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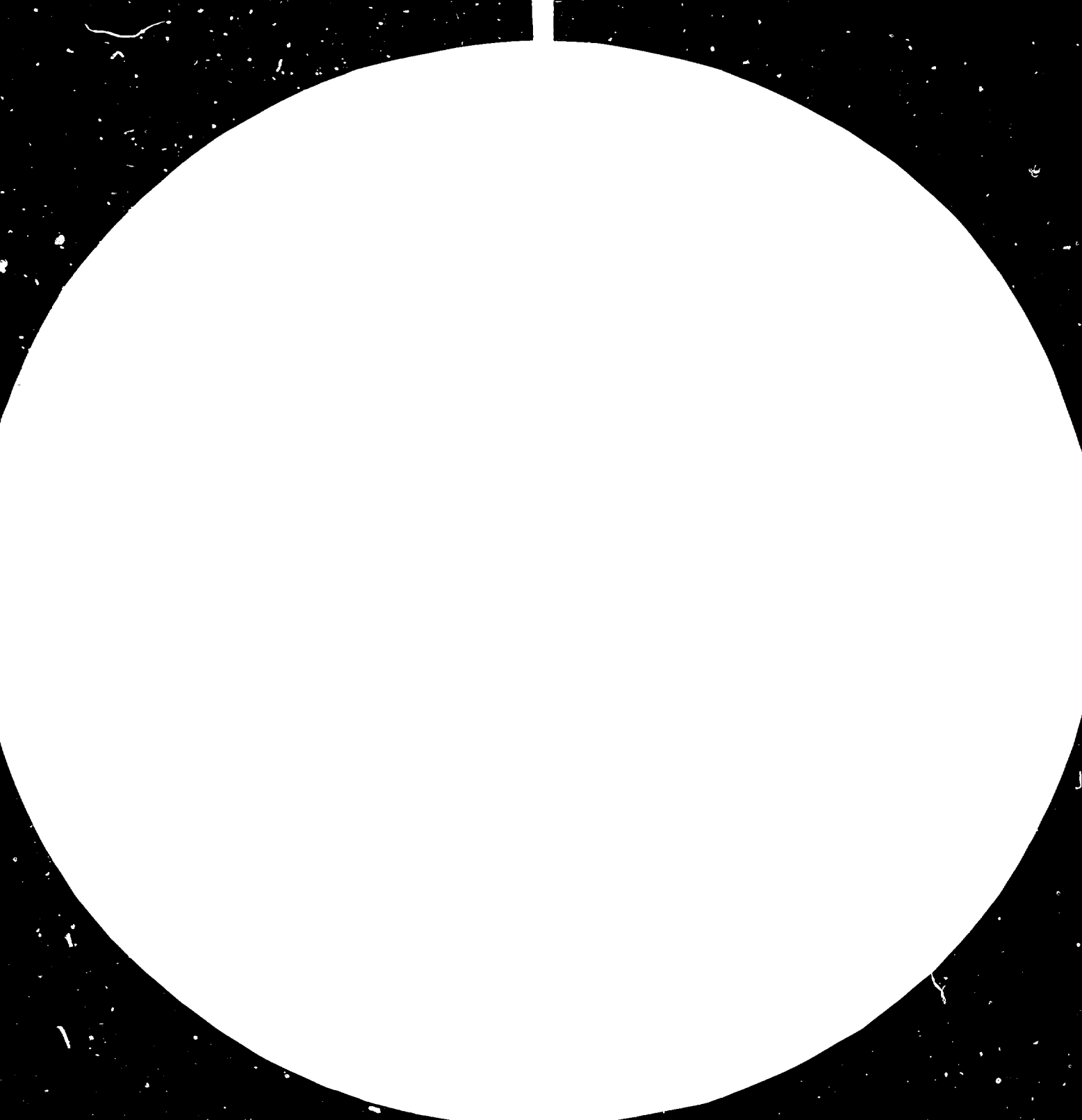
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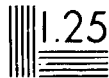
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Resolution Test Chart, NBS 1963-A, courtesy of National Bureau of Standards

Resolution Test Chart, NBS 1963-A, courtesy of National Bureau of Standards



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in the Development of Industrial Branches  
Traditionally Employing Female Labour\*  
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THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES  
WHICH TRADITIONALLY EMPLOY FEMALE LABOUR\*\*

based on  
the example of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

by

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\* organized by the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) in co-operation with the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

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## I. Introduction

The participation of women in industrial production is a question which for two decades - from the industrial turning point to the present day - has caused rapture and imprecation, acclaim and negation, public arguments and scientific studies. It is not by chance that all the greatest thinkers of this period have believed the stating of a view on this question to be their highest civil duty. The scientific studies, the articles and pamphlets, together with all the other arguments 'for' and 'against' of social, moral, and economic character, would probably take up hundreds of volumes.

But all that is already history. At present, women play an increasingly significant role in the economic and social life of the majority of the countries of the world. This process has a stable character. According to data of the ILO, the percentage of women, working against payment, among all persons, is nearing 40%. In 1979, in our country, the figure was 48.5%. In the separate countries, the labour activity of women wavers according to the economic, social and cultural conditions of life, but the tendency towards gradual increase is general. This proves that the professional activeness of women is an objective and irreversible process.

This process must be viewed from two basic aspects, according to its role and significance. On the one hand, social production shows an increasing dependence on the labour of women, on their intellectual abilities, and their social activity. The further advance of social progress in all its spheres - science, technology, art, management, social life - is not possible without the widest participation of women. One may say that female labour plays an ever increasing role for the advance of industry, as a whole, and for all its sub-branches.

On the other hand, the professional work of women in the economy is a basis and a prerequisite for their social equality with men: a woman cannot possess equal rights in society, if her economic dependence from man has not been removed. Of course, economic independence alone cannot suffice for their social liberation. Equality between the sexes can be achieved only on the basis of social equality in society as a whole, with the abolishment of exploitation of man by man and the other forms of social oppression.

These two aspects of the professional activity of women - for society and for themselves - are not separate, but mutually penetrate and complement each other. If women, with their specific abilities, contribute for the advance of production and for the improvement of the social climate among their colleagues, their work in the economy itself stimulates them to increase the level of their education and their professional training, to mature spiritually and to develop their personalities.

The aim of the present report is to acquaint the participants in this seminar, organized by UNIDO, with Bulgaria's experience regarding the role of women in the growth of industry during the last 3 or 4 decades.

This aim will be achieved if we seek the answers to the following tasks:

First, to examine the socio-economic conditions created by the Bulgarian state for the encouragement of female labour in industry.

Second, to reveal the difficulties which have been encountered with the wide use of female labour and to seek out the ways and means of overcoming them.

Third, to take a look at the present and future programmes of action in that direction.

The thus outlined aims and tasks are to be achieved not only with the main report, but with the other co-reports presented by the Bulgarian side, as well.

## II. Socio-economic Prerequisites for the Participation of Women in the Industrial Development of our Country

The wide participation of Bulgarian women in the industrial development of our country has been achieved through changes in their civil, economic, and social status, which have occurred since the mid-forties, when Bulgaria took up the road of its socialist development. Until then, it was an agrarian and economically backward country. Its industry was characterised with an almost complete absence of heavy industry. That is why mostly male labour was used in food and light industries.

During the period of capitalist development of our country, female labour found limited application in industry. The reasons for this were both the agrarian character of our economy and the late adoption of the model of the professionally active woman. In so far as some female labour was used in industry, it was done for the following reasons:

- mechanization in the industrial enterprises, which decreased the requirements for physical strength and created conditions for the use of female labour. Plus, women possess certain specific abilities which gave them an advantage in food and light industries;
- female labour was more cheaply paid, which made it an abundant source of profits. That was why the tendency was to oppose it to male labour.

The motive which had forced women to seek employment in industry was economic necessity - the need to provide themselves and their families with some sort of support, however small it may be. This is confirmed by the fact that the women employed in factories came mostly from the poorest social strata of the population and the conditions were extremely unfavourable: lengthy working hours, extremely low hygiene and labour protection, and the lack of even the elementary acquisitions of the working mothers.

The social-economic conditions for the working woman, created after the victory of the socialist revolution in our country, are radically different. The most general prerequisites for this may be found in the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria which sets an equality, with respect to civil law, between men and women and states their right to work. In addition to that, the whole socio-economic policy of our country guarantees this right, which is of great importance. By this we mean not only the concern for opening up enough jobs for women\*, but also their professional qualification and maturity, the growth of the network of day-care centres and public utilities, services and catering establishments.

Today, the motives for which women seek employment are not only quite different from those of 40-50 years ago, but are also much richer. Even though the necessity of providing support still exists, this motive is usually not the sole one, and it is even of secondary importance. A representative sociological study of families showed that the motives for working of wives who took part in the poll, may be classified into three groups according to the criterion - whose interests they placed first: the first group, which placed the economic interests of the family first,

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\* See Instruction No. 30 of the Council of Ministers from February 3, 1964 for "Attracting Housewives to Employment".



represented 53.5%; the second group, which placed the interests of prosperity and social prestige of the woman herself first, represented 32.8% and the third group, which placed the interests of society first, represented 13.7%. Together with the expression of women in their new walk of life - professional work - some new features arise between the spouses - does the husband help his wife advance in her profession, does the family show respect and regard towards the professional occupation of the woman, do the spouses discuss their professional problems together, etc.

An important prerequisite for enriching the motives for professional work is the increase of the educational level of women, the increase of their general social activity, the decrease of the prestige of housework and the enhancing of the value of professional work.

In the fifties and the sixties of our century, an accelerated industrialization of our whole economy was achieved, as a result of which it was transformed into industrial-arrarian. During this transformation, a flow of labour from agricultural into non-agricultural branches was observed. The basic tendencies concerning the employment of women were:

First, a significant reduction in the absolute number of women employed in agriculture, but their percentage among the total number of persons employed in agriculture showed a certain increase, because of the faster migration of men. Nevertheless, industry is the largest single female employer.

Second, an increase in the absolute number and in the percentage of women employed in all branches of industry, but still they are predominant in light and food industries.

Third, despite the high percentage of women in the traditionally female industries, a definite tendency towards the increase of their number

and their percentage in the so-called perspective industries is evident. For example, their percentage in the total number of employed persons has grown as follows: in machine-building, it grew from 14.2% in 1957 to 36.1% in 1979; in chemical industry, their shares for the same years are respectively 31.4% and 48.4%; in construction materials industry, 13.3% and 32.3%; in celluloid-paper industry, 25.1% and 54.3%\*. In electronics and electrical engineering, the percentage of employed women exceeds 60%.

Fourth, an especially rapid increase in the number of women employed in services, where they are gradually becoming predominant. Today, women account for 52.7% of all persons employed in the housing and utility industry; 50.8% in science and scientific assistance; 71.6% in education, culture and arts; 75.1% in health care and social security; 77.2% in finance, credit and insurance; and 49.2% in management. This sphere is second, after industry, in the number of women it employs.

The broad and multi-faceted professional activeness of the female population of our country is determined by the whole socio-political climate in our country, by the socialist changes which have occurred in our social life, by the rapid economic development of our country, and by the general cultural uplift of our population. Of course, the old social inertia, which was supported by archaic traditions and prejudices, had to be surmounted. That task was carried out in an organised and purposeful manner, directed by the mass and socio-political organisations, labour unions, the educational system and by the mass media. The educational system, which supplied the students both with general education and professional training, played an especially positive role.

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\* Statistical Yearbook of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1971 p. 61 and 1980, p. 111.

As a result of all these changes in the proportion and character of the participation of women in the economic life of our country, some new problems have appeared in the seventies. These are, first of all, the need for qualification and re-qualification of women, which was created by technical progress; some new requirements of the social policy of improving the structure of the time budget of employed women have arisen, and most of all, the need for the women to perform effectively and harmoniously all their important duties in society.

This necessitated the adoption of a special resolution by the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on July 26, 1974, "For Enhancing the Role of Women in the Building of an Advanced Socialist Society". This resolution actually represents a broad long-term programme covering approximately two decades. The multi-faceted social activity of the Bulgarian woman may be found in it. A complex approach for the solution of arising problems was sought in conformity with this activity.

### III. Development of Female Employment in Food and Light Industries

In industry, despite the scientific and technical progress, the division of labour on a natural basis is still preserved. On the one hand, this is an expression of objectively existing limitations for the application of female labour in heavy industry, and on the other hand, a necessity to use the specific capabilities of female labour still exists.

Table 1 below, illustrates the changes in the percentage of women in the total work force in industries which traditionally employ female labour.

TABLE 1

The percentage of women in the total work force employed in food and light industries.

INDUSTRIES	1957	1965	1970	1975	1979
Industry as a whole	30.4	35.9	39.7	43.0	48.4
Glass and Porcelain and Faience	23.5	36.6	45.6	48.3	48.9
Textile Industry	75.9	75.7	78.7	78.6	77.2
Dressmaking and Tailoring	66.6	80.1	85.2	87.2	87.8
Leather, Furrier and Shoe Industry	26.2	50.8	62.0	70.3	73.3
Food Industry	49.4	56.7	55.5	54.8	54.6

Statistical Yearbook of the People's Republic of Bulgaria  
1971, p. 69 and 1980, p. 111

Table 1 shows that the percentage of women in the total work force employed in the traditional industries has grown faster than in industry as a whole. In some of the listed industries (glass and porcelain, leather and shoe industry), the increase is by more than 20 points. This has occurred as a result of a withdrawal of males from professions and enterprises of light industry.

The female predominance in most industries allows us to conclude that female labour in them plays not a secondary, but a major role in carrying out the task, and therefore, in their advancement.

The percentage figures express only the correlation between the female and male work force and is not indicative enough of the absolute increase of the women employed in these industries. The indices in Table 2 will illustrate this second process.

Table 2

Female Workers and Employees in Certain Industries

1960 = 100

	1960	1965	1970	1975	1979
Industry as a whole	100.0	147.5	205.6	128.3	263.9
Glass and Porcelain and Faience	100.0	169.7	241.3	319.6	352.7
Textile and Dressmaking Industry	100.0	103.1	128.1	144.9	140.3
Leather and Shoe Industry	100.0	191.7	290.9	339.4	327.4
Food Industry	100.0	122.8	221.3	236.7	232.5

Statistical Yearbook of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1980, pp. 174, 181.

Table 2 illustrates that the rates at which female labour was attracted in the listed industries were not constant. The differences are due to a difference in the investments in the separate industries during different years.

The rates of increase of female workers and employees, in industry as a whole, began to decline after 1970. This tendency is even more typical for some of the industries which traditionally employ female labour, where the index for female workers and employees in 1979 is less than the one for 1975. The main reason for this is the more significant use of the intensive factors of development, and first of all the technical and technological modernisation of the production.

This process is not sufficiently developed, as yet, but there is no doubt that it will contribute towards a much more significant overcoming of the existing division of labour between men and women. On the basis of the existing scientific and technical solutions and the tendencies

in seeking new ones, we can prognosticate that towards the end of the nineties. we will have at our disposal technologies, which will allow a more rapid removal of the dominance of either sex in certain industries.

Therefore, the term 'industries traditionally employing female labour' was imposed by conditions, characterised by an inadequate development of the material and technical base of industry. These compulsory limitations will die out on the basis of scientific and technical progress. Then, possibilities for the formation of working teams composed equally of female and male participants will be established. This is set as a task to be achieved by our country's social management.

Another question which arises when female employment is being solved, is the shortage of female labour in the big cities and the shortage of jobs for women in the small towns in our country. This problem is solved basically by two means - through daily migration and through capital investments intending to change the industrial structure of certain communities.

In the biggest cities in our country, such as Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna, Rousse, etc., a certain shortage of labour is felt. It is expressed mostly in food and light industry enterprises. Their 'competitors' are usually the public utility services and trade. The solutions were sought in two directions. First, by satisfying the needs of the female workers by the so-called 'mayatnik' migration. Twenty to thirty percent of the female workers are transported 'to' and 'from' the textile plants from nearby villages and towns by specially organised transportation. The system of two per room hostels is also well organised.

The second way is by 'moving' whole textile plants or opening their subsidiaries in smaller communities. The technological processes and the training of the workers is managed by the central enterprise.

In the cities, which were dominated by heavy industries, large capital investments for the development of food and light industries were made during the seventies. In addition, such industries as electrical engineering and electronics, which are especially suitable for the application of female labour, were developed. At the present stage of development of our country, the industries which traditionally employ female labour can feel the 'competitive' influence of the new industries with cleaner production and without multi-shift work. This necessitates, on the one hand, that we seek more flexible possibilities for employing women in these industries, and on the other hand, that production be modernised more rapidly in order to improve the conditions and to decrease the number of women working in them.

Some labour acts which are common in all spheres and branches and are aimed at achieving a better harmony of the social roles of women, proved appropriate for wider application in light industry. We have in mind the Instruction of the Council of Ministers for the right of part-time employment of mothers of small children and of extramural students\*, as well as the Decree for piece-work done at home by women on maternity leave\*\*. The largest number of jobs which are occupied by two women, working in the same shift, are in dressmaking and textile industries. To a large extent, this is due to the specifics in the organisation of labour in these branches. The right to conclude a second labour contract for piece-work carried out at home by women on maternity leave and the broadening of this clause for mothers of children up to six years old, have created possibilities for attracting women, who are employed in other spheres and industries, into light industry.

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\* Instruction of the Council of Ministers No. 471, December 4, 1964.

\*\* Decree of the Council of Ministers No. 14, 1978 and No. 38, 1980.

The capital investments for modernisation and reconstruction, give us a certain idea as to how active the process of improving the working conditions in industry are. They are directed selectively towards different industrial branches, according to centrally set objectives. Textile industry has received its largest number of capital investments in 1975 and 1976. During those two years, it placed second and third respectively, counting the percentage of capital investments made in textile industry, as opposed to industry as a whole. The investments for modernisation of the dressmaking, leather and shoe industries were relatively lower. These two industries were significantly expanded and renewed before 1972.

In order to follow the changes in the correlation between the number of employed workers and the value of the production capacities and equipment, and to compare them with the increase in productivity, we must take a look at Table 3.

Table 3

Indices Characterising the Qualitative Changes  
in Food and Light Industries\*

1960 = 100

I N D U S T R I E S	YEAR	NUMBER OF WORKERS	MACHINES AND EQUIPMENT**	PRODUCTIVITY
1	2	3	4	5
Industry as a whole	1960	100	100	100
	1970	146	393	193
	1979	174	927	335
Glass and Porcelain and Faience Industry	1960	100	100	100
	1970	178	705	254
	1979	239	2097	373
Textile Industry	1960	100	100	100
	1970	118	302	173
	1979	150	697	265

\* Our Calculation. Based on data of the Statistical Yearbook of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1980, pp. 106, 127, 210, 227, 228-234.

\*\* Fixed capital index is calculated according to the initial value at the end of the year.



1	2	3	4	5
Leather, Furrier and Shoe Industry	1960	100	100	100
	1970	201	421	151
	1979	233	936	218
Food Industry	1960	100	100	100
	1970	125	303	174
	1979	132	840	276

The indices characterising the qualitative changes in the listed industries (see Table 3) are close to or higher than the average for industry as a whole. It is especially favourable that the equipment and productivity of labour have outstripped, by rates, the increase of the work force. Only one industry makes an exception - the Leather, Furrier and Shoe Industry. The index for the number of workers employed in it has grown a bit faster than the index for productivity of labour.

In two of the industries - Glass and Dressmaking Industries - the active fixed capital (machines and equipments) has increased especially rapidly, even when compared to the average indices for industry as a whole. These industries have achieved the largest increase in productivity.

One other feature deserves our attention as well, that is the absolute number of workers in the listed industries reached its highest level towards 1976-1977, after which it started to gradually decrease. The only exception is the Glass Industry. We ought to expect that the tendency towards an absolute decrease in the number of workers will manifest itself and will become stronger - thanks to the modernisation and reconstruction of the industrial enterprises during the next 5-10 years. Decree No. 62 of the Council of Ministers will also contribute to this tendency. It requires that all jobs and professions using chiefly manual labour be indexed. This is made with the view that they may be modernised more rapidly.

IV. Qualitative Characteristic of Female Labour Employed in  
Food and Light Industries

The issue of raising the level of education and professional training of the female work force is, on the one hand, a component of the more general issue of the qualitative characteristics of labour resources in the scientific and technical revolution; and on the other hand, has its independent significance since it contributes for increasing the role of women in the development and the prosperity of our country.

The adopted economic policy of a consistent intensification of production requires a greater professional mobility of the work force. This requires that the educational level of workers be taken into account as never before.

Table 4

Distribution of Workers According to their Educational Level\*

	TOTAL	ELEMENTARY	PRIMARY	HIGH SCHOOL**	HIGHER
1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>MEN</u>					
Classes in Glass/Porcelain and Faience Industry	100.0	25.2	57.8	16.8	0.2
Classes for Textile Workers	100.0	29.5	58.5	11.8	0.2
Classes for Tailors	100.0	11.8	75.9	12.2	0.1
Classes for Leather Workers and Fur-dressers	100.0	23.9	59.7	16.2	0.2
Classes on Food Industry	100.0	36.6	55.2	8.1	0.1
<u>WOMEN</u>					
Glass/Porcelain/Faience Ind.	100.0	21.0	59.6	19.3	0.1
Textile Workers	200.0	21.4	67.3	11.3	0.1
Dressmakers	100.0	9.9	70.7	19.3	0.1
Leather Workers/Fur Dressers	100.0	15.1	65.9	18.9	0.1
Food Industry	100.0	37.2	53.3	9.2	0.1

\* On the basis of the population census, Dec. 2, 1975. Demographic and Economic Characteristic of the Population in the PR of Bulgaria, vol.II, pp. 334 and 342.

\*\* The 'High School' column includes general high school, professional high school and college education.

Table 4 refers only to the basic workers in the listed industries. There are no marked differences in the educational structure of men and women. Still, we must note that the women have a lower percentage with elementary education and a higher percentage with high school education.

The women workers under 40 still have a considerable labour-active life before them. That is why their higher educational level is a good prerequisite for a successful participation in the system of professional training on the spot.

Table 5

Educational Structure of Workers Under 40 in the Textile and Food Industries\*

INDUSTRY	SEX	TOTAL	ELEMENTARY	PRIMARY	HIGH SCHOOL	HIGHER
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Textile Industry	Women	100.0	6.9	61.9	31.1	0.1
	Men	100.0	11.3	50.5	38.1	0.1
Food Industry	Women	100.0	5.6	60.6	32.8	0.2
	Men	100.0	4.4	62.9	25.7	-

The conclusions which can be made from Tables 4 and 5 are valid for the majority of workers.

First, both for the total active female population and for the women working in food and light industries, the old negative inheritance from the period of our capitalist development has been surmounted in the field of education. Today, the level of education of women in the People's

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\* Based on data received by the study of documents, conducted in 1979 by the Commission on the Problems of Working Women at the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions. The 38 enterprises in the excerpt have been studied exhaustively, i.e. the information is for all listed personnel in the enterprises.

Republic of Bulgaria is equal to that of men which ought to be assessed as a significant social achievement.

Second, the prevailing level is primary (eight year) education, while the percentage of elementary education is second, and in some industries, third. This is better expressed among the women-workers in dressmaking, leather and shoe industries. This process will continue gaining strength, since universal high school education is being introduced in our country. Towards 1985, the percentage among the women-workers with high school education will equal the percentage of those with primary education.

Third, the women-workers in the listed industries differ according to the level of their education. The women employed in dressmaking industry are with the best educational structure. Less than 10% of the women employed in it are with elementary education, while twice as much have high school education. The women employed in leather and shoe industries are with a relatively good educational structure. The level of education among women employed in food industry is the most unsatisfactory one - the percentage of women with high school education is too small.

Fourth, the educational level achieved by women workers allows them to receive the necessary professional training and to be requalified successfully, if necessary, for new professions.

Another qualitative aspect of the female work force, other than the level of education, is its professional qualification. The characteristic of the qualification of the workers, given in Table 6, is made only on the basis of their allocation according to rates.

Table 6

Allocation of the Workers in Food and Light Industries  
According to the Degree of Qualification\*

INDUSTRIES	SEX	DEGREE OF QUALIFICATION**			
		Low	Medium	High	Total
Light Industry	Women	29.7	60.1	10.2	100.0
	Men	22.6	48.7	29.7	100.0
Incl. Textile Ind.***	Women	33.5	59.3	7.2	100.0
	Men	10.6	69.6	19.8	100.0
National Agro- Industrial Union****	Women	46.1	41.7	12.2	100.0
	Men	28.0	43.1	28.9	100.0

The following question arises from Table 6: Why do the women employed in food and light industries have a less favourable qualification structure compared to men working in the same industries?

The basic reasons, graded according to their significance, which determine the qualification structure of the sexes in industries traditionally employing female labour are the following:

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- \* Social Development of Workers Teams. Published by KESSI at the Council of Ministers, 1980, pp. 19 and 21.
  - \*\* The degree of qualification is determined according to the following principle: Low includes workers of rate I and II, Medium includes workers of rates II to IV, High includes workers of rates V and higher.
  - \*\*\* Data based on the study of Documents, 1979, Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions.
  - \*\*\*\* The data are for the National Agro-Industrial Union, whose departmental structure includes Food Industry.

The first and most important reason is the division of labour on a natural basis, as it is formed inside the industry. Today, the female work force has access to all industries, but not to all professions and jobs inside an industry. The same situation, even though in lighter forms, exists in light industry. The men, whose percentage is lower than that of the women, are concentrated mainly in professions and jobs for servicing and tuning the machines and equipment. These professions and jobs are given higher rates.

The second reason is created by the deficit of male labour, both in the country as a whole and in the reviewed industries. That is why men have greater opportunities to choose their work, compared to women. If they cannot find a job which ensures them of a high rate, they will look for it in another enterprise or another industry.

Finally, the limitations for increasing the professional qualification of women, stemming from maternal and family duties, comes only third. The studies show that a high degree of correlation between the family and maternal duties of women on the one hand, and the level of their qualification, on the other, does not always exist. The lengthened maternity leaves and the other social gains decrease their limiting influence.

The issue of the level of qualification of women has not only an economic, but an important social effect, as well. That is why it is the subject of special concern. They are manifested in the cited Resolution of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria of July 26, 1974. In the plans for social development of workers' teams, each production unit determines what indices must be reached, for women, not only generally, but differentiatedly as well. The Resolution requires, at the same time, that the necessary conditions for the fulfillment of these tasks be created.

A comparatively new requirement towards the professional training of workers is the acquiring of a reserve qualification. At the same time, the necessities of a mobile work force are growing. It should be able to be requalified in other industries and professions in a short time. One of the prerequisites for this is contained in the higher general education training of the workers. This reserve is created and attracted when a necessity of requalifying workers due to modernisation occurs. The female workers possess this reserve in the same degree as male workers, and therefore have the opportunities for professional mobility.

The qualification reserve is created in the system of professional training through the mastering of a second, third, etc. profession or operation. This reserve is used fairly often - when a technological idle time or a short term peak necessity of workers of a certain profession occur. Female workers still possess less of this reserve qualification. According to average data for the mastering of more than one profession in textile industry, they have an index of 1.9, compared to 2.8 for male workers, and for food industry the respective figures are 1.6 and 2.5.

#### V. Women in the Professional Hierarchy

Revealing the position of women in the professional hierarchy will allow us to fully assess their role in the development of those industries in which their labour is most widely applied.

This question has a principal significance, since it concerns the status of women in a country which is building advanced socialist social relations. It is not by chance that special attention is paid to it in the Resolution of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria of July 26, 1974.

In the section for the qualificational structure, the issue of moving women up towards the high classes of professional qualification, is discussed. We will point out, for the most part, only the participation of women in managerial positions in the economic associations and in social life.

One of the prerequisites for receiving a better position in one's professional career is the higher level of special education.

Table 7 contains data for the changes in the percentage of women among the total number of people with a higher or a professional high school education.

Table 7

Percentage of Women among all Persons with a Higher or Professional High School Education Given in Groups of Specialists\*

	1964		1970		1979	
	Higher	Prof. High	Higher	Prof. High	Higher	Prof. High
Total	29.4	48.2	34.9	51.8	44.9	53.0
Engineers and Technical Cadres	18.8	18.9	23.8	27.7	33.9	33.0
Including:						
-Food Industry	28.9	43.2	48.4	59.4	55.0	67.0
-Chemical Technologies	40.8	51.6	44.7	59.4	59.0	65.1
Economics	20.5	55.2	29.0	59.0	46.5	80.2
Finance and Credit	21.2	-	27.9	-	40.7	-
Law	15.1	-	19.5	-	33.7	-

Table 7 includes groups of specialists which are nearer to the industrial occupation of women. They are valid for the whole country. Only food industry is presented in more set terms. In so far as the figures give us some idea of the dynamics of the increase of the percentage of women, among specialists with higher and high school education, they deserve our attention.



Women have for a long time proved to be good specialists with high school qualification, but in engineering, they have achieved it fairly recently, not only for specialists with a high school education as well. In the field of economics they have a definite edge, while in law, their level equals that of engineering cadres.

Table 8

The Percentage of Women among all Persons Occupying Managerial Positions in the Industrial Enterprises

INDUSTRIES	Heads of Enterprises or Structural Subdivisions	Chief Engineers or Technologists	Heads of Departments or Shifts
Textile Industry	24.1	33.3	25.5
Food Industry	15.2	17.5	35.7

When we assess the percentage of women in the three listed categories of managerial positions, we should not take a purely arithmetic approach - to seek an exact correspondence with their percentage in the industry or among the persons with higher education. We must bear in mind that in the productive sphere (as opposed to the administrative sphere) this issue is often related to technical and technological processes. Wherever the managerial work has unfixed hours or is connected with the upkeep of heavy machinery, the conditions for equalising male and female participation in management have not yet been created.

We have grounds to note that the decrease of the level of managerial work in the enterprises is accompanied by an increase of the percentage of women. Some authors give the following explanation to this fact - the heads of enterprises must take upon themselves great responsibility and risk, towards which women are less disposed, while the lesser managers' work requires precision and thoroughness - qualities of which there is universal agreement that they are possessed by women.

Even if such tendencies do exist, they are determined by the social and not by the biological variant - man-woman. We must not forget that the traditions in this respect, which have been worked out during many centuries, cannot be fully surmounted for 30 or 40 years.

At present, when the advance of production depends highly on the creative attitude of the workers and specialists towards their labour, the movement of the innovators deserves special attention. This question has another, not in the least insignificant aspect - the realisation of the creative abilities, with which the working people are endowed, is one of the important factors for the multifaceted development of the personality.

The percentage of women-innovators, both in the country as a whole and in the industries under review, even though it increases yearly, is not large - 8.7% for 1979. Compared with the percentage of women-specialists with higher or professional high school education, it is not impressive, even though in certain enterprises of the light industry 48.8% of all recommendations made in 1979 (in connection with production) were made by women. The innovators movement is a comparatively new sphere of the social activity of women, which has yet to be established and recognised. It depends on the structure of the women's off the job time, and specifically on the lower amount of their spare time. Sociologists have determined that of all women, who have made innovative recommendations, 79% are unmarried or are married but have no children. A large part of the women, who have shown an interest towards innovation and invention, cease to participate in such activities after becoming married and especially after bearing a child. No such dependence on the marital status of men, participants in this movement, has been noticed.

These facts allow us to make the conclusion that the innovative contributions of working women still meet obstacles of a social character, which the women cannot surmount alone. The active assistance of social

factors is necessary, since the issue is not the use of a woman's intellectual abilities for herself alone, but for the whole society as well. The Commissions on Problems of Working Women, which are being established at all levels of trade union leadership in our country, have set themselves the task of assisting the innovative contributions of women. They seek the co-operation of the administrative managements and the scientific and technical societies in this respect. Joint national reviews on the participation of women in the innovators' and inventors' movement, and district conferences of women specialists are held periodically and ways of offering material and moral stimuli are sought.

#### VI. Family Roles, Labour, and Maternity

The work of the women in the economy cannot be reviewed as totally separated from the other sphere of social activity of women - the family and maternity. Even though practice (since women are professionally employed in large numbers) rejected the view for an alternative between their professional employment and their motherhood; this does not mean that when they are combined, no difficulties and problems arise. What are they and how are they solved?

Eighty-one percent of all employed women are married. Of course, they could be differentiated on the basis: do they or don't they have children, or according to the number and ages of their children, or the presence of elderly people in their families, etc., but the cited figure is significant enough.

It was necessary, under the new conditions, to seek a solution both in the changes in the organisation and distribution of duties inside the family, and in the relations between the family and society. Because if, on the one hand, the professional labour of women is necessary for social progress and contributes towards their independence and for raising their

status in society, on the other hand, both the family and society would be harmed, if the upbringing and education of the children were neglected.

Since the questions concerning the social gains of working women are covered fully enough in the special co-report on 'Medical and Social Cares for the Woman-Mother and the Coming Generation in the People's Republic of Bulgaria', we will concentrate mainly on the women's time budget.

The structure of the time budget and most of all, the relationship between its basic components, allows us to determine certain differences between women, differentiated according to their marital status, number and ages of their children, and also between men and women with the same marital status. The data, based on a year-round observation of the time budget, shows that the total work load of a married woman, in professional and household labour is 33.8% higher than that of an unmarried woman, and 22.5% higher than that of a man with the same marital status. This fact shows the need for organised cares for maintaining and restoring the working capacity of women with greater family and maternal duties. They are expressed in lengthened leaves for childbirth and taking care of a small child, the right to a paid leave for taking care of a sick child or another ill member of the family, in developing utility services at the place of work, etc.

Working women with family duties have a smaller amount of spare time. Since the social significance of spare time increases under socialism, these correlations are subject to the attention of different governing bodies. Their efforts have led to a decrease in the percentage of labour that women expend in a 24-hour period and to an improvement in their time fund. The men's percentage is 24.1%, the women's - 20.2%, and the young mothers' (from 20 to 29 years of age) is even less - 18.1%.

The five-day work-week offers greater possibilities for improving the time budget of women - by decreasing the household work of working women with family duties. The persons using utility services systematically have decreased their household work by an average of 51 minutes per 24 hours and this has brought an increase in their time for rest, for professional qualification and for social work. All the possibilities in this respect have not been exhausted so far

In order to assess the degree of combining the social roles of working women and men with family duties, a survey using the method of experts appraisal was conducted (see Table 9).

Table 9

Degree of Combining the Social Roles of Women and Men\*  
(percent)

ROLES	WOMEN					MEN		
	Not Compa- tible	Compatible			Not Compa- tible	Compatible		
		Partially	Well	Total		Partially	Well	Total
Work and Maternal (Paternal)	8.0	62.9	29.5	100.0	-	8.5	91.5	100.0
Work and Marital	-	12.5	87.5	100.0	-	-	100.0	100.0
Work and Household	22.0	52.6	25.4	100.0	-	25.4	74.6	100.0
Work and Social	-	12.5	87.5	100.0	-	-	100.0	100.0

As is evident from Table 9, most of the experts believe that even though some of the social roles of professionally occupied women may suffer (see appraisal 'partially compatible'), this rarely leads to a collapse ('not compatible'). For the work and maternal role, the experts have given an optimistic appraisal for approximately 30% of the women, and they think

\* Sociological Study Using the Method of Experts' Appraisal, 1976.

that there is a discrepancy in only 3% of the working women. But partial difficulties are cited in 62.5% of the cases. The experts believe that with the men, no contradictions which lead to collapse of their social roles are evident because of reasons of objective character.

One part of the arising contradictions and difficulties in employing female labour in the economy stem from the level of development of the technical and technological production basis, the organisation of production and the conditions of work connected with it. That is why they are objectively determined and will be evident for a more or less longer period of time.

Another part of them are connected with the socio-economic development of our country - the size of the social funds. For solving the difficulties of such a nature, programmes at different levels - from the national to the grassroots level - are being worked out, in conformity with the authorities and funds at their disposal.

The reasons of subjective character come third: traditions, prejudice, etc. Their overcoming cannot be achieved in an organised manner, therefore, other side-roads of influence are being sought.

Of course, the new stages of development will bring rise to new problems, concerning the professional labour of women, in the whole sphere of their social activity, for whom solving new ways and means will have to be found.

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These are the issues which we wanted to offer to the attention of the competent participants in this seminar, convened by UNIDO. In solving some of the arising problems our country has gathered quite a good experience, and for others it is seeking better solutions. For a third group of problems, we are far from finding the correct solutions. We mean that in the social sphere, there exist complex mechanisms which regulate the internal relations and interactions and it is not always simple and easy to discover them.

It would be of great interest to us to hear the views, opinions and recommendations of the representatives of other countries and international organizations. It might prove expedient to unite our efforts for joint studies on certain problems and to seek answers and solutions to them.

