].

The evaluation of changes in the participation of women and men in paid and unpaid labor in temporal terms makes it possible to identify the main *factors, which influence the structure of the time budget of women and men* :

- social and family traditions and values, influencing the life-style of women and men , including as family partners;
- family status (married, divorced, single parents), influencing to a considerable degree the overall workload of women and men, as well as the specific distribution of time for paid and unpaid labor;
- family income, determining the type and organization of the paid and unpaid work, the necessity of working at two or more jobs (for 5.4 % of women and 7.5 % of men [39]), making the conflict between paid work and

the family even worse, the availability of paid services for the household and for care for the family members;

- educational level of women and men, influencing their value system and the degree of their “emancipation” with respect to sharing of family responsibilities and establishment of the egalitarian family model;
- type of settlement (city/town – village), which has a certain correlation with the degree of stereotype perception of gender roles in the family, as well as determining the share of time for the individual farm as an additional activity in the domain of household work.

As a conclusion, the more important *consequences from the existing model “paid-unpaid work”* for women and men should be drawn. It is most important to point out that they continue to be in the chains of the traditional gender stereotypes, which is manifested most strongly during the period of their duties as parents. For many women this means a high level of time deficit; for the family partners – not enough time for children, especially for the contact “fathers-children”. Family relations both between husband and wife and between parents and children “suffer” from the everyday work-family conflict, which predetermines the necessity of encouraging the model of shared responsibilities between family partners. The unequal division of labor in the family also has a negative impact from the point of view of public interest, as it limits the opportunities for women of adequate adaptation to the modern employment requirements, for their professional growth, training and qualification improvement, representing one of the reasons for the demographic crisis in the country. Last, but not least, the participation of women and men in both work fields results in an excessive workload, especially for women, in a limited free time, used inefficiently, and as a consequence – in constant stress, poor health condition, a feeling of guilt to the partner and children. The

evaluations and findings, made in the study, call for adopting appropriate measures from the part of the state and employers for the support of employees with family responsibilities, so that they would be able to achieve a balance between their work and family life.

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