Who Cares?
Unpaid Care Work in Kosovo

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MUSINE KOKALARI
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Who Cares is a research project which aims to offer a qualitative and quantitative data set on unpaid care work in Kosovo. This publication provides statistical data on time use by Kosovar citizens on unpaid care work. Further, through six focus group discussions, it provides an analysis of citizens' perceptions of unpaid care work. Although the research was focused on gender inequalities between men and women, further research needs to be done to investigate inequalities among non-binary or same-gender couples or other forms of families in Kosovo.

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UBO Consulting carried out data gathering through a time-use survey and six focus group discussions.

Authors: **Marigonë Drevinja & Visar Ymeri**

Address: Street B, Residio (Dervisholli) Entrance B,
Number 15-110 000 Pristina, Kosovo
Contact: +383 44 752 353
info@musineinstitute.org
www.musineinstitute.org

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Glossary

UNPAID CARE WORK - refers to all unpaid services provided within a household for its members, including care for persons, housework and voluntary community work.

TIME-USE SURVEYS - measure the amount of time people spend doing various activities, such as paid work, household and family care, personal care, voluntary work, and social life, travel, and leisure activities. The survey consists of a household interview, a personal interview, a diary and a week diary, or questionnaire. Time use surveys are used to support equality, family, social, transport and cultural policies and to measure the value of household production and for international comparisons.

FOCUS GROUPS - group interviews where an experienced moderator employs a collective interview in a setting with no more than six to eight participants, which have some common attributes such as similar backgrounds or demographic characteristics. This method offers deep insights to people's attitudes, opinions, feelings and thoughts by facilitating communication, where the moderator/researcher gathers data from this particular dynamic interaction.

TIME POVERTY - the concept that individuals do not have enough discretionary time: the time available after engaging in necessary activities like sleep and in the committed activities of paid and unpaid work – to engage in activities that build their social and human capital. Time poverty thresholds define a level of discretionary time below which individuals are considered to be "time poor". Such thresholds are often defined relative to a population distribution although absolute thresholds can be defined based on the minimum amount of time required to perform certain tasks.

GINI COEFFICIENT - measures the extent to which the distribution of income or consumption among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution. A Gini index of 0 represents perfect equality, while an index of 1 implies perfect inequality. The unequal distribution of time was measured for the purposes of this publication.

LORENZ CURVE - a graph on which the cumulative percentage of total national income (or some other variable) is plotted against the cumulative percentage of the corresponding population (ranked in increasing size of share). The extent to which the curve sags below a straight diagonal line indicates the degree of inequality of distribution. Similar to the Gini Coefficient, the unequal distribution of time was measured through the Lorenz Curve for the purposes of this publication.

1. Summary

The concept of unpaid care work as a form of work was brought into the public debate by the feminist movement. Attention was drawn to specific forms of work such as childcare, elderly care and care for other dependent persons, as well as house and garden work. Today, this form of work is addressed and discussed in public and social policy circles, and many policies are informed by its measurement. Developed countries possess large data sets on the inputs and outputs of unpaid care work and its implications. Developing countries, however, have recently started to gather such data.

This publication aims to inform relevant stakeholders on the magnitude and value of unpaid care work in Kosovo. A country-wide time-use survey was carried out, as well as six focus group discussions in order to investigate citizen's perceptions on unpaid care work.

The findings of this research project suggest that on average an individual spends 4.9 hours in direct and indirect unpaid care work in Kosovo. Women spend 6.2 hours and men 3.5 hours in unpaid care work, which means that women spend 2.7 hourse more than men, or that men spend 44% less time on unpaid care work than women.

The total estimated value of unpaid care work in Kosovo is € 2,824,248,757 or 33% of Kosovo's GDP. Women spend on average 2,263 hours in unpaid care work in a year – or 94 days. Men spend an average of 1,314 hours in unpaid care work (although not the same activities) – or 55 days. Kosovars spend an average of 1,795 hours performing unpaid care activities – or 75 days in total.

Unpaid care work in literature is referred to as reproductive work. It provides an indispensable contribution to the maintenance of social capital, which in turn is crucial to economic development. Further, it is crucial to the production, maintenance and development of human capital. Unpaid care work is a broad concept and interweaves many disciplines.

This publication will provide a conceptualization of care work as well as an introduction to the topic. The methodology chapter provides a detailed description of the methods used to gather data. The outcomes are presented in the results chapter. The discussion chapter analyses these results and provides an examination of policy-options. The conclusion chapter marks key themes which emerged during the research process.

On average an individual spends 4.9 hours in direct and indirect unpaid care work in Kosovo

Women spend 6.2 hours and men 3.5 hours in unpaid care work in Kosovo

Women in Kosovo spend 2.7 hours more on unpaid care work than men.

The total estimated value of unpaid care work in Kosovo is € 2,824,248,757 or 33% of country GDP

2. Introduction

Care work can be pleasant and rewarding for the people who provide it and highly beneficial for the ones who receive it. It is also crucial to human well-being and for individual, social and economic development. However, "the *who* and *how"* of its provision have major implications for individual and societal well-being (Razavi, 2007). The largest amount of unpaid care work takes place within the household in families, and it is mainly carried out by women. Developed countries possess data sets on care work which is sufficient to obtain information of changes throughout decades. Furthermore, countries such as the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Canada and Australia measure the output of unpaid care work. However, this type of data is scarce or nonexistent in many developing countries, including Kosovo.

For the first time in its post war history, Kosovo has a left leaning government. While approaching the two-year anniversary of this new government, on one hand the laws that were meant to regulate various social issues, such as labor rights, the labor inspectorate, the law on the social & economic council, social services, social schemes and so on have been waiting to be processed by the Kosovo Parliament. On the other hand, global inflation rates, the rapid increase in prices, the energy crisis as external events have been answered with policies consisting of temporary cash rewards by the Kosovo government.

Keeping in mind that this crisis unfolded after a two year Covid-19 Pandemic, discussing the issue of care work and especially its gender bias, has never been more pressing than now. According to the Kosovo Statistics Agency 80% of women are inactive in the labor market, while employment rate for women of working-age is 16% (ASK, 2021a). This is a strong signal that the vast majority of care duties are actually carried out by women, not just because they are unemployed and therefore spend more time at home, but the high inactivity rate suggests that they are/could be unemployed because they have to take care of the household (not taking into consideration informal employment). According to the study carried out by Social Impact (2018), the high inactivity rate of women is due to childcare duties. Which brings to another question: to what extent is this social reality conditioned by culture, beside, and in spite, of economic and social factors?

Care work, respectively unpaid care work, is not recognized as a form of 'work', it has not been addressed and Kosovo country-level data on the extent of unpaid care work and its implications are nonexistent. This publication aims to address this issue by providing extensive quantitative country-level data on unpaid care work. Furthermore, this paper provides a qualitative view on citizens' perceptions on this type of labor, while this introductory chapter offers a conceptualization of care work. But what is care, anyways? Let's discuss terms.

Care work comes in various forms, such as paid, unpaid and voluntary - with unpaid care work being the determinant in the quality and quantity of women's paid employment (Razavi, 2007). The terms "unpaid work", "unpaid care work" and "care work" are often used interchangeably, and although overlapping at times, they have not necessarily the same meaning (Razavi, 2007). Unpaid work refers to a diverse range of activities 'outside the cash nexus', such as work in the household or family business, water and wood collection, care for a child, elderly or friend. Care work consists of direct care of persons (paid and/or unpaid). Which persons do needs such care? Those with intense care need include young children, frail elderly, and people with illnesses or disabilities. Able-bodied adults can be in need for care for a variety of other reasons as well (Razavi, 2007).

Direct care is often separated between tasks such as bathing another person, feeding them, taking them to the doctor, taking them on walks and talking to them – from others which are seen more as self-caring activities: preparing meals, shopping, and washing clothes (Razavi, 2007, see also 19th ICLS Resolution & ICATUS 2016).

This arbitrary separation is not taken into consideration in this publication, as tasks like the latter can be challenging for people in need for intensive care. This type of care is usually provided by family members, friends or neighbors. It is rarely carried out by strangers, and when it is, it often makes the news (see Klan Kosova, 2020).

There is also paid care work, which is carried out by nannies, nurses and care workers in homes. There are types of care work, which cannot be classified as either paid or unpaid. For example, 'parents on paid parental leave cannot be classified as unpaid care workers nor can they be classified as paid carers' (Razavi, 2007). Paid care was not in focus of the carried out time-survey, however, it was discussed as a policy option in the focus groups (with focus on elderly care) and will further be deliberated in the discussion chapter. Lastly, unpaid care work is the provision of care for persons 'with no explicit monetary reward' (Razavi, 2007). For the purposes of this paper, the term 'unpaid care work' will be used to describe all types of care for oneself and/or another person (direct and indirect), including house work and the production of agricultural goods for self-consumption.

And why is care important? Some researchers emphasize the importance of care for 'economic dynamism and growth', as 'human capital' or 'social investment' (Razavi, 2007), others see it as a fundamental part of the social fabric and essential to social development (Daly, 2001). Unpaid care work poses simultaneous risks and benefits: those who provide it risk financial strain, missed opportunities (jobs, degrees, or other), general stress in intensive care cases; but it also generates benefits such as strong family bonds, good service for those who receive it and so on (Folbre, 2006).

How a society addresses the problems of care has significant implications on equality, respectively gender equality, by either expanding the opportunities, choices and capabilities of women and men, or by confining them to the traditional roles (motherhood and manhood; Razavi, 2007; OECD, 2019). How the problems of care are addressed is inevitably intertwined with other instances of inequality, especially social class (Folbre, 2006)

Globally, without exception, women provide the majority of unpaid care work with 76.2% of the total hours (ILO, 2018). Women's inclusion in paid work did not result in the equal gendered division of unpaid care work (ILO, 2018; Folbre, 2006; Razavi, 2007). The economic model of providing family wages for men as 'breadwinners' and women as 'care providers' remains dominant despite the high increase in women's participation in paid work (ILO, 2018; Razavi, 2007). Due to traditional roles, after finishing hours in paid work, women end up doing housework, childcare, and elderly care, also known as 'a second shift' or 'a double day', which makes them substantially time-poorer than men and results in income inequality (ILO, 2018), conclusively producing elderly poverty in retirement and other implications.

> Unpaid care work makes a substantial contribution to countries' economies, as well as individual and societal well-being. Unpaid carers meet the large majority of care needs across the world. This unpaid care work remains, however, mostly invisible and unrecognized, and is not accounted for in decision-making.
>
> 'CARE WORK AND CARE JOBS' ILO, (2018)

Although men are generally more involved in family life than they have ever been (ILO, 2018), it differs significantly from the level of economic and societal development. Time share for unpaid care work in Mali 8%, India 9.5%, Albania 14.5% for men being among the lowest; Turkey 20.9%, North Macedonia 27.5%, Serbia 33%, Austria 35.2% for men comprising the middle section of the countries' chart; and Denmark 43.4%, Norway 43.9, and Sweden 44.7% for men, being the highest (ILO, 2018). How come Austria and Sweden differ by almost ten percentage points? The Nordic countries' policy response was not limited to the provision of child support, paid maternity leave, day care centers etc. Sweden was the first country to introduce a gender-neutral parental leave (OECD, 2014), where men have an obligatory time-share of parental leave (parents decide, but men must spend at least three months on parental leave; see OECD, 2014; BBC, 2020). State and society moved on a similar pace towards equality by addressing toxic masculinity stereotypes (see The Local, 2018) through TV shows, movies,

and various campaigns. This ultimately brought Sweden at the top of the EU Gender Equality Index (EIGE, 2019).

The magnitude of unpaid care work can be measured by the volume of working hours (see Results chapter) and/or number of unpaid carers. Existing data in 64 countries, comprising 66.9% of the world's population in working-age, shows that 16.4 billion hours per day are spent in unpaid care work, where women provide 76.2% of the total. This equals to two billion full-time (40h/week) working people without financial compensation (ILO, 2018).

Unpaid care work is **not included in** the national wealth measured by Gross Domestic Product - **GDP**, even though it covers for lack of public services and other forms of provision. This results in the underestimation of unpaid care work and down-playing **its value** to human well-being (ILO, 2018). It is undeniable that paid work and unpaid care work as essentially linked to one another. However, when women enter the labor force the GDP goes up, while the reduction/increase of unpaid care work remains unaccounted for (ILO, 2018; OECD, 2019). If monetary value based on hourly minimum wage were given, data from 53 countries (63.5 % of world's population of working-age) suggests that unpaid care work would amount to 9% of global GDP in 2011 (ILO, 2018). A closer look to individual countries with respective data on unpaid care work and country GDP points out differences in value. The value of unpaid care work as a percentage of GDP in Australia is 41.3 % and in Germany 23.8%; while in Serbia it is 15.4%, in North Macedonia 9.1% and in Albania 8.4% (ILO, 2018; see ILOSTAT*). This is due to lower minimum wages in these developing countries and not as an actual value of unpaid care work. There are various methods to assign economic value to to unpaid care work. For the purposes of this paper a replacement cost and opportunity cost approach was used to ascribe monetary value to unpaid care work in Kosovo.

With inequality being unpaid care work's core attribute, countries who are either UN members or who committed to international human rights conventions (such as Kosovo) must address the problems that arise from unequal distribution of unpaid care work. The UN Report on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights (2013) considers the unequal burden which women carry in care responsibilities a human rights violation (see also UN, 2017). The issue of unpaid care work interweaves fields such as politics and economy, law, feminism, sociology, public and social policy, demography etc. and encompasses a broad spectrum of stakeholders, from international organizations such as the UN, ILO, OECD, EU, to state and local governments, universities, research institutes, civil society, to the very household.

Inattention to unpaid care work and negligence towards its implications are often due to lack of large-scale data. Country-level time-use surveys on numerous unpaid care work categories are common in developed countries. A few countries in development, however, started gathering representative evidence on unpaid care work in the late 1990s, and it continues to be generally scarce information. Existing data on unpaid care work in Kosovo is of small-scale information (see Riinvest 2017a & Riinvest 2017b), or it is confined to a specific type of care, such as childcare (see RrGGK, 2016) or labor market (see Social Impact, 2018). The next chapter provides a comprehensive explanation of the methodology used to gather relevant data on unpaid care work in Kosovo, followed by a graphic and descriptive presentation of the outcomes in the results chapter.

*ILOSTAT – Labor Statistics
https://ilostat.ilo.org/

3. Methodology

The main objective of this publication is to provide large-scale country-wide data on unpaid care work in Kosovo. Further, an examination of citizens' perceptions on unpaid care work and care in general through focus group discussions is provided. This chapter presents a detailed description of the methodology used to gather data.

In order to gather a large data-set, a mixed methods approach was chosen as appropriate. First, a time-use survey was employed for the quantitative method, and second, six focus group discussions were held for the qualitative method. This methods triangulation was used to decrease possible biases (Carter et al., 2014). To clarify, this mixed methods approach was chosen to explore possible correlations, but not to validate one or the other.

The quantitative method consisted of a time-use survey, which was prepared based on international practices and examples from individual countries (see UN, 2005; ILO, 2018; ICLS, 2013; ICLS, 2018; ILO & UN, 2018; ILO, 2019; see also Data Bank of the World Bank, ILOSTAT, and EUROSTAT*). Some studies use diaries, others use questionnaires, some use the 24 hour time laps and others record time-use during a randomly selected week (ILO, 2019). Time-use surveys are considered suitable for data collection and measurement of unpaid care work, however, there is no harmonization of the various methods to undertake this type of survey (ILO, 2019).

A total of 36 activities were listed on the time-use survey, divided into seven categories: Personal Care and Preferred Activities; Paid Work; House Work; Childcare; Elderly Care & Care for Other Dependent Persons; Education; Other (see Annex 4). Personal care refers to the time a person spends in activities such as showering, eating, sleeping etc. The reader should note that the focus of this publication will be House Work (e.g. cleaning, cooking), Childcare (e.g. feeding, bathing, supervision), Elderly Care (feeding, bathing) and Care for Other Dependent Persons (e.g. clothing, doctor appointments) as three main categories in direct and indirect unpaid care work.

In order to measure used time in a specific activity, the survey consisted of questions such as '*On a usual day (24h), how much time do you spend on the following activity: (listed activities)'.* Moreover, the survey gathered demographic, employment, household and individual income data, as well as general perceptions on social norms regarding care. The survey asked respondents about simultaneous work, e.g. '*How often do you have to take care of your child/children while doing another activity?*' However, it is important to note that the core questions were focused on primary activities, and this publication does not offer an analysis of the interlinkage between primary and secondary activities. The timeframe in which the survey was carried out was July - August of 2022.

Data analysis was carried out in two phases. First, descriptive statistics of the respondents were presented, crossing them with demographic variables, such as age, gender, income etc. to see possible patterns or emerging themes in relation to the responses related to their perceptions on care. SPSS software was used to analyze this data-set. Second, an econometric analysis followed in order to empirically test the links between unpaid care work, family characteristics and labor market. Moreover, various indicators were measured, such as the Gini Coefficient and the Lorenz Curb, using STATA software. An estimation of the value of unpaid care work in Kosovo is provided through the Oxfam** model, as well as a calculation of the average hours spent in unpaid care work.

*EUROSTAT: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/data/database

As mentioned above, the study intended country-level data gathering, which means the sample has to be representative of the general population. Due to this, a total of 1,065 citizens of 38 Kosovo municipalities (see Annex 1, 2 and 3) were selected through Simple Random Sampling, which over-represents non-majority communities living in Kosovo. The Kosovo Census of 2011 and its estimated follow up in 2021 by ASK served as a basis (see ASK, 2021b). Due to specific questions on child- and elderly care, the sample group was limited to working-age between 18-65 years old.

> Time-use surveys afford an effective measurement of unpaid care work as a new form of "work", and thereby enable its recognition and inclusion in national policies.
>
> 'CARE WORK AND CARE JOBS' ILO, (2018)

The qualitative method consisted of focus group discussions, as it is considered to be one of the main methods for exploring attitudes, opinions, or generally gain insight on a specific topic (Jarvis & Barberena, 2008). Although unpaid care work can be considered to be personal information, be it for the individual or for the household, it is important to mention that focus groups can be well suited for uncomfortable or personal/sensitive topics, as known by now many people readily express emotions in groups (Morgan & Krueger, 1993).

A total of six focus group discussions were held, four of which were held the Albanian community in Prishtina, one with the Serbian community in Graçanica, and one with the Roma, Ashkali, and Gorani communities in Fushë Kosova, during the second part of August and the first week of September 2022. A total of 64 individuals, 33 women and 31 men, participated in the discussions on unpaid care work. The selected individuals reflect the previously explained representativeness of the general population as used in the quantitative method, however the outcomes cannot be considered as representing the actual population's perceptions on unpaid care work. A 'full group' type of discussion method was chosen, whereby the moderator asks various questions and the group discussed. This form of discussion offers vast amounts of information, but since the sample group is usually not selected by probability, the data is not generalizable (Jarvis & Barberena, 2008).

A Focus Group Discussion Guide was prepared based on social research practices and recommendations (Jarvis & Barberena, 2008). The discussion guide comprised of two main parts. First, the participants were asked about their age, employment and household composition, as well as the time they spend doing unpaid care work. Second, various questions on social norms regarding House Work, Childcare, Elderly Care & Care for Other Dependent Persons were separated into three sections (see Annex 5). The discussions were voice-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Data analysis was carried out through a coding system of emerging themes on MAXQDA software. Statements related to quantitative outcomes are presented jointly with results from time-use survey.

Generally, variables such as gender, age, income, and location were used to carry out and in-depth analysis of the data-set. Broadly, the study intended to investigate how much time Kosovo citizens spend on unpaid care work and what they think about care in general. The distinctive features of time-use in unpaid care work among women and men in various economic and social contexts, as well as the correlation between time-use in unpaid care work and the labor market, paid work and income were used as a basis for analysis.

IMPORTANT NOTE: The data provided in this publication is to be considered as estimations. Time-use answers of the respondents are of a subjective nature and rely on the individual's memory.

Oxfam is a confederation of many independent organizations focusing on the alleviation of global poverty. While operating in over 90 countries, Oxfam has a major research component and provides important data on economy and poverty.

4. Results

This chapter provides the results from the country-wide questionnaire combined with the outcomes from six focus group discussions. First, an overview of the overall demographics and time-use is presented. The second section of this chapter illustrates the results regarding social norms, whereby people were asked whether they think men should perform housework or whether they think women are naturally better at certain activities and so on. The third section covers questions regarding childcare and the fourth section covers questions regarding elderly care and care for other dependent persons. Further, two regression models were used to analyze various demographic factors crossed with household economy and labor market economy. Additionally, the data-set was analyzed through the Gini Coefficient and the Lorenz Curve. Lastly, overall calculations through replacement cost and opportunity cost models were employed to estimate the monetary value of unpaid care work in Kosovo.

Demographics

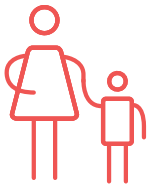
A total of 1065 individuals were selected for this study, 51.6% of which were women (n=550), and 48.4% were men (n=515). 56% of the selected individuals were from rural areas (n=596), and 44% were from urban areas (n=469). The sample consisted of 77% of the Albanian majority (n=815), 14% Serbian community (n=150), and 9% Roma, Ashkali, Gorani, Turk, Bosnian, and Egyptian communities (n=100). To be representative, the sample was later weighted based on population statistics. Most of the surveyed individuals were married and living with their partner (n=707), and more than a quarter were either single or not living with a partner (n=283). For an overview of the sample see Annexes 1, 2 and 3.

When asked about the number of family members living in the household, 13% said their family consists of 6 (six) persons; 26% said 5 (five) persons; 23% said 4 (four) persons; 12% said 3 (three) persons. Further, 19% said they have 1 (one) and another 19% said they have 2 (two) children out of the total; 46% of the respondents said they do not have children under the age of 18 living with them, whereas those who do (n=572) 36% said they have 1 (one) child; 36% said they have 2 (two) children; 28% said they have 3 (three) or more children. Most of the surveyed individuals said they are not living with elderly people above the age of 65 (77%); 17% said they live with 1 (one) elderly person; 5% with 2 (two) elderly persons. 3% said they live with a disabled person.

More than a quarter of the surveyed were employed (30%), out of which 17% were with a fixed term contract, and 13% were with permanent contracts. Out of the total employed individuals, 57% were employed in the private sector, and 43% in the public sector. A total of 450 individuals said they were employed, 428 of which agreed to disclose their monthly income. Three income categories were grouped together: The first category B60 were individuals with equal or less income of €264 per month; second category M20 with an income above €264 and under €450 per month; finally T20 with an income above €450 per month. 29% of the total surveyed individuals were unemployed, and 18% said they were homemakers.

Time-use

The selected individuals were asked how much time – in minutes, they spend on a list of 36 activities (see Annex 4), encompassing a 24 hour day. As noted in the methodology chapter, the responses can be used to calculate estimations of average time-use of the surveyed.



On average an individual spends

4.9 HOURS

in unpaid care work in Kosovo (direct and indirect)

NOTE: 4.9 hours is to be read like this: 4 hours and 0.9*60 = 54 minutes.

When looking at gender variables, women spend 6.2 hours and men 3.5 hours in unpaid care work, which means that women spend 2.7 hours more, or that men spend 44% less time on unpaid care work.

3.5 HOURS

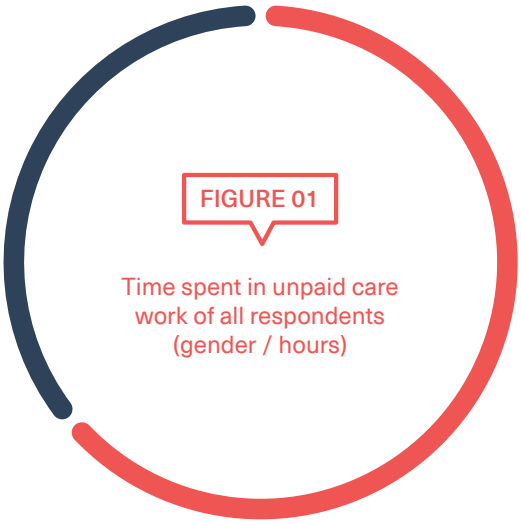


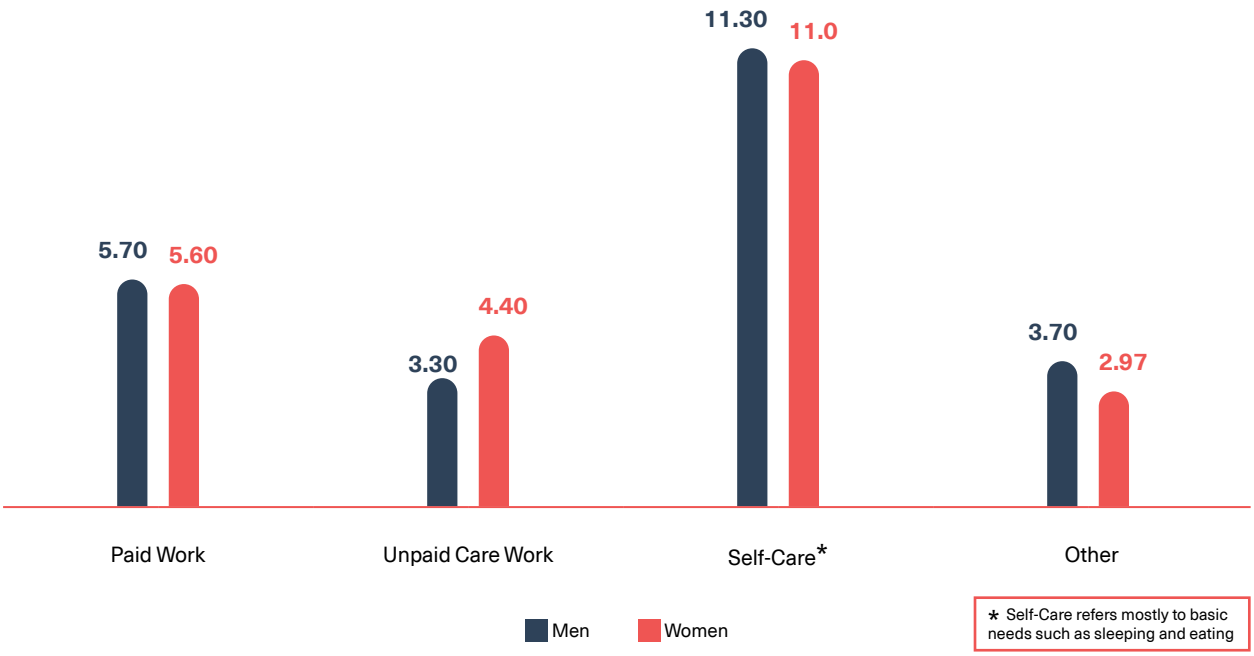
FIGURE 01

Time spent in unpaid care work of all respondents (gender / hours)

6.2 HOURS

Women and men spend on average a similar amount of time in paid work – women 5.6 hours and men 5.7 hours. A bigger difference can be noticed in unpaid care work, where women spend an average 4.4 hours and men 3.3 hours (employed respondents). Even though women and men spend a similar amount of time in paid work, employed women spend 33% more time in unpaid care work than employed men. This can be linked to the 'second shift' or a 'double day' for women as mentioned in the introduction chapter.

FIGURE 02 Average time spent on various activities of employed respondents (gender / hours)



During the focus group discussions it was noticeable that women, whether employed or not, spend more time in unpaid care work:

> I spend all day in the service of others. From 6 in the morning when I wake up until I go to bed. I take care of others, my husband, children and house work [...] I care for them before going to work and after I come back, I do all the work"
>
> WOMAN, TAILOR, PRISHTINA

When asked if she'd like more help from her husband, she replied: *"Yes, of course, this would be best. But yeah, this is how I was taught, it is a bit late for him to learn..."*

> My parents are elderly, I spend a large part of the day caring for them because they need me"
>
> WOMAN, NURSE, PRISHTINA

Men, on the other hand, spend more housrs in house work or childcare if their wives were employed and they themselves were not:

> I live with my wife and three children. My wife is employed, so I take care of the children [...] I spend sixteen hours a week to myself, starting from Monday when I shave, 2 hours daily, also for sports, but the rest of my time I spend caring for my children"
>
> MAN, UNEMPLOYED, PRISHTINA

Figures 3 and 4 present time-use of employed respondents by living area and ethnicity:

FIGURE 03 Average time spent on various activities of employed respondents (gender / hours)

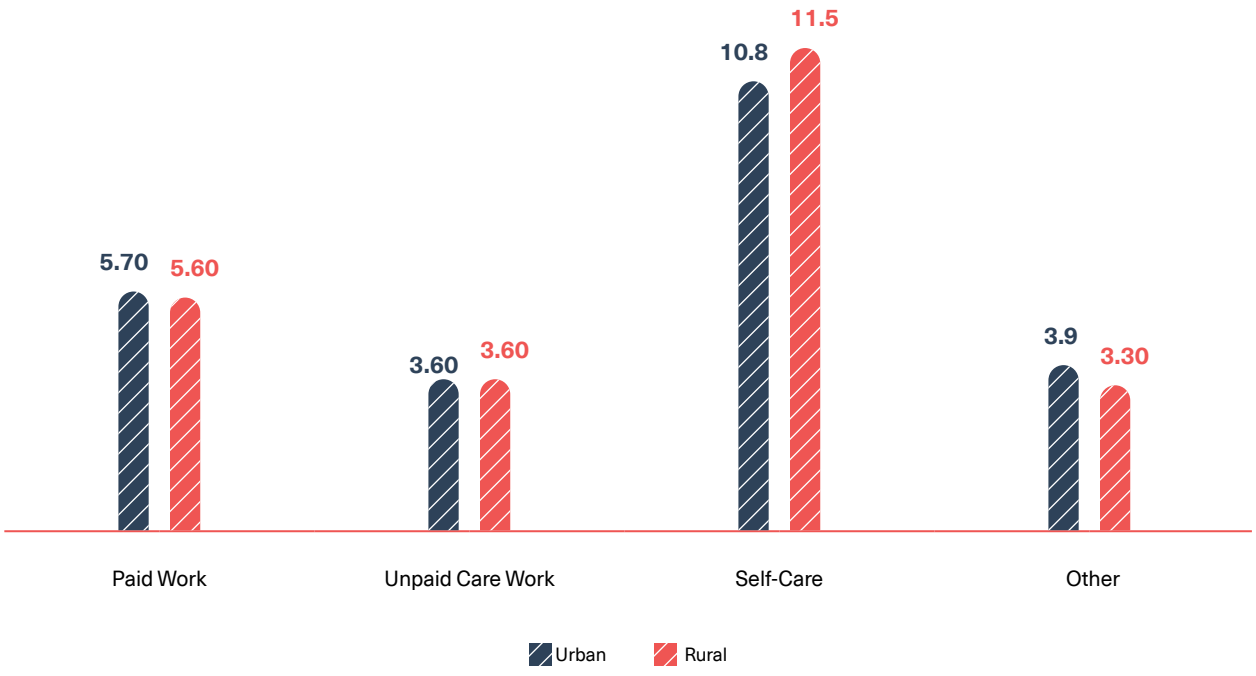
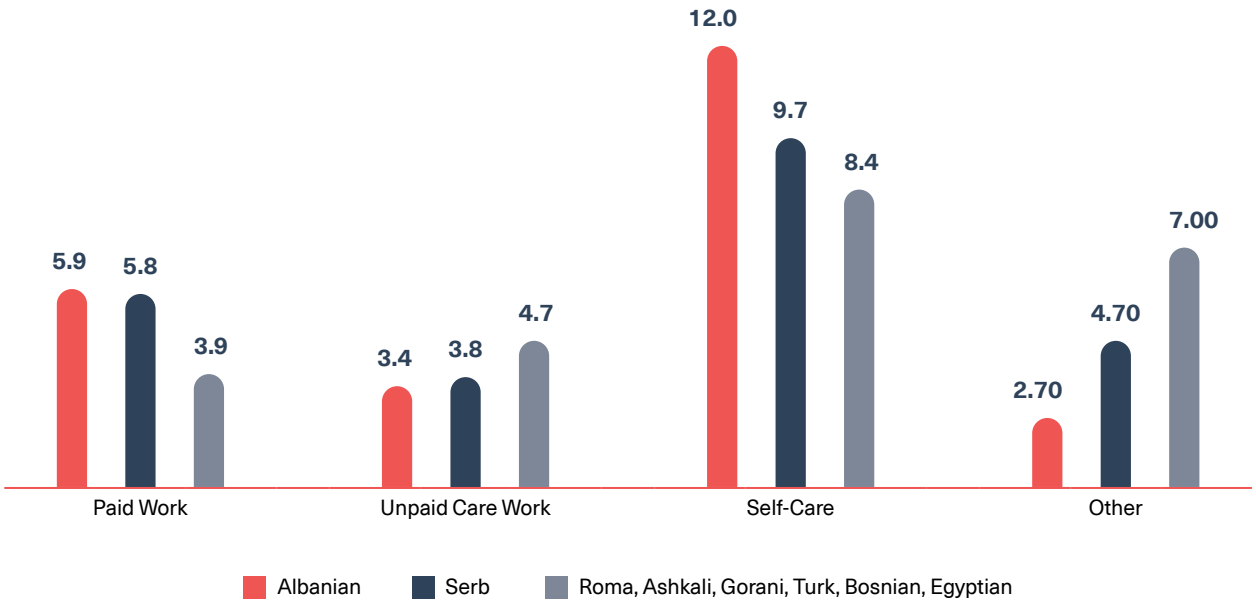


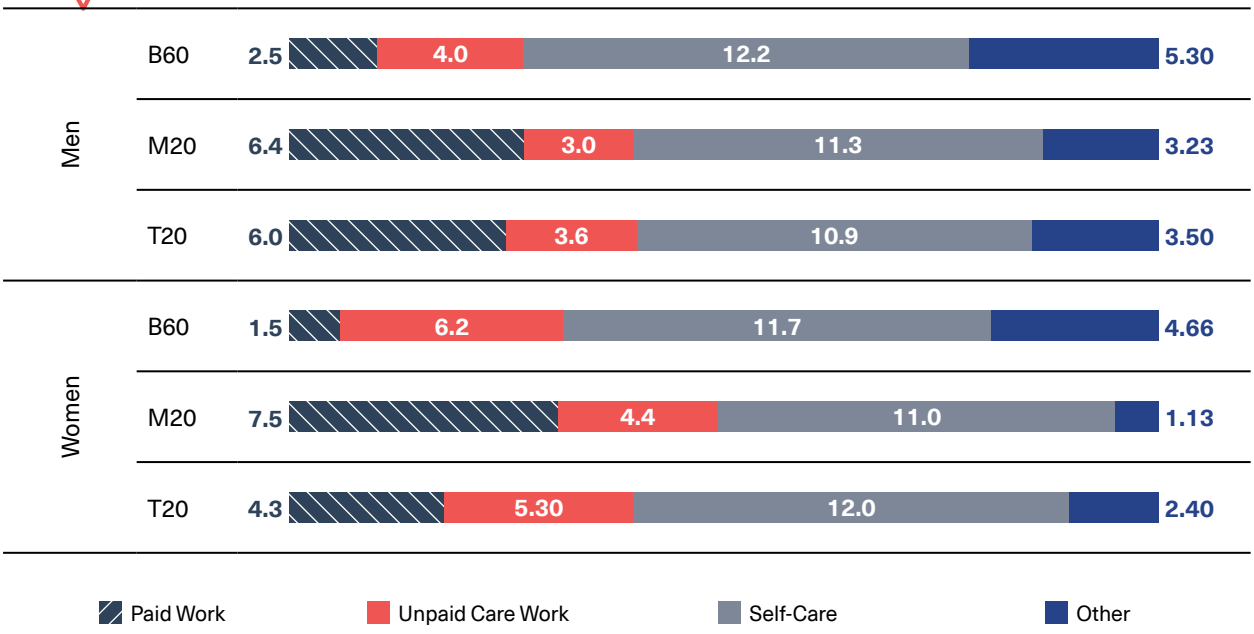
FIGURE 04 Average time spent on various activities of employed respondents (ethnicity/ hours)



The following information reflects data on the 428 employed individuals who disclosed their income. Figure 5 illustrates how men do not significantly differ in the time spend in unpaid care work regardless of their income, however, there is a noteworthy difference of approximately four hours in the time spend in paid work between the B60 category (2.5h) and the categories of M20 (6.4h) and T20 (6.0h).

The women in the B60 category differ significantly (6.2h in unpaid care work) from the M20 category (4.4h). A substantial difference is noticeable in the hours spend in paid work. Women in the B60 category spend only 1.5 hours in paid work, women in M20 spend 7.5 hours in paid work, and women in T20 spend 4.3 hours in paid work. Time-use in paid work and especially in unpaid care work differs significantly between men and women:

FIGURE 05 Time-use of employed respondents categorized in income groups and gender/hours

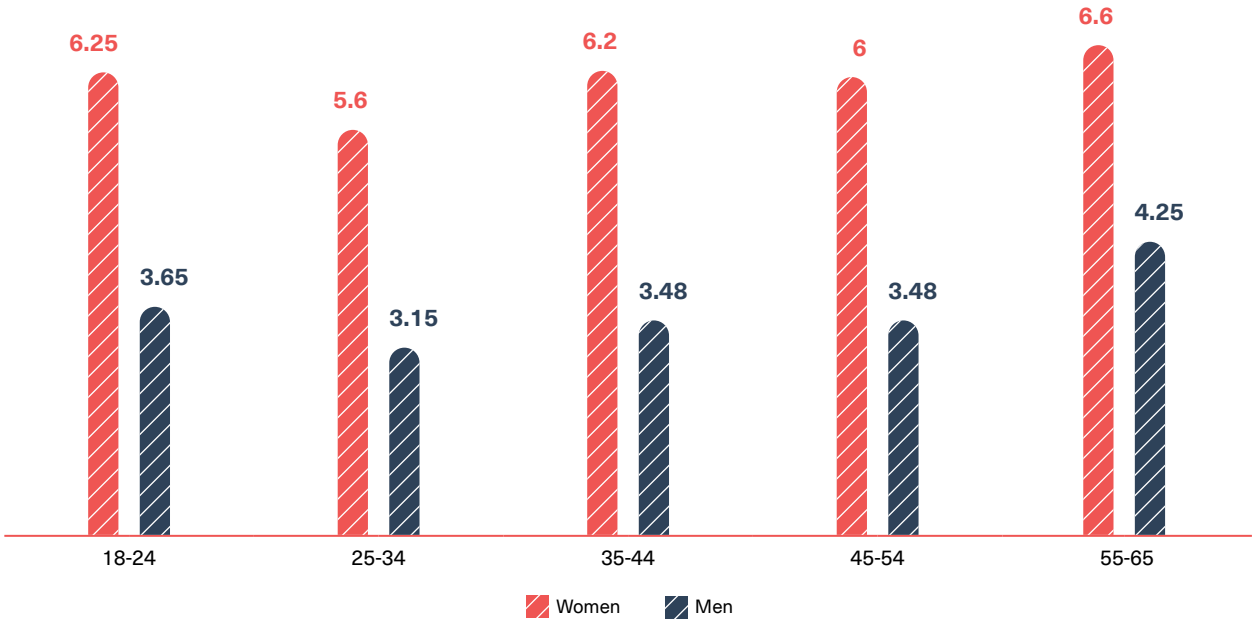


During the focus group discussions, men usually justified not performing house work or childcare due to their obligation as providers (breadwinners):

> As the provider for my family, I do less of the care work when it comes to the children, because I have to finish my work in order to provide for them. Nevertheless, I consult them on education, in the evening mostly, and my wife usually takes care of their meals, clothing, but also education. One or two hours to myself"
>
> MAN, CONSTRUCTION ENGINEER, PRISHTINA

The age category of 25-35 year old individuals spend most of their time in paid work (women = 7h; men = 6.6h), and less time in unpaid care work (women = 3h; men = 2.8h). Figure 6 illustrates average time in unpaid care work by age and gender:

FIGURE 06 Average time spent in unpaid care work by age and gender

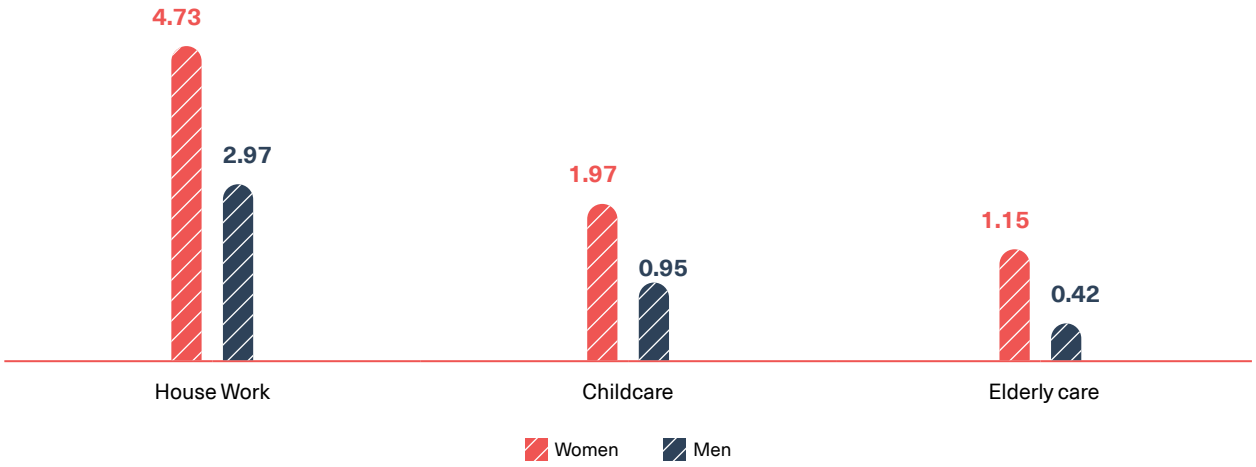


During the focus group discussions it was common for younger participants to say that they try to balance between the time spend in paid work, care for others, but also care for themselves:

> Maybe 50/50 for myself and others, perhaps sometimes more for others than myself. Depends how much care work is needed in the house, or how much care I need for myself, I try to balance"
>
> WOMAN, STUDENT, PRISHTINA

Average time-use in three grouped activities by gender is shown in Figure 7:

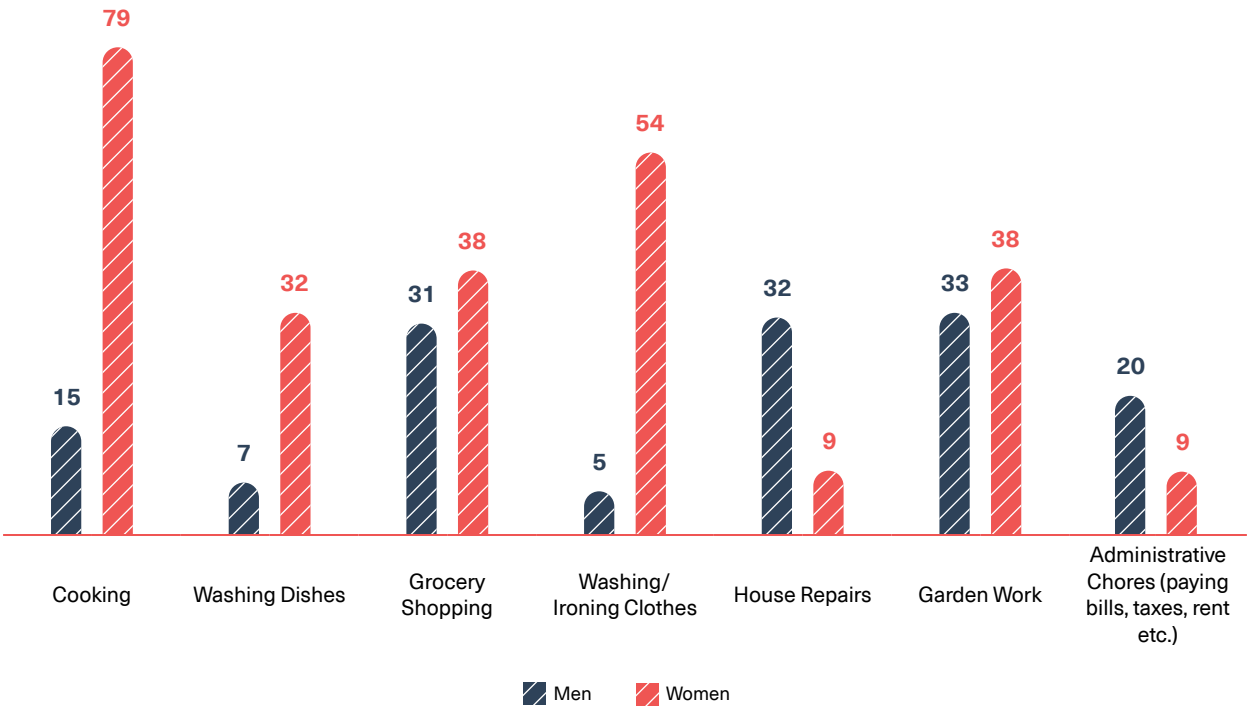
FIGURE 07 Average time spend in three categories of unpaid care work by gender/hours



On average, women spend 4.73 hours doing house work; 1.97 hours in childcare; 1.15 hours in elderly care. Men spend 2.97 hours doing house work; 0.95h in childcare; 0.42h in elderly care.

It is important for the reader to note that these three broad unpaid care work categories encompass a variety of activities, such as taking children to school, playing with them; taking elderly on a walk and talking to them; dusting the house, vacuuming, paying the bills, house repairs (not all activities are daily activities; Coltrane, 2000) etc. The time spend in unpaid care work does not differ between women and men only in the amount of hours, but also in the type of work within these categories, as Figure 8 illustrates.

FIGURE 08 Average time spend in various house work activities by gender/minutes

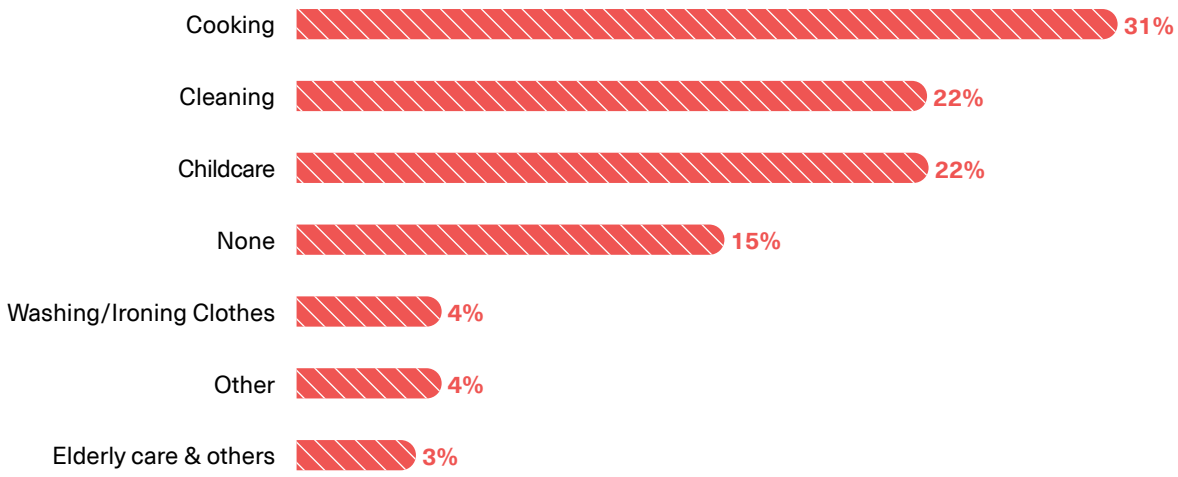


Social Norms

In order to begin the investigation of social norms, focus group participants were asked "*If one of the spouses has to stay home due to care obligations (children/elderly), who should stay: the wife or the husband / or the one who is earning less?"* Most replied that the one who is earning less should quit and stay home, very few said that women should stay home. One participant said the one who is least happy at his/her job should quit.

On the other hand, the surveyed individuals were asked regarding their preferences in unpaid care work. The most preferred activity was cooking with 31% of the total, followed by house maintenance and childcare with 22%. When analyzed by gender, 40% of women said their most preferred activity is cooking, whereby only 22% of men agreed. When men were asked about their most preferred activity, 24% said they don't like any activity in regard to their household, which was the highest percentage; followed by childcare with 23%. As for age-groups, 18-24 year olds preferred elderly care or care for the disabled/chronically ill; 25-34 and 35-44 year olds preferred mostly childcare.

FIGURE 09 Which activity in the household or activity in regard to care for others do you prefer most? – Total respondents



See Figure 10 for results based on living area, Figure 11 for results based on ethnicity, and Figure 12 for results based on income category:

FIGURE 10 Which activity in the household or activity in regard to care for others do you prefer most? / Living Area

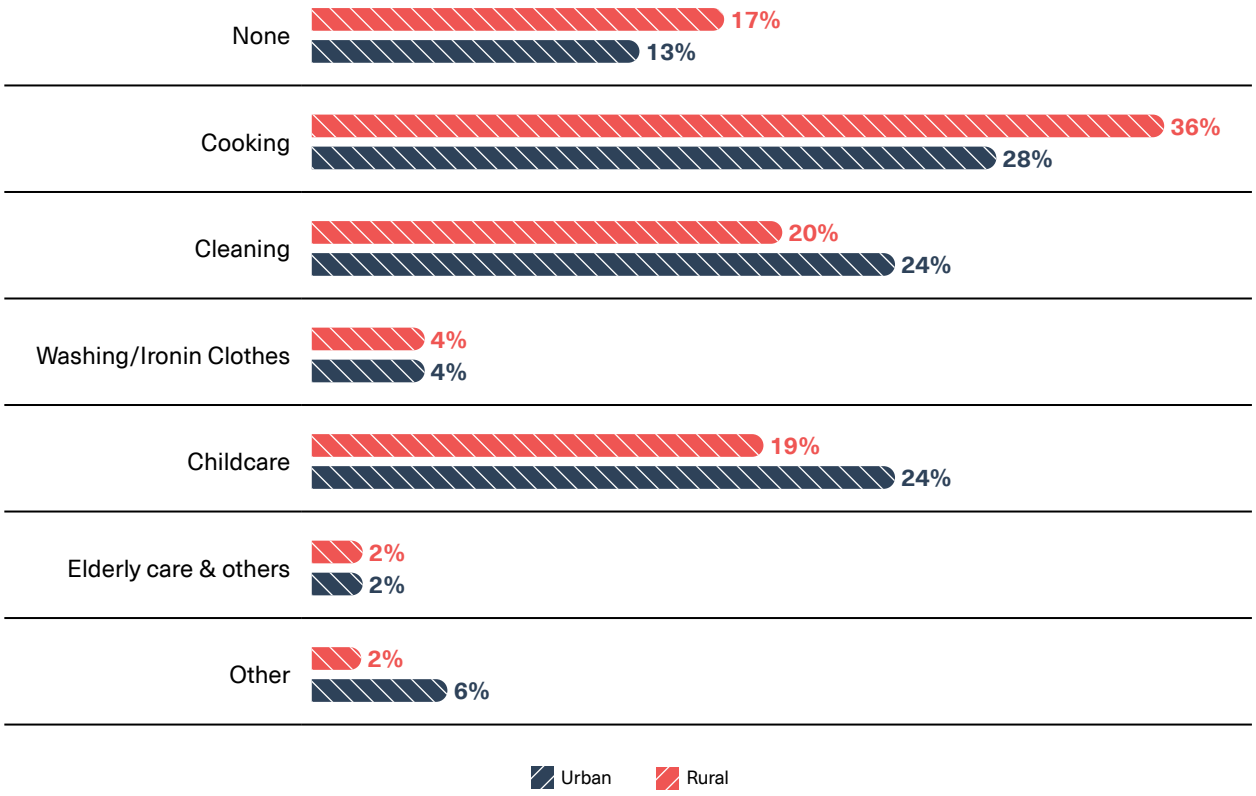


FIGURE 11 Which activity in the household or activity in regard to care for others do you prefer most? / Ethnicity

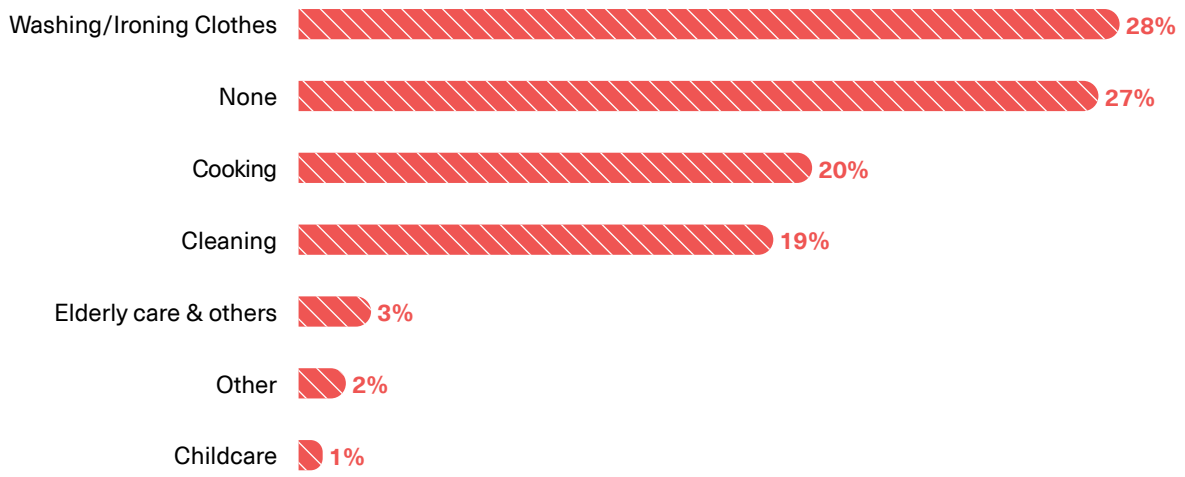
	Albanian	Serbian	Roma, Ashkali, Gorani, Turk, Bosnian, Egyptian
None	14%	40%	18%
Cooking	32%	24%	29%
Cleaning	22%	19%	20%
Washing/Ironin Clothes	3%	7%	7%
Childcare	22%	10%	18%
Elderly care & others	2%	0%	2%
Other	5%	0%	7%

FIGURE 12 Which activity in the household or activity in regard to care for others do you prefer most? / Income category

	B60	**M20**	**T20**
None	14%	20%	16%
Cooking	32%	26%	25%
Cleaning	22%	22%	14%
Washing/Ironin Clothes	3%	5%	3%
Childcare	22%	21%	35%
Elderly care & others	2%	2%	3%
Other	5%	4%	4%

When asked about the activities they find problematic in the sense of mobility, health, and time-strain, 28% of all surveyed said they find washing, drying and ironing clothes most problematic; followed by 27% saying they don't find any of the listed activities difficult. Both women and men agreed that washing, drying and ironing clothes was most problematic for them.

FIGURE 13 Which activity in the household or activity in regard to care for others do you find most problematic in terms of mobilization, health and time-strain? – Total respondents



See Figure 14 for results based on living area, Figure 15 for results based on ethnicity, and Figure 16 for results based on income category:

FIGURE 14 Which activity in the household or activity in regard to care for others do you find most problematic in terms of mobilization, health and time-strain? – Living Area

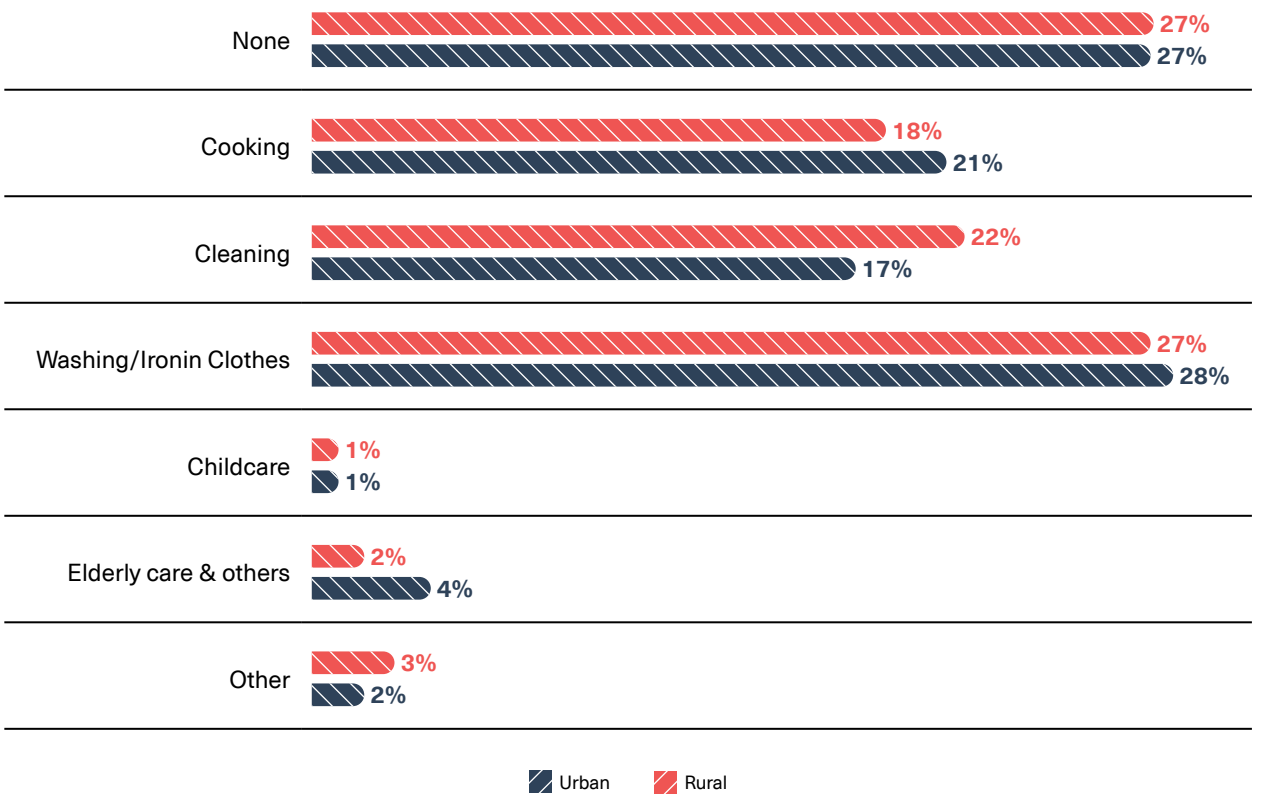


FIGURE 15 Which activity in the household or activity in regard to care for others do you find most problematic in terms of mobilization, health and time-strain? – Ethnicity

	Albanian	Serbian	Roma, Ashkali, Gorani, Turk, Bosnian, Egyptian
None	27%	34%	33%
Cooking	20%	25%	9%
Cleaning	19%	20%	21%
Washing/Ironin Clothes	28%	20%	33%
Childcare	1%	0%	2%
Elderly care & others	3%	0%	2%
Other	2%	0%	0%

FIGURE 16 Which activity in the household or activity in regard to care for others do you find most problematic in terms of mobilization, health and time-strain? – Income Category

	B60	**M20**	**T20**
None	30%	21%	22%
Cooking	19%	26%	18%
Cleaning	19%	16%	22%
Washing/Ironin Clothes	25%	30%	33%
Childcare	1%	2%	0%
Elderly care & others	4%	4%	3%
Other	2%	1%	1%

All respondents were asked who they think contributes most in their household, whereby 41.4% said they themselves contribute most in the household (77% women; 23% men); followed by 25.8% saying their partner contributes most (81% men; 19% women), very close to 24.3% saying their mother contributes most. These answers gain similar percentage when crossed with living area, ethnicity and income category, see Figures 18, 19 and 20. Similar, women participants in the focus group discussions said either they themselves or their mothers contribute most, whereas men agreed with the exception if they themselves were unemployed and their wife or mother was working:

> “In our home it’s different, my mother works, so I take care of everything”
>
> MAN, PRISHTINA

FIGURE 17 Who do you think contributes most in the household? – Total respondents

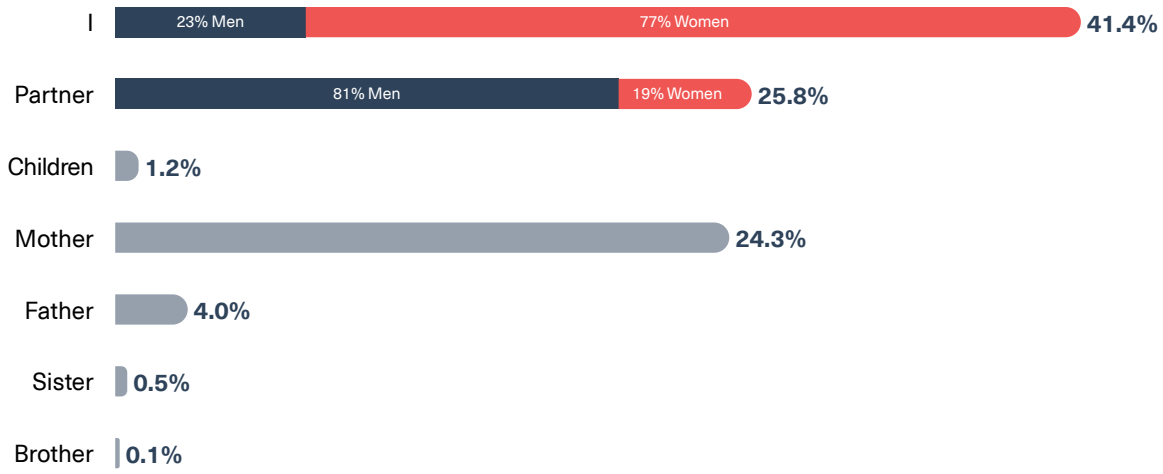


FIGURE 18 Who do you think contributes most in the household? – Living Area

	Urban	Rural
I	40%	43%
Partner	24%	27%
Children	2%	1%
Mother	26%	23%
Father	4%	4%
Sister	1%	0%
Brother	0%	0%
I don't know	0%	0%
I don't want to asnwer	0%	0%
Other	3%	2%

FIGURE 19 Who do you think contributes most in the household? – Ethnicity

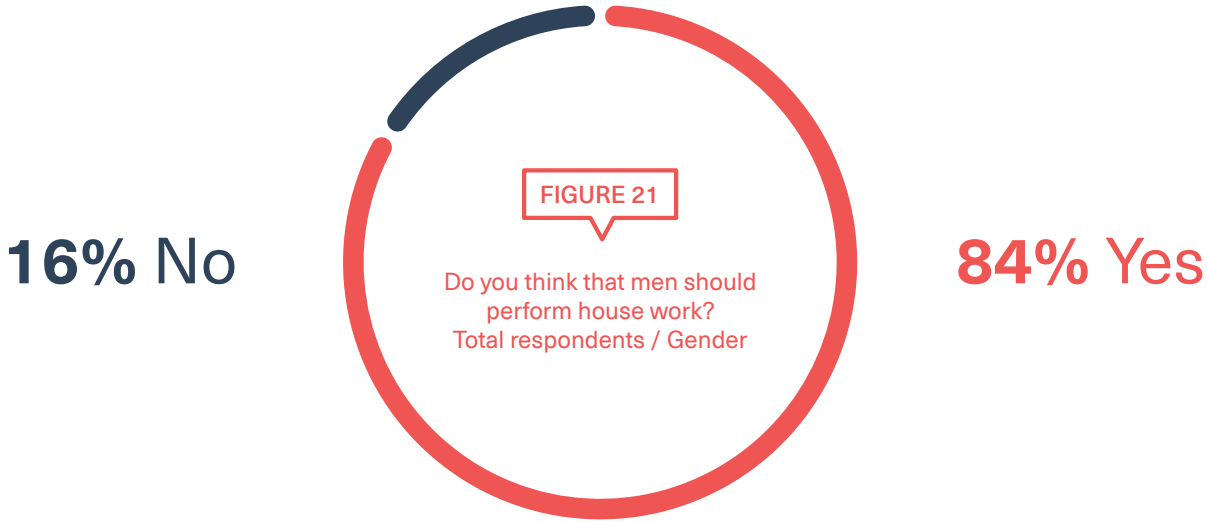
	Albanian	Serbian	Roma, Ashkali, Gorani, Turk, Bosnian, Egyptian
I	41%	33%	51%
Partner	25%	43%	26%
Children	1%	2%	2%
Mother	25%	17%	14%
Father	4%	5%	2%
Sister	1%	0%	2%
Brother	0%	0%	0%
I don't know	0%	0%	0%
I don't want to asnwer	0%	0%	0%
Other	3%	0%	2%

FIGURE 20 Who do you think contributes most in the household? – Income Category

	B60	**M20**	**T20**
I	39%	28%	34%
Partner	26%	29%	47%
Children	2%		1%
Mother	26%	35%	9%
Father	3%	7%	4%
Sister	0%	0%	2%
Brother	0%	0%	0%
I don't know	0%	0%	0%
I don't want to asnwer	0%	0%	0%
Other	4%	1%	3%

When asked if they are satisfied with the way household activities are assigned within the family, most respondents said yes – 71%.

The surveyed individuals were asked whether they think that men should perform house work. As can be seen in Figure 21, 84% think that men should perform house work. 16% or 175 individuals disagreed, out of which 98 were men and 77 women. The disagreeing individuals were further asked about the reasons why they think that men should not perform house work, 36% of which said men are busy providing for the family (41% of which were women); 34% said men do not know how to perform house work (39% of which were men); 23% said because it is not men's work.



Most focus group participants agreed:

> "The mentality has changed when people used to think that a woman has to be a slave to the home. She has to take care of the children, the house, everything. Now there is more awareness among people, and it's normal for a man to care for his children"
>
> MAN, FUSHË KOSOVA

A few disagreed:

> "[...] To wash dishes and so it's a woman's job, not a man's. If my wife can't do it, I will, but if she can, why should I? If I do this for her, she will end up watching movies"
>
> MAN, PRISHTINA

The discussion, however, was continued in terms of what kind of house work men should or can perform.

The percentage remains similar when crossed with living area, ethnicity or income category:

FIGURE 22 Do you think that men should perform house work? Living Area

	Urban	Rural
Yes	86%	82%
No	14%	18%

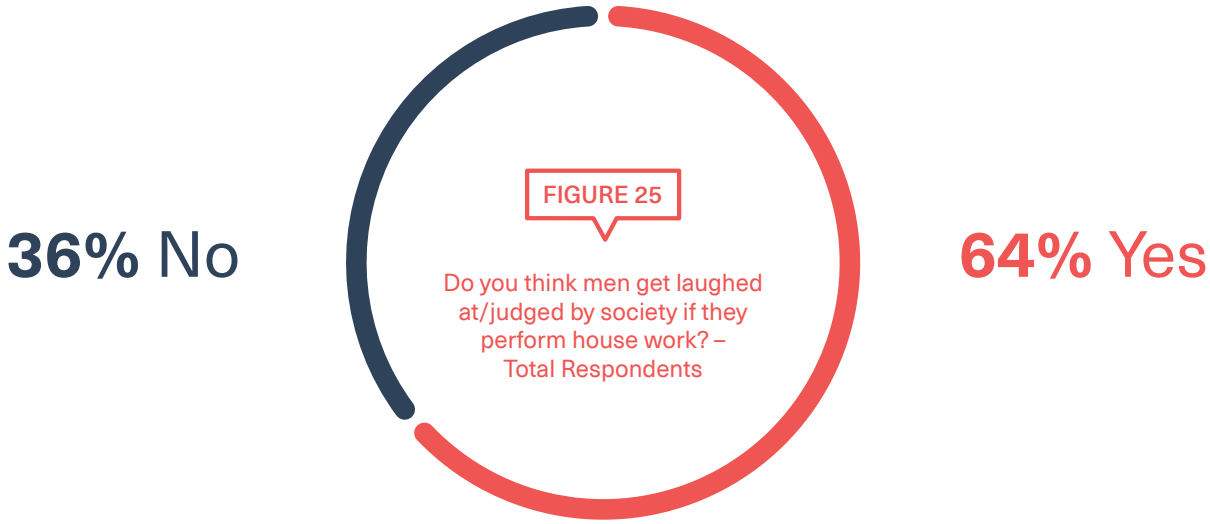
FIGURE 23 Do you think that men should perform house work? Ethnicity

	Albanian	Serbian	Roma, Ashkali, Gorani, Turk, Bosnian, Egyptian
Yes	84%	81%	70%
No	16%	19%	30%

FIGURE 24 Do you think that men should perform house work? Income Category

	B60	**M20**	**T20**
Yes	85%	80%	87%
No	15%	20%	13%

When asked whether men get laughed at/judged by society if they perform house work, 64% of the respondents said yes and 36% disagreed. The former were asked if they think that men would perform more house work if society would not laugh at/judge them, 71% of men said that they would perform more house work if they would not get judged by others; 89% of women said their husbands would perform more house work if society would not judge them. Moreover, the latter agreed that they would like more help from their partners in the household.



Many focus group participants agreed that society judges men for performing house or care work:

> "They get judged by their male friends" or "I've heard them say many times this is not a job for men"
>
> WOMAN, HOMEMAKER, PRISHTINA WOMAN, UNEMPLOYED NURSE, PRISHTINA

One man in Prishtina explained: *"My wife had an accident at her workplace, now she can't work [...] I used to do everything and still do in our house".* When asked the same question as above, he continued: *"They told me personally that I am not a man because I help out my wife".*

The percentage remains similar when crossed with living area, ethnicity or income category:

FIGURE 26 Do you think that men should perform house work? Living Area

	Urban	Rural
Yes	67%	62%
No	33%	38%

FIGURE 27 Do you think men get laughed at/judged by society if they perform house work? – Ethnicity

	Albanian	Serbian	Roma, Ashkali, Gorani, Turk, Bosnian, Egyptian
Yes	65%	40%	58%
No	35%	60%	42%

FIGURE 28 Do you think men get laughed at/judged by society if they perform house work? – Income Category

	B60	M20	T20
Yes	66%	66%	55%
No	34%	34%	45%

Nevertheless, the word "lazy" or "laziness" was mentioned often either by women or by men during the discussions. Some thought it was a factor why men do not perform any house or care work:

> [...] for some is severe laziness, where he says I won't get myself a glass of water because my wife can do that for me"
>
> MAN, PRISHTINA

> [society judges them], yes but if they only were less lazy as well"
>
> WOMAN, STUDENT, PRISHTINA

All respondents were asked if they think there are household activities in which women are naturally better at than men. 60% said yes, there are household activities in which women are naturally better at than men, and 40% disagreed. Gender variable compairson reveals that 57% of women and 64% of men think there are household activities in which women are naturally better at than men; 43% of women and 46% of men disageed.

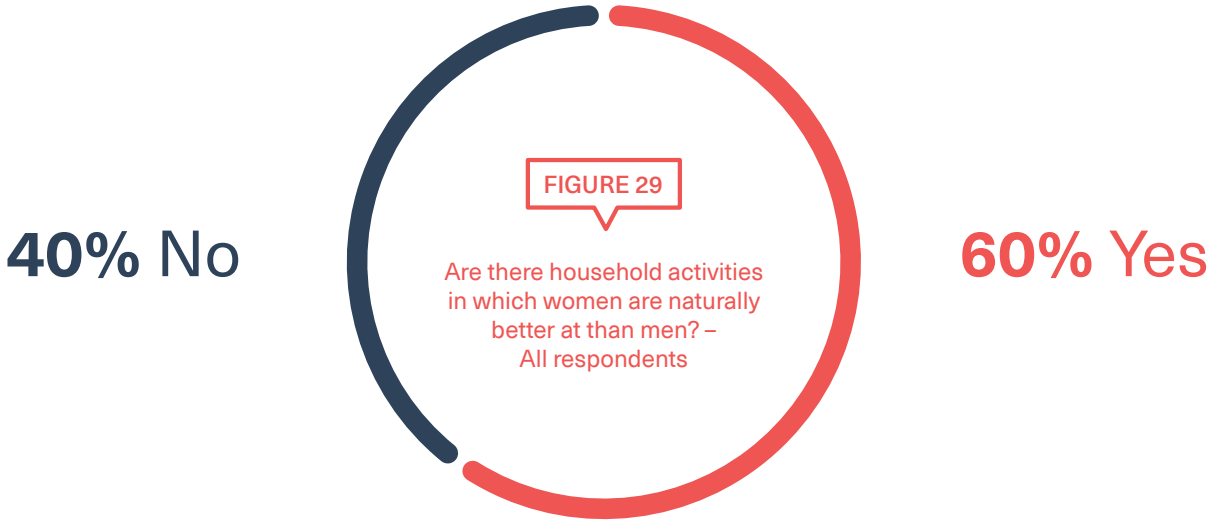


FIGURE 29

Are there household activities in which women are naturally better at than men? – All respondents

FIGURE 30 Are there household activities in which women are naturally better at than men? – Living Area

	Urban	Rural
Yes	60%	61%
No	40%	39%

FIGURE 31 Are there household activities in which women are naturally better at than men?" - Ethnicity

	Albanian	Serbian	Roma, Ashkali, Gorani, Turk, Bosnian, Egyptian
Yes	64%	19%	50%
No	36%	81%	50%

FIGURE 32 Are there household activities in which women are naturally better at than men? – Income Category

	B60	**M20**	**T20**
Yes	55%	65%	64%
No	45%	35%	36%

Focus group participants agreed:

> "You know why women are better at, because they were taught since they were little, and they don't teach boys. They grow up like that, mom does that for you, your sister does that for you"
>
> MAN, STUDENT, PRISHTINAS

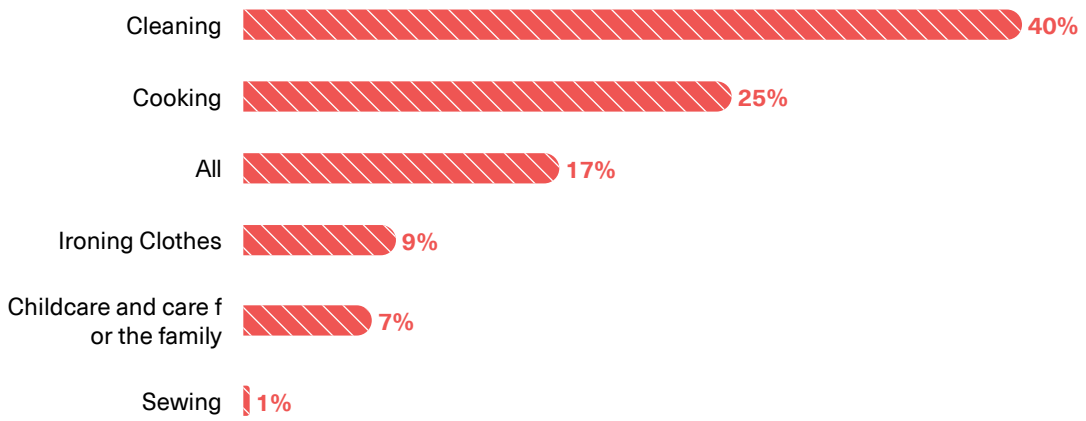
> "Us women we have it in our nature, we look into every detail. Men can help out, but a man's hand can't do what a woman's can"
>
> WOMAN, UNEMPLOYED CHEMIST, PRISHTINA

> "With the children too, a man can't take care of children like a woman can"
>
> WOMAN, UNEMPLOYED TEACHER, PRISHTINA

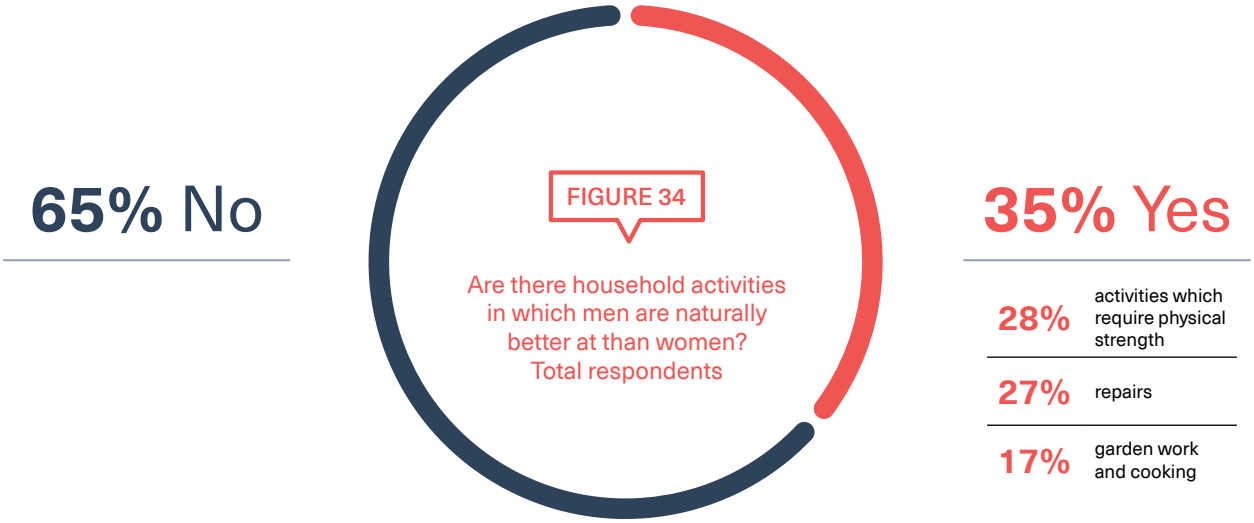
Younger women emphasized the importance of a father's presence in a child's life and they'd mostly disagree with middle-aged or elder participants in most matters.

The above mentioned 60% were further asked to list the activities in which women are better at than men. The responses are illustrated in Figure 33:

FIGURE 33 List the activities in which women are better at than men – Total respondents



Similar, respondents were asked if they think there are household activities in which men are naturally better at than women. 35% said yes, there are household activities in which men are naturally better at than women, and 65% disagreed. The former were asked to list these activities, as shown in figure 34:



Focus group participants would discuss the matter only in terms of what kind of work that would be:

> "There are physical chores which a woman can't do, and of course the man has to do them"
> WOMAN, UNEMPLOYED, PRISHTINA

> "For example I live with my parents. Chores which are to be performed inside, I do them with my mother. Chores in the garden, my father does those"
> WOMAN, UNEMPLOYED, PRISHTINA

Similar percentage can be seen if crossed with living area, ethnicity and income category:

FIGURE 35 Are there household activities in which men are naturally better at than women? – Living Area

	Urban	Rural
Yes	32%	38%
No	68%	62%

FIGURE 36 Are there household activities in which men are naturally better at than women? - Ethnicity

	Albanian	Serbian	Roma, Ashkali, Gorani, Turk, Bosnian, Egyptian
Yes	36%	14%	33%
No	64%	86%	67%

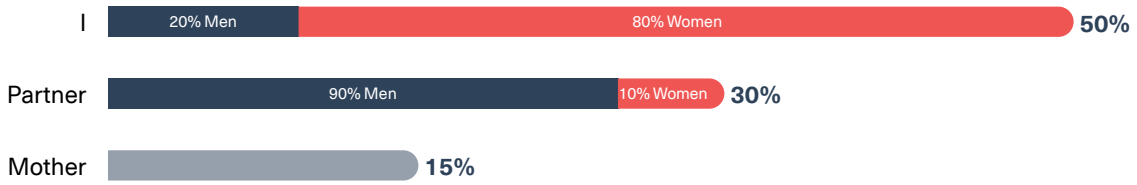
FIGURE 37 Are there household activities in which men are naturally better at than women? – Income Category

	B60	**M20**	**T20**
Yes	33%	38%	39%
No	67%	62%	61%

Childcare

A total of 572 respondents had one or more children under the age of 18 in their household. When asked who takes care of the children, 50% of the respondents said they themselves take care of the children, of which 80% were women and 20% men. 30% of the n=572 said their partner takes care of the children, of which 90% were men and 10% were women. 15% said their mother takes care of the children (most likely to be the grandmother of the children).

FIGURE 38 Who takes care of the child/children in your household? – Total respondents / Gender



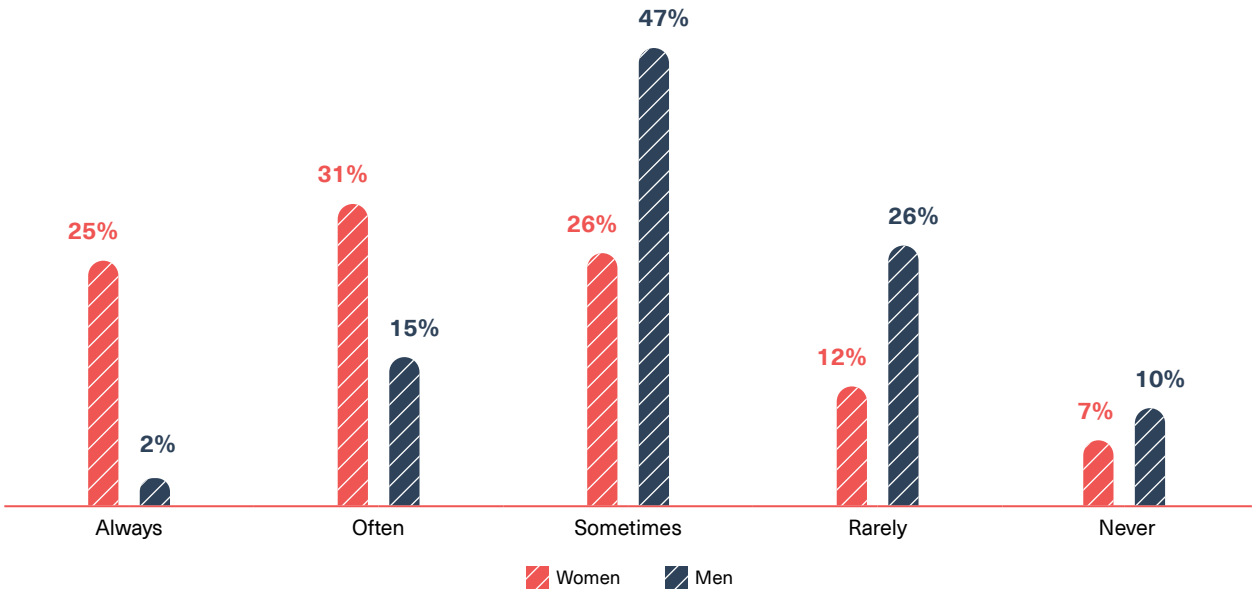
According to results in Figure 38, it is mostly women who take care of the children. Focus group participants agree. To investigate further, they were asked an abstract question: *"If parental leave would be six months paid leave for women and the other six for men, would you take it / should men take it?"* Many said they would as it is *"my own child"*, some others said that it should be taken at the same time as new mothers need help in the first weeks/ months. Others:

> "For example to care for kids, like changing dippers and so, no. I couldn't"
>
> MAN, PRISHTINA

Although meant as a joke, one woman respondent said: *"Whether there is paid leave or not, there is always a granny in reserve"*, underlining the unequal distribution of childcare towards women: mothers and grandmothers. Also the unequal burden throughout a woman's life-span: from the time they become mothers to the time they become grandmothers.

As mentioned in the methodology chapter, the study of primary and secondary activities is not in focus of this publication. Nevertheless, respondents were asked how often they have to take care of their children while simultaneously performing another activity:

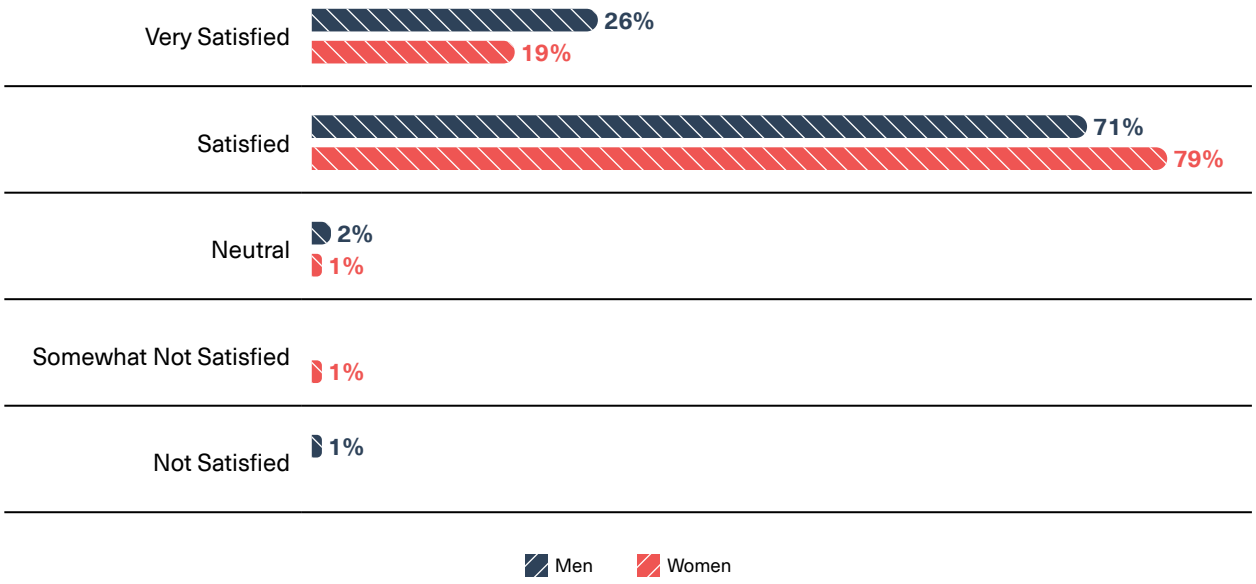
FIGURE 39 How often do you have to take care of your child/children while simultaneously performing another activity?



Based on the responses, women carry most of the multitasking weight.

When asked whether they are satisfied with the way childcare tasks are assigned in the household, 75% of parents said they were satisfied and 22% said they were very satisfied.

FIGURE 40 Are you satisfied with the way childcare activities are assigned in your household?



Focus group participants were asked whether they think that all children should receive child allowance or just children from poor families, whereby they unanimously agreed that all children should receive child allowance: *"A child is a child, rich or poor"* Woman, Fushë Kosova, or *"The poor should receive welfare, but all children should receive child allowance"* Person, Graçanica.

The respondents were asked whether they send their child/children to a day care center, kindergarten or similar, 79% with one or more children under the age of six said they do not send their child/children to a day care center, kindergarten or similar. The 21% who do, said the kindergarten their child/children go to is public – 49%, private – 43%, or mixed – 8%. The focus group discussions scrutinized the reasons behind this phenomenon:

> There is no need for kindergarten because I would never send my children there. Did you see the videos how they mistreat the children? I don't trust them"
>
> MAN, BUS DRIVER, PRISHTINA

> [...] Security is minimal [...] without security you cannot send them to kindergarten. There are videos how they beat children"
>
> MAN, RETIRED, PRISHTINA

> I am talking about kindergarten, kids below the age of four, there have to be cameras inside because children do not know how to tell. [...] Perhaps parents don't want to send them there because they don't know how their child will be treated"
>
> MAN, PRISHTINA

It was usually men who were afraid of their children's security. This does not imply that women aren't, but it is important to note that although men were more outspoken about their children's security, they were not the ones staying home caring for them. One proposed:

> [...] If there was one person for several kids in the neighborhood would be best, we would trust that person"
>
> MAN, RETIRED, PRISHTINA

Women thought differently:

> Of course there have to be more state-run kindergarten, children need to socialize"
>
> WOMAN, NANNY, PRISHTINA

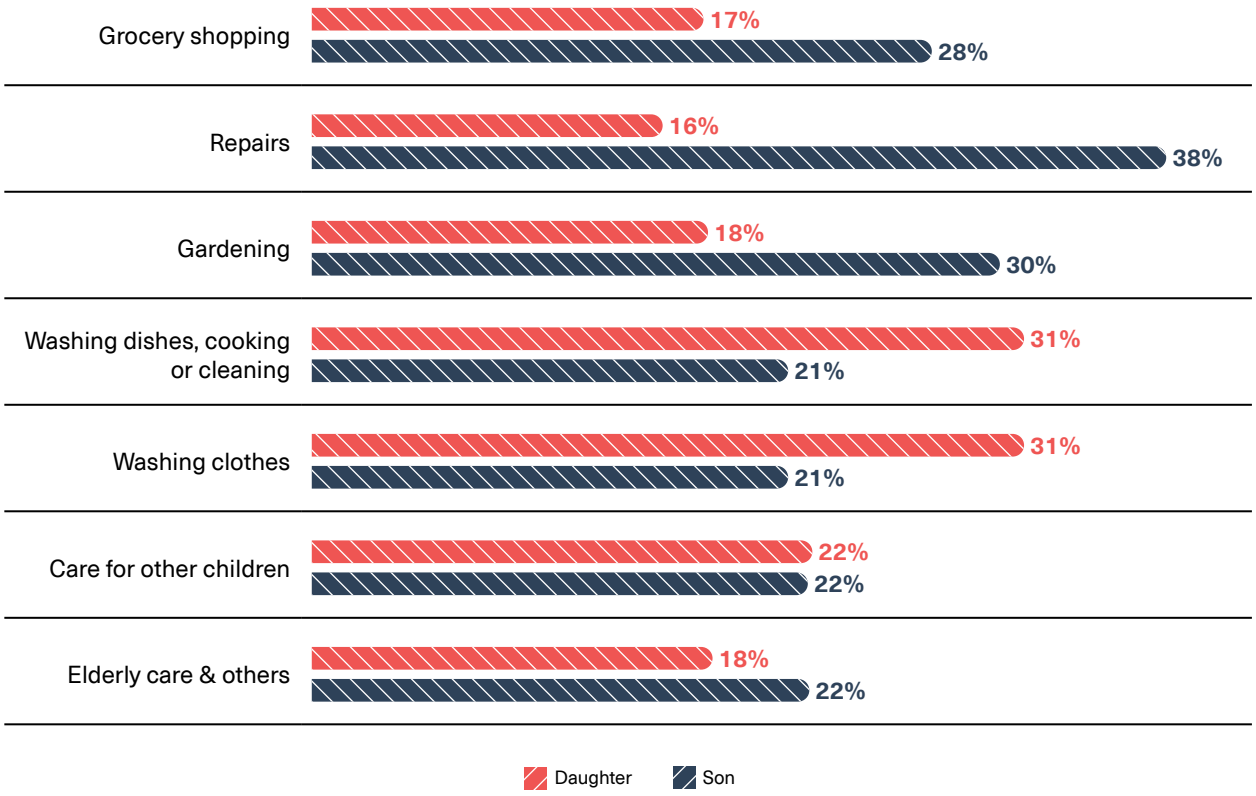
However, when discussed with the Roma, Ashkali and Gorani communities in Fushë Kosova, the problem was the availability of kindergartens or day care centers:

> In Fushë Kosova there is only one. Both parents have to be employed. Here in the community, there is none, it's perhaps 4km away. There are NGOs who offer the service, there are private ones, but not here in the community"
>
> MAN, OFFICE COORDINATOR, FUSHË KOSOVA

Although safety was mentioned as a reason to not send children to kindergarten, the high percentage is linked to the inability to afford kindergarten and lack of infrastructure.

Respondents were asked whether they seek help from their children to perform house work, and if so, in which type of work do they include their son or daughter. Figure 41 demonstrates the responses:

FIGURE 41 Which child do you involve/ask for help in the listed activities?



Most focus group respondents with children said they teach their children to perform chores, however, by listing the type of chores they were unintentionally explaining how they are reproducing social norms, whereby daughters were asked to help in the household and sons were taught how to go and buy groceries or how to help out in the garden.

> They mostly asked me to help out. Usually in Albanian families, when it comes to house work they ask their daughters. Now it has become a habit for me to just start doing something, it's usually me"
>
> WOMAN, STUDENT, PRISHTINA

> I live with my parents and bothers. If you ask them to do something, they don't. Not even to remove their own stuff out of the way. Like this, it's me and my mother who do it. They took it from my father, nothing you can do about it"
>
> WOMAN, FUSHË KOSOVA

Elderly care & care for other dependent adults

When asked who takes care of the elderly and other dependent persons, 50% of the respondents said they themselves take care of the elderly and other dependent persons, of which 71% were women and 29% men. 25% of the n=315 said their partner takes care of the elderly and other dependent persons, of which 80% were men and 20% were women. 16% said their mother takes care of the elderly and other dependent persons.

FIGURE 42 Who takes care of the elderly/other adults in need for care in your household?

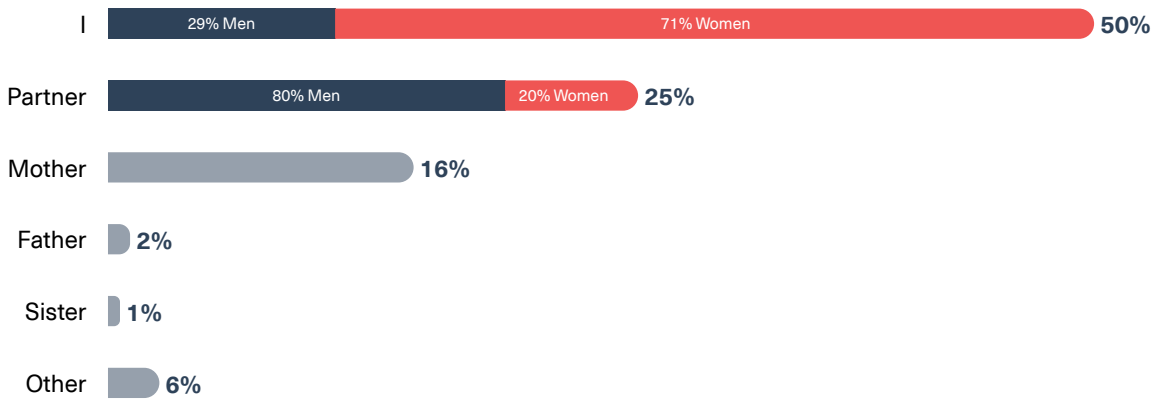
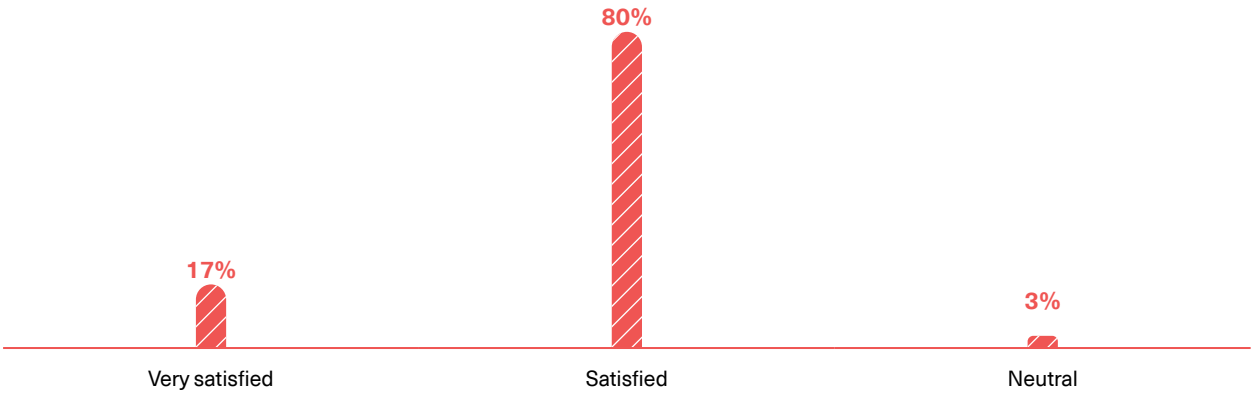


Figure 43 shows the level of satisfaction with the assigned unpaid care work with the elderly and other dependent persons:

FIGURE 43 Are you satisfied with the way elderly care & care for other dependent persons is assigned in your household?



When asked whether they would send their parents to an elderly care home if such a service was offered by the state, the majority of the participants in the focus groups said either “no” or “never”.

> That way you step on all the love your parents gave you throughout your life. They took care of you and now you can’t take care of them?”
>
> MAN, PRISHTINA

> [...] I’d even quit my job to take care of them [...]
>
> MAN, FUSHË KOSOVA

Although the majority rejected the idea, they also discussed various struggles that come with elderly care and care for other dependent persons. Some elderly stay with their adult children who have to go to work and thus end up being lonely.

> I’d send them to some day care center, not anywhere else”
>
> WOMAN, UNEMPLOYED TEACHER, PRISHTINA

> I took it upon myself to take care of my parents [...] I am very satisfied with this, I am happy they chose me (one of five brothers)”
>
> MAN, PRISHTINA

Others need medical care. Many argued how they cannot leave their loved ones alone in the hospital because the staff won’t even bring them a glass of water if they are thirsty. They also discussed various options which they thought were better than homes for elderly, such as a care-giver who’d come and spend time with them, increase quality care for ill elderly, or get an allowance for care-giving:

> Before the war we used to get paid for accompanying someone (taking about care for dependent persons)”
>
> MAN, UNEMPLOYED, PRISHTINA

Unpaid Care Work as "Help for Women's Work"

Two outstanding themes emerged continuously throughout all focus group discussions regarding overall perception of unpaid care work. First, chores around the house, childcare and elderly care are perceived as a woman's responsibility. When men get involved, it is usually seen as "helping" their mothers, sisters or wives:

> [...] I am careful, I helped out, I helped her out a lot, but she never asks for help because it is in her spirit (to do chores)"
>
> MAN, RETIRED, PRISHTINA

> My husband helps me out even though he is a policeman, he helps out in any way he can sometimes, and he does not leave it all to me"
>
> WOMAN, UNEMPLOYED, PRISHTINA

> For some it's their mothers, and now at this age for me it's my wife. I try to help, but she does not stop"
>
> MAN, PRISHTINA

> At our house it's our mother who does most. Of course we help out sometimes for as much as we are able to and have time to"
>
> MAN, PRISHTINA

"Yes, I help her out without any problem" said an unemployed young man in Prishtina, living only with his full-time working mother.

> my husband is willing to help, except when it comes to cooking, but he is my right hand, he helps me out a lot"
>
> WOMAN, VUSHTRRI

Second, men learn or perform house work or other forms of unpaid care work if and when women can't for the following reasons: if they are sick, if they are in paid work, and if they have passed away:

"Of course, when she is sick, I help out, I wash her dishes, clean her room" said a man in Prishtina, while talking about common chores in the household. He was not specifically referring to dishes only his wife used, or that she has a room of her own, he was rather considering these chores to be hers.

> My brother [...] he was orphaned at age 15 so he learned to iron his clothes"
>
> WOMAN, PRISHTINA

Unpaid Care Work, Demographic Factors and Household Economy

As mentioned in the methodology chapter, the distinctive features of time-use in unpaid care work among women and men in various economic and social contexts, as well as the correlation between time-use in unpaid care work and the labor market, paid work and income were analyzed. To do so, two multiple regression models were tested to explore the possible effects of unpaid ware work on various demographic factors, household economy and the labor market.

First multiple regression model shows the effect of the independent variables of demographic factors and household economy factors in relation on time in unpaid care work:

$$time\ in\ unpaid\ care\ work_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1\ demographic\ factors + \beta_2\ household\ economy\ factors + \varepsilon_i$$

The second multiple regression model shows the effect of the independent variables of labor market factors on time in unpaid care work:

$$time\ in\ unpaid\ care\ work_i = \beta_0 + +\beta_1\ demographic\ factors + \beta_2\ household\ economy\ factors + \beta_3\ economic\ faactors + \varepsilon_i$$

As can be seen on the first column of Table 1, the number of family members is in negative correlation to the minutes spent in unpaid care work. This could be due to a more evenly distributed unpaid care work load to a larger number of adult family members. Time in unpaid care work decreases to an average of 10 minutes for each additional family member.

Nevertheless, the number of under-age children, elderly and other dependent persons is in positive correlation to time spent in unpaid care work. For each under-aged child in the family, time spent in unpaid care work increases on average for an additional 34 minutes. The marginal effect on women is 16 minutes more than men. Similar, for each additional family member over the age of 65, time spent in unpaid care work increases on average for an additional 60 minutes, whereby for women it is 28 minutes more than men.

Married respondents spend an average of 50 minutes more in unpaid care work than not married respondents. A negative correlation between both variables can be seen when compared to living area. Respondents living in urban areas spend on average 27 minutes less in unpaid care work than respondents living in rural areas. Further, women in rural areas spend 14 minutes more in unpaid care work than men. Generally, this could be due to available infrastructure in urban areas such as heating and water supply, whereby in rural areas additional time could be spend in water and wood collection.

Years spent in education has also a negative correlation to time spent in unpaid care work. Although minimal, each additional year in education decreases time spent in unpaid care work for 3 minutes. The data shows that women benefit more from the time decrease in correlation to additional years in education than men.

The second column of Table 1 presents the results from the second equation. It is important to note that not all respondents disclosed their individual or household income, so the sample group for this analysis is slightly smaller. The purpose of this model is to examine the effect of monthly income and time spent in paid work on time spent in unpaid care work.

The amount of time spent in unpaid care work is in negative correlation to labor market participation (employed persons or active job-seeking persons). Employed persons spend on average an hour less in unpaid care work. This decrease is significantly larger for women (ca. 103 minutes less). The other two variables are also in negative correlation but their effect is marginal.

TABLE 01 Regression Models

Valiables	Time in Unpaid Care Work First Equation	Time in Unpaid Care Work Second Equation
Members	-10.6***	-12.43***
Children	33.7***	35.46***
Elderly	58.8***	46.82***
Dependent	69.3***	52.53
Ill	-5.3	1.32
Married	49.8***	32.91**
Women	146.5***	105.09***
Age	7.8***	7.51**
Age2	-0.1	-0.07**
Education	-2.8*	1.00
Living Area	-26.5***	-15.76
Total Paid	NA	-0.20***
Income	NA	-0.03**
Employed	NA	-53.49***
Sample	1,065	807

*Note: Level of Significance: *=10%; **=5%; ***=1%*

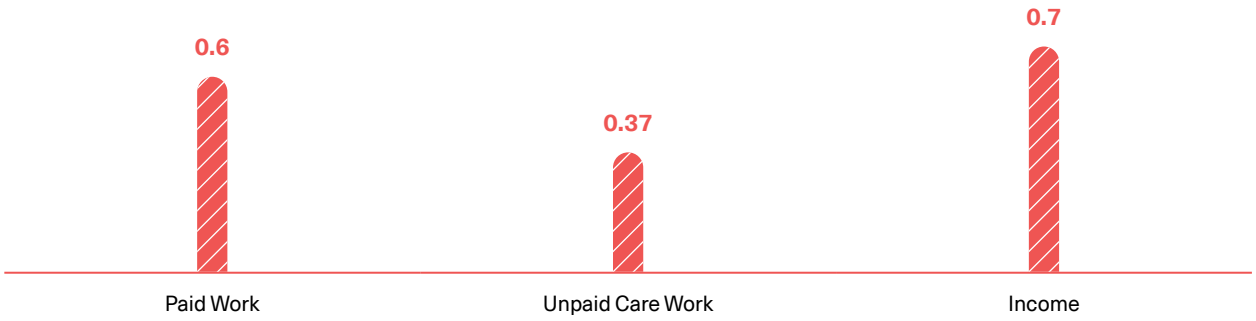
To summarize, it is clear that women carry the heavy burden of unpaid care work, whether house work, childcare, elderly care or care for other dependent persons. Lack of infrastructure (water supply, electricity and heating) increases time spend in unpaid care work for people living in rural areas. Employment status decreases time spend in unpaid care work, significantly more for women. Policy implications include possible measures in childcare such as early childhood education and care, kindergarten, day care centers; end-of-life care or long term care options; measures to increase employment rate. These will be further discussed in the next chapter.

The Gini Coefficient

The Gini Coefficient is used to measure the inequality among values of a frequency distribution, mainly income levels. The value of 0 indicates absolute equality and value 1 indicates absolute inequality. Its outcome can be read as a median compared to average living standard between two randomly selected individuals. For the purposes of this publication, the Gini Coefficient can be used to analyze and have a better understanding of the unequal distribution of time.

If one type of activity is closer to the value of 1, it means that time-use varies significantly among respondents. If another type of activity is closer to the value of 0, it means that respondents spend a similar amount of time performing that activity. As can be seen in Figure 44, time spend in unpaid care work does not vary as much among respondents, compared to income and time in paid work:

FIGURE 44 The Gini Coefficient for paid work, unpaid care work and income



NOTE: The Coefficient was created based on the data gathered by the sample in this study

The Lorenz Curve

Additionally to the Gini Coefficient, the Lorenz Curve can also be used to graphically present the time distribution of respondents. As can be seen in Figure 45, 80% of total respondents take up 60% of the total time spend in unpaid care work. Further, Figure 46 present time-use in paid work, whereby 60% of respondents took up 0% of time in paid work as most individuals in the sample were unemployed.

FIGURE 45 The Lorenz Curve for time spend in unpaid care work

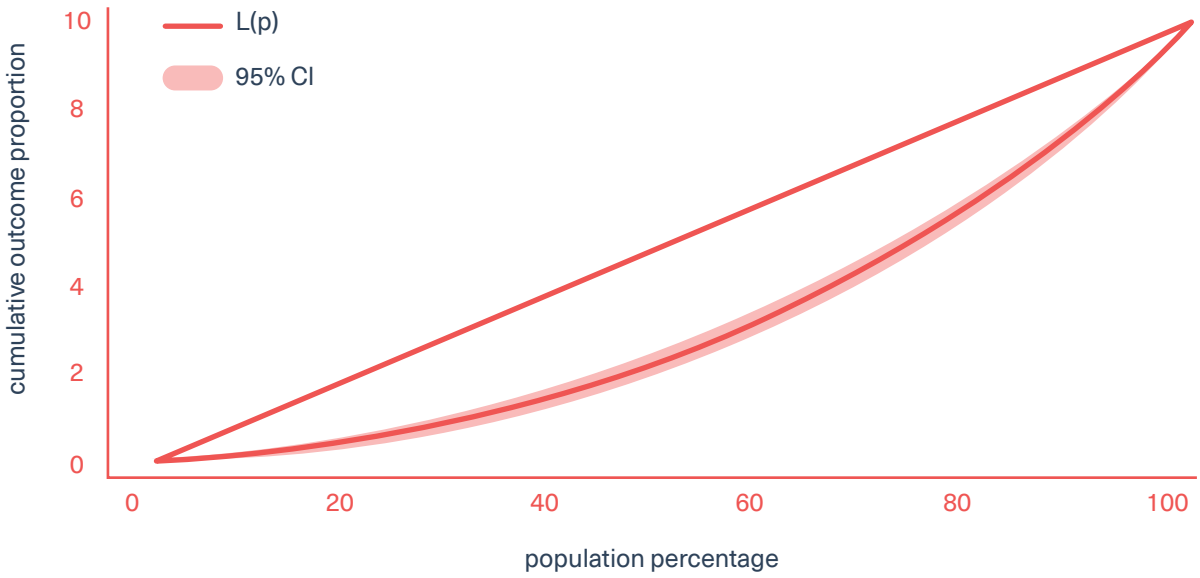
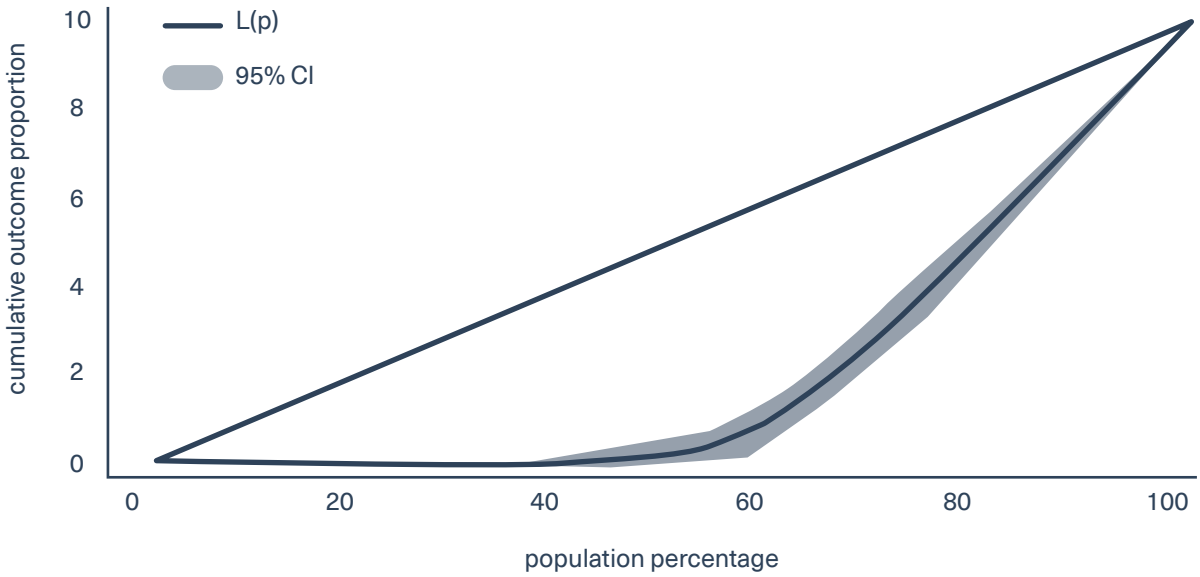


FIGURE 46 The Lorenz Curve for time spend in paid work



Monetizing the Value of Unpaid Care Work

Various methods are used to assign economic value to unpaid care work. This is mostly done to make it visible. There are two modes of evaluation: First, input evaluation attributes a monetary value to time in unpaid care work through 1. The market wage of the person performing unpaid care work; 2. The average earnings or minimum wage on country-level (opportunity cost approach/replacement cost approach); 3. The average wage of a domestic worker; 4. The average wage for each task as performed by professional care workers (nurse, cook, teacher etc.). Second, output evaluation attributes market-worth value to goods which are produced by unpaid care work such as healthy individuals, clean houses etc. (ILO, 2018). For the purposes of this study, a replacement cost approach was chosen as appropriate, using the Oxfam formula (Oxfam, 2020) by using the minimum wage in Kosovo (€250 as recently voted, although not yet implemented).

Average time spent in unpaid care work for both, women and men, was calculated with minimum wage in Kosovo. After, a separate calculation was employed to see the differences between women and men:

$$Value\ of\ unpaid\ care\ work_i = (unpaid\ care\ work_{min/\,days} * \frac{\frac{365}{12}}{60}) * \frac{minimum\ wage}{173} * Women\ or\ Men_{\ Age\geq 18} * 12$$

The minimum wage was divided into full-time hours of work. Every individual who spends time in unpaid care work did not reach €7.5 per day. If the month is supposedly calculated as 22 working days, each individual has a potential lost income of €165 per month or €1,980 per year. If calculated separately, women have a potential lost income of €9.4 per day, €208 per month, or €2,491 per year. Men have a potential lost income of €87 per month, or €1,036 per year.

According to latest estimations, 520,495 women (18-65) and 518,820 men (18-65) live in Kosovo (ASK, 2021b). Using the Oxfam formula, the total value of unpaid care work in Kosovo is:

Using the opportunity cost approach (average time spent in unpaid care work and minimum wage in Kosovo), the estimated **value of unpaid care work represents 33% of Kosovo's GDP** (of which 22% women/11% men).

It is important to note that this publication cannot offer a comparative dimension due to lack of similar computations in data gathering for other studies. The next chapter provides a discussion on the findings of this study and an in-depth analysis based on available literature.

NOTE: Results for question 16 (Annex 4) are not presented. As previously mentioned, accuracy of responses for time-use depends largely on an individual's memory. As time has passed, respondents said the quantity of their unpaid care work did not increase during the Covid-19 Pandemic, whereas globally the results were different because surveys were done during the Pandemic (see EIGE: https://bit.ly/3CNpCK0)

5. Discussion

Five crucial arguments can be made based on the outcomes of both, the survey and the group discussions. First, women provide the majority of unpaid care work without doubt. Second, employment for women is an important factor for reducing the time spend in unpaid care work. Third, the presence of elderly and dependent persons within the household significantly increases time spend in unpaid care work. Fourth, childcare is another important factor which increases time spend in unpaid care work. Fifth, living area determines the increase or decrease of time spend in unpaid care work. All of the above are consistent with the results of similar world-wide surveys (ILO, 2018). This chapter will examine these five arguments further below, as well as discuss various policy options.

The significant gender inequality in paid work mirrors unequal distribution of unpaid care work, which in turn is the result of deeply-rooted gender-based separation of work. Further, the employment of women, although decreased time spend in unpaid care work, did not 'transform the gendered divisions of unpaid labor' (ILO, 2018; Pfau-Effinger, 2017). Regardless of full-time employment, women continue to provide the majority of care services within the household at the expense of time spend in self-care. They sleep less, they spend less time relaxing, in leisure activities or sport, or investing in self-realization. This study concludes that women in Kosovo spend 2.7 hours more, or that men spend 44% less time on unpaid care work than women and there is a unanimous understanding that unpaid care duties are a woman's job. The economic intervention (employment), therefore, will not necessarily produce equality if it is not accompanied by cultural and behavioral changes in society.

Men's work in the same domain is considered as 'help', and as such is sometimes glorified because they are doing something that they are not obliged to. Men who engage in care, like house work, mostly include semi-public activities such as paying bills or house repairs. Men, when they care, are involved into performing tasks that are periodical and not daily. Moreover, some of the tasks like home repairs are services that have a more or less good supply by the market. Which means that most tasks performed by men fall within the realm of choice. While those performed by women are an issue of necessity. One can easily pay for a plumber or an electrician when the house needs such repairs. These needs do not appear often or regularly. However there are a very few families that can afford eating in a restaurant every day, or hire a nanny to take care of children for the best part of the day.

Children themselves provide a significant amount of unpaid care work, whether in the form of chores given by parents or because of other dependent adults in the household (ILO, 2018). Another study to further investigate this phenomenon is needed. However, as could be seen in the results chapter, parents tend to reproduce the same gendered division of household labor by teaching their girl child to perform in-house chores and their boy child to perform house repairs or garden work, and thus maintain the same traditional assigned gender-roles. This reproduction of inequality overwhelmingly impedes the individual's health. Spending less time in self-care activities such as sleep, rest and leisure can be a detriment to physical and mental health by increasing stress and anxiety as well as distortions in nutritious food intake, mobility and overall happiness. Moreover, gender-biased caring activities can be detrimental to other's health and overall well-being. Fathers, by not being involved in childcare and education have a negative impact in children's behavioral and emotional development (Vanderbroeck, 2020).

Most of the parent respondents with children under the age of six said they do not send their child/children to kindergarten or to day-care. Focus group discussions revealed that many fear for their child's safety or expressed mistrust in the institutions which provide this type of service, however a few said they do not have access to childcare services. As most time in un-

paid care work in Kosovo is spend in performing childcare tasks, there is a pressing need for two things: the rapid increase of kindergartens and day-care centers and awareness-raising for the importance of kindergartens and their purpose. Early Childhood Care and Education (ECHCE) is crucial to children's development (Vanderbroeck, 2020). Based on the discussions, community-based kindergartens seem to be the way forward. It is important to note one more thing: the majority of respondents which expressed safety-concern and mistrust for childcare services in Kosovo were men. Some refused categorically to send their child to such entities, but at the expense of their wifes, mothers or sisters. It is men who are saying no, but it is women who are replacing this service for free (for an early childhood intervention to prevent inequality and to tackle gender stereotypes see the case of Iceland https://bit.ly/3TqE8No).

Another crucial discussion topic for the public sphere should be growing demands for elderly care (Stark, 2005). As could be clearly understood from the focus group discussions, Kosovars are not ready to embrace elderly care in the form of public or market service. However, a growing elderly population and a stretching life-expectancy are factors to be considered by stakeholders, especially policy-makers. In relation to this, perhaps the Danish model, whereby families are offered an employment contract by the municipalities for caring for elderly relatives (Pfau-Effinger, 2017) could work, at significant cost. To continue, age does not indicate to be a factor which decreases time spend in unpaid care work. Although it does not follow a linear increase or decrease, it is crucial to mention that for many women care duties increase with age, by the time they become grandmothers because they care for their grandchildren (lack of childcare services or inability to afford such service by parents). Turkey offers cash rewards for caring grandmothers (Womensday, 2017). Such duties increase for elderly persons also when adult children migrate (ILO, 2018). Migration on the other hand has a significant effect on paid care provision, as (mostly) women from poor countries migrate to developed countries and perform paid care services, or as it is known "global care chain". Furthermore, this indicates another 'structure of inequality which is inextricably intertwined with gender and how a society arranges care' (Razavi, 2007). Migrant care-workers are usually over-worked and under-paid, while coming from low-income families or countries are continuously exploited by wither well-off social groups or the market (see Glenn, 1992; also Chalesworth et al. 2015; McDonald et al., 2018). This should serve as a topic to think about, however, it will not be further in focus.

Globally, the more years women spend in education the less time they spend in unpaid are work. Contraire, the more years men spend in education the more time they spend in unpaid care work (ILO, 2018). Based on the results of this study, this does not seem to be the case in Kosovo. Years spend in education does not significantly decrease time spend in unpaid care work for women and it does not signify any effect on men. This can be attributed to the deeply entrenched traditional roles. In developing countries motherhood is idealized (Moghdam, 2006). When something is idealized, it then becomes something 'sacred' and is not to be disturbed, and in this case for the benefit of men. Besides showing how deep patriarchy is rooted in our society, it also signals a low quality of education services.

Women in rural areas are more affected by unpaid care work due to lack of basic infrastructure, such as electricity, water, heating, which in turn means more forms of unpaid care work activities, e.g. fetching wood (for heating and cooking), as well as fetching water (to consume and for hygiene). Urban areas on the other side benefit from infrastructure as well as time-saving devices or services (dry-cleaning, fast food; ILO, 2018). Lack of or poor infrastructure can result with health consequences for women and other family members. Cooking with wood in extreme poverty cases can results in under-cooked food and food poisoning, whereas cooking with solid fuels or other gases results in lung inflammation, cardiovascular illnesses or even catastrophic explosions. Another important factor, determinant on women's time-use but also on the severity of unpaid care duties, is lack of gender-neutral transportation access (OECD, 2019). Roads are usually built for cars, and investment in public transportation is scarce in Kosovo. By providing electrification, access to water and efficient public transportation, time spend in unpaid care work in rural areas would decrease significantly (UN Women, 2018).

Evidence shows that when collecting water requires walking long distances, men are less involved than when collection is closer to the consumption area (household)

OECD, 2019

Besides increasing the number of kindergarten and improving infrastructure, the discussion about policy options on care services in the European Union and beyond is extensive. Further below an overview of some of the discussed policies is provided.

To start, Folbre (2006) proposed six different indices for care responsibility which are aimed at overcoming problems regarding data-collection on unpaid care work in relation to the possible policy-measures they would produce. 'The first two indices are individual measures that would allow for comparisons of levels of care responsibilities between men and women (Individual Disposable Income & Individual Disposable Time). The second two indices focus on the share of money costs and time costs, respectively, devoted to dependent care (Gender Care Spending Parity Index & Gender Direct Care parity Index). The fifth measure assumes that a monetary value could be input to non-market work to combine a measure of money and time expenditures (Gender Overall Care Parity Index). The sixth measure includes consideration of segregation in paid employment as well as the gender division of labor in unpaid direct care (The Gender Care Empowerment Index)' (Folbre, 2006).

When discussing policy options, Jenson (1997) suggested three questions to frame a care-centered social policy: 1. Who Cares? – Is it society or family? This question should inform us about the main actors affected in one way or another by unpaid care work; 2. Who Pays? – Is it the government? If yes, how? It is important to determine the main stakeholders in the decision-making process; 3. Where is care provided? This question should determine ways of provision, such as day-care centers, schools, care-homes, hospices, and also ignite a discussion whether the service should be provided by public means, the market or combined.

Daly (2001) suggested four main policy options for care: First, 'monetary and social security benefits' such as cash rewards, social security and pension schemes; Second, 'employment related measures' such as paid and unpaid leave, breaks and reduction of working hours; Third, 'services provided in kind', such as help at home or community based support, childcare services, care-homes; Fourth, 'incentives toward employment creation' or market services, such as exemptions from social security contributions, subsidies for private care.

The discussion on the structural aspect of unpaid care work and care in general is limited and needs to be extended further towards the quality of care (Theobald, 2007). By oversimplifying the issue in thinking that unpaid care work needs to be transferred to the public sector or a form of cash payment for providers is needed, we overlook one crucial component of care: love. The rapport between 'love' and 'money' was explored by Folbre and Nelson (2000), but this paper will not delve deeper into the matter. However, transferring care from private to public entities has significant implications on the quality of care (see Charlesworth et al., 2015; the majority of paid care providers are, again, women. Kindergarten teachers, nannies, nurses are jobs dominated by women workers).

The main institutions which are involved in the provision of care can be categorized as follows: the family/household, the public sector (national and local level), market, and the non-profit sector. International Organizations have significantly increased their contribution to the policy-debate on unpaid care work (see Nieuwenhuis & Van Lancker, 2020). Countries have moved back and forth in their policy options, and it is wrongly perceived that the best way to handle the heavy burden of the care sector is to move from the private (home), to the public sector (Razavi, 2007). In developed economies, the public sector has taken on more responsibility for care provisions, and is often underfunded and insufficient to provide the necessary quality and quantity of care needed for vulnerable groups. It resulted not only in low-quality services, but also resulted in over-worked and under-paid care providers, who most of the time are women and have care responsibilities at home as well (McDonald et al., 2018). The market, whether hospitals, hospices, care

homes, day care institutions owned by private entities are often unaffordable for the majority and have often the same consequences for care providers as in the public sector.

In addition to the concept of formalization, unpaid care work has been discussed also by using the concept of commodification, whereby the outputs of unpaid care work are seen as a product of human labor (Pfau-Effinger, 2017). Social security (Esping-Andersen, 1999) and de-familisation (Lister, 2015) are other discussed concepts. Pfau-Effinger (2017) suggests a multidimensional framework for the analysis and policy-development of care. Social protection models as well as public services could decrease the unequal distribution of unpaid care work between women and men. However, it is important to carefully employ gender-neutral policies which simultaneously tackle gender stereotypes and not reinforce gender roles (e.g. paid maternity leave for unemployed 'mothers' in Kosovo within the Economic Revival Package, 2021).

The three 3Rs approach is widely advocated for: Recognize, Redistribute and Reduce Unpaid Care Work. Its recognition leads to its measurement and policy being informed by it, as well as employer's acknowledgement for this form of work, awareness raising, capacity building and support for care-givers. Its redistribution transforms social norms and engages men and boys in unpaid care work. Its reduction can be achieved by time-saving technologies, gender-responsive infrastructure and high quality public services (OECD, 2019). The ILO (2018) recommended to add two additional Rs: Reward for care workers in order to address decent work for paid carers, and Representation in the social dialogue with the state, employers and trade unions.

Another common misconception is the one which assumes that the only possible policy response is some kind of cash payment for carers, who are usually women (homework wages or mother's pensions). Although it has been voiced by many women's rights advocates, the cash payment is not the proper response to prioritize (Razavi, 2007). Because, let's think about it for a minute, when would women have time to spend that cash if they are too busy caring for others? As mentioned in the introduction chapter, Sweden is at the top of the list when it comes to shared responsibilities for unpaid care work due to their effort in changing social norms and perceptions on care work. It is insufficient to simply encourage redistribution and to invite men to participate. Shared responsibility is best advocated for from a recognition point of view, whereby unpaid care work and its contribution is widely valued in society (OECD, 2019). Simply participating in unpaid care work while maintaining gender roles does not translate into the equal distribution of care responsibilities, e.g. fathers performing childcare duties but only in the form of "quality time with children" by playing with them or engaging in intellectual activities such as homework (ILO, 2016), but not changing their diapers, feeding them or washing their clothes.

Approaches to shared responsibility policies include the transformation of gender stereotypes and social norms by challenging masculinities and engaging men in domestic activities and programs (Men in Kitchen etc.) and by institutionalizing social norm changes. Further, the media and the private sector play a crucial role, as well as role models or "male champions" advocating for these behavioral changes (awareness raising, marketing campaigns challenging norms).

So far we counted inequality as the main product of this unequal distribution of unpaid care work. Additionally, its lack of visibility, lack of policy, insufficient and low quality services in the paid care sector present only a few problems which accompany this form of work. The topic is very broad and intertwines many disciplines, from law to economy, public and social policy, and demography, even criminal justice policy: very little is known about women or children who perform unpaid care work duties in a domestic violence context (Baines, 2006). The aim of this chapter was to provide some topics for public discussion and to serve as a basis for further research.

6. Conclusions

This publication intended to provide a country-wide data set on unpaid care work in Kosovo as well as citizens' perceptions on this form of labor. Several policy-options were discussed, aiming to serve for initiating public debates. Key findings are: women provide the majority of unpaid care work without doubt; employment for women is an important factor for reducing the time spend in unpaid care work; the presence of elderly and dependent persons within the household significantly increases time spend in unpaid care work; childcare is another important factor which increases time spend in unpaid care work; living area determines the increase or decrease of time spend in unpaid care work.

On average an individual spends 4.9 hours in direct and indirect unpaid care work in Kosovo. Women spend 6.2 hours and men 3.5 hours in unpaid care work, women spend 2.7 hours more than men on unpaid care work. The answer to the question 'Who Cares?' is women. The total estimated value of unpaid care work in Kosovo is € 2,824,248,757 or 33% of Kosovo's GDP. Women spend on average 2,263 hours in unpaid care work in a year – or 94 days. Men spend an average of 1,314 hours in unpaid care work (although not the same activities) – or 55 days. Kosovars spend an average of 1,795 hours performing unpaid care activities – or 75 days in total.

The data set which accompanies this publication will be available for public use and it can be potentially used for future data collection and comparative analysis. This publication aimed to inform the policy debate and policy-making, to discuss the importance of unpaid care work as well as to advocate for its recognition.

The invisible needs to be seen.

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Annex 1

Representative sample group based on region and gender

Region	Women	Men	Total
Ferizaj	50	49	99
Gjakova	48	54	102
Gjilan	64	56	120
Mitrovica	93	92	185
Peja	50	48	98
Pristina	142	124	266
Prizren	103	92	195
Total	**550**	**515**	**1065**

Annex 2

Representative sample group based on communities

Region	Albanian	Serbian	Bosnian	Gorani	Turk	Roma	Ashkali	Egyptian	Other
Ferizaj	89	6	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
Gjakova	95	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0
Gjilan	85	30	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
Prishtina	219	27	0	0	0	5	15	0	0
Peja	81	5	0	0	0	2	0	10	0
Mitrovica	98	82	0	0	0	0	4	1	0
Prizren	148	0	17	14	8	0	8	0	0
Total	**815**	**150**	**17**	**14**	**8**	**12**	**31**	**18**	**0**

Annex 3

Representative sample group based on communities and gender

Community	Women	Men	Total
Albanian	433	382	815
Serbian	70	80	150
Bosnian	11	6	17
Gorani	1	13	14
Turkish	5	3	8
Roma	7	5	12
Ashkali	13	18	31
Egyptian	10	8	18
Other	0	0	0
Total	**550**	**515**	**1065**

Annex 4 - Time-use survey

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

D1. GENDER

a) Woman
b) Man

D2. AGE _____

D3. Marital Status

a) Married, living with spouse
b) Divorced
c) Widowed
d) Single / Never lived with a partner
e) Married, but not living together (migration)

D4. ETHNICITY/ Which nationality/group do you belong to?

a) Albanian
b) Serbian
c) Bosnian
d) Gorani
e) Turkish
f) Roma
g) Ashkali
h) Egyptian
Other, specify_____

D5. FAMILY/ Number of Family Members _____

D5a. Number of children in household/age

Child	Age
First Child	
Second Child	
Third Child	
Forth Child	
Fifth Child	
Sixth Child	

D5b. Number of elderly persons in household/age

a) 0 persons
b)

Elderly Persons	Number
First Person	**Age**
Second Person	
Third Person	
Forth Person	
Fifth Person	
Sixth Person	

D5c. Specify the number of chronically ill persons are in your household: _____

D5d. Specify the number of other dependent persons in your household:_____

D6. INCOME/ Can you tell us your NET income for the last month?

_____(EUR)

a) I don't have any form of income
b) I refuse to answer

D7. Who manages with your income?

a) Myself
b) Partner/Spouse
c) Jointly with my partner/spouse
d) Other family members
e) Jointly with other family members
f) My partner/spouse and other family members
g) Myself, my partner/spouse and other family members
h) Other (persons outside of the household/I don't know)

D6b. INCOME/ Can you tell us your household income for the last month?

i) _____(EUR)

D6c. Of these, how much are from:

Paid Work:_____(EUR)

Remitances:_____(EUR)

State Pensions:_____(EUR)

TRUST:_____(EUR)

Social Scheme:_____(EUR)

Disability Pension:_____(EUR)

War Categories Pension:_____(EUR)

Other (Specify):_____(EUR)

D8. MUNICIPALITY _____

D9. Living Area

a) Urban
b) Rural

D10. Specify the years spent in formal education?

_____ (years)

D11. CURRENT POSITION IN THE LABOR MARKET?

a) Unemployed
b) Employed (long-term)
c) Employed (short-term or fixed-term)
d) Employed without a contract
e) Part-time employed – with contract
f) Part-time employed – without contract
g) Self-employed
h) Business co/owner (Registered/over 10 emplyees)
i) Self-employed in Agriculture
j) Retired
k) Homemaker
l) Student
m) Other:_____

D12. How many years of work experience do you have?

_____ (years)

D13: Employment sector:

a) Public
b) Private

D14: Employment sector according to activity:

a) Agriculture, forestry, fishing
b) Mining
c) Production
d) Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply
e) Water supply, waste water management
f) Construction
g) Wholesale and retail trade, vehicle and motorcycle repairs
h) Accommodation and food service activities

i) Transportation and deposition
j) Information and communication
k) Financial and insurance activities
l) Real estate activities
m) Professional, scientific and technical activities
n) Administrative and support activities
o) Public administration, defense, obliged social insurance
p) Education
q) Health activities and social work
r) Art, leisure and recreation
s) Other services
t) Activities of family economies as employers; production activities of undifferentiated goods and services of family economies for self-use
u) Activities of foreign institutions and organizations

D14: Position:

a) Owner
b) Manager
c) Professional
d) Technical and professional worker
e) Office/assistance
f) Service and retail worker
g) Qualified worker for agriculture, forestry, fishing
h) Craftsman or similar profession
i) Factory and machine operator and installer
j) Elementary professions
k) Other: _____

Part 1: TIME USE OF ADULTS

1. On a usual day, how much time (minutes) do you spend doing the following activities:

Activity	Time (minutes)	Who did you do this activity with? More than one answer allowed	On a scale from 1 to 5, how satisfied were you while performing this activity?
		a) Nobody b) Partner/Spouse c) Son d) Daughter e) Brother f) Sister g) Father h) Mother i) Father in law j) Mother in law k) Grandfather l) Grandmother m) Brother in law n) Sister in law o) Nephew p) Niece q) Colleague r) Friend/Neighbor s) Other t) Specify:	1- Very unhappy 2- 3- 4- 5- Very happy
Personal care and preferred activities			
Eating			
Self-care (sleep-rest, shower/getting ready to go out)			
Sport, hobby, socializing			
Shopping			
Travel/walks			
Social media			
Other:_____			
Paid Work			
Work in public sector			
Work in private sector			
Paid work for another person			
Any other paid activity/business			
Paid domestic worker			
Seeking paid work			
House Work			
Cooking			
Setting the table, cleaning the table, washing dishes			
Grocery shopping			
Doing your bed			
Washing/ironing clothes			
House repairs/renovations			
Vehicle maintenance (washing, technical controls etc.)			

Yard work (flowers / clean yard)
Administrative work (pay bills, taxes, rent etc.)
Other:_____
Childcare (all phases)
Cooking for children/feeding/breastfeeding
Playing with children
Bed time (necessary activities before sleep)
Getting children ready for kindergarten, day care, school, sending them there
Maintaining children's clothes
Other: _____
Elderly care, care for chronically ill persons, care for other dependent persons
Cooking
Feeding
Clothing
Maintaining clothes
Take them to the doctor / check on medication intake etc.
Other:_____
Education
School, University, Training
Learning / home-work
Commute
Other:_____
Other Activities
Religious activities
Healthcare activities
Other: _____

2. Which activity in the household or activity in regard to care for others do you find most problematic in terms of mobilization, health and time-strain?

a) None
b) Cooking
c) Household maintenance
d) Washing, drying, ironing clothes
e) Childcare
f) Elderly care & care for other dependent persons
g) Other (Specify):_____

3. Which activity in the household or activity in regard to care for others do you prefer most?

a) None
b) Cooking
c) Household maintenance
d) Washing, drying, ironing clothes

e) Childcare
f) Elderly care & care for other dependent persons
g) Other (Specify):_____

4. How often do you have to perform house work while simultaneously performing another activity?
a) Always
b) Often
c) Sometimes
d) Rarely
e) Never

Part 2: Social norms and gender roles in relation to house work

5. Who do you think contributes most in your household?

a) Myself
b) Partner/Spouse
c) Children
d) Mother
e) Father
f) Sister
g) Brother
h) I don't know
i) I refuse to answer
j) Other

Specify: _____

6. Are you satisfied with the way household activities/chores are assigned?

a) Not satisfied (continue to question 6a)
b) Somewhat not satisfied (continue to question 6a)
c) Neutral (continue to question 6a)
d) Satisfied (continue to question 7)
e) Very satisfied (continue to question 7)

6a. If a, b, or c, please elaborate your reasons: _____

7. Do you think men should perform house work?

a) Yes (continue to question 9)
b) No (continue to question 8)

8. Why should men NOT perform house work?

a) Men do not know how to properly perform house work
b) House work is for women
c) It's embarrassing if a man performs house work

d) He is busy with paid work providing for his family
e) Nobody (men) in our circle performs house work
f) I don't know/I refuse to answer
g) Other

Specify: _____

9. Do you think that most women we interviewed said that men should perform house work?
   a) Yes
   b) No

10. Do you think that most men we interviewed said that men should perform house work?
   a) Yes
   b) No

11. Do you think men get laughed at/judged by society if they perform house work?
   a) Yes (continue to question 12, **men only**) (continue to question 13, **women only**)
   b) No (continue to question 14)

12. If society wouldn't judge you, would you perform more house work? (men who responded yes to question 11)

a) Yes
b) No

13. If society would not judge men, would you like more help from your spouse/partner for house work? (women who responded yes to question 11)

a) Yes
b) No

14. Are there household activities in which women are naturally better at than men?

a) Yes (continue to question 14a)
b) No (continue to question 15)

14a. If yes, which are these activities? _____

15. Are there household activities in which men are naturally better at than women?

a) Yes (continue to question 15a)
b) No (continue to question 16)

15a. If yes, which are these activities? _____

Part 3: Covid-19 Pandemic and its impact on house work

16. Please specify whether time spend in the following activities has increased/decreased due to the Covid-19 Pandemic:

a) It remained the same
b) Increased
c) Decreased

Activity	If increased, on a regular day, how much time do you spend performing this activity compared to pre-pandemic life?	If decreased, on a regular day, how much time (less) do you spend performing this activity compared to pre-pandemic life?
Cooking		
Washing, drying, ironing clothes		
Household maintenance		
Childcare		
Care for other persons		

Part 4: Childcare

17. Who takes care of the child/children in your household? (you can select more than one answer)

a) Myself (continue to question 20)
b) Partner/Spouse
c) Mother
d) Father
e) Sister
f) Brother
g) Nanny (continue to question 17a)
h) Other

Specify: _____

17a. If the answer is Nanny: How much do you pay the nanny per month to take care of your children: _____ (EUR)

18. How often do you have to take care of your child/children while simultaneously performing another activity?
    a) Always
    b) Often
    c) Sometimes
    d) Rarely
    e) Never

19. Are you satisfied with the way childcare activities are assigned in your household?
    a) Not satisfied (continue to question 19a)
    b) Somewhat not satisfied (continue to question 19a)
    c) Neutral (continue to question 19a)
    d) Satisfied (continue to question 20)
    e) Very satisfied (continue to question 20)

19a. If a, b, or c, please specify your reasons: _____

20. If you have children (0-6 years old), do you send them to kindergarten or day-care?
    a) Yes (continue to question 20a)
    b) No (continue to question 21)

20a. If yes, is the institution public, private or mixed?

a) Public
b) Mixed
c) Private

21. Sometimes children are asked to perform chores. For the following activities, which child do you ask for help:

Activities	
Grocery shopping	a) Daughter b) Son c) Both
House repairs	a) Daughter b) Son c) Both
Yard work	a) Daughter b) Son c) Both
Washing dishes, cooking, or cleaning the house	a) Daughter b) Son c) Both
Washing clothes	a) Daughter b) Son c) Both
Childcare for other children	a) Daughter b) Son c) Both
Care for other dependent persons	a) Daughter b) Son c) Both

Part 5: Elderly care & care for other dependent persons

22. Who takes care of the elderly/other adults in need for care in your household?

    a) Myself (continue to question 23)
    b) Spouse/Partner
    c) Mother
    d) Father
    e) Sister
    f) Brother
    g) Other

Specify: _____

23. How often do you have to take care of elderly/other dependent persons while simultaneously performing another activity?

    a) Always
    b) Often
    c) Sometimes
    d) Rarely
    e) Never

24. Are you satisfied with the way elderly care & care for other dependent persons is assigned in your household?

    a) Not satisfied (continue to question 24a)
    b) Somewhat satisfied (continue to question 24a)
    c) Neutral (continue to question 24a)
    d) Satisfied (end survey)
    e) Very satisfied (end survey)

24a. If a, b, or c, please specify your reasons: _____

Annex 5 - Focus Group Discussion Guide

Presentation

Dear participants, thank you for your effort to attend this meeting. Your opinions are of crucial importance for our study. We as UBO Consulting have invited you to discuss unpaid care work for the project titles 'Who Cares', implemented by the Institute for Social Policy Musine Kokalari. IPS MK is an independent think tank, which promotes social-democratic values, working towards a more progressive society for Kosovo, promoting a more equal and just society. Main goal of the study is to investigate citizens' opinions on unpaid care work – house work, childcare, care for the elderly and other dependent persons.

This discussion will last approximately one hour and a half. Before we start, we will inform you briefly about some rules and the format of this type of discussion, which should guide us in order to have a more fruitful conversation.

General Rules:

- We want to hear everyone's opinion. Please do not wait to be called, feel free to speak and join the discussion. If we notice that someone has not spoken at all, we will ask that person to speak, but it is not obligatory. It is not necessary to raise your hand.
- Please do not hesitate to speak your opinion, there are no right or wrong answers.
- Treat each other's opinions with respect. Please do not interrupt one another.
- Please speak up so other participants can hear you.
- Please turn off your phones and please do not leave the discussion prematurely.
- Due to project partner's request, we request a joint picture with all of you. The picture is for reporting purposes to the partner organization and will remain private. It won't be published in any form.
- We request your permission to voice-record this meeting. We guarantee confidentiality, and the tapes will be used for general analysis of the discussion, not for individual persons. After transcribing, the recording will be deleted.
- The findings for the study will not relate in any way to your personal information. If you don't have any questions, we can begin.

Part I: Introduction

1. Could you tell us your name, employment status and who you are living with?
2. On an average day or week, how much time do you spend taking care of yourself / others? *(Ask about house work, childcare, elderly care etc.)*

Part II: Social Norms and Gender Roles in Relation to House Work

3. Who do you think contributes most in your household?
4. Abstract: If one of the spouses would have to leave work due to house work / childcare / elderly care obligations, who should leave work/stay home?
    - *Investigative question: Who should leave work – the one who is paid less, or the wife/husband? If the family lives with the husband's parents, who should take care of them?*

5. Are you satisfied with the way household activities/chores are assigned? *(Ask why yes/why no)*
6. Do you think men should perform house work? *(Ask why yes/why no)*
7. Do you think men get laughed at/judged by society if they perform house work?
    - *Investigative question: If no, would men perform more house work?*
8. Are there household activities in which women are naturally better at than men?
9. Do you ask your children for help with chores?
    - *Investigative question: Which of your children do you ask to help with grocery shopping, washing dishes, care for other children etc. (son or daughter)? Which do you teach to perform housework?*

Part IV: Childcare

10. Who takes care of the children in your household?
    - *Ask about cooking and feeding them, entertaining them, bed time routines, getting them ready for school and dropping them off, maintaining their clothes etc.*
11. Are you satisfied with the way childcare activities are assigned in your household?
12. Should fathers also take paid leave (parental leave) to care for his child after birth?
    - *Additional question for men: The law in Kosovo states that maternity leave is 12 months. Would you take 6 of these 12 months in order to care for your child, so that your wife/partner can go back to work?*
13. Did you use your vacation days because your child was ill?
14. Should all children receive child allowance or should only children of poor families receive it?
15. What type of responsibility should the state have towards childcare?
    - *Investigative questions: Should there be more kindergarten or day-care centers? Should the state play any role in care if both parents are employed?*

Part V: Elderly care and care for other dependent persons

16. Do you live with any elderly persons or other dependent adults? If yes, who takes care of them?
17. Did you have to take vacation days in order to take care of an elderly (ill or other) family member? If yes, how many days?
18. Are you satisfied with the way elderly care & care for other dependent persons is assigned in your household? (Ask about cooking, feeding, clothing, hygiene, doctors' appointments etc.)
19. What type of responsibility should the state have towards elderly and other dependent persons?
    - *Investigative questions: Would you send your parents to a care home for elderly, if such service would be offered by the state? Should the state have mechanisms in place to care for the chronically ill or otherwise dependent persons (hospital beds, medical care at home etc.)*
20. If a family is taking care of a person with needs (unable to care for themselves), should the state financially compensate that family?

VI: Closure

21. Does anyone have questions, or does anyone like to add something about the issues we discussed today?

Thank you very much for your time and contribution.