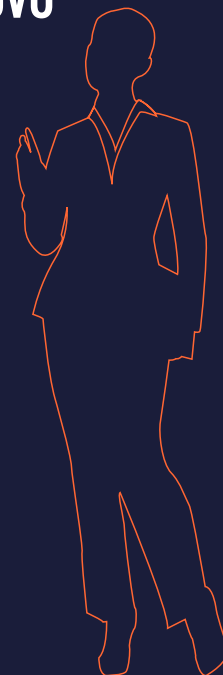
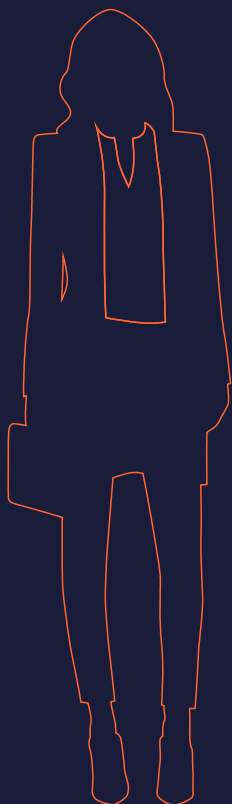




WOMEN IN THE WORKFORCE

AN ANALYSIS OF THE
WORKFORCE CONDITIONS
FOR WOMEN IN KOSOVO



2017



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ACRONYMS

EEC	→	European Economic Community
EU	→	European Union
EUI	→	Economist Intelligence Unit
FDI	→	Foreign Direct Investment
FLFP	→	Female Labor Force Participation
GDP	→	Gross Domestic Product
IFC	→	International Financial Corporation
ILO	→	International Labour Organization
IMF	→	International Monetary Fund
KAS	→	Kosovo Agency of Statistics
KGSC	→	Kosovo Gender Studies Center
KWM	→	Kosovo Women's Network
MLFP	→	Male Labor Force Participation
MLSW	→	Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare
MTI	→	Ministry of Trade and Industry
NGO	→	Non-governmental Organization
OECD	→	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
RROGRAEK	→	Network of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian Women Organizations of Kosovo
UN	→	United Nations
UNDP	→	United Nations Development Programme
WEF	→	World Economic Forum

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Double shift

A concept which depicts the time women who are engaged in both paid and unpaid work spend in both. The term double shift/second shift is used to show the impact that the gendered division of household labor, which burdens women disproportionately more than men, impacts division of time use for women, leaving them with little or no leisure time.

EU acquis communautaire

An accumulated body of EU law and obligations since 1958, including all treaties, directives, regulations, decisions, resolutions, and international agreements in the EU.

Female labor force participation (FLFP)

The female labor force participation refers to the proportion of women in the economy that are in the labor force, therefore that are willing and able to work. FLFP is an index that measures the ratio of the women working in waged labor market to the adult female population of working age.

Intra-household bargaining

Negotiations between members of a household attempting to arrive at a decision regarding the family/household unit – usually material or time allocation decisions. Intra-household bargaining contains both element of conflict and cooperation. The bargaining power of a member of the household is defined by multiple factors, but most notably by their fall-back position (which represents the sum of all outside options that are determinants of how well would he/she be if the cooperation within the household fails).

Labor gap

The labor gap is an economic calculation which shows the difference in the labor force participation between men and women.

Maternity leave

A period of medical absence for women employees prior or after childbirth with the purpose of medical recovery and taking care of infant children.

Parental leave

Parental leave is the authorized absence from work, as foreseen by local legislation, with or without pay, by a mother or a father with the purpose of taking care of children, usually newborn or newly adopted children. The parent, by law, is guaranteed return to the former employment, either in the same or equivalent job.

Paternity leave

Leave of absence taken from fathers to take care of their children.

Time Use Survey

Statistical survey to gather and report data on how people spend their time. Of specific importance in feminist economics, as it helps map the time women spend divided between paid work, unpaid work, and leisure.

Work-life balance

A concept that encompasses the process of prioritizing time spent between paid work and leisurely or pleasurable activities.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Kosovo's economy falls short of the potential it has to grow due to numerous issues, one of them being the under-representation of women in the economy. Women in Kosovo's economy face many challenges, in the labor force, more than 80% of the women are inactive, and of the remaining women who are active, the unemployment rate is around 37%; as entrepreneurs, women in Kosovo's economy represent only 10% of the business owners, and that is, largely owners of micro and small businesses. To be able to achieve the potential for economic growth, Kosovo needs to work towards higher inclusion of women in the economy and to provide the framework for women's economic empowerment. With this in mind, Riinvest Institute is working in research and advocacy pertaining to women's economic empowerment and improving the position of women in the Kosovo's economy.

In particular efforts to analyze the labor market for women who are currently employed, Riinvest has conducted a survey with employed women across Kosovo, the results of which are presented and analyzed in this report. This study aims at identifying the barriers women face in the labor force as well as determine areas for improvement of the current labor market conditions for women. The study contains analysis of primary data collected through face to face data collection, as well as secondary data, both policy and academic. The survey has been conducted with 600 employed women, selected through random sampling, across Kosovo's main municipalities in which 90 percent of women in Kosovo work. The survey contained questions on individual characteristics, working conditions, barriers to finding a job and faced when working, as well as other data, which are analyzed in this report.

THE MAIN FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY ARE AS FOLLOWS:

- ➔ **1.1** Overall, of the surveyed women, 54 percent work in the private sector, 41 percent work in the public sector, 2 percent are self-employed and work in NGO's respectively, and 1 percent work in an international organization.
- ➔ **1.2** In terms of education, around 38 percent of the surveyed women have completed a bachelor's degree, followed by 13 percent who have completed a master's degree or more, and 23 percent who have a high school diploma. These are different between sectors, where in the public sector, a

higher share of women have completed tertiary education than women in the private sector.

- ➔ **1.3** When it comes to income, the average salary of employed women is 387 euros. More specifically, 33 percent have a salary between 200 and 350 euros, and 30 percent have a salary of 350 to 500 euros. Across sectors salary levels differ, in the public sector the average salary is 443 euros monthly, whereas in the private sector it is around 26 percent lower, at 329 euros monthly.

- ➔ **1.4** Considering the sensitivity of informality in Kosovo's economy, women were asked about their work conditions. In the private sector, around 30 percent of women work without a contract and of the rest, around 50 percent hold a fixed term contract. In the public sector, only 25 percent of women have a fixed term contract.

- ➔ **2.1** Placing importance on the barriers women face in the workplace, 36 percent of women consider that the low salary level they receive is the highest barrier they face. Furthermore, 15 percent of women consider unsuitable working hours as a barrier; another 12 percent consider the lack of flexible hours a problem in their workplace.

- ➔ **2.2** In Kosovo, more than 1 in ten women have felt discriminated in the workplace. More specifically 30 percent of women believe their supervisor discriminates against them based on their gender when delegating work, 20 percent believe their gender impacts their profession, and 20 percent believe their colleagues treat them differently because of their gender.

- ➔ **2.3** In general, all working conditions show clear differences between sectors, especially between the private and public sector, as the main employers. Women in the private sector work, on average, one day longer weekly, that is 20 percent more than women employed in the public sector, while being paid on average 26 percent less.

- ➔ **2.4** Sectoral differences persist in the working hours as well as working outside of the schedule. More specifically 31 percent of women in the private sector who have worked more than 10 hours a day, compared to 17 percent of women working in the public sector.

➔ **2.5** The percentage of women in the private sector who have worked on weekends, is double that in the public sector (66% compared to 34%). Moreover, the share of women in the private sector working during official holidays is three times higher than that of women working in the public sector.

➔ **2.6** Apart from having to work outside the regular schedule, women rarely receive compensation, with approximately 75 percent of women never having received any kind of compensation for this kind of work.

➔ **3.1** Looking into the perspectives for employment and the barriers women have faced, it shows that the top three ranked barriers when searching for a job are (1) the lack of appropriate jobs; (2) lack of time to work due to household obligations; and (3) lack of part-time work opportunities. The main reason that has driven women to find a job has been the need for additional income.

➔ **3.2** In terms of time spent seeking employment, 58 percent have found their job within 6 months. This is different for women who are employed the first time, of whom only 43 percent have found a job within 6 months of searching. Moreover, there are regional differences, which show that seeking employment takes more than 6 months for around 75 percent of women in Gjakova, and for around 50 percent of women in Mitrovica.

➔ **3.3** In terms of methods of employment, 60 percent of women in private sector have been hired through recommendations or family connections. In a regional perspective, around 60 percent of women in Peja, have found their jobs through these means.

➔ **4.1** Stemming from research and analysis, one of the reasons of discrimination in hiring women remains the high cost burden that employers consider they will have to incur for hiring women who will take maternity leave during the time of the employment. To assess this, Riinvest has surveyed women on their stances on maternity leave.

➔ **4.2** From the surveyed women 51 percent believe the maternity leave offered in the law is sufficient, a figure that is constant across sectors of employment. Moreover, the average time women have taken for their maternity leave is 8 months and 20 days.

➔ **4.3** The time spent during maternity leave differs across sectors, the average maternity leave duration in the public sector is 9 months and 2 weeks, whereas in the private sector it is 7 months and 3 weeks.

➔ **4.4** Of the respondents, 92 percent have returned to work after maternity leave, out of which 94 percent have returned to their previous job, with the same responsibilities and salary. However, 60 percent of women who were subject to changes in working conditions after taking maternity leave, received a pay cut.

➔ **4.5** In view of shared child caring responsibilities among partners, 74 percent of women believe that the Law should guarantee paternity leave for fathers.

➔ **5.1** Assessing the impact that economic independence has on women's empowerment, around 66 percent of women, in total, agree that having a paid job is empowering and the best way to be independent for women.

➔ **5.2** Moreover, 99 percent of women agree that both partners should contribute to the household income, and decisions on household spending are generally made jointly by couples.

➔ **5.3** While 91 percent of women believe, at least to some extent, that men are as capable as women of caring for children, and in 74 percent of cases, both partners are involved in childcare.

➔ **5.4** On average, women spend 7 hours and 30 minutes in paid work, and approximately an additional 3 hours in unpaid household work, and women who have children work an additional 45 more minutes at home, on average.

➔ **5.5** That shows further, where around 69 percent of women believe their workload directly interferes with the time they would otherwise spend with their families

➔ **5.6** Albeit 23 percent of women do not agree that their most important role is to care for the family, an even higher share, 38 percent of women do not believe that family life suffers when a woman has a full-time job, as the income level of the women increases, the level of disagreement rises up to 71 percent.

This study is structured as follows: the first section includes an overview of the existing studies and literature in the field; the second section provides a detailed country, regional, and EU analysis of legislative provisions on child-related leave; the third section covers the survey methodology; the fourth section presents detailed survey findings, arranged into subsections that cover specific areas of study; finally, the last section contains the concluding remarks from the analysis.

1. OVERVIEW OF EXISTING RESEARCH

Women's economic empowerment has been subject to studies and papers in the recent decades, usually with different focus for developed and developing countries. While in developed countries, much attention has been given to gender pay gap and lack of women in leadership positions, in developing countries the focus was more on women's labor force participation rates and the impact of unpaid care work. There is increasing literature and empirical work in women's economic opportunities in the past three decades. Many studies focus on specific areas that impact women's economic empowerment, ranging from socio-cultural norms, to education, and the business environment in an economy.

Poor policies in developing countries have led to numerous challenges, including the gender gap, a rise in the informal sector, and vulnerable employment. Women, youth, and migrants are particularly susceptible to weak labor standards, lack of collective bargaining rights, and low employability for skilled labor (International Labour Organization, 2013). A cause of pay differentials between men and women is gender segregation that forces women into lower paying jobs, particularly women in the Global South who are often restricted by cultural and social norms (UN Women, 2015). This frequently leads women to the informal sector and jobs that are not subject to legislation on fair wages, resulting in poor pay and working conditions, skills mismatch, and a lack of social protection and job security for workers (Chen and Carr, 2004; UN Women, 2015; International Labour Organization, 2013).

Jayachandran (2014) looks more into the specifics of gender gap differences between developing and developed countries. Looking into certain developing countries, the article finds that a combination of the cultural and societal constraints, with the set-up of the economy contribute to lower labor force participation rates. As a result, it finds that because of the societal expectations for women to work in unpaid care work, as well as a considerable lack of jobs considered fit for women, leads to lack of women in the labor force, resulting in a high economic gender gap.

More specifically, existing literature on the female labor force participation (FLFP) is largely reliant on the U-shaped feminization of the labor force. This concept that was first presented by Sinha in 1956, predicts the long term relationship between FLFP and economic growth of a country is U-shaped. Following the changes in prevalent industries in an economy, based on the growth level, observations show that in low income economies, where most of the production comes from agriculture, a labor intensive industry, the labor force participation for women is high. With growth, economies move into industrialization, especially in heavy industries such as mining and construction, the FLFP falls, due to the nature of the jobs available. However, as the economy develops further, and moves from heavy industry into services, there is an increase in the FLFP. Kosovo, while still a developing country, has a worryingly low FLFP, at an estimated only 18 percent. However, studies that examine FLFP conclude that non-OECD countries show different patterns of FLFP than OECD countries, mainly because the labor force as a whole is concentrated in different industries. Cooray et al. have conducted an empirical re-assessment of the impact of globalization and FDI on FLFP with data for developing countries which have derived results contrasting the findings of previous studies (Cooray, Gaddis, and Wacker, 2012). The findings show that openness to trade and FDI in fact have a negative impact on FLFP, however, this impact is economically negligible and shows regional heterogeneity. Moreover, even these industries that are dominant in an economy differ among countries, mostly dependent on the level of economic growth of the country. In developing countries, there is no clear positive correlation between trade openness and globalization and female labor force participation. As such, this begs the question of whether the increased FLFP in countries with higher trade openness is not only a result of globalization, but rather a result of other factors, circumstantial factors. These circumstantial factors range from democracy, to rule of law, to the emancipation of the society. Moreover, studies find that increased educational attainment shows a positive impact on women's economic participation across different development levels of the economy (see Eckstein and Lifshitz, 2011; Steinberg and Nakane, 2012).

Women's disproportionate representation in service jobs, especially in care work has led to continuous scholarly support for the positive impact of changes in the economy to contribute positively to women's segregation (See Folbre, 2012). Earlier studies worked on empirically proving that occupational and industry segregation explains much of the gender wage gap as well as the gap in employment and activity (see Blinder, 1971; Fuchs, 1971; Oaxaca, 1973; Sorensen, 1990; Levanon et al., 2009). Due to this, literature largely agrees that shifts in the economy, from agriculture to services, are likely to produce better economic opportunities for women (see Jayachandran, 2014; Blau and Kahn, 2016).

Focus on the unpaid care work and the strain it can have on women has been measured through Time Use Surveys, that provide a detailed window into the complexities of domestic life allowing government to tailor policies to do the most good while expending the least money; specifically it allows for the monitoring of unpaid work and non-market production, the well-being of the population, and gender equality (Beneria, 2003). While the cost of Time Use Surveys, is often a burden for developing countries, the increased availability of quality information gives policymakers the knowledge needed to target policies to reduce income inequality, increase the efficiency and effectiveness of social welfare and promote well-being (Floro and Miles, 2003; Esquivel, 2008). Moreover, apart from the invaluable informative decision making, scholars also claim that information on unpaid labor can assist in attracting foreign aid and investment (Amhed and Koh, 2011). In Kosovo, no Time Use Survey has been conducted yet. As a result, there is no official assessment of unpaid work that the population engages in, neither as a way of analyzing welfare or as a tool for evaluating socio-economic trends.

Work in assessing the impact of policies and legislation on women in the economy have ranged from those focusing on fiscal policies to those focusing more on social and welfare policies. However, regardless of the policies assessed, the positive impact of the institutions in offering a more suitable environment for women to work in is undeniable. Gender sensitive policy action is needed to rectify the socio-economic obstacles of women, gender segregation in the workforce, and the gender wage gap (UN Women, 2015). Patterns of exclusions and inclusions are seen in export-led manufacturing and can lead to negative outcomes. Women who have been excluded from former work in factories and find themselves doing the same work at home under worse conditions (Chen and Carr, 2004). Several studies have assessed the impact of fiscal policies that are drafted with country-specific norms and economic indicators in mind showing that these policies have a positive impact in both raising the female labor

force participation rate and providing a better environment for women to actively participate in the economy. Fiscal policies both from the revenue and expenditure side can prove successful in improving the environment for women's economic empowerment. Policies such as tax benefit to stimulate labor force participation of women, or changes in income taxation, around the world, have empirically been proven successful in stimulating women's economic participation (see International Monetary Fund, 2012; Aguirre et al., 2012; Duflo, 2012; Thevenon, 2013). On the expenditure side of fiscal policy, social welfare policies, especially those that provide affordable and accessible child care, have proven successful in increasing women's economic participation as a result of freeing women from child care obligations (see Gong et al., 2010). Moreover, overall institutional investment in improving infrastructure, ranging from better access to public transportation, to improved access to child-care, have had a positive impact on women's economic activities around the world (see Norando, 2010). In Kosovo, an assessment of the fiscal expenditures on infrastructure, most particularly on child and elderly care infrastructure, has been published by the Kosovo Women's Network, and has provided specific recommendations that a better care infrastructure has a direct positive impact on women's labor force participation – something that needs to be addressed by the Kosovo institutions (Farnsworth et al., 2016).

Apart from fiscal policies, legal provisions ensuring no discrimination and gender equality are the cornerstone of women's empowerment in general. Restrictive and discriminatory legislation has a negative impact on women's participation in public life, including here their economic activities. Legislation that does not provide equal access to the labor force, or that does not address gender based violence or family related law impedes women's economic participation as well (see Klugman and Twigg, 2012; World Bank and International Financial Corporation 2013).

Moreover, literature shows that poor social policies in the Global South involving maternity leave, elderly care, health care, minimum wage, and education have led to weak outcomes (see ILO, 2013; UN Women, 2015). However, the results of the impact of maternity leave on women's labor force participation shows ambiguous results. While well designed maternity and family legislation can support women's labor force participation, if legislation allows long period for women to be out of the labor force, it can lead to deskilling of these women and reduce their competitiveness in the labor force (see Jaumotte, 2013; Ruhm, 1998; Edin and Gustavsson, 2008).

Moreover, international institutions have increasingly been working both on producing research and recommendations on women's economic empowerment worldwide. UN Secretary General has established a High-Level Panel on Women's Economic Empowerment in 2016, who have produced reports on women in the economy around the world. The high-level panel's most recent report on Women's Economic Empowerment, focuses on the current state of women in the economy and the outlook towards achieving the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals. Globally, women are over-represented in unpaid household work, working in vulnerable work, and in many countries face hindrances in forms of discriminatory laws or social norms. This report also foresees the action agenda for the UN to pursue as a tool for women's economic empowerment, which are comprehensive and tackle issues in different areas. This action plan includes work from challenging social and cultural norms, to improvement of legislative and policy practices, to better business practices, to eradicate the existing gender inequality in the economy. Further work in assessing the gender bias in the economy is done by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) who publish a periodical index assessing women's economic opportunities for 113 economies (EIU, 2016). This index assesses the economic environment for both women employees and women entrepreneurs, through a scoring system of 26 indicators, into different categories. These categories include labor policies and practices, access to finance, education, legal and social status of women, as well as an assessment of the general business environment. These categories serve assess and rank 113 world economies.

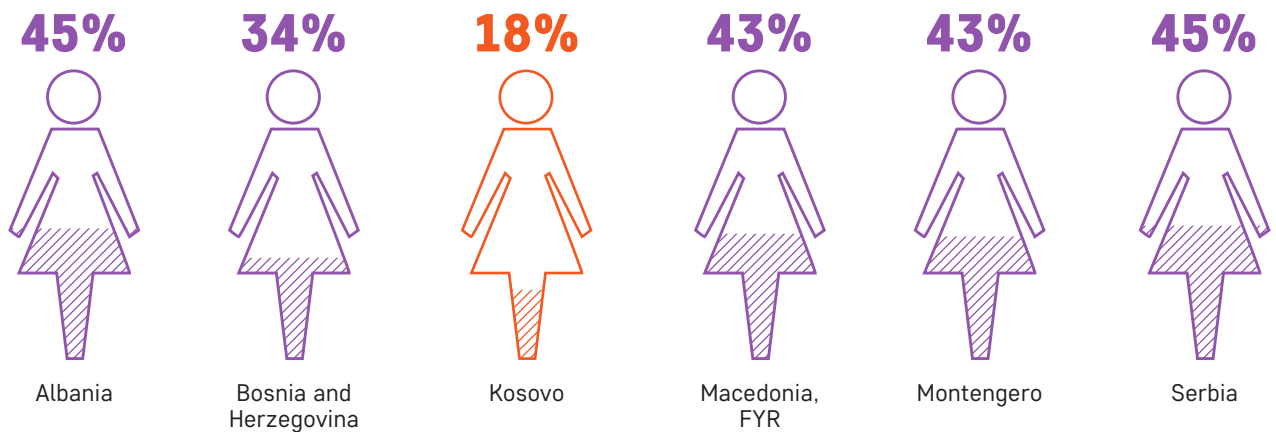
In Kosovo, women's economic empowerment has been explored through different lenses, but rarely through a general overview of women in the economy. Kosovo Agency of Statistics publishes monthly, quarterly, and annual data on labor force participation of men and women, providing a comparison of the activity and inactivity of both.

The overall labor force participation is estimated by the KAS at 38 percent, a level which is lower than most countries in the region, however, this level is dragged down by the even lower rate of participation of women. The labor force participation for men (MLFP) in Kosovo is 58 percent, whereas that of women (FLFP) is 18 percent. The labor gap - the difference in the labor force participation of men and women - in Kosovo thus is at 39 percent.

$$\text{Kosovo Labor Gap} = \text{MLFP} - \text{FLFP} = 58.7 - 18.1 = 38.6$$

Moreover, Kosovo women's labor force participation, of 18 percent, is lowest in the region, trailing all neighboring countries. This means that the inactivity rate for women in Kosovo is around 82 percent. The country with the next lowest FLFP is Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a rate of 34 percent, which is still 16 percentage points higher than that of Kosovo. The female labor force participation in other countries in the region is similar and close to 44 percent, highest in Serbia and Albania at 45 percent, while in Montenegro and Macedonia it is 43 percent in each. This can be seen in Figure 1.

FIG. 01 LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE, FEMALE (PERCENT OF FEMALE POPULATION AGES 15+)



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

Moreover, women in Kosovo also face a higher unemployment rate than men. According to Kosovo Agency of Statistics, the unemployment rate for women is 37 percent, compared to men's unemployment rate of 32 percent. An even bigger difference is seen in the employment rate among men and women, which results from both a low participation rate and high unemployment, where the rate of employment for working age women is 12 percent, whereas that of working age men is 39 percent. Of those women who are employed, almost 40 percent are employed in the education and health sectors, which are among lowest paid in the public sector. Men, on the other hand, are employed mostly in manufacturing, trade, and construction sectors.

Shedding light to the reasoning for women's low participation are in the labor force, women usually reason their inactivity in the labor force with personal or family responsibilities, with 39 percent of inactive women giving this reason, compared to only 4 percent of men. This shows a tendency of women to take more responsibilities in household and unpaid care work, as a result having less hours available for paid work. This is also in line with reasons women have given for working part time, where family responsibilities and care work amount for 48 percent of women working part time.

Apart from statistical analysis of the state institutions, local and international organizations have conducted research and provided insights into different aspects of women's economic participation, but there is still a lack of a comprehensive study of women in the labor force, one that this report intends to start addressing.

Kosovo Women's Network (KWN) has been largely engaged in research and advocacy on gender responsive budgeting, which has provided a basis for Kosovo institutions to mainstream gender perspectives in their budgeting and planning work. These reports serve as the first comprehensive analysis and recommendations on how to conduct gender responsible budgeting, something for which Kosovo institutions are legally obliged. More specifically, KWN have published reports on gender responsive budgeting at different levels. The report on Budgeting for Social Welfare (Shima and Farnsworth, 2014), aimed to help the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare (MLSW) to assess and plan the budget such that it includes a gender perspective, with specific recommendations for different departments as well as different policy proposals of the Ministry. More-

over, a follow-up report, focusing specifically on wages and subsidies within the MLSW was published in 2015 (Morina and Farnsworth, 2015). More recently, KWN have published their reports on gender responsive budgeting for Trade and Industry, giving the Ministry of Trade and Industry (MTI) specific objectives to fulfill in their action plans and policy proposals with a gender perspective in budgeting to ensure equal benefits to both men and women from these policies and plans (Farnsworth et al., 2016).

The Law on Labor in Kosovo has also been subject to numerous studies and assessments from local organizations. Kosovo Gender Studies Center (KGSC) has published an assessment of this Law in 2011, in which they analyze the impact of the legal provisions on women, mostly relating to maternity leave its impact on women's economic opportunities (Halimi and Demolli, 2011). KWN have more recently published an assessment of the Law on Labor in Kosovo, with the aim at providing concrete recommendations for amending the law. This publication assesses specific aspects of the law through the gender perspective, particularly contractual agreements, maternity leave, and unionizing and their impact on women's employment (Bajnska et al., 2016).

Moreover, considering the integration path of Kosovo, local organizations have addressed gender perspectives of EU integration for Kosovo. KGSC has published numerous reports that analyze the gender perspective of Kosovo's EU integration process – including the impact it has on the legislative and practical issues for women in Kosovo. In particular, KGSC has conducted research in specific municipalities to assess knowledge of EU integration policies and their gendered impact on the communities (KGSC, 2016). KWN has also published analysis on the expectations of women from the EU integration process in Kosovo. This report maps the findings on the policies and their practical implementation as requirements of the EU integration through a gender perspective (Rrahmani et al., 2016). Other local organizations who have worked in women's empowerment often have analyzed even more specific groups, such as ethnic minorities. One such organization is the Network of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian Women Organizations of Kosovo (RROGRAEK), who monitor Kosovo Government strategies on the integration of these groups in general, but also provide specific analysis of the economic opportunities for women of the Roma, Ashakli and Egyptian communities (RROGRAEK, 2012).

International organizations, such as the United Nations Development Programme and World Bank also have conducted research specific to women's economic opportunities in Kosovo. In the 2016 Human Development Report has focused on youth and women in the labor market, as the two groups which are especially overrepresented in unemployment (UNDP, 2016). This report identifies key factors that influence the outcomes of the labor market in Kosovo, specifically for women and youth and provide recommendations on how to tackle these issues. This UNDP report identifies demographic, economic, as well as place importance on the socio-cultural norms and their impact especially on women's economic participation. These is-

sues are explored in this report as well. The World Bank has assessed the Law on Labor in Kosovo, focusing on the maternity leave and the impact the current legislative provisions have on the business community. This report shows that the financial burden of the maternity leave on businesses, often prompt them to discriminate against women in hiring (World Bank, 2015).

However, while specific gender perspectives have been explored, Riinvest considers the need to fill the gap for an inclusive overview of women in the labor force, which will serve as a basis for future research and recommendations for policy changes.

2. LEGISLATIVE ANALYSIS: AN OVERVIEW OF CHILD-RELATED LEAVES

The main piece of legislation which governs the rights and obligations between the employers and the employees in Kosovo is the Law No.03/L –212 on Labor as published on 01.12.2010 in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Kosovo. Through its provisions this law grants a certain level of protection to women – a number of provisions which have an effect on the position of women in the labor force. Aside from the Labor Law, some of the rights relevant to women are incorporated in the Law on the Protection of Breastfeeding, as published on 23.11.2015 in the Official Gazette. The following sections attempt to provide an overview of the women-related legal provisions of the abovementioned laws.

2.1 Law No. 03/L –212 on Labor

The preamble to the law implies that its content is in compliance with the relevant conventions of the International Labor Organization, EU *acquis communautaire*, as well as the main principles of labor market.

Generally, the main pillars of women-related provisions in labor legislation include the provisions: on special treatment and occupational protection of women, equality of remuneration, prohibition of discrimination in employment relationships, and the right to maternity leave. For instance, the Directive 92/85/EEC (on the introduction of measures to encourage improvements in the safety and health at work of pregnant workers and workers who have recently given birth or are breastfeeding) requires EU member states to prohibit night work during pregnancy, to ensure all women are entitled to maternity leave of at least 14 weeks, ability to take ante natal examinations, prohibition of contract termination due to the state of being pregnant, as well as the continuity of employment rights.

In this regard, and in accordance with the requirements of the EU Directive 92/85/EEC, the Labor law recognizes women as a specific risk category whereby it grants them special protection (Law on Labor, Art. 44). In addition, the law endorses the principle of equal pay, by which it imposes a duty upon the employer towards provision of equal remuneration to men and women for their work of equal value (Law on Labor, Art. 55), notwithstanding the fact that such payment undergoes special provisions in the event of maternity leave. Early dismissal of women due to pregnancy is also prohibited through Article 53 which provides three stages when the early contract termination or transfer to another post is prohibited: during pregnancy, during maternity leave and when a women is absent from work due to special care for the child. However, there is one exception, this category of workers is subject to contract termination in the event of collective dismissals. Apart from Article 53, the law does not consider maternity leave as an interruption of the employment relationship, by that granting women the right to automatic continuity of their employment contract (Law on Labor, Art. 12).

Aside from the general principles set forth in each piece of labor legislation, the principal point has always been the chapter on child-related leave (ranging from maternity, paternity, parental, or adoption leave). On this exact chapter, the argument twirling around the principle of equality being at risk has kept the discussion alive, while opposing arguments from both sides of an employment relationship, the employer and the employee, are constantly addressed. The Labor Law established the right to (paid) maternity leave through its Article 49. Women are entitled to a total of 12 months of maternity leave, which may be used up to 45 days before the expected date of birth. By way of the compensation structure, during the first 6 months, women are entitled to 70 percent remuneration of their basic salary from the employer. For the following three months, women are entitled to the compensation of 50 percent of the average salary in Kosovo which is paid by the Government of

Kosovo. An additional 3 months of maternity leave can be used, although no payment is guaranteed during this term. The current law does not offer a straightforward option of paternity leave. Rather, the second half of the maternity leave, namely the last 6 months, may be transferred to the father subject to an agreement with the mother. Yet, as a rule, the exercise of the same rights as granted to the mother may be used by the father only in three exceptional circumstances: in the event of the mother getting sick, cases when the mother abandons the child, and/or in the event of the mother's death.

The last few provisions that are relevant to women in the labor market address their protection as a specific risk group, through which additional protection and safety in the workplace is granted. Hereof, the general prohibition within Article 46 stipulates that pregnant and breastfeeding women are prohibited from conducting "hard physical work, labor exposed to biological, chemical or physical factors that may risk the reproductive health as well as other specific cases", all of which are terms defined by secondary legislation. In addition to this substantive provision, the Labor Law is quite far reaching in terms of protecting pregnant and breastfeeding women towards the imposition of long working hours, overtime, and night work (Law on Labor, Art. 26, 27, & 48). To this end, the legislator has also opted in prohibiting the reassignment of pregnant and breastfeeding women in another working post without their prior consent (Law on Labor, Art. 17).

Though not all of the details are foreseen within the primary law, the following administrative instructions are the relevant secondary legislation:

➔ Administrative Instruction No. 15/2011 regarding the procedure for financial payment for maternity leave;

➔ Administrative Instruction No. 11/2011 regarding classification of hard and dangerous forms of labor that may damage the health of pregnant and breastfeeding women; and

➔ Administrative Instruction No. 04/ 2015 regarding the regulation of administrative procedures for compensation of maternity leave by the Government.

2.2 Law No. 05/L -023 on the Protection of Breastfeeding

A piece of legislation which is to be referred to as an extension to the Labor Law women-related provisions is the Law on the Protection of Breastfeeding. The extra protection is expressed through the entitlement of women to use two hours of paid daily break during the regular working hours for the purpose of breastfeeding – this starting from the sixth month up to one year. For the following one year, women are entitled to one hour of paid daily break. The breastfeeding break is given in addition to the regular break (Law on Labor, Art. 5).

Just as the Labor Law does, the Law on Protection of Breastfeeding places an absolute prohibition on the jobs that are identified as risky for the health of the breastfeeding mother and the infant (Law on the Protection of Breastfeeding, Art. 6).

2.3 The impact of the Labor Law on the private sector and women in the labor force

The negative effect of the maternity leave provisions in Kosovo has proven to be twofold: it produces higher financial burden on employers, which has backfired with discrimination vis-à-vis women in the labor market. Perhaps not unexpectedly, business associations have consistently opposed the content of Article 49, in particular paragraph 3:

"3. First six (6) months of maternity leave, the payment shall be done by the employer with the compensation of seventy percent (70 percent) of basic salary."

The main concern arises out of the duration of the maternity leave and the compensation structure which characterizes it. The position of business representatives is that the provision imposes a high financial burden on businesses towards their employees making use of the maternity leave. Article 49 has been assumed to be the source of discrimination against women in the labor market, from the very early stages of the hiring process, mainly due to the inability of businesses to face additional financial burdens in a period when the private sector is facing many other obstacles. A study conducted in 2012 intended to provide a forecast of the financial implications of Article 49, para. 3 towards businesses. The study is based on the assumption that the

regular monthly salary of the employee is € 1,000. In accordance with the current legal provisions, the employee is entitled to € 4,200 for the first 6 months of her maternity leave, while the costs for her replacement in the duration of 12 months would amount to € 12,000. With these parameters, the costs are likely to reach € 16,200, hereby suffering a cost increase of € 4,200 during a 12 month maternity leave – under the assumption that only one employee uses the leave at a time (Zeka & Hapciu, 2012).

The financial implications of businesses have impacted the hiring policies altogether. This includes gender discrimination during the hiring process, by which women in child-bearing age generally face additional hurdles, due to the employers' perception towards their potential to use the maternity leave provisions. Even in the event of being hired, the current provisions tend to offer room for businesses to create a practice of offering shorter contracts of less than a year to women. In the long run, these provisions can afflict upon the women's salaries, in the sense that their incomes would not be equal to men's (Zeka & Hapciu, 2012).

In addition to the above, the lack of paternity leave or parental leave renders women option-less, and this can also afflict their career and professional life, in the sense that their "mandatory" maternity leave decreases their chance of being promoted or holding managerial positions.

2.4 European Union legislation

Despite a proposal to amend the directive towards extending the protection to the pregnant workers and women after giving birth or breastfeeding, the Directive 92/85/EEC on the introduction of measures to encourage improvements on the safety and health at work of pregnant workers who have recently given birth or are breastfeeding, the so-called Maternity Leave Directive, remains the main directive on an EU level which addresses the topic of maternity leave. To this end, the directive sets the minimum requirements, which must be complied by EU member states – the main being the requirement of at least 14 continuous weeks of maternity leave.

In addition to the Maternity Leave Directive, the Framework Agreement on Parental Leave, which is implemented through the Council Directive 2010/18/EU is regarded as a means of promoting equal opportunities and family responsibilities between men and women. Clause 2.2 of this directive states:

"The leave shall be granted for at least a period of four months and, to promote equal opportunities and equal treatment between men and women, should, in principle, be provided on a non-transferable basis. To encourage a more equal take-up of leave by both parents, at least one of the four months shall be provided on a nontransferable basis. The modalities of application of the non-transferable period shall be set down at national level through legislation and/or collective agreements taking into account existing leave arrangements in the Member States."

2.5 EU Members states legislation and policies

The following paragraphs provide an overview of the national legislation and policies of several EU member states, chosen on a random basis, and are confined to the provisions on the duration of maternity leave and parental leave as well as the structure of compensation – as the main provisions which need to be amended in Kosovo Labor Law. Seemingly, each state has adopted its rules on the duration, types, and compensation of childbirth-related leave which, although in compliance with minimum requirements as set by EU, reflect the countries' socio and economic traits. These policies are considerably different, which proves that each country needs custom-built rules and any replication of these risks proving unsuccessful in Kosovo. Notwithstanding the above, the following may be viewed as common denominators of these policies: a minimum of 14 weeks of maternity leave; remuneration paid by the government through respective national means; and protection against dismissal throughout the leave and up to 1 year following the return to work.

FINLAND: Finland is known as a country that provides one of the best legal frameworks in terms of protecting parents both before and after childbirth. According to the Employment Contracts Act, employees are entitled to maternity leave, special maternity, paternity, and parental leave (Employment Contracts Act, Chapter 4, Section 1). The Finnish Health Insurance Act contains detailed provisions on the implementation of these four types of allowed leaves, whereby it also provides for the methods of calculation of the compensation. The paid maternity leave amounts to 105 working days while the paid paternity leave is provided in the duration of 54 working days (18 of these days may be used by both parents, at the same time). The parental leave is subject to the agreement of both parents, whereby 158

working days can be divided between them, and may start to be used immediately after the maternity leave termination. The compensation during these leaves is conducted through the Finnish national insurance program. One of the peculiarities of this system is the home care allowance, which is applicable to parents wanting to take care of their children at home, instead of childcare services (Ray, 2008).

AUSTRIA: Austria is also a country which offers two types of leaves on the occasion of childbirth, namely, maternity leave and parental leave. As a rule, paid maternity leave is in the duration of 16 weeks (Austria Maternity Protection Act, 1979). Respectively, the first half of the paid leave may be taken before the birth of the child, while the other half 8 weeks after. Although the Austrian law does not provide the option of paternity leave per se, it nonetheless closely resembles with the legal provisions of Kosovo Labor Law. This, in the sense that the father may use the paid maternity leave in the event of mother's death, or sickness. In addition to the rules on maternity leave, parents are entitled to make use of the parental leave, the threshold of which is set at the minimum of three months and up to the child's second birthday (a maximum of 730 days). As a rule, parental leave does not fall within the group of paid leaves, although a small allowance is given to parents with a lower income. In terms of remuneration, the mother is entitled to maternity leave compensation "that equals the average earnings she received in the last 13 weeks of the employment relationship" (Austria Maternity Protection Act, Art. 14). This remuneration is covered by the Government. In Austria, the period during which women are protected from dismissal is 4 months after their return to work.

FRANCE: French legislation offers the following child-related leaves: maternity leave, paternity leave, parental leave and adoption leave. The adoption leave may be regarded as a peculiarity of French labor legislation. The maternity leave is paid equal to the scale of the regular salary prior to the childbirth, and as a rule, it is offered in the duration of 16 weeks, 6 weeks of prenatal leave and the rest post-natal. Nonetheless, the law offers a longer time off depending on whether there is an event of i.e. a single births in a family with at least 3 children, birth of twins; or birth of triplets and more (French Labor Code, 2015). Unless otherwise agreed upon with the employer, all of the allowed leaves are paid by the government, namely the social security/sickness insurance fund.

GERMANY: Germany has adopted the minimum requirement of the relevant EU directive, thus paid maternity leave lasts in the duration of 14 weeks, 6 weeks of prenatal leave and 8 weeks of post-natal leave. Similar to the member states presented above, in Germany mothers are entitled to full remuneration based on the income they have received prior to making use of the maternity leave. The employers do not bear the burden of such payment, as depending on the case, remuneration is covered either by the mother's health insurance fund or the government. In comparison to France and Austria, Germany has included the right to paternity leave within the parental leave provisions, and as such does not provide any provisions for paternity leave as a distinct type of leave. Both parents are also offered the option of parental leave, which may last until the child becomes three years old. Nevertheless, this leave shall not necessarily be used during this period and may be transferred until before the child is 8, subject to an agreement between the parents and the employer. During this type of leave, a parent is entitled to 67 percent compensation of the regular salary.

ITALY: Similar to the German legislation, Italy does not offer paternity leave, while it only entitles the parents to maternity and parental leave. Mothers are provided a total of 5 months of maternity leave, which, as a rule, are divided in a 2+3 ratio (Italian Civil Code). In addition, subject to an agreement between parents, the law offers 11 months of parental leave, which, interestingly enough, may be used up to the child's 12th birthday. In terms of remuneration, the government, through the respective social security body, covers the compensation in the amount of 80 percent of the regular wage of the mother (100 percent if subject to the collective contract).

2.6 Regional practice

In general, the Western Balkans countries have opted for legal provisions which grant longer maternity leave periods than the EU member states. With the exception of Albania, these countries offer paid maternity leave at the rate of 100 percent, through different means, including coverage from the government or other insurance schemes. It is important to note that the countries in the region have not approximated their legislation and policies to the Council Directive 2010/18/EU with regards to parental leave, by manner of which their respective labor laws do not offer the option of parental leave yet. The table below showcases the practice of these states:

The Western Balkan countries, namely, Albania, FYR of Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia are to a large extent similar in terms of the duration of maternity leave, the fact being that the legislators have opted for a minimum of 9 months of maternity leave. As opposed to the current Kosovo Labor Law, these countries seem to provide a higher compensation for women during maternity leave. The following paragraphs offer an overview of what these countries offer on the topic of this report.

ALBANIA: The employment relations in Albania are regulated through the Albanian Code of Labor. According to the relevant legal provisions the duration of maternity leave is 1 year. The Labor Code does not offer the option of paternity leave; however, both parents are entitled to parental leave in cases of child adoption. The compensation structure of the maternity leave is regulated by the relevant insurance law, whereby the mother is entitled to payment of 80 percent of the average net income as received during the previous 12 months – prior to her maternity leave.

FYR OF MACEDONIA: The labor relations in Macedonia, including maternity leave, are regulated by the law on Labor Relations, which offers two options in terms of maternity leave duration. First, the law grants pregnant women the right to 9 months of leave after giving birth to their first child. However, women pregnant with the second child or later are entitled to 1 year of paid maternity leave. In terms of child related leaves, Macedonia offers the option of paternity leave only in scenarios when the mother will not make use of her maternity leave. Currently, the country has not foreseen the right to parental leave. Women are entitled to payment of 100 percent of their salary, which is covered by the government, namely the State Health Insurance Fund.

MONTENEGRO: This child-related leave provisions in Montenegro are almost identical with the ones in Macedonia. Women are entitled to 1 year of paid maternity leave which is covered by the government through the State Health Insurance Fund and it includes the average amount of salaries during the last 12 months, subject to payment of contributions for compulsory health insurance.

SERBIA: This country has adopted a slightly peculiar approach when compared to the other Western Balkans countries. The child related leaves are two: maternity leave and childcare leave. For the first and second child the mother is entitled to 365 days of paid maternity leave, whereas for the third (or more) child she has the right to two years of maternity leave. The compensation is executed by the employer; however, this compensation is reimbursed to the employer by the government. The level of compensation is 100 percent of the average of the mother's salaries during 12 months, prior to the use of maternity leave. In this regard, the rule has an exception – mothers with an experience of 3 to 6 months in a given entity are entitled to 60 percent of this amount. Serbia does not offer the option of parental leave.

TAB. 01 REGIONAL PRACTICE

Type of leave offered	Duration	Compensation structure	Comments	Other
ALBANIA				
Maternity leave	1 year	80% of the average net daily income of the last 12 months prior to the use of the leave	The option of parental leave in the event of adoption	Albanian Code of Labor
FYR OF MACEDONIA				
Maternity leave	9 months for the first child (1 year for more than 1 child)	100% of the salary is covered by the Government (State Health Insurance Fund)	Paternity leave to be used only in the event when the mothers does not make use of the maternity leave; parental leave not offered	Labor Relations Law No. 80/93-2007) & Health Insurance Law
MONTENEGRO				
Maternity leave	1 year	Paid leave by the Government (State Health Insurance Fund)	The average amount of salaries during the last 12 months, subject to payment of contributions for compulsory health insurance; parental leave not offered	
SERBIA				
Pregnancy leave; Childcare leave	1 year (first two children) or 2 years (third and fourth child)	100% of the average of the past 12 month salaries is covered by the Government	The use of pregnancy and childcare leave are calculated cumulatively and may not be used for more than 365 days, parental leave not offered	The compensation method is established by the Financial Support to Families with Children Act

3. METHODOLOGY

This section provides a general description of the methodological approach used in this study. In order to analyze women in the workforce in general, specifically focusing on the working conditions and work barriers of employed women in Kosovo, Riinvest research team used primary data gathered through a survey of women employed in the labor market. Moreover, the team has also used literature review and comparative analysis of qualitative data as a combination of research techniques to provide the most comprehensive research results.

The core data were collected through a survey including employed women throughout Kosovo. To construct the

sample, data on the number of employed women by municipality were obtained from KAS, therefore the sample was stratified according to the number of women employed in all municipalities.

To ensure that this research study produces representative data, the overall sample has included 600 respondents (employed women) throughout Kosovo, who were selected randomly, stratified by municipality from a population of 68,457 (based on data from KAS). Calculations have shown that a sample of 600 respondents is sufficient to generate representative results with a 95 percent confidence level and a 4 percent margin of error.

TAB. 02 SAMPLING DISTRIBUTION ACROSS KOSOVO REGIONS

	Number of employed women	Percentage of employed women	Number of questionnaires
Prishtina	27615	40.3 percent	242
Prizren	9041	13.2 percent	79
Gjilan	6693	9.8 percent	59
Peja	6612	9.7 percent	58
Ferizaj	5459	8.0 percent	48
Mitrovica	5204	7.6 percent	46
Gjakova	4981	7.3 percent	44
North Mitrovica	2852	4.2 percent	25
TOTAL	68457	100	600

SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

After constructing the sample, the next step was drafting of the questionnaire according to the sections which were pre-determined based on both academic and policy research conducted by Riinvest research team. The questionnaire contains generic questions regarding the profile of the employed women, more specifically socio-economic and demographic related questions. The main part of the questionnaire consists of questions aimed at obtaining information (quantitative as well as qualitative) about the working conditions, contractual arrangements, barriers in the working place, work-life balance and maternity leave.

The survey was conducted by engaging our experienced enumerators who were trained on the specifics of the survey. All enumerators underwent a three-day training, where they were informed about the content and importance of the survey; were trained on the survey methodology (contact with the respondent, ways of gathering information, ways of completing the questionnaire); and were tested on their ability to conduct surveys by simulating a sample survey.

Before the start of the survey, the questionnaire was tested by the Riinvest research team to ensure the efficiency of time and a logical sequence of questions. Small groups of 2 to 5 enumerators have worked under the supervision of one team leader. Besides monitoring the enumerators in the field and conducting logical control, verification of the surveys was also done through phone calls made by the research team and the project leader. Around 40 percent of the survey questionnaires, selected randomly, were re-verified by the research team, who contacted the respondents to make sure that the answers correspond to those that were filled in by enumerators. In addition, each questionnaire has been verified by the researchers to ensure correctness of questionnaire completion and to see

if it contains any non-logical response. This methodology improves the quality of data and helps avoid potential defects within the survey.

The sample unit in this survey is the employed woman. Households were selected randomly and employed women within a household was surveyed. If there were 2 or more women, who were employed in the family, only one of the women was surveyed, the one whose birth date was closest to the date of the survey.

Once collected, the data was encoded by experienced researchers using the operating software especially designed for the purposes of the project. Next, the data were analyzed and pre-interpreted using SPSS to identify responses outside of expected ranges, including potential inconsistencies across variables. Changes were made as appropriate. Additionally, periodic checks were made by the project leader, primarily through comparing variable means and distributions across files, to ensure that the data have not been altered, intentionally or otherwise. The research analyses in this report are predominantly based on descriptive statistics using cross tabulation techniques. Once the data was tabulated and cross-tabulated, the experienced research team has been engaged in interpreting and analyzing the findings.

Beside the survey, relevant studies and research reports have been utilized to complement on the primary research. Moreover, secondary research has been conducted in order to verify and consolidate the information received from the questionnaires. Following the data collection, from both primary and secondary research, a detailed report has been prepared, entailing analysis and providing recommendations on the findings.

4. SURVEY RESULTS

This section describes and analyses the output of the quantitative part of the study, the survey conducted with 600 employed women in Kosovo. Subsection 4.1 portrays general overview of the socio-economic nature of the surveyed sample. This subsection provides information on age, education, income, civil status and family dynamics on those interviewed. In addition, several cross tabulations are performed to analyze the findings in more detail and to see if specific factors such as education impact certain aspects.

The data presented are analyzed and compared with Kosovo-wide data. Subsection 4.2 provides detailed picture on contractual agreements and obligations between the employees and employers, as well as details of the sectoral differences in this regard. Barriers to seeking employment are analyzed in subsection 4.3. In subsection 4.4 there is an analysis of the workplace barriers and the working conditions of the surveyed women. Further, subsection 4.5 treats working hours, with special disaggregation by sectors, followed by section 4.6 which building on the previous sections, analyzes work-life balance of the respondents.

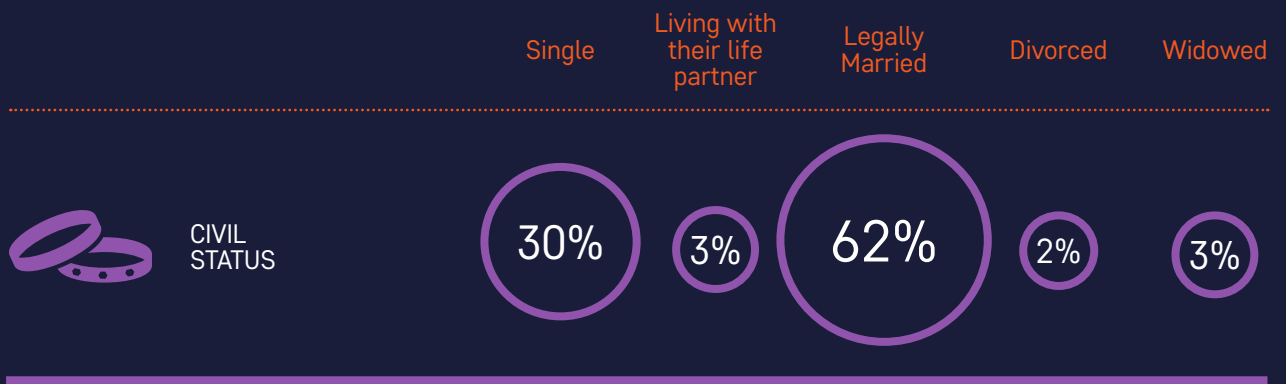
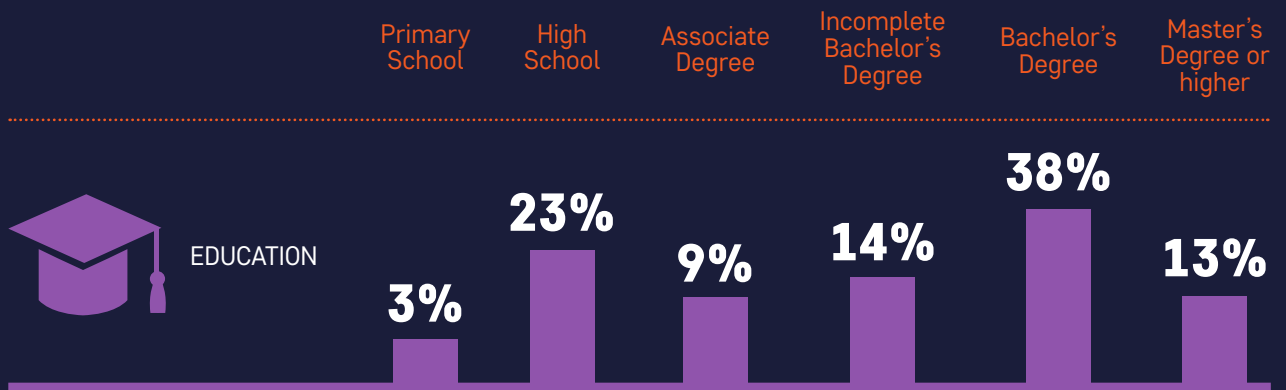
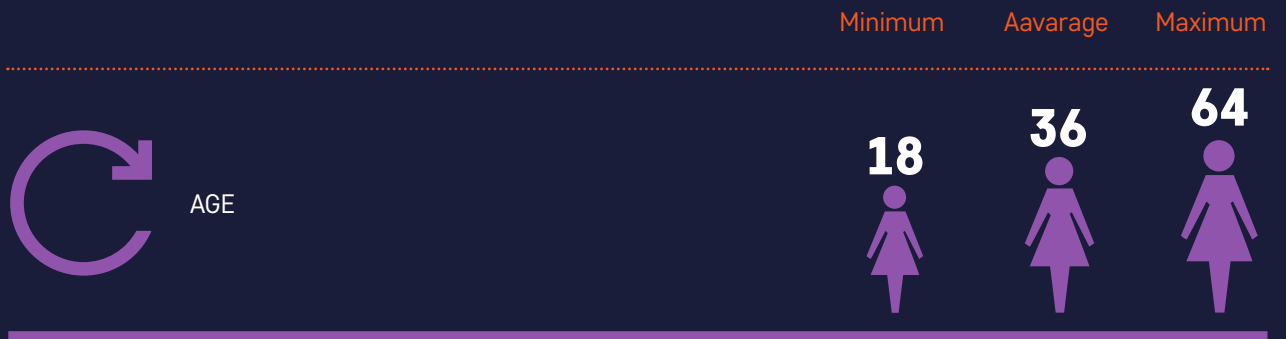
Considering the nature of the report and the survey, subsection 4.7 looks into the impact of economic independence on women's empowerment in the household and the improvement of their decision making power, followed by an analysis of the double shift which is covered in subsection 4.8. The bargaining power and the dynamics within the household are further explored in subsection 4.9 looking into the division of labor within the household. This section is completed with an analysis of the stances of the respondents on the maternity leave and the potential parental leave, which is reviewed in subsection 4.10.

4.1 General Overview

Considering the gender differences in the labor market, Riinvest Institute, in order to provide a more in-depth analysis of women in the workforce, has conducted a survey with employed women across Kosovo. The general characteristics of those women, ranging from demographic to working conditions, are elaborated throughout this section.

The age of the employed women surveyed, ranges from 18 to 64 and is on average 36, same as the age group with the highest labor force participation rate in Kosovo. With regards to marital or civil status, roughly 62 percent of the surveyed women are legally married, around 30 percent are single, roughly 3 percent have declared to live with their life partner, about 3 percent are widowed and almost 2 percent divorced. The average number of family members in the sample is 5. Around 38 percent of them have completed a bachelor's degree, around 9 percent have an associate degree, nearly 23 percent have completed high school and around 3 percent have completed only primary education. Almost 13 percent have declared to have completed a master's degree or more, whereas the remaining 14 percent have started but not completed their university studies.

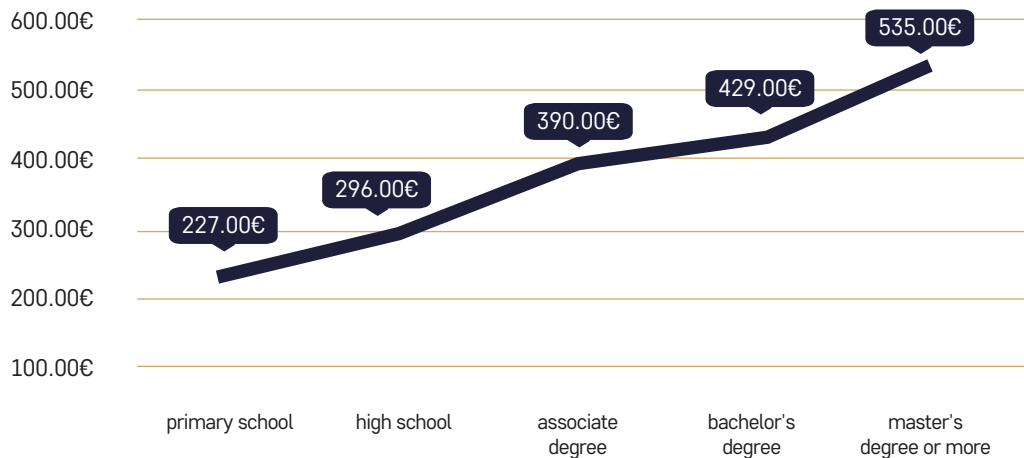
INFOGRAPHIC 1: GENERAL PROFILE OF WOMEN IN THE SURVEY



In terms of income received, on the other hand, the majority of women have stated to have a monthly salary ranging in two brackets that include salaries from 200 to 500 euros, namely around 63 percent, of which 33 percent report a salary of 200-350 euros, whereas 30 percent report a salary 350-500 euros. Nearly 12 percent of the surveyed women earn between 500 and 700 euros monthly, around 4 percent between 700 and 1,000 euros and only slightly more than 1 percent stated to earn over 1,000 euros in monthly salary. Around 11 percent of the surveyed women earn less than 200 euros a month. Out of the total number of interviewed women, around 9 percent has refused to give out details concerning their level of earnings.

As expected, income in relation to the level of education, shows a positive trend. The average monthly salary of a woman with primary education has turned out to be 227 euro; with high school degree it is 296 euros; with associate degree it is 390 euros; with bachelor's degree it is 429 euros; and with master's degree or more it is 535 euros (see Figure 2). Meanwhile, university dropouts earn a monthly salary of 308 euros on average, which is less than what women with a bachelor's degree as well as an associate degree earn.

FIG. 02 AVERAGE SALARY BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

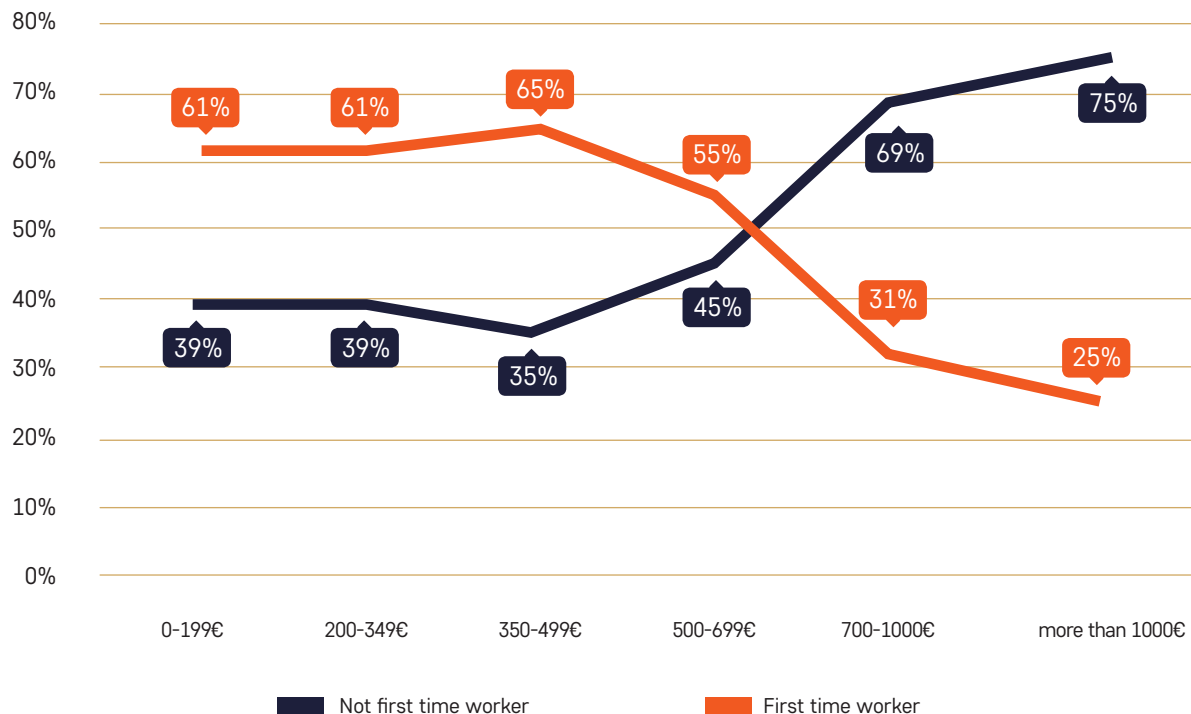


SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

Salary levels, as expected, also differ for women with different levels of work experience. That is, women working for the first time have lower average salaries than women who have some work experience. Of women who make up

to 500 euros monthly, 60 percent, on average, first time workers. This trend is reversed for higher salary levels that is more than 70 percent of women making more than 500 euros have more work experience.

FIG. 03 SALARY LEVEL DIFFERENCES FOR WOMEN WITH DIFFERENT WORK EXPERIENCE LEVELS



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

Those married or living with their partner, in turn, gave details on their partner's education as well. That is, around 59 percent of the partners have completed some kind of higher education degree (14 percent a master's degree, 32 percent a bachelor's degree, 13 percent an associate degree), around 11 percent have dropped out of university and around 30 percent have a high school degree or less. Almost 87 percent of the partners are employed and in the majority of cases, roughly 58 percent, the partner earns a higher income. In these instances the average monthly salary of the surveyed women is 398 euros.

Nonetheless, around 13 percent of the married women or those living with their life partner have declared to have the same level of earnings as them, at 443 euros on average, and almost 17 percent of the women have declared to actu-

ally earning more than their partner, with 531 euros monthly salary on average. The remaining either refused to answer or did not know their partner's level of earnings.

Considering the impact that salary level has on establishing the main breadwinner in the family, women in this survey were asked on who the main source of income is in their household. Disaggregating this question by women who are in a civil union, be it legally married or living with their partner, 26 percent of women claimed they were the main source of income in their household, while in 62 percent of the cases the main breadwinner was their partner, and in around 6 percent of the cases they both contributed to the household equally. The remaining claim that some other close family member is the main contributor to the income of the family.

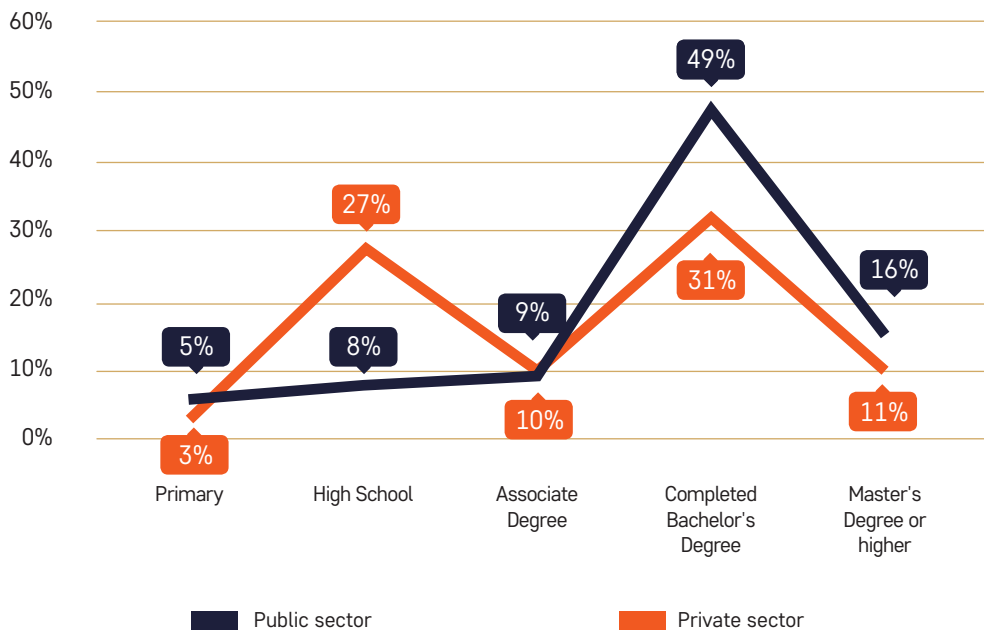
When including all surveyed women, not only those in a civil union, however, these figures change. In 28 percent of the cases, the woman is the main source of income in the household, their partners are the main source of income in 41 percent of the cases. As is expected, considering the sample includes women who are single, divorced, or widowed, the third most frequent answer to the main source of income are the parents of the surveyed woman.

Regarding sector of employment, around 54 percent of the surveyed women are employed in the private sector whereas roughly 41 percent in the public sector (as can be seen in Figure 4). The sectors of employment differ by region as well. This is in line with the private sector development in these regions, since through a bigger private sector there are more employment opportunities. In Peja, 71 percent of women are employed in the private sector, the remaining 29 percent work in the public sector. On the other hand, in the Mitrovica and Gjilan region, there are more women employed in the public sector than the private sector.

A comparison between the private and public sectors, as the main sectors of women's employment in our sample, it shows that the public sector has a higher educated workforce, specifically among the surveyed women. In the public sector 49 percent of the women in the sample, have completed their Bachelor's Degree, 16 percent have completed a Master's Degree or higher. Of the remaining, 9 percent have completed their Associate Degree, whereas 8 percent have not completed their Bachelor's Degree, and 5 percent have completed their high school degree and their primary respectively.

In the private sector, there is a more evenly distributed workforce education level. In this sector, 31 percent of the women surveyed have completed their Bachelor's Degree, 27 percent have completed their high school degree, and 18 percent have not completed their Bachelor's Degree. Out of the remaining, 11 percent and 10 percent have completed their Master's Degree, or an Associate Degree, respectively, and 3 percent have completed their primary education.

FIG. 04 EDUCATION LEVEL BY SECTOR OF EMPLOYMENT



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

On the whole, the average salary of the surveyed women is 387 euros. Disaggregating average salary by sector, depicts a considerable compensation differential between the public and the private sector. Notably, the surveyed women working in the public sector earn on average 443 euros monthly whereas women working in the private sector earn on average 329 euros monthly.

At country level, the average salary of employees, both man and women, working in the public sector is 429 euros while in the private sector it is 349 euros, as reported by KAS. However, while for the public sector, the women respondents reported a higher average salary than the Kosovo average for this sector (443 euros for surveyed women, compared to 429 euros for Kosovo average); the reverse is true in the private sector (329 euros for the surveyed women, compared to 349 as a Kosovo average). Average salaries of five sectors are illustrated in Figure 6.

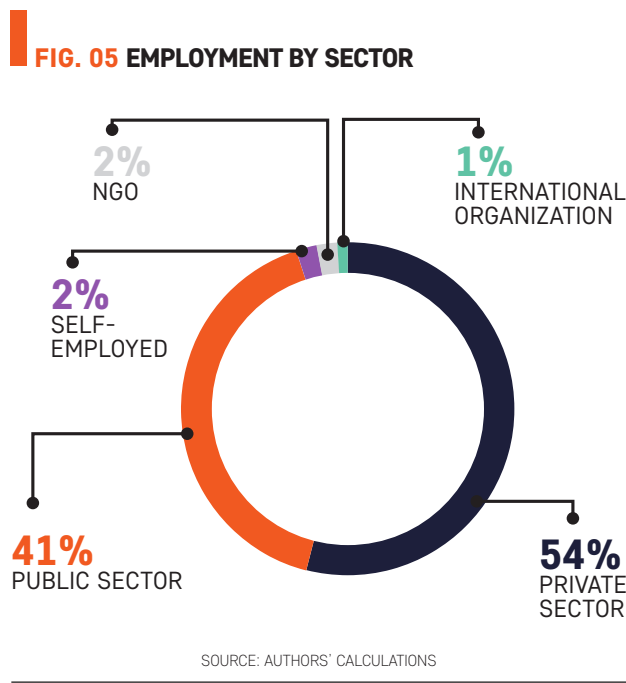
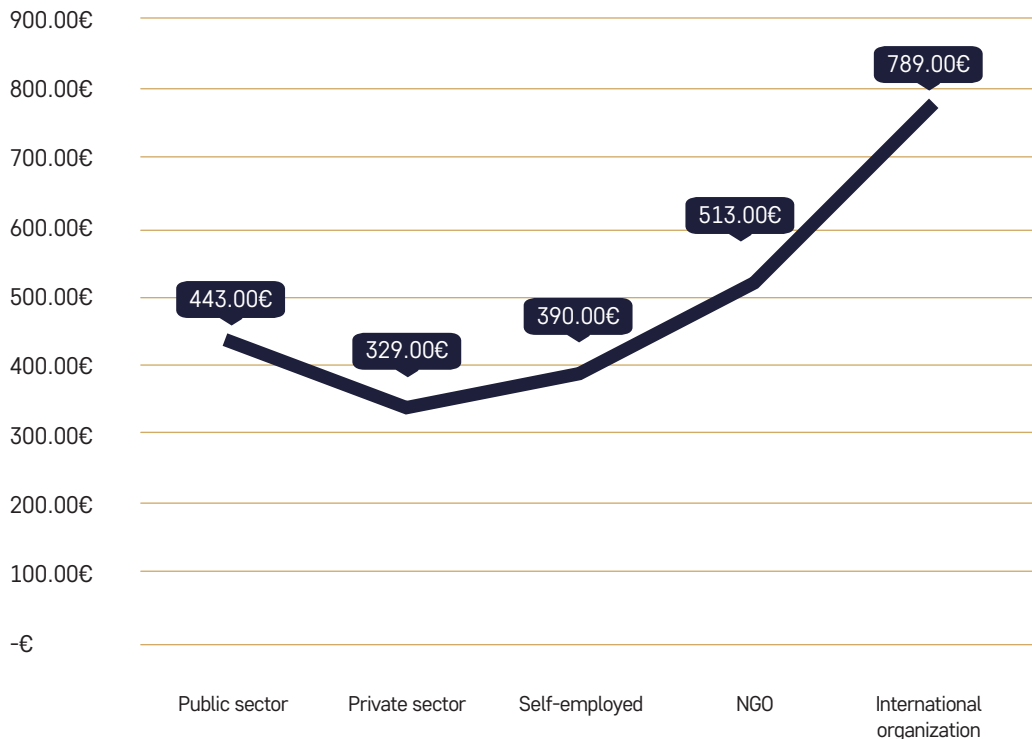


FIG. 06 AVERAGE SALARY BY SECTOR



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

Since Kosovo still has no official data on gender pay gap, this survey aimed at providing some insights into the gendered decisions on salary levels, measuring the differences in pay by gender through the perception of the surveyed women. Around 62 percent of the interviewed women think they are paid equally to a man holding a similar position and having similar experience and education. Around 24 percent do not know for certain and around 14 percent think their male counterparts are always paid more. Considering the legal provisions in both the Labor Law and the Law on Gender Equality in Kosovo,¹ that employers need to ensure equal pay for equal work regardless of the gender of the employee, the fact that 38 percent of women are not positive that they are paid the same as men for the same work, and out of these 14 percent are sure that this is not the case is worrying.

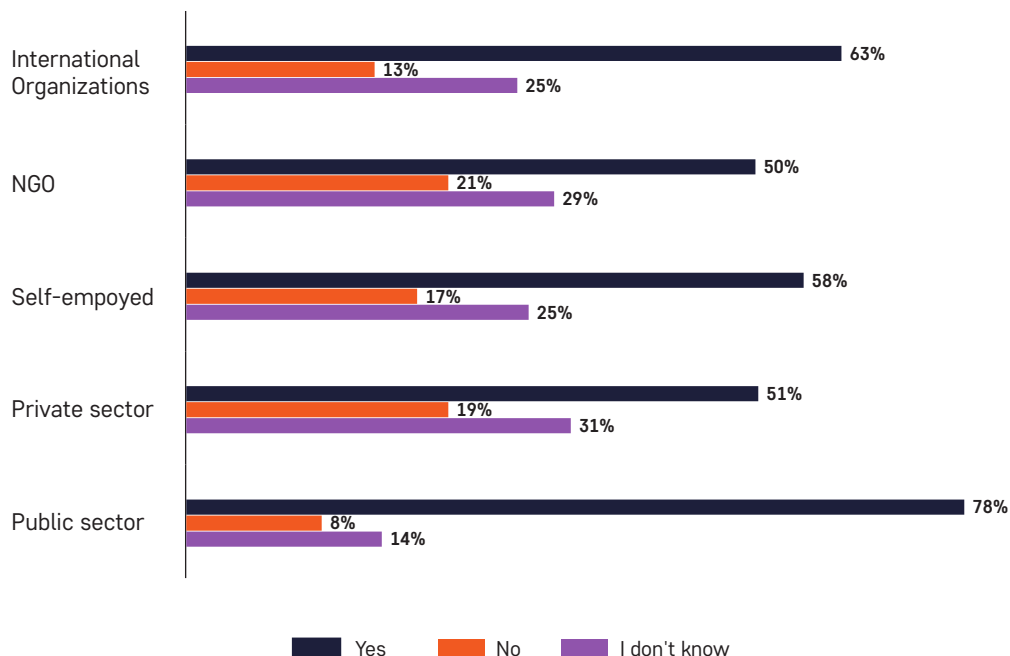
To better examine this issue, it is important to look into specific sectors of employment. Women employed in the public sector, in 78 percent of the cases believe they are paid the same as men for the same work, and out of the remaining



Women who are in a civil union, be it legally married or living with their partner, 26 percent of women claimed they were the main source of income in their household, while in 62 percent of the cases the main breadwinner was their partner

8 percent do not think this is the case. In the private sector, however, only 51 percent of women believe they are paid the same as men in the same position, and out of the remaining 19 percent are sure that they are not paid the same as their male counterparts. The private sector figures, with regard to this issue show both a wide difference with the public sector, but also with the overall sample of the survey.

FIG. 07 DO YOU BELIEVE YOU ARE PAID THE SAME AS A MAN IN THE SAME POSITION AS YOURS?



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

¹ Law No. 05/L -020 on Gender Equality, Law No.03/L -212 on Labour

4.2 Seeking employment

Statistically, women in Kosovo face a high rate of inactivity in the labor market, combined with a high level of unemployment. Generally speaking, such issues arise as a combination of both the offers of the labor market and the offers of the labor force. Considering the high level of inactivity for women in Kosovo, it is important to examine the issues and barriers that women who are seeking employment face. This section provides an analysis of these issues.

Surveyed women provided insight on how they initially got the job they currently hold. It turns out around 61 percent of the women were hired through a vacancy announcement and systematic hiring process. Almost 21 percent were called in and hired due to good references and recommendations and almost 18 percent through family connections.

Interesting to note here is that only 0.2 percent of the interviewed women got their current job through the employment office. Considering the high importance that Kosovo institutions have placed on employment offices around Kosovo, and the level of investments made to enable these offices to serve as the bridge between employers and potential employees, this low level of efficiency from these offices is concerning.

Furthermore, this issue is twofold. One, employment offices around Kosovo seem to be struggling to fulfill their mission in providing assistance and guidance to the unemployed and matching them with potential workplaces and employers. The other issue is the reluctance of unemployed workers to seek assistance from the employment offices, be it due to the high level of bureaucracy they face when registering, which requires time and resources, or due to the doubt raised that these offices will be able to in fact help them find jobs.

The hiring methods also differ across regions. In most regions in Kosovo, approximately 2 out of 3 women have been employed in their current job through a regular hiring process, across regions. Peja represents an outlier in this regard with around 60 percent of women finding their jobs either through a personal recommendation or family connections. This, nonetheless, is not surprising, considering that the vast majority of women in Peja are



Three in five women are hired in private sector jobs as a result of recommendations or family connections

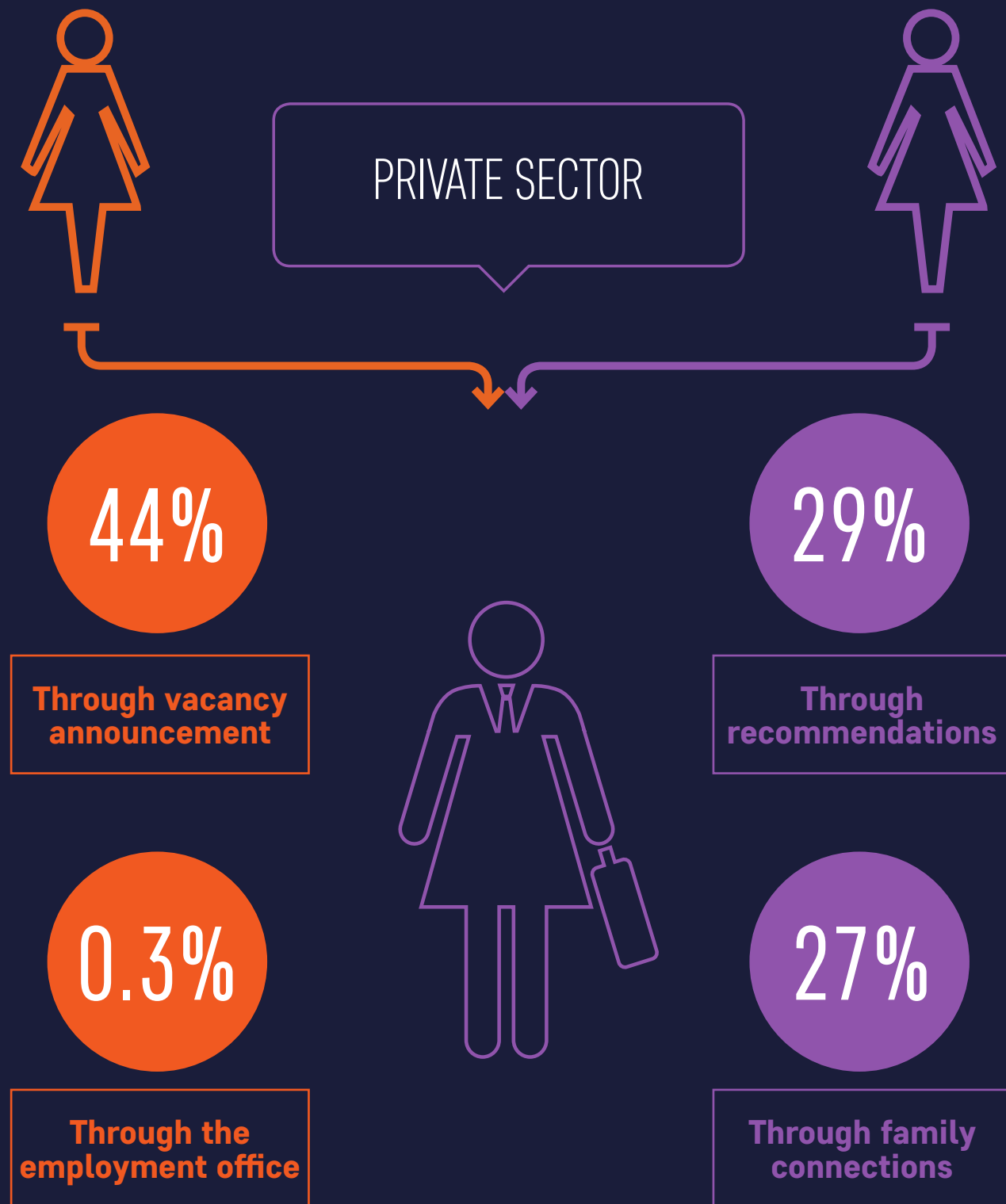
employed in the private sector. A more specific analysis of the hiring process in the private sector, shows that in Peja and Ferizaj, 69 percent and 63 percent of women respectively, have been hired through recommendations and family connections.

Looking into sectors, shows that the vast majority of women working in the public sector have been hired via a systematic hiring process, namely some 87 percent; whereas through good references some 8 percent and through family connections some 5 percent of the said women. In the private sector the percentages are spread out more; more explicitly about 44 percent of these women have been hired through a regular hiring process, about 29 percent through recommendations and a considerable 27 percent by means of family connections. This shows that in the private sector, three in five women are hired as a result of recommendations or family connections.

Employment through a regular process represents the most common approach for women working in NGOs or international organizations as well, with roughly 57 percent and 75 percent of the women having been hired this way in the two sectors, respectively. The alternative employment method in these two sectors is by means of references and recommendations.

With the availability of current research, it is impossible to infer lack of professionalism in the hiring process through either recommendations, and especially through family connections. For instance, while worldwide, networking is used as an effective tool of professional advancements, in Kosovo this practice is still in the developing phase and is only used in certain circles and professions. Thus, while using networks and professional recommendations for career advancements is not frowned upon, in Kosovo, employment through references and family connections often are not merit based and lack professionalism.

INFOGRAPHIC 2: HIRING METHODS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR



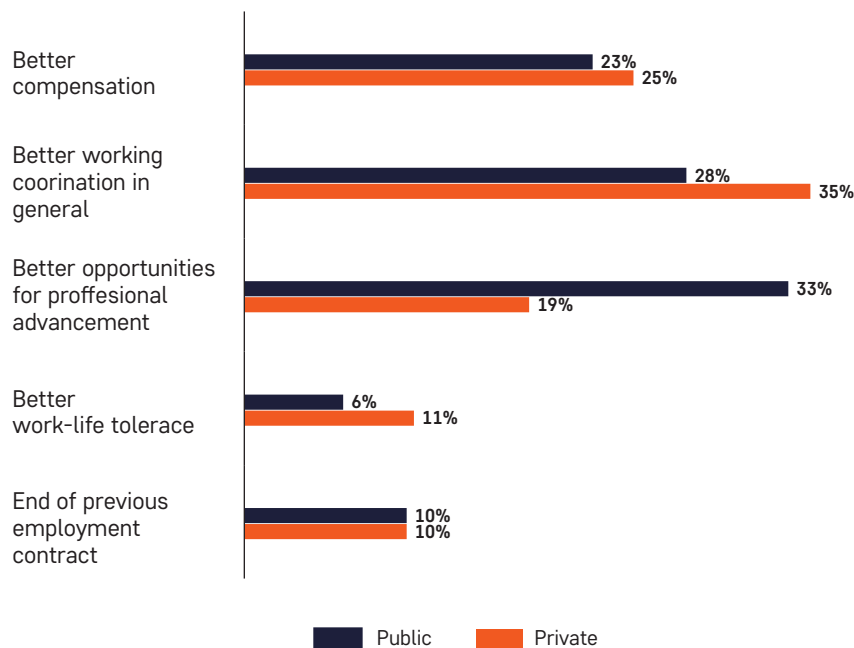
Roughly 41 percent of the surveyed women have been employed before getting their current job. The remaining 59 percent have not been working beforehand; either because they have been unable to find a job even though they were actively looking for a job (33 percent), or because they were not looking for a job at all (26 percent). The primary reason the women have given for leaving their previous job and seeking their current one is the better working conditions in general, with almost 32 percent. Following this, roughly 26 percent pursued the job due to the perceived better opportunities for professional advancement and roughly 23 percent due to better compensation. Around 9 percent were interested in the current job because they perceived that it allows for better work-life balance. The remaining have acknowledged that they applied for the current job owing to the ending of their previous employment contract.

These rankings reveal a high level of job appreciation that goes beyond material compensation from the respondents. Almost three in five women have changed jobs to seek better career opportunities or to have better overall working conditions, ranking them as most important. This

also shows an increased level of awareness of women on the importance of work conditions and professional advancement for themselves. On the other hand, the fact that only one in ten women changed to their current job for better work-life balance, is not necessarily due to the low level of awareness of the importance of this balance, but also reflects the fact that there are limited job opportunities in the Kosovo labor market, and this balance has to often be forgone.

When analyzing the reasons for changing the workplace by sector, it turns out that women working in the public sector mostly change their job owing to perceived better opportunities for professional advancement, whereas women in the private sector have declared this only as the third reason. Better working conditions in general is the second most frequent reason why women working in the public sector seek another job, whereas it is the utmost reason influencing women in the private sector to look for another job. Close to this, the other reason persuading women working in the private sector to look for another workplace is better compensation (as illustrated in Figure 8).

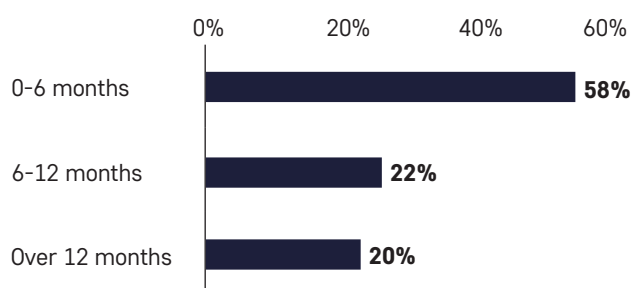
FIG. 08 REASONS FOR CHANGING THE FORMER WORK PLACE BY SECTOR



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

Interestingly enough, the majority of surveyed women, roughly 80 percent, have actively searched for a job no longer than a year before getting hired at the current one; whereas, around 58 percent of these have been active job seekers for not more than 6 months. Here, in significantly more cases, women with some sort of higher education degree in particular find a job within the first 6 months. Moreover, 68% of women who were previously employed found their current job within 6 months of searching, compared to 43% of women who were not previously employed.

FIG. 09 HOW LONG DID IT TAKE YOU TO FIND YOUR JOB?



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

Regionally, women also face different time-spans for finding a job. Women working in Gjakova and Mitrovica regions have spent longest time searching for jobs. While in other regions, the majority of women have found jobs within 6 months of searching, in these two regions the trend is reversed. In Gjakova, 71 percent of women have spent more than 6 months looking for a job, whereas in Mitrovica this number is 55 percent. On the other hand, in Prishtina and Ferizaj, 63 percent of women found a job within 6 months of searching, and this number is highest in Peja, where 65 percent of women were employed within 6 months of searching for a job.

Related to job hunting, it was further inquired whether the women faced any obstacle while searching and applying for the current job. Roughly 23 percent of them stated to having experienced some kind of obstacle or issue, when applying for their current job either in the public or private sector. In this regard, the women were also asked to rate



The top three barriers women face when looking for a job are:

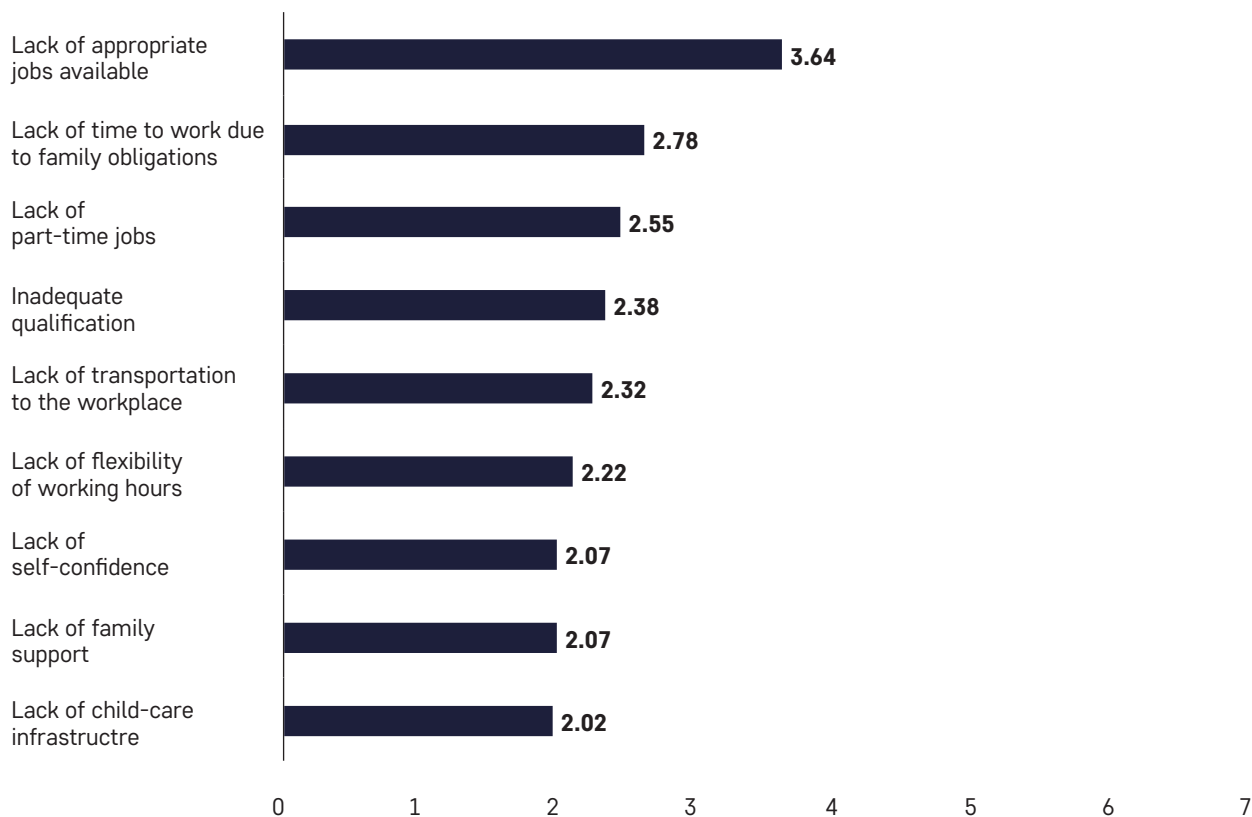
1. Lack of appropriate jobs
2. Lack of time to work due to household obligations
3. Lack of part-time work opportunities

obstacles on a scale from 1 to 7, where 7 is a big barrier. The lack of appropriate work; the household and care work obligations limiting time for paid work; and lack of part-time work opportunities have been regarded as the top three barriers – ranking them as considerable obstacles.

These barriers reflect the labor market opportunities in Kosovo (or lack thereof). An economy such as the one in Kosovo, provides limited opportunities for women, as can be seen from the obstacles women face when looking for a job, where lack of appropriate jobs has scored an above average intensity of 3.64. Moreover, the following obstacles that women have ranked highest reflect both the societal and cultural expectations for women to be available to work at home, thus limiting their time for paid work, an obstacle with an intensity of 2.78.

This is further reflected in the third highest ranked obstacle, where women see the lack of part time jobs available as a problem, with an intensity of 2.55. This shows that with adequate public policies, ones that create the infrastructure for both the public and private sector to offer part-time work, the participation of women in the labor force would improve. Offering women the opportunities to work part time would impact the other two barriers as well, given that women would find more appropriate jobs, as well as would not refrain from paid work due to household obligations, since part-time jobs would allow them more time to combine both.

FIG. 10 INTENSITY OF BARRIERS TO FINDING A JOB (WHERE 1-NOT A BARRIER, 7-BIG BARRIER)



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

Interesting to note is that the top barrier – lack of appropriate work, reveals that women with completed higher education consider this as an even bigger problem, meaning they find it harder to find a job with their qualifications. Women with different educational attainment likely face different barriers both during job hunting and in the workplace. Increased educational attainment is positively correlated with increase in labor force participation for women, moreover, women with higher education levels are more likely to change jobs so that they find better career opportunities. While most women claim they did not face any barriers during their job hunting, of those remaining the barriers differ among different education levels.

For women who have completed their primary education, lack of support by family members to work and the lack of time to work due to family obligations rank highest, at 5 and 5.3 (on the 1-7 scale of importance). Women

who have completed their high school degree, rate lack of time to work due to family obligations, lack of appropriate jobs, and their lack of qualifications as the main barriers, all with a slightly above average rating of 3.6.

On the other hand, for women who have completed an Associate Degree, with slightly higher score than the average, at 3.7 only the lack of time to work due to family obligations is shown as a barrier to job hunting. Women who have not completed their Bachelor's degree do not seem to have faced any barriers during their job hunting. Finally, as previously stated, for women with a completed Bachelor's Degree and a completed Master's Degree or higher, the main barrier in the application process for jobs was the lack of appropriate jobs, with average scores of 4.1 and 4.33 respectively, a barrier that has a lower than average score for all other levels of education.

INFOGRAPHIC 3: BARRIERS TO JOB HUNTING BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

EDUCATION LEVEL	HIGHEST BARRIER (INTENSITY)
Completed primary education	Lack of time to work due to family obligations (5.3/7)
Completed high school education	Lack of time to work due to family obligations (3.7/7)
Completed Associates Degree	Lack of time to work due to family obligations (3.7/7)
Completed Bachelor's Degree	Lack of appropriate jobs (4.1/7)
Completed Master's Degree or higher	Lack of appropriate jobs (4.3/7)



The primary reason that has driven the women to job hunt in the first place has been the need for additional family income with around 60 percent giving this as the main reason. The second most frequent reason stated has been the opportunity for professional advancement with around 39 percent. The percentage of women who search for a job due to the need for additional family income is even more significant when breaking it down by women whose partner is unemployed (71 percent) or by women who have more than four family members (78 percent). As for the reasons for changing jobs linked to the level of education, there are evident differences between the reasons based on education attainment. For women who have completed their Bachelor's Degree or completed their Master's degree or higher, the main reason for changing jobs was better opportunities for professional advancement, with 36 percent and 39 percent of respondents with this education attainment claiming this as the main reason.

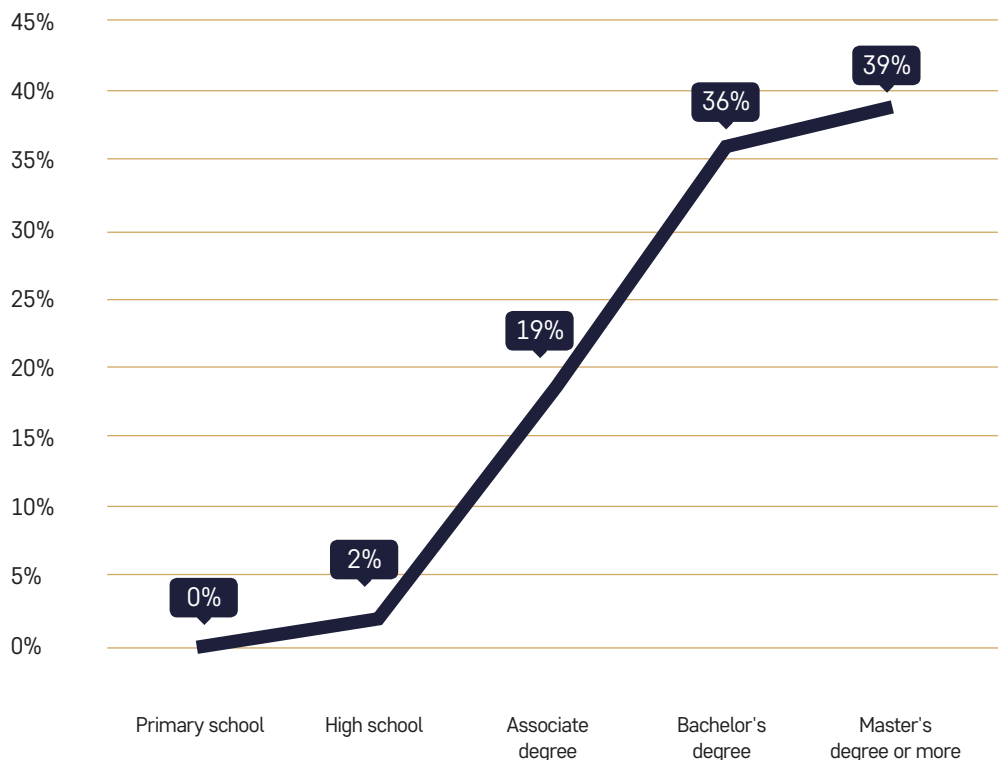
While the same reason is claimed as one by only 24 percent of women who have not completed their Bachelor's Degree, 19 percent of women who have completed



The primary reason that has driven the women to job hunt in the first place has been the need for additional family income with around 60 percent giving this as the main reason

their Associate Degree, and only 2 percent of women who have completed their high school. No women who have completed their primary education claimed this as the reason. Combined with the barriers to finding jobs, women with higher educational attainment seek better career opportunities, and based on the barriers they face during the application period, they often do not find them.

FIG. 11 BETTER CAREER ADVANCEMENT AS A REASON FOR CHANGING JOBS BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

4.3 Contractual arrangements

Globally, women represent a more vulnerable workforce, one that is more likely to participate in either the informal economy or accept jobs that do not fully comply with the labor law. Informally employed women are a highly vulnerable population subject to unique financial, emotional, and physical risks. As the informal economy is growing worldwide, there is an increased need to create innovative social protection policies for this unprotected group. The poor labor market conditions faced by informal workers include lack of benefits, contracts, autonomy, insurance, pensions, livable income, and assets (Lund, 2006). Informal work comes with little or no social protection as well as contractual obligations or accountability from the employer. Moreover, informal workers typically don't have opportunities to learn new skills that could eventually lift them out of poverty (Lund, 2006).

Policies differ between formal and informal sectors, because there is a particular lack of accountability in informal work. For example, there is a lack of people to answer to (such as human resources office), policies, transparency, legal protections, employer contributions, and quality control. While informal workers face unique vulnerabilities, the unfortunate truth is that many formal workers are also susceptible to injustices. For example, many women in the formal sector also face a reduction in income and lack of upward mobility in their jobs since many don't have paid maternity benefits (Lund, 2006). To assess the state of women's work in terms of contractual obligations and arrangements in Kosovo, women were surveyed on specific questions regarding their employment process, their contracts, and the fulfillment of their contractual obligations. Since the contractual obligations and agreements tend to vary across sectors, this section will provide tabulated results of these different contractual categories by sector.

Connecting to the informal employment, women were surveyed on whether they possess a contract for their current job. In Kosovo, the level of employment in the shadow economy is estimated to be around 80 percent (Riinvest, 2015), which is the highest in the region. Moreover, the worldwide trend that women look for jobs with higher flexibility, leads to a higher likelihood of them being employed in jobs that lack security – including working without a contract. These are generally issues women face when working in the private sector. The number of women in the private sector that are employed but do not have a contract is worrying. Indeed, one in three women working in the private sector do not have a working contract. As expected, in contrast,



One in three women working in the private sector do not have a working contract

all the surveyed women that are working in the public sector, NGOs, as well as in international organizations have affirmed to having a working contract. The problem of working without a contract in the private sector is exacerbated further for women who are currently working in their first job. Out of these women, 32 percent are working without a contract, compared to 25 percent of women who have some work experience.

The alarming level of 29 percent of women in the private sector working without a contract presents a multifaceted problem. Working without an employment contract, apart from the lack of benefits from the contract, workers are exposed to risks of the lack of legal protection that a contract provides. Workers without a contracts are more vulnerable in their working conditions, more inclined to accept changes in shifts and working longer hours, due to the risks that they can be fired without warning or notice. In those cases where employers do not offer a contract, they are automatically operating outside the Law on Labor, thus, the employees are not protected by this law. Longer hours, overtime work, work during national holidays, as well as work outside of the pre-determined shift, will not be compensated with additional pay as per the law. Moreover, sick leave or annual leave as determined by the law are either given without compensation, or most often are not granted at all. Apart from this, duties and responsibilities, as agreed upon during the hiring procedure can be changed as per the employer's needs, without any notice or corresponding compensation for the employee, and moreover, without any repercussion for the employer.

For women, especially, working without a contract often means being unable to negotiate the terms of their work, and being susceptible to have to accept any and all work arrangements as set by the employer. Under the current Law on Labor, the private sector bears the biggest financial burden for their employees taking maternity leave – that is, paying 70 percent of the current salary to their employees on maternity leave for 6 months. This has prompted businesses to often offer work without contracts to women they employ, so that they are not bound by contractual obligations to them during periods of maternity leave.

The interviewed women were also asked specific questions concerning the contractual arrangements they have with their employer. Women working in the public sector, NGOs or international organizations have all, without exception, declared to getting paid regularly. In the private sector, however, approximately 3 percent of women do not receive regular pay from their employers. Moreover, around 13 percent of the women have stated that their employer does not pay contributions into the staff's pension and this is overwhelmingly skewed towards the private sector, where 19 percent of employers do not pay pension's contributions. Around 6 percent of the women do not know whether their employer pays contribution.

The type of contract most of these women possess (58 percent), is a contract with an indefinite duration. The remaining percentage of women (42 percent) have a fixed term contract, with an average duration of 12 months or one year.

Breaking it down by sector again, highlights that in the public sector a higher percentage of women, about 72 percent, have a contract with an indefinite duration, whereas about 28 percent have a fixed term contract, with an average duration of 14 months. Moreover, in the public sector, contracts are generally extended after the end of their duration, as the existence of fixed term contracts is usually merely a formality. Meanwhile, less than half of the women working in the private sector (48 percent) have a long-term contract and around 52 percent of them have a fixed term contract, lasting on average 10 months.

As it can be seen, the number of women working under a fixed term contract in the private sector is almost double that of women in the public sector. This, while expected, is also concerning, especially due to the fact that such contracts improve the bargaining power of employers towards employees. Contracts that have fixed terms, and in this case last, on average, 10 months, are basis for creating a level of insecurity for those who hold them.

Particularly, for women, short term contracts do not provide any security, either financial or career wise in the short run, as well are problematic when planning long term or capital investments. With short term contracts, women are highly unlikely to be able to be approved loans or receive funding from financial institutions, which impairs their future planning.

Moreover, lack of this longer term job security also weakens the position of a family when it comes to family planning. While these issues arising from the lack of financial and

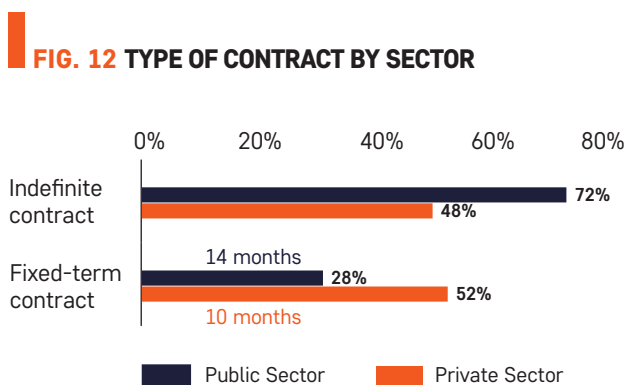


One in two women in the private sector hold a fixed term contract. This number is halved in the public sector, where just about one in four women has a fixed term contract

career security are applicable to women and men alike, in Kosovo, women who work with short term contracts also face uncertainties around maternity leave, as is currently foreseen by the Law on Labor.

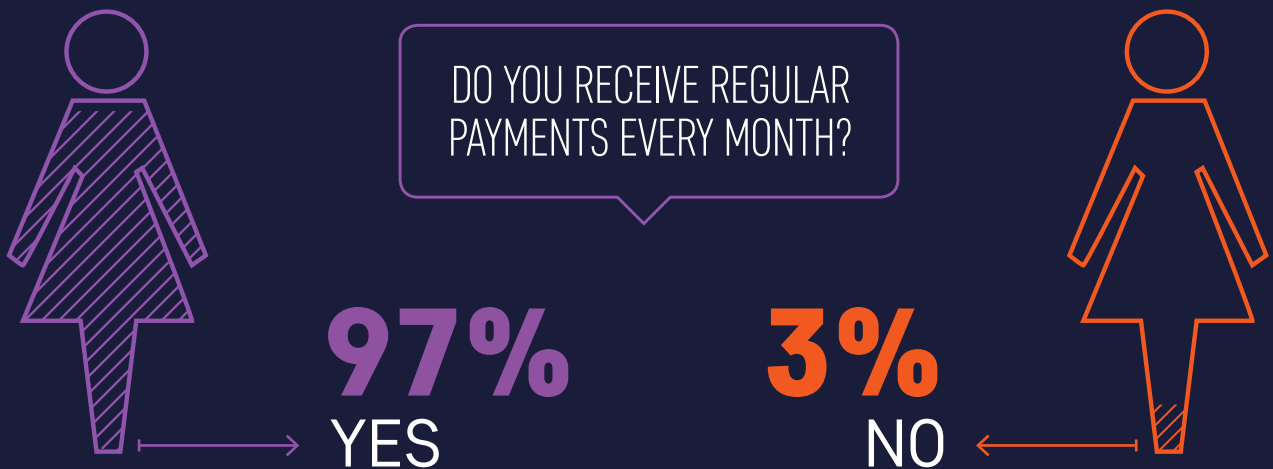
With short term contracts, women who plan to have children during the time they are employed, are more at risk of not being offered contract extensions, and since they already work under fixed term contracts, this bears no repercussions to the employer. This is also reflected in that more than 55 percent of women working in the private sector with fixed term contracts, rank their concern as high or very high when asked whether they worry about losing their job in the upcoming year. Women working in an NGO or international organization predominantly have fixed term contracts; that is roughly 86 percent and 75 percent of the women working in these two sectors, respectively. The contract duration of a women working in an NGO is on average 13 months while in an international organization it is on average 10 months (as can be seen in Figure 7).

Moreover, in the public sector, women who have contracts with indefinite duration, on average, have been working in the same workplace for the past 7 years. This number is almost 5 years for women working in the private sector.



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

INFOGRAPHIC 4: GENERAL CONTRACTUAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PRIVATE SECTOR



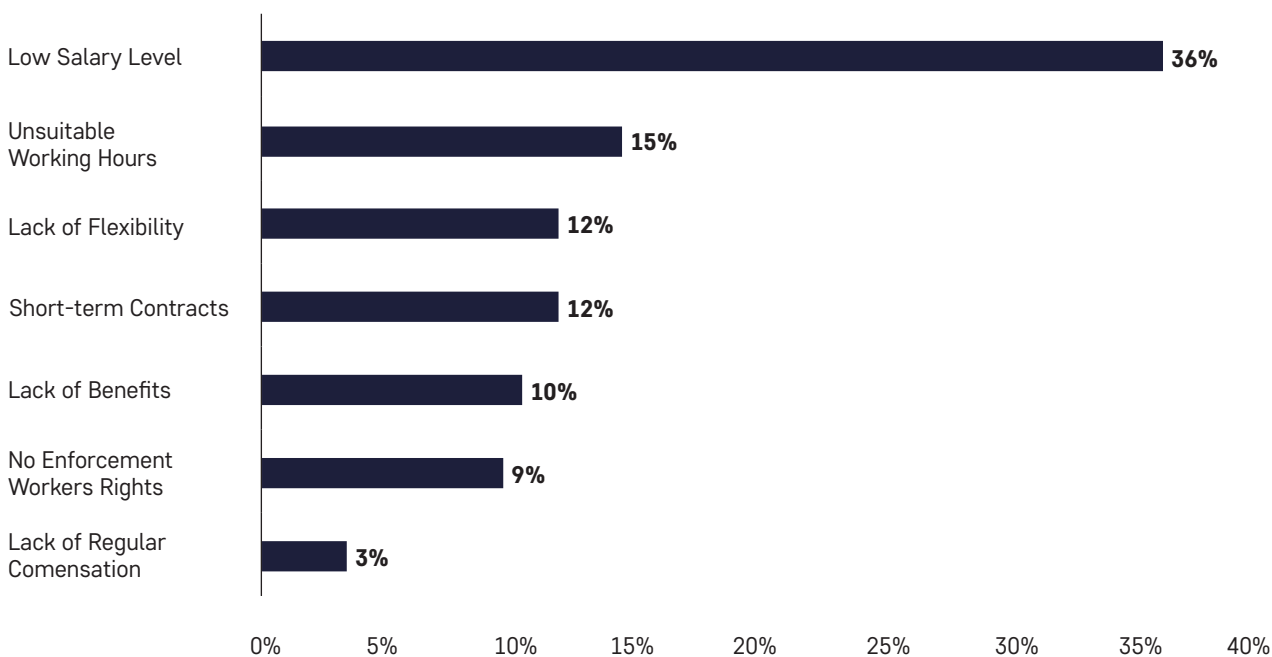
4.4 Workplace barriers and working conditions

In view of the current work place, the surveyed women were asked about barriers they experience presently. These barriers range from those relating to compensation and working conditions to the fulfilment or lack thereof of the contractual obligations. This section analyses these barriers, both in general and disaggregated by sector and salary level, to provide a better understanding of the issues women face once they join the workplace. It turns out, more than half, around 52 percent, of women consider they face some barriers in their workplace. Barriers women were asked about are general to the Kosovo labor market, rather than specific to them as women. However, some of the results, in comparison with the literature expectations and the conditions of the market itself, show a gendered perspective on these barriers.



In Kosovo, 52 percent of employed women face some workplace barrier – of which 36 percent consider the low salary as the biggest impediment they face

FIG. 13 WORKPLACE BARRIERS



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

Overall, more than 40 percent of the women working in the public sector claim to have some barriers in the workplace, whereas 53 percent of the women in the private sector claim that. A difference by 13 percentage points between the public and the private sectors in this shows a big difference in the perception and the working conditions of women in these sectors.

While the low salary level is an issue faced by men and women alike in Kosovo's labor market, especially in the private sector, it is still considered a high barrier, even though it is not linked to a specific workplace but rather is a general issue facing the whole labor market. About 36 percent of the women surveyed see the low salary level as an impeding issue to their workplace. This is important in examining the household dynamics and the impact that employment has in empowering women within their households.

While employment in itself is considered an important step towards economic independence of women and as a tool for improving their bargaining position within the household, when the compensation level for paid work remains low, such results are highly unlikely. Thus, considering that more than one in three women sees the low salary level as an issue, it shows that the labor market fails in compensating women accordingly for their work. This being especially true in the private sector, where the salary level for women is lower than the average salary level in Kosovo.

A more specific issue to women in the labor market are the working hours. Unsuitable working hours have been ranked as a considerable barrier by around 15 percent of the women as well as the lack of flexible working hours which 12 percent of the women consider a barrier. According to gender economics literature, women are keener on having the opportunity to work part time, or have flexible working hours. This is due to the high level of household and care work that they disproportionately have to bare in their families. However, even though a combined 27 percent of women consider lack of flexibility and unsuitable working hours an issue, this is not to say that the remaining would not prefer to have such flexible arrangements. This result is more likely due to the lack of employment opportunities for women, thus, considering fixed working hours as a given in the labor market, and not an issue open to negotiation.



15 percent of women consider unsuitable working hours as a barrier; another 12 percent consider the lack of flexible hours a problem in their workplace

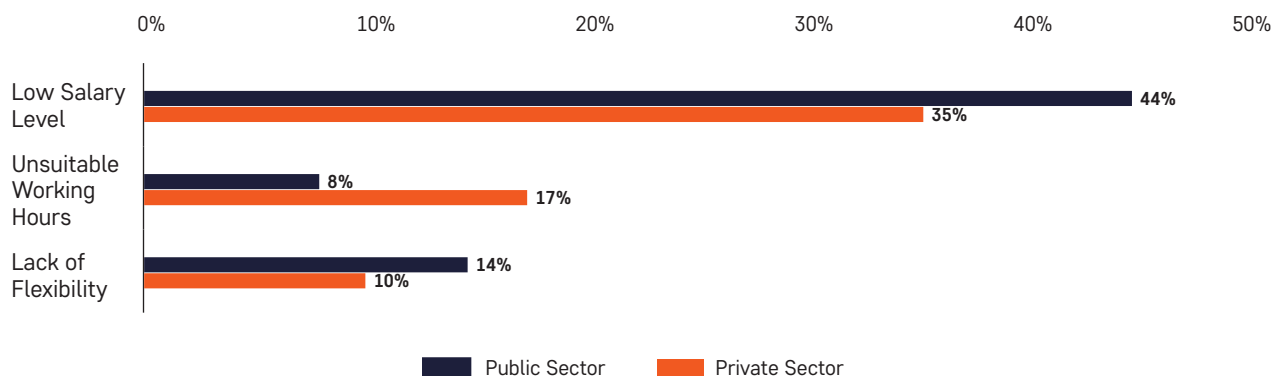
Moreover, short-term contracts have been pointed out as an obstruction by around 12 percent of the women. This also reflects the results on the type and duration of contract, which were provided by the surveyed, where a considerable number of women (41 percent) claimed that they have a fixed term contract with a maximum duration of 12 months.

Other workplace barriers, which were considered as important by a lower number of women, namely, lack of enforcement of workers' rights as well as the regular salary payments, reflect results on individual questions regarding these issues. Specifically, only 9 percent of women perceive the lack of enforcement workers' rights as a barrier, similar to the number of women for whom the employer does not pay contributions to pensions. Moreover, only 3 percent of women see lack of regular payment as a barrier, while the exact same percentage of women have reported that they are not paid on a regular basis.

The main barriers by regions do not show much of a difference from Kosovo in general. The low salary level remains the highest barrier across all regions, however, in Mitrovica, Peja, and Gjilan, it is considered as such by the highest number of women. In Mitrovica, 29 percent of women believe the low salary level is a barrier in their workplace, and in Peja and Gjilan alike, 27 percent of women believe so.

On the other hand, in Gjakova, almost half of women, that is 15 percent, consider the low salary level as an issue. This is particularly interesting, considering the fact that in a regional analysis of salary levels, women working in Gjakova have the lowest salary level of all regions in Kosovo. Contrary to these differences in this first barrier, other barriers show similar level of intensity across regions.

FIG. 14 TOP THREE WORKPLACE BARRIERS BY SECTOR



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

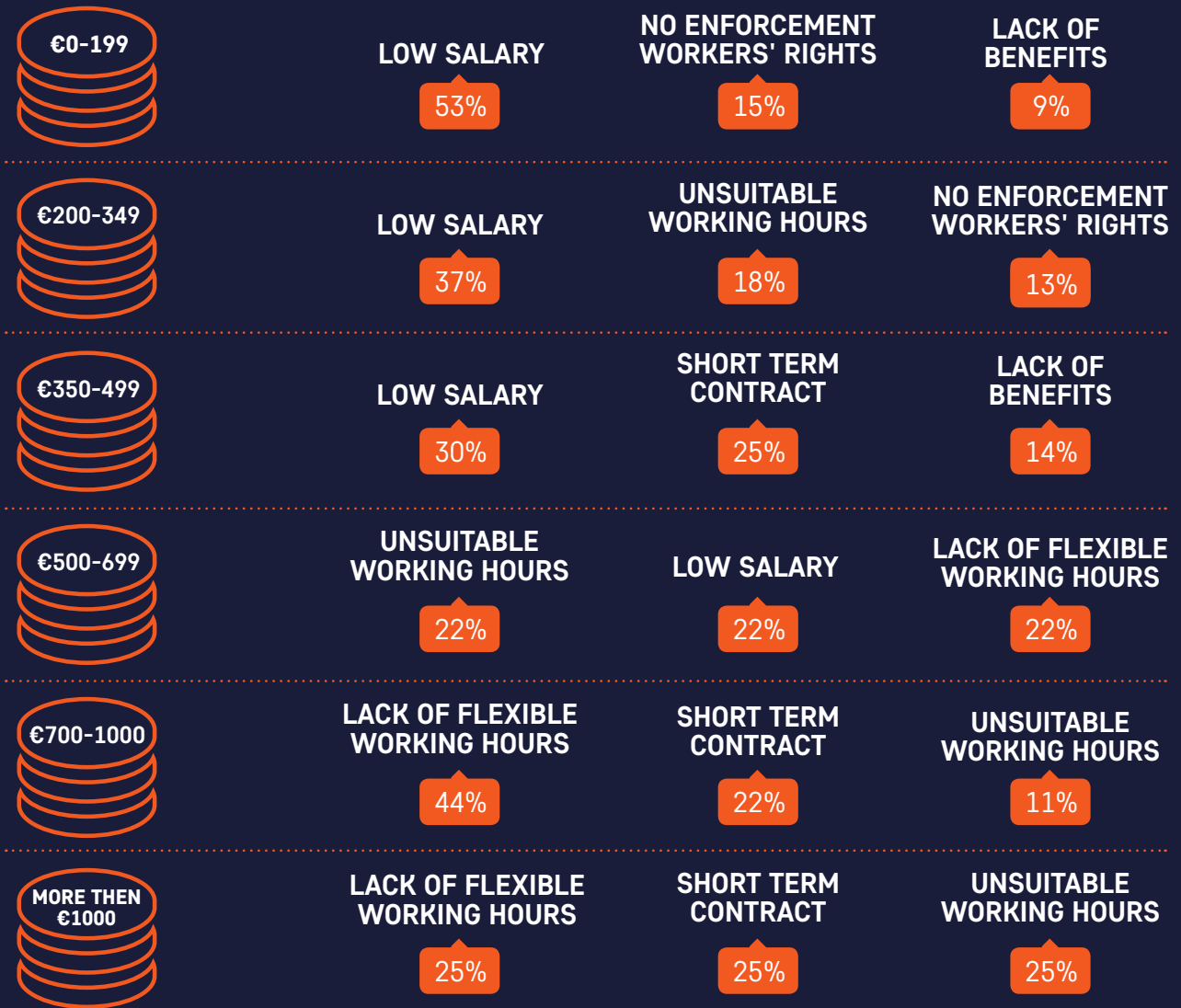
Workplace barriers differ by sector as well. In the private sector, in line with the salary trend, the main barrier, is the low salary level, with 35 percent of the respondents in this sector, in the public sector 44 percent of the women claim that a low salary is an issue.

While working hours in both sectors are mainly set by the employer, that is typically an 8 hour day or a 40 hour work-week, the working hours and lack of flexibility in the private sector are more of a problem than for women working in the public sector. Of those working in the private sector, 17 percent and 14 percent claimed that the unsuitable working hours and the lack of flexibility in work hours are problematic respectively. This, compared with 8 percent and 10 percent of the women in the public sector making those respective claims, as well as a comparison with the general results, where 15 percent and 12 percent of women claimed these were barriers in their workplace, it is obvious that the public sector employees stand much better than the total in this regard. This shows that the private sector, with the rigidity of working hours and lack of flexibility is less friendly as a working environment to women who seek these attributes in a workplace.



The low salary level remains the highest barrier across all regions, however, in Mitrovica, Peja, and Gjilan, it is considered as such by the highest number of women

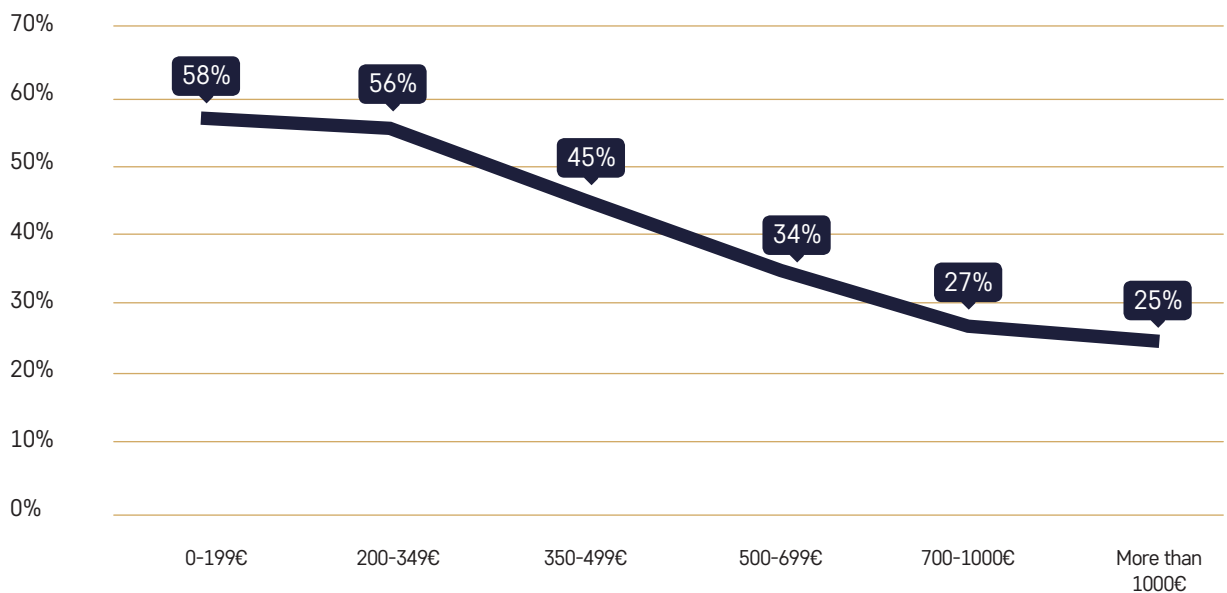
INFOGRAPHIC 5: TOP THREE WORKPLACE BARRIERS BY SALARY LEVEL



There is a changing trend among women of different levels of monthly income when it comes to the perception of obstacles they face in the workplace. Around 58 percent of women whose income falls within the first bracket of 0-199 euros claim they have some barrier in their workplace. The main barrier is considered the low salary level, with 53 percent of women who believe they have some barrier in the workplace, claiming this as the biggest. The lack of enforcement of worker's rights as foreseen by the law is the second highest barrier for women in this income bracket, with 15 percent claiming this as a workplace barrier. The third most common barrier for women in this income bracket is lack of benefits, with 9 percent of women claiming this as a barrier. Women whose income falls in the second income bracket of 200-349 euros monthly, show a slightly lower level of perception of barrier in the workplace, with 56 percent of women in this income category claiming so. As it was previously stated, there is a decreasing trend of the low salary as a barrier, with 37 percent of women in this income bracket considering it as such. Out of the remaining barriers, women in this income bracket, consider the unsuitable working hours and the lack of enforcement workers' rights as the two other main barriers, with 18 percent and 13 percent of women in this category listing these as barriers in the workplace. For 45 percent of the women making 350-499 euros monthly, there are still some barriers they face in the workplace. Of these, most notably 30 percent believe

that the low salary level is an issue, whereas 25 percent believe that the short-term contract is a barrier. Moreover, 14 percent of women in this income bracket believe the lack of benefits is a barrier. For women with monthly income falling in the next bracket of 500-699 euros, the three top barriers rank similarly with 22 percent each. That is, 22 percent of surveyed women working with this salary level believe that lack of flexible hours is a problem they face in the workplace, another 22 percent believe the short term contract is a barrier, and the low salary level is perceived as a problem by another 22 percent of women in this income bracket. However, in total only 34 percent of women in this category claim they have some barriers in the workplace. Furthermore, 27 percent of women making between 700-1000 euros monthly consider they face some sort of barriers in their workplace. Of these, 44 percent see the lack of flexible working hours as problematic, 22 percent see short term contracts as problematic, whereas 11 percent believe that unsuitable working hours are an impediment in their workplace. Finally, women making more than 1000 euros monthly consider that the lack of flexibility in the working hours, short term contracts, and unsuitable working hours, are issues with 25 percent of women, respectively, in this income bracket claiming each of these barriers. However, these percentages are valid for only 25 percent of women in this income bracket who believe they face any barriers in the workplace.

FIG. 15 PERCEPTION OF BARRIERS IN THE WORKPLACE BY SALARY LEVEL



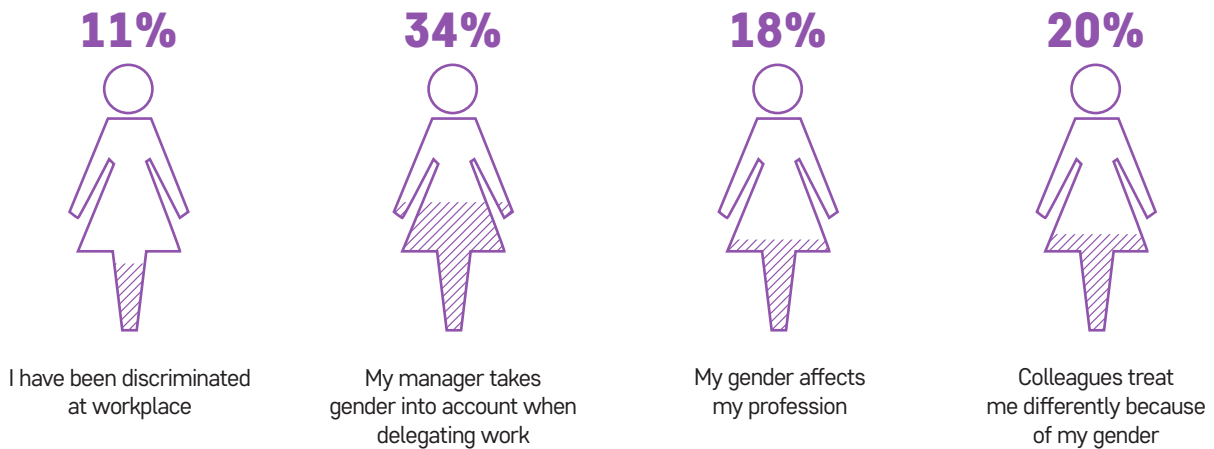
SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

Although there are still a number of barriers remaining for women with different income levels, it is evident that as salary level increases beyond 350 euros monthly, the majority of women do not consider they face many barriers in the workplace. There is a clear decreasing trend for barriers women face in the workplace, with an increase in the salary level, this being true mostly due to the weight that a low salary level as a barrier carries in different salary categories. However, even at high salary levels, the perception of barriers in the workplace is still considerable, especially bearing in mind that these barriers are general rather than gendered. More specifically, even at higher salary levels,

working hours and flexibility of work are perceived as problematic still. This shows that compensation in itself is evidently not the only rewarding aspect of working, especially for women.

To understand the barriers and additional issues that women face in the workplace, this report has disaggregated the data such as to examine whether the surveyed women have been or have felt discriminated in their place of work. Surveyed women were presented with several statements regarding discrimination at the workplace and asked whether they agree with them or not.

FIG. 16 WOMEN WHO AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

The declaration “I have been discriminated at my workplace” has resonated at least to some extent with around 11 percent of the women. The remaining 89 percent have disagreed with the statement. Among sectors, in general most women (84 percent) do not agree with the statement that they have been discriminated in the work place, and this level remains relatively constant across all sectors. However, it is notable that women working in international organizations without exception claim that they have never been discriminated in their workplace.

About 34 percent of the respondents have agreed with the statement “my manager takes gender into account when delegating work,” showing that they feel their gender impacts delegation of duties in their workplace.

The remaining 66 percent disagree with the statement, meaning they insist their manager does not discriminate by gender when delegating work. Disaggregating by sector, around 60 percent of women working in either the private or public sector, either fully or partially agreed that this was the case. However while 40 percent of women working in the public sector disagreed with the statement that gender plays no role when their manager delegates work, in the private sector this figure drops slightly to 37 percent. For women working in the nongovernmental sector and in international organizations, 86 percent and 75 percent respectively claimed that they disagreed with the statement. This shows more similarities in the private and public sector, compared to the other sectors surveyed in this report.

A majority of roughly 18 percent have agreed with the next statement “my gender affects my profession.” The remaining, around 82 percent of the women, believe that their gender does not in fact impact their profession. In this regard, women working in the public sector 78 percent disagreed that gender does impact their profession, this number is 77 percent for the private sector, 86 percent for women working in the nongovernmental sector and 75 percent for women working in an international organization.

One in five women agree with the statement “colleagues treat me differently because of my gender.” However, some 80 percent disagree with the statement entirely. While in the public sector 72 percent of women claimed that that is not the case, in the private sector this figure rises by 5 percentage points to 77 percent. Moreover, women working in the nongovernmental sector, those that are self-employed, as well as those working in international organizations have a higher rate of disagreement with the statement that their colleagues treat them differently due to their gender, with figures ranging from 67 percent of those self-employed, to 87 percent of those working in the two remaining sectors.

To add to the analysis workplace conditions, Riinvest also surveyed women whether different aspects of work have changed over the course of their employment. Firstly, they were asked if their number of working hours has altered and the majority of around 80 percent have declared no change. Nonetheless, some 16 percent have stated that the number of working hours has increased for them over the years; meanwhile, roughly 4 percent have proclaimed that their number of working hours has decreased.

Secondly, on the matter of salary, more than one half (53 percent) has declared that there has been no change in salary over the years of their employment. About 43 percent have stated that their salary has in fact increased over the years; whereas, less than 4 percent have stated that their salary has decreased.

Thirdly, the work-related responsibilities were considered, where it turns out that around 52 percent have the same responsibilities since they have started the job; however, for around 47 percent the responsibilities at work have increased throughout the years. Only 1 percent have declared to having currently fewer responsibilities than before.

In a sectoral disaggregation of these changes, there is an evident trend for changes in salary level and level of

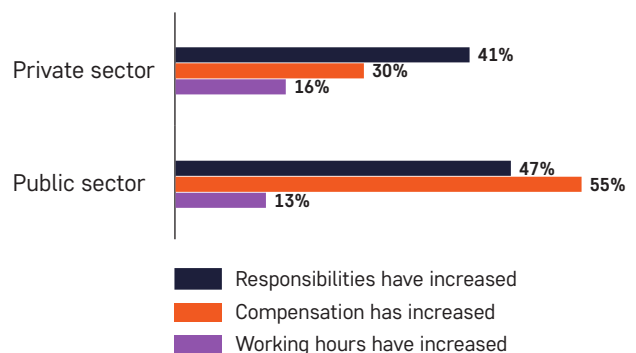


One in two women have not been subject to any change in salaries over the course of their employment.

responsibilities to not have joint movements. In the private sector, 41 percent of women claim that their workplace responsibilities have increased since they started working, while only 30 percent claim their salaries have increased as well. This trailing of the salaries by 11 percentage points shows that in the private sector, compensation lags the change in responsibilities if there is an increase.

In the public sector, the trend is reversed. In the public sector, 47 percent of women claim that their responsibilities have increased, whereas 55 percent claim their salaries and income have increased, since they joined their current employer. A difference of 8 percentage points between the two, shows that in the public sectors, there is a tendency for salaries to lead changes in responsibilities. This can be explained by executive decisions of raising the level of civil servants working in Kosovo institutions in the past years, however, considering that working in a public institution encompasses a wider array of workplaces, this cannot be seen as the sole reason.

FIG. 17 INCREASES IN DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF WORK OVER THE COURSE OF THE EMPLOYMENT, BY SECTOR



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

INFOGRAPHIC 6: DIFFERENCES IN PROFILE BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	WOMEN WHO HAVE COMPLETED PRIMARY AND HIGH SCHOOL	WOMEN WHO HAVE COMPLETED HIGHER EDUCATION
Total	237	364
What sector do you work in?	28% public sector 65% private sector 7% other sectors	49% public sector 46% private sector 5% other sectors
Average salary level	€ 295	€ 445
Do you have a contract?	72% have a contract 28% do not have a contract	87% have a contract 13% do not have a contract
Top barriers in the workplace	68% low salary level 25% unsuitable working hours 12% short term contract	35% low salary level 17% lack of flexible working hours 16% short term contract
How has your salary level changed since you started your job?	29% has increased 69% has not changed 2% has decreased	53% has increased 42% has not changed 5% has decreased
Primary reason for looking for a job	79% need for additional income 21% better career advancement opportunities	49% need for additional income 51% better career advancement opportunities
How long did it take you to find a job?	48% less than 6 months 52% more than 6 months	63% less than 6 months 37% more than 6 months
Top three barriers in finding a job (1-7)	Lack of time to work due to household obligations (3.35/7) Lack of adequate jobs (3.12/7) Inadequate qualifications (2.7/7)	Lack of adequate jobs (3.96/7) Lack of time to work due to household obligations (2.55/7) Lack of part time jobs (2.53/7)
Marital status	40% are single 60% are married or living together	32% single 68% married or living together
Partner's education level	67% have same level of education 33% have higher level of education	74% have same level of education 26% have lower level of education
Does your partner work?	83% yes 17% no	88% yes 12% no
Who has a higher salary?	1% same salary level 19% she has a higher salary 80% he has a higher salary	16% same salary level 17% she has a higher salary 67% he has a higher salary

4.5 Working hours

Overall working conditions in a job are not only determined by the previous sections, but also by the hours worked during the regular schedule, hours worked outside of the regular schedule, as well as corresponding compensation. All these, furthermore, impact the level of job satisfaction for workers.

To assess this issue further, the surveyed women were asked about their work week in general and working hours in specific. To start with, the women have declared to work 6 days a week on average. Answers range, however, from a minimum of 2 to a maximum of 7 days a week. Inquiring only about the last year at work, around 89 percent of the women have reported to having worked the same number of days a week, whereas around 11 percent have indicated to not having worked the same number of days.

Moreover, the women have stated that they generally work for 7 hours and 30 minutes daily. In the last year, roughly 80 percent have stated to having worked the same number of hours a day, whereas one in five women (20 percent) has declared to not having worked the same number of hours a week. Another important inquiry was on the daily minutes spent traveling to work and back. The women declared that they spent 29.8 minutes on average commuting.

Furthermore, there are clear differences between sectors on these questions. In the public sector, women work on average 5 days a week, with 7 hours and 13 minutes working time during the day, whereas they travel, on average 31 minutes to the workplace. In the private sector, women on average work 6 days weekly, during which they work on average 7 hours and 37 minutes. Drawing a connection between working time and the salary levels of each sector, it shows that women in the private sector work, on average, one day longer weekly, that is 20 percent more than women employed in the public sector, while being paid on average 26 percent less. Their travel time to work is around 29 minutes. In the non-governmental sector, the average working days is below 5, the working hours however range from 1 to 10, averaging 7 hours 40 minutes daily. One notable thing, considering the importance of flexible and part time work to women, is that in the public sector, working days range from 4 to 6, and the working time ranges from 2 to 12 hour, in the private sector, however, the working days have a very different range, with the minimum being 5 and

² KAS reports that women working in the public sector work on average 35 hours weekly, whereas those who work in the private sector work on average 45 hours weekly.



Women in the private sector work, on average, one day longer weekly, that is 20 percent more than women employed in the public sector, while being paid on average 26 percent less

maximum 6. This is also in line with the findings from the KAS, where both men and women working in the private sector report to work longer hours than those in other sectors.² When asked whether they have worked the same number of hours every day and whether they have worked the same number of days every week, in the public sector 84 percent of women have worked the same hours every day, compared to 74 percent of women in the private sector. This means that one in four women working in the private sector has faced changing working hours in the past twelve months. Considering the societal and cultural differences between men and women, where women are assumed to be more responsible for care work, there is a clear need for policies to accommodate these constraints for women in the workforce. Work-life balance for women, means a continuous process of reconciliation of not only the balance between household work and market work, but also of personal time (Williams as cited by Wattis et al., 2013). Although generally the balance is viewed as a duality, leaving little or no time for personal time and leisure, policies to be designed now and implemented in the future need to take this dimension into account as well. While policies that promote easier access to employment for women are commendable, there are issues related to every policy that need to be closely examined to prevent them from having an adverse effect. Both flexible work arrangements and promotion of part-time work have similarities when it comes to the impact they have on women. The findings of this survey show that in the private sector specifically, such arrangements are highly unlikely. In assessing the conditions under which the surveyed women work, they were asked whether they were required to work in what the Law on Labor considers nighttime work and work longer than the set working hours.

Almost 31 percent of the women have shared that they have worked in shifts during the last year. This consists of work that takes place on a schedule outside the traditional 9:00 – 17:00 day, involving evening or night shifts, early morning shifts or rotating shifts. In the public sector 22 percent of the women have worked in shifts, whereas in the private sector 33 percent of women report to have worked in shifts.

INFOGRAPHIC 7: THE NUMBER OF WORKING DAYS, HOURS, THE COMMUTING TO WORK

DAYS A WEEK (OUT OF 7)



6
DAYS

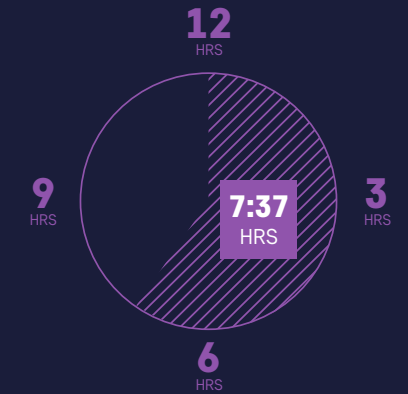
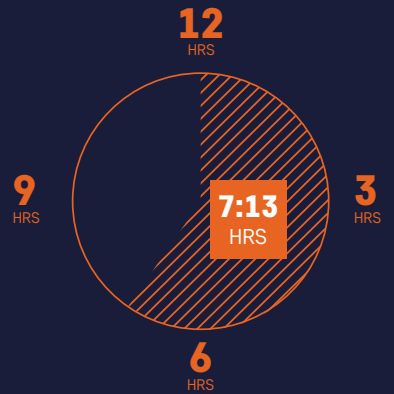


5
DAYS



6
DAYS

HOURS A DAY (OUT OF 12)



COMMUTE TO WORK



30 min

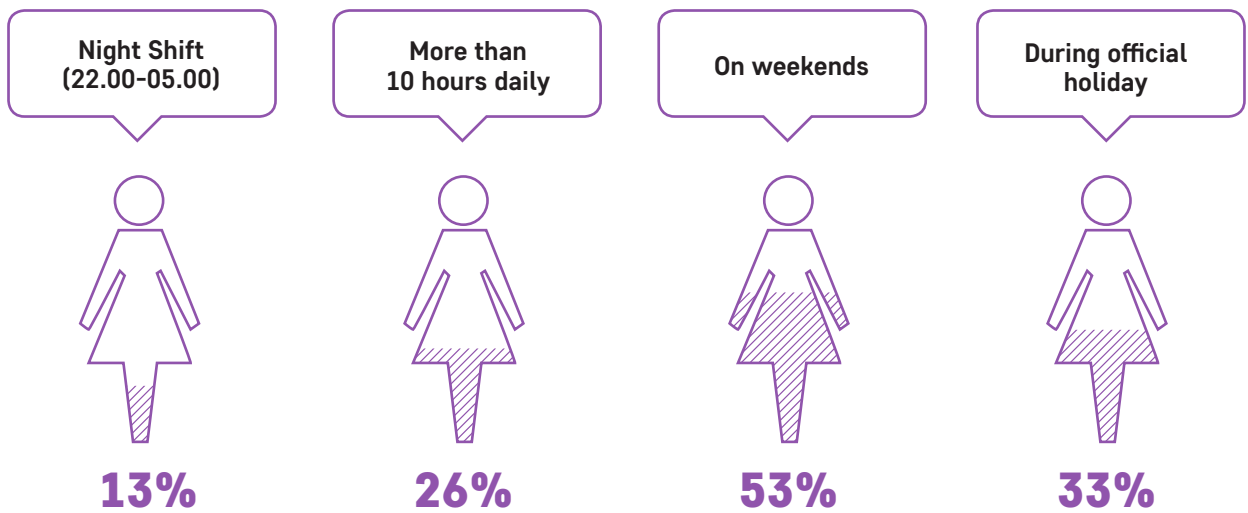


31 min



29 min

FIG. 18 WOMEN WHO HAVE BEEN ASKED TO WORK OUTSIDE OF REGULAR WORKING HOURS



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

Investigating further, respondents were asked on the frequency of times their employer required them to work at least for 2 hours between 22:00 and 5:00. One in eight women (13 percent) has stated that she has sometimes or often worked for at least 2 hours after 22:00. These figures remain similar across all sectors.

The women were also asked how often they have been requested to work more than 10 working hours a day. One in four women (26 percent) have been occasionally or very frequently requested to work for more than 10 hours a day.

Comparing the two sectors by the number of women who have worked more than 10 hours a day, the difference is striking, with 17 percent of women working in the public sector having worked more than 10 hours a day, either sometimes or often; compared to 31 percent of women in the private sector who have worked this long either sometimes or often.

Quite surprisingly, more than one in two women (53 percent) have been requested sometimes or repeatedly to work on weekends, and roughly one in three women have even been requested to work on official holidays. More-

over, there is a clear difference between the public sector and the other sectors, especially the private sector. In the public sector, 34 percent have either sometimes or often worked during the weekend. What is more, 16 percent have had to work on official holidays be it sometimes or often.

In the private sector, there is a more even spread of the answers across the board, with 66 percent claiming they either had to work on weekends sometimes or often, double the percentage of women in the public sector. This is also in line with the days worked, that in the private sector range from 5 to 6, meaning often women have to work during weekends as well. On the other hand, 44 percent have sometimes or often worked during official holidays. These figures amount to three times higher than for women in the public sector.



One in four women working in the private sector has faced changing working hours in the past twelve months

FIG. 19 WORK OUTSIDE REGULAR HOURS BY SECTOR



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

75%

Approximately 3 in 4 women never receive any kind of compensation for doing work outside the regular schedule

The women, who have been asked by the employer to work outside the regular working days and hours, have further given insight on whether they were compensated for the extra work done. The compensation forms foreseen by the Kosovo Law on Labor³ were explored by the survey as well.

For instance, women who have worked outside their regular schedule have rarely or never received compensation with days off for this in 76 percent of the cases. Furthermore, 65 percent of women have never or hardly ever received compensation with regular pay. Although foreseen by the Law, the corresponding compensation with additional overtime pay has not been given to women in more than 74 percent of the cases.

As reported by the surveyed women, the working hours are determined by the employer, be it either in the public or private sector, in the majority of cases (83 percent), around 10 percent of the women have stated to have the liberty to choose from several predetermined shifts and around 7 percent have proclaimed that they can choose their working hours themselves.

Moreover, employers reportedly show flexibility in working hours for when their employees need to look after family obligations. Almost 93 percent of the women have declared this, having been excused from work without a problem either without prior notice (49 percent) or with prior due notice (44 percent). This has been affirmed by women working in the public as well

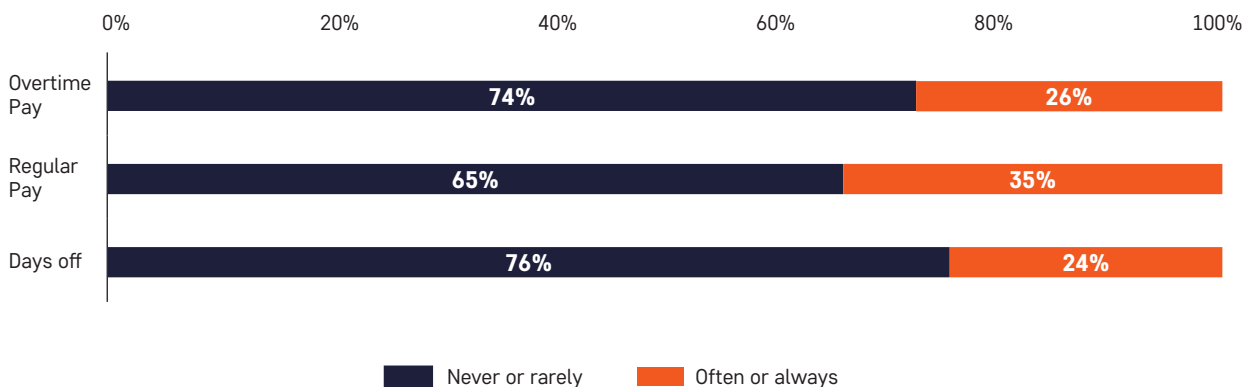


Around 5 percent of the respondents have declared that their employers have been flexible in giving time off, but have reduced their pay accordingly; whereas around 2 percent have declared that their employers showed no flexibility in working hours of any kind

as in the private sector without noteworthy differences in the percentages. Nonetheless, around 5 percent (across all sectors) have declared that their employers have been flexible, but have cut their pay for those hours; and around 2 percent have declared that their employers showed no flexibility in working hours of any kind, these cases skewing almost fully towards the public sector.

These issues pertaining to workplace conditions all amount to the level of job satisfaction for employees. To assess this, women were asked about their overall job satisfaction. The majority of surveyed women are satisfied with their work place (68 percent), around 27 percent are neutral and 5 percent are openly dissatisfied with their job.

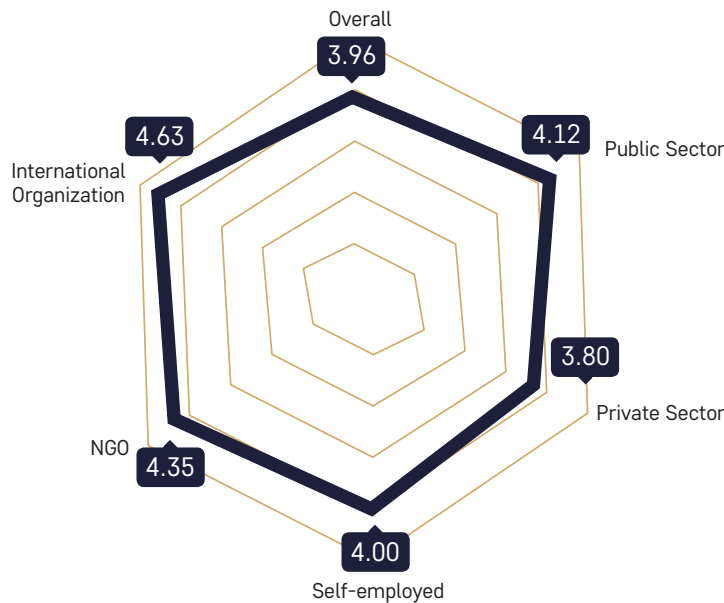
FIG. 20 FREQUENCY OF COMPENSATION FOR WORK OUTSIDE REGULAR HOURS



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

³ Law No.03/L –212 on Labor, Article 56 on Allowances

FIG. 21 JOB SATISFACTION BY SECTOR (WHERE 1 IS NOT SATISFIED, 5 IS FULLY SATISFIED)



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

When analyzing the level of satisfaction by sector, it turns out that the percentages of higher satisfaction are similar across sectors while percentages of lower satisfaction are more typical of women working in the private sector. Interesting to note here is that concrete workplace barriers are not ranked highly among these relatively unsatisfied women, meaning no concrete factor is perceived as a direct barrier, rather they are unsatisfied with the job in general.

Job satisfaction indeed represents a multifaceted issue concerning today's employers when it comes to managing their employees. In literature, there are different approaches towards defining and explaining job satisfaction. Hoppock defines job satisfaction as any combination of psychological, physiological and environmental circumstances that cause a person truthfully to say I am satisfied with my job (Hoppock, 1935). This means although job satisfaction is under the influence of various external factors, it remains something internal and ultimately is linked to the way the employee feels. Owing to this, job satisfaction can mean different things to different people



Lower job satisfaction is more typical among women working in the private sector than other sectors

and can be caused even without any apparent concrete barrier.

Furthermore, around 23 percent of the women in question have opened up to being concerned or very concerned about job security in the next year. Around 32 percent are neutral on this and around 45 percent are not concerned that they will lose their job in the coming year. Looking into sectors does not reveal any major differences in concern nor does examining the women's concern about job security by level of education. Besides, similar level of concern is also prevalent across different levels of family income.

4.6 Maternity/Parental leave

In terms of the urgency of the matter, one of the most important sections of the questionnaire has comprised of questions concerning the Labor Law provisions on maternity leave, opinions regarding the dispositions, and their personal experience with maternity leave. In the current Law on Labor in Kosovo, in case of childbirth, leave is almost exclusively granted to the mother only, with the father of the child only receiving two days leave. The law foresees 12 months of maternity leave, of which 9 are paid. Of these 9 paid months of maternity leave, the first 6 are paid from the employer with 70% of the salary the woman receives as per the contract, the next 3 months are paid by the government, at 50% of the average Kosovo salary. The final three months are unpaid. On the other hand, the father receives 2 to 3 days of paid leave, with unspecified further provisions.

The current legal provisions are unsustainable in the long run, especially since they provide a basis for an uneven treatment of women and men in hiring, since employers consider a higher cost of hiring women, especially women of childbearing age. While such discrimination is not legally allowed, it still remains in the discretion of the employer to make hiring decisions, which legally can be objective, but in reality can be discriminatory based on gender. Considering all these shortcomings, the Law on Labor is scheduled to be amended in the upcoming year. To provide informed insights, Riinvest has asked respondents of this survey on the provisions of the law in practice, specifically those pertaining to the maternity leave.

First, the surveyed women have been asked about whether they are aware of the Law in Kosovo that regulates the leave that is given to mothers after childbirth, also known as the maternity leave. Certainly, some 89 percent are aware of the law that grants women maternity leave, while some 11 percent are not aware of the law and the respective dispositions.

Those 89 percent of women, who are aware of the Law and the legally granted maternity leave, believe the duration of it is 9 months on average. More specifically, around 34 percent think the maternity leave lasts 6 months, around 18 percent think it lasts 9 months and around 48 percent think it lasts 12 months.



Around 51 percent of the surveyed women believe the maternity leave offered in the law is sufficient, a figure that is constant across sectors of employment

On this note, a bit more than half of the surveyed women (51 percent) have stated that they think the maternity leave as set in the Law is sufficient, whereas around 27 percent do not think it is sufficient. The remainder have declared to not have an opinion on the matter. Of those working in the public sector, 52 percent believe that the leave is sufficient, those who agree with this in the private sector are 51 percent.

From the percentage of women who consider the determined maternity leave insufficient, about 88 percent have considered it insufficient in terms of duration and have proclaimed that it needs to be longer, mostly because they believe an extended period of time is necessary in order to care and provide for the child properly. Around 12 percent consider the maternity leave insufficient in terms of payment and have stated that it should be paid fully for the whole period of time (12 months).

To assess the practical aspects of the maternity leave, women were asked most specifically on their experiences with maternity leave. Out of the roughly 58 percent of surveyed women, who have declared to have children, roughly 28 percent have not taken maternity leave, either because they have reportedly not been employed at that time or have found employment only after giving birth. Meanwhile, a bit more than 72 percent have taken the rightful maternity leave after giving birth. The period women have taken as maternity leave has been 8 months and 20 days on average. This time differs between sectors, women in the public sector, have on average taken maternity leave for more than 9 months, around 9 months and 2 weeks on average. In the private sector, women's maternity leave has lasts less than 8 months, more specifically 7 months and 3 weeks. This difference reflects the working conditions in each sector, as can be seen in Figure 22.

FIG. 22 MATERNITY LEAVE DURATION AS TAKEN BY WOMEN IN DIFFERENT SECTORS

Maternity Leave as per the Law on Labour	6 month	3 month	3 month
12 months of maternity leave	70% of the salary paid by employer	50% of Kosovo average salary paid by the Government	unpaid
Average for the whole sample: 8 months, 20 days	8 months, 20 days		
Women in public sector: 9 months, 14 days	9 months, 14 days		
Women in private sector: 7 months, 21 days	7 months, 21 days		

SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

Further here, the women have been asked whether it was easy to request the maternity leave from the employer. Around 17 percent of the women have declared that they have faced difficulties when giving notice of their leave. This percentage remains the same across sectors.

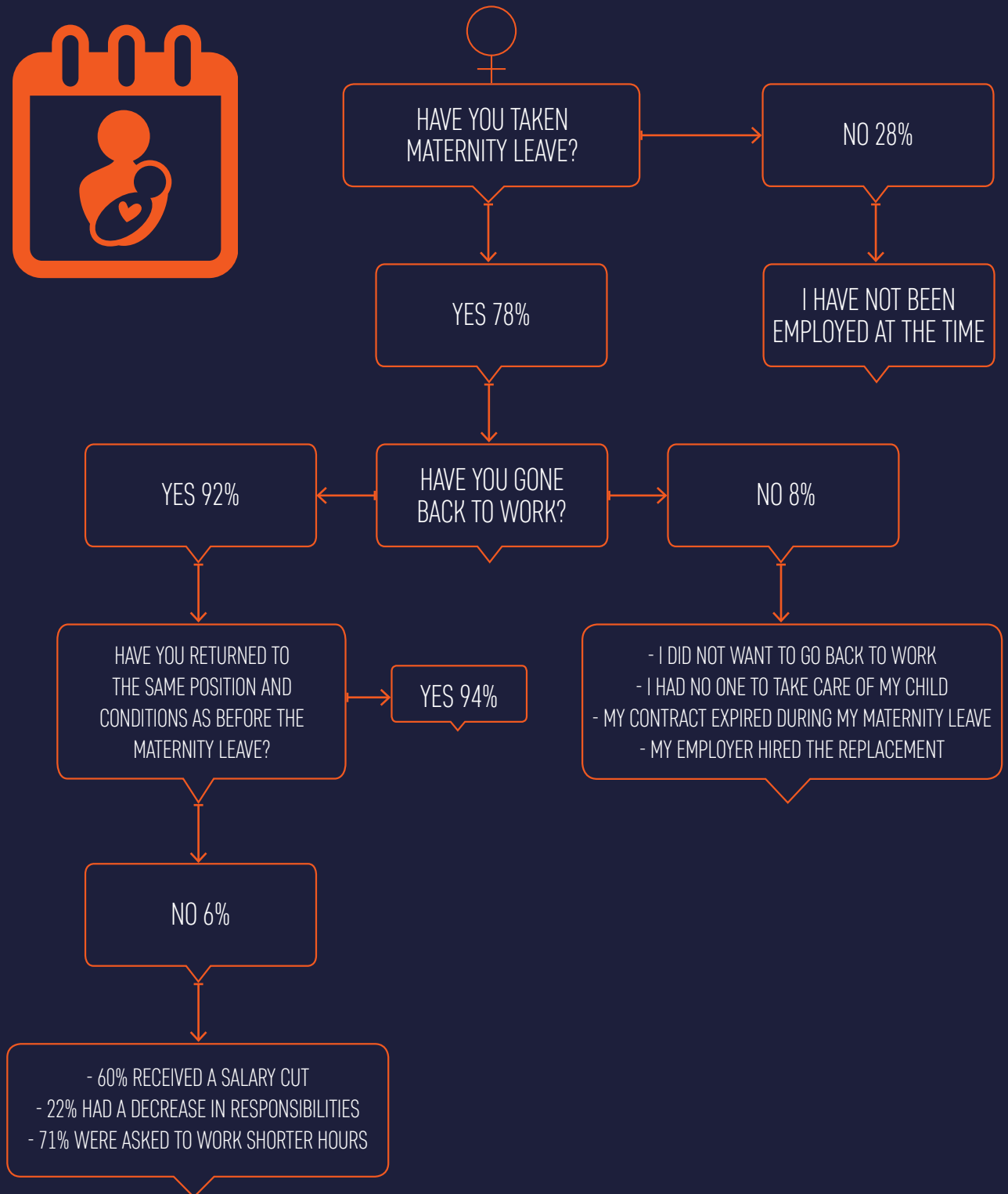
The first aspect of importance on maternity leave is the time women take off from work after having children and how the expectation of this happening impacts the decision of employers to hire women. The other aspect pertaining to maternity leave is the impact it has on the job of women once they come back from the leave. In order to provide a data-backed analysis of this second aspect, Riinvest surveyed women on the changes in their workplace after they came back from maternity leave.

Most of the surveyed women have also returned to their previous posts after the maternity leave, namely almost 92 percent. Roughly 4 percent have declared to still be on maternity leave on the time of the interview, while the remainder have stated that they did not return to their for-

mer workplace either because they had no one to look after their child (2 percent), they did not want to work any longer (1 percent), their contract had expired during maternity leave (0.5 percent), or because their employer hired the replacement (0.5 percent). While there is no immense difference between sectors, in the public sector, women who have returned to their previous job is 93 percent, compared to the 91 percent of women in the private sector.

The women, who reportedly returned to their previous workplace after the maternity leave, were in addition asked whether they upon return were given the same salary and the same conditions that they had before the birth of their child. The majority confirmed this, specifically, slightly more than 94 percent, whereas some 6 percent have admitted that they have not benefit from the same conditions as before. These levels, however, differ among sectors, with 96 percent of women who responded to this question in the public sector having returned to the same job they have previously had, while 92 percent of women in the private sector claim the same.

INFOGRAPHIC 8: CHANGES IN WORK AFTER TAKING MATERNITY LEAVE



For those who have not returned to the same position they held prior to maternity leave, the level of responsibilities, the level of salary or number of working hours have changed. For those who have undergone changes in the level of responsibilities, it turns out around 78 percent experienced a notable increase in responsibilities while around 22 percent rather experienced the opposite, a decrease in responsibilities upon return.

Regarding changes in the level of salary, for those who have experienced them, about 40 percent got a raise while about 60 percent got their salary cut. In the public sector, 63 percent of women claim their responsibilities have remained the same, however, their level of salary has remained the same in 88 percent of the cases, with 13 percent of women receiving both a decrease in responsibilities and a decrease in the salary level. This is different in the private sector, where while 67 percent of women returned to the same level of responsibilities, only 33 percent received the same salary level, with 33 percent receiving a pay increase.

Some of the women have also experienced changes in working hours, from those roughly 71 percent got their working hours shortened, whereas 29 percent got their working hours prolonged upon return to the former workplace. This trend is especially true in the public sector, where 63 percent of the women started working shorter hours, whereas in the private sector the majority (83 percent) continued working the same hours as before.

On the other side, the women were also asked whether they are aware of a Law in Kosovo that warrants fathers to take time off work when their child is born. Around 38 percent have declared to be aware of the dispositions of the Law concerning leave of the father in the case of childbirth, whereas the majority of 62 percent are unaware of the Law and its dispositions on this regard.



62 percent of surveyed women are unaware that the Law on Labor allows fathers time off when they have a child

Those women that are reportedly aware of the dispositions of the Law concerning leave of the father in the case of childbirth, think the legally allowed leave for fathers is 3.4 days on average.

Inquired to share their personal experience on this matter, roughly 27 percent of the women have stated that their partner took time off work when their child was born, i.e. 5.8 days on average. Meanwhile, the majority of around 73 percent have admitted that their partner did not take time off work, either because the couple did not see the need for it (54 percent), because they were not granted days off by their employer (21 percent), the couple was unaware of this disposition in the Law (17 percent), or the partner was not employed at the time (8 percent).

On this note, the women were asked if they think that the paternity leave should be guaranteed by the Law. It turns out, the widely held opinion by the interviewed women is that paternity leave should be regulated and foreseen by the law, i.e. in 74 percent of the cases. Only 6 percent disagree and the remaining 20 percent have stated to not have an opinion on this matter.

Knowledge on the average length of maternity leave that women take, especially considering the sector disaggregation, combined with the fact that most women are in favor of paternity leave for their partners, provide a good basis of information going forward in amending the Law on Labor.

4.7 Work-life balance

To assess the level of worry that the surveyed women have in their workplace as well as the impact of working in their personal lives, the working women have been further asked about work-life balance and how much they have struggled with it in the last year. For instance, the women were asked how often they have had problems concentrating or giving their maximum at work due to family obligations, but only around 11 percent admitted to having had such experience often. Around 46 percent have experienced such problems sometimes and around 43 percent seldom.

On the other side, the women were also asked about how often they have been concerned about work even when they were not in the workplace and some 23 percent have admitted to having experienced such concerns very often in the last year. In addition, some 41 percent have admitted to having felt worried about work every now and then; whereas, about 36 percent have reportedly rarely worried about work after working hours. On this issue, women in the public sector claimed that they often or sometimes were worried, with 21 percent and 38 percent each, with 37 percent of women saying they rarely worried about work outside of working hours. In the private sector, while small, there is an increase in the number of women who worry about work even beyond their usual working hours. In this case, 22 percent of women claimed they often worried about work, 40 percent claimed they sometimes worried about work, and with 3 percentage points less than the public sector, 34 percent claimed they rarely worried about work. Around 86 percent of the women have further stated that they feel very tired to perform household duties after working hours. Only 14 percent rarely feel this way. Of the women working in the public sector, 36 percent claimed this was often the case, 47 percent claimed this happened sometimes, and only 14 percent claimed this rarely happened. Women working in the private sector answered that in 39 percent of the cases they were often too tired after work, in 48 percent of the cases they were sometimes too tired, and only in 12 percent of the cases they were rarely too tired after working hours to dedicate time to their household work.

This shows a worrying trend of both the fact that women are expected to perform household work after being employed full-time in paid work, and the fact that full-time work leads to tiredness for workers to be able to engage in other activities after work. These issues are especially evident in economies where the importance of work-life



64 percent of women worry about work even outside of their workplace and their working hours, of which 23 percent claim this happens very often

balance is not yet a goal, and is seen as external to both family and work life. Moreover, in Kosovo, an economy in which women are underrepresented, looking for a healthier work-life balance may be considered a sign of weakness. With the limited opportunities for women in the workforce, demanding options for a more balanced personal time may come at the price of not securing a place in the labor force at all. This, in turn, leads to the high level of weariness after work, and the need to power through it to fulfill the expected household work. This shows that in certain cases, women who engage in paid work, forgo the opportunity to organize their time based on their personal preferences. As can be seen further, however, paid work does not only interfere with women's organizing of their household work, but also with time spent with their families.

Even more worryingly, two in three women have declared that the workload made it impossible for them to spend time with the family. Women working in the public sector claimed that paid work interfered with time they would otherwise spend with families in about 63 percent of the cases. In the private sector, however, this number is even higher, with around 75 percent of the women claiming that their paid work made it impossible to spend time with their families, which is 12 percentage points higher than for women in the public sector.

Engaging in paid work, in developing countries, is often a result of the need, rather than want. Thus, for a lot of the women in the survey, working in the labor market signifies having to divide their time between their work, their household obligations, and the time they spend with families. This makes the decision to work in the labor market more difficult, since it impairs two other aspects of their lives, without counting the impact it has on personal leisure time. As will be discussed in the next sections, the socio-cultural expectations for women, combined with the labor market limitations, provides a very complex economic situation to assess.

4.8 Double Shift

By estimates of ILO domestic work, namely unpaid care and domestic work reaches the value of at least 10 percent of the GDP and at most 39 percent in some countries (ILO, 2016). The existence of unpaid domestic work often serves as a substitute for lack of social and public infrastructure, and thus, recognition and valuation of unpaid care work, which is most often exclusively the burden of women, is of utmost importance in measuring women's contribution to the economy.

This, is often done through Time Use Surveys, used to measure and value working time, with specific focus on unpaid work, and as such provide some of the most useful tools for policy makers in designing welfare policies. Using World Economic Forum (WEF) data for women and men worldwide, women work on average 8 hours and 49 minutes a day, here including both paid and unpaid work; whereas men work 7 hours and 47 minutes (World Economic Forum, 2016). Out of these, for men only 1 hour and 30 minutes, on average, are unpaid care work, whereas for women the unpaid care work amounts to 4 hours 47 minutes a day spent. Riinvest Institute, through this survey, has, within a very limited scope, gathered data to assess the time employed women spend on paid and unpaid work. In this survey women were asked on how much time they spend in their work in the market – which is paid work, as well as how much time they spent working at home – which amounts to unpaid care work. These two differentiated times spend working, are known as the double shift. The double shift, which is almost exclusively a burden of women, is often considered an impacting variable on women's decisions to engage in paid work. Assuming that decisions to participate in the workforce is determined by the level of utility deriving from this, be it as means of ensuring additional income, or for career advancement, women divide their time between paid work, unpaid work, and leisure time; while this decision for men largely rests on a division of time between paid work and leisure.

Women surveyed by Riinvest, spend, on average 7 hours and 28 minutes working in paid work, and an additional 2 hours and 57 minutes, on average are spend on care and household work which is unpaid. Thus, on average, women spend 10 hours and 25 minutes working. Be-



Women spend on average 7 hours and 30 minutes in paid work, and approximately an additional 3 hours in unpaid household work

low a disaggregation of hours worked based on average salaries of women surveyed is provided. As can be seen, the number of hours worked during the day only decreases in cases when the number of paid work decreases, since the time spend on unpaid work remains relatively constant at different levels of analysis.

Breaking down the time spend on paid and unpaid work, salary brackets, women in the 0–199 € range spend on average 6 hours and 51 minutes in paid work, and 3 hours and 8 minutes in unpaid work, the former being the lowest time spent on paid work reported by income brackets, whereas the latter being the highest time spent on unpaid work by any income bracket. The highest total time spent on both paid and unpaid work based on income brackets, shows women who make 500–699 € monthly spending on average 10 hours 48 minutes working.

One manner of illustrating the contribution of women in unpaid care work is to evaluate the time they spend in this type of work, in terms of the market value of their hourly salary. As such, recalling that women in this survey, on average, earn 387 € monthly, taking into account a 180 work month, women are paid on average 2.15 € for an hours work in the market. On the other hand, women work approximately 3 hours daily in unpaid work. If the unpaid work would be compensated, based on the market value of the time for the women surveyed by Riinvest, then, they would earn an additional 135 € monthly, working at home – if only time spent working at home during workdays is calculated, and an additional 193 € monthly, if it accounts for every day of the month of 3 hours of work in household. These calculations differ for different levels of income, however the conclusion remains the same – that is, if the unpaid care work would be compensated monetarily, women's income would increase by 35 percentage points, in a conservative case, and by 50 percentage points in a more realistic case.

INFOGRAPHIC 9: DOUBLE SHIFT BY SALARY LEVEL



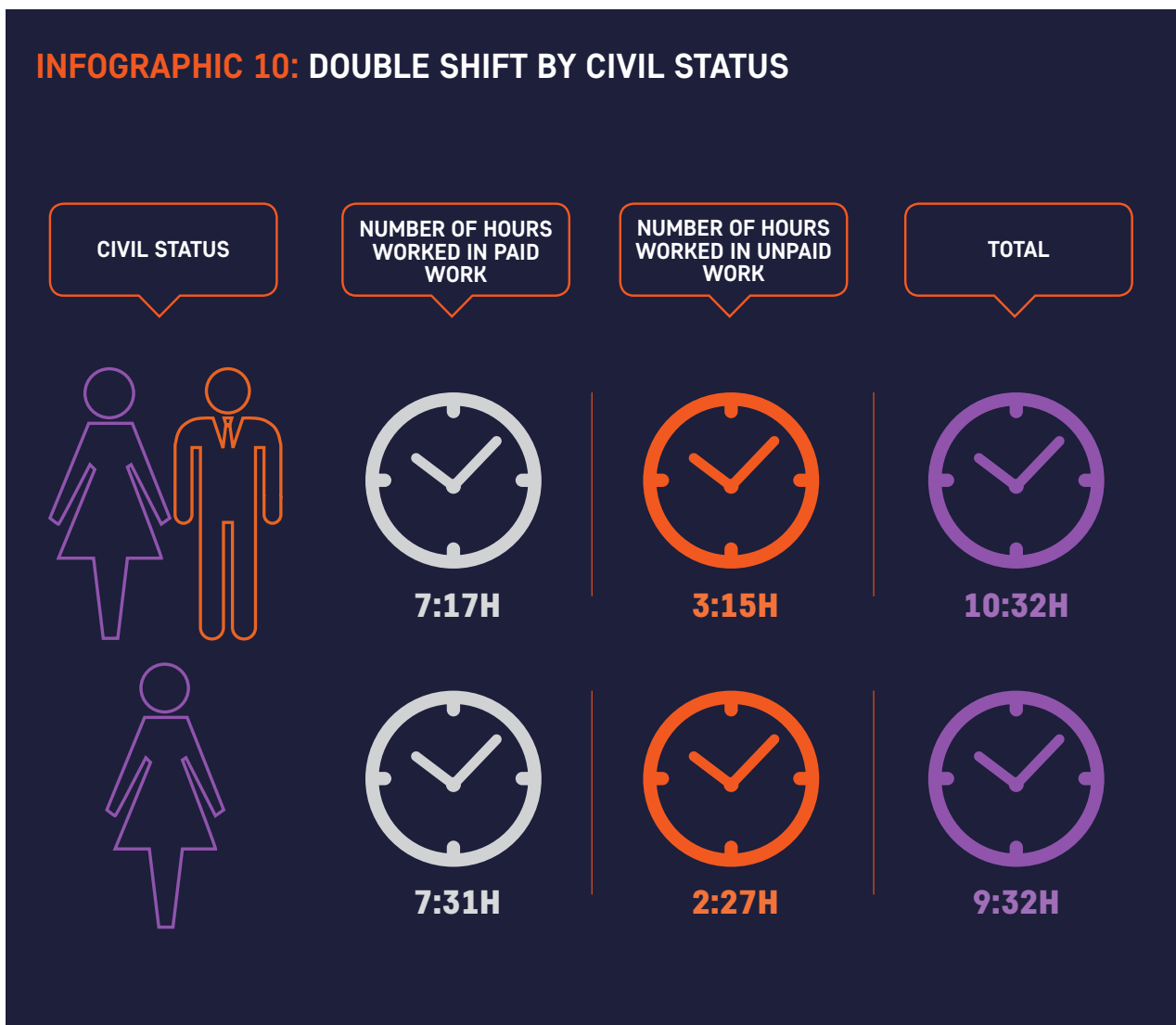
An analysis of how the level of education impacts the number of hours work daily, both in paid and unpaid work, it is noticeable that women with a lower level of education spend more time working unpaid household work, with women who have completed only primary education working an average total of 11 hours 41 minutes daily. Women with some secondary education spend less time on total working, especially in unpaid work.

Looking into how the civil status impacts hours worked, as can be seen, the overall working hours for women who are in a couple (be it living together with their partner or married) increase by 30 minutes. Out of which, women who live together with their partners spend 2

hours and 30 minutes engaging in unpaid work, whereas those who are married spend 3 hours and 20 minutes in unpaid work. Moreover, women who have children spend on average 45 minutes more on unpaid work at home, than those who do not have children.



Women who have children spend on average 45 minutes more on unpaid work at home, than those who do not have children

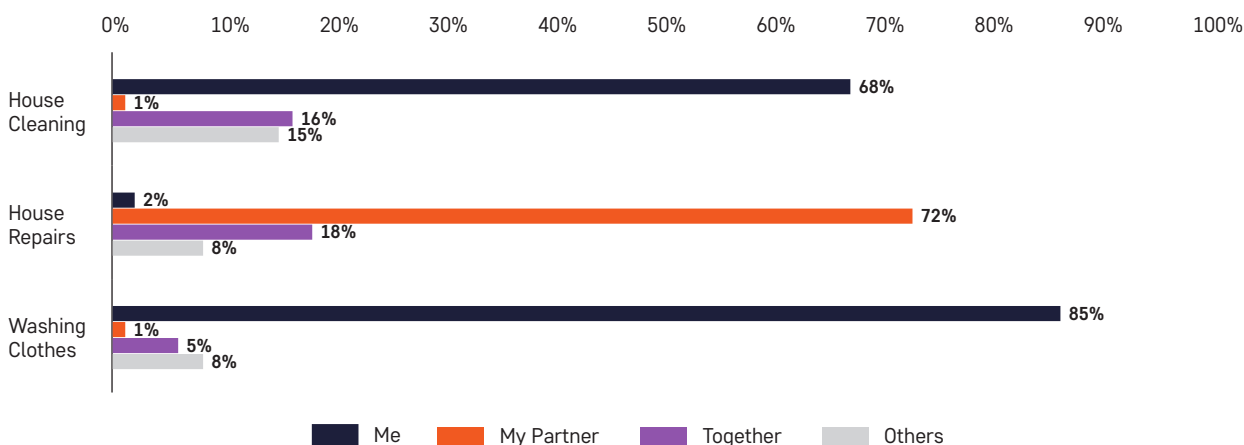


4.9 Division of labor within the household

The number of hours worked by women on a given day is a direct reflection of the disproportionate burden women have with unpaid household work. Apart from the hours worked, the division of labor within a house-

hold is important in establishing the power positions, especially the bargaining power within the household. The bargaining power of women who work in paid labor and contribute to the household budget is different from women who are unemployed, however, the division of the work within the household often does not reflect that.

FIG. 23: DIVISION OF LABOR WITHIN THE HOUSEHOLD



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

To analyze this, the women have been asked about the type of housework they usually do and whether they receive help from anyone to get it done. Coming as no surprise, more than two in three women (68 percent) do the house cleaning by themselves; in around 16 percent of the cases it is shared between the pair; in around 9 percent of the cases it is done by the housekeeping assistant; and in less than 1 percent of the cases it is done by the partner alone. In few instances also other family members are engaged in the house cleaning. The lack of the partner doing this alone is persistent among all income levels, however, as the women's income level increases, so does the joint work in cleaning the house for these couples.

Women with lower levels of income also report that another family member cleans the house, with around 18 percent in the three lowest income brackets claiming this whereas it is a disappearing trend for women with higher levels of income, from 13 percent to as low as zero percent of women claiming this for the three higher in-

come brackets. In the latter cases, there is a higher level of women who claim that this is usually the responsibility of hired help. A similar trend to that of income is shown by different levels of education, showing a risk of multicollinearity between these two variables.

When it comes to house repairs, the majority of work (72 percent) is done by the partner; roughly 18 percent by both partners; about 5 percent by another family member; and even less so by the surveyed woman herself. This remains true within different income levels, with the partner being responsible for this chore in the majority of cases across income levels.

However, the number of women claiming this is something they do jointly with their partner increases as the income level increases, from only 4 percent of women making 0-199 euros monthly claiming this is the case, compared to 38 percent of women making more than 1000 euros monthly. Another trend this data shows is

that of the involvement of another family member in this chore, with women with lower income levels showing a higher involvement of other family members in doing re-paid work, compared to those in higher income brackets claiming this less. Disaggregating this by education level, there is no major differentiation from the overall results, however, women with lower levels of education, primary and high school, show more involvement in house repairs, with around 11 percent of women with these education levels claiming so, compared to an average of 3 percent for those with different education levels.

Moreover, when it comes to washing clothes, the majority of the women (86 percent) have declared to do it by themselves; around 5 percent have stated that other family members are engaged in this; around 3 percent get it done by their housekeeping assistant; only 5 percent have declared that they share the work with their partner; and merely 1 percent have stated that their partner takes over on this housework duty.

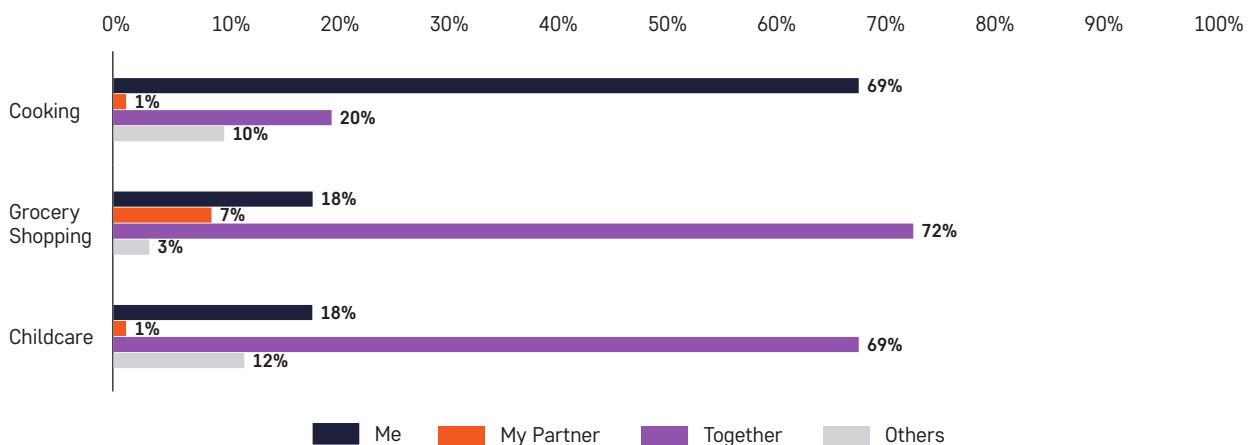
Analyzing this among different income levels, it is notable that there is a consistency of answers across income levels, when it comes to women who do this chore themselves, all but women making 700-1000 euros monthly, falling within the 72 percent to 78 percent range. Compared to other income levels, only 58 percent of wom-



In an overwhelming majority of cases, 74 percent, both partners are involved in childcare

en making 700-1000 euros claimed they were solely responsible for washing clothes. However, the level of responsibility for this chore changes with income level with regard to the involvement of the partners or others. Women with higher levels of income tend to have their partners more engaged in this chore, either by doing it together (12 to 13 percent) or having them do it alone. Another notable difference among different income levels is the involvement of either a different member of the family, or paid help. Lower levels of income show a higher level of involvement of other family members in doing this chore, whereas higher levels of income show a higher involvement of paid work in doing this chore. On the other hand, disaggregating by level of education, there is no notable difference among women with different education levels and the division of this particular chore within their household.

FIG. 24: DIVISION OF LABOR WITHIN THE HOUSEHOLD



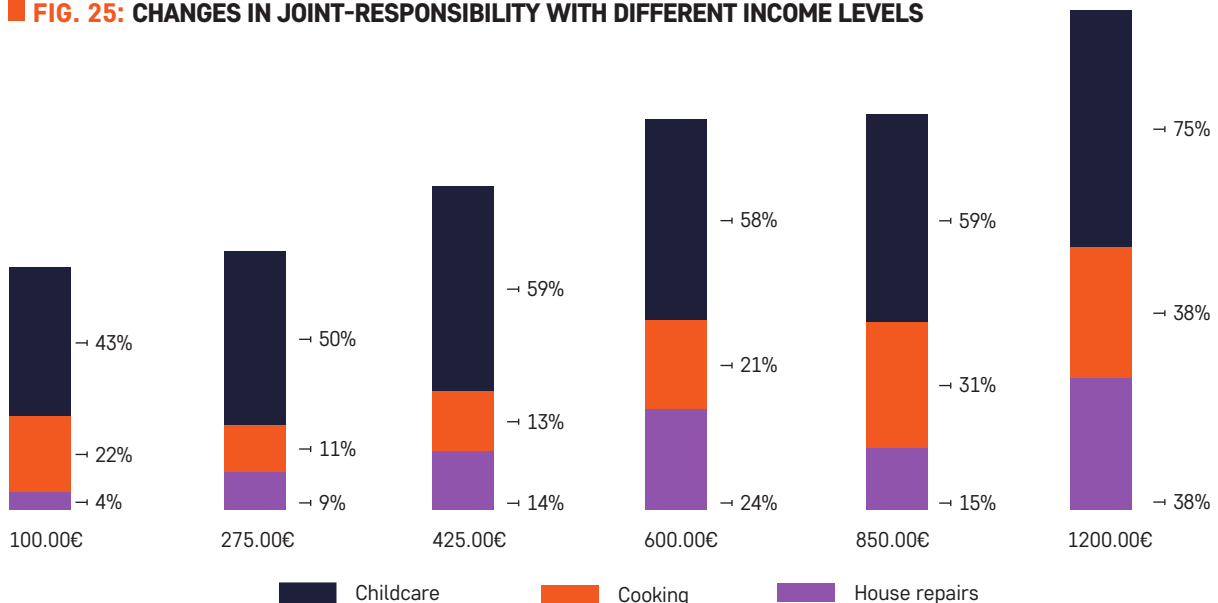
SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

Around 69 percent of the women cook for their families on their own; whereas in some 20 percent of the cases the pair cooks together. In roughly 10 percent of the cases another family member cooks the meals; and only in less than 1 percent the partner cooks for the family himself. In terms of differentiation in cooking responsibilities within the household by income level, there are two visible trends. One is that with increased level of income, there is increased level of joint responsibility among partners when it comes to cooking, from a low 11 percent for households where the woman makes 200-350 euros, up to 31 and 38 percent for households where the woman makes 700-1000 euros and more than 1000 euros, respectively. The other trend is that there is an inverse trend of the level of involvement of another family member, with increased income – where, as income level for respondents increases, the level of the responsibility of cooking falling to another family member decreases. When it comes to education level, as it increases, the percent of women being solely responsible for cooking decreases. However, this decrease in the level is not compensated with more involvement from the partner, neither solely nor jointly being responsible for this chore, but by an increase in the level of responsibility that other family members take in this. Grocery shopping, is reportedly done by the couple in most cases (72 percent); done by the woman in 18 percent of the time; or done by the partner alone in 7 percent of the time. In the least cases this task is done by another family member or housekeeper. Among different levels of income, the general trend persists as well. However, there is a higher involvement

of the partner in grocery shopping for women with higher levels of income, and a lower involvement of another family member. Whereas for different levels of education, the trend does not show any differentiation that can be attributed to this characteristic. Finally, when it comes to taking care of the children, in most cases (74 percent) it is done jointly by the couple and in around 19 percent of the cases by the woman alone. Whereas, children are generally cared for less by another family member (in 4 percent of the cases); by a nanny (in 2 percent of the cases); and by the partner alone in less than 1 percent of the cases. Disaggregating by income level, in households where women have higher levels of income, caring for children or other family members becomes more of a joint responsibility of the couple, rather than the sole responsibility of the woman. For women making more than 1000 euros monthly, this is true in 75 percent of the cases. Moreover, this responsibility falls less on other family members with increased levels of income. This care-work does not show any particular pattern that can be assigned to different education levels, since the trends tend to follow the general trend reported.

Furthermore, the women were asked what they think about this division of labor. Surprisingly, some 71 percent of the women are content with the current delegation and division of household responsibilities. Nonetheless, around 26 percent of the women would prefer more engagement from their partner and only 3 percent would actually prefer more engagement on their own part.

FIG. 25: CHANGES IN JOINT-RESPONSIBILITY WITH DIFFERENT INCOME LEVELS



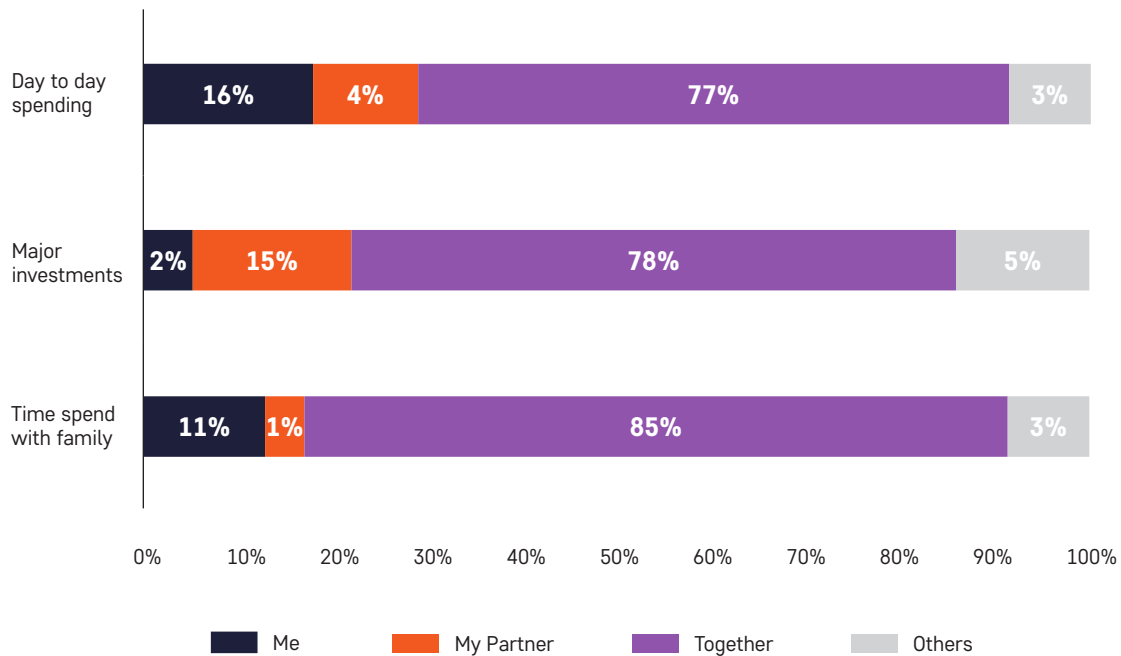
SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

Further exploring the household dynamics, women were asked on who makes decisions on different levels of spending in the household, both day to day expenditures such as those on food and clothing, as well as major expenditures such as investments on properties, cars, and other major financial decisions. It turns out that decisions are generally made jointly as a couple. For example, the final decision on spending on food and clothing is made by the couple in around 77 percent of the cases; by the woman in roughly 16 percent of the cases; and by the partner alone in about 4 percent of the cases. Other family members get involved in these decisions in the least cases. However, there is a differentiation among different salary levels, specifically at higher salary levels, women have shown higher levels of joint decision making with their partners on these issues. In this regard, the highest level of responsibility for these expenditures, for women in the 0-199 euros monthly income bracket, falls to another family member, with 40 percent of the respondents in this category claiming that. Of the rest, 25 percent claim they make these decisions themselves.

Decisions on major investments, such as buying a car, a house and/or equipment are again made in most instances jointly by the couple (78 percent); by the partner alone in about 15 percent of the cases; and the least cases made by either the woman alone or another family member. Moreover, with increased income level, these decisions become almost exclusively joint decisions made by the couple. Women in the lower income brackets show a higher responsibility of either their partners or other family members in making these financial decisions, whereas the role of other family members decreases to 0 percent for the two highest income brackets, as does the sole decision making responsibility of the partners. However, this level of responsibility increases for women as the sole decision makers, up to 13 percent for those making more than 1000 euros monthly.

The time spent with family or relatives is decided on by the couple in some 85 percent of the cases; by the women alone in around 11 percent of the cases; by another family member in some 3 percent of the cases; and by the partner alone in only 1 percent of the cases. This trend remains true across all income levels. The impact of other factors on spending decisions is explored further below.

FIG. 26: HOUSEHOLD DECISIONS MAKING



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

To conduct a multivariable analysis of the factors that impact decision making when it comes to spending in the family, the analysis below examines the main determinants as per the literature. Following on the similar variables available as Kabeer et al. did in Bangladesh, this probit regression provides an estimation of the impact these variables have on decision making on two levels: every day purchases, such as groceries and clothing; and investments on vehicles, dwellings, and other sizable investments. While the R2 for both regressions is low, the models do explain a portion of variation on the dependent variable. It is safe to assume that societal and cultural issues related to women's bargaining power within the household impact the dependent variables more. However, since that quantification is largely impossible, this looks at the results that the existing quantifiable variables have provided. In the regression which tries to explain the variation in decisions made for every day spending, living in the capital, that is Prishtina, has a positive impact and is statistically significant. Moreover, having a higher salary, as expected also has a positive and statistically significant impact, so does working in the public sector. For women with a working contract, this has a negative impact on decision making for day to day spending, which is not expected, as having a working contract gives women more assurance of their economic independence. This however is shown for women report to be paid regularly,



At higher income levels of women, investment decisions become almost exclusively joint decisions made by the couple

that it has a positive and statistically significant. Other variables, are statistically significant, however it has to be noted, that being the main breadwinner or having been promoted in the workplace, both have a negative, albeit statistically insignificant impact.

The second regression, which looks into the variation in investment decisions, is problematic, since many variables predict failures, while other variables are not statistically significant, most signs and predicted impact of variables is in line with literature and academic expectations.

Further, running regressions to look into the determinants of joint decision making, shows that in the both day to day spending and investments most variables appear insignificant.

TAB. 03 MULTIVARIABLE ANALYSIS OF DECISION MAKING IN A COUPLE – PROBIT REGRESSION

	Day to day purchases	Long term investments
Variable	Woman is the decision maker of day to day purchases	Woman is the decision maker of long term investments
Woman lives in Prishtina	0.523269*** (.002)	0.0679595 (.816)
Woman has a higher salary	0.4559173 * (.088)	0.6441742 (.157)
Woman's salary level falls in the lower income bracket	-0.1390275 (.659)	-0.2289635 (.675)
Woman's salary level falls in the middle income bracket	-0.2554635 (.399)	-0.2227516 (.663)
Woman's salary level falls in the high income bracket	-0.1365436 (.735)	-0.3066357 (.667)
Woman is the main breadwinner in the family	-0.1359575 (.571)	0.0646301 (.88)
Woman is employed in public sector	0.3502501* (.062)	0.334531 (.314)
Woman has completed lower levels of education	0.4195052 (.315)	4.319508 (.989)
Woman has completed higher levels of education	0.3519216 (.375)	4.031066 (.99)
Woman is worried about keeping her job	0.2699489 (.178)	-0.0686317 (.853)
Woman has been promoted at work	-0.2081016 (.232)	-0.1622002 (.599)
Woman has a work contract	-0.4766472* (.055)	0.0149499 (.977)
Woman is paid regularly	0.9671411* (.091)	Omitted
Woman has children	0.1140104 (.630)	Omitted
Constant	-2.246704*** (.002)	-6.018266 (.985)
R-squared overall	0.081	0.0813

**Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1**

SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

4.10 Economic independence as an empowerment tool

While this survey has focused on women who are employed, it is important to assess how economic independence has impacted women in their perception of societal constructs and roles. Achieving and contributing towards women's economic empowerment, especially in reaching gender equity in the economic term, needs a multifaceted approach, one that is highly unlikely to be one size fits all, be it in terms of countries or in terms of cultures.

To assess what impacts women's empowerment is the first step towards providing informed solutions to issues women face. To analyze this, this section will provide analysis of the general results of the survey as well as tabulations of results by both salary level and education level, as two of the most important drivers of women's empowerment, with different claims that these women were surveyed on. While these two factors have some level of multicollinearity between them, it is important to see whether there is a differing impact on these issues between these factors.

Analyzing the gender roles within the family, the women were asked to show their level of agreement to different opinions on generally proclaimed social issues and the role of women in society have also been sought from the surveyed working women. To the statement "the most important role of a woman is the care and preparation for the family", around 40 percent of the women have agreed completely and another 37 percent have agreed to some extent, whereas around 23 percent have utterly disagreed.

The level of agreement with this statement, disaggregated by salary level, shows that on average 20 percent of women whose income ranges between 0-500 euros, don't agree with this claim, with the rest (80 percent) either agreeing or relatively agreeing with this claim. At higher salary levels, however, women making more than 500 euros a month, on average, 24 percent do not agree with the statement, with women making on average 850 euros monthly showing the highest level of disagreement at 35 percent.

A similar trend is shown in disaggregation of the answers by education level. While women who have completed a Master's degree or higher show the highest level of disagreement with this statement at 33 percent, the level of



76 percent of respondents believe that women should not give up paid work even if it interferes with the fulfillment of domestic duties

disagreement increases steadily from 16 percent for women who have completed their primary education, to the aforementioned 33 percent. This shows an increased awareness of the role of women in the society, with higher education levels.

Furthermore, only 11 percent have agreed that "child care, such as cleaning and feeding, is the sole responsibility of the mother". Another 25 percent have agreed to the statement to some extent, while the majority of around 64 percent have loudly disagreed. Across all salary levels an overwhelming majority of 67 percent of women disagreed with the statement.

This is also true with different education levels, however, while 42 percent of women who have completed their primary education disagree with the statement, the remaining majority (58 percent) agree with the statement at least fully or partially. For women who have completed their high school degree or those with an associate degree, the level of agreement (either fully or partially) is at 50 percent, with the remaining 50 disagreeing with the statement. The trend changes towards clear disagreement for women with higher education levels however, with the remaining three categories of education – namely unfinished bachelor's degree, completed bachelor's degree, and completed master's degree or higher, disagreeing with the statement from 70 percent to 74 percent. So while there is a uniformity in disagreement between salary levels, for this statement, there are differences between education levels.

The statement "a woman must give up paid work if it interferes with the fulfilment of domestic duties" has resonated fully only with 8 percent and partially with roughly 16 percent of the women, meanwhile it has not a bit resonated with roughly 76 percent. While the majority of women overall did not agree with the claim, the figures were more convincing among higher levels of salary.

The overall average level of disagreeing with this statement is 80 percent, and increases to 88 percent for women making 425 euros or more monthly, with women who make on average 850 euros a month disagreeing at 96 percent. As with income level, majority of women, ranging from 68 percent of those who have completed their primary education, to 88 percent for those who have completed their master's degree, disagree with this statement at all levels of education.

"A man should have the final say in decision-making at home" has been the firm viewpoint of only 6 percent of the women, of 13 percent to some extent and has been protested by more than 81 percent of the women.

Disaggregated by salary level, while there is some uniformity in answers, still, women making 0-199 euros and 200-349 euros monthly, disagree with the statement at 67 and 77 percent respectively. For women with higher level of income, the number of those who disagree with this statement increases by 10 percentage points, on average, ranging from 81 percent to 90 percent. For this statement, there is a similar trend of disagreement as with increasing income levels as well as with increasing education levels. Women with higher education levels show higher level of disagreement with the statement, and lower agreement in full.

Assessing the perception of women of the impact that their working has on the overall family life, women were asked to what extent they agreed with the statement that the family life suffers overall when the woman works. "In general, family life suffers when a woman has a full-time job" has been the strong opinion of some 18 percent of the women, and partially of some other 44 percent, whereas roughly 38 percent have not shared this opinion. The answers to this statement also show a clear increasing trend of disagreement with increases in salary.

Only 26 percent of women whose income falls in the first income bracket disagree with the statement, with the rest (74 percent) either fully agreeing or agreeing to



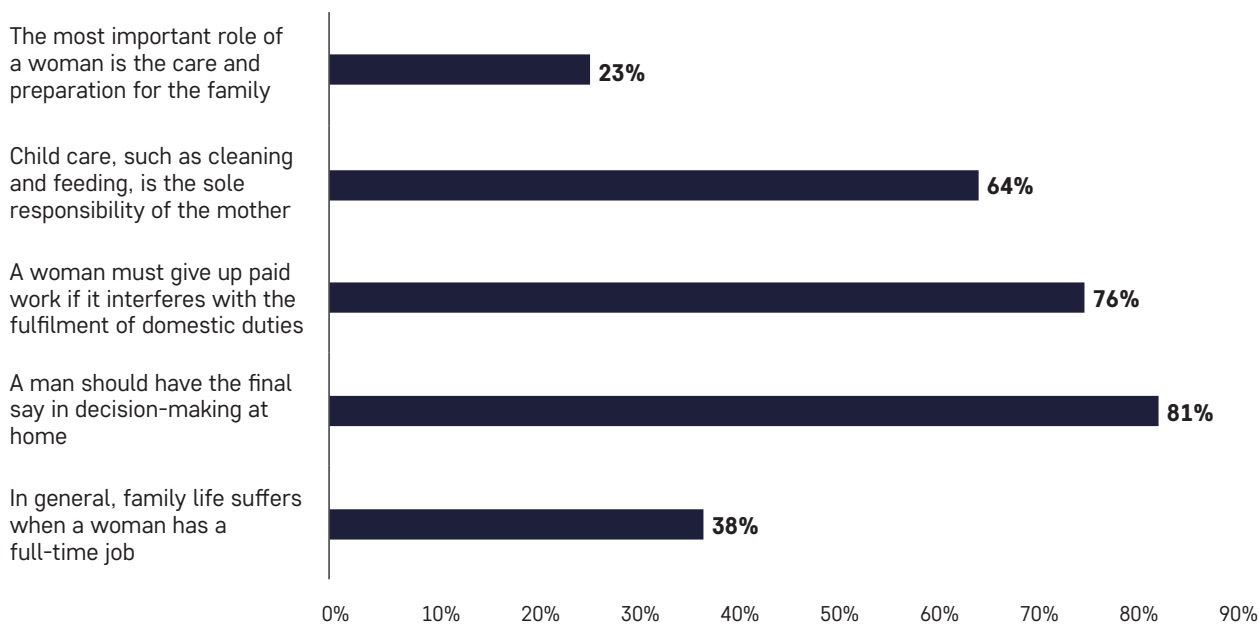
81 percent of women completely disagree that a man should have the final say in decision-making at home. This figure rises to 90 percent as income or education level increases

some extent. In the second income bracket, women who disagree with the statement is 4 percentage points higher, at 31 percent, with the remaining 69 percent showing some level of agreement. Women in the third and fourth income bracket display similar tendencies of answering this question, where on average 44 percent of women in both these categories disagree with the statement. For women in the two highest income brackets, the level of disagreement increases to 52 percent for women whose income is 700-1000 euros (twice the disagreement for women in the lowest income bracket), and a clear majority of 71 percent for women making more than 1000 euros monthly. What is notable is that only 8 percent of the women in the 700-1000 euros category of income fully agree with the statement, whereas no woman in the more than 1000 euros income category agrees with this statement. The level of agreement and disagreement with this statement varies little by education level, however, it is clear that there is a lower level of disagreement across all levels of education, compared to different levels of income.



64 percent of women fully disagree that child care is solely a mother's responsibility, this is true across all salary levels and educational attainment levels

FIG. 27 WOMEN WHO COMPLETELY DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

Considering the high opportunity cost that women feel they face in relation to their children when they join the paid workforce, in this survey they were asked whether they believed that a working mother can have as close of relationships with her children as a mother who doesn't work. The exact statement "a working mother can establish relationships that are equally affectionate and strong with her children as a mother who does not work" has around 46 percent of the women agreeing completely, another 32 percent agreeing partly and only 22 percent disagreeing.

The level of agreement with the statement varies across different salary levels, most notably, women who make more than 1000 euros monthly, either fully agreed (75 percent) with the statement or partially agreed (25 percent), no woman in this income category disagreed with the statement. As the salary levels decrease, so does the agreement with this statement. Women who fall in the first two income brackets (0-349 euros jointly), agree with the statement around 35 percent, those who agree to some extent are around 32 percent, whereas those who do not agree with this statement are 38 percent for women in the lowest income bracket (0-199 euros) and 28 percent for women in the second income bracket (200-349 euros). For the remaining income levels, there

is a decreasing trend of disagreement with the statement as the income increases, something that shows that women who are paid more, believe their paid work and their motherly duties are complements rather than substitutes.

While there is an increasing level of agreement with this statement as the education level increases, there are more blended results when disaggregating by education level. The highest level of agreement is shown by women who have completed a master's degree or more, with 62 percent fully agreeing and 27 percent partially agreeing with the statement, the remaining 11 percent, however, disagreeing with the statement. The lowest level of agreement is shown by women who have not completed their bachelor's degree, with only 32 percent agreeing with the statement.

As the societal expectations dictate that women engage in household and unpaid work, the women in the sample were also surveyed on whether they agreed that unpaid household work is as appreciated as paid work. The declaration "being a stay-at-home wife is just as valued as having a paid job" has agreeing about 24 percent fully and another 29 percent partly, while disagreeing a considerable 47 percent of the women.

In this question the level of disagreement with the statement is high across all income levels, ranging from 39 percent disagreement for women whose income falls in the second income bracket of 200-349 euros, to a high 60 percent for women whose income falls in the 500-699 euros bracket. Majority of women (51 percent and 57 percent respectively) who have completed their bachelor's or master's degrees disagree with the statement. For other education levels, the majority of women either fully or partially agree with the statement, with the average level of agreement being around 60 percent.

Analyzing paid work and the impact it has on women's independence, the surveyed women were asked to what extent they agreed with the statement that the best way of being independent for a woman was by having paid work. Two in three women (67 percent) have shared the view that "having a job is the best way for a woman to be independent" and a further 24 percent have agreed with it to some extent, while less than 8 percent have disagreed.

This statement is fully supported by majority of women across all income levels, ranging from 64 percent for those making 350-499 euros monthly, to 100 percent full agreement from women making more than 1000 euros monthly. Women who are employed, regardless of their income level tend to agree that having a paid job is empowering for women overall, however, notably there are differences in the level of agreement consistent with salary levels.

A similar trend is visible with the education level, although, none of the women who have completed their primary education disagreed with this statement, while the level of disagreement ranged from 6 percent for women who have not completed their bachelor's degree, to 17 percent for those who have completed their associate degree.

Following the economic empowerment track, the surveyed women were asked to what extent they agreed that both men and women have to contribute to the family income. "Both husband and wife should contribute to household income" has been the strong opinion of the majority of surveyed women, namely around 86 percent and another 13 percent have shared the opinion to some extent, whereas only 1 percent have the opposite opinion. This agreement level increases to 100 percent for the two highest income levels.



Overall 2 in 3 women, regardless of their income level, agree that having a paid job is empowering and the best way to be independent for women

More notable, is however, that less than 1 percent of women disagree with the statement, more specifically 2 percent of women whose income is in the 200-349 euros bracket, and 1 percent of women in the 350-499 euros income bracket. For other levels of income, no woman disagreed with this statement.

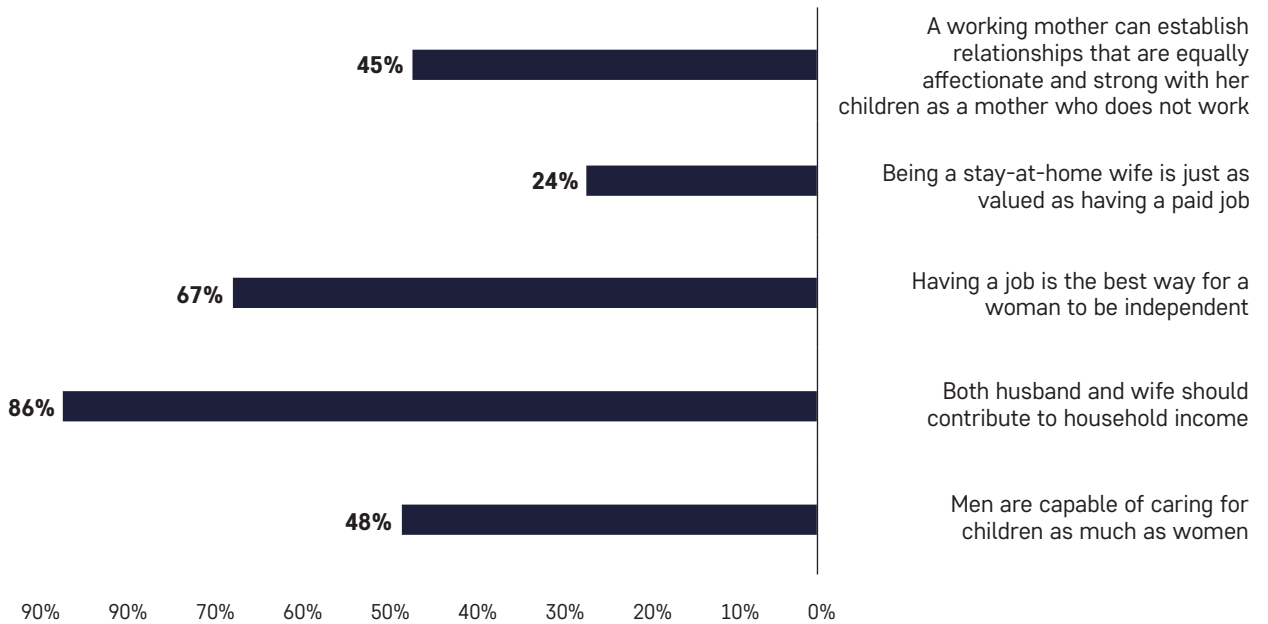
As with income levels, the vast majority of women agree with this statement. With the highest level of agreement shown from women who have completed their master's degree or higher, at 96 percent, however, women with this level of education also show the highest level of disagreement at 3 percent. Others disagree fully with the statement. Finally, women were asked to show their level of agreement for the ability of women to take care of children. Almost one in two women (48 percent) have agreed that "men are capable of caring for children as much as women", around 43 percent have somewhat agreed and only 9 percent have disagreed.

This level of agreement is highest among higher income levels, and is highest for women in the 700-1000 euros income bracket, with 72 of women fully agreeing, the remaining 28 percent agreeing partially, and no woman disagreeing with this statement. The trend is mixed among different levels of education. While there is a positive increasing trend between the level of education and full agreement with the statement, the level of disagreement is mixed, albeit lower levels of education show higher disagreement.



91 percent of women believe, at least to some extent, that men are as capable as women of caring for children

FIG. 28 WOMEN WHO FULLY AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS



SOURCE: AUTHORS' CALCULATIONS

99%

of women agree that both partners should contribute to the household income

5. CONCLUSION

Economic freedom plays a central role in women's empowerment in both private and public life. Women who are employed, especially those whose income provides them with financial stability, are more engaged in decision making in within their households, and in public life.

However, one of the main issues women face, ranked as the highest barrier for 36 percent of the women surveyed, is the low salary level. This is more pertinent for women employed in the private sector, as are issues related to working conditions, such as the lack of contracts and working outside of regular work hours without compensation. In the private sector, more than 30 percent of women do not have a working contract, and of those holding a contract more than half have a fixed term contract, with an average duration of 10 months. Working under such conditions, although giving women financial freedom at the time being, does not provide them with job or financial security in the long run.

Considering that more than half of women are employed in the private sector, these issues impact a large number of women active in the labor market. Comparing the private and the public sector, it is clear that the working conditions differ substantially, women in the private sector work longer weeks while being paid, on average, around 26 percent less than women in the public sector. Moreover, more than 75 percent of women never receive compensation for working overtime. Measures that ensure that workers hold contracts and that the contracts are respected, such as increased number of labor inspectors, can lead to improvement of the working conditions, especially in the private sector.

Considering the amendment to the Law on Labor which promises changes in the provisions concerning maternity leave, women in this report show that the current length of the leave is sufficient, and in practice often longer than what women take. More than half of the women consider

it is sufficient as foreseen by the law, with the majority of women having taken less than 9 months of maternity leave. Moreover, three out of four women believe that there should be legal guarantee for fathers to take paternity leave. These results need to be taken into account during the amendment period of the law, ensuring that the legislative framework reflects the expectations of the labor force.

The continuous barriers women in the workforce face result both from the needs of the labor market, but also from the societal constraints stemming from pre-determined gender roles in Kosovo. Barriers, especially those in finding a job, reflect this clearly. Women surveyed consider the lack of appropriate jobs as the main barrier they face when searching for a job, followed by the lack of time to work due to household obligations, and lack of part time opportunities. These findings are further validated with labor market analysis of the jobs women generally hold, which show that there is very limited number of part time jobs available, and there is lack of flexibility in the work they do. Women with higher levels of education face even bigger barriers when searching for jobs that are suitable to their qualifications. These indicators show a clear gap in the demand and supply in the labor market, especially pertaining to women, which can be narrowed with an increased offer of more flexible hours and part time work from employers.

Employment is considered an important step towards economic independence of women and as a tool for improving their bargaining position within the household, and this is clear in terms of changes in the level of involvement in decision making in the household. Decision making within the household, especially decisions concerning financial investments, shows a clear increase of the role of women with their salary increases. While the division of labor within the household is still relatively gendered, the chores also show an increased level of teamwork between women and their partners in completing them, as the salary levels increase.

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APPENDIX 1

SAMPLING DISTRIBUTION IN KOSOVO MUNICIPALITIES

	Number of employed women	Percentage of employed women	Number of questionnaires
Deçan	978	1.4 percent	9
Gjakovë	3890	5.7 percent	34
Glogoc	1189	1.7 percent	10
Gjilan	4064	5.9 percent	36
Dragash	302	0.4 percent	3
Istog	1196	1.7 percent	10
Kaçanik	635	0.9 percent	6
Klinë	766	1.1 percent	7
Fushë Kosovë	2009	2.9 percent	18
Kamenicë	850	1.2 percent	7
Mitrovica e veriut	2738	4.2 percent	25
Mitrovicë	2655	3.9 percent	23
Lipjan	1686	2.5 percent	15
Novobërdë	281	0.4 percent	2
Obiliq	766	1.1 percent	7
Rahovec	896	1.3 percent	8
Pejë	4650	6.8 percent	41
Podujevë	1627	2.4 percent	14
Prishtinë	19335	28.2 percent	169
Prizren	5840	8.5 percent	51
Skenderaj	836	1.2 percent	7
Shtime	607	0.9 percent	5
Shtërpcë	264	0.4 percent	2
Suharekë	1377	2.0 percent	12
Ferizaj	3821	5.6 percent	33
Viti	1204	1.8 percent	11
Vushtrri	1827	2.7 percent	16
Malishevë	595	0.9 percent	5
Junik	113	0.2 percent	1
Mamushë	31	0.0 percent	0
Hani i Elezit	132	0.2 percent	1
Graçanicë	1003	1.5 percent	9
Ranillug	159	0.2 percent	1
Partesh	61	0.1 percent	1
Kllokot	74	0.1 percent	1
TOTAL	68457	100.0 percent	600

