Università degli studi di Milano
Dip. di Scienze Sociali e Politiche

Università degli studi di Torino
Dip. di Culture, Politica e Società

PhD PROGRAM
SOCIOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY OF SOCIAL RESEARCH – 30th cohort

Gendered Division of Domestic Work and Childcare in Albania and Serbia

A Comparative Study of National Time Use Surveys

April 2019

Doctoral dissertation by:

Nermin Aga

Supervisors: Prof. Cristina Solera & Prof. Renzo Carriero

Director of Doctoral Program: Prof. Mauro Barisione

Acknowledgements

The question of "why is it almost always women who should bear the burden of housework" had troubled me since long ago. When I was doing a masters in Gender Studies, my brother asked my now late grandmother: "Grandma, do you know what Nermin is studying?". Having been raised as illiterate and resenting her patriarchal father for not sending her to school, my grandma said: "No, how can I now?!". My brother continued explaining to her jokingly: "Nermin is studying who should do the dishes at home and who should do the laundry and who should take care of the kids- the husband or the wife?". She was so surprised and said: "What's in there to study? Of course, it is the wife who should handle all these tasks!"

Even though it was a normal expectation of my grandma that women should take care of home, it was also very normal for her that women should study as much as possible and go to work out of home and have their economic independence. After all, she had helped raise me while my mother was working in the late communist Albania. It was this kind of almost contradictory role expectation for women in Albania which raised my interest even further and made me pursue a thorough study of how women and men handle unpaid work in Albania and compare it to a close by country-yet culturally different- Serbia. Here I would like to thank many people who have contributed in making this work possible.

First and foremost, I would like to give special thanks to my two wonderful professors: Professor Cristina Solera and Professor Renzo Carriero, for their tremendous help during the proposal, training, writing and re-writing phases of this dissertation. I want to thank them for the time they spent with me in my two trips in Turin to train me in data management and statistical analysis with Stata. They have been a source of inspiration and without their guidance; I would not have this work in my hands. I also thank them for their patience and for not giving up on me, even when I failed to deliver. I give special thanks to Professor Carriero for his dedication and insightful comments on each chapter and for his guidance in terms of methodological and especially analytical explanations. I also thank Professor Solera for her guidance on theoretical aspects, hypothesis formulation and literature review comments. My two professors have provided the

promptest guidance; they were in harmony in the comments they gave and provided excellent advice. I look up to them and I say, “Thank you!”

On a macro level, I dedicate this thesis to all Albanian and Serbian women who are the heroines of everyday life. I give many thanks to the Italian state for providing me a scholarship for studying two Balkan countries. I also want to take a moment to appreciate the NASP PhD program and the well-prepared Professors who provided an excellent training, crucial for the PhD studies and beyond. I give many thanks to Dragana, the nice lady from SORS Serbia for providing the data and all information I needed, and I also give many thanks to Pranvera, the INSTAT responsible person for helping me with Albanian diary data.

I thank my family for the support they provided through all this journey and for bearing with me in my difficult days. I thank my son, Daris, and I ask him to forgive me for being away from him when he needed me the most. But knowing that he has a dedicated father and loving grandparents; I felt he was in safe hands. Hence, many thanks to my husband -friend, mate, partner and life-coach- Diamant, who gave me strength and told me to go on. Zaha, my beautiful daughter, is to be thanked for her smile; she is the precious gift of this PhD. I also thank my late grandmother, Adile (who sparkled my interest in this kind of study), my mothers (my own mother Shpresa who instilled in me a love for education since an early age; and Ramie who encouraged me to take this step because Daris would be in good hands and continuously helped me with managing the kids and work), my father (Abdulla), my late father, (Perparim), whose memory I cherish; my brother (Gazi) with his wonderful family (Fatma, Zeynep and Cemal), and my brothers and sisters from my other family, together with their wonderful kids. Thank you for being part of my life!

Many thanks I also give to my colleagues from the 30th cohort of the PhD program (Merel, Asya, Marco, Eugenia, Arianna and Colette) who have all been brilliant and positive people. I thank my friends, Marsela, Urana, Dr.Nertila and Denada, who despite being away, whatsapped me and supported me during my journey. I am blessed to be surrounded by wonderful people in my life, and I thank each of them for simply being.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abstract

This thesis explores patterns of domestic work and childcare in Albania and Serbia. Particularly, it asks how education, marital status, employment, and parental status affect the time men and women in Albania and Serbia spend on domestic work and childcare. By looking at matched couples and their characteristics, it also asks how couples in Albania and Serbia share this labor. By employing 2010 national time use data from Albania and Serbia, the study reveals major gender differences in how unpaid work is handled in both countries. The results indicate that there is huge gender inequality in the domestic sphere in both Albania and Serbia; however, in this domain, Albania is much more traditional than Serbia. Albanian women do more unpaid work than Serbian women and Serbian men do more unpaid work than Albanian men. Education, marriage, parenthood and employment have an impact on the time Albanian and Serbian women spend on unpaid work. For Albanian and Serbian men, however, the results are mixed. Education and marriage do not have an impact on the amount Albanian and Serbian men spend on domestic work and childcare. Parenthood and employment have a small effect on the amount of time both Albanian and Serbian men spend on these activities. Matched couples' data show that Serbian husbands share more unpaid work and routine work, compared to Albanian husbands. Higher educational levels for women partners are associated with a decrease in unpaid work and routine work among couples in Serbia, but not in Albania. While a higher educational level helps Albanian women reduce the amount of their own time in unpaid work and routine work, it does not help them convince their partners to participate more in unpaid work or routine work.

The study shows that macro-level gender inequality predicts more unpaid work for women and the burden of unpaid work seems to be among women with elementary educational levels, especially in Albania. It also shows that individual-level factors (such as higher educational attainment) are not enough to increase men's contribution to domestic labor, in the presence of high macro-level gender inequality (in the case of Albania). However, educational attainment and employment are crucial in easing the burden of unpaid work for women. Even if their partners do not to contribute more (in the case of Albania), employed women and women with tertiary levels of education find a way out of unpaid work, by either outsourcing it or by simply not doing it. In the presence of more egalitarian macro-level gender ideology, (in the case of Serbia) women's individual

characteristics (higher educational attainment) but not men's, elevate men's contribution in unpaid work and routine work in the household. This study makes an academic contribution to the literature of domestic and childcare labor by bringing into the mainstream literature two countries rarely explored at this level. It also sets the background for further research on this area by comparing more Balkan countries (upon data availability) and by also comparing contrasting these countries to other countries worldwide.

1. A Study of the Gendered Division of Domestic Work and Childcare in Albania and Serbia: Aims and Objectives

1.1. Introduction

The gendered division of domestic work has taken tremendous attention from scholars, especially in the western world. In the latter context, scholars have studied domestic work and how it is shared among couples since the 1960s (Blood and Wolf, 1960). Numerous articles on how unpaid labor is handled at home have been produced each year; and a lot of many others by prominent scholars in this field have reviewed the theories, methods, perspectives, and countries in which this research has taken place. The most pervasive conclusion of this research has been that women do most of the housework almost everywhere in the world (Treas and Drobnic, 2010). Puzzled by the persistence of the unequal division of housework- even in countries with a high achievement of gender equality in the public sphere- scholars have sought to identify and understand the key determinants behind this phenomenon. The most concerning issue for scholars- not only the ones studying unpaid work, but also the ones analyzing welfare state and family policies- has been the fact that the dramatic rise of women's participation in the labor force was not followed by similar trends of men's involvement in the unpaid work (Orloff, 2011; Saraceno & Keck, 2011; Saraceno, 2011; Gershuny, 2003).

How is domestic work handled; what individual characteristics determine who does what; what are the probabilities of sharing; when do husbands contribute more; how do macro-level factors such as: culture, social norms, gender socialization impact the performance of domestic work and childcare in specific contexts; how are individual characteristics mediated by macro-level factors such as welfare, work and family policies and how people with the same individual features perform different amounts of domestic labor in different contexts- are all questions addressed by scholars in the field.

Why does inequality in the private sphere matter? Domestic labor is as necessary as productive labor for the maintenance of society and the amount of time spent in unpaid work is about the same time spent in paid employment (Coltrane, 2000). Studies show that inequality at home is an

essential element of gender stratification because its effects reach outside the home and influence the work lives of people (Geist, 2005). Also, other studies show that gender inequality in the division of housework has been associated with labor market inequality such as wage inequality (Coverman, 1983). Another critical reason why disparity in the division of domestic labor deserves attention is related to the fact that women are more likely than man to adjust between unpaid work and paid work in, and women are more likely than men to respond to responsibilities at home with a reduction or modification of their labor force participation (Geist, 2005). Non-traditional women are the ones who are the least satisfied with family life mainly because they believe that men should contribute more (Coltrane, 2000). Where housework division is more balanced, women perceive fairness, experience less depression and enjoy higher marital satisfaction (Coltrane, 2000).

The question I raise in this thesis is: how are unpaid work and childcare handled in less studied countries such as Albania and Serbia? The thesis aims to reveal how domestic labor and childcare are divided along gendered lines according to levels of education, employment status, marital status and parental status in Albania and Serbia. It also aims to compare and contrast two culturally different countries but with a similar past and geographical proximity. The objective of this thesis is to open an academic debate on the process of the gendered division of domestic work and childcare in Albania and Serbia. Up to now, not many scholarly articles can be traced on the gendered division of domestic work and childcare in Albania and Serbia. Attempts from international organizations such as the United Nations have been made to conduct studies and policy analysis to reveal gender inequality in both Serbia and Albania. However, there seems to be a lack of academic debate and scholarly work on the highly gendered sphere of unpaid work, especially in Albania. English searches with key terms "unpaid work in Albania" or "unpaid work in Serbia" generate no academic articles neither for Albania nor for Serbia. Thus, opening a scholarly debate and bringing to the mainstream literature of domestic work and childcare two Balkan countries with a state-socialist past, is a contribution to the literature on the gendered division of domestic work and childcare.

In this introductory chapter, I attempt to make a case for studying the gendered division of domestic work, especially in this part of the world, stronger. Here I also define the terms and

definitions of domestic work and childcare. Also, after a short review of the current state of international research on the gendered division of domestic labor and childcare, I state the aims and objectives and describe the structure of this thesis.

1.2. The importance of Domestic Work and Childcare studies

As briefly mentioned above, unpaid work is crucial for the maintenance of human life. It is as important as paid work for human existence. We cannot understand housework without its relation to gender, household structure, family interaction and the operation of both formal and informal market economies (Coltrane, 2000). Unpaid work reflects the cultural understanding of family love, and personal fulfillment. Its symbolic significance can be traced by analyzing "the social, cultural, economic and political contexts in which men and women form families, raise children and sustain households" (Coltrane, 2000:1208). Domestic work is also an activity to which we can all relate. We have all done or have watched people around the household do housework (Davis and Greenstein, 2013). Hence, a study of housework, is like a study of the everyday life to which we can all relate.

One primary reason to study housework is the desire to understand the factors that lead to power differentials, which in turn lead to inequalities in intimate relationships (Davis and Greenstein, 2013). More importantly, a study of domestic labor and care is important because the time women spend doing unpaid work has a tremendous effect on their ‘mental, physical, relational, vocational and economic health' (Jung & Obrien, 2017). Despite some studies which have shown that many women are satisfied with the division of housework, even if they do most of the tasks (see, e.g., Carriero, 2011; Kawamura & Brown, 2010), many other studies have documented that the unequal involvement of men and women in unpaid work has effects on mental health, relational well-being, workplace achievement, and economic self-sufficiency of women (Bevans and Sternberg, 2012; Eisler and Otis, 2014). Unpaid work has also an impact on employment opportunities of women and it can also be attributed to a disproportional involvement of women into poverty (Eisler and Otis, 2014; Ferrant, Pesando, and Nowack, 2014).

Like domestic labor, childcare is also an activity, which reveals gender inequalities in the way it

is handled in many contexts. Women, as primary caregivers (for many cultural expectations), are alert and experience greater parental "on-call" responsibility (Budig and Folbre, 2004). Women provide most of the childcare work (especially in American families (Bianchi and Milkie, 2010) but also in other parts of the world. Although working fathers in dual-earning couples have increased their time with children, working mothers also have increased involvement in childcare over time (Sullivan and Gershuny, 2013). The type of childcare provided is also gendered. Research has shown that women and men tend to engage in different childcare activities and experience childcare differently. It has also demonstrated that mothers are more likely to engage in multitasking childcare tasks; they more often provide childcare alone and perform less enjoyable tasks (such as disciplining). Fathers, on the other hand, do not provide much alone childcare, but engage in more "fun" leisure-type activities, such as playing with the children (Craig, 2006; Milkie, Bianchi, Mattingly, and Robinson, 2002; Sullivan and Gershuny 2013).

1.3. Definition of Terms: Domestic Work and Childcare

In literature, domestic work has been conceptualized as the set of activities performed to fulfill the needs of family members to sustain the home and keep up family possessions (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010). Tasks included are general housecleaning, cooking, washing the dishes, doing the laundry, planning the meals, cleaning up after meals, grocery shopping, ironing, caring for sick family members, taking out the garbage, transporting family members, yard work, maintenance and repairs and so on (see Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010 for a list of all activities). Tasks which have been classified as routine tasks are tasks performed daily (ongoing, time-consuming, non-discretionary); these are also tasks which have been labeled as 'female tasks' (Batalova and Cohen 2002; Eichler and Albanese, 2007; see also Badr and Acitelli 2008). Other non-daily tasks include home maintenance, household repairs, car maintenance. They have also been named as stereotypically 'male tasks' (Eichler and Albanese, 2007; Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010). These tasks are less frequent and less time-consuming.

As a general definition, domestic work consists of the sum of all physical, mental, emotional and spiritual tasks that are performed for one's own or someone else's household and that maintain the

daily life of those one has responsibility for (Eichler and Albanese, 2007). Another definition of domestic work can be the one employed by Miranda (2011): “if a third person could hypothetically be paid to do the activity, it is considered to be work" (p. 7). Consequently, domestic work is any work which could be performed by employing a third person and consumes time and energy of the one doing it.

Childcare, on the other hand, refers to "the set of unpaid tasks performed to satisfy the needs of" one's child or children (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010, p. 769) and it includes activities such as supervising the child, feeding and dressing them, ensuring safety, helping with housework when they need it, monitor them and transport them to events or school (Jung and O'brien, 2017). It can be studied under the broad roof of domestic labor, but also separately. However, childcare, unlike housework, is not only a set of specific tasks that can be measured by time spent in the activity (Jung and O’Brien, 2017). Several studies have included childcare in the set of domestic labor (Badr and Acitelli 2008; Hook 2006), other studies have studied childcare separately from household labor (Davis, Greenstein and Gerteisen Marks, 2007; Fuwa and Cohen 2007; Knudsen and Wærness 2008).

In this study, I focus on domestic labor as a total of routine and non-routine activities. The main variable of interest is total unpaid work, which comprises the whole set of unpaid labor as captured by time use survey (routine work, childcare, adult care shopping and non-routine work). Then I study separately routine work and childcare (among couples with children). Hence, in this thesis, I use three dependent variables, which will be explained in detail in Chapter 4, in the methodology section. Total unpaid work comprises of total domestic labor together with childcare, and it includes shopping, adult care, home maintenance, routine and non-routine work (see Appendix 1 for a list of all diary activities included). Routine work includes only housework which is done daily (see Appendix 1 for the activities included in each dependent variable). Throughout the thesis, I use the terms “gender division of housework and childcare” or “gender division of domestic and childcare labour” or “gender division of unpaid work” interchangeably.

1.4. The current State of Research on Domestic Work and Childcare

At least for every decade, prominent scholars in the field have reviewed the work produced on the gendered division of domestic work. Regarding who does more, the results seem unanimous: women do more housework than men in every country. Concerning the question: "Will domestic labor ever be shared equally among partners?", some seem to have a pessimistic view, and some seem to have a more optimistic view.

Scholarly studies in the United States have concluded that since 1965 time spent in housework has decreased drastically, according to time diary data (Bianchi Sayer, Milkie and Robinson, 2012). Women in this context have cut their housework time almost in half since the 1960s. Also, other compositional factors such as increased women's labor force participation, later marriage and having fewer children, have all contributed to this reduction in housework time. Reliance on the service economy, takeout meals, different standards of cleanliness (for example, wrinkle-free clothing is not considered that important anymore) are also factors which have contributed to women reducing their housework hours (Bianchi Sayer, Milkie and Robinson, 2012).

Still, in a western context, the most significant increase in men's participation in domestic work happened before 1985. In the 2000s, review research noted that husbands looked more egalitarian compared to the previous era, yet the gender segregation of tasks persisted- women performed more traditionally feminine tasks and men performed more episodic tasks (Bianchi, Sayer, Milkie and Robinson, 2000). Estimates at this time were that men would continue to increase housework time in the later decades but not with the same speed they did in the 80s (Bianchi, Sayer, Milkie and Robinson, 2000).

Working mothers and working fathers have increased their time in childcare (Sullivan and Gershuny, 2013). In developed countries, women still spend more unequal amounts of time in unpaid work, compared to men. So, if women spend typically four hours per day on unpaid work, men spend only two and a half hours a day (United Nations Statistics Division, 2015). In the US, as of 2013, women spend more time in unpaid work than in paid work, while men spend more

time in paid work than in unpaid work and women's engagement in unpaid work is still far higher than that of men (Jung and O'brien, 2018).

More recently, Altintas and Sullivan (2016) argued that for a 50-year period there has been a movement towards convergence in housework (between men and women), but with significant country differences in the amount and rates of convergence. Therefore, in those countries where the time of men and women in unpaid work is more equal, there is slowing gender convergence from the 1980s; while in countries where the time of men and women in unpaid work is more unequal, there is a faster gender convergence in more recent years (Altintas and Sullivan, 2016). The slowing of the rate in the countries with higher gender equality is attributed to the leveling in the rate of housework decline for women. Men's time in housework displays less change, compared to women (Altintas and Sullivan, 2016).

This gender convergence debate in the gendered division of domestic labor has been treated under the discussion of the stalled gender revolution (which impacts unpaid work but also paid work). In an updated article, (Sullivan, Gershuny and Robinson, 2018) outline a multilevel longitudinal theoretical framework for understanding the long-term process, which is involved in gender equality in domestic work research. They propose a lagged generational change model, which explains why these types of changes are subject to periods of slow down and acceleration. The authors favor the idea that there is gender convergence in domestic work while arguing that the literature highlighting the stalled revolution focuses on heterosexual couples or analysis of nationally representative large-scale data (Sullivan, Gershuny and Robinson, 2018). There are nuances of race, sexuality, and education which get lost in these approaches and new, growing research which focuses on ethnicity and sexuality is further developing these nuances, according to the authors (Sullivan, Gershuny and Robinson, 2018).

Despite hopeful scenarios in the gender convergence of housework, there is unfairness regarding economic life chances for men and women. The fact that after the birth of the child, the policies still strive to balance the lives of work and family for women, masculinity workplace attitudes and essentialist gender ideologies, all contribute to the assumption that after the birth of a child it is the woman who should take time off her work to take care for the child (Sullivan, Gershuny and

Robinson, 2018). Logically, this affects the gender wage gap and the career opportunities of women and even pensions in later life. So, the problem is not that men do not spend more time in unpaid work, but by taking more time in paid work, they gain more human capital and in the long run more earn more power (Sullivan, Gershuny and Robinson, 2018). After all, as other authors have also suggested (Bianchi, Sayer, Milkie and Robinson, 2012; England 2010; Esping-Andersen 2009: Kan et al. 2011), there cannot be further changes under the existing social policies or culture and gender ideologies (Altintas and Sullivan, 2016).

1.5. A Study of Unpaid Work in Albania and Serbia: The Aims, Objectives, and the Contribution of this thesis

This study aims to open and intensify a scholarly debate on the domestic relations of people in Albania and Serbia. By introducing two post-state socialist countries with historical changes in women's participation in the public sphere, this study makes a crucial contribution to the mainstream literature on domestic work and childcare. The thesis employs the classical perspectives used in the western literature of the gendered division of domestic work, as an exercise to reveal if the same aspects can be applied to understand the gendered division of unpaid labor in Albania and Serbia.

The data at hand does not allow for richer questions such as how do people feel about housework share and who should do the housework and why? Are people happy with these decisions and divisions? Who shares and why do they share? Is there a bargaining process taking place? This is a cross-sectional study, which does not allow for comparisons with the previous era as there are no accessible data on what happened systematically in the homes during the state socialist period. The lack of scholarly work in this region also means that there is a lack of a more suitable analytical framework to study what happens in these countries. However, with the data available, this thesis aims to reveal patterns of gender inequality in the domestic work and childcare across educational levels, employment status, marital status and parental status in Albania and Serbia. It employs time diary data from two national time use surveys, the national time use survey of Albania and the national time use survey of Serbia and uses Ordinary Least squared regressions on three samples (individual sample 18-64, matched couple's sample and parents' sample) to test several hypotheses.

More specifically the research questions it asks the following research questions.

Research question one: How do individual men and women spend time differently on unpaid work and routine work across educational lines, employment status, marital status and parental status in Albania and Serbia?

Research question two: How is domestic work and childcare shared among couples in Albania and Serbia and which characteristics matter the most (education, employment, or age of children)?

Research question three: What contextual factors are more important in explaining time use among men and women and couples in Albania and Serbia?

In the west, scholars are even doubting if they should continue studying housework when the results are the same (Hook, 2016). In this part of the world, a study of housework and childcare opens the debate for a rarely questioned phenomenon. Even if the result might seem pessimistic, a study on domestic labor and childcare will have a tremendous contribution by bringing to the academic and public debate on the taken for granted issue that women should do the unpaid work and childcare. After all, even if in a miniscule amount, during the communist period the idea that the woman should do all housework and childcare was questioned in this part of the world, especially in urban areas.

1.6. Organization of the thesis

This thesis is organized into seven chapters. The current chapter, the introductory one, introduced the research aims and objectives of this thesis as well as made the case for undertaking such a study in the two countries under investigation. It clarified and defined the terms used in the literature on domestic work and childcare and the definition of the terms used in the thesis. It also provided a glimpse of the current state of research in the gendered division of domestic work throughout the world. This chapter serves as the starting point for the following chapter.

Chapter 2 of this thesis reviews the theories and perspectives conceptualized in the extensive literature of domestic work labor and childcare. This chapter is critical for my thesis because apart from analyzing the approaches employed in understanding the gendered division of labor and childcare in previous research; it also ensures the main theoretical framework through which I formulate my hypothesis and analyze the results of my data.

The third chapter of this thesis is the contextual chapter. It analyzes the contexts in which the data is gathered from and offers a macro level analysis of both countries. It is an interesting chapter describing these post-socialist countries and the gender ideology in the present day. It also employs the European Values Survey (2008) data to show the state of the public opinion on gender attitudes in these countries.

The fourth chapter is the Methodological chapter of this thesis. It describes the data used in the thesis and the construction of variables, samples and regression models to be employed. In this chapter, I lay out the hypotheses to answer the research questions of this thesis. Hypothesis are constructed based on literature (analyzed in Chapter 2) and the contextual situation of the two countries (examined in Chapter 3). It also provides some descriptive statistics of the samples for the two country datasets as well as some descriptive statistics on the key dependent variables, leading the way to the two results chapters: Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

Chapter 5 and chapter 6 are similar. They both are results chapters, based on regression results for the key dependent variables used to answer the research questions of the thesis. Chapter 5 offers an interpretation of the results for sample 1; while chapter 6 analyzes the results of sample 2 and 3. At the end of each results chapter, I include a reflection of the hypothesis raised in this thesis.

The final chapter is the discussion and conclusions chapter. It discusses the whole thesis and the results obtained. It includes some concluding remarks as well as the study limitations of this research. It also provides some suggestions for future research in domestic work and childcare in Albania and Serbia.

2. Theoretical Perspectives on the Gendered Division of Domestic Work and Childcare

2.1. Introduction

A lot of research on the gendered division of domestic labor has employed micro-level theoretical perspectives to explain how unpaid work is handled within families. The two dominant viewpoints, which have been put forward in this domain, are economic perspectives and gender perspectives (Treas and Drobnic, 2010). Economic perspectives formulate the division of housework as a rational decision taken by partners to maximize family advantage (Becker's 1981) or as a bargaining process between partners (Brines, 1994) where the economic resources of each are crucial in determining how power reveals in the household and who takes more family work or market work. Gender approaches, on the other hand, focus their attention on how gender role expectations (such as the doing gender approach (West and Zimmerman, 1987) or gender ideology of individuals plays a crucial role in the allocation of paid and unpaid work (Cunnigham 2001; Davis, Greenstein and Gerteisen Marks, 2007).

Acknowledging the effect that institutions and structural constraints have on individual behavior, scholars started paying more attention to explanations related to institutional influences to understand who does what and why in the domestic sphere (Coltrane, 2000). Many studies have shown that there are significant associations between the division of domestic work and macro-level characteristics of a country such as: the gross domestic product (Knudsen and Wærness, 2008; Fuwa, 2004), rates of female labor force participation (Batalova and Cohen, 2002), women representation in the public sphere (Ruppaner, 2010), and the welfare state (Geist, 2005; Fuwa, 2004).

This chapter aims to further elaborate on these perspectives and provide a review of the literature on the gendered division of domestic work and childcare. It also gives special attention to the effect of educational attainment and the impact of marriage and parenthood on the gendered division of domestic work and childcare.

2.2. Micro Level Perspectives: Economic and Gender Perspectives

2.2.1. Economic Perspectives

Specialization/Human capital theory is considered as the first formal model related to how couples make choices in allocating their time (Auspurg, Iacovou, Nicoletti, 2017). Becker's (1965) theory on time allocation argues that couples allocate time to paid and unpaid work according to a rationalized process on how to maximize the wellbeing of the family. Developing on this hypothesis, later, in his seminal work, A Treatise on the Family, Becker (1981) argued that in a household (or any organization) individuals should allocate their resource in the area where they are mostly specialized. Thus, he assumed, individuals will allocate their time in areas where they feel they contribute more, maximizing the output product of their household. In this way, all members benefit equally from the household gains (Becker, 1981).

The greatest division, according to Becker (1981) exists between married women who for a long time in history have devoted their time to childbearing and household activities and to married men who have worked outside the home in hunting, farming or doing market work. Attributing these divisions to biological differences as well as to different contributions individuals have made on their human capital, Becker (1981) contends that efficiency can be gained in a family when the husband specializes in paid work and the wife in housework.

The relative resources model, also referred to as the economic exchange model, is used to explain how partners who have more resources compared to their spouse (these resources might be in terms of income or education) have power advantage over their spouse and bargain the time they spend on housework (Brines, 1994). According to this perspective, traditionally, women have been economically dependent on their male partners; thus they are primarily responsible for domestic labor. Housework is rated as a non-pleasant activity by both men and women (Gershuny, 2013) hence it is argued that housework is a crucial point in bargaining in marriage. Individuals who can better negotiate housework more favorably to them are those people who have better resources, compared to their partners (Knudsen and Wærness, 2008; Mannino and Deutsch, 2007).

The time availability approach (Blood and Woolf, 1960; Coverman, 1985) is treated in literature as a variant of the economic model of gendered division of domestic work (Treas and Drobnic, 2010). This perspective focuses on the time individuals have on their hands and their pragmatic allocation of it to domestic work. Accordingly, the person who has more time available will take up more responsibility for housework. It would be logical then, that, when in a family only one of the spouses/partners is employed, the other who is unemployed, has more time and will do more housework (Greenstein, 2000).

2.2.2. Gender Perspectives

The doing gender approach sees housework labor as a symbolic activity through which individuals express their gendered selves. This perspective was developed by West and Zimerman (1981) and was applied to the household labor research by Berk (1985) and South and Spitze (1994) (Ting, Perales and Baxter, 2016). This perspective posits that when individuals decide who should do what (concerning labor), categories of female and male come into place. Societies put different normative expectations on how women should behave when they marry or on how mothers and fathers should behave when the children are born (Berk 1985). Accordingly, for women, doing more housework even when they are employed outside of home, does not have to do with only it being ‘women's work' but, it is essential for them to engage in such work and for men not to engage in it so that each can display their own inherent nature. This nature is produced and reproduced during everyday life, and it is the material corporation of their roles as women and men (West and Zimmerman, 1981).

The term gender ideology is used to represent the underlying concept of an individual's level of support for a division of paid work and family responsibilities that is based on the notion of separate spheres (Davis and Greenstein, 2009). Gender ideology perspective argues that gender role socialization plays a crucial role in how couples allocate their time in housework (Davis, Greenstein and Gerteisen Marks, 2007). The gender ideology model proposes that the attitudes partners will have on gender roles, will be responsible for the division of labor in the domestic sphere. This approach also predicts that men and women spend different amounts of time in paid

and unpaid work according to what they believe is proper for men and women. Couples who hold more egalitarian values would want housework and childcare to be divided more equally (Fan and Marini, 2000; Fuwa, 2004). Eventually, women who hold more traditional gender ideology and men who hold more egalitarian gender ideology will engage in more housework than women who carry more egalitarian gender ideology and men who hold more traditional gender ideology (Coltrane, 2000).

The gender deviance neutralization concept was introduced to the literature of domestic work by Atkinson and Boles (1984) (Greenstein, 2000). The idea is that high earning women who are married to men who make less do more housework to compensate for their deviant behavior. Also, a man who stays at home or earns less than his wife, will avoid housework or do less. A breadwinner wife is a non-normative role, and a househusband is also a non-normative role, thus to compensate for these 'deviant' identities, men and women engage in activities which would make them fit more to their expected role 'by exaggerating the stereotypical level of housework that they perform (Greenstein, 2000: p.326).

2.3. Empirical findings and debates on micro-level perspectives

Because micro-level characteristics are so inter-related, it is impossible to explain the gendered division of domestic work and care through the light of one perspective only. Often, there is an interconnectedness of factors which impact how women and men decide (or do not decide at all, but rather take it as culturally given that men work outside the home, and women take care of the house and childrearing) who should perform market work and who should perform the housework. For this reason, many empirical studies have found support or have not found support for a particular perspective- or have found support for a perspective in relation to other perspectives- emphasizing the complex and relational factors through which people operate.

A lot of studies have found a relationship between the earnings of one or both couple's members and the division of domestic labor. In the households where the male earns more, the gendered division of labor is more traditional (Greenstein, 2007). Lam, Mchale, and Crouter (2012) found that the spouses' relative socio-economic resources and the hours they spend in the paid work were

associated with the time they spend on housework. Their study showed that wives whose husbands earned more and did more market work performed more housework. Similarly, Lyonette and Crompton (2014) in their qualitative study, suggest that men whose partners earn more than them, carry out more domestic work than men whose partners earn less than them.

However, the relationship between earnings and the way the domestic labor is divided in the households is not always evident. In a US study, for instance, Greenstein (2000) found a linear relationship between wife's economic dependence and the hours the wives spend doing housework and a curvilinear relationship between husband's economic dependence and their housework time. According to Greenstein (2000), the smaller share of housework for the husbands who are dependent on their wives comes as a result of deviance neutralization (Greenstein, 2000). In the same line, Bittman et.al (2003) in a study with the US and Australian sample found that women do less housework as their earning increase until they contribute to the households equally with their husbands. The bargaining power helps them to reduce their own time in housework, only. Women in these countries either purchase housework or leave it undone, according to the authors. In both countries, there is evidence that 'gender trumps' money, the authors argue, since, when women earn more than men, Australian women respond by doing more housework while US men respond by doing less housework (at the extremes of distribution) (Bittman et al. 2003, p.210). Following the same argument, Baxter and Hewitt (2012), again in an Australian context, found that the time women spend in housework is profoundly affected by their relative earnings rather than their absolute earnings. They claim that they see support for bargaining theory interchanged with the gender display idea (Baxter and Hewitt, 2012). Schneider (2011) also used American Time use survey data to find a curvilinear relationship between relative earning of the wife and their housework hours.

There is a long debate in the literature of domestic labor regarding absolute versus relative earnings (See Gupta, 2006; Gupta 2007) and the explanation of gender deviance neutralization has sparked a lot of debate (Sullivan, 2011). Gupta (2008) argues that women who have relatively high earnings spend more time in housework, not because of the effect of gender display, but because in absolute terms their incomes are lower than other women. Hence, according to Gupta and Ash (2008), it is women's absolute earnings, rather than the relative earnings that affect the bargaining power of

women in the division of housework.

For women, Gupta's work (2006, 2007) and Gupta's and Ash (2008) work show that there was a misspecification problem and that previous research relied on relative income and not on absolute income. Authors argue that those women who earn more than their husbands are most probably in low-income households which have more traditional gender ideologies. When absolute income is included in the models, gender deviance neutralization disappears. Killewald and Gough (2010) found no longitudinal relationship between changes in women's relative earnings and the time they spend in housework. They used PSID data to discover a non-linear relationship between changes in women's absolute earnings and housework. They also favor the debate of absolute earnings rather than relative earnings mattering more in this aspect.

Bringing to attention the above findings from Gupta (2006; 2007) and Gupta and Ash (2008), Sullivan (2011) also supports the argument that there is no place for gender deviance neutralization behavior. Sullivan (2011) argues that men's gender deviance neutralization was also restricted to the very extreme 2-3 percent of cases, and men from lower socio-economic classes have contributed in housework a lot, making the gender deviance argument not very solid. The author also believes that there might be methodological issues such as; men with more traditional gender ideologies might underreport their housework involvement. Bitman et al. (2003) found evidence of gender deviance neutralization for males in questionnaire data from the US but not in time use data from Australia. Additionally, given that there has been gender convergence in housework since the 1980s (Greenstein 2000) when the gender deviance neutralization was first identified, it might be the case that this simply does not exist any longer in these countries (Sullivan, 2011).

In a later study, Gershuny and Sullivan (2016) report no evidence of gender deviance neutralization. They find that women's human capital is the most critical element in determining housework for both spouses. They use large nationally representative panel data to overcome problems of unobserved heterogeneity and provide inferences rather than simple associations. They also use a broader measure of human capital as not measured only by resources but also other economically salient resources. They include even the non-employed population to see the marital bargaining power between the spouses. The human capital measure is more inclusive of the whole

population rather than only income because it allows to include the non-employed population in the models. They find that husbands who are in families in which the most extreme relative human capital distribution is in favor of women, contribute substantially to the housework. These husbands engage more compared to the model which considers only the wage rate. The authors also find that wives in these couples do substantially less housework, compared to the wage model. The authors argue that in such couples the division of housework is more close to being equal, attributing the effect to the inclusion of the non-employed in the analysis. This model supports the bargaining model firmly and shows no support for gender deviance neutralization.

Gershuny and Sullivan (2016) furthermore argue that wives' own human capital has a strong effect on the amount of time they spend on housework, but the relative resources model does not have a significant effect. For husbands, they find that the changes in wife's human capital are more significant than the changes in their own human capital. The authors thus conclude that it is the women's resources, which are critical determinants in the bargaining process of undesired activities and less those of the husbands. Gershuny and Sullivan's (2016) study shows that the decline in housework time of women whose human capital increases relative to their husbands and the increase in housework hours among men whose human capital decreases relative to that of their wives- shows no evidence of gender deviance neutralization. Hence there is no support for deviance neutralization, but there is however a structural factor of gender as proposed by Risman (2011).

Previous studies have also found that accumulated work experience has an impact on the gendered division of housework. In this light, husbands of women who have more accumulated work experience, perform more housework which is typically female over time, compared to the husbands of women with less work experience (Cunnigham 2007). Chesters (2011) also finds that women who gather work experience have a more significant influence on how labor in the household is divided. An accumulation of work experience is expected to increase women's egalitarian attitudes, enabling them to have more control over the share of domestic work. Previous studies have found similar results, such as a 2007 study in Sweden which showed that throughout nine years, an increase in women's relative resources, was associated with an increase in partner's housework hours (Evertson and Nermo 2007).

While many studies debated, which measure of resources captures the gendered division of domestic work better, other studies have found no support for the relative resources/bargaining perspective. In their research, Artis and Pavalko (2003) observe that women whose wages are a higher proportion of total income, do not do less domestic work, and Nitsche and Grunow (2016) find no support that absolute or relative earnings have an impact on the division of housework among couples. Kuhhirt and Ludwig (2012) argue that the bargaining power or the substitution of domestic work with market services does not outweigh the normative expectations of gender norms even after the transition to parenthood. They state that these results indicate that within families, gender inequality in the division of domestic labor will persist even if the economic resources of women will increase. Similarly, Grunow, Schulz, and Blossfeld (2012), show that in Germany a gender binary is emphasized throughout the marriage and thus the division of labor becomes more traditional over the course of the marriage and does not go back, even if wives earn more than men.

Lyonette and Crompton (2014) in their qualitative study found that men whose women earn more than them, do more housework than other men. However, even in these relationships, women do more housework. Through their qualitative methods they reveal that women in these relationships contest the lack of their partners' participation in housework to the levels they would desire, thus doing and undoing gender simultaneously (Lyonette and Crompton, 2014).

A substantial body of research has shown the importance of individuals' gender ideology and the way it affects the gendered division of domestic work and childcare (e.g., Aassve, Fuoci, and Mencarini, 2014, Carlson and Lynch (2013); (Lewin-Epstein, Stier and Braun, 2006). In a 13-year span study, Artis and Pavalko (2003) show that changes in domestic labor correlate with changes in gender attitudes. In line with their expectations, women displayed less traditional attitudes over time, which was associated with a decline in the responsibilities on domestic work. Poortman and van der Lippe (2009) also find that the more positive women's attitudes and the more negative men's attitudes were, the more the women contributed and the less the men contributed in domestic labor. Cunningham (2005) also assessed the impact of gender ideology on US couples on later

divisions of housework. His findings suggested that men's gender ideology has a greater impact on the later divisions of housework than women's gender ideology.

Evertson (2014), in a Swedish context, finds that men who display an egalitarian gender ideology contribute one hour more into housework in a week, compared to other men; while their partners spent two hours less compared to other women. On the other hand, pointing to the difference of his and her ideology, they find that women's gender ideology has an impact on their time spent in housework but not on their husband's time spent on housework. Regarding childcare, in couples where both partners or only one of them displays a strong gender egalitarian ideology, the division of the division of childcare is more equal (Evertson, 2014). In Germany, Lewin-Epstein, Stier, and Braun (2006) have shown that gender ideology affects the division of domestic labor and that men's and women's time spent in housework are affected only by their own gender ideology. However, they find that the gender ideology of their spouses does not change the time they spend on housework (Lewin-Epstein, Stier and Braun, 2006). Nitsche and Grunow (2016), also in a German context use a life-course perspective approach to find that over the life course, a more egalitarian ideology of both partners, predicts a more equal division of housework.

An interesting recent study, which shows the importance of how gender is constructed in the family and how gender values are transmitted, is Dotti Sani's 2016 study. Using Italian Time Use data to investigate children's participation in childcare, she finds that daughters do more housework than sons across all ages and the gap is wider among young adults and teenagers. She also finds that both sons and daughters are more likely to participate in housework if their father also participates, but this effect is stronger for boys. Meaning that sons do more housework if they see their fathers doing so.

While some studies have shown with their findings support for the time availability perspective (Artis and Pavalko, 2003; Aassve, Fuochi, and Mencarini, 2014; Cunningham, 2007; Hook 2006; Lyonette and Crompton, 2014; Norman, Elliot and Fagan 2013) some others do not find evidence for this perspective, especially when it comes to explaining why women take more responsibility in housework time, even when they are engaged in market work or why men do not engage in

housework even when they have the time to do so (Bartley, Blanton and Gilliard, 2005; Gaspar and Klinke, 2009; Lincoln, 2008).

In a study from 28 European countries, by employing data from 2004 and 2010, van der Lippe, Treas, and Norbutas, (2017) find that both men and women contribute more to housework when they are unemployed. The authors argue that in faces of economic difficulties, men and women strategize by doing more housework to save by not purchasing goods and services. They also argue that this might come because of the time availability since their unemployment gives them more time to engage in housework. They report a gender difference: being unemployed is linked to women doing more extra hours of housework compared to men. Their findings suggest that women whose partner is unemployed do more housework than women whose partner is employed. With this finding, they argue that time-availability perspective fails to explain this phenomenon. One could say that unemployed men, create more mess in the home, leaving women with more mess to tidy up.

More recent studies also have tested for the explanation of gender deviance neutralization or absolute vs. relative earnings of the female partner. Hook's (2016) study finds that in weekdays women's own employment hours and own earnings have a diminishing effect on the time they spend in housework. Hook (2016) also argues that women might choose to compensate for gender deviance not by engaging in more housework but by other forms such as sexual fidelity as proposed by Munsch (2015) or appearance and sexual availability as suggested by Atkinson and Boles (1984) or spend more time with children and leave decisions to their husbands Tichenor (2005). Hook, (2016) also does not favor the relative earnings perspective, but rather the absolute earnings one, arguing that when they earn substantially, discussions of who earns more do not count in the bargaining process. The author finds that for weekends, women do gender in weekends, regardless of how much they earn. Neither in weekends there is no evidence of gender deviance neutralization. Gender deviant women do not do more than other women; rather all women do more. Responsibility for housework is seen as a way to do gender, regardless of earnings Hook (2016) argues.

In another recent study from Canada, Horne et al. (2017) explores housework responsibility on

cohort individuals with a similar socio-economic background at three stages in their lives (in transition to adulthood, young adulthood and midlife) with data up to 2010. Their findings show that there are differences across men's and women's housework time in different life stages, with women shouldering the majority of housework across all life stages. However, the degree to which time, money and gender matter more, varies in intensity depending on the life-course of individuals. The most substantial gender gap in housework occurred among participants of the midlife category of the most recent of the 2010 data. Their results also showed that women tend to do more housework when the couple is around 25 years old and also the partner with the lowest income. For men, housework time declines when they are involved in paid work and are raising children at age 32 years old. In midlife, gender is also a strong predictor with women doing more tasks at home.

2.4. Macro Level Perspectives

The research focusing on macro-level factors to understand the gendered division of domestic work intensified in the 2000s. The argument that institutional factors are as important in understanding the gendered division of labor in the household, as are individual characteristics were tested with further empirical evidence (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010). Individuals and their behaviors are shaped very much by the context and the culture they live. Hence the way they make decisions on how to allocate work at home and outside the home is affected not only by their characteristics but also by the culture they live. Consequently, the macro-level perspective focuses on the idea that structural and cultural forces mold the way individuals behave in the domestic sphere and, how they organize and share housework.

Several institutional and cultural aspects influence the way individuals allocate time to the paid and unpaid work. The gender culture of a specific context (Risman, 2004; Risman and Davis, 2013); the social policies of a country (Daly and Lewis, 1998; Pfau Effinger, 2005; Crompton, 2008; Musumeci and Solera, 2013) and the welfare state regime of the country (Geist 2005); all have an impact on the gendered division of domestic labor and childcare. In this section, I review some of these perspectives/influences and the empirical research behind them.

2.4.1. Welfare state and Policies

The welfare state classification as provided by Esping-Andersen (1990, 1999) refers to the degree of decommodification and defamilialization of the state, the market and the family aspects of a welfare state. Decommodification refers to the extent to which welfare services are provided by the state, rather than the market (Esping-Andersen, 1990) and defamilialization refers to the extent to which welfare states provides to individuals social or health related insurance relieving the family from caregiving responsibilities (Esping-Andersen, 1999). The three broad typologies derived from this categorization are the conservatist, the liberal and the social democratic welfare states. In the conservatist countries (continental and southern Europe) the family, the church, and the workplace play a crucial role in providing welfare for individuals; In the liberal welfare states (Anglo-Saxon states) the market is the central provider of welfare services and in the social democratic states (Nordic-countries) the state is the primary provider of welfare services (Hook and Wolfe, 2011). In the social democratic welfare states, there is a high level of universalism, egalitarianism and a high degree of decommodification and defamililaization; while the other two types of regimes do not pay attention to reduce social and gender inequalities (Neilson and Stanfors, 2014).

Many scholars have argued that the welfare regimes are crucial in determining how the division of labor occurs at home during the life-course, such as during the transition to parenthood, for example (Gershuny and Sullivan, 2001). A welfare state which shows no value for a woman's market work and favors a breadwinner model (such as the conservative state) will discourage women from working out of the home and reinforce a traditional family model (Geist, 2005). Hence, the welfare regimes can classify as regimes which strengthen traditional roles among men and women, and consequently traditional division of domestic labor; and regimes which either provide support for gender equality or are not active at all in that regard (Geist, 2005).

Public policies are elements of a welfare state; yet, scholars have also analyzed them separately to see how they impact people's behavior to paid and unpaid work. It has been acknowledged that people's experience and everyday life actions can be shaped by public policies (Daly and Rake, 2003). Policies that help families combine paid work, and family work enhance women's

employment (Chang, 2004; Stadelman-Steffen, 2008). There is evidence that childcare policies have the potential to lead to more equal gender norms not only in the labor market but in the domestic sphere as well (Craig and Mullan, 2011). Subsidized childcare, for example, is a family friendly policy, which supports women's employment and their attachment to the market.

The impact that policies have on the gendered division of labor varies in accordance with their aim (Blofield and Martinez Franzoni, 2015). For example, maternalist policies (such as maternity leaves) function on the viewpoint that caregiving is solely a female responsibility (Blosfield and Martinez Franzoni, 2015). These policies leave the economic dependency on the husbands and allow women for fewer autonomy and choices in their lives (Korpi, Ferrarini, and Englund, 2013). Universal parental leaves which promote shared responsibility or paternal leaves aimed at fathers relieve mothers from being the only caregivers (Blosfield and Martinez-Franzoni, 2015), allowing them for employment or other possibilities.

2.4.2. Gender as a social Structure/Feminist-socialist approaches

It is impossible to understand the division of labor at home and in the marketplace, without taking into account the historical and embedded nature of gender as a social structure. The socialist feminist approach, which takes from the work of Hartmann (1981), argues that the systems of patriarchy and capitalism are to be accounted for when it comes to how labor is divided between genders. The socialist-feminist approach sees gender as a symbolic differentiator between men and women at many levels: structural, relational and symbolic levels (Acker, 1989). According to this perspective, the gendered division of labor has been maintained through the control that men have had over women at home, and capitalism brought this patriarchy from the domestic sphere to the public sphere (Casalanti and Bailey, 1991). Therefore, it essential, according to this view, to understand that the domestic division of labor is rooted in historical transformations of both systems-patriarchy and capitalism-which ideologically define home as "women's place" by influencing people's private and public lives. This approach considers the domestic division of labor not as a matter of attitudes about who should perform specific tasks (Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley, 1988); instead it 'looks at the interplays of social relations of production and

reproduction with respect to gender, asking who controls women's labor and who benefits from it' (Calasanti and Bailey, 1991, p.39).

2.4.3. National levels of gender equity and Women's empowerment

Female empowerment (Batalova and Cohen, 2002; Yodanis, 2005) or gender equity (Breene and Cooke, 2005; Fuwa 2004; Hummelsheim and Hirschle 2010) at national levels have an impact on housework share. For example, a measure of female empowerment at national level is the Gender empowerment measure (GEM)- developed by the United Nations Human Development report- composed of four elements: the representation of women in parliament, the percentage of women who are legislators, senior officials and managers, the percentage of women employed as professionals and the female-male wage ratio (Ruppanner, 2010). Ruppaner (2010) and Ruppaner and Maume (2016) have explored empirically how GEM (as a composite or separate value) impacts the domestic division of domestic work.

2.5. Empirical Findings on Macro-level perspectives

Supporting the idea that welfare regimes influence the gendered division of domestic work, Geist (2005) found that in conservative countries, the sharing of domestic work among partners is the lowest and in the social democratic regimes the highest. In liberal regimes, Canada and the US, there is a more equal division of labor due to women's labor force participation (Geist, 2005). Ruppaner and Maume (2016) in a study in the US, also find that that women and husbands spend more time in housework in more liberal states.

Another study, which shows the importance of welfare regimes in the domestic division of labor, is Neilson and Stanfors (2014) study. They found that in Nordic countries in the 1990s, the trend of traditionalization after becoming parents started changing as fathers with young children began to spend more time in housework and childcare. This achievement was the result of deliberate welfare arrangements, which the state undertook to reinforce gender equality and help parents combine work life with family life. They do not find similar patterns of housework tasks and childcare share in Germany, Canada or Italy (Neilson and Stanfors, 2014). In Sweden, women

have options for combining work with the children's care. In Germany, the parental leave (at that time) reinforced a male breadwinner model, while in Italy the state is less reinforcing, but it is the family and the society which dominate and have predefined ideas about women's roles. Canada has less regulated and costly childcare, has high gender wage gaps and not generous parental leaves that make the specialization in paid and unpaid work of men and women respectively very visible, especially in weekdays (Neilson and Stanfors, 2014). Also, the Italian context is familistic by default, because of the lack of adequate family policies (Saraceno, 2011), thus in Italy, they could not find Nordic patterns either.

van der Lippe et al. (2010) also found that the division of housework is unequal in all regimes; but in communist and southern European regimes it is more unequal compared to the liberal, conservative and social democratic regimes. In liberal regimes, women spend significantly more time on the paid employment and less time in housework. Authors argue that this might stem from cultural differences but also because in liberal regimes more housework is outsourced. On the other hand, in their study of data drawn from the Multinational Time Use Study (MTUS) data archive, Gershuny and Sullivan (2003) find no clear relationship between regime effects and the division of domestic labor.

Social policies intended to reduce gender inequality and work-family conflicts might have equalizing effects on the division of domestic labor between men and women (Fuwa and Cohen, 2007). While policies of equality of access to work bring additional leverage for wives with fulltime jobs-perhaps by increasing the value of their employment to their families-parental leave policy may actually weaken the housework bargaining power women get from full-time work, by helping to maintain women's primary role as mothers even when they are employed (Fuwa and Cohen, 2007). There is more research supporting the idea that short to medium length maternity leaves are more favorable for women's employment careers and the more equal division of domestic chores (Noonan, 2013). Extended parental leave increases sex specialization at home by increasing women's housework and cooking time and decreasing that of men (Hook, 2010). In the 1970s, more industrialized countries started encouraging fathers in the child-rearing process by extending paternity leaves to them. The underlying idea was to promote more gender equality by taking the fathers at home to care for the children and taking the mothers out of the house in the

paid market. Also, many European countries have adopted daddy leaves, a few months of paid leave allocated to the fathers (Noonan, 2013). A lot of research has shown that the father's leave reduces women's housework and cooking time (Hook, 2010; Vandewyer and Glorieux 2008). Meil's (2013) study also shows that fathers who used parental leaves are more involved in childcare. The longer the parental leave, the more time they devote.

For example, Schober's (2014) study in Germany, finds that father's involvement in childcare was reduced after the first reform in 1992 when the job protection period was extended from 18 to 30 months after childbirth. While, in the second reform (which applied an income-related subsidy system, and two months leave was allocated for each parent) the father's involvement in childcare increased. Schober's (2014) research reconfirms that very extended paternal leaves with meager benefits enhance a traditional division of labor at home as well as in the market.

Work hour regulations are another set of policies which was assumed to bring a little bit more balance in gender relations in the family. By reducing men's working hours, the idea was to promote men's involvement in housework and childcare. Researchers have argued that having flexible working hours may help individuals dedicate time to childcare or housework. Noonan (2013) takes the example of telecommuters, people working from home. Regarding women's time, studies performed on telecommuting women suggest that women who telecommute have more time for childcare and housework. Her findings indicate that women do more housework and men do less housework in countries where market work hours are long, and parental leaves are long.

While numerous studies have found a strong positive relation between publicly funded child-care and women's employment, the evidence for housework time is mixed. Some have found small impact on the positive association between publicly funded childcare and less time spent in housework for women (Van der Lippe 2010; Hook, 2010; Tamilina and Tamilina, 2013), while Fuwa and Cohen (2007) and Geist and Cohen (2011) found no link between child care and housework of men or women.

Windebank (2001) in his qualitative study observed that British men do more housework than French men, even though the French government provided subsidized childcare. The speculation

was that British men have to help their wives work for financial reasons and cannot rely on the state, so they do the job themselves. Similarly, Noonan, Estes, and Glass (2007) found that men who use family-friendly policies do more female-typical housework. They found that men do more female-typical housework when using family policies even after controlling for individual-level variables.

Recently, Hagqvist, et.al (2017) explored whether changes in parental leave policies over two decades in Sweden and Spain (represented by Basque country) have had an impact in the time mothers and fathers spend on childcare and work, thus studying patterns of change in individual level in relation to change in policy development. They discovered through time use data that in both countries there are changes towards greater equality in time use for the period where equality-enabling leave models were adopted in both countries. Their results support the argument that the equality-enabling leave models (leaves which are aimed to create gender equality in care and employment) better support equal sharing and greater gender equality relatively to the equality-impending model (paternal leaves which assume the role of mother as primary caregiver) (Hagqvist et al. 2017).

Where gender equity at the national level, is more egalitarian, the level of housework is low, leading to greater equality due to the reduction of housework. Empirical evidence thus has shown that men in contexts with higher levels of gender equality, the domestic work is divided more equally (Fuwa, 2004; Geist, 2005; Hook, 2006; Ruppanner, 2010; Treas and Drobnic, 2010). Fuwa (2004) found that in countries with high economic development, women’s gender ideology and their full-time employment have stronger effects on the division of domestic labor. Also, Fuwa and Cohen (2007) find that there is an effect of women full-time employment on housework with this effect being stronger in countries which adopt affirmative action policies and weaker where the parental leave policy is long. Similarly, Tai and Treas (2012) find that women's employment is crucial in the marital division of labor showing that married women's participation in work is linked with their partners doing more cooking and housework. Knudsen and Waerness (2008), on the other hand, find that there is a systematic effect of female empowerment on spouses' hours of housework, although in some contexts weak and inconsistent.

Fuwa draws on Blumberg's (1994) theory, which argues that women's resources are useful in a context where all women are more empowered. Fuwa (2004) supports to a large extent their hypotheses that the impact of individual-level factors is stronger in women situated in more egalitarian countries. Whereas women who live in states with lower gender equality do not benefit from individual assets to the same extent and are more likely to do more housework. In the same line, Stier and Lewin-Epstein 2007 contend that the more egalitarian a country is, the more important are the economic resources and gender attitudes of women in determining the division of domestic work.

Ruppaner and Maume, (2016) focusing on the US, explored the impact of five institutional structures: the state, the market, democracy, family and religion on individual-level characteristics by paying particular attention to gender. They find that married men in contexts with high labor force empowerment and political liberalism, engage more in housework. Gender empowerment and progressive politics allow men to participate more in domestic work. Married men in more traditional family contexts spend less time in housework. They find that mothers spend more time in housework where traditional family contexts are prevalent, and married men spend less time in these contexts. In more gendered empowered states, they observe that women spend less time in housework, but mothers in all models spend more time in housework compared to childless women. Mothers, regardless of marital status, spend less time in housework in states where there is high labor force empowerment, compared to less empowered states (Ruppaner and Maume, 2016).

Nonetheless, they find that while greater labor force participation encourages husbands to participate more in housework, it does not excuse women from housework. Married women do not spend less time in housework where female labor force participation is higher, compared to other contexts, indicating that higher female labor force participation does not benefit women in reducing housework time (Ruppaner and Maume, 2016).

In another study, comparing West Germany, East Germany and Bulgaria, Hofacker, Stoilova, and Riebling (2013) draw essential distinctions between countries by analyzing their institutions and the impact of individual characteristics on paid and unpaid work. In West Germany, they find that

due to the lack of institutional reconciliation support there is high gender inequality, especially when children are small. In this context, men have the obligation of breadwinning and women of caring and being additional earners (Hofacker, Stoilova, and Riebling, 2013). There, more educated women can negotiate more equal task arrangements, but even in this group of women, according to the authors, the partners' earning ability may suppress their employment. In East Germany, the authors observe lower stratification in work-care arrangements and not much spousal influence on women's employment. The authors attribute this indicator to the fact that in this context there is a socially established dual-earner model which is also supported by childcare facilities. In Bulgaria, the authors argue that unpaid work is shaped mainly by doing gender process and social stratification has little impact. Hence, there is a traditional division of domestic work, even when both spouses are employed. In Bulgaria, there is no pattern of polarization of gendered employment in marriage and after having children, and this is attributed to the necessity to be employed where labor markets are insecure and where the welfare state is modest, aided by an institutionalized childcare support. There is, in the case of Bulgaria, a strong and positive effect of educational attainment on the stability of employment and the chance to return to work after child breaks. Low educational attainment also reduces the ability to institutionalized or family support. Thus, in Bulgaria, the authors' data reveal a polarization between well-educated dual-earner families in well-paying jobs and low educated couples with low paying jobs who cannot have a dual-earner model (Hofacker, Stoilova, and Riebling, 2013).

2.6. Domestic Work and Childcare in Marriage and Across the Transition to Parenthood

The division of domestic work in a couple is not static over time. There is evidence, documented by longitudinal research, that transition to marriage brings about a traditionalization of domestic work, with women shouldering the majority of housework and men only a smaller share (Baxter, Hewitt, and Haynes 2008; Gupta, 1999). Many studies have also revealed that parenthood strengthens a traditional division of labor. When they become parents, women do more unpaid work and men more paid work (Baxter, Hewitt, and Haynes 2008; Bianchi, 2000; Craig, 2005; Dribe and Stanfors 2009; Hallberg and Klevmarken, 2003; Sayer, 2005). Societies put different normative expectations on how women should behave when they marry or on how mothers and

fathers should behave when the children are born (Coltrane, 2000; Berk 1985). The presence of young children at home, also, increases overall levels of housework along with the need for care, time to watch them and as well as money (Bianchi et al., 2000; Craig and Mullan, 2010). Historically, marriage and children increased women's and decreased men's housework time (Treas and Drobnic, 2010).

Compared to cohabiting partners, married partners display a more traditional division of labor. Baxter (2005), for example, found that married couples show more traditional trends compared to cohabiting couples, in the gendered division of labor. The reason behind such a behavior has been attributed to first: men and women with more traditional attitudes are more likely to get married, and the ones with less traditional attitudes will continue cohabitating (Clarkberg et al., 1995); and second; as mentioned above, cultures put different normative expectations as to what constitutes a proper husband and wife (Cherlin, 1978). Meggiolaro (2013), in a study among married and cohabiting couples in Italy, also found that cohabiting couples show a more egalitarian division of domestic labor, compared to married couples.

Grunow, Schulz, and Blossfeld's (2012) study also shows that the division of housework labor is a dynamic process. The authors find that men and women show a somewhat equal division of labor during the first year of their marriage. However, during the marriage, they observe a more traditional gendered division of labor within the home. In line with other research, they find that childbirth triggers a more traditional division of domestic work. Similarly, research in different countries has shown that parents spend more time on domestic work and childcare, especially women. Mothers seem to do more domestic work and less paid work compared to women who do not have children. Men, however, do not seem to change much their domestic work behavior when they transition to parenthood, but, after having more than one child, men increase their employment time (Kuhhirt, 2012). Parenthood has been linked to a greater gender display with parents tending to show more traditional attitudes. For men, this is likely to be expressed with greater involvement in paid work, whereas for women it is likely to be expressed with more participation in domestic work (Shelton and John, 1993). Panel data studies have shown that women who become first-time mothers increase housework time hours and decrease employment

work hours. Men's time, on the other hand, remains unaffected when they become parents (Sanchez and Thomson, 2007).

For women, the transition to motherhood results in an increased number of hours in routine work in the domestic sphere and this trend is elevated even more when more children are born. However, for men, the housework time they spend appears stable across the life course transitions as well as in different household composition or structures. Baxter, Hewitt, and Haynes (2008) find that the men's hours on routine work decreases as more children are born in the family. When it comes to changes in the course of the marriage, they find that men's time on housework changes in a significant manner only when they transit from marriage to separation. In the lack of a female partner, men perform two times more housework compared to when they were married. For women on the other hand, when they exit marriages, they decrease their housework time, but this result does not appear as statistically significant (Baxter, Hewitt and Haynes, 2008).

Schober's (2013) study-which, seeks to find out what role characteristics of men and women have before having children play in the time parents spent in domestic chores after the transition to parenthood- unveils that the characteristics of women before pregnancy significantly predict their behavior in the hours spent in housework and the paid work. She observes that in the British context, higher absolute wage rates and egalitarian role attitudes reduce the shift to a more traditional division of labor in the house and the market after the transition to fatherhood (Schober, 2013). Similarly, in another study, Dechant and Schulz (2014) show that the man’s desire to be an active father, and possibilities for reducing working hours – increase the chances of an equal arrangement after the transition to parenthood.

Conversely, Yavorsky, Kamp Dush and Schoppe-Sullivan (2015) find that for highly educated dual-earner couples, gender discrepancies in domestic work increase when these couples transition to parenthood. The authors note that before birth, pregnant women had equitable workloads. Men had more total work time as a result of men's longer hours in employment, and their partners spent almost the same amount of time in housework tasks. After the birth of the child, the division of labor was totally different among couples. Women took the majority of childcare and housework, consequently increasing the gender gap.

The transition to parenthood has also been associated with changing attitudes to parenting and gender division of labor. Perales, Baxter, and Tai's (2015) study with an Australian sample also adds to the argument that parenthood is a major life event leading to attitude changes. Both for men and women becoming a parent makes them in favour of a more traditional division of labor when it comes to childcare. This may be because of Australia's institutional arrangements, which encourage women to leave employment. However, the authors argue that parents become more supportive of motherhood concept-perceiving it as women's most important role in life.

To conclude, the gendered division of domestic labor is documented to become more traditional with the transition to parenthood. Is it because of attitudinal changes in support of motherhood and the culturally expected role of mothers to care for their children; or is it because of institutional arrangements or rationalization processes taking place in the family (one partner to focus on paid work and the one in unpaid work), it differs from context to context.

2.7. Gendered Division of Domestic Work and Childcare: The effect of education

A fundamental approach to understanding the role of education in the gendered division of domestic work is the Egalitarian Values approach (van Berkel and de Graaf, 1999). According to this approach, education is a crucial mechanism, which affects the gendered division of domestic work because of the democratic values the individual acquires. Thus, the higher the educational level of an individual, the more democratic values s/he will demonstrate. This approach argues that the division of housework is more egalitarian when both partners have high levels of education and it is more traditional when both partners have low levels of education (van Berkel and de Graaf 1999). This approach also suggests that given the gender asymmetry present in most societies, men's education level has a higher impact on how housework is allocated in the household.

Scholars have also argued, that the level of education may be seen as a proxy for human capital, thus a person with higher education will have higher human capital, and, consequently gain more work experience. More work experience leads to higher wage and therefore a higher bargaining power. Higher education also leads to more egalitarian views of autonomy and emancipation

(Bryant and Zick, 1996). Consequently, highly educated women are expected to have more emancipatory views and thus more desire to work in the labor market and less at home. Men's higher education, similarly, will lead to him having more emancipatory views and more willingness to share housework.

However, education can also be seen as a tool for reinforcing unequal power relations present in society (Calasanti and Bailey, 1991). As Kilty and Richardson (1985:180-81) argue, "Education may well simply perpetuate traditional sex role conceptions. After all, the purpose of socialization is to pass on cultural traditions and values."

In support of the educational attainment approach, several studies have found that men participate more in housework when they are more highly educated (Bianchi et al. 2000; Brines 1994; Shelton and John 1996). Goñi-Legaz, Ollo-López, and Bayo-Moriones, (2010) found that the higher the level of education of women, the less they do housework. They also observe the reverse effect for men: the higher their level of education, the more are they likely to participate in housework. Craig and Mullan's (2011) work showed that fathers with higher education levels contribute more to childcare. This, however, depends upon the country. In Denmark and Australia, for example, mothers and fathers in possession of higher education, spend more time with their children compared to parents with lower education background (Craig and Mullan, 2011). Gracia (2014) in a study on Spanish fathers also found that the father's education had a significant impact on his participation in physical childcare in couples with a child 0-5 years old. Dechant and Blossfeld (2015) in a qualitative study on German couples, found the highly educated interviewees expressed the idea that both partners should share paid as well as unpaid work, even if they did not do this sharing in practice.

Coles et al. (2017) Using 13 waves of the Household Income and Labor Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) explored characteristics associated with the time fathers spent in work and care. They found that the education level of mothers was a family factor associated with the time fathers spent with children irrespective of work hours. Although the occupations and education of fathers were not significant, their findings provide some support for the relative resources theory. Within families where fathers work long full-time hours, a mother's education may act as a resource to

‘bargain' out of less egalitarian parenting practices (Aassve et al., 2014; Craig and Mullan, 2011; Hook and Wolfe, 2011). Additionally, more highly educated mothers may have more egalitarian ideals and positively influence the father's involvement in childcare whether he works very long hours or not (Allen and Hawkins, 1999; Barnett and Fagan, 2003).

2.8. Conclusions

This chapter outlined the most prominent theories and perspectives employed in the literature of the gendered division of domestic labor and childcare; as well as several studies which have tested them. It showed that the reality of the division of domestic labor and childcare is often a very complex issue, which cannot be explained by a single theory. Individuals are complex beings, which behave in complex ways; thus no single theory or perspective can explain fully why the division of labor is in a certain way. Similarly, the institutions and the social structures through which they operate influence people's use of time, but people have also an impact on institutions (Ferree, 2010).

When it comes to childcare, Bianchi et al. (2012) argue that theoretical perspectives employed to explain the domestic labor division do not as easily apply to childcare, given that childcare is not necessarily a boring activity to be avoided (Bianchi et al. 2012). Childcare might be seen as an investment on the child, there is also the issue of maternal gatekeeping (mothers as not wanting to allow the partner to take care of the child Allen and Hawkins, 1999) and issues of class reproduction and mother identity. Fathers and the idea of new fatherhood have received increased attention in the west, the idea of an involved father.

Scholars have criticized micro-level perspectives on several aspects. Economic perspectives fail to explain the division of domestic labor, especially in the cases when wives earn more than their husbands and they still do more housework than them (Evertsson and Nermo, 2007; Gupta, 2007; Lincoln, 2008). The time availability perspective, despite the fact that it has been used a lot by researchers as an explanant of the gendered division of domestic labor (Bianchi et al. 2000), has been criticized for the fact that the paid work hours of men and women have little to do with how couples manage housework arrangements (Baxter, 2002). For this perspective, there is also

concern about endogeneity bias when using employment to predict housework because the time spent in work and housework time are jointly determined (Killewald and Gogh 2010). Gender deviance neutralization or gender display was criticized by Sullivan (2011) arguing that women may choose to do gender in various ways, even when they earn more than their husbands. (See also Hook, 2017).

The data at hand for this thesis allows for a measure of relative resources through education and maybe employment. Given the lack of data on personal income, because of privacy issues from instats, I cannot measure relative resources through the income of the partners. The data allows for estimating the effect of marriage and the effect of parenthood on the gendered division of domestic work. An analysis of the countries' contexts (which will follow in the next chapter) also allows raising some hypothesis on both countries. Analyzing the gendered division of domestic work and childcare from a macro-level perspective does not mean attributing the way domestic work and childcare are handled at home to structural factors only. Instead, it emphasizes the impact that structural factors have on individual behavior and shows how individual characteristics shape the gendered division of domestic work differently in different contexts.

3. Albania and Serbia: A Preview of two Contexts

3.1. Introduction

The collapse of communism in the Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe was a critical point in history, not only for the region where it took place, but also for the whole world. The Cold War ended, and former communist countries became members of the global economy. This process initiated a new era of transition/transformation in the region, with political, economic and social changes. For people living there, the freedom to western world goods came with insecurities. Ethnic and class differentiation, unemployment and decline in state subsidies became common issues of the economies of these countries (Gal and Kligman, 2000). This period also witnessed a drastic decline in female representation in politics-leading to a re-domestication of women in these countries (Einhorn, 1993). In this region, gender roles were re-traditionalized, and society, in general, was re-patriarchalized (Braunbauer, 2000).

Albania and Serbia, two countries in South East Europe, share state-socialist legacies and, therefore, a period of long transition/transformation. During the 1980s, Serbia was a country with a good standard of living with many of its cities comparable to European countries. However, because of international trade and travel sanctions imposed on the country from 1992 till 2002, the country's economy deteriorated deeply, which had a direct negative impact on the daily lives of individuals (Radoman, Nano, and Closs, 2006). Albania, on the other hand, came out from the communist regime as the poorest country in Europe and the years afterward, it fell in deep economic depression. After the country started to reconstruct its economy, the collapse of the 'pyramid investment' led to internal conflict and social violence (Radoman, Nano, and Closs, 2006). Nowadays, however, both countries are socio-economically stabilized, aiming to become members of the European Union.

This chapter aims to analyze the two countries under investigation in this thesis. It follows with a historical overview of Albanian and Serbian women and gender relations during state socialism and the transition/transformation years. It then provides demographic, economic, gender and cultural macro-indicators of the two countries in comparison with each other as well as in

comparison with other countries in Europe which have been traditionally analyzed in the welfare literature (specifically: Germany, France, Italy, Sweden, Bulgaria, and Romania). It is crucial to perform this socio-economic, historical gender relations and policy analysis of the two countries to understand how they are similar and where do they diverge; and how can these similarities and differences help us explain the gendered division of domestic work and childcare present in both contexts.

3.2. A historical overview of Albanian and Serbian Women: Gender in State Socialism and during the long transformation period

Both Albania and Serbia have been historically patriarchal countries. Albanian family organization has been patriarchal for centuries (Calloni, 2002; Vullnetari and King, 2015; Zickel and Iwaskiw, 1994). Similarly, a traditional patriarchal value system, which has been aided at several periods by nationalist ideologies, has long affected the position of women in Serbia (Duhaček, 2015). These patriarchal systems were questioned somehow, during the almost 50 years of the state socialism period in both countries.

During the State Socialism period, the 'woman question' (Engels ([1884] 2010)), intrinsic to the communist ideology, argued that capitalism makes women subordinate to men, and as long as they don't participate in the labor market they will be dependent on the patriarch of the family (Vullnetari and King, 2015). Thus, it was a commitment of the communist ideology to diverge from capitalism and take women out of the domestic sphere, to the labor market. In both Albania and Serbia, women achieved considerable rights during the state socialist regime.

Women's level of education in Albania increased, and levels of illiteracy decreased during the state socialist period. In the 1980s, half of the Albanian university students were female. Political participation of women in the country increased and also did the number of women's organizations. About 33% of the party's active members in 1988 were women, and over 40 % of

those elected to the people's councils were women. Women's labor force participation marked 49% in this decade (See Zickel and Iweski, 1994 and Abrahams, 1996).[1]

Similarly, in Serbia, a commitment to Marxist ideology brought women many rights. After the war, women's emancipation was considered a sign of Yugoslavia's progress and state socialism, granting women many legal rights such as the right to vote, to political office and the right to employment and education (Bracewell, 1996). Regarding policies helping women to maintain work and the family, there were also state-guaranteed entitlements such as parental leave and benefits, kindergartens and nurseries and strong family allowance system (Pascal and Kwak, 2005).

However, scholars have questioned the genuine interest of the state socialist system towards women; arguing that the state socialist societies did not shatter existing gender relations but, instead, attempted to erase gender differences together with ethnic and class differences, with the aim to create uniform individuals who would be dependent on a 'paternalist state' (Brunbauer, 2002; Gal and Kligman, 2000; Pascal and Kwak, 2005).

Many scholars considered women's right campaigns during communism as a ploy of the communist propaganda, which forced women to be faithful to the party while also maintaining their place in the household (Abrahams, 1996). Women became an instrument for the political goals of the regime. There was also a demand for labor force due to the process of industrialization and bureaucratization in all the region (Brunbauer, 2002). Thus, women's labor force participation in the eastern bloc, in general, was not accompanied by men's participation in the domestic sphere (Gal and Kligman, 2000). Women earned less than men, and they were responsible for most of the domestic responsibilities (Bracewell, 1996), having to bear the "double burden" of home and work (Einhorn, 1993; Gal and Kligman, 2000; Pascal and Kwak, 2005).

Like in many East European countries, despite the rhetorics of women's emancipation in the public sphere, during the state socialist regime, relations among men and women were highly patriarchal

[1] For more figures on Albania during communism see (Gjonca, Aassve, & Mencarini, 2008) and (Calloni, 2002)

in Albania. According to a recent qualitative study with women in the capital city of Albania, Tirana, women share memories of the state socialist period (Vullnetari and King, 2015). They recollect how they had to take care of all the household tasks and children and prepare the food and clothes washing; while men would only have to go to work and come home and find everything ready (Vullnetari and King, 2015). Similarly, in Serbia during communism, patriarchy never disappeared, despite formal equality between men and women. Traditional femininity and masculinity were reduced to socialist femininity and masculinity. The communism preserved patriarchy (Nikolic-Ristanovic, 2002). Women were named as national heroines, as mothers and national activists. Hence the expectation was that they sacrifice their interest to that of the state. Women in Serbia shouldered the role of the mother, housewife and the shared breadwinner (Nikolic-Ristanovic, 2002).

In sum, despite all state-socialist propaganda for women's emancipation and women's high participation in the public sphere, traditional gender relations during state socialism were never fundamentally changed in neither Serbia nor Albania.

The collapse of the state-socialist regime in both Serbia and Albania was socially traumatic, with insecurities and social turmoil. Serbia experienced long years of transition/transformation from state socialism to a free pluralist party system. Apart from the economic, social and political transformation, the history of Serbia comprises wars and conflicts with Kosovo, Bosnia Herzegovina, and Croatia. After the breakup of Yugoslavia, in 1990, women's human rights and gender equality regressed, and the role of the traditional family resurfaced (Duhaček, 2015). Albania, on the other hand, came out of the communist regime as the poorest country in Europe. The transition years were characterized by high migration, high unemployment, and ithe nformal economy. Women's public representation fell drastically, in social, economic and political terms (Braunbauer, 2000).

Both Albania and Serbia, like many other Central and Eastern European countries, witnessed a re-traditionalization and re-patriarchalization of social values, after the fall of state socialism. There was a rejection of gender equality in both societies: in Albania, as if to break with the past, given that state socialist rhetoric for women's emancipation was very eminent (Nixon, 2009) and in

Serbia because the achieved women's equality during communism was considered forced and unnatural (Nikolic-Ristanovic, 2002).

In Albania, the freedom that people enjoyed after half a century restrictions meant that they could do as they wished in their families without anybody`s interference. Thus, in the Northern region of Albania, there was a revival of Kanun[2], which was suppressed strongly by the communist regime (Nixon, 2009). In Serbia, on the other hand, religious rhetoric by Serbian Orthodox Church, which initiated anti-abortion campaigns and nationalist discourses due to ethnic conflicts, had an impact in strengthening the patriarchal values, reducing women's role to motherhood and nurturing the family (Drezgic, 2010).

This re-traditionalization in the two contexts had an impact on the gendered division of domestic labor as well. In Albania, men did not take responsibility for housework during state socialism, despite a very strong women's emancipation rhetoric. However, even-though sound research for that period is missing, there was an attempt, especially through movies, to introduce society to new gender roles.[3] After the fall of state socialism, the situation for women deteriorated, leaving them with no prestige neither in public nor in the private sphere. In Albania in 1996, human rights watch observed that men did not assume any sharing of housework or child-bearing (Abrahams, 1996). Almost ten years later the situation was similar. A 2006 qualitative research with women, discovered that Albanian women spent most of their time maintaining the household and taking care of the children (Danaj et al., 2008). While women do the housework, such as cleaning, cooking and shopping, men who are employed go to work, the unemployed ones go out in search of a job or spend time in bars with friends (Danaj et al., 2008). Albania is still a strongly patriarchal society, despite some changes in gender relations during the socialist and post-socialist period. Men's contribution to care is extremely low, and care is considered a woman's work (Vullnetari and King, 2015).

[2] 13th century customary law

[3] For example, in the movie "Kapedani" a very loved comic movie of 1972, a strong patriarchal father is faced with his son doing cooking and household chores because his wife is working as a ballet dancer. This phenomenon for the patriarchal father was very extreme and he almost had a heart attack when he saw his son cooking and so many women in the capital of Albania, Tirana, doing men's work (barber, ticket collector, truck driver etc.).

In Serbia, on the other hand, even though not to the desired levels, women during state-socialism enjoyed many rights, and this was even demonstrated through their gathering with feminist groups in former Yugoslavia (see Ramet, 2015). For example, regarding domestic division of labor, in Serbia, according to a 1994 study, 60% of the households were transitional, with women doing most of the chores but other family members participating as well; 30% were modern households, with chores shared equally between household members; and only 10 % were traditional with women doing most of the domestic chores (Drezgic, 2010). Significant changes were observed ten years later when in 70% of households a traditional division of labor prevailed; in 20% of the household a transitional division of labor prevailed; and in only 10% of households, a modern division of labor prevailed (Drezgic, 2010). The above observations point clearly to a regress concerning the equal division of domestic labor.

Overall, religious-nationalist discourse in Serbia has been very successful in reversing achievements (despite all the critiques) that had been made during socialism regarding women's emancipation (Duhaček, 2015). A reverse of women's participation in public life was witnessed also in Albania. Both countries faced a rejection of women's rights which had been achieved during state socialism in order to break with the past (in the case of Albania) or because they were considered forced and not natural in the case of Serbia.

3.3. Macro-indicators of the two countries: Demographic, Gender, Policy and Cultural indicators

As demonstrated in the literature, macro-level factors are as important in determining the division of domestic labor as are individual characteristics. This section provides a glance at the situation of Albania and Serbia through macro-level indicators. As repeatedly shown throughout this chapter, both countries' paths are tied closely to their state-socialist past and the transition/transformation period. Thus, it is impossible to understand the situation of the welfare state and government support (or the lack of it) outside the transition/transformation framework.

The collapse of communism in Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe came with state withdrawal in the name of freedom and the enlargement of civil society. Liberal economies and

liberal values took the place of the former regimes. The ideas of the welfare state existing before were replaced with the ideas of free market, individualism and minimal role of government. The collapse of the authoritarian regime brought economic distress and decline in almost all countries (Pascal and Kwak, 2005). There was damage to the states regarding GDP, public finances and services throughout the whole region. Hence, there were expenditure cuts in education, health, pension, and childcare benefits, which menaced the support of people's wellbeing in general and women's employment and motherhood, promoted during state socialism (Pascal and Kwak, 2005). The welfare state was replaced with social policies from external actors, especially in Albania. While in Serbia, the Bismarckian legacy persisted (Deacon et al.: 2007). Therefore, we cannot talk about a welfare state in support of women's employment, in neither country.

To better analyze and compare both countries, I have compiled Table 1 with demographic, gender, economic and policy indicators. These indicators will allow me to compare countries from a macro-perspective and prepare hypotheses on how the domestic work, based on what literature has shown. I compare these two countries with other countries which have had established welfare states for a long period (with Germany, France, Italy, Sweden, Bulgaria, and Romania). I have tried to collect figures around the year 2010 (the year in which Albanian and Serbian National Time Use Surveys were conducted). However, some years vary, according to data availability. [4]

[4] Source for the indicators in Table 1: *Demographic indicators*: World Bank; *Gender Indicators*: LFSs of Albania and Serbia, Eurostat for EU countries, Global Gender Gap Report 2012, ILO 2014; OECD 2014; *Economic indicators:* World Bank, UN, Eurostat. See Appendix 3 for a comprehensive definition of these indicators.

Table 1: List of macro-indicators

	Albania	Serbia	Germany	France	Italy	Sweden	Bulgaria	Romania
Demographic indicators								
Total fertility rates (‘09)	2.51	1.43	1.39	2.03	1.46	1.98	1.57	1.59
Mean age 1st child for women (‘14)	24.5	27.9	29.4	28.1	30.7	29.1	26.7	26.7
Mean age at marriage for women UN (‘10)	23.1	27.1	30.2	30.7	30.3	32.7	26.7	25.6
Gender Indicators								
Employment rates 15-64 (‘10)								
Men	63.0	54.4	76.3	68.3	67.5	74.6	63.3	67.9
Women	44.4	40.1	66.2	59.8	46.1	69.7	56.2	52.5
Part-time -share total female employment (’13)	23.9	9.9	44.8	29.8	29.3	4.6	2.6	9.5
Female adult unemployment rate (’13)	28	20	7.0	9.3	8.4	8.6	10.3	7.0
Women in the non-agricultural paid labor (‘12)	33	44						
Economic participation (GGG) (‘12)	0.713	0.660	0.739	0.682	0.591	0.795	0.698	0.681
Educational attainment (GGG) (‘12)	0.981	0.993	0.984	1.000	0.992	0.9969	0.992	0.994
Health and Survival (GGG) (‘12)	0.927	0.970	0.978	0.979	0.973	0.973	0.979	0.979
Political empowerment GGG) (‘12)	0.078	0.192	0.348	0.124	0.134	0.497	0.140	0.088
Global Gender Gap (GGG)	0.675	0.704	0.762	0.698	0.672	0.815	0.702	0.685
GGG Rank	78	50	13	57	80	4	52	67
The gender gap in average time per day doing domestic and family care (‘14)	7.2	2.5	1.79	1.0	3.37	1.49	1.92	n/a
Economic Indicators								
GDP per capita (current US $)	4094.3	5411.8	417859.5	40638.3	35849.3	50076.2	6843.2	8231.3
Gini index (years vary)	29.0	38.7	27.0	29.3	31.9	24.9	40.2	27.3
Gender pay gap	17.6	11	21	14	7	12	10	0.96
Policy indicators								
Participation rates in formal childcare 0-2 (‘12)	n/a	12,9	29	54	24	48	12	15
Total weeks of paid leave for mothers (‘12)	52	52	14	16	22	14	58	18
Total weeks of paid leave for fathers (‘12)	1 day	-	-	2	1 day	22	2	1
Cultural indicators								
“When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women’ (‘08)	31,4	23,7	14.9	13.4	20.9	2.5	23.5	26.6
Modern Gender Scale (‘08)[5]	2.40	2.44	2.69	2.53	2.29	2.82	2.44	2.22
Gender Equality Scale (2008)[6]	3.19	3.24	3.20	3.49	3.11	3.45	3.26	3.02

[5] In the next section this indicator will be elaborated in more detail for Albania and Serbia

[6] In the next section this indicator will be elaborated in more detail for Albania and Serbia

Comparatively, when analyzing the macro-indicators, Albania and Serbia do not differ drastically from each other. However, Serbia generally stands in a more favorable position for women, compared to Albania. In demographic terms, Albania is the most traditional among the countries listed here, with higher fertility rates, and a younger age for women at marriage. Serbian fertility rates are comparable to other advanced European countries and reflect the aging population of the country. Similarly, while Albania has the lowest age of women at first child and marriage, Serbian women's age at first child and first marriage are higher than that of Albania, Bulgaria, and Romania, but lower than other countries (Germany, France, Italy, and Sweden).

Gender indicators show that, apart from employment, in which Albanian women are slightly in a better position, Serbian women score higher than Albanian women. However, the female participation rates of Albania and Serbia are lower compared to other European countries. Serbian women, in 2010 had higher political representation, higher political empowerment, and lower gender pay gap of health and survival, compared to Albanian women. Serbia compares to other European countries in terms of these indicators.

Regarding economic indicators, Serbia has relatively higher standards, with higher GDP per capita compared to Albania. However, while Albania has the lowest GDP per capita, Serbia also ranks lower in this indicator compared to other European countries and is closer to Romania and Bulgaria.

The gender pay gap is also lower in Serbia, meaning that women in Serbia are in a more favorable position, compared to Albania. Both countries offer 52 weeks of paid maternity leaves to mothers, but as mentioned in literature, women working in the private sector and precarious jobs, especially in Albania, do not always enjoy the rights of maternity leave provisioned by the state (Shehaj et al., 2013). This length is longer compared to other European countries (except for Bulgaria which offers 58 weeks of leave). Similarly, there are daycare options for children in Albania, especially in urban areas, but there are no reliable aggregate statistics about their coverage over the infant population. The literature shows that after the fall of communism there was a decline in the number of children in kindergartens (Shehaj, et al., 2013). While in Serbia, the percentage of children in

childcare for ages 0-2 is 12,9 % which is low compared to other European countries. Albanian women perform much more unpaid work than Serbian women.

The gender gap of unpaid work in Albania is 7.2, and in Serbia it is 2.5. If we have a look at other countries, we can see that Albania has the highest share among European countries (OECD Stat, 2014). Culturally speaking, as it will also be shown below, Albania is more conservative than Serbia. The share of people who agree with the statement "When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women" is higher in Albania than in Serbia (31,4 vs. 23.7). Albania stands out as the most conservative country in this group, regarding this indicator. Measured as an indicator of the gender ideology of people living in Albania and Serbia, this measure will be elaborated further in the section below.

3.4. Albania's and Serbia's Gender Ideology

As shown in the theoretical chapter, women's disadvantage in the division of domestic labor is attributed to structural and cultural forces, which reinforce one another at different levels (Treas and Tai, 2016). Simialrly, Fuwa (2004) has shown that public opinion regarding gender ideology is significantly related to the gendered division of domestic work and also Davis and Greenstein (2009) show that gender ideology of a country matters in housework.

In this light, this subsection provides a glance at the gender attitudes of people in Albania and Serbia, based on the European Values Survey (EVS) 2008 study. Previous authors (Ringdal, 2015; Simkus, 2015) have also employed EVS data to measure gender attitudes of people in Western Balkan countries. To compare only Albania and Serbia, I replicated Ringdal's measure to include only these two countries. Two measurement scales were used, Modern Gender Roles (MGR) scale and Gender Equality Scale (Equal) (Ringdal, 2015). The MGR scale was constructed by the set of three questions:

- A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works (MGR)
- A job is alright but what most women really want is a home and children (MGR)
- Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay (MGR)

The gender equality scale is composed of these three sets of questions:

- Both husband and wife should contribute to household income (Equal)
- In general, fathers are as well suited to look after children as mothers (Equal)
- Men should take as much responsibility as women for the home and children (Equal)[7]

The response options for these statements ranged from 1 to 4 where 1 corresponded to Agree strongly and 4 Disagree strongly. The mean score of the first three questions makes the MGR scale. The higher the mean of the MGR, the more modern the gender role attitude of the respondent is. The answers to the second set of three questions were reversed to 1 corresponding to Disagree strongly and 4 corresponding to Agree strongly. Meaning, a higher mean of the Equality scale, the higher gender equal attitude a respondent has.

Serbia has a higher mean score in modern gender roles, precisely 2.44, and Albania has a lower mean value compared to Serbia, somewhere below 2.40 (See table 1 above). The above results mean that more people in Serbia are in favor of modern gender roles, compared to Albania.

Similarly, in the Gender equality scale, Serbia scores higher than Albania in the gender equality scale, 3.24 and 3.19 respectively; meaning that more people in Serbia display more gender equal attitudes than in Albania. In order to see how these two scores are different by different individual characteristics, I prepared Table 2 (below) with the Mean Modern Gender Role scale and Gender Equality scale by country and individual characteristics. As previous studies have noted (Inglehart, 1997; Ringdal, 2015) women both in Albania and Serbia show more support for egalitarian values, compared to men. However, Serbian women and Serbian men score higher both in Modern Gender Roles and Gender Equality scale. Serbian men and women are more in favor of modern gender roles and more in favor of gender equality, compared to Albanian women.

[7] Appendix 3 shows Cronbach alpha for both measures

Table 2: MGR and Equality Scale

	Mean Modern Gender Roles				Mean Gender Equality Score			
	Albania		**Serbia**		**Albania**		**Serbia**	
Gender								
All Male	2.31 (.61)		2.38 (.58)		3.14 (.57)		3.20 (.49)	
All Female	2.48 (.64)		2.49 (.64)		3.24 (.54)		3.29 (.49)	
	Men	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*
Age								
15-24	2.49(.61)	2.52(.62)	2.53(.64)	2.65(.64)	3.11(.54)	3.24(.52)	3.30(.48)	3.38(.47)
25-34	2.36(.60)	2.52(.70)	2.47(.60)	2.57(.60)	3.08(.54)	3.24(.57)	3.21(.51)	3.27(.46)
35-44	2.29(.54)	2.42(.66)	2.43(.60)	2.55(.62)	3.17(.59)	3.24(.51)	3.23(.49)	3.23(.51)
45-54	2.34(.61)	2.49(.62)	2.41(.56)	2.52(.68)	3.20(.57)	3.32(.55)	3.16(.45)	3.27(.49)
55-64	2.11(.62)	2.43(.64)	2.29(.58)	2.46(.59)	3.11(.60)	3.16(.54)	3.18(.52)	3.41(.42)
65+	2.22(.60)	2.39(.60)	2.19(.44)	2.21(.60)	3.03(.64)	3.07(.61)	3.18(.49)	3.21(.52)
Education								
Lower	2.1(.58)	2.28(.65)	2.2(.51)	2.2(.58)	3.02(.59)	3.22(.58)	3.12(.46)	3.23(.57)
Middle	2.4(.61)	2.54(.69)	2.43(.60)	2.57(.61)	3.22(.58)	3.22(.48)	3.23(.49)	3.30(.48)
Upper	2.6(.54)	2.76(.51)	2.41(.60)	2.69(.64)	3.24(.48)	3.40(.47)	3.22(.51)	3.35(.44)
Religion								
Atheist	2.68(.61)	2.47(.61)	2.42(.64)	2.3(.39)	3.25(.40)	3.1(.72)	3.24(.52)	3.3(.51)
Not religious	2.37(.50)	2.82(.61)	2.31(.53)	2.73(.65)	2.95(.44)	3.14(.47)	3.20(.51)	3.25(.50)
Religious	2.28(.62)	2.46(.64)	2.38(.58)	2.47(.69)	3.14(.47)	3.25(.54)	3.20(.49)	2.29(.48)
Employment								
Employed	2.32(.60)	2.54(.64)	2.43(.59)	2.66(.63)	3.15(.58)	3.32(.54)	3.21(.49)	3.30(.47)
Unemployed	2.32(.61)	2.40(.63)	2.42(.58)	2.35(.64)	3.12(.56)	3.16(.54)	3.20(.47)	3.27(.51)
Inactive	2.22(.64)	2.49(.66)	2.27(.54)	2.42(.60)	3.11(.58)	3.22(.52)	3.18(.50)	3.30(.48)

(Standard Deviation)

This might be an indicator that in unpaid work, as well, the effect of education will be stronger in Albania than in Serbia. Also, in line with previous research, younger people and more educated people, both in Albania and Serbia, portray more egalitarian attitudes compared to older people or less educated people (Ringdal, 2015). For age and educational categories, there are also country differences; younger Serbian men and women are more in favor of modern gender roles and gender equality then younger Albanian men and women. It is interesting that older people in Albania, both men, and women, are more in favor of modern gender roles than elder people in Serbia, men and women.

With regards to education, upper-educated women in Albania are more in favor of modern gender roles (2.76), compared to upper educated women in Serbia (2.69). While for men, men with upper-level education in Albania are more in favor of modern gender roles (2.6), compared to men with upper education in Serbia (2.41). Regarding employment, again, both employed Serbian women and men are more in favor of modern gender roles, compared to employed Albanian women and men.

Favorability for gender equality also shows similar patterns. Men and women in Serbia are more in favor of gender equality, compared to men and women in Albania. Women in both countries are more in favor than men for gender equality. Youngsters in Serbia, (age category 15-24, men and women), are more in favor of gender equality, compared to youngsters in Albania (age category 15-24, men and women). However, Albanian men and women in the age category 45-54, are more in favor of gender equality than Serbian men and women in the same age category. I speculate that Albanian men and women in this age category were socialized under State Socialism, precisely in the period when religion was abolished in Albania. Religious people in Serbia are less in favor of gender equality, compared to atheists for example.

Women with upper education and employed women in Albania are more in favor of gender equality, compared to women with upper education and employed women in Serbia. While for men, men with upper education in Albania are more in favor of gender equality, compared to men with upper education in Serbia; but employed men in Serbia are more in favor of gender equality compared to employed men in Albania. We can assume that the effect of education is stronger in

Albania, compared to Serbia. The above results show that gender Serbian men and women display more favor for a modern gender ideology, compared to Albania. It can be concluded that the general population in Serbia is more in favor of more modern gender roles and gender equality, compared to general population in Albania.

3.5. Conclusions

This chapter aimed to contextualize gender relations in Albania and Serbia. It also provided a glance at macro-level indicators conceptualized in literature to have an impact on the gendered division of domestic labor. State socialism in both countries had an impact but did not fundamentally change the traditional gender roles, neither in Albania nor in Serbia, especially in the private sphere. The blow of transition was even stronger for these societies, especially regarding women's representation. However, data shows that Serbia, even though re-traditionalized, is less patriarchal than Albania. It has also better economic and gender equality indicators for women than Albania. In this framework hypotheses about the gender division of domestic labor in these countries are provided in the next chapter.

4. Data, Methods and Hypothesis

4.1. Data

The data for this study derive from the national Time Use Survey (TUS) studies of Albania and Serbia. The Institutes of Statistics of the two countries in question (Institute of Statistics of Albania, INSTAT, and Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, SORS) conducted the time use surveys in 2010-2011 using the guidelines of Harmonized European Time Use Survey (HETUS). As both country TUS reports specify, the goal of the study for both countries was to investigate [or represent] how men and women use their time in Albania and Serbia respectively.

HETUS guidelines suggest that countries use the diary instrument, specific procedures for data collection and common activity coding list. According to HETUS guidelines, the time diary is administered to all persons of the household. Respondents fill in the diary activities which lasted at least 10 minutes, throughout the day, on designated days. The respondents record on the diary the activities they were doing using their own words, which, are subsequently coded using a common scheme. Some aspects of the survey design and practices are left to the national institutes of statistics in order for them to use the best practices for the organization and data collection nationally (Eurostat, 2009).

Both Albania and Serbia conducted TUS using nationally representative samples in accordance with HETUS guidelines. The statistical offices sampled the individuals in households as well as the time (weekday time and weekend time). Both countries spread data collection over one year in their surveys to take activities' seasonality into account (INSTAT, 2011; SORS, 2011).

For the Republic of Serbia the instruments used in the study were the household questionnaire; the individual questionnaire for persons 15 years old and over; the diary for persons 15 years old and over; and the weekly schedule of the working time. Interviewers collected the individual and household questionnaires while the diary and the weekly work schedule were filled in by the household members themselves. The population interviewed were the persons who had been residents in the Republic of Serbia for a period of more than one year. The sampling was also stratified in two stages: areas and households. The sample size was 2340 households with 234

enumeration areas. Respondents filled in the diaries for a period of 24 hours, divided into 10-minute blocks, using their own words (SORS, 2011).

Albanian INSTAT applied three instruments, the individual questionnaire, the household questionnaire, and the diary. Using a two stage-sample selection, INSTAT, sampled 2250 household in the four geographical areas of the country. Each household member over ten years of age was asked to fill in the individual questionnaire and two time diaries. Respondents filled in the diaries for a period of 24 hours, divided into 10-minute blocks, using their own words (INSTAT, 2011).

I retrieved the Albanian diary data and household survey data from the INSTAT website. I also had several communications with the contact person responsible for the project for any unclear issues I had with the data. The data provided by INSTAT contains weights "for several steps taking into account the sampling design, adjustment for non-response at the household level, the calibration of demographic data, and the allocation of diary days" (INSTAT, 2011; 131). I retrieved the Serbian diary data and the household questionnaire and the individual questionnaire data from the contact person of the SORS office. I also had several e-mail conversations with the contact person of the office for unclear issues. Similarly, SORS provided the data with the necessary household, individual and diary weights that correct for sampling design and non-response (SORS, 2011).

The diary data provided by the institutes of statistics of each country were in the form of episode data for each individual. We performed data management work in order to link the activity data with the individual questionnaire file. In this way, it was made possible to link the individual characteristics with the type of activity performed by interviewees during the day. Also, a day weight was used in order to correctly ponder weekdays and weekend days and obtain weekly average hours. Similarly, I performed data management work to create the main dependent variables from the diary file (Appendix 1). I did data management work to also code and recode independent variables according to the analytic strategy I describe later in this chapter.

Research has shown that when studying time use, time diary method is a beneficial technique for

several reasons (Fisher et al. 2006; Coltrane, 2000). First, it is advantageous because with the diary method one can capture the rich contextual information by mentioning who else was present during the activity and where the activity took place. Second, the respondents are asked to bring into attention the activities they performed sequentially, usually for the day before and are not asked to make complex or vague calculations. Third, diaries are also very important in examining work episodes with time spent with the member of the household, and the work spent throughout the day, the integration of work with leisure time and so on (Fisher et al., 2006).

The diary method can also have some flaws, as respondents might want to portray themselves as hard workers or light television viewers. The ones who do not remember what happened at a particular time may add a habitual activity. Even in these cases, the diary presents to the researcher richer and more persuasive source of individual and family activity patterns than other alternatives (Fisher et al., 2006). Yavorsky, Kamp Dush and Schoppe-Sullivan (2015) for example, suggest that researchers should be cautious regarding the methodology of survey estimates. In their study, they found that both men and women overestimated their engagement in total work, but men overestimated it more extensively after a child was born. Hence, survey data shows that post-birth men engage in more housework than women and similar amounts of total work, while the authors claim that their diary data showed that women spent more time in housework than men and more total work time (Yavorsky et al., 2015).

For the purpose of this study, the time use surveys of Albania and Serbia are a suitable source of data to answer questions on the gendered division of domestic labor and childcare in the two countries. Given that both countries use HETUS 2008 guidelines, this type of data provides easy comparability between the two countries.

4.2. Samples and Variables

For both datasets (Albanian and Serbian), I created three samples. Sample 1 is called the individual sample, and it is the sample including the characteristics of each individual and their diary activities. Sample 2 is the couple data, created by matching couples within a household. Sample 3 includes only matched couples with at least one child 0-17 years old. The table below is a summary

of the samples and the number of observations for each sample.

Table 3: Sample Characteristics

		Albania Observations	Serbia Observations
Sample 1	Individuals 18-64 years old	Male: 1610 Female: 1940	Male: 1218 Female: 1362
Sample 2	Couples (Male 18-64)	1146	681
Sample 3	Couples with at least 1 child 0-18 (Male 18-64)	560	258

4.2.1. Dependent variables

For this study, I used three dependent variables: total unpaid work time, routine housework time and childcare. These variables are created from the diary file and represent the daily minutes spent on total unpaid work, or routine housework or child-care as a primary activity. In order to have an average daily time, weekday diary time was multiplied by 5/7 and weekend diary time was multiplied by 2/7.

Total unpaid work includes all the activities of household and family care such as food management, household upkeep, making and caring for textiles, gardening, and pet care, home repairs, shopping, household management, childcare, and adult care (See Appendix 1). The variable routine work includes activities which are considered to be done routinely such as cooking; washing dishes; cleaning house; laundry, ironing and mending clothes (See Appendix 1). Child care includes both physical and emotional childcare, and it includes activities such as physical care and supervision, teaching the child, reading playing and talking with the child, accompanying the child (See Appendix 1). For Sample 1, I analyze total unpaid work and routine work. For Sample 2, I analyze wife's share of total unpaid work and woman's share of routine work. For Sample 3, woman's share of childcare is used. In Sample 3 I also analyze separately mother's time in childcare and father's time in childcare.

4.2.2. Control Variables and Independent Variables

Control variables include age (in categories: 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54 and 55-64), region of residence and household size. The region of residence has two categories: urban and rural. And household size is a continuous variable constructed by counting the individuals within the same household. The independent variables include couple status, parental status, employment status and level of education, couple's education and couple's employment. Couple status is a variable recoded from the original variable 'marital status' and has two categories: in couple (married or in cohabitation) and not in couple (single, widowed). Parental status was recoded from the original "life-cycle" variable to include the following categories: no children, child aged 0-2, child aged 3-6 and child aged 7 plus. Employment status is constructed by recoding the original variable "employment status" variable in the datasets, and it includes three categories: employed, unemployed, and inactive. Education variable is recoded from the original "completed education" variable and it includes three categories: primary, secondary and tertiary or above. For Sample 2 and 3 Couple's education is constructed on matched couple data and it includes categories: both tertiary or above, only woman tertiary or above, only man tertiary or above, no one tertiary or above. Similarly, couple's employment includes categories: both woman and man in paid work, only woman in paid work, only man in paid work and no one in paid work.

However, due to the very small number of observations, I do not include couple's employment in the regression analysis, and I construct another variable: wife employed. This variable is constructed by recoding the original variable "employment status" for women and has two categories: wife employed, wife not employed.

In table 4, table 5 and table 6 I have presented the variables for Sample 1, Sample 2 and Sample 3 for both Albania and Serbia. Age, household size and unpaid work are continuous variables. The other variables are categorical, so I created dummies for each of them.

Table 4: Sample 1 Variables descriptive Statistics for Albania and Serbia

	Albania				Serbia			
	Women		Men		Women		Men	
Variables	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
Age	37.83	12.94	38.33	13.1	43.7	13.13	43.3	13.4
Education								
Up to secondary	.60	.49	.54	.40	.27	.45	.24	.42
Secondary	.31	.46	.38	.49	.56	.50	.63	.48
Tertiary and above	.09	.2	.08	.27	.16	.37	.13	.33
Employment								
Employed	.43	.49	.74	.44	.47	.50	.66	.47
Unemployed	.09	.29	.11	.31	.12	.32	.11	.31
Inactive	.48	.50	.14	.35	.40	.49	.43	.23
Couple status								
Single	.29	.45	.34	.47	.31	.46	.37	.48
In couple	.71	.45	.66	.47	.69	.46	.63	.48
Number of children	1.42	1.24	1.26	1.24	.93	.97	.82	.98
No child	.31	.46	.39	.49	.44	.49	.52	.40
Child 0-3	.13	.33	.13	.34	.08	.27	.08	.27
Child 4-6	.1	.29	.09	.29	.05	.23	.05	.23
Child 7+	.46	.50	.39	.48	.43	.49	.36	.48
Household size	4.38	1.58	4.37	1.56	3.4	1.4	3.4	1.5
Region of residence								
Urban	.52	.50	.47	.50	.63	.48	.58	.49
Rural	.48	.50	.53	.50	.37	.48	.42	.49
Unpaid work (minutes)	349	195	40	74	258	161	110	116
Routine work	259	143	15	16	216	125	50	74
Observations		**1940**		**1610**		**1362**		**1218**

As we can see from the tables, there are some country differences regarding the composition of the main variables. Regarding age, both Albanian women and men are younger than Serbian women and men. As the Serbian Office of Statistics confirmed it, Serbian population is getting older, hence the higher age of the sample.

Both Serbian women and men are more educated than Albanian women and men. Sixty percent of Albanian women and 54% of Albanian men have not completed secondary education; while figures for Serbian women and men in the same educational category are 27% and 24% respectively. There are also more women with tertiary education in Serbia (16%) than in Albania (9%), and the same holds for men (13% vs. 8%). Regarding employment, more women in Serbia are employed (47%), compared to women in Albania (43%), although with a small difference, while there are more inactive women in Albania (48%) than in Serbia (40%). For men, more Albanian men are employed (74%), compared to Serbian men (66%). There are more single women in Serbia than in Albania, and there are also more single men in Serbia than in Albania. Albanian women have more children compared to Serbian women (1.42 vs. .93). Household size is bigger in Albania than in Serbia. And the population in Albania is 50% urban and 50 % rural, in Serbia the percentage of urban population is higher. Albanian women do more total unpaid work than Serbian women (349 vs. 258) minutes a day, approximately 1.5 hours more. While Serbian men do more unpaid work than Albanian men, 110 minutes a day (Serbian) vs. 40 minutes a day (Albanian men). The sample as well confirms the macro-data figures presented in chapter 3 of this thesis.

Table 5: Sample 2 Variable descriptive statistics for couples (Albania and Serbia)

	Couples			
	Albania		Serbia	
Variables	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
Couple's Education				
Both secondary or above	.29	.46	.64	.48
Only husband secondary or above	.16	.37	.12	.33
Only wife secondary or above	.08	.26	.06	.23
Neither of them secondary or above	.50	.50	.18	.38
Wife's Employment				
Wife employed	.47	.50	.55	.50
Number of children	1.9	1.08	1.22	.96
No child	.10	.31	.27	.44
Child 0-3	.20	.40	.12	.33
Child 4-6	.13	.33	.08	.27
Child 7+	.57	.50	.52	.50
Household size	4.5	1.48	3.65	1.3
Region of residence				
Urban	.49	.50	.57	.50
Rural	.51	.50	.43	.50
Wife's share of unpaid work (minute)	91.5	12.8	74.5	19.1
Wife's share of routine work	96.6	9.5	84.3	19.1
Observations		**1146**		**679**

When we look at couple's characteristics, 64% of couples in Serbia and only 29% of couples in Albania are in relationships in which both partners have secondary education or higher. The percentage of couples with both tertiary education or above is higher in Serbia than in Albania (10% versus 5%)[8]. However, the number of observations for couple educational status is very small. Also, there are more couples with neither of the partners with secondary education in Albania than in Serbia (47% vs. 38%).

Regarding employment, in 47% percent of couples in Albania the wife is employed and in 55% of couples in Serbia, the wife is employed. In results not shown in the table, due to the small numbers of observations, 43% of couples in Albania and 45% of couples in Serbia live in dual-earner households. As much as that percentage of couples have a male breadwinner in Albania and only 28% of households have a male breadwinner in Serbia. There are more unemployed couples (both partners unemployed) in Serbia than in Albania (17% vs. 10%).

[8] Because the number of observations is very small, the results are not shown in this table but are only mentioned indicatively

Table 6: Sample 3 Variables descriptive statistics for couples with children

	Albania		Serbia	
Variables	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
Couple's Education				
Both secondary or above	.26	.44	.73	.45
Only husband secondary or above	.16	.37	.08	.27
Only wife secondary or above	.08	.27	.09	.28
Neither of them secondary or above	.49	.50	.11	.31
Wife's Employment				
Wife in employment	.44	.50	.56	.50
Number of children	2.2	.94	1.9	.80
Child 0-3	.34	.47	.32	.47
Child 4-6	.21	.41	.21	.40
Child 7+	.44	.49	.47	.50
Household size	4.8	1.32	4.3	1.14
Region of residence				
Urban	.50	.50	.58	.50
Rural	.50	.50	.42	.49
Wife's share of childcare	89	22	72	29
Observations		**560**		**258**

Sample 3 does not differ much from Sample 2, as here are the couples with at least one child. Here, I am interested in wife's share of childcare. The descriptive results show that in Albania, 26% of parents are in families where both have completed secondary education or above. In Serbia, 73% of parents are in families where both parents have completed secondary education or above. Educational levels of parents in Serbia is higher than that of Albania. Similarly, more mothers are employed in Serbia (56%) than in Albania (44%). Albanian families have more children (2.2 on average) compared to Serbian families (1.9 on average). Consequently, Albanian families tend to be relatively larger.

4.3. Analytic Strategy

In the next chapters, I will present descriptive statistics for men and women at the individual level and at couple level for both countries and the results on Ordinary Least Square (OLS) regressions for both datasets for the three samples presented above. For Sample 1, I test three models and for samples 2 and 3, I test two models. All regressions are done separately for men and women (in Sample 1, the individual sample). Tables 7, 8, 9 and 10 show a clear picture of the model

In Model 1, in Sample 1, I regressed the dependent variables separately (total unpaid work and routine housework) on the control variables (age categories, household size, and region of residence) and the main independent variables (parental status, couple status, educational level, and employment status). In Model 2, in sample 1, I added an interaction term of educational level and the couple status, to see if the effect of being in couple changes according to the individual's educational level. In Model 3, in sample 1, I added an interaction term of educational level and parental status, to see the effect of having children on the amount of time spent on unpaid work differs according to educational levels.

In Sample 2 I applied two models on the dependent variables separately (woman's share of total unpaid work and routine work for Sample 2. For Sample 3 I also look at mothers' and fathers' minutes spent on childcare, separately.

For Sample 2, In Model 1 regress the dependent variables on control variables (age categories,

household size, and region of residence) and the main independent variables (couple's educational level and wife's employment status as a dummy variable with the categories (employed, not employed)). I want to test if the effect of having children on woman's share of total unpaid work and routine work differs according to couples' educational level composition, thus in Model 2 I include an interaction of age of children with couple's educational level.

For Sample 3, in Model 1 I regress the dependent variable (wife's share of childcare) on control variables (age categories, household size and region of residence) and the main independent variables (couple's educational level and wife's employment status as a dummy variable with the categories (employed, not employed)). In Model 2, in order to see if the effect of employment status is contingent with mother's education, I include an interaction of mother's employment status and her educational level.

Table 7: Analytic Strategy Sample 1

Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Dependent Variable	**Control and Independent variables**	**Dependent variable**	**Control and Independent variables**	**Dependent Variable**	**Control and Independent variables**
-Total unpaid work (women/men) -Routine housework (women/men)	-Age categories -Household size -Region of residence -Parental status -Couple status -Educational level -Employment status	-Total unpaid work (women/men) -Routine housework (women/men)	-Age categories - Household size - Region of residence -Couple status -Educational level -Employment status - Educational level * Couple status	-Total unpaid work (women/men) -Routine housework (women/men)	-Age categories - Household size - Region of residence -Couple status -Educational level -Employment status - Educational level * Parental status

Table 8: Analytic Strategy Sample 2

Model 1		Model 2	
Dependent Variable	**Control and independent variables**	**Dependent Variable**	**Control and independent variables**
-Wife's share of total unpaid work -Wife's share of routine housework	-Age of wife -Household size -Region of residence -Parental status -Couple's educational level -Wife's employment	-Wife's share of total unpaid work -Wife's share of routine housework	-Age of wife -Household size -Region of residence -Parental status -Couple's educational level -Wife's employment -Couple's educational level*parental status

Table 9: Analytic Strategy Sample 3

Model 1		Model 2	
Dependent Variable	**Control and independent variables**	**Dependent Variable**	**Control and independent variables**
-Wives share of childcare	-Age of wife -Household size -Region of residence -Couple's educational level -Wife's employment	-Wife's share of childcare -Wife's share of routine housework	-Age of wife -Household size -Region of residence -Couple's educational level -Wife's employment -Couple's educational level*parental status

Table 10:Analytic Strategy Sample 3

Model 1		Model 2	
Dependent Variable	**Control and independent variables**	**Dependent Variable**	**Control and independent variables**
-Mother's childcare time -Father's childcare time	-Age categories -Household size -Region of residence -Parental status -Educational level -Employment status	-Mother's childcare time -Father's childcare time	-Age categories -Household size -Region of residence -Parental status -Educational level -Employment status -Educational*employment status

4.4. Hypotheses

The study aims to compare the gendered division of domestic and childcare labor among individuals within a country as well as between countries. Hence, I put forward two level hypotheses: country level hypotheses (CLH) and individual level hypotheses (ILH). In the first part of this section, I present country level hypotheses and in the second part, I present individual level hypotheses. Both level hypotheses are formulated taking into consideration the literature review offered in chapter 2, as well as the profile of the two contexts in chapter 3. Based on the preview of the two contexts and on the literature on gender and domestic work, I expect to find similarities as well as differences in the gendered division of domestic work in Serbia and Albania.

4.4.1. Country Level Hypothesis

Chapter 2 laid out theory and empirical research which demonstrated how welfare states are crucial in determining how the division of labor occurs at home during the life-course. Welfare states which show no value for women's market work and favor a breadwinner model (such as the conservative state) will discourage women from working out of the home and reinforce a traditional family model (Geist, 2005). On the other hand, welfare states which provide support for work-family reconciliation (especially through the availability of public childcare services) make women's labor force participation easier. While Albania and Serbia cannot be classified under any of the classical welfare state typology, an analysis of labor force participation and family policies in these countries can help us hypothesize patterns of gendered division of the domestic labor.

Literature shows that certain family policies assume that caregiving is solely a female responsibility (Blosfield and Martinez Franzoni, 2015). These policies assume that the husband has mainly economic responsibilities while women rear children (Korpi, Ferrarini, and Englund, 2013). Parental leaves which are directed only to mothers with no rights or not reserved quotas for fathers are such policies. On the other hand, universal parental leaves which promote shared responsibility or compulsory paternity leaves similar to maternity leaves relieve mothers from being the only caregivers (Blosfield and Martinez-Franzoni, 2015), allowing them for employment

or other possibilities. Both Albania and Serbia have similar maternity and parental leave policies. The maternity leave is relatively long in both countries (52 weeks) and there is no paternity leave directed at the father (at least as of 2010 when the Time use surveys were completed). There is more research supporting the idea that short to medium length maternity leaves are more favorable for women's employment careers and the more equal division of domestic and childcare chores (Noonan, 2013). Extended parental leave increases sex specialization at home by increasing women's housework and care time and decreasing that of men (Hook, 2010).

There is much research also showing that the key measure supporting mothers' employment is the provision of cheap high-quality childcare services or working time flexibility, allowing women (and men) to keep attached to the labor market when having children without big depreciation of human capital, as normally happens to mothers on leave (especially long leaves). Data for Serbia and Albania on extra-family childcare services show that there are daycare options for children in Albania, especially in urban areas, but there are no reliable aggregate statistics about their coverage over the infant population. The literature shows that after the fall of communism there was a decline in the number of children in kindergartens (Shehaj, et al., 2013). While in Serbia, the percentage of children in childcare for ages 0-2 is 12,9 % which is low compared to other European countries. Albanian women perform much more unpaid work than Serbian women. From this perspective, we cannot expect major gender differences in the division of the domestic labor between Albanian and Serbian households.

Ruppaner and Maume, (2016) find that married men in contexts with high labor force participation and political liberalism, engage more in housework. Married men in more traditional family contexts spend less time in housework. Albanian and Serbian women's female labor force participation rate is not very different from each other, Albanian women have slightly a higher female labor force participation rate. When compared to other European countries, Albanian and Serbian women's female labor force participation rates are lower. However, while greater female labor force participation reduces women's time availability for housework, it does not necessarily encourage men to do more and thus it does not necessarily redistribute domestic and care work within couples (Ruppaner and Maume, 2016). This depends on prevalent gender cultural models, and on policies breaking them, such as discourse and policies encouraging fathers' involvement in

childcare. (Ruppaner and Maume, 2016). In this regard, female labor force rates of Albania and Serbia are not indicative of which country would have higher gender discrepancies in the domestic labor

The greatest difference between Albania and Serbia is the overall gender ideology in both countries. Comparative analysis from Chapter 3 demonstrated that Serbian men and women display more favor for a modern gender ideology, compared to Albanian men and women. The general population in Serbia is more in favor of modern gender roles and gender equality, compared to Albania. As Aasve et al. (2014) have shown, stronger attitudes toward gender equality are associated with stronger gender equality in the division of domestic and childcare work. Moreover, gender indicators in Table 1, chapter 3 show that Serbian women have better position in their society, compared to Albanian women. Serbian women, around the period of 2010-2014 had higher political representation, higher political empowerment, and lower gender pay gap of health and survival, compared to Albanian women. Gender empowerment and progressive politics allow men to participate more in domestic work (Ruppaner and Maume, 2016).

Given these differences between the position of women in Albania and in Serbia, I expect the gendered division of domestic and childcare work to be stronger in Albania than in Serbia. Put in another way, I expect Albanian women, in all life stages, to perform more unpaid work (in absolute minutes), compared to Serbian women in all life stages (CLH 1a). Similarly, I expect men in Serbia in all life stages to perform more unpaid work (in absolute minutes) when compared to Albanian men in all life stages (CLH 1b). Married men in Serbia perform more unpaid work and routine work than married men in Albania (wife's share of unpaid work and routine work is lower in Serbia than in Albania (CLH2).

Given that , as it is typical in more traditional countries where just selective groups are "innovative", education differentiates much more attitudes in Albania than in Serbia (see table 2 above), I would expect the difference in time use between highly and poorly educated men and women to be stronger in Albania than in Serbia, (CLH3).

Similarly, in demographic terms, Albania is the most traditional among the countries listed in Table 1, chapter 3, with higher fertility rates, and a younger age for women at marriage. Serbian fertility rates are comparable to other advanced European countries and reflect the aging population of the country. Similarly, while Albania has the lowest age of women at first child and marriage, Serbian women's age at first child and first marriage are higher than that of Albania, Bulgaria, and Romania, but lower than other countries (Germany, France, Italy, and Sweden). Coupled with gender indicators mentioned earlier (table 1), which signal that Albania is more patriarchal than Serbia, I expect the effect of marriage and children for women to be stronger in Albania than in Serbia. Hence married women in Albania will do much more unpaid work then single and childless women in Albania, compared to women in Serbia in the same life-courses (CLH4).

4.4.2. Individual Level Hypothesis

As mentioned in the theoretical chapter, research has shown that people do not spend the same amount of housework throughout their whole lives. Different life course transitions lead to a different amount of time spent in housework. And these differences are highly gendered. Married women do two times more housework than married man (Berk, 1985; Coltrane, 1989). Even though for the industrialized countries this may not be true any longer. As Bianchi et al. (2012) suggest, for western countries, this trend was true for the 1950s ideology of "good wives" which were concerned with providing their husbands a welcoming environment. In most industrialized countries, studies suggest that women and men look for equal partners in education, career, and interests (Gerson 2010; Sweeney 2002 in Bianchi et al., 2012). Thus, newly married couples (in first marriages) share employment and housework relatively equally (Bianchi et al., 2012). However, I would hypothesize that in the countries under investigation, given the whole re-traditionalization and re-patriarchalization processes taking place, there is an effect of marriage going on in the domestic division of labor. I hypothesize that being in a couple increases the unpaid work and routine housework time for women (ILH1).

Women do more overall unpaid work when they become parents (Kluwer, Heesink, and van de Vliert, 2002; Baxter, Hewitt and Hayness, 2008). While men do not change their housework time

when they become fathers (Gjerdingen and Center, 2004; Sanchez and Thomson, 1997; Baxter, Hewitt and Hayness, 2008). Some studies have even demonstrated that men reduce their time on unpaid work when children are born (Kluwer et al., 2002). Parenthood is an event, which is associated with higher gender display because the social norms tell that doing housework and childcare is essential for being a good mother but also because when children are born there is more amount of housework to be done. Men, on the other hand, show gender display by being involved more on paid work after becoming parents to be strong income providers (Baxter, Hewitt and Hayness, 2008). It is particularly the presence of small children in the household that leads to having about ten more hours of housework per week for the family (Kunzler et al. 2001) (in Germany). Thus, it is argued that couples renegotiate housework when children are born (Grunow, Schulz and Blossfeld, 2012; Yavorsky, Kamp Dush and Schoppe-Sullivan, 2015). Therefore, another hypothesis would be that married women with children spend more time in unpaid work and routine housework, compared to women without children (ILH2a) and married men's time on unpaid work or routine housework is unchanged when they have children (ILH2b).

Research also showed that people who are highly educated have more modern gender ideologies and tend to live in dual-earner households and also have a relatively equal l division of unpaid work compared to less educated people (Craig and Mullan, 2011). Hence it would be expected that the higher the education level of an individual, the more egalitarian gender attitudes they have a more equal division of domestic labor they would display. Women with higher education levels, do less housework (Goñi-Legaz, Ollo-López, and Bayo-Moriones, 2010). In this regard, another hypothesis would be that for women, having higher education levels, is associated with them doing less unpaid work and routine housework (ILH3a) and for men having a higher education level is associated with them doing more unpaid work and routine housework (ILH3b).

In line with previous literature findings on time constraints (Artis and Pavalko, 2003; Aassve, Fuochi and Mencarini, 2014; Cunningham, 2007; Hook 2006; Lyonette and Crompton, 2014; Norman, Elliot and Fagan 2013), I hypothesize that employed women spend less time in unpaid work and routine work than unemployed or inactive women (ILH4a) and unemployed men and inactive men engage more in unpaid work than employed men (ILH4b).

Hypotheses at the couple level are also similar to those at the individual level. For Sample 2, couple data (with or without children), I put forward three hypotheses, on the effect of employment, education and children respectively. Wife's share of unpaid work and routine work decreases when she is employed (ILH5). Research has shown that while men's housework hours are affected by their partner's work hours, women's housework hours are affected only by their work hours, not their partner's (Chesters, 2011). Hence, we would expect that men in male breadwinner families do less housework than men in dual-earner family types. Women who enter the labor market are expected to have more egalitarian gender attitudes or, if they enter out of necessity, to develop a labor market attachment and ask for a more egalitarian division of household labor. Also, women who are in paid employment are more in favor of an equal division of housework between man and women (Coverdill, Kraft, and Manley,1996; Fan and Marini 2000). Numerous studies have also found that the number of hours women are employed is associated negatively with the number of minutes they spend in housework (Coltrane and Ishii-Kuntz, 1992; Robinson and Godbey, 1997).

It is also argued that man's share of unpaid work is greater in households where women and men have high educational levels (Cunnigham 2007). So, another hypothesis we put forward is that a higher educational level of couple predicts a lower share of wife's unpaid work and routine work (ILH6).

As far as the effect of children is concerned, we expect that having children of a young age (0-7) increases wife's share of total unpaid work and routine housework (ILH7). As Nitsche and Grunow (2016) show in their study, while there are no systematic developments toward an egalitarian or a traditional division of labor among couples who have children, the birth of the first child leads to a shift towards a gender-traditional division of labor. In the same line, Perales, Baxter, and Tai, (2015) found that in Australia, the birth of a child (especially the first one), leads to more traditional attitudes towards the role of mothering and the division of housework.

What about the division of childcare and not of routine housework? Even though scholars have divided childcare into emotional and physical childcare, in my work, I am using childcare as a unique variable including both physical and emotional childcare (See Appendix 1 for the

composition of the childcare variable). Mothers do more total childcare compared to fathers, according to studies. The bargaining theory is believed to be not very useful in explaining the division of childcare among couples because it is argued, mothers especially, might opt out from bargaining on child care because they see it as a pleasant activity, or because they might see it as a moral obligation, depending on culture (Yavorsky, Kamp Dush, and Schoppe-Sullivan, 2015). . Yet, men are more often "involved fathers" rather than "egalitarian husbands" (Fuochi, Mencarini and Solera, 2014). that is, they tend to share much more childcare than domestic work. This has to do with changes in fatherhood ideals and practices,

shifting from the traditional view that fathers are nurturers and that parenting is not equal with mothering (Coltrane and Arendell, 1996; Marsiglio et al., 2000; Yavorsky et al. 2015). Childcare time performed by fathers recently increased in industrialized countries (Gauthier, Smeeding, and Furstenberg, 2004; Gershuny, 2003; Sayer, Bianchi, and Robinson, 2004), especially for fathers with higher education levels, who in industrialized countries perform more childcare than fathers with lower education levels (Sullivan, Billari and Altintas, 2014). In their study, Sullivan, Billari and Altintas (2014) found that younger and more educated fathers increase their time in childcare more than lower educated and older fathers. To test if this holds true for countries like Albania and Serbia, I hypothesize that: mother's share of childcare decreases when fathers have a higher level of education (ILH8).

This chapter laid out the methodological considerations and the data used for this study. It also presented the samples, variables and analytical strategy employed to answer the research questions. By bringing to attention some literature from chapter two, it also laid out the hypothesis at the individual level and the micro level for this thesis. The next chapter is the first empirical chapter which will introduce the descriptive results on women's and men's time on overall unpaid work and routine housework as well as the regression results for the Albanian and Serbian Data.

Hypothesis summarized

Country Level	Married men's time on unpaid work or routine housework is unchanged when they have children (ILH2b)
Albanian women, in all life stages, perform more unpaid work (in absolute minutes), compared to Serbian women in all life stages (CLH 1a)	Higher education level is associated with less minutes spent on unpaid work and routine housework for women (ILH3a)
Men in Serbia in all life stages perform more unpaid work (in absolute minutes) when compared to Albanian men in all life stages (CLH 1b).	Higher education level is associated with more minutes spent on unpaid work and routine housework for men (ILH3b)
Married men in Serbia perform more unpaid work and routine work than married men in Albania (wife's share of unpaid work and routine work is lower in Serbia than in Albania (CLH2)	Employed women spend less time in unpaid work and routine work than unemployed or inactive women (ILH4a)
The difference in time use between highly and poorly educated men and women is stronger in Albania than in Serbia (CLH3)	Unemployed men and inactive men engage more in unpaid work than employed men (ILH4b)
Married women in Albania do more unpaid work then single and childless women in Albania, compared to women in Serbia in the same life-courses (CLH4)	Wife's share of unpaid work and routine work decreases when she is employed (ILH5)
Individual level	A higher educational level of couple predicts a lower share of wife's unpaid work and routine work (ILH6)
Being in couple increases the unpaid work and routine housework time for women (ILH1)	Having children of a young age (0-7) increases wife's share of total unpaid work and routine housework (ILH7)
Married women with children spend more time in unpaid work and routine housework, compared to women without children (ILH2a)	Mother's share of childcare decreases when fathers have a higher level of education (ILH8)

5. Women's and Men's Domestic Work in Albania and Serbia: The impact of individual-level factors and cross-country comparisons

5.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the descriptive results and regression results of the sample one-individuals aged 18 to 64 for both country datasets. Through a thorough analysis of the regression results, this chapter aims to answer two of the research questions of the thesis. The first question it answers is: "How do individual men and women spend time differently on unpaid work and routine work across educational lines, employment status, marital status and parental status in Albania and Serbia?". And the second question it answers is: "What contextual factors are more important in explaining time use among men and women and couples in Albania and Serbia?". While the first question focuses on individual level explanations, the second question focuses more on country level explanations.

To answer the first research questions, guided by the theoretical debates and literature, I applied three models on each dataset. The dependent variables used are total unpaid work and routine housework. The independent variables used are couple status, parental status, education status, and employment status. I control for age, household size, and region. Also, to investigate whether couple status affects unpaid work and routine work that changes according to education, I added an interaction term between education and couple status (Model 2). To see the effect of having a child on total unpaid work and routine housework, and how this effect changes according to the level of education, I also applied an interaction effect of education and parental status variable (Model 3). To answer the second research question, I perform a country comparison guided by literature and country contextual analysis provided in Chapter 3.

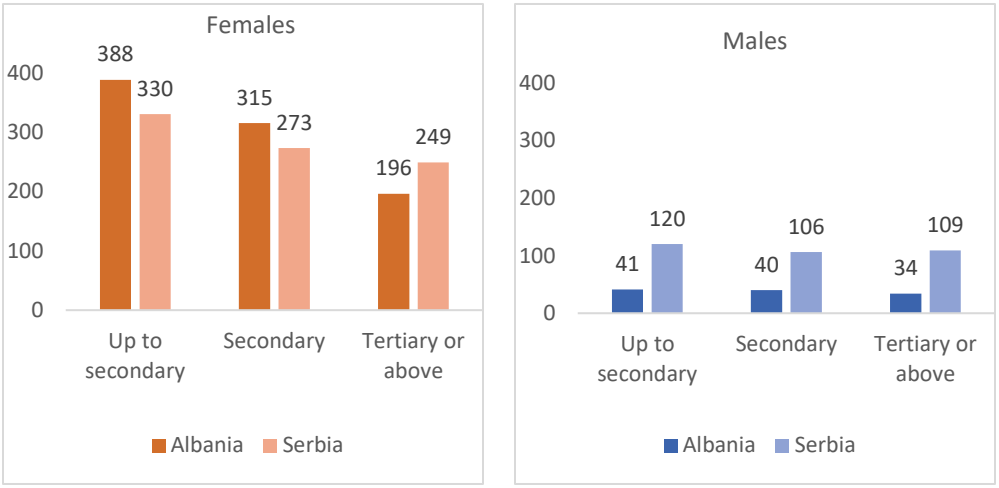
First, I present the descriptive results for the total unpaid work and routine work comparing Albanian and Serbian women and men. Then, I interpret regression results for women and men's total unpaid work and routine work accordingly and analyze the effect of education, employment, marital status and parental status by country (Albania and Serbia). Then, I perform the country comparisons from macro and micro level perspectives, also providing the answer to the research

questions. Lastly, I reflect on the hypothesis outlined in the methodological chapter and interpret the results comparing them with previous literature.

5.2. Descriptive Results

This section aims to present the descriptive results for the two countries for sample one. I visually present the mean daily minutes of the key dependent variables by education, work status, couple status, and parental status. As this work aims to compare the two countries, each figure includes daily minutes of women (Albania and Serbia) and daily minutes of Men (Albania and Serbia) separately. Descriptive results are calculated by using country weights, which I am also using for the regression analysis.

Figure 1: Unpaid work by education level



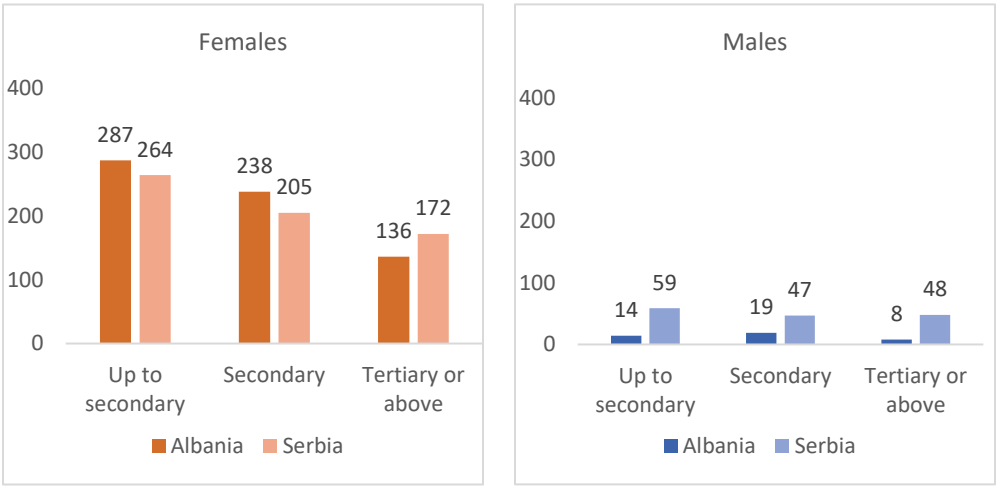
If we have a look at the charts above (Figure 1), we see country differences in the mean minutes spent by women and men in total unpaid work and routine work. Albanian women with lower education do more total unpaid housework compared to Serbian women with lower education (almost 1 hour more per day for women with up to secondary education and 40 minutes more per day for women with secondary education). However, Albanian women with tertiary education do less total unpaid work than Serbian women with tertiary education (53 minutes less). Albanian men in all education categories do less total unpaid work than Serbian men in all education

categories. Serbian men in all education categories do approximately 1.5 hours more total unpaid work than Albanian men.

Routine work for females and males shows similar patterns . Albanian women in lower education categories (the ones with up to secondary education and secondary education) do more routine work than Serbian women (approximately half an hour more). However, Albanian women with tertiary education do less routine work than Serbian women with tertiary education (40 minutes less). Albanian males, on the other hand, do only a few minutes of daily routine work and less than Serbian men.

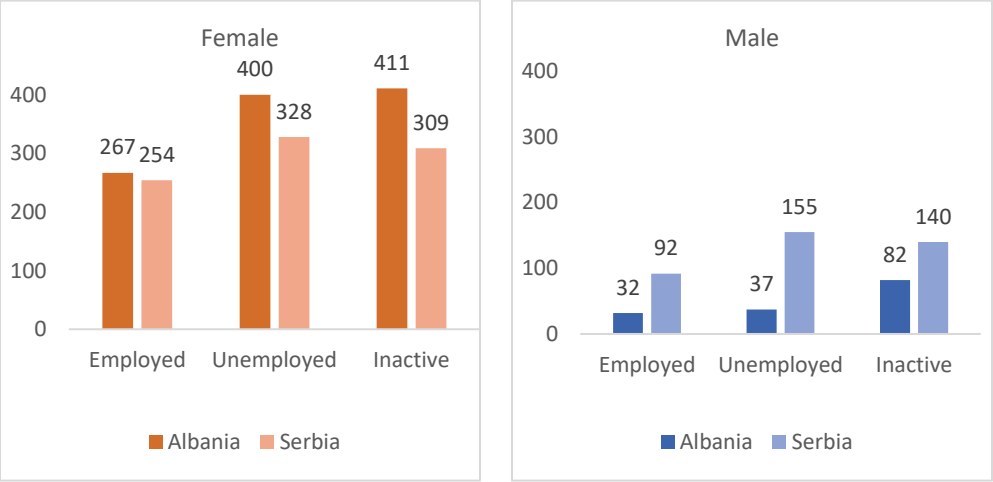
An increase in education for women (Figure 2) seems to be correlated with less total unpaid work and routine work for women but not for men. However, the next chapter will reveal more precise results on the effects of education on unpaid work and routine work for both men and women in the two countries.

Figure 2: Routine work by education level



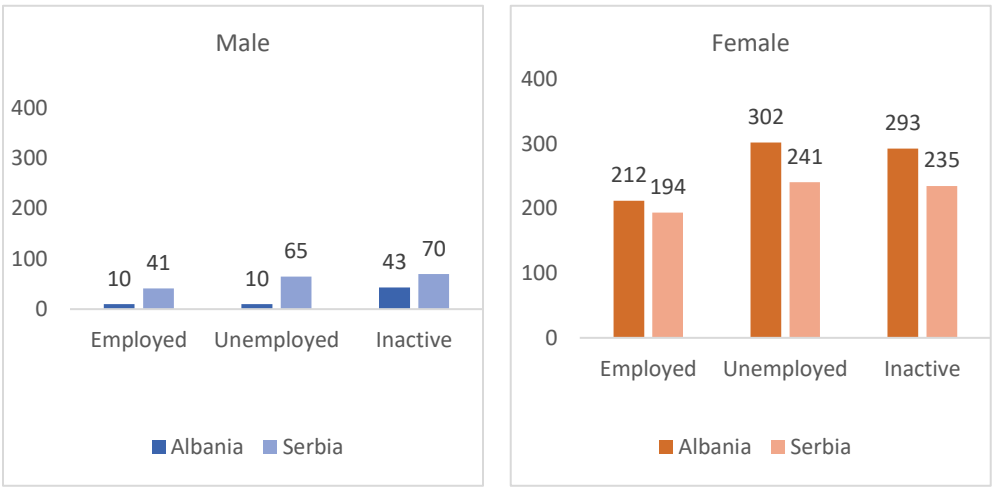
When we look at unpaid work according to employment status of the individuals (Figure 3), we see that for females, again, Albanian women do more unpaid work than Serbian women in all categories: employed, unemployed and inactive. The smallest difference is in the employed category and the most significant difference in the inactive category. When it comes to males, again, Serbian men do more unpaid work than Albanian men. Employed and inactive Serbian men do 1 hour more unpaid work compared to employed and inactive Albanian men, and unemployed Serbian men do two hours more unpaid work compared to unemployed Albanian men.

Figure 3: Unpaid work by employment



Similarly, (Figure 4) shows that Albanian women in all employment statuses do more routine work than Serbian women, and Albanian men in all employment statuses do less routine work than Serbian men. Employed and unemployed Albanian men do only 10 minutes of routine work. Serbian men, on the other hand, do 40 minutes of routine work when employed, and as much as 75 minutes when inactive.

Figure 4: Routine work by employment



Single women both in Albania and Serbia (Figure 5 and Figure 6) do less unpaid work and less routine work than women in partnerships. Yet, both single and coupled Albanian women do more unpaid and routine work than single and coupled Serbian women. Serbian men do more unpaid work, and routine work compared to Albanian men, be them single or in partnerships. Coupled Albanian men do a bit more total unpaid work and less routine work than single Albanian men. The increase and decrease are minimal, but their minutes spent on unpaid work and routine work are also very low.

Figure 5: Unpaid work by marital status

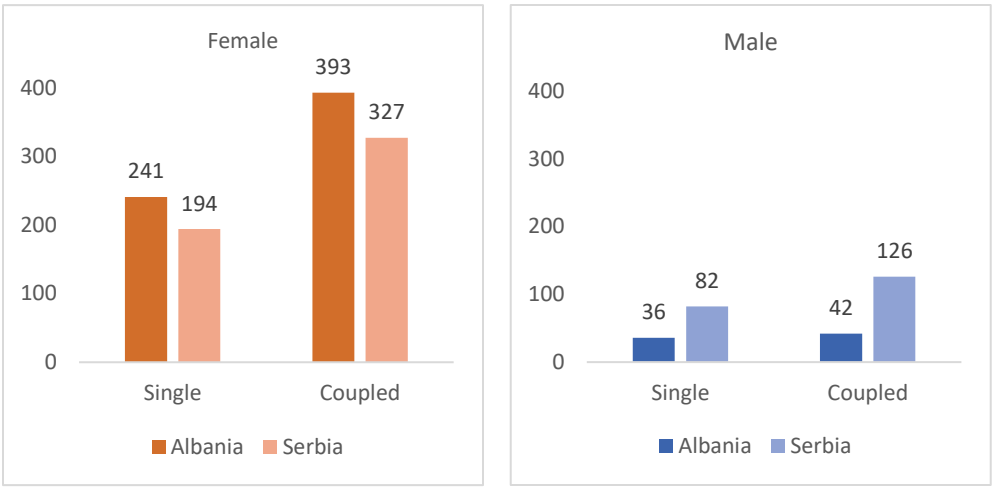
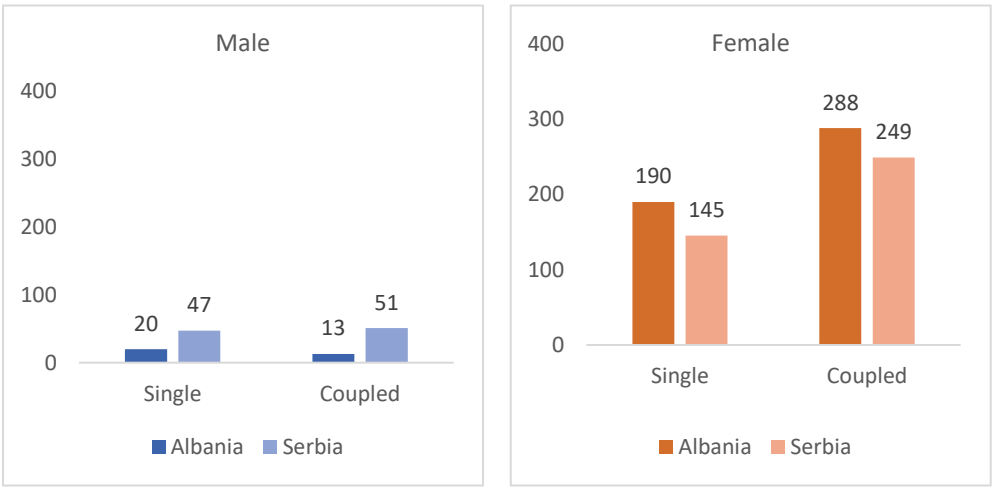


Figure 6: Routine work by marital status



When it comes to parental status, (Figure 7) women spend the most time in total unpaid work when they have a child 0-3 years old. This is true for both Albanian and Serbian women; yet, Albanian women spend more time in total unpaid work in all parental stages. Serbian males also spend more time on unpaid work when they have a child 0-3 years old. For Albanian men, however, the total unpaid work across all parental stages is less than 45 minutes. Serbian men spend more time on total unpaid work in all parental stages compared to Albanian men.

Figure 7: Unpaid work by parental status

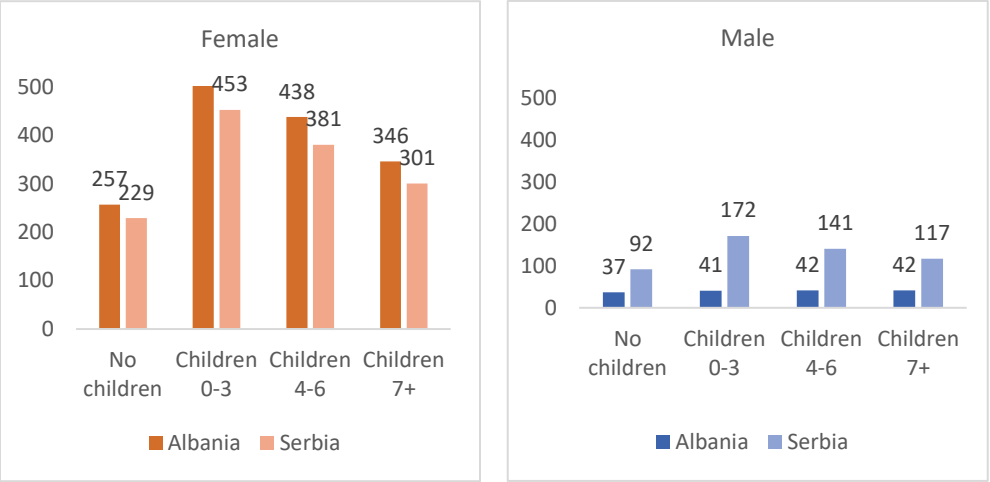
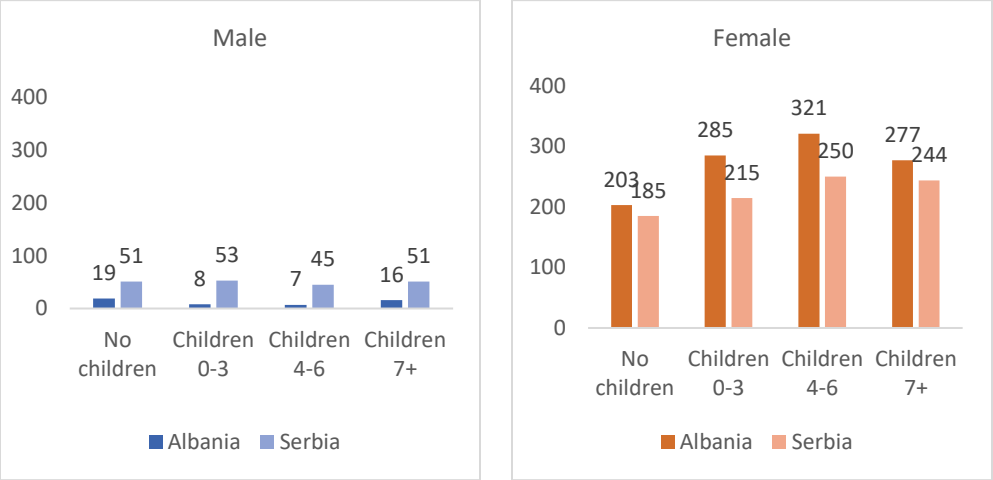


Figure 8: Routine work by parental status



Serbian men spend more time on routine work in all parental stages, compared to Albanian men. Again , Albanian women, spend more time on routine work compared to Serbian women in all parental stages (Figure 8). While Albanian women spend on average more minutes on routine work when they have at least a child 4-6 (321 minutes), Serbian women spend more time on routine work when they have at least a child seven plus years old (277 minutes).

5.3. Women's and Men's unpaid work and routine work in Albania: Regression Results

This section presents regression results for unpaid work and routine work for Albania, for men and women separately. Table 11 and Table 12 present predictors for total unpaid work for Albanian women and Albanian men respectively. As it was shown in the descriptive results above, Albanian women perform much more unpaid work than Albanian men. While Albanian women's amount of unpaid work is affected by their levels of education, life course events and employment status, Albanian men's time spent on unpaid work do not change according to their level of education or life course events. Only unemployment/inactivity is associated with a positive increase in men's time spent in unpaid work.

More specifically, the higher a woman's education, the lower the amount of time she spends on total unpaid work in Albania. Women with secondary education are predicted to spend less time on unpaid work compared to women with elementary education-almost 39 minutes less ($p \leq 0.001$), and women with tertiary education are predicted to spend 79 minutes less in unpaid work, compared to the reference category (women with elementary education). The effect of education is not present in the time Albanian men spend on unpaid work. Men with secondary or tertiary education do not demonstrate different behavior, from men with elementary education, when it comes to the amount of time they spent in daily unpaid work.

Employment activity has a significant impact on the amount of time both women and men spend on unpaid work in Albania. Unemployed women and inactive women are predicted to perform almost 3 hours and 2.5 hours more unpaid work per day respectively, compared to employed women in Albania ($p \leq 0.001$). Similarly, for Albanian men, being unemployed means doing 20 more minutes ($p \leq 0.001$) a day of unpaid work, compared to employed men. Inactive men are predicted to perform as much as 1 hour more unpaid work ($p \leq 0.001$) compared to employed men. In the wake of doing nothing, one more hour of unpaid work means a lot for Albanian men.

Table 11: Sample 1 OLS regression results of daily unpaid work (Albanian women)

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Total unpaid work	C	SE	C	SE	C	SE
Age categories						
25-34	66.8***	11.7	62.6***	11.7	59.9***	11.7
35-44	90.3***	14.1	87.0***	14.0	79.0***	14.1
45-54	53.4***	14.5	48.7***	14.4	41.5**	14.5
55-64	52.5***	14.7	48.8***	14.6	40.1**	14.7
O.C 18-24						
Region						
Rural	77.4***	7.5	75.4***	7.4	73.5***	7.5
O.C Urban						
Household size	-11.4***	2.3	-11.8***	2.3	-12.4***	2.3
Education						
Secondary	-38.8***	8.0	-110.5***	14.3	-103.3***	14.1
Tertiary or above	-79.2***	13.5	-104.1***	18.3	-90.1***	18.3
O.C Elementary+						
Employment status						
Unemployed	189.1***	12.6	190.2***	14.3	189.3***	12.4
Inactive	157.8***	7.7	160.1***	7.7	158.9***	20.8
O.C Employed						
Couple status						
In couple	58.6***	10.0	26.3*	11.5	60.2***	9.8
O.C Single						
Parental status						
At least one child 0-3	201.8***	13.6	199.6***	13.6	188.7***	16.2
At least one child 4-6	126.7***	14.7	126.6***	14.6	98.5***	17.0
At least one child 7+	41.3***	11.1	39.3***	11.0	13.3	12.4
O.C No child						
Education*Couple						
Secondary*in couple			98.5***	16.4		
Tertiary *in couple			31.9	24.8		
Education*Parent						
Secondary*Child 0-3					55.7*	25.3
Secondary*Child 4-6					126.9***	28.3
Secondary*Child 7+					93.0***	17.2
Tertiary*Child 0-3					-51.4	34.8
Tertiary*Child 4-6					-82.6	46.1
Tertiary*Child 7+					65*	30.1
Constant	134.3***	15.9	165.0***	16.6	166.6***	16.9
N. Observation	1940		1940		1940	
Root-Squared	0.44		0.45		0.44	
Root MSE	146.9		145.6		145.2	

O.C-Omitted Category; C-Coefficient; SE-Standard error; *P≤ 0.05 ** P ≤0.01. *** P ≤ 0.001

Table 12: OLS regression results of daily minutes spent on total unpaid work (Albanian men)

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Total unpaid work	C	SE	C	SE	C	SE
Age categories						
25-34	22.9***	6.3	24.2***	6.5	24.8***	6.4
35-44	17.4*	7.9	8.7*	8.1	19.2*	8.1
45-54	30.6***	8.5	31.7***	8.6	31.0***	8.6
55-64	39.4***	8.5	40.3***	8.6	40.5***	8.6
O.C 18-24						
Region						
Rural	13.6***	3.8	13.7***	3.8	13.8***	3.8
O.C Urban						
Household size	-.7	6.6	-.6	1.2	-1.0	1.2
Education						
Secondary	.4	3.9	-1.1	6.5	4.6	6.1
Tertiary or above	.3	7.1	-11.9	13.0	-8.6	11.7
O.C Elementary+						
Employment status						
Unemployed	19.9***	6.1	20.4***	6.1	20.3***	6.1
Inactive	60.8***	5.6	60.7***	5.6	60.0***	5.6
O.C Employed						
Couple status						
In couple	-.5	6.6	-3.0	7.33	-.9	6.6
O.C Single						
Parental status						
At least one child 0-3	17.5*	7.8	16.9*	7.8	26.0**	9.2
At least one child 4-6	15.5	8.5	15.2	8.5	21.4*	10.4
At least one child 7+	3.4	6.9	3.1	6.9	1.7	7.6
O.C No child						
Education*Couple						
Secondary*in couple			2.3	7.9		
Tertiary *in couple			17.1	15.2		
Education*Parent						
Secondary*Child 0-3					-17.5	12.3
Secondary*Child 4-6					-16.7	14.1
Secondary*Child 7+					-1.1	8.5
Tertiary*Child 0-3					-23.0	19.8
Tertiary*Child 4-6					2.7	27.1
Tertiary*Child 7+					31.1*	15.8
Constant	-1.3	7.7	-.8	8.1	-2.1	8.1
N. Observation	1610		1610		1610	
Root-Squared	0.09		0.10		0.10	
Root MSE	70.9		71.0		70.8	

O.C-Omitted Category; C-Coefficient; SE-Standard Error; *P≤ 0.05 ** P ≤0.01. *** P ≤ 0.001

While the effect of marriage is present in Albanian women's regressions, for Albanian men, being in couple does not have a significant impact on the amount of time they spend on unpaid work. Married women in Albania are predicted to do one more hour of unpaid work per day compared to single women ($p \leq 0.001$). Furthermore, the presence of children in the family, especially younger ones, is associated with an increase in the amount of time women spend on unpaid work. Albanian women who have at least one child 0-3 years old are predicted to spend as much as 3.5 hours more time in unpaid work compared to women with no children ($p \leq 0.001$). For women with at least one child 7+ years old, the increase in total unpaid work is around 40 minutes a day. For men, on the other hand, having a child 0-3 years old is associated with only 18 minutes more time spent on unpaid work ($p \leq 0.05$) compared to men who have no children. Having children of older ages does not have an impact on the amount of unpaid work Albanian men perform.

In model 2, I have included an interaction effect of couple status with education, to test if the effect of being married or not on unpaid work, changes according to the level of education of the individual. Regression results for Albanian women demonstrate that the effect of marriage on the amount of total unpaid work varies according to the level of education, specifically for women with secondary education. That is to say, for Albanian women we see that the effect of being in couple on total unpaid work for women with elementary education is 26 minutes more on unpaid work performed ($p \leq 0.001$). For women with secondary education being in couple is statistically different from single women with the same level of education and it amounts to 124 minutes more spent on unpaid work. For women who have completed tertiary education the effect of being in couple amounts to 58 minutes more unpaid work (compared to single women with tertiary education), but this effect is not statistically different from the effect of being in couple among women with elementary education. It can thus be concluded that, from the regression models and the margins graph, the effect of marriage among women with secondary education in Albania, is different from the effect of marriage among women with elementary education and tertiary education. The figure below shows the predictive margins for Albanian women for model 2. The effect of marriage according to the level of education.

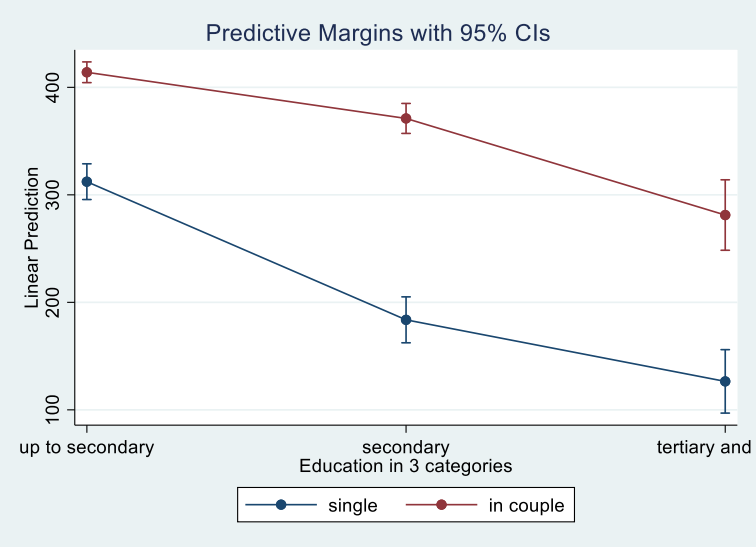


Figure 9: Albanian women predictive margins (model 2, unpaid work)

From this graph (Figure 9), it is also evident that single Albanian women with secondary education behave in similar ways to single Albanian women with tertiary education. When in couple, however, they are predicted to demonstrate similar behavior to women with elementary education, when it comes to the amount of time they spend in unpaid work.

For men, on the other hand, the results indicate that there is no significant effect of marital status on the amount of time they spend on unpaid work across different educational levels. That is to say, the effect of being married on unpaid work on men with secondary or tertiary educational levels is not different from the effect of being married among men with elementary education.

The interaction effect of education with parental status, Model 3, reveals that for Albanian women, the effect of having children on total unpaid work, changes according to the level of education, as well. Among women who have a child 0-3 years old, women with tertiary educational levels are predicted to spend 1 hour less time in unpaid work in Albania, compared to women with elementary educational level. However, this result does not appear significant. Women with secondary level of education, on the other hand, are predicted to spend one more hour on unpaid work compared to women with elementary education ($P \leq 0.001$). Similar, for Albanian women, the effect of having a child 4-6 years old, changes according to the level of education. For women with secondary education, the effect is 127 minutes more than for women with elementary

education (P≤0.001). While for women with tertiary education, the effect of a child 4-6 years old on unpaid work is 83 minutes less, compared to women with elementary education, but not in a statistically significant way. Having a child seven years or older does not have a statistical effect on the time spent on unpaid work for women with elementary education. However, having a child seven years older is linked to 106 more minutes spent on unpaid work for women with secondary education (p≤0.001) and 78 minutes more for women with tertiary education (p≤0.05) compared to women without children.

The figure below (Figure 10) presents visually the predictive margins of unpaid work for women with children and how it changes according to the level of education. As it is seen visually, among childless women, women with elementary education are predicted to do significantly more unpaid work compared to women with secondary and tertiary education. Women with tertiary education diverge significantly from women with elementary and secondary levels of education when the child is 4-6 years old.

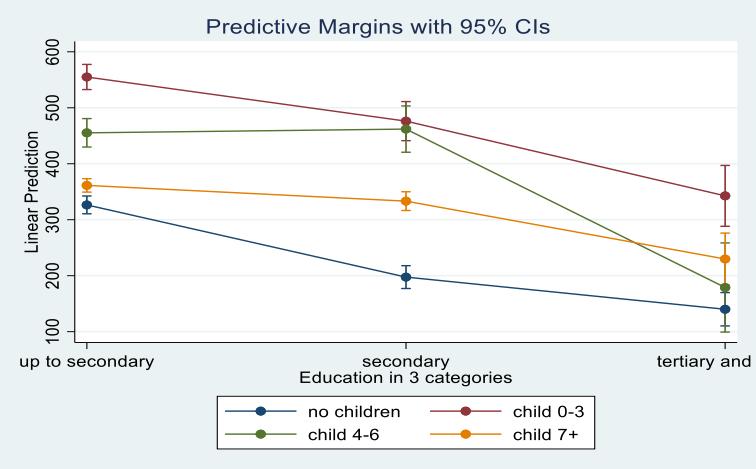


Figure 10: Albanian women predictive margins (model 3, unpaid work)

For men, the results indicate that in Albania, the effect of having a child 0-3 years old or a child 4-6 years old among men with secondary or tertiary education, is not different from the effect of having a child 0-3 years old or a child 4-6 years old among men with elementary education in a statistically significant way. Thus, the effect of having small children for Albanian men across all levels of education is linked to them doing only 26 minutes more unpaid work on average. The effect of having child 0-3 years old and 4-6 years old seem to be lower among men with secondary

and tertiary educational levels, compared to that among men with elementary levels, however, not in a statistically significant way (Figure 11).

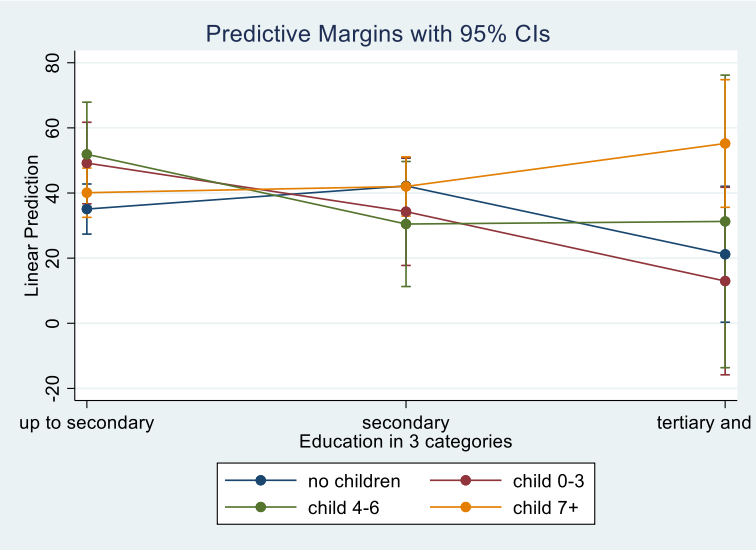


Figure 11: Albanian men predictive margins (model 3, unpaid work)

Table 13 and Table 14 present regression results for routine domestic work for Albanian women and men respectively. The routine work variable is contained within the total unpaid work variable. Consequently, the trends for routine work are similar to the patterns for unpaid work.

Higher education achievement is also linked to less time spent on routine housework, similarly to total unpaid work. A woman who has completed secondary education in Albania is predicted to spend 28 minutes less on routine work per day ($p \leq 0.001$) compared to a woman who has attained only up to secondary education and 70 minutes less when she has completed tertiary education or above ($p \leq 0.001$). For men, as in the case of total unpaid work, higher education achievement does not have any impact on the time they spend on routine work.

Unemployment or market labor inactivity is also linked to Albanian doing more routine work. Unemployed women in Albania perform around 2 hours more routine work, compared to employed women ($p \leq 0.001$) and inactive women do as much as 99 more minutes of routine work

compared to employed women ($p \leq 0.001$). Unemployed Albanian men, on the other hand, do not differ significantly from the employed men, regarding the amount of time they spend on routine work. Their indulgence in routine work is practically non-existent, a mere 10 minutes (not significant). Inactive men, however, perform half an hour more routine work, compared to employed men.

The effect of marriage on routine work is present both for men and women in Albania, however in opposite directions. Being married or in a relationship is linked to Albanian women doing 46 more minutes of routine work per day, compared to single women ($p \leq 0.001$). While Albanian men who are married or in a relationship are predicted to reduce their time in routine work by 11 minutes.

Table 13: Sample 1 OLS regression results of daily minutes spent on routine housework (Albanian women)

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Routine Work	C	SE	C	SE	C	SE
Age categories						
25-34	23.6*	9.4	20.9*	9.4	19.2*	9.5
35-44	54.8***	11.4	52.6***	11.3	48.2***	11.4
45-54	32.9**	11.7	29.7*	11.6	26.3*	11.8
55-64	33.4**	11.8	30.8*	11.8	27.1*	11.9
O.C 18-24						
Region						
Rural	56.5***	6.0	55.1***	11.0	54.7***	9.5
O.C Urban						
Household size	-15.3***	1.9	-15.6***	1.8	-15.7***	1.9
Education						
Secondary	-27.6***	6.4	-78.1***	11.6	-59.1***	11.4
Tertiary or above	-69.5***	10.9	-88.6***	14.7	-64.6***	14.9
O.C Elementary+						
Employment status						
Unemployed	127.4***	10.1	128.1***	10.1	127.0***	10.1
Inactive	98.7***	6.2	100.3***	6.1	99.2***	6.2
O.C Employed						
Couple status						
In couple	46.1***	8.0	23.1*	9.3	47.4***	8.0
O.C Single						
Parental status						
At least one child 0-3	58.8***	11.0	57.1***	11.0	50.0***	13.1
At least one child 4-6	90.7***	11.8	90.0***	11.8	85.9***	13.8
At least one child 7+	36.2***	8.9	34.8***	8.9	24.4*	10.0
O.C No child						
Education*Couple						
Secondary*in couple			69.3***	13.2		
Tertiary *in couple			25.8	20.0		
Education*Parent						
Secondary*Child 0-3					37.4	20.5
Secondary*Child 4-6					49.2*	23.0
Secondary*Child 7+					45.5***	3.3
Tertiary*Child 0-3					-25.2	28.2
Tertiary*Child 4-6					-108.1**	37.4
Tertiary*Child 7+					14.4	24.4
Constant	160.0***	12.8	181.7***	13.4	174.2***	13.7
N. Observation	1940		1940		1940	
Root-Squared	0.31		0.32		0.33	
Root MSE	118.4		117.6		117.8	

O.C-Omitted Category; C-Coefficient; SE-Standard Error; *P≤ 0.05 ** P ≤0.01. *** P ≤ 0.001

Table 14: OLS regression results of daily minutes spent on routine work (Albanian men)

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Routine Work	C	SE	C	SE	C	SE
Age categories						
25-34	9.8*	4.3	10.0*	4.4	9.9*	4.4
35-44	7.1	5.4	7.1	5.5	7.6	5.6
45-54	24.0***	5.8	23.9***	5.9	24.1***	5.9
55-64	24.9***	5.8	24.7***	5.9	25.4***	5.9
O.C 18-24						
Region						
Rural	9.5***	2.6	9.5***	2.6	9.4***	2.6
O.C Urban						
Household size	-2.1*	.8	-2.1*	.8	-2.1*	.9
Education						
Secondary	5.2*	2.6	2.4	4.5	3.9	4.2
Tertiary or above	-1.6	4.8	-4.5	8.9	-1.8	8.0
O.C Elementary+						
Employment status						
Unemployed	3.2	4.2	3.3	4.2	3.3	4.2
Inactive	31.0***	3.8	31.3***	3.8	31.1***	8.0
O.C Employed						
Couple status						
In couple	-11.4*	4.5	-13.2**	5.0	-11.9**	4.5
O.C Single						
Parental status						
At least one child 0-3	9.4	5.3	9.2	5.3	11.9	6.3
At least one child 4-6	3.2	5.8	3.1	5.8	3.0	7.1
At least one child 7+	.1	4.7	.0	4.7	-1.9	5.2
O.C No child						
Education*Couple						
Secondary*in couple			4.2	5.4		
Tertiary *in couple			4.1	10.4		
Education*Parent						
Secondary*Child 0-3					-6.2	8.4
Secondary*Child 4-6					.4	9.7
Secondary*Child 7+					5.4	5.8
Tertiary*Child 0-3					-3.0	13.6
Tertiary*Child 4-6					3.0	18.6
Tertiary*Child 7+					1.0	10.9
Constant	6.3	5.2	7.5	5.5	6.9	5.6
N. Observation	1610		1610		1610	
Root-Squared	0.09		0.09		0.09	
Root MSE	48.5		48.5		48.6	

O.C-Omitted Category; C-Coefficient; SE-Standard Error; *P≤ 0.05 ** P ≤0.01. *** P ≤ 0.001

As in the unpaid work regressions, having children also is associated with an increase in the amount of time women spend in routine work for Albanian women. In Albania, a woman with at least a child 0-3 years old, is predicted to do 58 more minutes of routine work per day, compared to a woman with no child ($p \leq 0.001$). When a woman has at least a child 4-6 years old, she is predicted to increase her routine work time by 91 minutes in Albania ($p \leq 0.001$) compared to women with no children. A child 7+ years old is associated with a fewer amount of time spent on routine 36 minutes more for Albanian women, compared to women who do not have a child ($p \leq 0.001$). For routine work, the effect of having children of different ages does not differ according to the level of education for Albanian men

Concerning time spent on routine work, model 3 indicates that, while for Albanian women the effect of having children on routine work shows some differences among women with different levels of education. For Albanian women, it is interesting to note that the effect of having at least one child 4-6 years old, is associated with a decrease in their time spent in routine work by 108 minutes among women with tertiary education, compared to women with elementary education. This might be linked to the fact that women with tertiary education return to their employment, thus they reduce their availability around the house and do not do much routine work. The effect of couple status does not differ according to the level of education neither for routine work (Table 13, model 2).

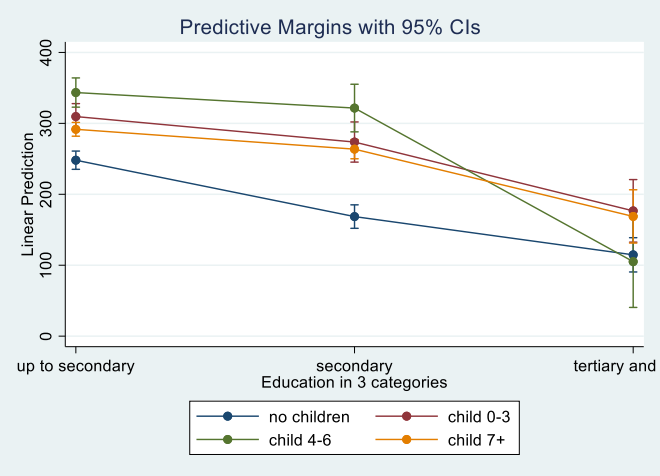


Figure 12: Albanian women predictive margins (model 3, routine work)

For routine work, margin plots of predictive means (Figure 12), show that having a child 0-3 years old is associated with greater time spent in routine work, and having a child 4-6 years old is associated with even more time spent in routine housework for both Albanian (compared to having no children). This is also logical, given that toddlers might need less childcare time but make a messy house and the need for cleaning up is greater these years.

To sum up, the nature of unpaid work and routine work in Albania is very highly gendered, with women spending the most time in these activities, compared to men, regardless of education, life course factors or employment activity. Men have a very marginal involvement in unpaid work, only when they are inactive or unemployed, and even fewer or non-existent involvement in routine work, regardless of educational levels or life course factors. Below I present the results for Serbian women and men.

5.4. Women's and Men's unpaid work and routine work in Serbia: Regression Results

Tables 15 and 16 present the regression results for total unpaid work in Serbia for women and men respectively. For Serbia, the results indicate that women's time in unpaid work varies according to their levels of education, life-course factors, and employment status. Men's time in unpaid work is influenced by their parental status and employment status. Educational levels and marital status do not have a significant impact on the time Serbian men spend on unpaid work.

Hence, a higher educational level for women predicts a lower involvement in unpaid work for Serbian women, but not for Serbian men. Serbian women with secondary educational levels are predicted to spend around 23 minutes less per day in unpaid work ($p \leq 0.001$), and those with tertiary educational levels are predicted to spend around 43 minutes less per day in unpaid work ($p \leq 0.001$) compared to women with elementary levels of education.

Married Serbian women, but not married Serbian men, are also predicted to increase the amount of time they spend in total unpaid work, compared to single women or men. Serbian women are predicted to do around 1 hour more unpaid work daily compared to single Serbian women.

Employment status predicts the time both Serbian women and men spend on unpaid work. Unemployed Serbian women are expected to spend as much as 1 hour and 40 minutes more time in unpaid work ($p \leq 0.001$), compared to employed Serbian women; and unemployed Serbian men are expected to spend as much as 1 hour and 20 minutes more time in unpaid ($p \leq 0.001$) work, compared to employed Serbian men. A similar trend appears for inactive Serbian women and men as well: inactive Serbian women and men are predicted to spend 86 and 67 minutes more time in unpaid work, respectively, compared to their employed counterparts.

Parental status is a determinant factor in the time both Serbian women and men spend on unpaid work. While having at least one child 0-3 years old, means doing 239 minutes more total unpaid work in a day ($p \leq 0.001$) for Serbian women, compared to women without children; for Serbian men, having at least one child 0-3 years old means spending 109 minutes more in unpaid work, compared to men without children ($p \leq 0.001$) in a day. Similarly, for Serbian women, having at least one child at the age category 4-6 years old is linked to them 2.5 hours more unpaid work in a day compared to women with no children (reference category).

Table 15: Sample 1 OLS regression results of daily unpaid work (Serbian women)

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Total unpaid work	C	SE	C	SE	C	SE
Age categories						
25-34	100.1***	14.9	99.4***	15.0	96.9***	15.0
35-44	139.2***	16.0	138.6***	16.1	133.4***	16.1
45-54	173.1***	15.9	172.6***	16.0	168.3***	16.0
55-64	163.8***	15.2	163.3***	15.3	156.8***	15.3
O.C 18-24						
Region						
Rural	32.9***	7.5	32.8***	7.5	31.1***	7.5
O.C Urban						
Household size	-4.3	3.2	-4.3	3.2	-3.8	3.1
Education						
Secondary	-22.9**	8.5	-24.1	15.5	-51.5***	12.2
Tertiary or above	-42.8***	11.6	-39.9	20.6	-63.0***	17.8
O.C Elementary+						
Employment status						
Unemployed	104.9***	11.0	104.8***	11.0	104.7***	11.0
Inactive	85.8***	8.3	85.9***	8.3	87.2***	8.3
O.C Employed						
Couple status						
In couple	60.5***	8.8	60.2***	3.9	58.6***	8.9
O.C Single						
Parental status						
At least one child 0-3	238.7***	15.4	238.7***	15.6	186.5***	32.7
At least one child 4-6	155.9***	17.4	155.9***	17.4	87.8*	37.9
At least one child 7+	40.5***	9.7	40.5***	9.8	11.2	14.7
O.C No child						
Education*Couple						
Secondary*in couple			1.8	17.9		
Tertiary *in couple			-4.2	23.7		
Education*Parent						
Secondary*Child 0-3					59.2	35.7
Secondary*Child 4-6					105.8*	41.5
Secondary*Child 7+					46.7**	16.8
Tertiary*Child 0-3					92.4*	45.1
Tertiary*Child 4-6					31.3	50.0
Tertiary*Child 7+					33.1	23.0
Constant	41.1*	18.9	41.8	21.5	63.4**	20.0
N. Observation	1362		1362		1362	
Root-Squared	0.41		0.41		0.41	
Root MSE	123.9		124.0		123.4	

O.C-Omitted Category; C-Coefficient; SE-Standard error; *P≤ 0.05 ** P ≤0.01. *** P ≤ 0.001

Table 16: OLS Regression Results of daily minutes spent on total unpaid work (Serbian men)

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Total Unpaid work	C	SE	C	SE	C	SE
Age categories						
25-34	34.3**	12.3	34.3**	12.5	35.0***	12.4
35-44	61.4***	13.6	61.5***	13.2	60.0***	13.2
45-54	107.0***	8.0	107.1***	13.6	106.5***	13.5
55-64	95.1***	13.4	95.2***	13.5	95.7***	13.4
O.C 18-24						
Region						
Rural	24.0***	6.4	24.0***	14.1	24.2***	6.4
O.C Urban						
Household size	-6.0*	2.6	-6.0*	2.6	-5.9*	2.6
Education						
Secondary	4.8	7.6	6.5	12.1	-1.3	9.9
Tertiary or above	-.16	10.9	1.1	18.8	-3.3	14.8
O.C Elementary+						
Employment status						
Unemployed	81.3***	9.9	81.4***	9.9	78.1***	10.0
Inactive	67.3***	8.0	67.4***	8.0	66.2***	8.0
O.C Employed						
Couple status						
In couple	4.1	8.9	6.0	14.1	3.8	8.9
O.C Single						
Parental status						
At least one child 0-3	109.1***	14.1	109.3***	14.1	164.9***	29.6
At least one child 4-6	71.6***	15.9	71.8***	16.0	34.1	51.5
At least one child 7+	3.6	9.2	3.7	9.2	-15	14.7
O.C No child						
Education*Couple						
Secondary*in couple			-2.7	14.9		
Tertiary *in couple			2.1	22.3		
Education*Parent						
Secondary*Child 0-3					-64.5*	31.3
Secondary*Child 4-6					35.5	53.3
Secondary*Child 7+					27.0	15.6
Tertiary*Child 0-3					-70.6	45.8
Tertiary*Child 4-6					67.2	59.9
Tertiary*Child 7+					12.5	22.3
Constant	7.2	15.7	5.9	17.3	11.5	16.4
N. Observation	1218		1218		1218	
Root-Squared	0.21		0.21		0.22	
Root MSE	103.1		103.2		102.9	

O.C-Omitted Category; C-Coefficient; SE-Standard Error; *P≤ 0.05 ** P ≤0.01. *** P ≤ 0.001

For women with at least one child 7+ years old, the increase in total unpaid work is around 40 minutes a day, compared to women without children. For Serbian men, having a child 4-6 years old is linked to them doing 1 hour and 12 minutes more minutes unpaid work ($p \leq 0.001$), while having a child 7+ years old, does not have a significant impact on the amount of unpaid work Serbian men perform, compared to men without children.

To see if the effect of marriage changes according to the levels of education for Serbian men and women, I ran Model 2. For Serbian women, regression results of Model 2 show that the effect of being in couple in unpaid work is 60 more minutes per day, among women with elementary education, and this effect does not change significantly according to the level of education of women. To see the results more clearly, I have graphed the predictive means of the interaction effect holding the other variables at their means. If we see the predictive margins for Serbian women, it can be understood that the effect of marital status on unpaid work is not statistically different according to the level of education. That is, being in couple increases the amount of unpaid work similarly for women with elementary, secondary and tertiary levels.

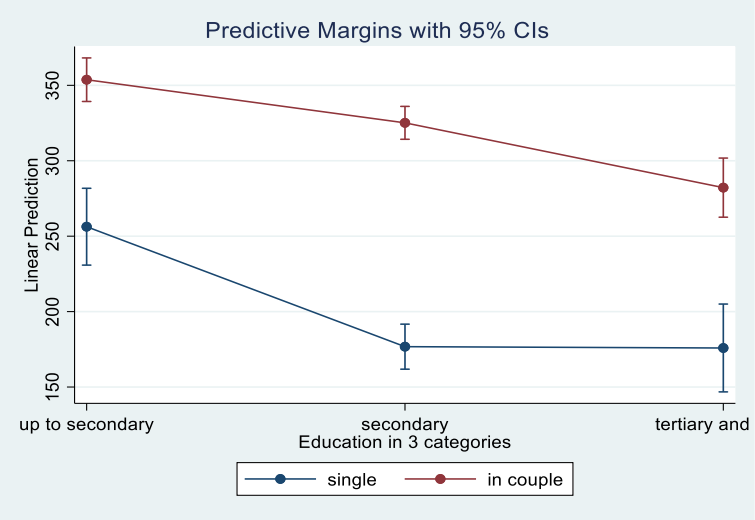


Figure 13: Serbian women predictive margins (model 2, unpaid work)

Similarly, for Serbian men, the effect of being married on unpaid work on Serbian men with secondary or tertiary educational levels is not different from the effect of being married among men with elementary education. This means that being married does not increase or decrease the

amount of time spent in unpaid work for neither Serbian men with higher educational levels, nor Serbian men with lower educational levels.

To see if the effect of having children varies according to the level of education for women and men, I ran model 3. For Serbian women, there are some fluctuations in the effect of having children according to the level of education of women (Model 3). Thus, having a child 0-3 years old is associated with 187 minutes increase in unpaid work time for women with elementary education.

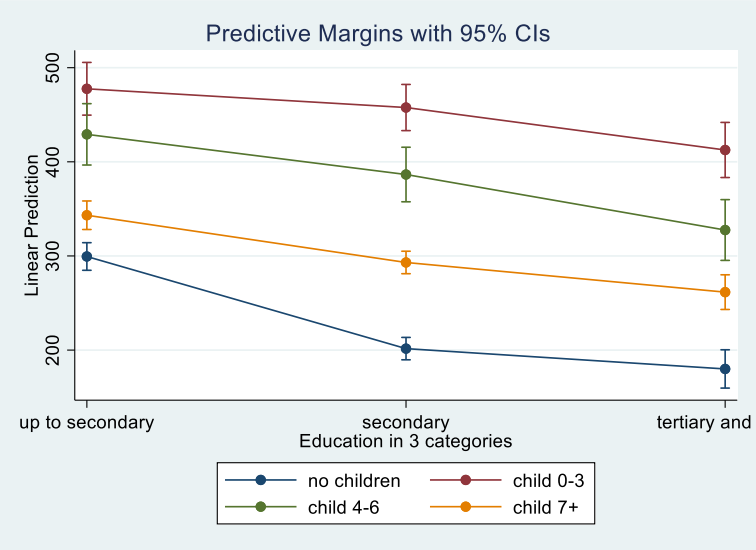


Figure 14: Serbian women predictive margins (model 3, unpaid work)

For women with secondary education, the effect is 59 more minutes, but not in a statistically significant way. Conversely, the effect of having a child 0-3 years old is associated to 92 minutes more increase in total unpaid work ($p \leq 0.001$), in women with tertiary education, compared to women with elementary education (in total 279 minutes more unpaid work per day for women with tertiary education). The effect of having a child 4-6 years old, is associated with an increase in unpaid work time among women with elementary education by 88 minutes ($p \leq 0.05$); while the effect of the child of the same age among women with secondary education is 106 minutes more than the effect that it has among women with elementary education ($p \leq 0.001$). For women with tertiary education, the effect of a child 4-6 years old is 30 minutes more unpaid work, but not in a statistically significant way. Having a child seven years older is not associated with a significant

increase in unpaid work time among women with elementary education; while it is associated with 47 minutes more unpaid work time among women with secondary, relative to women with elementary education. For women with tertiary education, the having at least one child is associated with 30 more minutes spent on unpaid work time, compared to women with elementary education, but not in a statistically significant way. The graph below presents the predictive margins for Model 3 (Figure 14).

The results of Model 3 for total unpaid work for Serbian men indicate that the effect of having a child 0-3 years old among men with elementary education is 165 more minutes spent on unpaid work. The effect of having a child 0-3 years old on unpaid work among men with secondary education is lower than that among men with elementary education, by 1-hour difference and amounts to 100 minutes more unpaid work per day ($p \leq 0.001$). Similarly, the effect of having a child 0-3 years old on unpaid work among men with tertiary education, is lower by 70 minutes than the effect of having a child among men with elementary education, but not in a statistically significant way. The figure below shows the predictive margins of Model 3 for Serbian men (Figure 17).

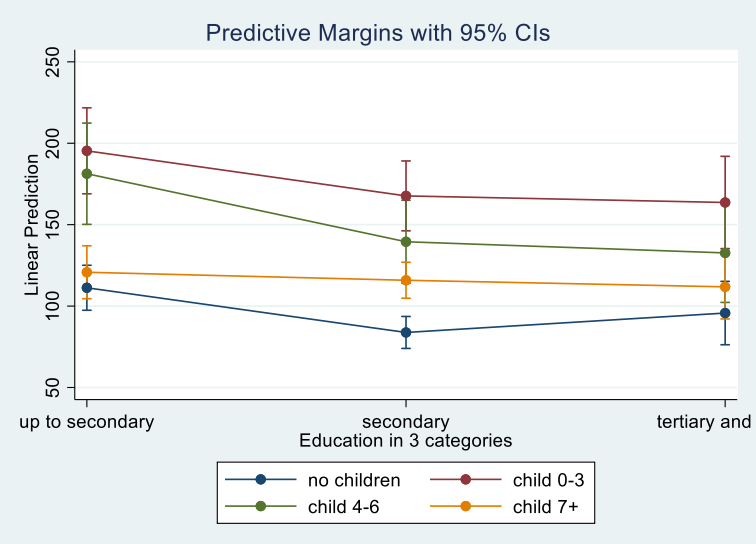


Figure 15: Serbian men predictive margins (model 3, unpaid work)

Tables 17 and 18 present the routine work results for Serbian women and men respectively. Routine work shows similar trends as unpaid work for Serbian women and men. Hence, while education, employment status, and marriage and the number of children factors all have an impact on the amount of time Serbian women spend on routine work; for men, employment status, marital status and having a child of a young age has an impact on the predicted amount of routine work.

A higher educational level predicts lower involvement in routine work for Serbian women but does not have any impact on the amount of routine work Serbian men are predicted to perform. Women with tertiary education are predicted to do almost one hour less routine work, and women with secondary levels of education around 22 minutes less routine work, compared to women with elementary levels of education.

Both unemployed and inactive women and men are predicted to perform more routine work, compared to employed women and men in Serbia. Serbian women when are unemployed are predicted to perform 1 hour and 20 minutes more routine work daily compared to employed women. Inactive women also increase their routine work by one hour, compared to employed women in Serbia.

Serbian men, when unemployed or inactive, are predicted to perform half an hour more routine work daily, compared to employed men. The effect of marriage on routine work is present both for Serbian women and men, however in different directions. Married Serbian women are predicted to perform as much as one hour more routine work ($p \leq 0.001$), compared to single women, and Serbian men are predicted to spend 13 minutes less in routine work when they are married, compared to single Serbian men ($p \leq 0.001$).

As in the unpaid work regressions, having children also is associated with an increase in the amount of time women spend in routine work Serbian women. In Serbia, a woman with at least a child 0-3 years old, is predicted to do 43 minutes more routine work per day ($p \leq 0.001$), compared to women without children. Men who have children 0-3 years old are also predicted to spend 20 minutes more in routine work per day, compared to men without children. Having children of older ages also increases Serbian women's time in routine work but has no impact on Serbian men's time in routine work.

Table 17: Sample 1 OLS Regression Results of daily minutes spent on routine housework (Serbian women)

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Routine Work	C	SE	C	SE	C	SE
Age categories						
25-34	64.0***	12.0	63.1***	12.2	62.6***	12.2
35-44	103.4***	13.0	102.5***	13.0	100.2***	13.1
45-54	137.1***	12.9	136.3***	13.0	134.5***	13.0
55-64	128.4***	12.3	127.6***	12.4	124.6***	12.5
O.C 18-24						
Region						
Rural	24.0***	6.1	24.0***	6.1	22.9***	6.1
O.C Urban						
Household size	-2.7	2.6	-2.6	2.6	-2.3	2.5
Education						
Secondary	-24.2***	6.9	-29.3*	12.6	-41.7***	9.9
Tertiary or above	-55.1***	9.4	-54.4***	16.7	-65.2***	14.4
O.C Elementary+						
Employment status						
Unemployed	78.7***	8.9	78.6***	8.9	78.5***	8.9
Inactive	58.2***	6.7	58.2***	6.7	59.4***	6.7
O.C Employed						
Couple status						
In couple	60.5***	7.1	56.6***	12.6	59.6***	7.1
O.C Single						
Parental status						
At least one child 0-3	43.4***	12.5	48.8***	12.6	32.8	26.6
At least one child 4-6	68.0***	14.1	67.7***	14.1	15.4	30.8
At least one child 7+	27.8***	7.9	27.7***	7.9	8.9	11.9
O.C No child						
Education*Couple						
Secondary*in couple			7.3	14.5		
Tertiary *in couple			-1.3	19.2		
Education*Parent						
Secondary*Child 0-3					13.1	29.0
Secondary*Child 4-6					71.4*	33.7
Secondary*Child 7+					31.3*	13.4
Tertiary*Child 0-3					19.8	36.6
Tertiary*Child 4-6					49.5	40.6
Tertiary*Child 7+					17.0	18.7
Constant	44.1**	15.3	47.7**	17.4	56.5***	16.2
N. Observation	1362		1362		1362	
Root-Squared	0.36		0.36		0.36	
Root MSE	100.3		100.4		100.3	

O.C-Omitted Category; C-Coefficient; SE-Standard Error; *P≤ 0.05 ** P ≤0.01. *** P ≤ 0.001

Table 18: OLS Regression Results of Daily minutes spent on routine work (Serbian men)

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Routine Work	C	SE	C	SE	C	SE
Age categories						
25-34	15.5	8.3	15.6	8.5	15.3	8.4
35-44	35.3***	8.8	35.5***	8.9	34.4***	8.9
45-54	64.3***	9.1	64.6***	9.2	63.4***	9.2
55-64	63.2***	9.1	63.4***	9.1	62.9***	9.1
O.C 18-24						
Region						
Rural	12.4**	4.4	12.4**	4.4	12.5**	4.4
O.C Urban						
Household size	-3.8*	1.7	-3.8*	1.7	-3.7*	1.7
Education						
Secondary	1.7	5.1	6.6	8.2	-1.3	6.7
Tertiary or above	-2.9	7.3	.13	12.7	-1.4	10.0
O.C Elementary+						
Employment status						
Unemployed	32.5***	6.7	32.7***	6.7	31.3***	6.8
Inactive	28.8***	5.4	29.1***	5.4	28.3***	5.4
O.C Employed						
Couple status						
In couple	-13.0*	6.0	-7.5	9.5	-13.1*	6.0
O.C Single						
Parental status						
At least one child 0-3	21.2*	9.5	21.7*	9.5	39.4*	20.0
At least one child 4-6	17.1	10.8	17.6	10.8	24.9	34.9
At least one child 7+	-6.7	6.2	-6.7	6.2	-14.3	9.9
O.C No child						
Education*Couple						
Secondary*in couple			-7.8	10.1		
Tertiary *in couple			-4.8	15.1		
Education*Parent						
Secondary*Child 0-3					-18.2	21.2
Secondary*Child 4-6					-10.3	36.1
Secondary*Child 7+					11.9	10.6
Tertiary*Child 0-3					-42.3	31.1
Tertiary*Child 4-6					2.2	40.6
Tertiary*Child 7+					1.5	15.1
Constant	12.6	10.6	8.8	11.7	14.8	11.1
N. Observation	1218		1218		1218	
Root-Squared	0.13		0.13		0.13	
Root MSE	69.8		69.8		69.8	

O.C-Omitted Category; C-Coefficient; SE-Standard Error; *P≤ 0.05 ** P ≤0.01. *** P ≤ 0.001

Model 2 for routine work for Serbian women and men the effect of marriage does on the amount of time spent on routine work, does not change according to the level of education, neither for men nor for women.

Model 3 results for routine work for Serbian women indicate that having at least one child 4-6 years old or 7 years or older is associated with a more substantial amount spent on routine work, compared to women with elementary education by 71 and 31 more minutes respectively ($p \leq 0.05$). There is no statistical difference in the amount of time spent on routine work among women with children with elementary education and tertiary education. For Serbian men, Model 3 results indicate that there are no statistical differences on time spent on routine work among men with different levels of education who have children.

To sum up, regression results of the time spent in unpaid work and routine work among women and men in Serbia also indicate that women are expected to perform more unpaid work and routine work and that the extent to which they perform these activities varies according to their educational levels, employment activity, marital status and number of children. Serbian's men involvement in unpaid work and routine work, however, is determined by their employment status, marital status and the presence of a young child at home.

5.5. Albania vs. Serbia Comparisons

This chapter presented the regression results for sample one for the two key dependent variables for the two countries. As also suggested by descriptive results in Section 1, women both in Albania and in Serbia perform much more unpaid work and routine work than men in these countries. This is no surprise, given that both countries have shown patterns of re-traditionalization and re-patriarchalization during the post-communist period, but also because research has consistently shown that women do more unpaid work almost everywhere in the world (Treas and Drobnic, 2010).

The results support hypothesis 1, which predicted that given that Albania is more patriarchal and Serbian women and men are in favor of more modern gender roles attitudes and gender equality,

Albanian women, in all life stages, perform more unpaid work (in absolute minutes), compared to Serbian women in all life stages (CLH 1a). Similarly, I expected men in Serbia in all life stages to perform more unpaid work (in absolute minutes) when compared to Albanian men in all life stages (CLH 1b)

The results indicate that women in Albania perform much more unpaid work than women in Serbia and men in Serbia perform considerably more unpaid work than men in Albania. Tables 19 and 20 (below) represent the regression results of total unpaid work for men and women of both countries on pooled appended datasets. From these tables, it can also be seen that being Serbian predicts lower involvement in unpaid work for women and higher involvement in unpaid work for men.

To see if the country differences stem from compositional factors or the Albanian society is more traditional, I performed regression results including sex as a variable for both country datasets separately. The predicted means results (Appendix 6) indicate that the total unpaid work performed daily together by men and women in the two countries amount to almost the same minutes (396 minutes in Serbia and 390 minutes in Albania). Predictive means indicate that, if other variables are at their means, Albanian women are predicted to spend 326 minutes in unpaid work, while Serbian women are predicted to spend 276 minutes of unpaid work. Albanian men, on the other hand, are expected to spend 63 minutes of unpaid work per day, while Serbian men almost twice as much, 120 minutes per day. Similarly, predictive margins for regression results on routine work where sex is included as a variable (see appendix 6), indicate that as a total amount of routine work performed by both men and women, the results do not differ a lot (275 minutes in Albania vs. 267 minutes in Serbia). However, for routine work as well, Serbian men perform more routine work than Albanian men (56 minutes vs. 29 minutes per day, respectively).

Table 19: Albanian and Serbian women pooled regression results

Variables			Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Variables	C	SE	C	SE	C	SE	C	SE
Total Unpaid work								
Country								
Serbia	-40.9***	5.6	-68.3***	9.5	-75.0***	9.2	-57.2	7.9
Age categories								
25-34	76.3***	9.4	77.9***	9.4	80.4***	9.4	77.8***	9.4
35-44	107.8***	10.5	109.7***	10.5	113.4***	10.6	108.5***	10.5
45-54	119.7***	10.6	120.5***	10.6	124.7***	10.6	120.8***	10.6
55-64	110.3***	10.2	110.8***	10.2	115.8***	10.3	111.8***	10.2
O.C 18-24								
Region								
Rural	48.2***	5.3	48.4***	5.2	48.0***	5.2	48.0***	5.2
O.C Urban								
Household size	-6.6***	1.9	-7.4***	1.9	-7.8***	1.9	-6.7***	1.9
Education								
Secondary	-32.9***	5.6	-32.9***	5.8	-33.3***	5.8	-43.0***	9.1
Tertiary or above	-49.4***	8.4	-51.2***	8.4	-53.3***	8.4	-97.2***	15.0
O.C Elementary+								
Employment status								
Unemployed	127.8***	10.1	128.6***	8.0	128.6***	8.11	127.2***	8.1
Inactive	109.9***	7.6	111.6***	5.6	111.1***	5.7	109.8***	5.6
O.C Employed								
Couple status								
In couple	65.4***	6.3	38.1***	9.9	67.7***	6.3	64.9***	6.3
O.C Single								
Country*Couple								
Serbia*in couple			39.1***	11.0				
Parental status								
At least one child 0-3	224.2***	10.2	228.4***	10.1	202.2***	14.11	222.7***	10.0
At least one child 4-6	146.1***	11.2	140.7***	11.2	115.6***	15.7	143.3***	11.2
At least one child 7+	41.5***	6.8	44.0***	6.9	1.1***	10.7	39.3***	6.9
O.C No child								
Country*Parent								
Serbia*Child 0-3					30.7	17.6		
Serbia*Child 4-6					45.0*	20.0		
Serbia*Child 7+					56.9***	11.5		
Country*Education								
Serbia*secondary							19.7***	11.2
Serbia*tertiary							67.6***	17.2
Constant	114.7***	12.6	133.6***	13.7	138.6***	13.6	123.4***	12.8
N. Observation	3302		3302		3302		3302	
Root-Squared	0.41		0.41		0.41		0.41	
Root MSE	135.4		135.1		135.2		135	

O.C-Omitted Category; C-Coefficient; SE-Standard Error; *P≤ 0.05 ** P ≤0.01. *** P ≤ 0.001

Table 20: Albanian and Serbian men pooled regression results

Variables			Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Variables	C	SE	C	SE				
Total Unpaid work								
Country								
Serbia	58.2***	4.1	26.6***	6.6	29.9***	6.1	56.3***	6.4
Age categories								
25-34	26.7***	6.9	32.7***	6.9	31.7***	6.8	26.6***	6.9
35-44	42.7***	7.7	50.5***	7.8	49.2***	7.7	42.6***	7.7
45-54	78.2***	8.0	85.5***	8.5	86.2***	8.0	78.3***	8.0
55-64	72.5***	8.0	78.4***	8.0	81.1***	8.0	72.6***	8.0
O.C 18-24								
Region								
Rural	23.1***	3.8	21.9***	3.8	21.2***	3.8	23.2***	3.8
O.C Urban								
Household size	-4.4***	1.4	-4.4***	1.4	-4.5***	1.4	-4.4**	1.4
Education								
Secondary	3.7	4.2	2.9	4.2	1.2	4.2	2.0	6.4
Tertiary or above	1.6	6.6	-.4	6.5	-1.0	6.5	-.1	11.6
O.C Elementary+								
Employment status								
Unemployed	64.1***	6.0	62.5***	5.9	61.3***	5.9	64.2***	6.0
Inactive	65.8***	5.0	65.7***	5.0	65.3***	5.0	66.0***	5.0
O.C Employed								
Couple status								
In couple	3.5	5.7	-31.9***	8.1	3.5	5.6	3.6	3.7
O.C Single								
Country*Couple								
Serbia*in couple			48.1***	8.0				
Parental status								
At least one child 0-3	70.0***	8.0	73.7***	8.0	20.0	12.8	69.9***	8.0
At least one child 4-6	45.7***	9.0	47.8***	8.9	3.3	15.1	45.6***	9.0
At least one child 7+	1.0	5.8	2.3	5.7	-26.5***	8.5	.9	5.8
O.C No child								
Country*Parent								
Serbia*Child 0-3					86.5***	12.8		
Serbia*Child 4-6					67.4***	15.1		
Serbia*Child 7+					35.4***	8.5		
Country*Education								
Serbia*secondary							3.1	8.4
Serbia*tertiary							3.0	13.7
Constant	-29.7***	8.9	-11.3	9.4	-11.4	9.3	-29.0***	9.1
N. Observation	2828		2828		2828		2828	
Root-Squared	0.24		0.25		0.24		0.24	
Root MSE	94.5		94.0		93.6		94.6	

O.C-Omitted Category; C-Coefficient; SE-Standard Error; *P≤ 0.05 ** P ≤0.01. *** P ≤ 0.001

This result supports the prediction that the country differences in the amount of time spent in unpaid work stem from Albania being more traditional than Serbia. Previous research has indicated that macro-level gender ideology has an impact on how domestic work is handled (Fuwa, 2004; Treas and Tai 2016). Indeed, several studies have also established a link between individual's modern gender ideology and their participation in housework (Evertson, 2014; Lewin-Epstein, Stier and Brown, 2006; Nitsche and Grunow, 2016). Men who display egalitarian gender ideology perform more housework than other men and women who display more egalitarian gender ideology, perform less unpaid work than other women (Evertson, 2014). Because the data at hand does not provide indicators on individual's gender ideology, there cannot be a direct test of gender ideology in this study. However, if contextual factors are considered, as seen in Chapter 3, women and men in Serbia are more in favor of modern gender roles and gender ideology compared to women and men in Albania.

5.5.1. The Effect of Education

Previous research has found that education level is positively associated with greater acceptance of ideas on gender equality by both men and women (Bittman and Pixley 1997). The results from individual samples of both country datasets indicate that women's higher education is associated with them performing less unpaid work and routine work, both in Serbia and Albania. As highlighted in chapter 4, in more traditional countries where just selective groups are "innovative", education differentiates much more attitudes in Albania than in Serbia, hence I expected a stronger difference in time use between highly and poorly educated men and women in Albania than in Serbia (CLH3). Partly consistent with this hypothesis, the results show that the effect of education seems stronger for Albanian women than for Serbian women. If we compare both countries, in terms of minutes spent per day on unpaid work and routine work, predictive margins (results not shown here) tell us that Albanian women are predicted to do more unpaid work and more routine work than Serbian women across all educational levels, when all other variables are held at their means. However, it can be said that having a tertiary education in Albania has a more significant effect on time spent on unpaid work and routine work (97 minutes less per day), than in Serbia (30 minutes less per day). Women with tertiary education in Albania behave similarly to women with

tertiary education in Serbia, regarding the amount of time they spend in unpaid work (Albanian women with tertiary education are predicted to spend slightly more time in unpaid work than Serbian women with tertiary education). Women with secondary education and elementary education in Albania, on the other hand, are expected to perform more unpaid work and routine work compared to women with same educational levels in Serbia (see appendix 6). These results support hypothesis ILH3a, which predicted that women's higher education levels are associated with them doing less unpaid work and routine housework. Previous research also found that the higher the level of education of women, the less they do housework (Goñi-Legaz, Ollo-López, and Bayo-Moriones, 2010; Chester, 2011).

Not in line with previous research which has found that found that men participate more in housework when they are more highly educated (Bianchi et al. 2000; Brines 1994; Shelton and John 1996) -and not in support hypothesis ILH3b, which predicted that men with higher educational levels are predicted to spend more time in unpaid work and routine housework- the results indicate that neither in Albania, nor Serbia, does education have an impact on the time men spend on unpaid work or routine work.

In literature, education is perceived as a reflection of bargaining power (Aasve et al., 2014). However, women with higher educational levels in Albania and Serbia perform less unpaid work because they bargain more or because they find other possibilities, we can make more accurate assumptions in the next in the next chapter, when we see the shares of wives in unpaid work. Higher education, however, is associated with more employment for women (Craig and Mullan, 2011). In countries like ours, (for example the case of Bulgaria in Hofacker, Stoilova and Riebling (2013)) there is a strong and positive effect of educational attainment on the stability of employment and the chance to return to work after child breaks. Low educational attainment also reduces the ability to institutionalized or family support. In this context, there is a polarization between well-educated dual-earner families in well-paying jobs and low educated couples with low paying jobs who cannot have a dual-earner model. Societal change of the 1990s has increased polarization in post-socialist countries, making human capital as a central and crucial point of stratification (Hofacker, Stoilova and Riebling, 2013).

5.5.2. The Effect of Marriage

Societies put different normative expectations on how women should behave when they marry (Coltrane, 2000). Consistent with previous research, which showed that historically, marriage and children increased women's and decreased men's housework (Treas and Drobnic, 2010), and consistent with hypothesis ILH1, which predicted that being in a couple increases the unpaid work and routine housework time for women, the results show that the effect of being in a couple for both Albanian and Serbian women is associated with an increase in total unpaid work. Being a more traditional society, I had predicted that the effect of marriage is stronger in Albania than in Serbia. Hypothesis CLH4 predicted that married women in Albania will do much more unpaid work then single and childless women in Albania, compared to women in Serbia in the same life-courses. However, the results do not quite support this hypothesis. Predictive margins holding other variables at their means, show that single Albanian women are predicted to spend 307 minutes at unpaid work, while single Serbian women 243 minutes ($p \leq 0.001$) and married Albanian women, if other variables are at their means, are predicted to spend 366 minutes in unpaid work, while married Serbian women are predicted to spend 304 minutes in unpaid work ($p \leq 0.001$). For coupled Serbian women it means doing almost one more hour of routine work, compared to single women ($p \leq 0.001$). Despite with how many minutes they start, it can be said that the effect of being in a couple, increases the time spent in total unpaid work and routine for both Albanian and Serbian women in similar ways. In this case the effect of marriage is not stronger for Albanian women, compared to Serbian women.

There are however some educational variations in this domain. Results indicate that in Serbia, the effect of marriage is similar for women across all educational levels; for Albania, the effect of marriage is larger for women with secondary education. In Albania, women with secondary education, do more or less the same amount of unpaid work as women with tertiary education when they are single but are closer to women with elementary education when they get married. Thus, the effect of marriage in this category seems larger, because they start with a smaller amount of unpaid work but are also more likely to behave more traditionally when they get married, compared to women with tertiary education.

First, as it is seen in chapter 3, women with tertiary education in Albania are more in favor of modern gender roles and gender equality, compared to women with elementary education and women with secondary education. The difference in modern gender roles is larger among women with tertiary education and secondary education in Albania than it is among women with tertiary and secondary education in Serbia (Chapter 3, Table 2). Therefore-women with tertiary education increase their amount of total unpaid work when they get married (the effect of marriage)-but not as much as women with secondary education, given that they have more modern gender ideologies. Thus, they would increase their time in unpaid work, but only to a certain extent. Women with secondary education, on the other hand, are more likely to adopt more traditional gender role attitudes when they get married, compared to women with tertiary education. The effect of marriage among women with elementary education exists, but it is not as high, because they already do too much unpaid work.

Being less patriarchal than Albania, I had anticipated that married men in Serbia perform more unpaid work than married men in Albania. However, the results do not show support for this prediction. The effect of marriage on men is insignificant for total unpaid work, both in Albania and Serbia. For routine work, the effect of marriage indicates a slight decrease in daily minutes spent on routine work, for both men in Serbia and Albania.

5.5.3. The Effect of Employment

Consistent with previous research (Artis and Pavalko, 2003; Aassve, Fuochi and Mencarini, 2014; Cunningham, 2007; Hook 2006; Lyonette and Crompton, 2014; Norman, Elliot and Fagan 2013) and in line with hypotheses ILH4a which, predicted that employed women will spend less time in unpaid work, compared to unemployed, results indicate that there is a significant effect of employment on Albanian and Serbian women. Employed women are expected to perform less total unpaid work than unemployed and inactive women. Aasve et al. also found (2014) that in almost all countries they study, women's full-time employment is associated with less housework and men's full-time employment is associated with lower gender equality at home.

For men, hypothesis ILH4b is partially supported for Albania and supported for Serbia. Unemployed men in Albania, do not spend significantly more time in unpaid work, compared to employed men in Albania. Inactive men, however, spend almost half an hour more unpaid work, compared to employed men. In Serbia, on the other hand, both unemployed and inactive men are predicted to spend half an hour more unpaid work, compared to employed men.

5.5.4. The Effect of Children

The presence of young children at home, increases overall levels of housework combined with the need for care, time to watch them (Bianchi et al., 2000; Craig & Mullan, 2010; Kunzler et al., 2001). The presence of a child 0-3 years old is associated with a sharp increase in unpaid work for both Albanian and Serbian women. The increase is sharper for women having a child 0-3 years old, compared to women with no children, for both Albanian and Serbian women, especially for unpaid work. This result is logical, given that unpaid work consists of childcare as well. The need for childcare time is greater for 0-3-year-old children. Then there is a decrease in total unpaid work, for women having children 4+ years old. For routine work as well, margin plots of predictive means, show that having a child 0-3 years old is associated with greater time spent in routine work, and having a child 4-6 years old is associated with even more time spent in routine housework for both Albanian and Serbian women (compared to having no children). This is also logical, given that toddlers might need less childcare time but make a messy house and the need for cleaning up is greater these years. Serbian men are predicted to spend much more time in unpaid work when they have children, compared to Albanian men. The time Albanian men spend on unpaid work when they are fathers varies according to their educational level, but not in statistically significant ways. It seems that some men with tertiary education in Albania concentrate more on paid employment, reinforcing the role of the breadwinner. Some others contribute more to unpaid work. There is variation, and there is no clear pattern.

Previous studies have also shown that when they become parents, women do more unpaid work and men more paid work (Baxter, Hewitt, and Haynes 2008; Bianchi, 2000; Craig, 2005; Dribe and Stanfors 2009; Hallberg & Klevmarken, 2003; Sayer, 2005). The results support the

hypothesis that married women with children spend more time in unpaid work and routine housework, compared to women without children (ILH2a). Women with small children are predicted to substantially increase the amount of time they spend in unpaid work, compared to women without children, both in Albania and in Serbia. However, not in line with previous research which has found that men's time, on the remains unaffected when they become parents (Sanchez and Thomson, 2007), and not in line with hypothesis ILH2b, Serbian men who have at least one child 0-3 years old spend considerable time in unpaid work, compared to men with no children. They spend almost six times more time on unpaid work compared to Albanian men who have at least one child 0-3 years old. The result becomes even more accentuated when we control for an interaction of education and parental status. Serbian men also spend more time on unpaid work when they have a child 4-6 years old, compared to Albanian men.

The effect of having a child seven years older, however, is associated with 31 minutes of unpaid work for men with tertiary education, compared to men with elementary education. This result may be an indication that Albanian men with tertiary education might help their kids with the homework, more, compared to men with lower educational levels (or might send their kids to afterschool activities, or could even be the time they spent transporting their kids to school).

5.6. Conclusions

This chapter presented the empirical results of total unpaid work and routine work for individual women and men in Albania and Serbia. The results showed that the nature of unpaid work and routine work is highly gendered in both countries. However, while men in Albania are predicted to spend some time in total unpaid work only if they are employed or inactive, in Serbia men who become parents, who are unemployed or inactive are predicted to spend more minutes on unpaid work compared to Albanian men. In the lack of direct measures in the datasets, we can only attribute these differences to some macro-level factors such as cultural differences and general ideologies of the countries as the contextual chapter has shown. It can be concluded that Serbian men perform more unpaid work, compared to Albanian men, because of this macro-level gender popular culture in Serbia but not in Albania.

6. Gendered Division of Domestic Labour and Childcare among couples in Albania and Serbia: Can we talk about a share?

6.1. Introduction

The previous chapter presented results of total unpaid work and routine work on an individual level for Albania and Serbia. Results showed that the nature of unpaid work and routine work is highly gendered, with women performing much more daily minutes of unpaid work and routine work in both countries, compared to men. Serbian men, however, perform more unpaid work, in their households, compared to Albanian men. To see how the unpaid work and routine work is divided among partners and how childcare is divided among parents, this chapter analyzes matched couple data of Albania and Serbia. It, therefore, presents the descriptive results and the regression results of domestic labor and childcare share among couples in Albania and Serbia. To understand the patterns of time Albanian and Serbian parents spend on childcare, it also includes regression results of daily minutes spent on childcare for Albanian and Serbian mothers and Albanian and Serbian fathers separately.

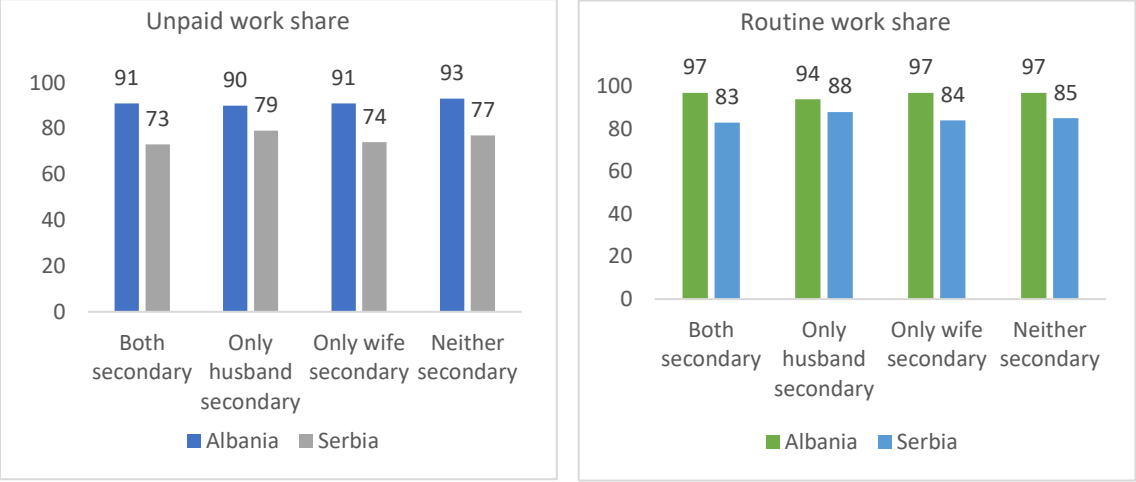
In section 2, I present the empirical data for sample 2 of each country. Here I analyze wife's[9] share of total unpaid work and routine work and interpret the results in the light of literature. In section 3, I present the empirical data for sample 3, couples with children, where I analyze mother's share of childcare for both countries. Here I also analyze the data on daily minutes spent on childcare for mothers and fathers for each country while interpreting the results according to what has been previously found in the literature. I finally conclude the chapter by summarizing the main findings on the share of domestic work and childcare in Albania and Serbia by also reflecting on the hypothesis stated out in the methodological chapter.

6.2. Descriptive Results

[9] Throughout this thesis I name "her" share as wife's share or husband's share (for sample 2) and mother's share or father's share for sample 3. This is for convenience purposes as not all the couples in both countries are officially married. Due to the small number of cohabitations I did not differentiate between married and cohabiting couples.

Figure 16 present wife's share of unpaid work and wife's share of routine work by couple's educational status. In Albanian households, wives share much more unpaid work and routine work, compared to wives in Serbian households. For Albanian women, the greatest share of unpaid work is when neither of partners has tertiary education or above (92%), while for Serbian women the greatest share for total unpaid work is when husband only has tertiary education and when neither of them has tertiary education or above (76%).

Figure 16: Wife's share of unpaid and routine work by education

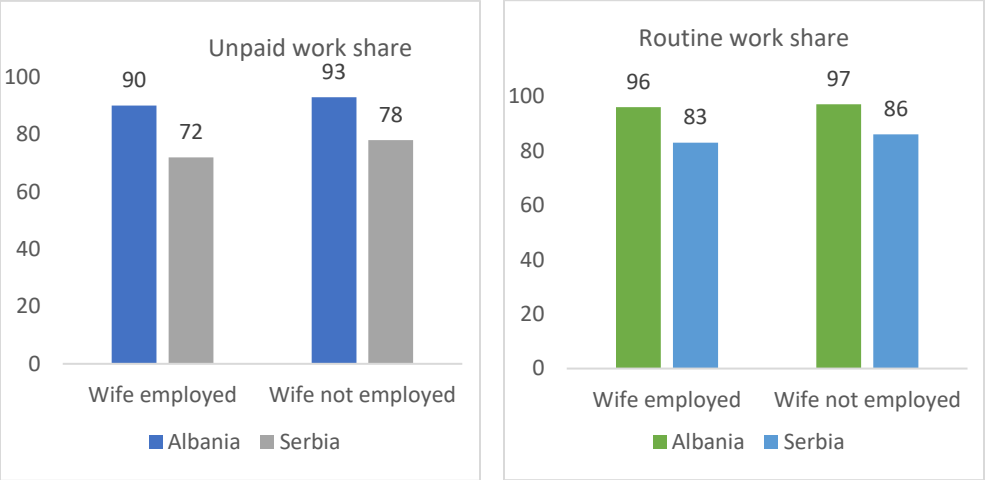


In the cases when only the wife has tertiary education or above, her share of routine work is 99% (yet the number of observations is small, 24 couples). For routine work, the lowest share of Albanian women is when neither of partners has tertiary education, for Serbian women the lowest share of routine work is when both partners have tertiary education.

These descriptive results show that despite of the education level, Albanian wives share above 90% of unpaid work and routine work. Serbian wives, also share more, compared to their husbands, but their share is just above 70% (in contrast to 90% in the Albanian case). Serbian women, however, seem to share a larger amount of routine work (above 80%), compared to their husbands.

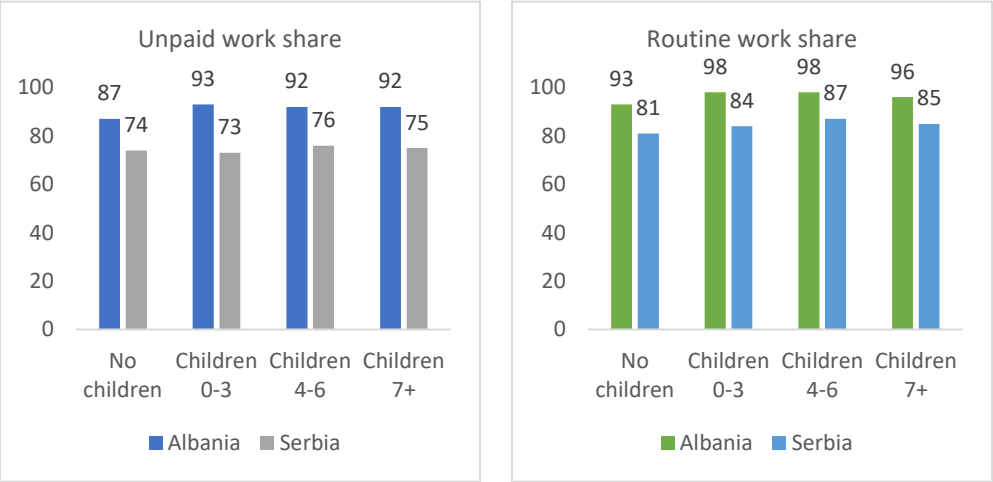
Figure 17 shows wife's share of unpaid work and routine work according to their employment status. The results indicate even in the cases when they are employed, Albanian women share 90% or above of unpaid work or routine work. Employed Serbian women, similar to the results according to education (above) share just above 70% of unpaid work when employed and 83 % of routine work.

Figure 17: Wife's share of unpaid and routine work by employment



Albanian women's greatest share of unpaid work is when they have a child 0-3, while for Serbian women's greatest share of unpaid work is when they have a child 4 to 6. For routine work, Albanian's women greatest share in routine work is when they have at least a child. Meaning, when there are children men do not contribute to routine work, but only a 4%. Serbian men contribute more to routine work when they have children, compared to Albanian men.

Figure 18: Wife's share of unpaid and routine work by parental status



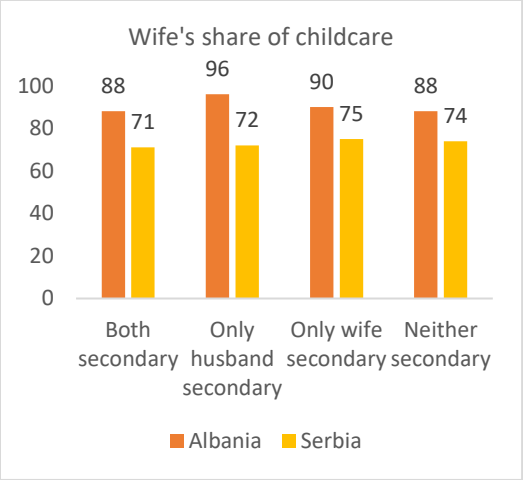
For couples, the presence of a young child 0-3 years old, is associated with an increase of 4.75 percentage points in wife's share of unpaid work, compared to couples who do not have a child. While, in the case of Serbia, having a child 0-3 years old is linked to a decrease by 8.77 percentage point of wife's share of unpaid work. The values are statistically significant for both countries by ($p \leq 0.001$). While Albanian women do even more unpaid work when there is a young child at home, Serbian women contribute less in total unpaid work, when there is a young child at home. This means that husbands in Serbia contribute more in total unpaid work when there is at least a small child in the home.

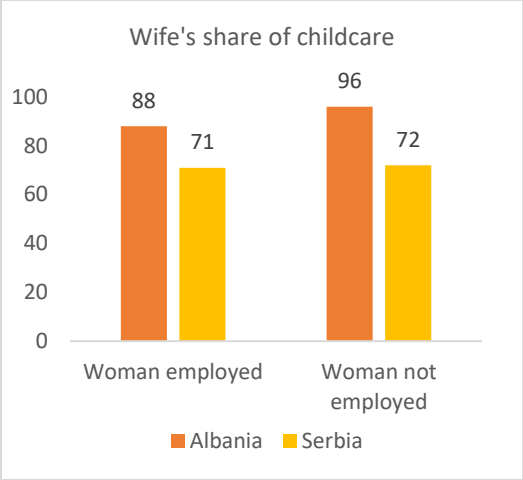
Similarly, the presence of older children at home predicts a higher share of unpaid work for Albanian women. In Albanian couples, wife's share of unpaid work is expected to increase when there is a child 4-6 years old in the household and when there is a child 7+ years old in the household by 4.15 and 5.16 percentage points respectively ($p \leq 0.05$ and $p \leq 0.001$) compared to couples who have no children. However, for Serbian couples, wife's share of unpaid work is not statistically different when there are children older than 3 years old in the home compared to couples with no children.

For sample 3, we are interested in wife's share of childcare. Hence I am presenting here some graphs according to the couple's educational level and employment of woman. Also, to see husband's contribution in childcare by the age of the child, I also include a graphical presentation of wife's share of childcare by the age of the child.

Figure 19 shows the descriptive results of wife's share of childcare according to the level of education of couple. Results show that Serbian men spend more time in childcare, compared to Albanian men.

Figure 19: Wife's share of childcare by education and employment





Albanian men (Figure 20) contribute more in childcare when the wife is employed, compared to the cases when she is unemployed. For Serbian men, on the other hand, father's contribution in childcare seems to not be impacted by woman's employment.

The age of children is another factor of importance to understand the share of childcare. The descriptive results indicate that, like unpaid and routine work, the childcare share in Albania is predominantly handled by women (93% share) when the child is 0-3 years old and decreases slowly when the child gets older (Figure 20). For Serbian women the results do not vary according to the age of child, they handle around 70% of childcare. In this scenario, Serbian men seem to

contribute to childcare, at least a 27% (when the child is 7+) years old, Albanian men's share of childcare is very low when a child is small 0-3 years (only 7% share), but it is a bit higher in couples with children 4+ age (13% share and 15% share respectively).

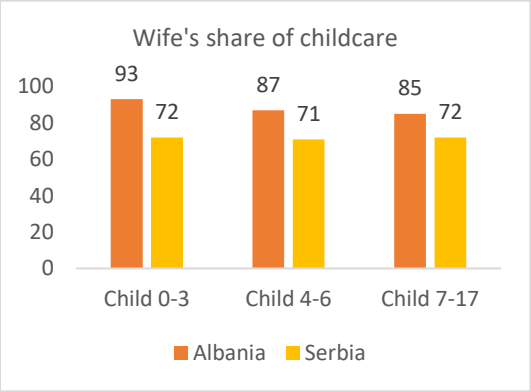


Figure 20: Wife's share of childcare by parental status

A general overview of the descriptive results for matched couples' data, indicates that the division of domestic work is highly gendered in both Albania and Serbia (but especially in Albania) with wives shouldering as much as over 90% of total unpaid work in Albania and as much as over 79% of total unpaid work in Serbia. For more detailed statistical analysis, the following sections present regression results of matched couples data for unpaid work, routine work and childcare.

6.3. Division of Domestic Labour among couples in Albania and Serbia: A focus on Employment and Education

Sample 2 of both country datasets consists of matched couple data, where the age of the men is within the limits of 18-64 years old. I have run OLS regressions for the two key dependent variables separately, and I included two models. To see if, the effect of having children, differs according to the educational composition of the couple on wife's share of unpaid work (Table 21), in Model 2 I have included interaction of education and parental status for both Albanian and Serbian couples.

When it comes to couples' educational level, for Albanian couples, there is no significant difference between couples who both have completed secondary education or above, and couples where only the husband or only the wife has completed secondary or above, regarding wife's share of unpaid work. In couples where neither of the partners has completed secondary education, wife's share of unpaid work increases by 2.21 percentage points ($p \leq 0.05$).

Table 21: Sample 2 Regression results of wife's share of total unpaid work

	Albanian couples				Serbian couples			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
Variables	C	SE	C	SE	C	SE	C	SE
Wife's share of total unpaid work								
Wife's age	-.12**	.05	-.14**	.05	-.30***	.09	-.35***	.90
Region								
Rural	-.84	.82	-1.04	.83	-1.11	1.56	-2.02	1.56
O.C Urban								
Household size	-.36	.28	-.31	.28	1.57*	.71	1.79*	.71
Parental status								
At least one child 0-3	4.75**	1.6	13.61***	2.57	-8.77**	3.26	-6.71	3.55
At least one child 4-6	4.15*	1.6	13.37***	2.87	-4.63	3.49	-3.33	3.78
At least one child 7+	5.16***	1.3	13.67***	2.23	-1.15	2.08	-2.09	2.51
O.C No child								
Couple's Education								
Only Husband secondary or above	.44	1.2	9.58*	3.92	6.05*	2.36	7.45	3.85
Only wife secondary or above	.12	1.5	14.1**	4.75	-1.01	3.20	-8.76	7.29
Neither of them secondary or above	2.21*	.96	14.1***	2.67	4.63*	2.10	7.41*	3.39
O.C Both secondary or above								
Wife's employment status								
Wife employed	-1.83**	.79	-1.94*	.78	-6.20***	1.50	-6.11***	1.50
O.C Wife not employed								
Couple's education*Parentalstatus								
Only husband secondary*child 0-3			-7.43	4.79			1.67	9.46
Only husband secondary*child 4-6			-9.44	4.98			-16.68	9.37
Only husband secondary*child 7+			-11.18**	4.16			.64	4.94
Only wife secondary*child 0-3			-14.76**	5.57			4.14	11.86
Only wife secondary*child 4-6			-24.15**	7.73			21.41	21.36
Only wife secondary*child 7+			-15.32**	5.15			10.25	8.26
Neither secondary*Child 0-3			-15.22***	3.29			-25.39***	7.20
Neither secondary*Child 4-6			-14.39***	3.61			-13.40	11.17
Neither secondary*Child 7+			-12.42***	2.85			1.29	4.27
Constant	93.7***	2.5	86.71***	2.90	86.36***	5.2	88.20***	5.28
N. Observation		1146		1146		672		672
Root-Squared		0.03		0.06		0.06		0.10
Root MSE		12.61		12.45		18.69		18.51

O.C-Omitted Category; C-Coefficient; SE-Standard Error; *P≤ 0.05 ** P ≤0.01. *** P ≤ 0.001

Hence, for Albanian couples, the wife's share of unpaid work is expected to be higher among couples with lower educational levels, compared to the reference category (couples who have both completed secondary education or above).

In the Serbian case, in couples where only the husband has completed secondary education or above, wife's share of unpaid work is associated with a 6.05 percentage points increase ($p \leq 0.05$), compared to couples where both have completed secondary education or above. Couples, where only the wife has completed secondary education or above, do not show statistically different results from reference category (both have completed secondary education or above), and in couples where neither has completed the secondary education, there is a 4.63 percentage point increase in wife's share of unpaid work ($p \leq 0.05$).

From these results, it can be concluded that when both partners have secondary education or above, the division of labor is slightly less traditional compared to couples in which neither of the partners has completed secondary education. However, in the Serbian case, when only the husband has completed the secondary education, wife's share of unpaid work is expected to increase. Given that we do not control for husband's employment here, it can be argued that in Serbian couples, where only the husband has secondary education or above, the wife's share in unpaid work increases because the husband is involved more in paid work. For Albanian couples, in cases when the wife is employed, wife's share of unpaid work decreases by 1.83 percentage points ($p \leq 0.01$), meaning the husband increases his share, compared to cases when the wife is unemployed or inactive. In Serbian couples, wife's share of unpaid work decreases by 6.20 percentage points ($p \leq 0.01$) compared to the cases when the wife is not employed or is inactive. It can be concluded that the effect of time availability is stronger for Serbian couples than for Albanian ones.

In model 2, I include an interaction of couples' educational level with parental status (age of the youngest child) to test if the effect of the presence of children in the family and their age on wife's share of unpaid work changes according to couple's educational level. The results indicate that in the case of Albania, among couples where both partners have completed secondary education or above (reference category) the effect of having children of whatever age is associated with an increase in her share of unpaid work by 13 percentage points. Among couples with low education

(neither of them with secondary education), the effect of having at least one child 0-3 years old on wife's share of unpaid work is almost zero (13-15=-2), and similar results are observed for older children. Among couples where only the wife has completed secondary education or above, the effects of having at least one child 0-3 years old or 7 plus years old are practically null. Among this category of couples, the effect of having at least one child 4-6 years old is associated with a decrease in wife's share of unpaid work by 11 percentage points (13-24=-11). For Serbia, the only significant interaction effect concerns children 0-3 in couples where neither partner is secondary educated. The sign is negative and its value (-24), summated with the main effect of children 0-3 (-6.7) gives a strong negative effect (-30). The number of observations for this category of couples in Serbia is not very small (127 couples) and the effect of having a young child on wife's share of unpaid work among couples with lower educational levels, seems to be stronger in the case of Serbia. Serbian men seem to contribute more to this category. Also, given that we do not control for husband's employment here, it might be Serbian men with lower educational levels are not involved in employment. Thus they contribute more in unpaid work.

Table 22 introduces wife's share of routine work for both Albanian and Serbian couples. Routine work is extremely gendered in Albania and highly gendered in Serbia. Women in Albania perform more than 95% of routine work, and women in Serbia perform more than 90% of routine work. Here again, while both countries show a very traditional division of routine work, in Albania this type of work is highly exclusive to women.

When we look at wife's share of routine work, for Albanian couples, having at least one child 0-3 years old, is associated with an increase in wife's share of routine work by 3.71 percentage points ($p \leq 0.01$). While having a child 4-6 years old or a child 7 + years old is associated with an increase by almost 5 percentage points and 4.4 percentage points respectively, $p \leq 0.001$ in wife's share of routine work, compared to couples with no children. In the Serbian couple's case, there appear no statistical differences between couples with no children and couples with children, when it comes to wife's share of routine work.

Table 22: Sample 2 Regression Results of wife's share of routine housework

	Albanian Couples				Serbian Couples			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
Variables	C	SE	C	SE	C	SE	C	SE
Wife's share of routine work								
Wife's age	-.97**	.034	-.11***	0.34	-.23**	.09	-.28**	.09
Region								
Rural	-.72	.61	-.74	.62	-.66	1.57	-1.43	1.59
O.C Urban								
Household size	-.39	.21	-.39	.21	1.07	.71	1.25	.72
Parental status								
At least one child 0-3	3.71**	1.96	8.96***	1.91	-3.52	3.29	-2.15	3.60
At least one child 4-6	4.97***	1.24	9.92***	2.14	1.65	3.52	3.81	3.84
At least one child 7+	4.36***	.98	10.41***	1.66	3.05	2.10	2.61	2.55
O.C No child								
Couple's Education								
Only Husband secondary or above	-2.07*	.91	4.86	2.92	5.20*	2.38	9.00*	3.91
Only wife secondary or above	.09	1.13	8.28*	3.53	-.29	3.23	-5.75	7.40
Neither of them secondary or above	.18	.72	7.88***	1.99	2.73	2.12	4.08	3.4
O.C Both secondary or above								
Wife's employment status								
Wife employed	-1.61**	.58	-1.63**	.58	-4.36**	1.52	-4.35**	1.52
O.C wife not employed								
Couple's education*Parentalstatus								
Only husband secondary*child 0-3			-3.22	3.56			-2.33	9.59
Only husband secondary*child 4-6			-6.37	3.70			-21.63*	9.50
Only husband secondary*child 7+			-9.33**	3.09			-3.33	5.02
Only wife secondary*child 0-3			-7.31	4.14			10.12	12.02
Only wife secondary*child 4-6			-11.78*	5.74			11.01	21.65
Only wife secondary*child 7+			-9.99**	3.83			6.26	8.38
Neither secondary*Child 0-3			-9.78***	2.44			-18.11*	7.30
Neither secondary*Child 4-6			-7.69***	2.68			13.36	11.32
Neither secondary*Child 7+			-8.46***	2.12			2.85	4.33
Constant	99.67***	1.91	95.32***	2.15	90.96***	5.30	92.22***	5.36
N. Observation		1146		1146		672		679
Root-Squared		0.05		0.07		0.04		0.14
Root MSE		9.36		9.25		18.87		18.01

O.C-Omitted Category; C-Coefficient; SE-Standard Error; *P≤ 0.05 ** P ≤0.01. *** P ≤ 0.00

If we look at couple's education, for Albanian couples, if only the husband has completed tertiary education or above, wife's share of routine work decreases by 2.07 percentage points ($p \leq 0.05$), compared to the reference category where both partners have completed secondary education or above. For Serbian couples, on the other hand, in cases where only the husband has completed secondary education or above, wife's share of routine work increases by five percentage points ($p \leq 0.05$). In couples where the wife is employed, for Albanian couples, wife's share of routine work decreases by 1.6 percentage points, while for Serbian couples there is a decrease in wife's share of routine work by 4.4 percentage points. It can be thus summarized that among Albanian couples, a higher educational level of the husband is associated with a slight increase in his participation in routine work. However, among Serbian couples, higher education of the husband is not translated in his participation in more routine work; on the contrary, wives contribute even more in routine work when their husbands have a higher educational level compared to them. This might again be explained by labor market participation of the husbands who have a high level of education.

For wife's share of routine work, model 2 results indicate that for Albanian couples, having at least one child 0-3 years old is associated with an increase in wife's share of routine work by nine percentage points, among couples where both partners have completed secondary education or above (reference category) among couples where only the husband has completed secondary education, or above, wife's share of routine work amounts to a lesser increase, but not in a statistically significant way. Practically, the results show that the effect of having children on wife's share of routine work among couples who have completed secondary education or above is not very different from the effect of having children among couples with other educational categories (the coefficients amount to very small positive or negative shares). For Serbian couples, the effect of having at least a child 4-6 years old on wife's routine share, is predicted to decrease her share by around 18 percentage points (-22+4=-18) among couples where only the husband has completed secondary education or above. The effect of having at least a child 0-3 years old on wife's routine share is also expected to decrease wife's share of routine work by around 20 percentage points (-18-2=-20) among couples where neither of partners has completed secondary education or above.

Predictive margins results indicate that husbands in Serbia are predicted to share more unpaid work and routine work than husbands in Albania. Indeed, predictive margins of wife's share of unpaid work and routine work among couples in Albania and Serbia, reveal some interesting results.

Figure 21: Predictive margins of wife's share of unpaid work by her education level

Albania **Serbia**

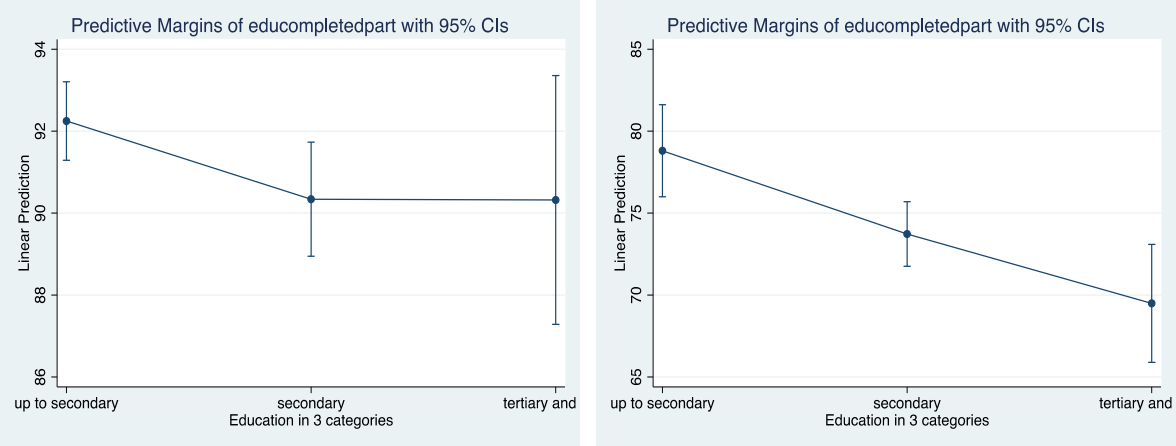
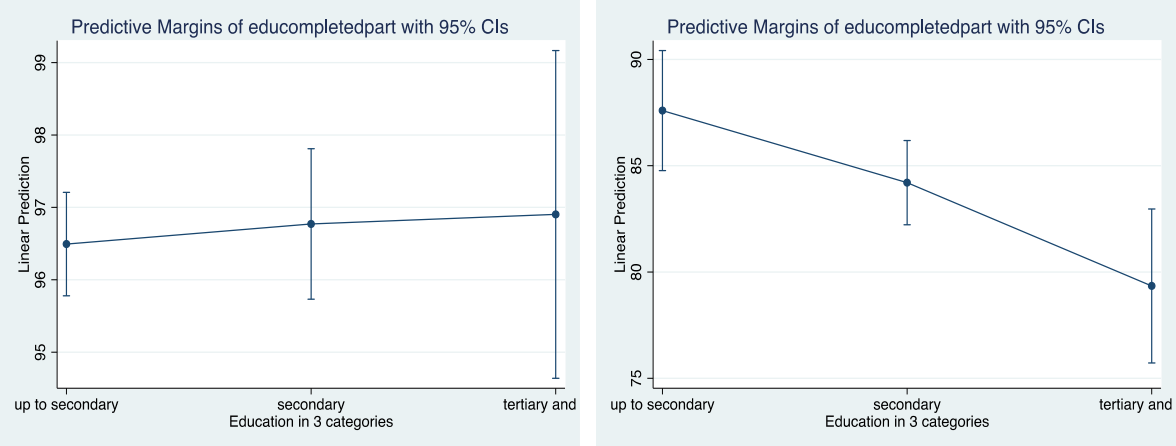


Figure 22: Predictive margins of wife's share of routine work by her education level

Albania **Serbia**



The figures above can help us understand that her level of education is associated with a significant (reduced) effect on wife's share of unpaid work and routine work, among Serbian couples, but not among Albanian couples. In Albania, especially in routine work, wives are expected to share above

95% of routine work, regardless of their level of education. In Serbia, however, wives with tertiary education are expected to share less unpaid work and routine work, compared to women with lower levels of education.

So, how can the above results be interpreted in the light of the theoretical overview laid out in Chapter 2 and the context analysis presented in Chapter 3? As seen in chapter 4, when macro-indicators of the two countries are taken into consideration, the two countries are somehow similar to each other. However, Serbia generally presents a more favorable position for women, compared to Albania. Albania is a more traditional country than Serbia, with higher fertility rates, and a younger age for women at marriage. Serbian women are slightly in a better position than Albanian women regarding political representation, political empowerment, and gender pay gap. Hence, it is no surprise that the gendered division of domestic work is more traditional in Albanian households compared to Serbian households.

Also, if we look in theoretical terms, the division of domestic work in both Albania and Serbia unravels as a very traditional process, especially in Albania. According to the Specialization theory of Becker (1965) which argues that in a family couples allocate time to paid and unpaid work according to a rationalized process on how to maximize the well being of the family. Further, it argues that in a household, individuals should allocate their resources in the area where they are mostly specialized. Thus, he assumes, individuals will be willing to allocate their time in areas where they feel they contribute to maximizing the output product of their household. In this way, all members would benefit equally from the household gains (Becker, 1981). Traditionally, Becker (1981) argues, women would take care of the family and child upbringing while men would take care of the market work.

If we look at the Albanian and Serbian division of domestic labor among partners, it can be concluded that the division is very traditional. However, what does not fit into this model is the fact that even when women are employed, they still contribute huge amounts of unpaid work and routine work, especially in Albania. Thus, the rationalization happening in these families seems to be that when women have skills to use in the labor market, they will use them, but in the domestic

sphere, they will still have to perform most of the work, regardless of their market labor participation.

It would be more adept to say that in both of these countries the rationalization on who should perform the unpaid work is based more on the "doing gender approach," which sees housework labor as a symbolic activity through which individuals express their gendered selves. According to the doing gender approach developed by West and Zimmerman (1981), societies put different normative expectations on how women should behave when they marry or on how mothers and fathers should behave when the children are born (Berk 1985). Accordingly, for women, doing more housework even when they are employed outside of the home, does not have to do with only it being 'women's work' but, it is important for them to engage in such work and for men not to engage in it so that each can display their selves. So, in a way, they produce and reproduce their gendered selves during everyday life as men and women (West and Zimmerman, 1981).

When it comes to Time Availability (Constraints), which focuses on how individuals allocate their time pragmatically to domestic work and market work, according to the time they have in their own hands, the above results show that a time availability constrain effect is more present in the Serbian couples, rather than on Albanian couples. In the Albanian case, wife's share of domestic work and routine work is reduced only at around 1.7 percentage points when she is employed. While in the Serbian case, her share is reduced to about six percentage points when she is employed. Tai and Treas (2012) also find that women's employment is crucial in the marital division of labor showing that married women's participation in employment is associated with a higher participation rate of partners in cooking and housework.

Previous studies have found that when they are more highly educated, men participate more in housework (Bianchi et al. 2000; Brines 1994; Shelton and John 1996). However, higher education of the husband relative to the wife does not translate in more participation on husband's part in total unpaid work neither in Albania. On the contrary, in Serbia where the husband is more educated compared to the wife, there is an increase in wife's share both in total unpaid work and in routine work. This can be explained with higher labor market participation of the husbands when they have higher educational levels in the case of Serbia. In the Albanian case, even though

slightly, when the husband has a higher education compared to the wife, the wife's share in routine work decreases by around two percentage point. This is a very slight decrease, however significant. However, wife's educational levels have a significant effect in the amount of time Serbian women are predicted to share on unpaid work and routine work. A higher level of education of women in Serbia, predicts a lower share on her part in the division of domestic labor. The results for Serbia are in line with a previous study from Gershuny and Sullivan (2016) which found that women's human capital is the most important element in determining housework for both spouses. They find that where women's human capital is higher (not measured only as income), wives in these couples do substantially less housework, and husbands contribute more.

When it comes to different life-course events, research has shown that marriage and children increased women's time and decreased men's time in housework (Treas and Drobnic, 2010). Similarly, the results for unpaid work and routine work show that for Albania, but not for Serbia, compared to childless couples, the wife's share increases significantly. On the contrary, for Serbian couples, when there is a young child in the family, wife's share in unpaid work (not in routine work) decreases significantly. The results for Albania are in line with Baxter, Hewitt, and Haynes (2008) who found that the men's hours on routine work decreases as more children are born in the family.

An interesting observation in the Serbian regressions for unpaid work was observed on the Model 2 results, wherein couples in which neither of the partners has completed secondary education, and there is a young child of ages 0-3 at home, the wife's share of unpaid work is decreased significantly (by 30 percentage points). This is a significant decrease in wife's unpaid work share, translated into a significant contribution in the husband's unpaid work share. A previous study from Yavorsky, Kamp Dush and Schoppe-Sullivan (2015) found that for highly educated dual-earner couples, gender discrepancies in domestic work increase when these couples transition to parenthood. In this study, it was documented that women took the majority of childcare after the birth of children and the gap in housework grew bigger: with women doing more housework than men. In this light, in households where neither of the partners does have a secondary education, it might be argued that men are less likely to be employed and they hence participate more in unpaid work. However, to test if this is the case, I re-run the model controlling also for husband's

employment (results are shown in Appendix 5). The results indicate that when we control for husband's employment, the effect of having a young child among low educated parents on her share of unpaid work is still existent and negative. However the magnitude is decreased.

From a macro level perspective, in Chapter 2, I put forward evidence from the literature that showed that the way a welfare state is arranged in a certain country, has an impact on how domestic labor is divided. Several scholars argue that a welfare state which shows no value for a woman's market work and favors a breadwinner model (such as the conservative state) discourages women from working out of the home and therefore reinforces a traditional family model (Geist, 2005). Albania and Serbia are difficult to categorize regarding a welfare typology, and therefore, the nature of the division of labor cannot be explained regarding the type of the welfare state the countries display (or do not display at all). However, the gender inequality in the division of domestic work that characterizes both countries, is in line with previous research, such as that of van der Lippe et al. (2010) who also found that the division of housework is unequal in all regimes; but in communist and southern European regimes it is more unequal compared to the liberal, conservative and social democratic regimes. In this sense, if Albania and Serbia can be classified as post-communist regimes, the division of labor there is in alignment with the inequality seen among other post-communist regimes as well.

Both countries can be analyzed in other macro-level policies, such as family policies, gender equity at a national level and women's labor force participation. Several scholars argue that maternalist policies (such as maternity leaves) are based on the viewpoint that caregiving is an exclusive female responsibility (Blosfield and Martinez Franzoni, 2015). These policies reinforce the idea that the economic dependency of the family should be on the husbands and allow women for fewer autonomy and choices in their lives (Korpi, Ferrarini, and Englund, 2013). On the other hand, universal parental leaves which promote shared responsibility, or paternal leaves which are aimed at fathers relieve mothers from being the only caregivers (Blosfield and Martinez-Franzoni, 2015). As it was seen in the contextual chapter, both Albania and Serbia offer only maternity leaves, but no paternity leaves or universal leaves. It is therefore logical that through the maternity leave policies, it is taken for granted from the policymakers that childcaring is a woman's responsibility. However, what is interesting, especially in the Serbian case is that men contribute more to the

household when there is a younger child at home, regardless of their employment status (results from the regressions with husbands employment status as a control, in Append 5. Therefore, while Albania shows an increase in women's share of housework time when there are children at home, in Serbia the reverse is true, especially in the case of the presence of younger children in the family.

Gender equity at the national level is also important in how the unpaid work is shared at home. In more egalitarian countries, empirical evidence thus has shown that men in contexts with higher levels of gender equality, the domestic labor is divided more equally (Fuwa, 2004; Geist, 2005; Hook, 2006; Ruppanner, 2010; Treas and Drobnic, 2010). In Albania and Serbia, even though the gendered division is traditional in both countries, in comparison to each other, Albania shows more traditional patterns than Serbia, which can be attributed to the fact that the gender equity at the national level is lower in Albania compared to Serbia. This gender equity at the national level can also be used to explain the results that higher education of women in Serbia predicts higher participation in men in the unpaid work, but not in Albania. Fuwa (2004) argues that the impact of individual-level factors is stronger where women are in more egalitarian countries. Stier and Lewin-Epstein (2007) also argue that the more egalitarian a country is, the more important are the economic resources and gender attitudes of women in determining the division of domestic work. In this light, it can be argued that given the relatively more gender-equal culture in Serbia, an individual level factor such as women's education has an impact in unpaid work share among couples in Serbia, but not in Albania.

6.4. Childcare share among couples in Albania and Serbia

Section 3 analyzes data on childcare share among parents in Albania and Serbia. To look at the childcare variable, I created sample 3 for both country datasets. It includes only couples who have at least a child from 0-17 years old. Table 23 below presents regression results of mother's share of childcare for both Albanian and Serbian parents. If we have a look at the table we see that there are not many statistically significant results. An overview of the constant might give the impression that the childcare share is more egalitarian in Albania compared to Serbia

Table 23: Sample 3 Regression Results of wife's share of childcare

	Albanian Parents		Serbian Parents	
	Model 1		**Model 1**	
Variables	C	SE	C	SE
Wife's share of childcare				
Wife's age	.17	.20	-.25	.34
Region				
Rural	-4.23	2.54	2.39	4.08
O.C Urban				
Household size	2.70**	.85	-.92	1.64
Parental status				
At least one child 4-6	-4.27	2.54	3.26	5.33
At least one child 7+	2.70**	.85	5.21	5.66
O.C At least one child 0-3				
Couple's Education				
Only Husband secondary or above	4.31	3.86	-.80	7.18
Only wife secondary or above	-.61	4.24	2.14	7.79
Neither of them secondary or above	-2.77	2.93	-.51	6.63
O.C Both secondary or above				
Wife's employment status				
Wife employed	-9.97***	2.42	-14.4***	3.99
O.C wife not employed				
Constant	79.51***	6.99	88.34***	13.30
N. Observation	351		220	
Root-Squared	0.13		0.07	
Root MSE	20.83		28.42	

O.C-Omitted Category; C-Coefficient; SE-Standard Error; *P≤ 0.05 ** P ≤0.01. *** P ≤ 0.001

For example, for Albanian parents, having a child 4-6 years old, is associated with a decrease in mother's share of childcare, compared to parents who have at least a younger child, but this decrease is not significant. However, having a child 7+ years old, is associated with an increase in mother's share of childcare by 2.7 percentage points ($p \leq 0.01$), compared to parents with a child 0-3 years old. For Serbian parents, however, there are no statistical differences in mother's share of childcare between mothers who have a child older than 4 years old and mothers who have a child 0-3 years old.

Also, for Albanian parents, there are no statistical differences in mother's share of childcare among couples who have completed both secondary education or above or couples who only one of them has completed secondary education or neither of them has completed secondary education. The same situation applies to Serbian parents- there are no statistical differences in mother's share of childcare among couples who have both completed secondary education, those who only one of them has completed secondary education or above and those of whom neither has completed secondary education of above.

When the wife is employed, for Albanian parents, mother's share in childcare is associated with almost 10 percentage points ($p \leq 0.001$) decrease in childcare, compared to unemployed mothers. For Serbian couples, mother's share of childcare is associated with a 14 percentage points decrease ($p \leq 0.001$) when the mother is employed. It can be said that in the cases when the wife is employed, the husband participation in childcare is expected to increase in both countries.

In order to see if there are differences according to educational level of the parents and how it impacts the time they spend on childcare; I look at daily minutes spent on childcare for both Albanian and Serbian parents. Table 24 (below) shows regression results for Albanian mothers' time spent on childcare. In terms of childcare time, we observe that Albanian mothers do not behave very differently from Serbian mothers. A young Albanian mother aged 18-34 years old, who has at least a child 0-3 years old, employed and living in urban areas is expected to spend approximately 167 minutes on childcare per day. A mother with the same characteristics in Serbia, is expected to spend 175 minutes of childcare per day.

Table 24: Sample Regression Results of daily minutes spent on childcare (mothers)

	Albanian Mothers				Serbian Mothers			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
Variables	**C**	**SE**	**C**	**SE**	**C**	**SE**	**C**	**SE**
Childcare								
Age category								
35-44	-48.80***	9.63	-50.31***	9.64	-32.22*	12.73	-44.0***	12.7
45-54	-68.89***	14.83	-66.87***	15.14	-47.75*	18.66	-53.9**	18.9
55-64	-60.62	37.62	-46.46	38.81	-80.3	53.77	-75.2	54.6
O.C 18-34								
Region								
Rural	-.71	7.95	-2.60	7.90	1.52	10.11	1.3	10.2
O.C Urban								
Household size	4.19	3.03	4.1	3.1	.28	4.3	.9	4.3
Parental status								
At least one child 4-6	-108.5***	10.48	-135.2***	12.6	-105.7***	14.3	-64.2	34.6
At least one child 7+	-123.2***	11.10	-156.5***	12.8	-141.4***	14.3	-110.8***	28.8
O.C At least one child 0-3								
Education Level								
Secondary	1.1	8.74	-47.6**	15.0	25.6	13.4	38.7	24.1
Tertiary or above	-26.0	15.63	-72.4***	19.2	53.4**	17.4	111.7***	30.5
O.C Up to secondary								
Employment Status								
Unemployed	24.0	14.6	-5.8	14.4	5.2	13.6	-51.9**	16.4
Inactive	29.9***	8.1	-15.6	19.9	41.2***	12.2	-15.5	19.7
O.C employed								
Education*Parentalstatus								
Secondary*child 4-6			62.6**	23.9			-37.2	37.8
Secondary*child 7+			37.9	37.5			-133.5**	46.3
Tertiary or above*child 4-6			73.6***	19.0			-36.5	30.3
Tertiary or above*child 7+			89.6*	37.7			-86.5*	38.5
Constant	166.8***	18.5	208.2***	18.9	174.7***	25.7	184.2***	29.7
N. Observation	560		560		250		250	
Root-Squared	0.46		0.47		0.54		0.56	
Root MSE	85.04		84.9		76.0		76.4	

O.C-Omitted Category; C-Coefficient; SE-Standard Error; *P≤ 0.05 ** P ≤0.01. *** P ≤ 0.001

Mothers in both countries are predicted to decrease the time spent in childcare as the child grows older. So both Albanian and Serbian women decrease their time on childcare when they have a child 4-6 years old, compared to women having a child 0-3 years old. Albanian women do 109 minutes less childcare when they have a child 4-6 compared to women having a child 0-3 years old. Similarly, Serbian women spend 106 minutes less on childcare when they have a child 4-6, compared to women having a child 0-3 years old. Also, Albanian women who have a child 7+ years old (up to 17), spend 123 minutes less ($p \leq 0.001$) in childcare, compared to women with a small child, 0-3. Serbian women, spend 141 minutes less in childcare when they have a child 7+ years old, compared to women having a child 0-3 years old ($p \leq 0.001$).

Education, however, appears to have a different effect on Albanian mothers' time on childcare and Serbian mothers' time on childcare. While for Albanian mothers, having completed secondary or tertiary education does not statistically differ for the time spent on childcare, Serbian mothers who have completed tertiary education or above, are predicted to spend around 50 minutes more time on childcare, compared to mothers who have not completed secondary education. For Albanian women, having completed tertiary education or above is linked to a decrease in childcare, even though not in a statistically significant way. For Serbian women, the results are in line with research from other countries which suggests that more educated mothers spend more time on childcare.

Both Albanian mothers and Serbian mothers are predicted to increase the time in childcare when they are inactive, compared to mothers who are employed. Being unemployed does not differ significantly in the amount of time women spend on childcare, but being inactive means doing half an hour more childcare for Albanian women ($p \leq 0.001$). For Serbian women, being inactive also means spending 41 more minutes on childcare, compared to employed women ($p \leq 0.001$).

Table 25 presents father's time spent on childcare, as an individual variable rather than as a couple of variable. An Albanian father, aged 18-34, employed and living in urban areas, who has at least a child 0-3 years old, is predicted to spend around 38 minutes in childcare, in a day. A men with the same characteristics in Serbia is expected to spend around 100 minutes in childcare per day.

Table 25: Sample 3 Regression Results of daily minutes spent on childcare (fathers)

	Albanian Fathers				Serbian Fathers			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
Variables	C	SE	C	SE	C	SE	C	SE
Childcare								
Age category								
35-44	-9.74**	3.26	-12.24***	3.27	-13.74	9.42	-13.33	9.27
45-54	-15.56***	4.42	-17.77***	4.39	-18.15	11.96	-13.24	11.89
55-64	-20.16**	7.52	-21.74**	7.42	-17.27	19.05	-15.39	18.72
O.C 18-34								
Region								
Rural	3.19	2.54	2.1	2.52	-6.88	6.98	-5.84	6.87
O.C Urban								
Household size	-3.05**	.97	-3.58***	.97	.85	2.95	.67	2.93
Parental status								
At least one child 4-6	.73	3.48	6.55	4.56	-38.98***	10.04	-124.9***	30.3
At least one child 7+	-6.89	3.71	-7.94	4.35	-64.75***	9.44	-113.0***	18.1
O.C At least one child 0-3								
Education Level								
Secondary	-2.75	2.61	2.79	4.58	-11.40	8.84	-53.38***	15.8
Tertiary or above	-5.38	6.58	-20.34**	6.86	-.83	12.55	-57.1*	23.5
O.C Up to secondary								
Employment Status								
Unemployed	5.47	4.78	4.50	4.73	20.61	10.78	13.2	10.8
Inactive	6.86	6.58	6.38	6.49	2.74	13.55	2.59	13.6
O.C employed								
Education*Parentalstatus								
Secondary*child 4-6			-19.72**	7.04			93.63**	31.59
Secondary*child 7+			24.00	12.85			111.76**	38.55
Tertiary or above*child 4-6			-2.03	5.83			54.73**	19.2
Tertiary or above*child 7+			35.15**	11.34			70.02*	28.7
Constant	38.46***	5.76	42.55***	5.90	100.01***	16.76	137.4***	20.5
N. Observation			560	560		258		258
Root-Squared			0.10	0.13		0.31		0.34
Root MSE			28.15	27.71		52.61		51.60

O.C-Omitted Category; C-Coefficient; SE-Standard Error; *P≤ 0.05 ** P ≤0.01. *** P ≤ 0.001

Albanian fathers spend neither less nor more time in childcare, when they have a child 4-6 or 7+ years old, compared to when they have a child 0-3 years old. For Serbian fathers, on the other hands, having at least one child 4-6 years old means spending around 39 minutes less in childcare, compared to when they have a child 0-3 years old. Also, having a child 7+ years old means for Serbian fathers spending around 1 hour less in childcare compared to when they have a child 0-3 years old ($p \leq 0.001$).

For fathers, when we look at the impact of education into their time spent on childcare, we observe that for both Albanian and Serbian fathers, having completed secondary education or above does not mean spending statistically different amount of time on childcare, compared to fathers who have not completed secondary education. Predictive margins results show that, if other variables are at their means, Serbian fathers, in general, are predicted to spend more time in childcare, compared to Albanian fathers. However, the level of education does not have a significant impact on the amount they are predicted to spend on childcare. For mothers, education seems to have an impact on the amount they spend on childcare. Thus, Serbian women with tertiary educational levels, are predicted to spend more time in childcare compared to women with elementary levels (if other variables are held constant). Albanian mothers with tertiary educational levels are expected on average to spend less time on childcare. However there is a variation with mothers spending much less than women with secondary or elementary education, and mothers spending the same amount of time with women with an elementary and secondary level of education. Thus time investment in childcare seems to be more consistent among highly educated Serbian mothers, than among highly educated Albanian mothers.

Regarding childcare, literature has shown that in couples where both partners or only one of them displays a strong gender egalitarian ideology, an equal division of childcare is expected (Evertson, 2014). Craig and Mullan's (2011) work demonstrated that fathers with higher education levels contribute more to childcare. The authors observed that in Denmark and Australia it is that mothers and fathers in possession to higher education, spend more time with their children compared to parents with lower education background (Craig and Mullan, 2011). In the same line, Coles et.al (2017) explored characteristics associated with the time fathers spent in work and care. They found that the education level of mothers was a family factor associated with the time fathers spent with

children irrespective of work hours. More highly educated mothers may have more egalitarian ideals and may positively influence a father's involvement in childcare whether he works very long hours or not (Allen and Hawkins, 1999; Barnett and Fagan, 2003). However, higher education of mother was not associated with a reduction in her share in childcare, neither in Serbia nor in the Albanian parent's case. But, regarding the time a woman spends on childcare, a higher education level predicts more involvement in childcare in the case of Serbian mothers and less involvement in childcare in the case of Albanian mothers. When it comes to fathers individual time spent on childcare, contrary to previous research (for example Gracia (2014) in a study on Spanish fathers who found that the father's education had a significant impact on his participation in physical childcare in couples with a child 0-5 years old) the level of the education of the father does not matter in the amount of time he spends in childcare, neither in Serbia, nor in Albania.

6.5. Conclusions

This chapter presented wife's share of unpaid work, routine housework, and childcare on matched couples data in Albania and Serbia. It also introduced mothers and fathers time spent on childcare in each country for parents who have at least a child. I had hypothesized that, given that Serbia is more gender egalitarian, men in Serbia would contribute more in childcare than men in Albania (CLH2). Couple's level of education has an impact on how unpaid work and routine work are shared among couples. Hence, the wife's share of unpaid work and routine work decreases if the couple's educational level is higher (ILH6). Also, given time availability arguments, I hypothesized that wife's share of unpaid work and routine work decreases when she is employed (ILH5). Based on literature arguing for higher shares among wives when there are children at home, I hypothesized that the presence of children of a young age (0-7), increases wives' share of total unpaid work and routine housework (ILH7). Another hypothesis stated was the mother's share of childcare decreases when fathers have a higher level of education (ILH8).

Consistent with hypothesis CLH2 and in line with previous research which found that where there is a high level of gender empowerment, married men engage more in housework (Ruppaner and Maume, 2016); married men in Serbia contribute more in total unpaid work and routine work, compared to husbands in Albania.

Both men's and women's higher education levels have been associated with great egalitarian attitudes (Goldschider, Bernhardt and Lappegård, 2015), as well as the more equal division of work hours and housework (Evertsson et al., 2009). The results indicate that her level of education is associated with a significant effect on the wife's share of unpaid work and routine work, among Serbian couples, but not among Albanian couples. Thus, hypothesis ILH7 is only partially supported for Serbia: and the results indicate that it is *her* level of education that matters in wife's share of unpaid work, and not the composition of couple's educational level.

In Albania, especially in routine work, wives are expected to share above 95% of routine work, regardless of their level of education. In Serbia, however, wives with tertiary education are expected to share less unpaid work and routine work, compared to women with lower levels of education. This implies that women's higher educational level in Albania have an impact on their time they spent in unpaid work, however, a higher level of education, does not help her make the husband contribute more to unpaid work.

There is a large variation on the time women with tertiary levels of education are expected to spend on unpaid work in Albania, however, in some case, they even outscore women with elementary education. One possibility is that women with tertiary education are more likely to be married to men with tertiary education who are more likely to be employed thus will not contribute in unpaid work, as a result of time constraints. Is it a result of gender display (women with tertiary education spending more time as if to compensate for their behavior)? I do not believe that is the case. Individual-level analysis showed that higher education of women in Albania is associated with a negative effect on the time she spends on unpaid work. Thus, when she is tertiary educated and, in a couple, her share of routine work might be as much as the share of women with elementary education, but regarding absolute numbers, she does less work. This means that unpaid work is either externalized or is left undone.

The above finding, however, is in line with the theory which argues that women's resources are effective in a context where all women are more empowered (Blumberg's 1994). Drawing from this theory, Fuwa (2004)'s finding supported the hypothesis that the impact of individual-level factors is stronger in women situated in more egalitarian countries whereas wives who live in

countries with lower gender equality do not benefit from individual assets to the same extent and are more likely to do more housework (Fuwa, 2004).

Hypothesis ILH5, on woman's employment, is supported for both Albania and Serbia, especially for unpaid work share. However, the effect of a decrease in woman's unpaid work share when she is employed is smaller in Albania (-1.8 percentage points) compared to that of Serbia (-6.1 percentage points). For childcare share, on the other hand, the effect of woman's employment is strong both in Albania and Serbia; indicating a decrease in wife's share of childcare by ten percentage points (Albania) and 13 percentage point (Serbia).

Regarding the share of childcare, in contrast to previous research which found that partner's educational level mattered in childcare share (Chesters, 2011), the educational composition of the couple does not matter, neither in the case of Albania nor in the case of Serbia. Hence the hypothesis that the mother's share of childcare decreases when fathers have a higher level of education (ILH8) was not supported.

Research has shown that in developed countries, mothers do not reduce the time they spend with children by an hour for every hour they spend in paid work (Bianchi 2000). Women with higher education value the time they spend with their children (Craig, 2005). The results of mother's childcare time show that consistent with previous research (Chesters, 2011), women with tertiary education in Serbia are expected to spend more time in childcare, compared to women with lower educational levels. For Albanian women, however, a higher educational level does not predict more involvement in childcare; on the contrary, it indicates a decrease in childcare time, compared to women with elementary levels of education, but not in a statistically significant way.

In line with Coles et al. (2017) and Chesters (2011) and in contrast with previous literature (Craig et al., 2014; Sullivan et al., 2014), father's educational level was not significantly associated with the time they spent at work and with children. There are however country differences: Serbian fathers are predicted to spend more time in childcare than Albanian fathers. This result seems to come not as a matter of individual characteristics, but as a matter of overall gender egalitarianism of the country, given that in Serbia even fathers with lower levels of education are expected to

spend around the same amount of time in childcare as those with higher levels of education in the country.

7. Discussion and Conclusions

7.1. Discussion, conclusions and implications

The study of domestic labor is far from being new. This kind of research is always relevant because unpaid work takes as much time as paid work; and families' and individual's wellbeing rely primarily on it. Investigations on the allocation of unpaid work within households have revealed major gender inequalities, which are connected to unequal gender participation in labor markets, with impacts on gender pay gaps and career trajectories. Numerous studies have shown that the amount of time people spend in paid and unpaid work is a reflection of own human capital and other resources, of own gender role attitudes/preferences, of resources and attitudes, of own partners or family members, and of institutional and cultural arrangements of the contexts in which people are embedded.

The interplay between these factors is very complex and it is impossible to determine which one plays a more crucial role. Be it because of individual choice; due to cultural expectations or institutional barriers, one dominant conclusion is indisputable: that women do most of the domestic labor, even in the most gender equal countries in the world. The question of "Why still women do so much at home, even when they are "so out there?", remains puzzling for many.

While these questions have been largely addressed in most of the western scholarship, they have remained understudied in Eastern European academic scholarship. This is where this dissertation comes to play. It undertook the responsibility to raise several questions on the ' state of domestic affairs', in two ex-socialist countries, namely in Albania and Serbia. By employing 2010 National Time Use Survey data from Albania and Serbia, it asked how individuals and couples in the two countries allocate time in unpaid work, routine work and childcare; and how this time allocation differs across educational levels, marital status, parental status, and employment status.

To answer these questions, the dissertation provided a contextual review of gender relations, economic indicators and family policies of the two countries. It showed that Albania and Serbia have been historically patriarchal countries and, that despite all state-socialist propaganda for women's emancipation and women's high participation in the public sphere, traditional gender relations during state socialism were never fundamentally changed, neither in Serbia nor in

Albania. It also cited numerous studies which emphasized the fact that the blow of transition was strong for these societies: both Albania and Serbia, like many other Central and Eastern European countries, witnessed a re-traditionalization and re-patriarchalization of social values after the fall of state socialism.

The contextual review chapter showed that, despite similarities, in terms of gender relations, Serbia is less patriarchal than Albania. Serbian population is more in favor of modern gender roles and have more positive attitudes towards gender equality, compared to Albanian population. It also highlighted that, in demographic terms, Albania is more traditional, with higher fertility rates, a younger age for women at marriage and a younger age of women at first child. The chapter showed that the female participation rates of Albania and Serbia are lower compared to other European countries but Serbian women, in 2010 had higher political representation, higher political empowerment, and lower gender pay gap of health and survival, compared to Albanian women. Regarding economic indicators, Serbia stood out with relatively higher standards compared to Albania. When it comes to family policies, the contextual analysis showed that both countries offer relatively long maternity leaves (compared to other European countries) but no paternity leaves. Similarly, daycare options for children 0-2 years old are low compared to other European countries, for both Albania and Serbia.

Based on this reconstruction of the economic, cultural and institutional features of these two countries, and the well-established literature on domestic work and childcare, this thesis postulated hypotheses on two levels; individual and country level hypothesis. In broad terms, it hypothesized that unpaid work, routine work and childcare will show more traditional patterns in Albania than in Serbia.

On country level analysis, I postulated that given the differences between the position of women in Albania and in Serbia, the gendered division of domestic and childcare work would be stronger in Albania than in Serbia. I expected Albanian women, in all life stages, to perform more unpaid work (in absolute minutes), compared to Serbian women in all life stages. Similarly, I expected men in Serbia in all life stages to perform more unpaid work (in absolute minutes) when compared to Albanian men in all life stages. I also expected wife's share of unpaid work and routine work to

be lower in Serbia than in Albania. Moreover, as it is typical in more traditional countries where just selective groups are "innovative", education differentiates more attitudes in Albania than in Serbia (see table 2 above), and I hypothesized that the difference in time use between highly and poorly educated men and women to be stronger in Albania than in Serbia.

Rationalizing from the literature and empirical findings presented in the second chapter, on the individual level analysis I hypothesized that-unlike in many other highly developed countries where being in couple does not have anymore any effect on the time spent in domestic work (see chapter 2)- in Albania and Serbia, given the whole re-traditionalization debate, being in couple increases the unpaid work and routine housework time for women. Moreover, taking into account literature which demonstrated that transition to parenthood is associated with higher gender display, I postulated that married women with children spend more time in unpaid work and routine housework, compared to women without children; and married men's time on unpaid work or routine housework is unchanged when they have children. Also, based on literature which shows that individuals with higher educational levels embrace more gender equal attitudes, I hypothesized that for women, having higher educational levels, is associated with them doing less unpaid work and routine housework and for men having higher education levels is associated with them doing more unpaid work and routine housework. Consequently, it was hypothesized that higher educational level of couple predicts a lower share of wife's unpaid work and routine work.

In line with previous literature findings on time constraints, I hypothesized that employed women spend less time in unpaid work and routine work than unemployed or inactive women and unemployed men and inactive men engage more in unpaid work than employed men. Similarly, wife's share of unpaid work and routine work was expected to decrease when she is employed. As far as the effect of children was concerned, I expected that having children of a young age (0-7) increases wife's share of total unpaid work and routine housework. Childcare share was expected to display similar patterns to domestic work.

To answer the research questions and to test these hypotheses, the study used National Time Use Surveys data from Albania and Serbia. It performed descriptive and statistical analysis (Ordinary

Least Square (OLS) regressions) for both datasets for men and women on samples at the individual level and at matched couples' data.

As it was expected, the results revealed significant gender differences in how domestic work and childcare are handled in both countries. The results indicated that there is huge gender inequality in the domestic sphere in both Albania and Serbia; however, in this domain, Albania is much more traditional than Serbia. Albanian women do more unpaid work than Serbian women (in absolute terms), and Serbian men do more unpaid work than Albanian men (in absolute terms). Education, marriage parenthood and employment have an impact on the time Albanian and Serbian women spend on unpaid work. For Albanian and Serbian men, however, the results are mixed. Education and marriage do not have an impact on the amount Albanian and Serbian men spend on domestic work and childcare. Parenthood and employment have a small effect on the amount of time both Albanian and Serbian men spend on these activities.

Specifically, as it was hypothesized, the results showed that higher educational levels are associated with less time spent on unpaid work and routine work for women both in Albania and in Serbia. The results showed that the effect of education is stronger for Albanian women than for Serbian women. Not in line with previous research which has found that men participate more in housework when they are more highly educated -and not in support hypothesis which predicted that men with higher educational levels are predicted to spend more time in unpaid work and routine housework- the results indicated that neither in Albania, nor Serbia, does education have an impact on the time men spend on unpaid work or routine work.

Results also supported the expectation that employed women in Albania and Serbia would do less unpaid work than unemployed or inactive women in these countries. Unemployed and inactive men in Serbia are predicted to do more unpaid work, than employed men in Serbia. In Albania, however, only inactive men are predicted to do more unpaid work, compared to employed men and there appeared no statistical difference in the amount of time employed and unemployed Albanian men spend on unpaid work.

As it was expected, the presence of small children was associated with a large increase in the amount of time in total unpaid work for women, both in Albania and in Serbia. Presence of young

children was also linked to a small increase in Albanian men's time in total unpaid work, and to a considerable increase in Serbian men's time in unpaid work, compared to men without children in the countries.

When it comes to the share of domestic work between partners, the results indicated that in Serbian households, husbands share more unpaid work and routine work, compared to Albanian households. Higher educational levels for women partners were associated with a decrease in unpaid work and routine work among couples in Serbia, but not in Albania.

As it was expected, childcare share showed similar patterns to domestic work. Regarding the share of childcare, in contrast to previous research which found that partner's educational level mattered in childcare share, the educational composition of the couple does not matter, neither in the case of Albania nor in the case of Serbia. The results of mother's childcare time revealed that consistent with previous research, women with tertiary education in Serbia were predicted to spend more time in childcare, compared to women with lower educational levels. For Albanian women, however, a higher educational level did not predict more involvement in childcare; on the contrary, it indicated a decrease in childcare time, compared to women with elementary levels of education, but not in a statistically significant way. In line with previous research, father's educational level was not significantly associated with the time they spent at work and with children. There were, however, country differences: Serbian fathers were predicted to spend more time in childcare than Albanian fathers.

There are several implications which can be derived from the above results. First, consistent with our expectation, the effect of education is stronger in Albania for women and this effect has an impact on how they behave on an individual level (the minutes spent on domestic work), but not on how they behave in couple (share of unpaid work). There is a particular result from the study which shows distinctive behaviour of women with higher educational levels. As it was shown in chapter 5, in Serbia, the effect of marriage was similar for women across all educational levels; for Albania, however, the effect of marriage is larger for women with secondary education. I rationalized that in Albania, women with secondary education, do the same amount of unpaid work as women with tertiary education when they are single but are closer to women with elementary

education when they get married. Thus, the effect of marriage in this category is larger, because they start with a smaller amount of unpaid work but are also more likely to behave more traditionally when they get married, compared to women with tertiary education.

Secondly, the difference in time spent on unpaid work between women with elementary education and lower educational levels is larger for women Albania, compared to women Serbia. These results resonate with the findings from other countries (for example the case of Bulgaria in Hofacker, Stoilova and Riebling (2013)) which highlight the fact that there is a strong and positive effect of educational attainment in post-socialist countries. The above study argues societal change of the 1990s has increased polarization in post-socialist countries, making human capital as a central and crucial point of stratification (Hofacker, Stoilova and Riebling, 2013). It can be rightly argued that both Serbia and Albania are post-socialist countries, thus they should have similar patterns. However, taking into consideration all the differences emphasized in the contextual analysis, with Albania being more patriarchal than Serbia, these results are adept.

Indicators on gender equality, such as: women's employment rates, presence of women in politics and factors behind these outcomes: such as prevalent gender role attitudes, unfriendly labor markets or economies and scarce social policies laid out in the contextual chapter, were good predictors that both Albania and Serbia would have a highly unequal division of domestic work between men and women. But, as it was shown there, even though not in the standards of other European countries, Serbia stands more gender egalitarian and with higher economic standards, compared to Albania. Our data showed that Serbian men spend more time (in absolute minutes) in domestic work and childcare, compared to Albanian men and that Serbian fathers spend more time in childcare (absolute minutes) compared to Albanian fathers. These results seem to come not as a matter of individual characteristics-but as a matter of overall gender egalitarianism of the country, given that in Serbia men and fathers across all educational levels are expected to spend similar amounts of time in domestic work and childcare, respectively.

Education, however, appears to have a different effect on Albanian mothers' time on childcare and Serbian mothers' time on childcare. While for Albanian mothers, having completed secondary or tertiary education does not statistically differ for the time spent on childcare, Serbian mothers who

have completed tertiary education or above, are predicted to spend around 50 minutes more time on childcare, compared to mothers who have not completed secondary education. For Albanian women, having completed tertiary education or above is linked to a decrease in childcare, even though not in a statistically significant way. For Serbian women, the results are in line with research from other countries which suggests that more educated mothers spend more time on childcare.

Another particular result is the difference in time spent on childcare among mothers in Albania and Serbia (in absolute minutes). In terms of childcare, education appears to have a different effect time Albanian and Serbian mothers spend on childcare. While for Albanian mothers, having completed secondary or tertiary education does not statistically differ; Serbian mothers who have completed tertiary education or above, are predicted to spend around 50 minutes more time on childcare, compared to mothers who have not completed secondary education. For Albanian women, having completed tertiary education or above is linked to a decrease in childcare, even though not in a statistically significant way. The result for Serbian women is in line with research from other advanced countries which suggests that more educated mothers spend more time on childcare.

Several implications for policymakers in both countries derive from this study. First and foremost, a traditional gender ideology coupled with weak work-family reconciliation policies, especially in the case of Albania, seems the main deterrent factor to a more equal gender participation in the domestic labor and childcare. Albania and Serbia are slightly different in economic terms, but their difference in cultural and gender ideology is more significant. The study does not actually address cultural differences between the countries, and individual gender attitudes were not measured in the time use surveys. However, an analysis of gender ideology and of gender relations in both countries after the fall of state socialism, as presented in the contextual chapter, showed that Albanian society is dominated by more patriarchal gender ideologies compared to Serbia and other countries in Europe. This is a challenging matter, given that cultural values are very resistant to change. In the wake of re-traditionalization during the long transformational years, serious attempts to in-depth and more concrete measures of gender mainstreaming in education, media and overall public representation of the invisible work are a crucial step to be undertaken by

policymakers especially in Albania. Serbia, on the other hand, even though better than Albania, is still dominated by high gender inequality in domestic work and it should also undertake several gender mainstreaming measures to reduce gender inequality in domestic work.

Second, a thorough analysis of the proper functionality of policies in place in both countries is essential. Both countries aspire to become members of European Union and as such are required to fulfil certain EU criteria. This means that many policies are sometimes approved on paper but do not take real effect to offer benefits to society. Family policies and the whole framework of the welfare state in both countries needs to be revisited. While maternity leaves are relatively long in both countries, rather than a matter of shortening the length, policymakers should push more in the direction of encouraging or enforcing fathers to take paternity and parental leaves. This requires efforts from both government as well as companies and workplaces. Related to this, flexible work hours targeted at fathers should be made available in both countries as many studies have shown that only this way would there be a more balanced division of unpaid work and a lower wage gap between men and women.

Within the framework of family and work-related policies, both countries should radically reform the childcare system by offering free or cheap high-quality childcare. Both countries have previously witnessed the benefits of free childcare during the late period of state socialism and the increased employment rates of women during this time. It would be rather unfortunate to regret past political regimes if this were the only way to make men contribute more at home

High employment of women means that women will do less unpaid work, thus both countries should aim to provide better employment opportunities. However, a high employment of women may not be necessarily accompanied by more involvement of men in unpaid work. A high employment of women might mean more outsourcing of unpaid work which, in the absence of concrete regulations of informal work, poses the challenge for high prevalence of unregulated domestic workers. The latter are likely to be other women working without social benefits and precarious conditions. Thus, providing better employment opportunities for women should come hand in hand with better childcare system, shorter work hours for fathers and a regulated market for domestic workers.

To sum up, the study showed that macro-level gender inequality predicts more unpaid work for women and the burden of unpaid work seems to be among women with elementary educational levels, especially in Albania. It also showed that individual-level factors (such as higher educational attainment) are not sufficient to increase men's contribution in the household, in the presence of high macro-level gender inequality (in the case of Albania). However, educational attainment and employment are crucial in easing the burden of unpaid work for women. Even if their partners do not contribute more (in the case of Albania), employed women and women with tertiary levels of education find a way out of unpaid work, by either outsourcing it or by just not doing it. In the presence of more egalitarian macro-level gender ideology, (in the case of Serbia) women's characteristics (higher educational attainment) but not men's, elevate men's contribution in unpaid work and routine work in the household.

7.2. Limitations of the study and Recommendations

This study has several limitations. First, the nature of the data does not allow for richer and more nuanced questions which would reveal more nuanced results. A measure of relative resources would have been possible if both the statistical institutes of the countries had released income data of both partners. This was not possible due to privacy matters and a comparison of her income relative to his income and the impact that these variations would have on the amount of the share of unpaid work among partners could not be captured.

Second, a richer analysis would have also been provided had we had data for several countries in the region (Northern Macedonia did not share their data out of their premises and Montenegro, Kosovo and Croatia did not have a time use study). This kind of a broader regional analysis would have provided more interesting picture and maybe attempt to address the questions from a cultural perspective.

Third, a direct measure of individual gender ideology and how this element affects the amount of time spent in unpaid work was missing from the data. Diary data does not include questions on gender attitudes, thus such a measure was impossible to be created. European Social Survey study

of 2012 which captured questions on domestic work would have been a good dataset in this regard. However, given that Serbia was missing from that round of study, a comparison between the countries could not be made.

Lastly, a more in-depth qualitative study with men and women both in Albania and Serbia and a more thorough policy analysis of the welfare state and social and family policies prevalent in both countries are still needed. They would provide additional frameworks and perspectives to this study and would made it a more thorough and more comprehensive study. However, this is what one can capture with the amount of time and resources of the PhD.

Despite its limitations, this study makes an academic contribution to the literature of domestic labor and childcare by bringing into the mainstream literature of the domestic labor and childcare two countries rarely explored at this level. It also sets the background for further research on this area by comparing more Balkan countries (upon data availability) and by also contrasting these countries to others, especially from the former socialist bloc. Future research in these contexts could focus on how the micro-level theories such as economic bargaining theory may be incorporated into the intergenerational, multilevel explanatory framework proposed by Sullivan et. al (2018). It also could explore how normative ideologies of masculinity and femininity both feed into and are affected by the performance of housework (Sullivan et.al, 2018). From a methodological perspective, future research could explore qualitative dimensions of the phenomenon in order to reveal different and richer aspects of the characteristics that matter more in the division of domestic labor and childcare in these countries.

References

Aassve, A., Fuochi, G. and Mencarini, L. (2014). Desperate Housework. *Journal of Family Issues*, 35(8), pp.1000-1022.

Allen, S. and Hawkins, A. (1999). Maternal Gatekeeping: Mothers' Beliefs and Behaviors That Inhibit Greater Father Involvement in Family Work. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 61(1), p.199.

Artis, J. and Pavalko, E. (2003). Explaining the Decline in Women's Household Labor: Individual Change and Cohort Differences. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 65(3), pp.746-761.

Atkinson, M. and Boles, J. (1984). WASP (Wives as Senior Partners). *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 46(4), p.861.

Auspurg, K., Iacovou, M. and Nicoletti, C. (2017). Housework share between partners: Experimental evidence on gender-specific preferences. *Social Science Research*, 66, pp.118-139.

Badr, H. and Acitelli, L. (2008). Attachment insecurity and perceptions of housework: Associations with marital well-being. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 22(2), pp.313-319.

Bartley, S., Blanton, P. and Gilliard, J. (2005). Husbands and Wives in Dual-Earner Marriages: Decision-Making, Gender Role Attitudes, Division of Household Labor, and Equity. *Marriage & Family Review*, 37(4), pp.69-94.

Batalova, J. and Cohen, P. (2002). Premarital Cohabitation and Housework: Couples in Cross-National Perspective. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 64(3), pp.743-755.

Baxter, J. (2002). Patterns of change and stability in the gender division of household labour in Australia, 1986–1997. *Journal of Sociology*, 38(4), pp.399-424.

Baxter, J. (2005). To Marry or Not to Marry. *Journal of Family Issues*, 26(3), pp.300-321.

Baxter, J. and Hewitt, B. (2012). Negotiating Domestic Labor: Women's Earnings and Housework Time in Australia. *Feminist Economics*, pp.1-25.

Baxter, J., Hewitt, B. and Haynes, M. (2008). Life Course Transitions and Housework: Marriage, Parenthood, and Time on Housework. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 70(2), pp.259-272.

Becker, G. (1965). A Theory of the Allocation of Time. *The Economic Journal*, 75(299), p.493.

Becker, G. (1981). *A treatise on the family*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Berk, S. (1985). *The gender factory*. New York: Plenum Press.

Bevans, M. and Sternberg, E. (2012). Caregiving Burden, Stress, and Health Effects Among Family Caregivers of Adult Cancer Patients. *JAMA*, 307(4).

Bianchi, S. and Milkie, M. (2010). Work and Family Research in the First Decade of the 21st Century. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(3), pp.705-725.

Bianchi, S., Milkie, M., Sayer, L. and Robinson, J. (2000). Is Anyone Doing the Housework? Trends in the Gender Division of Household Labor. *Social Forces*, 79(1), pp.191-228.

Bianchi, S., Sayer, L., Milkie, M. and Robinson, J. (2012). Housework: Who Did, Does or Will Do It, and How Much Does It Matter?. *Social Forces*, 91(1), pp.55-63.

Bittman, M., England, P., Sayer, L., Folbre, N. and Matheson, G. (2003). When Does Gender Trump Money? Bargaining and Time in Household Work. *American Journal of Sociology*, 109(1), pp.186-214.

Bittman, M. and Pixley, J. (1997). *The double life of the family*. St. Leonards NSW, Australia: Allen & Unwin.

Blofield, M. and Martinez Franzoni, J. (2014). Maternalism, Co-responsibility, and Social Equity: A Typology of Work-Family Policies. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 22(1), pp.38-59.

Blood, R. and Wolfe, D. (1960). *Husbands & wives: The dynamics of married living*. 1st ed. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Blumberg, R. (1984). A General Theory of Gender Stratification. *Sociological Theory*, 2, p.23

Bracewell, W. (1996). Women, Motherhood and Contemporary Serbian Nationalism. *Women's Studies International Forum* , 25-33.

Breene, R. and Cooke, L.P. (2005). The Persistence of the Gendered Division of Domestic Labour. *European Sociological Review*, 21(1), pp.43-57.

Brines, J. (1994). Economic Dependency, Gender, and the Division of Labor at Home. *American Journal of Sociology*, 100(3), pp.652-688.

Braunbauer, U. (2000). From equality without democracy to democracy without equality? Women and transition in southeast Europe. *South-East Europe Review for Labour and Social Affairs* , 151-168.

Bryant, W. and Zick, C. (1996). An Examination of Parent-Child Shared Time. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 58(1), p.227.

Budig, M. and Folbre, N. (2004). Activity, proximity or responsibility? Measuring parental childcare time'. In: N. Folbre and M. Bittman, ed., *In Family Time, The Social Organization of Care*. New York: Routledge.

Calasanti, T. and Bailey, C. (1991). Gender Inequality and the Division of Household Labor in the United States and Sweden: A Socialist-Feminist Approach. *Social Problems*, 38(1), pp.34-53.

Calloni, M. (2002). Albanian Women after Socialism and the Balkan War. In R. Braidotti, I. Lazaroms, & E. Vonk, *Women's Studies in Europe (ATHENA)* (pp. 49-60). Utrecht.

Carlson, D. and Lynch, J. (2013). Housework: Cause and consequence of gender ideology?. *Social Science Research*, 42(6), pp.1505-1518.

Carriero, R. (2011). Perceived Fairness and Satisfaction with the Division of Housework Among Dual-Earner Couples in Italy. *Marriage & Family Review*, 47(7), pp.436-458.

Chang, M. (2004). Growing Pains: Cross-National Variation in Sex Segregation in Sixteen Developing Countries. *American Sociological Review*, 69(1), pp.114-137.

Cherlin, A. (1978). Remarriage as an Incomplete Institution. *American Journal of Sociology*, 84(3), pp.634-650.

Chesters, J. (2011). Gender convergence in core housework hours. *Journal of Sociology*, 49(1), pp.78-96.

Clarkberg, M., Stolzenberg, R. and Waite, L. (1995). Attitudes, Values, and Entrance into Cohabitational Versus Marital Unions. *Social Forces*, 74(2), p.609.

CIA The World Factbook [Access online April, 2018]

https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-worldfactbook/fields/352.html

Coles, L., Hewitt, B. and Martin, B. (2017). Contemporary fatherhood: Social, demographic and attitudinal factors associated with involved fathering and long work hours. *Journal of Sociology*, p.144078331773969.

Coltrane, S. (1989). Household Labor and the Routine Production of Gender. *Social Problems*, 36(5), pp.473-490.

Coltrane, S. (2000). Research on Household Labor: Modeling and Measuring the Social Embeddedness of Routine Family Work. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(4), pp.1208-1233.

Coltrane, S. and Arendell, T. (1996). Fathers and Divorce. *Contemporary Sociology*, 25(1), p.84.

Coltrane, S. and Ishii-Kuntz, M. (1992). Men's Housework: A Life Course Perspective. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 54(1), p.43.

Coverdill, J., Kraft, J. and Manley, K. (1996). Employment History, the Sex Typing of Occupations, Pay and Change in Gender-Role Attitudes: A Longitudinal Study of Young Married Women. *Sociological Focus*, 29(1), pp.47-60.

Coverman, S. (1983). Gender, Domestic Labor Time, and Wage Inequality. *American Sociological Review*, 48(5), p.623.

Craig, L. (2005). The Money or the Care: a comparison of couple and sole parent households' time allocation to work and children. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 40(4), pp.521-540.

Craig, L. and Mullan, K. (2011). How Mothers and Fathers Share Childcare. *American Sociological Review*, 76(6), pp.834-861.

Crompton, R. (2008). *Employment and the family*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cunningham, M. (2005). Gender in Cohabitation and Marriage. *Journal of Family Issues*, 26(8), pp.1037-1061.

Cunningham, M. (2007). Influences of Women's Employment on the Gendered Division of Household Labor Over the Life Course. *Journal of Family Issues*, 28(3), pp.422-444.

Daly, M. and Lewis, J. (1998). Conceptualising Social Care in the Context of Welfare State Restructuring. In: J. Lewis, ed., *Gender, Social Care and Welfare State Restructuring in Europe*,. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp.86-103.

Daly, M. and Rake, K. (2008). *Gender and the welfare state*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Danaj E. et.al, (2008) '*Unpaid care work: the invisible burden of women*' (Advanced Studies Center) **http://ucw.asc-al.org/index.htm**

Data.worldbank.org. (2018). *GDP per capita (current US$) | Data*. [online] Available at: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD?end=2016&start=2010 [Accessed 25 Apr. 2018].

Dauti, M., & Gjermeni, E. (2015). Mapping Women's Representation in the Local Councils of Albania. In C. M. Hassenstab, & S. P. Ramet, *Gender (In)equality in Southeastern Europe. A question of Justice* (pp. 213-231). Hampshire: Palgrave Mcmillan.

Davis, S. and Greenstein, T. (2013). Why Study Housework? Cleaning as a Window Into Power in Couples. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 5(2), pp.63-71.

Davis, S. and Greenstein, T. (2009). Gender Ideology: Components, Predictors, and Consequences. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 35(1), pp.87-105.

Davis, S., Greenstein, T. and Gerteisen Marks, J. (2007). Effects of Union Type on Division of Household Labor. *Journal of Family Issues*, 28(9), pp.1246-1272.

Deacon, B., Lendvai N., Stubbs, P., (2007) 'Social Policy and International Interventions and International Interventions in South East Europe. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, and Social Affairs), issue: 03 / 2002, pages: 151-168, on www.ceeol.com.

Dechant, A. and Blossfeld, H. (2015). Changes in the division of labor within highly educated German couples when the first child is born. *Zeitschrift für Familienforschung*, 27(3), pp.121-144.

Dechant, A. and Schulz, F. (2014). Scenarios for the Equal Division of Paid and Unpaid Work in the Transition to Parenthood in Germany. *Comparative Population Studies*, 39(3).

Dotti Sani, G. (2016). Undoing Gender in Housework? Participation in Domestic Chores by Italian Fathers and Children of Different Ages. *Sex Roles*, 74(9-10), pp.411-421.

Drezgic, R. (2010). Religion, Politics and Gender in the Context of Nation-State Formation: the case of Serbia. *Thirld World Quarterly , 31* (6), 955-970.

Dribe, M. and Stanfors, M. (2009). Does Parenthood Strengthen a Traditional Household Division of Labor? Evidence From Sweden. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 71(1), pp.33-45.

Duhaček, D. (2015). Gender Equality in Serbia: "A Drop of Oil" in the Waters of Inequality? In C. M. Hassenstab, & S. P. Ramet, *Gender (In)equality in Southeastern Europe: A question of Justice* (pp. 108-126). Hampshire: Palgrave Mcmillan.

Eichler, M. and Albanese, P. (2007). What Is Household Work? A Critique of Assumptions Underlying Empirical Studies of Housework and an Alternative Approach. *The Canadian Journal of Sociology / Cahiers canadiens de sociologie*, 32(2), p.227.

Einhorn, B. (1993). *Cinderella Goes to Market: Citizenship, Gender and Women's Movements in East Central Europe.* London: Verso.

Eisler, R. and Otis, K. (2014). *Unpaid and Undervalued Care Work Keeps Women on the Brink*. [online] The Shriver Report. Available at: http://shriverreport.org/unpaid-and-undervalued-care-work-keeps-women-on-the-brink/ [Accessed 15 Apr. 2018].

Engels, F. [1884] (2010). *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. London: Penguin [Reprint].

England, P. (2010). The Gender Revolution. *Gender & Society*, 24(2), pp.149-166.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*.

Esping-Andersen, G. (2009). *The incomplete revolution*. Cambridge: Polity.

Europeanvaluesstudy.eu. (2018). *European Values Study*. [online] Available at: http://www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu/page/data-and-documentation-survey-2008.html [Accessed 29 Apr. 2018].

Evertsson, M. (2014). Gender Ideology and the Sharing of Housework and Child Care in Sweden. *Journal of Family Issues*, 35(7), pp.927-949.

Evertsson, M., England, P., Reci, I., Hermsen, J., de Bruijn, J., & Cotter, D. (2009). Is gender inequality greater at lower or higher educational levels? Common patterns in the Netherlands, Sweden and the U.S. *Social Politics*, 16, 210-241.

Evertsson, M. and Nermo, M. (2007). Changing Resources and the Division of Housework: A Longitudinal Study of Swedish Couples. *European Sociological Review*, 23(4), pp.455-470.

Fagan, J. and Barnett, M. (2003). The Relationship between Maternal Gatekeeping, Paternal Competence, Mothers' Attitudes about the Father Role, and Father Involvement. *Journal of Family Issues*, 24(8), pp.1020-1043.

Fan, P. and Marini, M. (2000). Influences on Gender-Role Attitudes during the Transition to Adulthood. *Social Science Research*, 29(2), pp.258-283.

Ferrant, G., Pesando, L. and Nowacka, K. (2014). *Unpaid Care Work: The missing link in the analysis of gender gaps in labour outcomes*. [online] Oecd.org. Available at: https://www.oecd.org/dev/development-gender/Unpaid_care_work.pdf [Accessed 9 Apr. 2018].

Ferree, M. (2010). Filling the Glass: Gender Perspectives on Families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(3), pp.420-439.

Fisher, K., Egerton, M., Gershuny, J. and Robinson, J. (2006). Gender Convergence in the American Heritage Time use Study (AHTUS). *Social Indicators Research*, 82(1), pp.1-33.

Fuochi G., Mencarini L., Solera C., (2014). Involved Fathers and Egalitarian Husbands: by Choice or by Constraint? A Study on Italian Couples with Small Children. *Collegio Carlo Alberto Notebooks n. 370.*

Fuwa, M. (2004). Macro-level Gender Inequality and the Division of Household Labor in 22 Countries. *American Sociological Review*, 69(6), pp.751-767.

Fuwa, M. and Cohen, P. (2007). Housework and social policy. *Social Science Research*, 36(2), pp.512-530.

Gal, S. and Gail K. (2000) *"The Politics of Gender after Socialism: A Comparative-*

Gaspar, S. and Klinke, M. (2009). *Household division of labour among European mixed partnerships*. [online] Hdl.handle.net. Available at: http://hdl.handle.net/10071/1539 [Accessed 1 Feb. 2017].

Gauthier, A., Smeeding, T. and Furstenberg, F. (2004). Are Parents Investing Less Time in Children? Trends in Selected Industrialized Countries. *Population and Development Review*, 30(4), pp.647-672.

Geist, C. (2005). The Welfare State and the Home: Regime Differences in the Domestic Division of Labour. *European Sociological Review*, 21(1), pp.23-41.

Geist, C. and Cohen, P. (2011). Headed Toward Equality? Housework Change in Comparative Perspective. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 73(4), pp.832-844.

Gershuny, J. (2003). Time Use, Gender, and Public Policy Regimes. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 10(2), pp.205-228.

Gershuny, O. (2001). Cross-national changes in time-use: some sociological (hi)stories re-examined. *British Journal of Sociology*, 52(2), pp.331-347.

Gjerdingen, D. and Center, B. (2005). First-time parents' postpartum changes in employment, childcare, and housework responsibilities. *Social Science Research*, 34(1), pp.103-116.

Gjonca, A., Aassve, A., & Mencarini, L. (2008). Albania: Trends and patterns, proximate determinants and policies of fertility change. *Demographic Research , 19*, 261-292.

Goñi-Legaz, S., Ollo-López, A. and Bayo-Moriones, A. (2010). The Division of Household Labor in Spanish Dual Earner Couples: Testing Three Theories. *Sex Roles*, 63(7-8), pp.515-529.

Gracia, P. (2014). Fathers' Child Care Involvement and Children's Age in Spain: A Time Use Study on Differences by Education and Mothers' Employment. *European Sociological Review*, 30(2), pp.137-150.

Greenstein, T. (2000). Economic Dependence, Gender, and the Division of Labor in the Home: A Replication and Extension. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(2), pp.322-335.

Grunow, D., Schulz, F. and Blossfeld, H. (2012). What determines change in the division of housework over the course of marriage?. *International Sociology*, 27(3), pp.289-307.

Gupta, S. (1999). The Effects of Transitions in Marital Status on Men's Performance of Housework. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 61(3), p.700.

Gupta, S. (2006). Her money, her time: Women's earnings and their housework hours. *Social Science Research*, 35(4), pp.975-999.

Gupta, S. (2007). Autonomy, Dependence, or Display? The Relationship Between Married Women?s Earnings and Housework. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 69(2), pp.399-417.

Gupta, S. and Ash, M. (2008). Whose money, whose time? A nonparametric approach to modeling time spent on housework in the United States. *Feminist Economics*, 14(1), pp.93-120.

Hagqvist, E., Nordenmark, M., Pérez, G., Trujillo Alemán, S. and Gillander Gådin, K. (2017). Parental leave policies and time use for mothers and fathers: a case study of Spain and Sweden. *Society, Health & Vulnerability*, 8(1), p.1374103.

Hallberg, D. and Klevmarken, A. (2003). Time for children: A study of parent's time allocation. *Journal of Population Economics*, 16(2), pp.205-226.

Hartmann, H. (1981). The unhappy marriage of Marxism and feminism: towards a more progressive union. In: L. Sargent, ed., *Women and revolution: a discussion of the unhappy marriage of Marxism and Feminism*. Boston, Massachusetts: South End Press.

Hofacker, D., Stoilova, R. and Riebling, J. (2013). The Gendered Division of Paid and Unpaid Work in Different Institutional Regimes: Comparing West Germany, East Germany and Bulgaria. *European Sociological Review*, 29(2), pp.192-209.

Hook, J. (2006). Care in Context: Men's Unpaid Work in 20 Countries, 1965–2003. *American Sociological Review*, 71(4), pp.639-660.

Hook, J. (2010). Gender Inequality in the Welfare State: Sex Segregation in Housework, 1965–2003. *American Journal of Sociology*, 115(5), pp.1480-1523.

Hook, J. (2016). Women's Housework: New Tests of Time and Money. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 79(1), pp.179-198.

Hook, J. and Wolfe, C. (2011). New Fathers?. *Journal of Family Issues*, 33(4), pp.415-450.

Horne, R., Johnson, M., Galambos, N. and Krahn, H. (2017). Time, Money, or Gender? Predictors of the Division of Household Labour Across Life Stages. *Sex Roles*.

Hummelsheim, D. and Hirschle, J. (2010). Mother's Employment: Cultural Imprint or Institutional Governance?. *European Societies*, 12(3), pp.339-366.

Indexmundi.com. (2018). *Albania - Total fertility rate - Historical Data Graphs per Year*. [online] Available at: https://www.indexmundi.com/g/g.aspx?v=31&c=al&l=en [Accessed 25 Apr. 2018].

Indexmundi.com. (2018). *Serbia - Country Profile - 2018*. [online] Available at: https://www.indexmundi.com/serbia [Accessed 25 Apr. 2018].

Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and postmodernization*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

INSTAT (2011) Albania Time Use Survey, 2010-2011

INSTAT (2012) ALBANIA: TRENDS IN POVERTY 2002-2005-2008-2012

INSTAT 2012 http://www.instat.gov.al/media/288399/living_standart_measurement_survey__2012_revised.pdf

International Labor Organization Maternity and Paternity at Work: Law and Practice Across the World. (2014). [online] Geneva: International Labor Organization. Available at: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_242615.pdf [Accessed 20 Apr. 2019].

Jung, A. and O'Brien, K. (2017). The Profound Influence of Unpaid Work on Women's Lives. *Journal of Career Development*, p.089484531773464.

Kawamura, S. and Brown, S. (2010). Mattering and wives' perceived fairness of the division of household labor. *Social Science Research*, 39(6), pp.976-986.

Killewald, A. and Gough, M. (2010). Money isn't everything: Wives' earnings and housework time. *Social Science Research*, 39(6), pp.987-1003.

Kilty, K. and Richardson, V. (1983). The impact of gender on productive and social activities. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 12(162-185).

Knudsen, K. and Waerness, K. (2007). National Context and Spouses' Housework in 34 Countries. *European Sociological Review*, 24(1), pp.97-113.

Korpi, W., Ferrarini, T. and Englund, S. (2013). Women's Opportunities under Different Family Policy Constellations: Gender, Class, and Inequality Tradeoffs in Western Countries Re-examined. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 20(1), pp.1-40.

Kuhhirt, M. (2012). Childbirth and the Long-Term Division of Labour within Couples: How do Substitution, Bargaining Power, and Norms affect Parents' Time Allocation in West Germany?. *European Sociological Review*, 28(5), pp.565-582.

Kuhhirt, M. and Ludwig, V. (2012). Domestic Work and the Wage Penalty for Motherhood in West Germany. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 74(1), pp.186-200.

Kunzler, J., Walter, W., Reichart, E. and Pfister, G. (2001). *Gender division of labour in unified Germany*. European Network on Policies and The Division of Unpaid and Paid Work. Tilburg University. The Netherlands.

Lachance-Grzela, M. and Bouchard, G. (2010). Why Do Women Do the Lion's Share of Housework? A Decade of Research. *Sex Roles*, 63(11-12), pp.767-780.

Lam, C., McHale, S. and Crouter, A. (2012). The Division of Household Labor: Longitudinal Changes and Within-Couple Variation. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 74(5), pp.944-952.

Lengermann, P. and Niebrugge-Brantley, J. (1988). Contemporary Feminist Theory. In: G. Ritzer, ed., *Contemporary Sociological Theory*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Lewin-Epstein, N., Stier, H. and Braun, M. (2006). The Division of Household Labor in Germany and Israel. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 68(5), pp.1147-1164.

Lincoln, A. (2008). Gender, Productivity, and the Marital Wage Premium. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 70(3), pp.806-814.

Lyonette, C. and Crompton, R. (2014). Sharing the load? Partners' relative earnings and the division of domestic labour. *Work, Employment and Society*, 29(1), pp.23-40.

Man Yee Kan, Sullivan, O. and Gershuny, J. (2011). Gender Convergence in Domestic Work: Discerning the Effects of Interactional and Institutional Barriers from Large-scale Data. *Sociology*, 45(2), pp.234-251.

Mannino, C. and Deutsch, F. (2007). Changing the Division of Household Labor: A Negotiated Process Between Partners. *Sex Roles*, 56(5-6), pp.309-324.

Marsiglio, W., Amato, P., Day, R. and Lamb, M. (2000). Scholarship on Fatherhood in the 1990s and Beyond. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(4), pp.1173-1191.

Meggiolaro, S. (2013). Household Labor Allocation Among Married and Cohabiting Couples in Italy. *Journal of Family Issues*, 35(6), pp.851-876.

Meil, G. (2013). European Men's Use of Parental Leave and Their Involvement in Child Care and Housework. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 44(5), pp.557-570.

Milkie, M., Bianchi, S., Mattingly, M. and Robinson, J. (2002). *Sex Roles*, 47(1/2), pp.21-38.

Miranda, V. (2011). Cooking, Caring and Volunteering: Unpaid Work Around the World. *OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers*.

Munsch, C. (2015). Her Support, His Support: Money, Masculinity, and Marital Infidelity. *American Sociological Review*, 80(3), pp.469-495.

Musumeci, R. and Solera, C. (2013). Women's and men's career interruptions in Europe: the role of social policies1. *Observatoire de la société britannique*, (14), pp.37-72.

Neilson, J. and Stanfors, M. (2014). It's About Time! Gender, Parenthood, and Household Divisions of Labor Under Different Welfare Regimes. *Journal of Family Issues*, 35(8), pp.1066-1088.

Nikolic-Ristanovic, V. (2002). *Social Change, Gender and Violence: Post-Communist and War Affected Societies.* Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers .

Nixon, N. (2009). 'You can't eat shame with bread': gender and collective shame in Albanian society . *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* , *9* (1-2), 105-121.

Nitsche, N. and Grunow, D. (2016). Housework over the course of relationships: Gender ideology, resources, and the division of housework from a growth curve perspective. *Advances in Life Course Research*, 29, pp.80-94.

Noonan, M. (2013). The Impact of Social Policy on the Gendered Division of Housework. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 5(2), pp.124-134.

Noonan, M., Estes, S. and Glass, J. (2007). Do Workplace Flexibility Policies Influence Time Spent in Domestic Labor?. *Journal of Family Issues*, 28(2), pp.263-288.

Norman, H., Elliot, M. and Fagan, C. (2013). Which fathers are the most involved in taking care of their toddlers in the UK? An investigation of the predictors of paternal involvement. *Community, Work & Family*, 17(2), pp.163-180.

OECD Statistics (2014) Gender, Institutions and Development Database 2014 (GID-DB): Unpaid care work http://stats.oecd.org/

Orloff, A. S. (2011). Policy, politics, gender: Bringing gender to the analysis of welfare states. *Sociologica*. DOI: 10.2383/34627

Pascal, G., & Kwak, A. (2005). *Gender Regimes in Transition in Central and Eastern Europe.* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Perales, F., Baxter, J. and Tai, T. (2015). Gender, justice and work: A distributive approach to perceptions of housework fairness. *Social Science Research*, 51, pp.51-63.

Pfau-Effinger, B. (2005). Welfare State Policies and the Development of Care Arrangements. *European Societies*, 7(2), pp.321-347.

Poortman, A. and van der Lippe, T. (2009). Attitudes Toward Housework and Child Care and the Gendered Division of Labor. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 71(3), pp.526-541.

Radoman, V., Nano, V., and Closs, A. (2006). Prospects for inclusive education in European countries emerging from economic and other trauma: Serbia and Albania. *European Journal of Special Needs Education* , 151-166.

Ramet, S. (1999). In Tito's Time. In S. R. Ed., *Gender and Politics in Western Balkans* (pp. 3-10). University Park: Pennsylvania State University.

Ringdal, K. (2015). Gender Roles in Southeastern Europe. In C. M. Hassenstab, & S. P. Ramet, *Gender (In)equality and Gender Politics in Southeastern Europe: A Question of Justice* (pp. 321-338). Hampshire: Palgrave Mcmillan.

Risman, B. (2011). Gender as Structure or Trump Card?. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 3(1), pp.18-22.

Risman, B. and Davis, G. (2013). From sex roles to gender structure. *Current Sociology*, 61(5-6), pp.733-755.

Ruppanner, L. (2010). Cross-national reports of housework: An investigation of the gender empowerment measure. *Social Science Research*, 39(6), pp.963-975.

Ruppanner, L. and Maume, D. (2016). The state of domestic affairs: Housework, gender and state-level institutional logics. *Social Science Research*, 60, pp.15-28.

Sanchez, L. and Thomson, E. (1997). Becoming mothers and fathers parenthood, gender, and the division of labor. *Gender & Society*, 11(6), pp.747-772.

Saraceno, C. (2011). Childcare needs and childcare policies: A multidimensional issue. *Current Sociology*, 59(1), pp.78-96.

Saraceno, C. and Keck, W. (2010). Can we Identify Intergenerational Policy Regimes in Europe?. *European Societies*, 12(5), pp.675-696.

Sayer, L. (2005). Gender, Time and Inequality: Trends in Women's and Men's Paid Work, Unpaid Work and Free Time. *Social Forces*, 84(1), pp.285-303.

Sayer, L., Bianchi, S. and Robinson, J. (2004). Are Parents Investing Less in Children? Trends in Mothers' and Fathers' Time with Children. *American Journal of Sociology*, 110(1), pp.1-43.

Schneider, D. (2011). Market Earnings and Household Work: New Tests of Gender Performance Theory. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 73(4), pp.845-860.

Schober, P. (2013). Gender Equality and Outsourcing of Domestic Work, Childbearing, and Relationship Stability Among British Couples. *Journal of Family Issues*, 34(1), pp.25-52.

Schober, P. (2014). Parental Leave and Domestic Work of Mothers and Fathers: A Longitudinal Study of Two Reforms in West Germany. *Journal of Social Policy*, 43(02), pp.351-372.

Shehaj. E. et.al, (2013) "Women's inclusion in socio-economic life: Determinants of female labour force participation in the Western Balkans", Publisher: Faculty of Economics, University of Tirana

Shelton, B. and John, D. (1993). Does Marital Status Make a Difference?. *Journal of Family Issues*, 14(3), pp.401-420.

Shelton, B. and John, D. (1996). The Division of Household Labor. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 22(1), pp.299-322.

Simkus, A. (2015). Differences in Attitudes towards Gender Roles within and between the Countries of the Western Balkans. In C. M. Hassenstab, & S. P. Ramet, *Gender (In)equality in Southeastern Europe: A question of Justice* (pp. 338-354). Hampshire: Palgrave Mcmillan.

SORS. (2014). *Women and Men in the Republic of Serbia* . Belgrade: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia.

Stadelmann-Steffen, I. (2008). Women, Labour, and Public Policy: Female Labour Market Integration in OECD Countries. A Comparative Perspective. *Journal of Social Policy*, 37(03).

Stier, H. and Lewin-Epstein, N. (2007). Policy effects on the division of housework. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 9(3), pp.235-259.

Sullivan, O. (2011). Gender Deviance Neutralization Through Housework: Where Does It Fit in the Bigger Picture? Response to England, Kluwer, and Risman. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 3(1), pp.27-31.

Sullivan, O. and Gershuny, J. (2013). Domestic outsourcing and multitasking: How much do they really contribute?. *Social Science Research*, 42(5), pp.1311-1324.

Sullivan, O., Billari, F. and Altintas, E. (2014). Fathers' Changing Contributions to Child Care and Domestic Work in Very Low–Fertility Countries. *Journal of Family Issues*, 35(8), pp.1048-1065.

Sullivan, O., Gershuny, J. and Robinson, J. (2018). Stalled or Uneven Gender Revolution? A Long-Term Processual Framework for Understanding Why Change Is Slow. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 10(1), pp.263-279.

Tai, T. and Treas, J. (2012). Housework Task Hierarchies in 32 Countries. *European Sociological Review*, 29(4), pp.780-791.

Tamilina, L. and Tamilina, N. (2013). The Impact of Welfare States on the Division of Housework in the Family. *Journal of Family Issues*, 35(6), pp.825-850.

Tichenor, V. (2005). Maintaining Men's Dominance: Negotiating Identity and Power When She Earns More. *Sex Roles*, 53(3-4), pp.191-205.

Ting, S., Perales, F. and Baxter, J. (2016). Gender, ethnicity and the division of household labour within heterosexual couples in Australia. *Journal of Sociology*, 52(4), pp.693-710.

Townsley, E., Robinson, J. and Godbey, G. (1998). Time for Life: The Surprising Ways Americans Use Their Time. *Contemporary Sociology*, 27(3), p.251.

Transformative Monitoring for Enhanced Equity. (2018). *COUNTRIES - Transformative Monitoring for Enhanced Equity*. [online] Available at: http://transmonee.org/countries/ [Accessed 10 Mar. 2018].

Treas, J. and Drobnic, S. (2010). *Dividing the domestic*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Treas, J. and Tai, T. (2016). Gender Inequality in Housework Across 20 European Nations: Lessons from Gender Stratification Theories. *Sex Roles*, 74(11-12), pp.495-511.

Van Berkel, M. and De Graaf, N. (1999). By Virtue of Pleasantness? Housework and the Effects of Education Revisited. *Sociology*, 33(4), pp.785-808.

van der Lippe, T., de Ruijter, J., de Ruijter, E. and Raub, W. (2010). Persistent Inequalities in Time Use between Men and Women: A Detailed Look at the Influence of Economic Circumstances, Policies, and Culture. *European Sociological Review*, 27(2), pp.164-179.

van der Lippe, T., Treas, J. and Norbutas, L. (2017). Unemployment and the division of housework in Europe. *Work, Employment and Society*, p.095001701769049.

Vandeweyer, J. and Glorieux, I. (2008). Men Taking Up Career Leave: An Opportunity for a Better Work and Family Life Balance?. *Journal of Social Policy*, 37(02).

Vullnetari, J. and King, R. (2015). 'Washing men's feet': gender, care and migration in Albania during and after communism. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 23(2), pp.198-215.

West, C. and Zimmerman, D. (1987). Doing Gender. *Gender & Society*, 1(2), pp.125-151.

Windebank, J. (2001). Dual-Earner Couples in Britain and France: Gender Divisions of Domestic Labour and Parenting Work in Different Welfare States. *Work, Employment & Society*, 15(2), pp.269-290.

World Bank, (2018). [online] Available at:

https://wwwhttps://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD?end=2016&start=2010 .indexmundi.com/g/g.aspx?v=31&c=al&l=en [Accessed 29 Apr. 2018].

World Bank, (2018). [online] Available at: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.TFRT.IN [Accessed 29 Apr. 2018].

World Bank, (2018). [online] Available at: https://datacatalog.worldbank.org/mean-age-first-marriage-female [Accessed 29 Apr. 2018].

Yavorsky, J., Kamp Dush, C. and Schoppe-Sullivan, S. (2015). The Production of Inequality: The Gender Division of Labor Across the Transition to Parenthood. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 77(3), pp.662-679.

Yodanis, C. (2005). Divorce Culture and Marital Gender Equality. *Gender & Society*, 19(5), pp.644-659.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Dependent Variables (Selected activities from HETUS Guidelines as used by Albanian INSTAT and Serbian SORS)

List of activities included in the Y-variable Total unpaid work
Unspecified household and family care
Food preparation, baking and preserving
Dish washing
Household upkeep
Cleaning dwelling
Cleaning garden
Heating and water
Arranging household goods and materials
Other or unspecified household upkeep
Making and care for textiles
Laundry
Ironing
Handicraft and producing textiles
Other or unspecified making of and care for textiles
Gardening and pet care
Gardening
Tending domestic animals
Caring for pets
Walking the dog
Other or unspecified gardening and pet care
Construction and repairs
House construction and renovation
Repairs to dwelling
Making, repairing and maintaining equipment
Vehicle maintenance
Other or unspecified construction and repairs
Shopping and services
Shopping
Commercial and administrative services
Personal services
Other or unspecified shopping and services 37 Household management

Household management
Childcare
Physical care and supervision
Teaching the child
Reading, playing and talking with child
Accompanying child
Supervision by other household member exl. parents and siblings
Other or unspecified childcare
Help to an adult family member
Physical care of a dependent adult household member
Other help of a dependent adult household member
Help to a non dependent adult household member

List of activities included in the y-variable "Routine work"

Unspecified household and family care
Food preparation, baking and preserving
Dish washing
Household upkeep
Cleaning dwelling
Heating and water
Arranging household goods and materials
Other or unspecified household upkeep
Making and care for textiles
Laundry
Ironing
Gardening and pet care
Tending domestic animals
Caring for pets
Other or unspecified gardening and pet care
Construction and repairs

List of activities included in the Y Variable "Childcare"

Physical care and supervision
Teaching the child
Reading, playing and talking with child
Accompanying child
Supervision by other household member exl. parents and siblings
Other or unspecified childcare

Appendix 2

Number of observations for samples 2and samples 3

Sample 2 number of observations according to couple's educational status

Number of observations	both secondary	only husband secondary	Onlywife secondary	neither secondary
Albania	368	196	82	500
Serbia	427	90	36	127

Sample 2 number of observations according to woman's employment

Number of observations	Woman employed	Woman not employed
Albania	576	570
Serbia	372	300

Sample 3 number of observations according to couple's educational status

Number of observations	both secondary	only husband secondary	Onlywife secondary	neither secondary
Albania	174	101	44	241
Serbia	188	22	20	28

Sample 3 number of observations according to woman's employment

Number of observations	Woman employed	Woman not employed
Albania	271	289
Serbia	148	105

Appendix 3

Definitions of macro indicators

1. Total fertility rate - Total fertility rate represents the number of children that would be born to a woman if she were to live to the end of her childbearing years and bear children in accordance with age-specific fertility rates of the specified year (World Bank).

2. Mean age 1st child for women- This entry provides the mean (average) age of mothers at the birth of their first child. It is a useful indicator for gauging the success of family planning programs aiming to reduce maternal mortality, increase contraceptive use – particularly among married and unmarried adolescents – delay age at first marriage, and improve the health of new-borns (CIA Factbook).

3. Mean age at marriage for women-Mean age at marriage, female shows the average length of single life expressed in years among those females who marry before age 50. It is a synthetic indicator calculated from marital status categories of men and women aged 15 to 54 at the census or survey date (World Bank Data)

4. Employment rates: The employment rate is the percentage of employed persons in relation to the comparable total population. For the overall employment rate, the comparison is made with the population of working-age; but employment rates can also be calculated for a particular age group and/or gender in a specific geographical area (for example the males of age 15-24 employed versus total in one European Union (EU) Member State). (Eurostat Glossary)https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsexplained/index.php/Glossary:Employment_rate

5. Part-time as share total female employment- The indicator 'part-time employment' represents employees who work part-time as a percentage of total employment. The indicator is based on the EU Labour Force Survey.

6. Female adult unemployment rate: The unemployment rate is the number of females unemployed as a percentage of the labour force. An unemployed person is defined by Eurostat, according to the guidelines of the International Labour Organization, as: someone aged 15 to 74 (in Italy, Spain, the United Kingdom, Iceland, Norway: 16 to 74 years); without work during the reference week; available to start work within the next two weeks (or has already found a job to start within the next three months); actively having sought employment at some time during the last four weeks. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Glossary:Unemployment

7. Women in the non-agricultural paid labor: The share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector is expressed as a percentage of female workers in total wage employment in the non-agricultural sector. (http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mi/wiki/3-2-Share-of-women-in-wage-employment-in-the-non-agricultural-sector.ashx)

8. Global Gender Gap index- The Global Gender Gap Index examines the gap between men and women in four fundamental categories (subindexes): economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival and political empowerment. The highest possible score is 1 (equality) and the lowest possible score is 0 (inequality). http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2012.pdf

9. Economic participation: Female and male adult unemployment rates (% of female labour force and male labour force, respectively): Source is the World Bank's World dataBank, World Development Indicators online database, 2010 or latest available data (accessed June 2012). • Share of women in wage employment in the nonagricultural sector (% of total non-agricultural sector): Source is the United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, UN Statistics division, Millennium Development Goals Indicators, 2010 or latest available data (accessed July 2012). • Inheritance rights of daughters and widows: Source is the OECD's Gender, Institutions and Development Database 2012 (GID-DB) (accessed July 2012). The numbers are on a 0-to-1 scale, where 1 is the worst possible score and 0 the best possible score. • Firms with female participation in ownership (% of firms): Source is the World Bank's World data Bank, World Development Indicators online database, 2010 or latest available data (accessed June 2012). • Women's access to land ownership, Women's access to credit, Women's access to property other than land: Source of all these variables is the OECD's Gender, Institutions and Development Database 2012) (GID-DB) (accessed June 2012). The numbers are on a 0-to-1 scale, where 1 is the worst possible score and 0 the best possible score. • Women's access to finance programmes Source is the Economist Intelligence Unit, the Women's Economic Opportunity Index (accessed July 2012)
http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2012.pdf

10. Education : Female teachers, primary education (%), Female teachers, secondary education (%) and Female teachers, tertiary education (%): Source of all these variables is the UNESCO, Institute for Statistics' Education Statistics online database, 2010 or latest available data (accessed June 2012). • Female school life expectancy, primary to secondary (years) and Male school life expectancy, primary to secondary (years): Source of these two variable is the UNESCO, Institute of Statistics' Education Statistics online database, 2011 or latest available data (accessed June 2012).
http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2012.pdf

11. Health and Survival Sex ratio at birth (female/male); Healthy life expectancy
http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2012.pdf

12. Political empowerment Women in parliament, Women in ministerial positions, Years with female head of state
http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2012.pdf

13. GDP per capita is gross domestic product divided by mid year population. GDP is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products. It is calculated without making deductions for depreciation of fabricated assets or for depletion and degradation

of natural resources. Data are in current U.S. dollars. (World Bank definition https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD)

14. Gender gap in average time per day doing household and family care (Female to male ratio of time devoted to unpaid care work OECD, 2014 DATA).

15. GDP per capita (current US $): GDP per capita based on purchasing power parity (PPP). PPP GDP is gross domestic product converted to international dollars using purchasing power parity rates. An international dollar has the same purchasing power over GDP as the U.S. dollar has in the United States. GDP at purchaser's prices is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products. It is calculated without making deductions for depreciation of fabricated assets or for depletion and degradation of natural resources. Data are in current international dollars based on the 2011 ICP round https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD

16. Gini index (years vary): Gini index measures the extent to which the distribution of income (or, in some cases, consumption expenditure) among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution. A Lorenz curve plots the cumulative percentages of total income received against the cumulative number of recipients, starting with the poorest individual or household. The Gini index measures the area between the Lorenz curve and a hypothetical line of absolute equality, expressed as a percentage of the maximum area under the line. Thus a Gini index of 0 represents perfect equality, while an index of 100 implies perfect inequality. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI

17. Gender pay gap The gender wage gap is the difference between wages earned by men and wages earned by women. The gap can be measured in various ways, but the most common method is to look at full–time, full year wages. It is also possible to measure the gender wage gap on the basis of hourly wages. Other ways of calculating the gender wage gap include the comparison of annual earnings for both full- and part-time workers and comparing the hourly wages for full- and part-time workers. These methods of calculation will produce different results. Regardless of how it is calculated however, the gender wage gap clearly remains a challenge for many women http://www.payequity.gov.on.ca/en/GWG/Pages/what_is_GWG.aspx

18. Participation rates in formal childcare 0-2: Enrolment rates in early childhood education and care services for 0- to 2-year-olds, that is, the percentage of children aged 0-2 enrolled in or using early childhood education and care services. For most countries, data come from OECD Education at a Glance 2018 and cover all children aged 0-2 enrolled in registered ECEC services. This generally includes children in ECEC services recognised under ISCED 2011 level 0 (ECEC services that take place in an institutionalised setting and that contain an intentional education component, among other criteria) and children in other registered ECEC services outside the scope of ISCED 2011 level 0 (i.e. registered services that do not meet the criteria for classification under ISCED 2011 level 0, such as having an intentional educational component). However, exact sources, coverage and definitions

differ across countries. See the notes to Chart PF3.2.A and the comparability and data issues section later in this document for more details.
https://www.oecd.org/els/soc/PF3_2_Enrolment_childcare_preschool.pdf

19. Total weeks of paid leave for mothers: For a detailed report on benefits calculations of maternity leaves see ILO 2014 report: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_242615.pdf

20. Total weeks of paid leave for fathers For a detailed report on benefits calculations of paternity leaves see ILO 2014 report https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_242615.pdf

Appendix 4
Cronbach Alpha scale

Modern Gender Roles Scale (EVS 2008)

Item	Obs	Sign	item-test correlation	item-rest correlation	average interitem covariance	alpha
v160	2937	+	0.7039	0.3431	.3110904	0.6052
v161	2888	+	0.7867	0.4684	.1827451	0.4212
v162	2881	+	0.7694	0.4254	.2132267	0.4854
Test scale					.2355194	0.6091

Equality scale (EVS 2008)

Item	Obs	Sign	item-testcorrelation	item-rest correlation	average interitem covariance	Alpha
v164	2986	+	0.7355	0.4394	.1903308	0.5254
v165	2975	+	0.7670	0.3872	.186134	0.6067
v166	2981	+	0.7820	0.4874	.1452142	0.4498
Test scale					.173899	0.6247

Appendix 5
Preditive means

Predictive Margins when all other variables are at their means

Albanian Women

	Margin	Delta-method Std. Err.	t	P>t	[95% Conf.	Interval]
educompleted						
up to second..	367.8612	4.486461	81.99	0.000	359.0623	376.66
secondary	329.0708	6.271967	52.47	0.000	316.7703	341.3714
tertiary and..	288.6243	12.3788	23.32	0.000	264.347	312.9015
wstatus						
employed	255.7213	5.389183	47.45	0.000	245.152	266.2905
unemployed	444.8638	11.24123	39.57	0.000	422.8175	466.9101
inactive	413.561	5.039473	82.06	0.000	403.6776	423.4444
couplestatus						
single	307.5207	7.802867	39.41	0.000	292.2178	322.8237
in couple	366.1057	4.428976	82.66	0.000	357.4196	374.7918
parentalstatus2						
no children	291.3695	7.70575	37.81	0.000	276.257	306.482
child 0-3	493.1263	10.91618	45.17	0.000	471.7175	514.535
child 4-6	418.0935	11.66762	35.83	0.000	395.211	440.976
child 7+	332.6334	6.086526	54.65	0.000	320.6965	344.5703

Serbian Women

margins educompleted wstatus couplestatus parentalstatus

Predictive margins — Number of obs = 1362
Model VCE : OLS
Expression : Linear prediction, predict()

	Margin	Delta-method Std. Err.	t	P>t	[95% Conf.	Interval]
educompleted						
up to second..	304.9327	6.913708	44.11	0.000	291.3699	318.4955
secondary	282.0398	4.570414	61.71	0.000	273.0739	291.0057
tertiary and..	262.1562	8.742705	29.99	0.000	245.0054	279.307
wstatus						
employed	237.5166	5.184068	45.82	0.000	227.3469	247.6863
unemployed	342.3746	9.795272	34.95	0.000	323.1589	361.5902
inactive	323.3377	5.788727	55.86	0.000	311.9818	334.6936
couplestatus						
single	243.5108	6.894717	35.32	0.000	229.9853	257.0364
in couple	304.0157	4.335842	70.12	0.000	295.51	312.5215
parentalstatus2						
no children	241.1629	6.129665	39.34	0.000	229.1382	253.1876
child 0-3	479.9057	13.7941	34.79	0.000	452.8454	506.9659
child 4-6	397.0318	15.42209	25.74	0.000	366.7779	427.2857
child 7+	281.6445	6.09549	46.21	0.000	269.6868	293.6022

Appendix 6

OLS Regressions men and women together Total unpaid work

Albania

Source	SS	Df	Number of obs	=	3550
			F(15, 3534)	=	449.30
Model	106848990	15	Prob > F	=	0.0000
Residual	56028010.4	3534	R-squared	=	0.6560
			Adj R-squared	=	0.6546
Total	162877000	3549	Root MSE	=	125.91
Total unpaid work	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>t	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Sex					
Female	261.98	4.67	0.000	252.81	271.14
Agecat					
25-34	39.73	7.37	0.000	25.28	54.18
35-44	25.70	8.97	0.004	8.10	43.30
45-54	15.01	9.46	0.113	-3.53	33.51
55-64	17.28	9.52	0.070	-1.39	35.96
Urbrural					
Rural	46.67	4.58	0.000	37.68	55.65
Househol size	-8.02	1.45	0.000	-10.88	-5.16
Couplestatus					
in couple	49.19	6.83	0.000	35.78	62.59
parentalstatus2					
child 0-3	106.11	8.80	0.000	88.85	123.37
child 4-6	77.82	9.58	0.000	59.03	96.61
child 7+	36.14	7.47	0.000	21.49	50.79
Educompleted					
Secondary	-25.17	4.80	0.000	-34.58	-15.75
tertiary and post	-53.62	8.42	0.000	-70.13	-37.11
Wstatus					
Unemployed	109.09	7.55	0.000	94.28	123.91
Inactive	132.50	5.42	0.000	121.87	143.14
_cons	-54.99	9.72	0.000	-74.06	-35.92

Predictive margins Sex Number of obs = 3550
Expression : Linear prediction, predict()
Delta-method

	Margin	Std. Err.	P>t	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Sex					
Male	63.85	3.181	0.000	57.61	70.08
Female	325.83	3.121	0.000	319.7	331.95

OLS Regressions men and women together Total unpaid work

Serbia

Source	SS	df	Number of obs	=	2580
			F(15, 2564)	=	165.44
Model	34954755.9	15	Prob > F	=	0.0000
Residual	36116353.4	2564	R-squared	=	0.4918
			Adj R-squared	=	0.4889
Total	71071109.3	2579	Root MSE	=	118.68
unpaidworkw	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>t	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Sex					
Female	155.76	4.85	0.000	146.24	165.28
Agecat					
25-34	77.68	9.94	0.000	58.18	97.19
35-44	101.83	10.61	0.000	81.01	122.66
45-54	137.50	10.79	0.000	116.34	158.66
55-64	124.48	10.51	0.000	103.87	145.09
urbrural					
Rural	28.92	5.13	0.000	18.85	38.99
Household size	-5.09	2.10	0.016	-9.23	-.96
couplestatus					
in couple	33.46	6.39	0.000	20.92	45.99
parentalstatus2					
child 0-3	164.79	10.77	0.000	143.66	185.93
child 4-6	109.28	12.19	0.000	85.36	133.20
child 7+	21.66	6.87	0.002	8.18	35.13
educompleted					
Secondary	-14.67	5.90	0.013	-26.26	-3.08
tertiary and post	-28.16	8.27	0.001	-44.38	-11.94
Wstatus					
unemployed	94.86	7.67	0.000	79.82	109.91
Inactive	80.28	5.94	0.000	68.62	91.951
_cons	-48.41	12.96	0.000	-73.84	-22.99

Predictive margins Sex Number of obs = 2580
Expression : Linear prediction, predict()

	Margin	Delta-method Std. Err.	P>t	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Sex					
Male	119.9077	3.436678	0.000	113.1687	126.6466
Female	275.6762	3.303113	0.000	269.1992	282.1533

Appendix 7

Hypothesis Revisited

Country Level	Married men's time on unpaid work or routine housework is unchanged when they have children (ILH2b) (Not supported)
Albanian women, in all life stages, perform more unpaid work (in absolute minutes), compared to Serbian women in all life stages (CLH 1a) (Supported)	Higher education level is associated with less minutes spent on unpaid work and routine housework for women(ILH3a) (Supported)
Men in Serbia in all life stages perform more unpaid work (in absolute minutes) when compared to Albanian men in all life stages (CLH 1b) (Supported)	Higher education level is associated with more minutes spent on unpaid work and routine housework for men (ILH3b) (Not supported)
Married men in Serbia perform more unpaid work and routine work than married men in Albania (wife's share of unpaid work and routine work is lower in Serbia than in Albania (CLH2) (Supported)	Employed women spend less time in unpaid work and routine work than unemployed or inactive women (ILH4a) (Supported)
The difference in time use between highly and poorly educated men and women is stronger in Albania than in Serbia (CLH3) (Partially supported for Albanian women)	Unemployed men and inactive men engage more in unpaid work than employed men (ILH4b) (Partially supported for Serbia)
Married women in Albania will do more unpaid work then single and childless women in Albania, compared to women in Serbia in the same life-courses (CLH4) (Not supported)	Wife's share of unpaid work and routine work decreases when she is employed (ILH5) (Supported)
Individual level	A higher educational level of couple predicts a lower share of wife's unpaid work and routine work (ILH6) (Partially supported for Serbia)
Being in couple increases the unpaid work and routine housework time for women (ILH1) (Supported)	Having children of a young age (0-7) increases wife's share of total unpaid work and routine housework (ILH7) (Partially supported for Albania)
Married women with children spend more time in unpaid work and routine housework, compared to women without children (ILH2a) (Supported)	Mother's share of childcare decreases when fathers have a higher level of education (ILH8) (Not supported)