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Measuring time use and valuing unpaid work

Unpaid work in Albania and the inheritance of gender roles

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Abstract

The time use survey, conducted in Albania during the years 2010-2011, confirms clearly the gender role division concerning paid and unpaid work. In the light of the global agenda for achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls (goal 5 of the sustainable development goals), this paper investigates the linkage of the gendered division of time use for carrying out domestic (unpaid) work with the inheritance of gender roles and addresses the key challenges to achieving the SDG goals due to country-specific cultural and traditional norms.

A comparison of participation rates in household chores is done by making use of Albanian Child Labour Survey (ACLS, conducted in 2010) data and ATUS for the children population aged 10 to 17. Comparing boys' and girls' participation rates in household chores it is clearly proved that in Albania these activities are considered as girls' duty. Then, the analysis is extended to the engagement in unpaid work activities of children living in households composed by three generations (co-residing with their parents and grandparents).

Keywords: gender equality, time use, unpaid work, gender role division

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1. Nowadays, gender equality is being given a great importance in all development policies and national and international strategies, putting more emphasis on objective of narrowing gender gaps as defined by target indicators such as the gender pay gap, gender gap in labour force participation and gender gap in education. Even though statistics confirm for a positive progress in gender gaps narrowing, one cannot say the same thing as regards to the gender roles division in everyday activities at home. Women, in the Albanian society, as well as in many other societies, are considered to be the backbone of the household, maintaining home and taking care about children, elderly living in household, and even more caring about their partner/husband.
2. The study of time use in Albania during the years 2010-2011, as expected, corroborate clearly the gender role division concerning paid and unpaid work. Thus, men are seen as financial household pillars that provide income for their family (in other words the breadwinners) while women have to carry out the household chores and take care about children, even if they are in employment. This kind of gender roles division provides evidence of the inter-generational transmission of social behaviour, where woman have to take care about household chores and men have to take responsibility of the household. Sociologists define the gender role a set of behaviours, attitudes and personality characteristics expected and encouraged of a person based on his or her sex.
3. For the analysis shown in this paper, we use time use survey data, conducted in Albania during the years 2010-2011. Within each sampled household were interviewed all individuals aged 10 years and above who also completed two diaries. One diary was filled in on a selected weekday and the other diary on a weekend day. The TUS allow matching parents' data with their children data, which is crucial for analysing the inter-generational relations. Also the 2010 Child Labour Survey Data are used for making a comparison of participation rate of children aged 10-17 in doing household chores.
4. Albanian society, like many other Mediterranean countries such as Spain and Italy, exhibits strong family ties. Therefore, the transmission process of beliefs and attitudes from parents to their children becomes easier. A greater sharing of paid and unpaid work is also about changing norms, culture, mind-sets and attitudes (OECD 2012)¹. Such changes take time to happen, but policy has a role to play in raising public awareness of gender biases in society and promoting change (OECD 2012).²
5. Alvares & Miles (2008) find a strong and significant correlation between fathers' and sons' involvement with domestic tasks³. They argue that policies aimed at equalizing parents' gender roles may have positive long-term implications through children.
6. Alvares & Miles (2008) points out that a considerable challenge to estimating the casual effect of parental gender roles on children gender roles, measured through household domestic chores, is the endogeneity of father's behaviour because it causes bias of the estimated effect. They argue that it is even more difficult to isolate the father's impact (vertical transmission) from the societal impact (oblique transmission), because the society may also influence fathers' gender roles. The division of unpaid work in the household is used in many cases as an indicator of behaviour more or less traditional (Cosp and Roman, 2014).

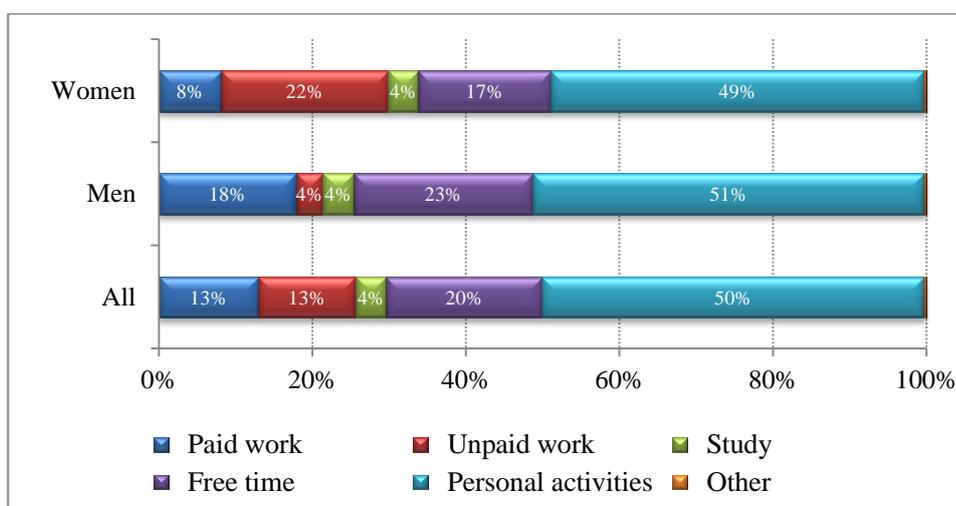
¹ OECD (2012) Gender Equality in Education, Employment and Entrepreneurship: Final report, OECD Publishing, Paris.

² OECD (2012) Gender Equality in Education, Employment and Entrepreneurship: Final report, OECD Publishing, Paris.

³ Alvarez, B. and D. Miles (2008) "Intergenerational transmission of gender roles: An empirical analysis through housework".

7. Dex (2010) raises the concern whether policy intervention in men's and women's shares of unpaid work is possible or realistic. From a labour market viewpoint, she argues that government policies which facilitate the reconciliation of work and family life often play a key role in female labour force participation. On the other hand she accepts that these policies aim to support both parents, but frequently they inadvertently reinforce the more traditional role of women as caregivers, thereby contributing to persistent gender inequality⁴.
8. The analysis is based on the 2010-11 Albanian Time Use Survey (ATUS). The ATUS is based on a representative probability sample of 2,250 households. The survey covers the Albanian population 10 years and older. Each household member aged 10 years and over was asked to fill in the individual questionnaire and two time diaries. The information on time use was collected by means of a fixed interval (10 minutes) time diary in which the respondents themselves recorded their time use for two randomly designated diary days.
9. Figure 1 shows the general time use structure of the Albanian population aged 10 years and above. In overall, on average half of a 24-hour day is spent for personal care (sleeping, eating and personal hygiene). Three out of the 24 hours day are allocated to paid work (commuting and lunch breaks included). It represents about 13 percent of the time. The time allocated to unpaid work is precisely the same as time allocated to paid work, i.e. three hours a day.
10. There is a substantial difference in the gender division of paid and unpaid work. Women undertake a much higher load of unpaid work than men. Women spend significantly more time than men to unpaid work and less time in free time activities.

Figure 1: Time use structure of the Albanian population aged 10 years and above



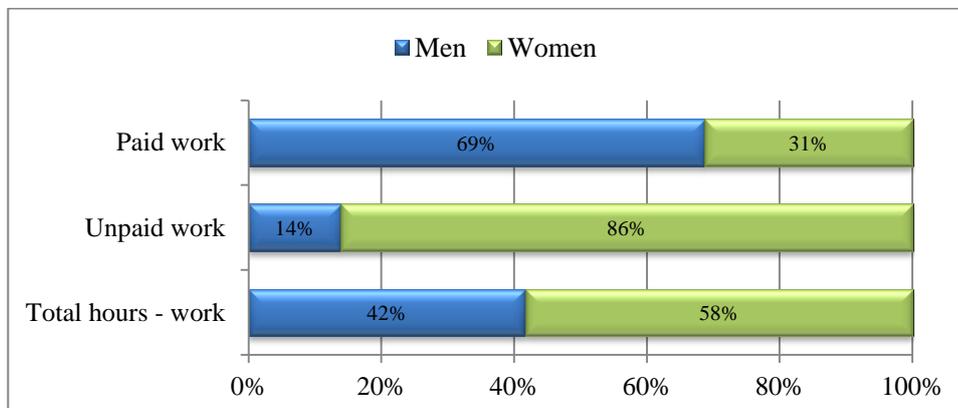
Source: INSTAT, 2010-11 Time Use Survey

11. Figure 2 presents the distribution of hours spent on work of some kind (total work which is the sum of hours spent in paid and unpaid work). Of the total hours of unpaid work carried out by the population 10 years and older, men take on 14 percent, women 86. This is a much skewed

⁴ Dex, S. (2010), "Can State Policies Produce Equality in Housework?", in Treas, J. and S. Drobic (eds.), *Dividing the Domestic*, Stanford University Press, Stanford.

distribution both in absolute terms and relative to other European countries. As to paid and unpaid work taken together, i.e. total work, women’s contributions in time exceeds men’s by about two hours and average day.

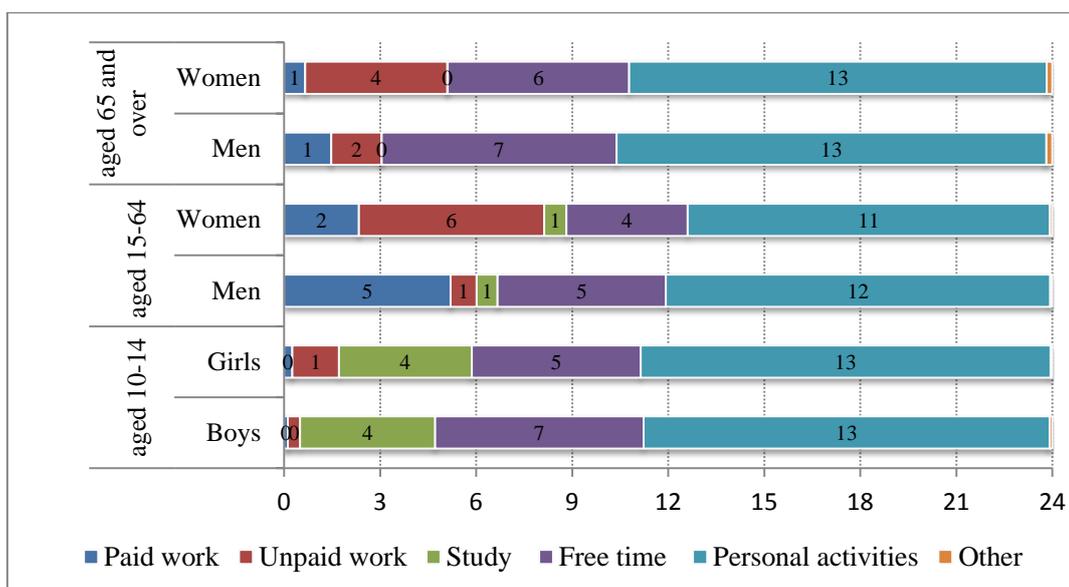
Figure 2 Distribution of time spent on paid and unpaid work by sex, population aged 10 years and above



Source: INSTAT, 2010-11 Time Use Survey

12. Among the very young (10-14 years) the distribution of unpaid work is also skewed, however more moderately. For free time and unpaid work activities there are however, sizeable differences. The girls spend close to four times more time to unpaid work than the boys (one and a half hour vs. less than half an hour). The participation rates also differ; two thirds of the girls do some unpaid work an average day whereas less than a third of the boys are doing the same. The amount of free time differs with more than an hour to the boys’ advantage (Figure 3).
13. Gender dissimilarities become even more pronounced for the population aged 15 to 64. Core domestic tasks (routine housework) as cooking, dishwashing, cleaning and upkeep, laundry and ironing are extremely gendered. Out of the total hours spent on these activities by the population 15-64 years women do 96 percent, men 4 percent. Having small children, the distribution becomes even more skewed.
14. A considerable proportion of elderly people, 65 years or older, is spending time on paid work. On an average day, men spend 1.5 hours and women about 1 hour doing paid work. Growing older the gendered division of labour and free time prevails, though on a lower level. Elderly men are the ones with the least average number of hours of total work and longest free time.

Figure 3 Average time spent on activities by sex and age, population aged 10 years and above, hours.



15. The analysis presented below is based on the households with a composition of three-generations, with children aged up to 17, living with their parents (both one of them) and with at least one of the grandparents or both of them. The sample includes 233 diaries kept by children aged 10 to 17. The focus is only on the unpaid work activities broken down by sex and main types of housework. First a comparison of participation rates in household chores is done by making use of Albanian Child Labour Survey (ACLS, conducted in 2010) data and ATUS for the children population aged 10 to 17.
16. Children's involvement in household chores is an important issue to the discussion of children's work. According to 2010 CLS⁵, 40.9% of children in Albania are estimated to be engaged in unpaid household services. The prevalence of work tends to be three to four percentage points higher among boys than among girls. In contrast, the proportion of girls engaged in unpaid household services outstrips that of boys (49.8% vs. 32.5%), and while children in general spend about 7.2 hours per week on unpaid work, girls spend about 2.5 hours more per week on unpaid work than boys.
17. The same patterns of gender differences related to unpaid household services are obtained by time use survey. Time use survey data has been widely used to explore unpaid household work, and the gender division of labour (Layte, 1999)⁶.
18. Based on the TUS estimates, 49% of children aged 10-17, participate in household chores such as household up keeping, shopping, child care, adult care, gardening, laundering and ironing. Comparing boys' and girls' participation rates in household chores it is clearly proved that in Albania these activities are considered as girls' duty. In rural areas the proportion of boys aged 15-17 years doing paid work is 34% while the proportion of urban boys of the same age is 17%.

⁵ Working children in the Republic of Albania, the results of the 2010 National Child Labour Survey

⁶ Layte, R., 1999. Divided Time: Gender, Paid Employment and Domestic Labour, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Table 1 Children engaged in unpaid work activities

	Age group								
	10-14			15-17			10-17		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Average hours and minutes per day per person spent on unpaid work									
All	00:23	01:27	00:53	00:18	02:22	01:14	00:21	01:49	01:02
Urban	00:19	00:57	00:39	00:05	01:47	01:00	00:13	01:19	00:48
Rural	00:26	02:02	01:08	00:27	03:19	01:28	00:26	02:29	01:16
Percentage of children participating in unpaid work									
All	30%	67%	48%	24%	81%	50%	27%	73%	49%
Urban	28%	56%	43%	15%	77%	49%	23%	66%	45%
Rural	31%	80%	53%	30%	88%	51%	31%	83%	52%

Source: Albania Time Use Survey, 2010-11

19. The average amount of time spent per day in performing any work by children aged 10-17 is one hour and thirty minutes. But there is a strong relation between gender and the type of work. Making comparisons between the results from both surveys, gender differences become even more evident. The only reversed result between the two surveys is the shopping. In time use survey the participation rate of girls spending time for doing shopping is higher than boys. While in child labour survey, the percentage of boys engaged in this activity is higher than girls.

Figure 4 Participation rate of children aged 10 to 17 engaged in unpaid work by sex, according to Time Use Survey 2010-2011

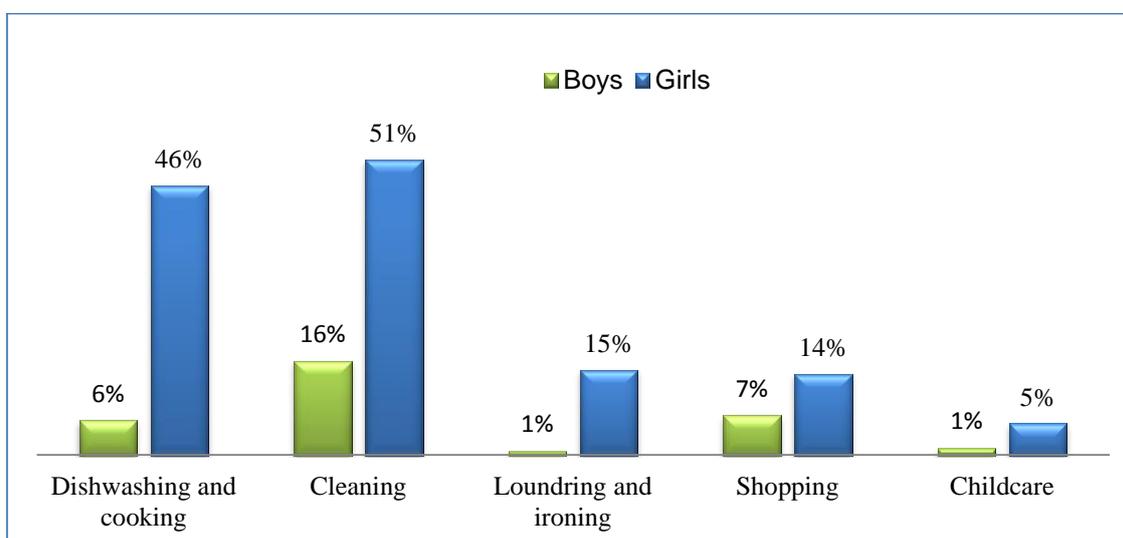
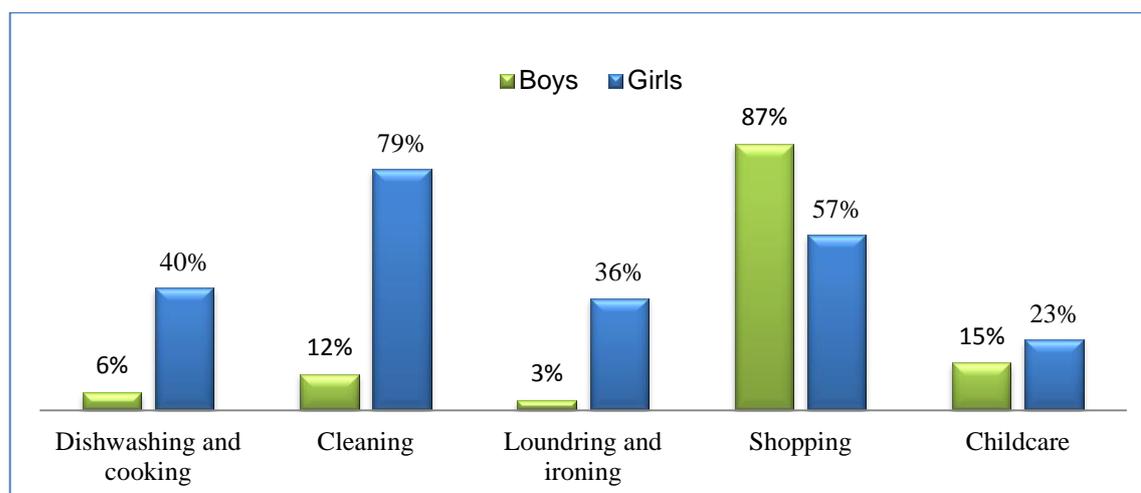


Figure 4 Percentage of children aged 5-17 engaged in unpaid work by sex, according to Child Labour Survey 2010



20. Household chores are performed predominantly by girls in most of societies. The division of labour among children along age and gender lines is indicative of physical strength. Boys' involvement in paid work is higher than girls. On the other hand, this division is indicative of socially appropriate roles for males and females.
21. Using TUS data for the households composed by three generations, in analysis are included some variables that influence directly or indirectly the gender role division regarding to household chores. The identity economics explains that the activity status of parents as well as their educational level has a significant impact on the gender roles formation. The economic activity status of parents is grouped in four categories, namely two-earner parents (both parents are in employment), both parents not in employment, single-earner parents (one of the parents employed and the other one not in employment).
22. The presence of grandparents living in the same household has a controversial impact on the time spent on unpaid work of children. From a traditional point of view, grandparents are more affectionate to their grandchildren. In Albania it is common to hear from the grandparents the saying "he/she is my honey's honey", phrase that refers to their grandchildren. Grandparents tend to transmit social norms and culture to their grandchildren and feel it like a duty to take care about them.
23. Table 2 shows the patterns of unpaid work within the three-generational households. It is evident that women living with their mother/father in law and having children aged less than 18, hold a higher workload. In comparison with men, the difference in the time spent doing unpaid work is immensely skewed. Out of total hours spent in unpaid work activities women do 91 % (on an average day women spend 6 hours and 24 minutes) and men 9 % (or 32 minutes).
24. While the gender gap for grandparents engaged in domestic tasks is better than that of their adult child and son/daughter in law. On an average day grandfathers devote 47 minutes to household tasks, doing mostly activities like gardening (19 minutes) and childcare (11 minutes).
25. The gender gap remains persistent also for the youngest generation within the household. Girls living in a three generational composite household spent one hour and half doing household chores which are mostly food preparation, dish washing and household upkeep. While boys spend only 18 minutes on an average day.

Table 2 Time spent on unpaid work activities, only three-generational households

	Parents			Grandparents			Children		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Boys	Girls
Total unpaid work	03:38	00:32	06:24	02:06	00:47	02:48	00:54	00:18	01:32
Food preparation, dish washing	01:20	00:00	02:31	00:49	00:10	01:10	00:15	00:00	00:31
Household upkeep	00:47	00:02	01:28	00:12	00:00	00:19	00:13	00:02	00:24
Laundry and ironing	00:26	00:00	00:49	00:15	00:00	00:23	00:03	00:00	00:08
Gardening and construction	00:07	00:07	00:06	00:10	00:19	00:05	00:02	00:02	00:03
Shopping	00:09	00:07	00:10	00:03	00:02	00:04	00:04	00:04	00:03
Childcare	00:31	00:01	00:57	00:26	00:11	00:35	00:05	00:01	00:09
Adult care	00:04	00:00	00:08	00:01	00:00	00:02	00:03	00:00	00:07
Travel related to unpaid work	00:11	00:12	00:11	00:06	00:03	00:07	00:05	00:05	00:05

26. Table 3 presents the average time spent in unpaid work for children living in a three generational households. Still gender gap is quite evident. But time devoted to household chores increases for children of both sexes, who have both grandparents co-residing in the same home. For girls, the unpaid workload is even higher compared to girls have only one of the grandparents living in the same household.
27. Activity status of parents influences the engagement of children in unpaid work activities. When both parents are employed, on an average day girls spend 2 hours and 20 minutes doing household chores compared to boys who spend only 22 minutes. But when moms are in employment and dads are not, boys devote more time in unpaid work (on average day 1 hours and 40 minutes), and they do mostly gardening and shopping.

Table 3 Time spent by children in three generational households

	Total	Boys	Girls
Parents' activity status			
- Both parents in employment	01:21	00:22	02:20
- Both parents not in employment	00:43	00:28	01:10
- Father in employment, mother not in employment	00:34	00:13	00:57
- Mother in employment, father not in employment	02:08	01:40	02:20
Co-residence with grandparents			
- Living with both grandmother and grandfather	01:09	00:29	01:48
- Only one of the grandparents	00:48	00:15	01:25

28. One of the objectives set in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is to achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls. The target set is related to the recognition and value unpaid care and domestic work. Time use survey data are used to calculate the proportion of time spent on unpaid domestic and care work by sex, age and location.
29. Given the gender role formation within the household, it is difficult to evaluate the efficiency of policy interventions that are aimed to increase women participation in labour market and gender equality. The challenge of becomes even stronger when taking into accounts that gender roles are being inherited through generations.