Gender Analysis: A Multifaceted Overview of Gender Justice in Kosova

Dita Dobranja Rozafa Jahaj Jeta Loshaj February, 2024 Achieving economic equality for women demands a comprehensive strategy: education, childcare, property rights, credit access, labor rights, equal employment, and combating gender-based violence and discrimination.

Tailored policies and acknowledging the intersectionality of gender with various social dimensions is essential for true gender equality in Kosova.

Peace, security, and progressive institutional power can improve with the adoption of feminist foreign policy and the elimination of burdens that women face when pursuing political careers.

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Publisher: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Kosova, Rr. Pashko Vasa 23, 10000 Prishtina, Republic of Kosova

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Date: 2024

Design: Milky Way Creative

Print: Studio Forma

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Introduction Background

In recent decades, the discourse surrounding gender equality and women's rights has gained remarkable attention on national and global stages. This pivotal dialogue emphasizes the importance of recognizing, addressing, and rectifying the disparities and imbalances that persist between genders. The Republic of Kosova, a country rich in history and diversity, stands at a crucial juncture in the continuous struggle for gender equality and social justice.

Guided by social democratic ideas, this report takes a deep dive into how politics, economic power, and gender intersect in Kosova. The interplay of these spheres embedded in the specific historical and cultural context creates channels of both stagnation and progress in the field of gender equality. To analyze this, a gender analysis will be employed in the Kosova context. According to the European Commission, a gender analysis is, 'the study of differences in the conditions, needs, participation rates, access to resources and development, control of assets, decision-making powers, etc., between women and men in their assigned gender roles' (European Commission, 2001).

To adequately assess these differences while maintaining an emphasis on gender relations, we utilize the tool of political economy. In its simplest form, employing political economic analysis involves observing the linkages between political, economic, and social factors in a setting or country (WILPF, 2018). We do this to illuminate the structural foundations of gender disparities and emphasize the realities of women. It is crucial to analyze structures from a gender perspective given its ability to deliver socially conscious strategies rooted in social-democratic principles, thereby fostering a more inclusive and progressive society. By dissecting these structures from the perspective of gender, we deepen our understanding of the ways societal norms and power dynamics shape our world.

Furthermore, gender analysis not only corrects existing injustices but also prevents future disparities, which in turn enables more effective policymaking by offering comprehensive insights into complex societal challenges. It moves us away from one-size-fits-all solutions and top-down approaches, through a recognition of the diverse experiences and identities within our communities. By integrating this perspective, we enhance our ability to develop sustainable and effective solutions that benefit everyone, ultimately bringing us closer to the ideals of justice, fairness, and equal opportunity.

Objectives

At its core, this publication is driven by the fundamental objective of unraveling the gendered dimensions through the prism of social democracy. It seeks to contextualize the challenges and opportunities presented by this unique background, examining how gender and socioeconomic structures intersect to mold the lives of Kosova's population.

The universal goal of FES is to promote freedom, equality, solidarity, and justice. The advancement of gender justice is essential to promoting these values, particularly social justice. As defined by FES, gender justice is, "The freedom to have different ways of being and living that are not predetermined by gender on the basis of equality in the distribution of resources, opportunities for influence, and appreciation."

It seeks to unearth the complexities of power dynamics and resource allocation, while simultaneously acknowledging the nuanced interplay between politics, economics, and gender in Kosovan society. This analysis recognizes that the underpinning inequalities are not isolated phenomena, but rather products of systemic forces that demand a comprehensive interdisciplinary understanding.

Social democracy has a rich history of championing gender equality, exemplified by significant milestones such as the introduction of women's suffrage in 1919 in Germany and the adoption of equal rights between men and women in the constitution. This political legacy has deeply influenced the self-perception of social democrats. It is our core belief that gender equality is not merely an aspiration, but an essential component of social justice and a thriving democracy.

Consequently, the FES's political aims are dedicated to combating discrimination while actively advancing genuine equality in society. Our commitment to this cause is rooted in the conviction that without gender equality, true social justice and a robust democracy will remain elusive goals (Gender Analysis Leitlinien FES, 2017). It strives to transcend conventional analyses by integrating insights from political science, economics, sociology, and feminist theory. This interdisciplinarity of perspectives creates a framework that magnifies the complexities of gender relations and offers insights into the mechanisms shaping Kosova's socio-political landscape.

In the following sections, we look at objectives, methodologies, and historical roots. Subsequent chapters navigate historical shifts, impacts of globalization, and traditional gender norms, with a focus on structural power dynamics in the labor market. Societal power is explored through women's representation in political spheres and gendered economic engagement. Institutional power factors are scrutinized, including women's security, legal frameworks, and quotas. Gender-specific dynamics encompass education, political representation, healthcare access, and violence. The study culminates in an exploration of intersectionality, a framework with broad applicability in various dimensions of gender equality when applied to the Kosovan healthcare sector.

Methodology

This methodology is grounded in gualitative and guantitative analysis of secondary data, combining primary and secondary literature examinations, insights from previous FES and partner publications, and expert interviews to provide a thorough understanding of gender dynamics within Kosova. We conducted a review of existing primary and secondary literature, which involved delving into available academic studies, government reports, policy documents, and relevant statistical data. This step aims to establish a foundational understanding of the historical, social, economic, and political context of gender issues in the country. In addition to the review of existing literature, primary data collection is also part of this analysis. Interviews have been conducted with stakeholders including government officials, civil society representatives, academics, and representatives of trade unions.

These interviews provide qualitative insights into the lived experiences, challenges, and opportunities of those working directly or indirectly in the field of gender equality. The qualitative nature of the interviews grants a deeper exploration of complex issues and helps to uncover nuances currently missing in data about Kosova. By combining these research methods, we aim to shed light on the multifaceted nature of gender-related issues and contribute to the development of informed policies and interventions that advance gender equality and social justice.

Chapter 1

Gaining Insights Through Political Economy Analysis

Distribution of power and resources analysis within a country is essential for several reasons. It provides a means to identify the actors in control, especially in post-conflict contexts with uncertain power dynamics. Through the assessment of resources like economic assets, political influence, security capacity, and social support, it helps track shifts in power, potential conflict triggers, and the effectiveness of peacebuilding efforts. This makes it a valuable tool for understanding governance and stability complexities in post-conflict environments.

Political economic analysis is a comprehensive and interdisciplinary tool used to dissect the complex interplay of politics, economics, and social factors within a society. By examining how these elements interact, it sheds light on the distribution of power, wealth, and resources. This analytical approach combines insights from fields such as political science, economics, sociology, law, and history to paint a comprehensive picture of societal dynamics. Political economy thus helps determine where the power lies. It does so, by answering the fundamental questions of who holds power, how they attain it, and how they use it.

This inquiry extends beyond the realm of politics, delving into economic structures, social norms, and cultural values. It aims to decipher the motivations behind decision-making, uncovering why certain choices are made, by whom, and for whose benefit. One of the key characteristics of political economic analysis is its holistic and well-rounded perspective. It regards society as a complex matrix of formal and informal rules, economic structures, and cultural norms. Formal rules include laws and regulations and their institutions, while informal rules encompass social norms and unwritten codes of conduct. Economic structures encompass facets like production, trade, and the distribution of wealth. The tool's comprehensive approach recognizes that these elements are deeply interconnected and collectively influence a society's trajectory and therefore cannot be analyzed separately.

Traditional political economy focuses on the relationship between production, trade, laws, and wealth distribution, often overlooking gender perspectives. In contrast, feminist political economy takes a comprehensive approach. It considers social policies, labor division within households, access to resources, human well-being indicators, and environmental sustainability. It allows for an intersectional analysis of various power systems and their impact on different societal groups. In the realm of power dynamics, political economic analysis identifies three distinctive forms: (1) visible power, (2) hidden power, and (3) invisible power. Visible power typically resides with individuals occupying official positions of authority, such as elected officials, religious leaders, or other types of elites. Hidden power operates through less transparent or officially accepted methods, often entailing arrangements that may not align with legal norms. Invisible power emanates from prevailing ideologies and societal norms, shaping people's attitudes and behaviors, even when these contradict established rules.

For a deeper understanding of societal dynamics, gendered political economic analysis takes the tool a step further. It focuses on how these factors have a differentiated effect on women and men, thereby revealing and addressing gender inequalities and dynamics. It brings to light gender-based inequalities and dynamics, playing a pivotal role in understanding the matrix of power from a gender perspective. In other words, it helps us understand how political power influences the lives of women and men respectively. Many economic interventions in conflict or post-conflict countries lack proper gender impact assessments, hindering the understanding of how economic policies affect gender equality. Furthermore, they often overlook critical conflict analysis, failing to recognize the interrelation between conflict and certain policies (WILPF, 2018). Feminist political economy challenges the assumption that economic growth should occur with minimal state intervention and without context analysis. It recognizes the gendered context and power dynamics, highlighting the limitations of neoliberal policies in achieving gender-just growth.

Political economic analysis can be particularly fruitful in settings, where power dynamics remain fluid and unpredictable and political power can be unstable. By assessing the distribution of essential resources, such as economic assets, political influence, military capabilities, and social support systems, it offers a methodical approach to identifying influential actors. This process facilitates the monitoring of power shifts and the recognition of potential triggers for progress. Economic policies in conflict and post-conflict societies are deeply intertwined with gendered experiences of war and emerging complex needs. Understanding how gender affects access to work, healthcare, education, and political influence for both women and men is vital for crafting policies that promote, rather than hinder, societal development. A feminist political economic analysis sheds light on inequalities as root causes of conflict and emphasizes that sustainable peace relies on socio-economic security, justice, and equality (WILPF, 2018).

Ultimately, the insights extracted from the political economic analysis carry substantial significance. Policy-makers, researchers, and practitioners can utilize these findings as guiding principles for policy development and targeted interventions. In this publication, equipped with a comprehensive understanding of the fundamental power structures, we strive to identify the channels that obstruct and/or advance gender equality in Kosova. In a country marked by multifaceted societal challenges, political economic analysis can be a potent instrument, that enables us to grasp and influence the factors that shape the course of gender equality.

Historical Shifts in Patriarchy: Where Are We and What Needs to Change?

While patriarchy has deep historical roots, its manifestations have exhibited significant variations across time and space. It's important to banish the common misconception that patriarchy is an inherent aspect of our evolutionary progress, like for example language acquisition (lversen & Rosenbluth, 2023). It oftentimes emerges as a conseguence of specific and widespread economic necessities. The interplay between economic and political structures significantly influences the dynamics within households, impacting the relationships between men and women. These macro-level effects, in turn, exert a substantial influence on individuals, shaping their preferences in alignment with internalized social norms. Notably, the consequences of individual decisions extend beyond the personal sphere, and once changes begin to take root among certain groups of women, they can trigger a ripple effect of behavioral transformations. This ripple effect has the potential to shift the macro-level equilibrium, bringing about changes in the division of labor, public policies, and even prevailing gender norms (Iversen & Rosenbluth, 2023).

While it may appear that routine practices require a substantial amount of time to adjust, it is surprising the speed with which patriarchal norms can change. Remarkably, within the span of just one or two generations, many women in numerous countries, including our own, live entirely different lives and harbor distinct societal expectations compared to their antecedents. Considering the increased frequency of women in higher education today compared to the rarity of the occurrence five decades ago, one can observe a significant shift. Today, women outnumber men in higher education (university level) in Kosova, marking a remarkable transformation (Lux Dev, n.d). This transformation could mark a shift to a new equilibrium with wide-ranging implications for the economy, gender equality, partisan politics as well as norms.

In its essence, patriarchy instills a rigid economic segregation of roles, underpinned by a perceived morale, however, this doctrine is becoming increasingly unfeasible. Division of labor within families and other factors used to be the unshakeable ground for the reproduction of patriarchal norms (Iversen & Rosenbluth, 2023). When economic autonomy becomes not only a possibility but increasingly a necessity, the value of education, a career, and independence automatically increase in value for both genders and rattles the moral fundament of patriarchy (Iversen & Rosenbluth, 2023). Individual necessity is not the only thing that incentivizes seeking economic independence, disregarding gender. Intergenerational solidarity models that are at the fundament of the modern welfare state, and of many socio-political mechanisms such as pensions and other schemes, all indirectly rely on the continuity of economic participation (Espin-Andersen, 1990). A stark division of labor, with women taking over unpaid domestic and care work, is not a sustainable solution to the crises threatening the modern welfare state. Efficiency, regarding intergenerational solidarity and sustainability, is intricately intertwined with the challenge of managing distributive conflicts between genders (Yerkes, 2014).

Consider the fertility crisis as an example. Three decades ago, the correlation between female labor force engagement and fertility was unquestionably negative. However, in the present day, the relationship has reversed: nations where women are more engaged in household responsibilities tend to exhibit lower fertility rates, in contrast with countries where women actively participate in the labor market (Iversen & Rosenbluth, 2023). This is striking especially among stable and resourceful democracies where both fertility and female labor force are relatively high. Regardless of our reluctance to do so, the need to embrace major reforms in family and labor market policies to address the changes in the welfare state is crucial.

In countries currently grappling with issues such as the fertility crisis or experiencing extensive male emigration, the emergence of new opportunities for women within labor markets has undeniably altered the established equilibrium of power, steering it toward a more balanced division of labor between the genders. However, entrenched traditional norms often obstruct the implementation of effective political mechanisms. It is crucial to recognize that social norms are primarily a consequence rather than a cause of patriarchal systems: families tend to raise their children in ways that enable them to navigate the strategic landscape they will have to encounter (lversen & Rosenbluth, 2023). If in the long run norms adapt to the evolving economic necessities, these countries are likely to witness significant transformations in both family and economic policies in the coming decades.

Country Context

In the contested landscape of Kosova, a dynamic interplay unfolded after the war. Gender emerged as a strategic tool wielded to enforce discipline, obedience, education, development, and a Western-style democracy (Krasniqi, 2007). Unfortunately, existing processes within Kosova since 1999 overlooked the gender dimension for a long time, focusing primarily on the origins and conduct of the Kosova war and the nature of post-conflict international

rule. The scant attention devoted to gender has been limited to victimhood narratives and discussions of 'gender mainstreaming' within international peacekeeping institutions (Krasniqi, 2007, p.2). The neglect of other gender dimensions is evident in the persistence of traditional gender roles, maintaining a domination of femininity within the home, illustrating the mutually reinforcing representations of peacekeeping and nationalism (Krasniqi, 2007). As a young nation that is now emerging from this history of conflict and transition, Kosova stands at a critical juncture in shaping its socio-political landscape. Kosova remains a country that is highly divided by gender in which strong patriarchal mechanisms reproduce existing inequalities. Perpetual issues which indicate high inequality such as low female employment (21%), low property ownership (17%), and financial dependency on either partners or family members still prevail in Kosovan society (Women's Study, 2021).

While limitations in available data hinder a comprehensive exploration, it remains vital to acknowledge additional important factors significantly shaping gender dynamics in Kosova. In the aftermath of the war, but especially since its independence, Kosova has been increasingly influenced by multiple forms of international aid and organizations the target the topic of gender. Furthermore, we will be looking at the effects that globalization has had on Kosova given that it is believed to be a factor that will only increase in influence in the future (Dobranja, 2017). These elements are anticipated to intersect with various aspects of Kosovan lives and become increasingly influential in the years. Thus, it is worthwhile to introduce them and their influence on the gender factor, despite limited available data.

International Aid

One major factor that cannot be disregarded in analyzing post-war Kosova is the role of international aid. Kosova has received substantial international aid and assistance, particularly in the aftermath of the war and its declaration of independence in 2008. Citing again Flora Macula, former head of UN Women in Kosova: In 1999, Kosova saw the entry of 150 international organizations, including various UN agencies like UNDP, IOM, as well as entities like FES, distinct from UNMIK. Prior to this influx, the presence of international organizations in Kosova was relatively limited, primarily comprising UNHCR, OSCE, and a few others. However, post-war Kosova experienced a significant surge in the arrival of foreign organizations, akin to an "invasion" of sorts. This influx presented a unique opportunity for Kosova to become more closely integrated into the global agenda. This aid was instrumental in supporting the region's recovery and reconstruction following the conflict. A notable number of international organizations, governments, and non-governmental organizations have contributed financial and humanitarian aid to Kosova, aiming to assist in its development, rebuild infrastructure, and foster social stability. International aid has been channeled into various sectors, including governance, social equality, healthcare, education, and economic advancement. In this report, we will be looking at how this rapid process has influenced gender dynamics in Kosova.

We know for certain that international aid in Kosova has had a profound and palpable impact on gender dynamics. It has empowered women by providing education and economic opportunities, leading to shifts in traditional gender roles and an increased influence within households and communities. Vlora Tuzi Nushi, head of UN Women in Kosova emphasizes the impact international aid has had on the direction gender equality progress has taken in Kosova. Kosova has been proactive in adopting and implementing international obligations related to gender equality and women's rights, she says. Despite not being a UN member, Kosova incorporated provisions of the CEDAW convention and the Istanbul Convention into its constitution. Kosova was among the first countries in the Western Balkans to adopt UN Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security. In 2014, the Agency for Gender Equality, with support from UN Women and OHCHR, developed a comprehensive national action plan for women, peace, and security spanning the period 2013 to 2050. Notably, the government committed to financing 51% of the plan, making it a cost initiative, and the remaining funds were secured from donors. This commitment marked a successful step for Kosova in fulfilling its international obligations. Legal and policy changes aimed at improving gender equality—often with the support of aid— have been promoted as Kosova integrates into international organizations resulting in legislation addressing issues such as gender-based violence, equal pay, and women's political participation.

International assistance has also been instrumental in bolstering stability and driving economic and social advancement in Kosova. International assistance bolstered progress in a multitude of cross-cutting topics around the Western Balkans, Tuzi Nushi potentiated, when talking about how a common goal such as gender justice brought together very diverse stakeholders. Kosova serves as a noteworthy example, not only regionally but also globally, demonstrating how women from diverse backgrounds can unite despite historical conflicts, such as those in former Yugoslavia. Through initiatives like the National Action Plan based on UN Resolution 1325, women have come together to address shared concerns such as youth migration, poverty, and corruption. This collaborative effort now extends beyond Kosova and has given rise to a regional network, as documented on their dedicated website, showcasing the impact and success of initiatives rooted in the principles of Resolution 1325. While the effectiveness and impact of this aid have varied across programs and over time, its significance in facilitating Kosova's post-conflict recovery and developmental initiatives cannot be overstated. Consequently, it is reasonable to infer that this aid has had significant effects on gender dynamics within the country. As evidence, between 2015 and 2018 alone, approximately 137 development aid projects with a gender focus were executed in Kosova, amounting to a substantial fund allocation of around 50 million EUR (ODA, 2020).

When asked, Dr. Besa Luzha, a notable voice in Kosova's civil society and gender equality movements for over two decades, referred to many international aid actors that have shaped the progress of gender equality in Kosova. She ascertains that numerous organizations, including OSCE and NDI, actively offer valuable programs to support women and emerging young leaders to engage more productively. Her perspective emphasizes the need for a distinct organization since the current structure often places women and youth in a marginalized position within political parties. To truly achieve equity, these groups should be actively involved in political parties, and the parties' highest leadership positions-such as the presidency—should strive for a 50-50 gender balance. Meanwhile, specialized committees can handle various policy aspects, such as health, education, finance, and the economy, to ensure comprehensive and effective governance. When asked what effort she would consider extremely vital in the process of furthering gender equality in Kosova, she named, "The introduction of the Gender Equality (GE) Law." This law added further pressure as it provided a tangible mechanism for measurement and advocacy while stimulating debates on the topic.

While initially parties and individuals did not consider women's participation a pressing issue, they now find themselves confronted by this matter thereby leading them to advocate for gender equality more effectively. Dr. Luzha goes on to posit that all efforts go unnoticed if women are not specifically involved in all stages of processes. Many examples in the last two decades point to what Dr. Luzha claims. Initially, 'Women were not part of the discussions on the final status of Kosova at all', is a quote from Arjeta Rexha, political advisor to former deputy prime minister Edita Tahiri. Justifications for excluding women were widely ranged and adaptable. At first, no women were leading parties, and when they eventually led parties, they did not hold seats in parliament (Facts and Fables, 2022). This led to the lack of an entire gender perspective in crucial processes. "The Kosova-Serbia dialogue did not ensure the inclusion of the gender perspective. As a negotiation process, it did not adhere to UN Resolution 1325, despite it being brokered by the EU. Equal representation of women at the negotiating table was also not ensured. Nor were women's organizations consulted on topics that should be part of the process [such as] sexual violence in conflict,

part of the process [such as] sexual violence in conflict, reparations, missing persons, justice" (Jeta Krasniqi as cited in Facts and Fables, 2022). Therefore, the process of adopting vital topics from a gendered perspective was actively delayed by neglecting the involvement of women.

Likewise, Tuzi Nushi identifies the involvement of women from all communities and wider age ranges as the next issue to tackle. She elucidates that seeking input from women and young girls of all ethnicities and recognizing that any agreement signed and implemented would significantly impact youth, women, and children is crucial for the process. The critical nature of engaging with communities, especially women and youth, before advancing to international forums like Brussels, is emphasized. Despite the challenges of a possibly rushed or externally influenced process, creating safe spaces for clear communication of needs and perspectives at the community level is of utmost importance. Tuzi Nushi mentions this approach to ensure that the voices and concerns of those most affected by peace agreements are heard and incorporated into the decision-making process.

However, it should not be understated that to ensure gender mainstreaming, the topic must be addressed by all actors involved, including men in power. Vlora Tuzi Nushi mentions a noteworthy example in the realm of the security sector, particularly, the police force which has pioneered the advancement of gender inclusion. The first gender advisor in the police force, Hysni Shala, was a man who played a crucial role in laying the groundwork for gender mainstreaming. Another key figure was Director of Police Behar Selimi who boldly declared himself a feminist in 2009, when such statements were uncommon among men, especially those in uniform. Standing tall at two meters, Selimi broke barriers by championing gender equality within the security sector. His commitment and that of others, like Shala, were instrumental in shaping the history of gender equality in Kosova's police force. Their efforts continue to resonate today, with initiatives addressing violence against women and conflict-related sexual violence. The legacy of these male champions persists, exemplified by ongoing endeavors such as the implementation of the Global Manual, specifically the handbook on gender-sensitive policing, within the Kosova Police force.

This marks significant progress in comparison to a time when Dr. Luzha recounts that initially, male politicians in Kosova didn't place significant emphasis on achieving gender-equal representation. However, international partner organizations and civil society played a pivotal role in pressuring for a more balanced and democratic approach. They measured the extent to which space was provided for women's involvement, compelling political parties to include more women. As a closing remark, Dr. Luzha appeals to move away from old efforts that only formally engage women. She states that a major pitfall of failed policies and processes is that the planning has been done by men and the verification by women.

Globalization

As mentioned before, globalization plays a crucial role in shaping gender dynamics within a country. Globalization is defined, roughly, as the global integration of economies and societies (World Youth Report, 2005). As economies integrate on a global scale, new industries and technologies emerge, offering opportunities while simultaneously reinforcing existing gender inequalities. This dynamic may alter traditional gender roles as industries evolve, thus challenging established norms. However, globalization can also contribute to disparities, particularly in low-wage sectors, and perpetuate unequal distribution of benefits and resources. Additionally, the dissemination of global cultural norms through media and technology further influences societal perceptions of gender and impacts attitudes and expectations in nuanced ways. While technological advancements have significantly amplified the impact of globalization in Kosova as well, a big factor that halted effects thus far is limited travel and exchange. Kosova has long grappled with one of the most restrictive visa regimes in Europe, creating a significant barrier to international engagement. However, as the prospect of visa liberalization is draws near, the potential for increased travel, educational opportunities, and work prospects is expected to enhance the effects of globalization exponentially in Kosovan society.

Globalization has had a profound impact on gender dynamics in Kosova, with both advantageous and detrimental effects. On the positive side, Kosova's integration into international organizations has prompted legal and policy changes aimed at advancing gender equality. This includes the enactment of legislation addressing critical issues like gender-based violence, equal pay, and the enhanced participation of women in politics. These developments have signaled progress in promoting gender equity and empowerment. Furthermore, globalization has fostered greater informational access and expanded education opportunities, which can be particularly empowering for women. It has the potential to challenge traditional gender norms that have historically held women back. As Kosova becomes more integrated into the global economy, it offers increased job opportunities for women. This can lead to shifts in traditional gender roles and contribute to women's economic empowerment.

However, globalization also comes with negative ramifications for gender dynamics. Especially looking at economic policies, globalization can have both positive and negative effects. In some instances, particularly in labor markets, gender inequalities have been used as a means of international competition and contribute to higher growth rates in semi-industrialized economies. However, gender inequalities in areas like asset ownership, access to credit, and education have dampened growth rates and hindered successful integration into the world economy. It is thus crucial to analyze and tailor macroeconomic policies to include the dimension of gender equality that will level the playing field rather than exacerbate existing inequalities. Additionally, globalization has opened channels for exploitation, including human trafficking and gender-based violence in the context of migration. These effects disproportionately affect women, particularly those in lower socio-economic positions, and can have significant negative consequences for their well-being. In summary, while globalization has brought opportunities for women's economic empowerment and legal advances in gender equality, it can also exacerbate gender biases in macroeconomic policies and could further introduce challenges related to exploitation and violence.

For example, existing power dynamics already perpetuate a system where rural women of a lower SEP take on informal labor, usually by undertaking domestic and care work for higher SEP families in the urban area (Dobranja, 2017). This phenomenon seems to be exacerbating further with migration effects. The effects stem both from migration within the country as well as the high number of people leaving Kosova in the last decade. More and more Bangladeshi and Filipino migrants are filling spaces in the labor market in Kosova that are either understaffed, underpaid, or insecure. Women become domestic and care workers, usually informally without contractual security or pensions and other social security mechanisms. Similarly, migrant men are being sponsored on a work visa to fill up the rapidly emptying physical labor sectors such as those in infrastructure where they are oftentimes underpaid and improperly insured.

The intricate landscape of gender dynamics in Kosova is significantly shaped by various interconnected factors, with international aid and globalization being only two we cover in depth. The influx of international aid post-war has catalyzed legal and policy changes that empower women and advance gender equality initiatives. Globalization, while offering economic opportunities, also poses challenges that impact gender dynamics both positively and negatively. The net effect of globalization on gender dynamics in Kosova depends on various factors, including government policies, socio-economic circumstances, and the specific industries within which women participate in the workforce which cannot be further expanded due to lack of data. These points, however, can be fruitful avenues for further research.

Chapter 2

Structural Power: Labour Market and Gender Disparities Labour Force Participation and Employment

Power relations in society are often contingent on economic control. These power dynamics are even more dependent on economic and financial independence when we look within households. Women and men, globally, have different levels of labour force participation and employment. Women fall behind men in labour force participation even in economies where unemployment rates are low (Gomis et al., 2023). In economies where there high levels of unemployment, it is often men who are active in the labour market and employed. In these cases the gendered roles keep women away from paid labour due to societal expectations and discrimination. Moreover, women and men face differences in employment vulnerability as well. Whereas men are more likely to be own-account workers, women usually help in households or family businesses, without any job security (Gomis et al., 2023). Participation in the labour market for women and men depends on various factors, such as socio-economic development and education.

However, for women, social norms, culture, as well as access to support services (such as childcare and elderly care) play a crucial role in their labour market participation.

There has been a growing body of research and literature on the topic of women's economic empowerment, with varying focuses between developed and developing countries. Developed countries have primarily concentrated on issues like the gender pay gap and the underrepresentation of women in leadership roles, whereas developing countries have emphasized women's labour force participation rates and the impact of unpaid care work.

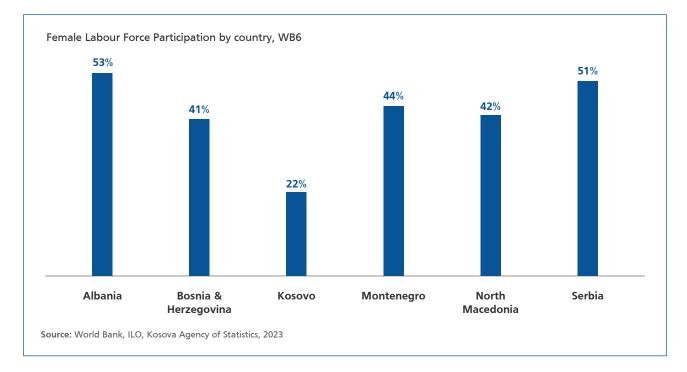
These differences also are evident between developed and developing countries, which have also informed the research in these countries. Jayachandran (2014) delves deeper into the specific differences in the gender gap between developing and developed countries. In some developing nations, a combination of cultural and societal constraints, as well as economic structures, contributes to lower rates of female labour force participation. Societal expectations for women to engage in unpaid care work, coupled with a shortage of job opportunities suitable for women lead to a shortage of women in the labour force and results in a significant economic gender gap. In many developing countries, inadequate policies have resulted in numerous challenges, including gender disparities, a proliferation of informal employment, and increased vulnerability among workers. Women, young people, and migrants in particular, face challenges related to weak labour standards, lack of collective bargaining rights, and limited opportunities for skilled labour employment (Gomis et al. 2023).

One of the contributing factors to the wage gap between men and women is gender segregation. This often confines women to lower-paying occupations, especially in the Global South, where cultural and social norms play a significant role (UN Women, 2019). This frequently leads women to the informal sector, where jobs may not be subject to fair wage legislation thus resulting in subpar pay, working conditions, skills mismatch, and a lack of social protection and job security for workers (Chen and Carr, 2004).

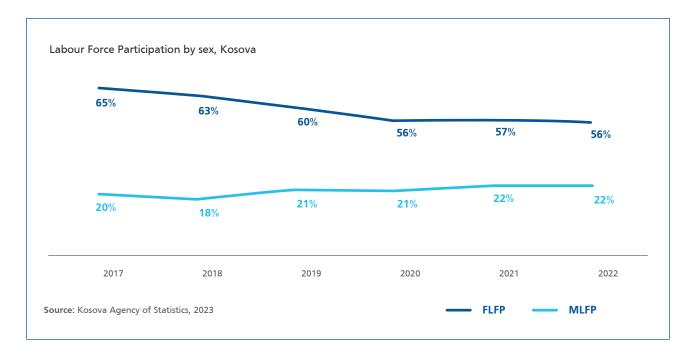
Moreover, most of the literature on female labour force participation (FLFP) often relies on the concept of the U-shaped feminization of the labour force (Verick, 2021). This theory posits a long-term relationship between FLFP and a country's economic growth. It suggests that in low-income economies where agriculture is the predominant industry, female labour force participation is high. However, as economies shift towards industrialization and heavy industries like mining and construction, FLFP tends to decline due to the nature of available jobs. As economies advance further and transition into the service sector, FLFP increases. Kosova, which is still classified as a developing country, exhibits alarmingly low participation of women in the labour market at only 22% in 2022 (Kosova Agency of Statistics, 2023).

In Kosova, the topic of women's economic empowerment has been approached from various angles, with limited comprehensive evaluations of women's roles in the economy and analysis of the impact of these economic dynamics on power relations within the household and society. The overall labour force participation in Kosova is reported to be 38.6%, a figure lower than most countries in the region. However, this overall rate is significantly influenced by the even lower rate of women's participation in the labour force.

Men's labour force participation (MLFP) in Kosova stands at 55.5 percent, while women's labour force participation (FLFP) is only 22 percent (Kosova Agency of Statistics, 2023). Consequently, the gender labour gap in Kosova, which measures the difference between men and women's participation in the labour force, is at a substantial 33.5 percent in 2022 (Kosova Agency of Statistics, 2023). Moreover, the labour force participation of women in Kosova, at 22 percent, is the lowest in the region, trailing behind all neighbouring countries. This results in an inactivity rate for women in Kosova of approximately 78 percent which has been relatively steady throughout the years and a high representation of women in the informal economy. ILO data for 2021, show that all other Western Balkan countries have female labour force participation higher than 40%, where Albania has the highest level of women in the labour market at around 53 percent, and apart from Kosova, Bosnia has the second the lowest at 41 percent.



More concerning is the trend of women's participation in the labour market, which has not increased at significant levels. However, women's participation has remained steady, albeit low, compared to men's participation which has declined since 2017 and is currently at the lowest level in the past decade.

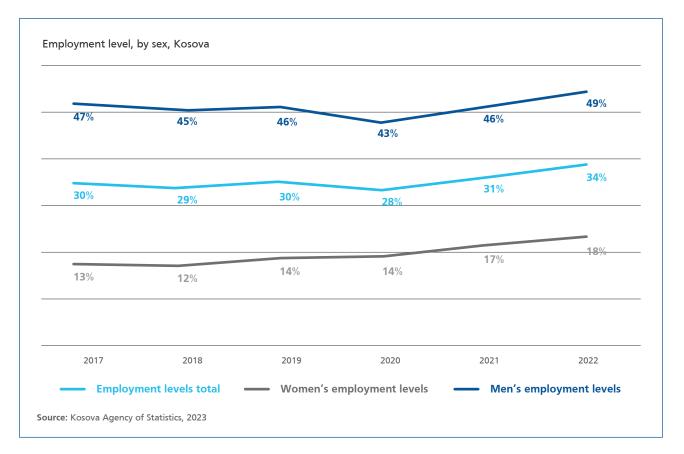


Apart from the economic and social indicators, the legislative framework that regulates the labour market prohibits employment discrimination but has significant implications for women and men in terms of maternity and paternity leave. Reports on gender discrimination in the workplace and in hiring, suggest that current maternity leave regulations may inadvertently lead to discrimination against women in practice. The law specifies that employers pay 70% of wages for six months of maternity leave, which represents a considerable cost for businesses (Farnsworth et al. 2018). On the other hand, the law stipulates parental and paternity leave of only three (or five) days of paid leave for fathers. These provisions inherently place more childcare responsibilities on women, thereby reinforcing the existing societal norms where women bear most family duties. This situation also increases the risk of these norms becoming further entrenched. The disparity in maternity and parental leave has also influenced employers' hiring decisions. A study conducted by the Kosova Women's Network in 2016 revealed that nearly 50% of employers preferred hiring men, while around 20% favoured hiring women, and approximately 30% were indifferent (Bajnska et al., 2016).

Discrimination during the hiring process is compounded by bias in contract duration and renewal. Many women have reported being asked about their family plans during job interviews, and some have experienced contract terminations or non-renewals once they become pregnant (Bajnska et al., 2016). One in three women working in the private sector reported having no formal employment contract, leaving them without legal protection under the Law on Labour (Mehmeti et al., 2017). Researchers argue that the age distribution of Kosova's population partly accounts for the low participation of women in the labour market, as younger populations are more likely to have women who are inactive due to maternity and childcare responsibilities (Gashi et al., 2019). This is supported by studies directly measuring the reasons behind women's economic inactivity, which consistently highlight family and childcare obligations as one of the top three reasons (Mehmeti et al., 2017; Morina & Delibashzade, 2017).

Other labour market indicators also show similar trends for women, both in terms of employment levels and gender segregation across professions and sectors.

While Kosova's economy has experienced consistent growth over the past two decades, with recent economic expansion averaging around 4% annually, this growth has not translated into significant improvements in labour market outcomes, particularly in terms of increased employment levels. This suggests that the growth is primarily attributed to higher labour productivity. However, employment rate has remained relatively low, ranging between 25% to 35% over the past decade. Employment rates have been notably lower for women compared to men, further limiting women's participation in the labour market. Their reduced likelihood of employment has led to increased discouragement among potential female workers, consequently diminishing their labour force participation.



However, the positive trend in employment has seen women's employment levels increase by 6 percentage points in the past five years. For men, the growth has been lower, although still improving. Women's higher levels of employment have also driven the overall level of employment to improve. Most notably, while the overall levels of employment, and especially men's employment, faced a significant decline during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, women's employment levels remained the same considering the very low starting base.

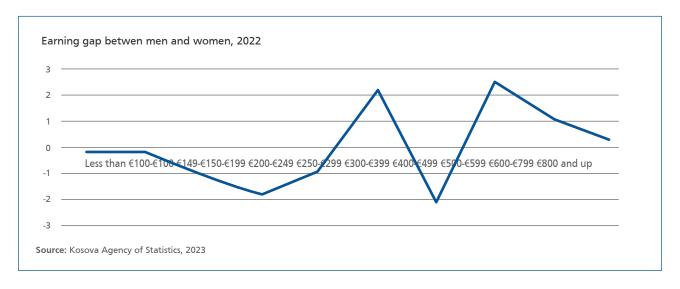
Gender Wage Gap and Occupational Segregation

Official data on the gender pay gap in Kosova is unavailable. Nonetheless, studies such as the one done by Gashi et al. and Mehmeti et al. indicate that in Kosovan women earn approximately 74 cents per euro earned by men and the gender pay gap persists because men tend to hold higher-paying positions (Gashi et al., 2020). This pay disparity is more pronounced in sectors dominated by men, but it does not disappear in sectors where women make up most of the workforce. In fields such as healthcare and education where women are more heavily represented, a gender pay gap also persists because men tend to hold higher-paying positions. Globally, half of all workers are concentrated in occupations where approximately 80% of their colleagues are of the same gender (ILO, 2013). In Kosova, women are predominantly found in the fields of education, healthcare, and retail and wholesale trade.

The gender pay gap can be analysed using specific sector data or data on wage brackets between men and women. The 2016 Millennium Challenge Corporation Labour Force and Time Use included data regarding the wages of both men and women in various sectors is utilized to better analyse the gender pay gap in Kosova. The analysis shows that even in sectors where women make up a substantial portion of the workforce, such as education and healthcare, a gender pay gap persists because men tend to occupy higher-paying positions. Without accounting for the distribution of workers across different sectors in Kosova, the overall gender pay gap stands at nearly 30%, with women earning 74 cents for every €1 earned by men (Gashi et al., 2019). Even in sectors such as wholesale and retail trade, which employ a significant number of women (almost one in five women are employed in this sector), a substantial gender pay gap prevails, with women earning only 72 cents for every euro earned by men. In contrast with other sectors where the gender pay gap is narrower, there are two distinct characteristics: most of these sectors require higher levels of education and entail a high degree of interpersonal interaction. The first characteristic suggests that higher education plays a role as an equalising factor in reducing the gender pay gap. The second characteristic indicates that the concentration of women in professions with extensive interpersonal engagement also contributes to the reduction of the gender pay gap.

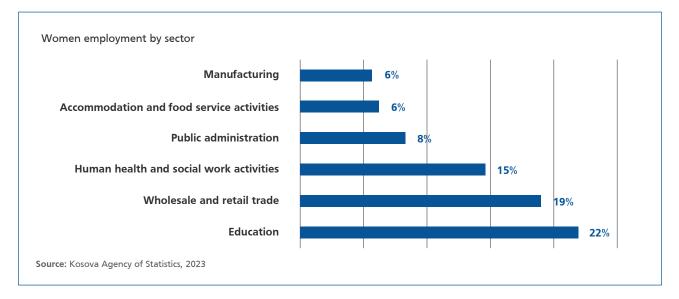
Using this data, Gashi et al. (2019) have undertaken a Mincer equation computation and an Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition analysis to investigate gender wage disparities in Kosova. While the basic Mincer equation, with gender as the sole regressor, reveals a 10.7% gender pay gap, a more in-depth examination reveals varying gender pay gaps when factors such as education level, occupation, and sector of employment are considered (Gashi et al., 2019). In the private sector, the gender pay gap for monthly wages stands at 21% (Gashi et al., 2019). Furthermore, the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition analysis demonstrates that, on average, women earn 10.5% less than men. Moreover, when adjusting for labour market characteristics (such as education, occupation, tenure, and more), the wage gap widens, revealing that the more favourable productivity-related attributes of employed women mask the true extent of the gender wage gap (Gashi et al., 2019).

On the other hand, annual reports from Kosova Agency of Statistics provide information regarding the distribution of women and men across different wage categories. This data reveals a comparable distribution of both genders across most wage brackets. However, as we move into the higher wage brackets, the disparity between men and women diminishes. In the €400 to €499 bracket, the gap is even reversed, with more women occupying this wage category than men. As demonstrated, women are overrepresented in lower wage brackets, pointing to a significant difference in earnings between men and women in Kosova.



In terms of occupational segregation, 22% of employed women work in the education sector, compared to only 6% of men. Both men and women are highly engaged in the retail trade, with around 19% of women and 19.5% of men employed in the sector. However, in healthcare and other health services, the share of women working is 5 times higher than men, at around 15% compared to

only 3% of men. With the manufacturing sector gaining considerable momentum in Kosova's economy, both women and men have higher levels of employment in the sector. However, clear gender differences between men and women in terms of occupations persist.



In 2022, 56% of all employed women were employed in the education, retail trade, and health sector, a clear concentration of women in sectors with higher human interaction. When adding public administration, accommodation, and manufacturing, these sectors account for more than 75 percent of women employed. Notably, there is a high concentration of women in all service jobs. In any economy, gender segregation in professions creates opportunities for increasing the gender pay gap and economic inequalities, rather than overcoming them.

Informal Economy and Gender Implications

The size of the informal economy in Kosova is still not well understood given the limited data on informality in terms of its economic impact and the number of individuals engaged in informal work, as well as their working conditions. Gender-segregated information on labour informality is not publicly available and data regarding employment contract types are inconsistent. The prevalence of underreporting workers to evade taxation has contributed to increased informality, often resulting from mutually advantageous arrangements between employees and employers. This absence of systematic estimates for Kosova's informal sector poses a hindrance to conducting a thorough analysis of this matter (Cojocaru, 2017).

According to the World Bank Job Diagnostics study, it is estimated that approximately 25% of the workforce in Kosova lacks a formal employment contract, with informality being more prevalent among young individuals, men, and those with lower levels of education (Cojocaru, 2017). Labour force surveys conducted by the Kosova Agency of Statistics indicate that the percentage of workers without contracts has been gradually decreasing since 2018. In 2022, this figure stood at 9.5% (Kosova Agency of Statistics, 2021). However, alternative studies suggest that the extent of labour informality might be considerably higher. A 2017 study by the Riinvest Institute indicated that 30% of women employed in the private sector did not possess formal employment contracts (Mehmeti et al., 2017).

Data from the Kosova Agency of Statistics has recently started publishing both Labour Force Survey (LFS) and Administrative Labour Force data, which when analysed together can provide insights into the levels of informality among different age groups and differences in informality between men and women. However, for 2021 and 2022, the differences between the employment levels reported by the labour force survey and the Tax Administration of Kosova (TAK) data show that the differences in labour market between men and women persist in the data collected through the LFS and the ones reported by the TAK.

The LFS measures self-reported employment levels, thus expecting to capture some informality in the data. On the other hand, the TAK data report only individuals who are registered as employed in TAK and pay taxes and contributions based on the Law on Labour. Theoretically, the expectation is that the LFS employment data exceeds the TAK data thus capturing informality levels. While this is true for men, in the case of women the data differentials show that more women are registered as employed at the TAK than calculated through the LFS. This differential makes it difficult to conduct any informality analysis on women's employment.

Table 1:

Employment in thousands, by LFS estimates and TAK data

| | LFS | Administrative | Difference | | LFS | Administrative | Difference |
|-------|---------|----------------|------------|-------|---------|----------------|------------|
| Men | 293,285 | 262,562 | 30,723 | Men | 281,451 | 265,498 | 15,953 |
| Women | 110,528 | 159,464 | - 48,936 | Women | 101,853 | 152,996 | - 51,143 |

Source: Author's calculation from KAS and TAK data, 2023

Gender-Sensitive Social Programs – COVID 19 Recovery Response

The COVID-19 pandemic underscored pre-existing gender inequalities within the Kosova economy and society. While the effects of the pandemic demonstrated a gendered nature, the same cannot be attributed to the subsequent recovery measures. Responses to the COVID-19 pandemic in Kosova and the rest of the Western Balkans lacked both pre and post-gender analyses according to the Gender Budgeting Watchdog Network (2021). Despite this, these policies demonstrated gender impacts. In Kosova, the absence of gender-disaggregated data collection by institutions poses a challenge and hinders the development of gender-sensitive policies. According to Kosova Women's Network, the majority of government interventions aimed at mitigating the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic often overlooked the distinct needs of women and men. Policymakers commonly operated under the assumption that the crisis had universal effects, leading to a lack of consideration for gender perspectives. In instances where gender differences are not considered, certain measures run the risk of unintentionally perpetuating pre-existing gender inequalities, potentially resulting in outcomes that are even "gender negative" (Farnsworth et al., 2020).

There were three packages that the Government of Kosova developed and implemented during COVID-19 as mitigating and relief interventions.

Kosova's initial emergency response fiscal package to address the repercussions of COVID-19 lacked gender sensitivity, as the measures were not specifically crafted to consider their gender-specific impact. Despite this, certain measures inadvertently favoured women, particularly by focusing on sectors where women held a disproportionate representation.

For instance, Measure 3 of the Emergency Fiscal Package aimed at assisting enterprises in compensating their employees during the lockdown, lacked a gender-specific design. Nevertheless, it had the potential to perpetuate existing inequalities within the business environment. Due to the eligibility criteria, only enterprises with more than one employee qualified for support. Since women are more likely than men to operate individual businesses without additional workers, they may not meet the criteria for assistance. Conversely, planned payments for frontline workers and those in essential sectors (including wholesale and retail trade, education, and healthcare), although not formulated with a gender perspective, may disproportionately benefit women. This is because women are overrepresented in healthcare, as well as in retail trade and bakeries. An accurate assessment of these measures' impact requires a post-analysis, but the Ministry of Finance, Labour, and Transfers (MFLT) has reported that recovery measure data is not disaggregated by gender, impeding the conduct of such an analysis.

Following a change in government, the Economic Recovery Implementation Plan was implemented by the new government in 2020. The measures aimed at addressing the sectors most heavily affected by the pandemic.

In the Economic Recovery Plan, the Kosovan Government did not explicitly consider the perspectives of women when crafting the measures. Besides Measure 10, which received a 2 million EUR allocation and aimed to enhance the position of women in society, other measures were, at best, gender-neutral. Additionally, the limited budget for this measure suggests that its impact would be relatively modest. For example, Measure 3 aimed to address the employment of vulnerable groups, including women, but the specific provisions within this measure lacked gender analysis or anticipation of specific actions to enhance women's employment opportunities.

Another change in government in 2021 led to the development and implementation of the Economic Revival Package in June 2021, marking the final initiative aimed at economic recovery from COVID-19. This comprehensive package was designed based on four overarching goals, with specific measures across five domains. The goals revolved around: (1) enhancing employment and formalizing the economy, specifically to improve the roles of women and youth; (2) providing support to targeted economic sectors, such as manufacturing, to enhance the composition of GDP; (3) fostering comprehensive economic growth while concurrently improving key welfare indicators; and (4) ensuring macroeconomic and fiscal stability.

Within the Economic Revival Package, two primary measures specifically targeted women. The first sought to enhance women's outcomes in the labour market, but with a budget of only 5 million EUR and considering the significant disadvantages women faced in the labour market, this funding level may result in limited impact. The second measure was designed to provide compensation to women who became unemployed after childbirth and intended to create a more level playing field between employed and unemployed mothers. However, given the labour law's provision for employer-based compensation for employed mothers, this measure had inadvertent adverse effects on women's employment as it further perpetuated gender inequalities by targeting women as sole caretakers.

In conclusion, this chapter provides an analysis of the structural power dynamics contributing to labour market and gender disparities in Kosova. The examination of labour force participation and employment reveals significant gender gaps, where women consistently lagged behind men, influenced by societal expectations and discriminatory practices. The gendered dimensions extend to vulnerable employment, where women often find themselves in precarious positions without job security impacted by social norms, cultural constraints, and limited access to support services on women's labour market participation.

Furthermore, the chapter explores the gender wage gap, occupational segregation, and the prevalence of informality in Kosova's labour market. The analysis reveals persistent disparities, with women earning less than men and being concentrated in lower-paying sectors. The chapter emphasizes the need for gender-sensitive policies and legislation to address discriminatory practices, especially in maternity and paternity leave regulations, which currently contribute to the reinforcement of traditional gender roles.

The examination of the COVID-19 response measures highlights the gender-specific impacts of economic recovery interventions. While some measures unintentionally favoured women due to their overrepresentation in certain sectors, the lack of gender-disaggregated data hinders a comprehensive understanding of the outcomes. There is a need for a more nuanced approach in policy development, considering the distinct needs of women and men in post-pandemic recovery efforts.

This chapter aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the challenges and opportunities women face in navigating Kosova's socio-economic landscape. By shedding light on the multifaceted dynamics of gendered political and economic participation, it underscores the importance of addressing structural inequalities to promote a more equitable and inclusive society.

Chapter 3

Discursive Power: Gendered Patterns of Economic Engagement Entrepreneurship and Access to Credit

Entrepreneurship and self-employment play a pivotal role in fostering sustainable and innovative economic development. However, women's representation in the entrepreneurial landscape in Kosova remains disproportionately low. Furthermore, even when women venture into entrepreneurship, their businesses tend to be smaller in scale and less likely to operate in high-value sectors with significant growth potential.

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), women globally own approximately 37% of businesses yet hold top management positions in only 18% of these companies and their representation as CEOs in the world's largest companies is less than 5% (ILO, 2015). Data from the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor indicates that out of the 224 million women-owned businesses worldwide, only 112 million employ more than one person, and merely 12 million have plans to hire up to six employees in the coming years (US Small Business Administration, 2017). Moreover, women-owned businesses tend to be concentrated (67%) in the consumer-oriented sector, in contrast to men-owned businesses, where this figure stands at 45%. The consumer-oriented sector is generally characterised by ease of entry, but high competitiveness (GEM, 2015).

In Kosova, women encounter various obstacles when initiating and managing businesses. These challenges encompass a lack of financial resources, difficulties accessing funding deeply rooted cultural and societal barriers, and the constraint of time due to family responsibilities. Studies specific to Kosova affirm that women grapple with numerous impediments, from entering the business realm to sustaining and expanding their ventures.

In Kosova, the business landscape is predominantly composed of individual enterprises, making up approximately 80% of all registered businesses. Furthermore, more than 98% of active businesses fall into the micro and small enterprise categories with up to 49 employees. However, most of these enterprises belong to the micro-enterprise bracket, with fewer than 10 employees registered. Medium-sized businesses are notably scarce, and there are fewer than 100 small enterprises officially registered in Kosova (KBRA, 2023).

For women-owned businesses, most enterprises are micro with 0-9 workers, and a considerable proportion operate as individual one-woman businesses. Among all individual enterprises registered with the Kosova Business Registry Agency, women owners account for approximately 20%, in contrast to their male counterparts who represent 79% of individual enterprise owners.

While individual businesses continue to be the prevailing business structure, there has been a notable uptick in the establishment of limited liability companies (LLCs) among both men and women entrepreneurs. However, as of 2017, research by the Riinvest Institute indicates that only around 2% of women-owned businesses are registered as LLCs, about 5% are categorised as general partnerships, while the overwhelming majority (94%) maintain their status as individual enterprises (Mehmeti et al., 2017). This study also found that approximately 94% of the women-owned businesses surveyed in Kosova were individual enterprises. Among these, 29% operated without any employees, 64% were micro-enterprises with fewer than five workers, and only 7% were small businesses with up to ten employees.

In Kosova, women-owned businesses are mostly concentrated in the retail and wholesale trade sectors. Roughly a third of women-owned businesses are within this sector, slightly trailing the 37% of businesses owned by men in the sector. Within this sector, women's businesses predominantly engage in retail sales of clothing and footwear through specialized stores.

The second most prevalent sector for women-owned businesses is other service activities, encompassing businesses like hairdressing and beauty treatment services. Women entrepreneurs also have a notable presence in the manufacturing sector, where most are involved in textile-related enterprises, particularly in the manufacture of apparel (KBRA, 2023).

A more recent study examining the manufacturing sector in Kosova reveals that women own approximately 25% of businesses in the food processing industry, around 12% of businesses in wood processing, a mere 6% in the plastic industry, and none in the metal processing sector (Riinvest Institute, 2022). It's important to note that among these industries, metal processing stands out with the highest average annual turnover, followed closely by the food processing industry. Although the agricultural sector is primarily dominated by male-owned enterprises, around 7% (roughly 800 enterprises) are owned by women, contributing to the diversity of women's entrepreneurial activities in Kosova.

Land Ownership and Property Rights - Legal Framework

Studies conducted by different organisations show that women in Kosova own less than 20% percent of all property, the lowest proportion in the region, but even more alarming is the fact that only 8% of women use their property as collateral (Tonchovska et al., 2014). Renunciation of property by women is still prevalent in families and it takes place despite the clear legislation on these issues.

Kosova's legal framework governing land ownership is structured around several key laws and regulations. The primary legal document that governs property ownership and transfers in Kosova is the "Law on Property and Other Real Rights." Additionally, the "Family Law," "Inheritance Law," and the "Law on Gender Equality" provide the necessary legal foundations to ensure gender equality within property ownership and transfers.

The "Law on Property and Other Real Rights" establishes specific conditions under which immovable property can be acquired. It mandates that the transfer of immovable property ownership requires a valid contract between the involved parties (Law No. 03/L-154 on Property and Other Real Rights). Moreover, this contract must be executed in the written presence of both parties, either before a competent court or a notary.

The "Family Law" in Kosova defines property ownership for both married and unmarried couples (Law No.2004/32 Family Law of Kosova). For married couples, it distinguishes between separate and joint property of spouses. Separate property comprises assets owned individually by a spouse before marriage, property obtained during marriage through inheritance, donation, or other legal means, as well as property created by one spouse, such as art or intellectual property. In contrast, joint property encompasses assets acquired during the marriage through collaborative efforts. The law stipulates that spouses are joint owners of joint property in equal shares unless otherwise agreed upon (Law No.2004/32 Family Law of Kosova). For couples in extramarital relationships, property gained through their joint efforts is considered joint property. The same provisions for the distribution of joint property, as applied to legally married couples, are also extended to couples in out-of-marriage relationships (Law No.2004/32 Family Law of Kosova). This provision has had a positive impact because couples in Kosova are frequently married by customs but delay marriage by law.

The "Law on Inheritance" complements the concept of joint property ownership for family members by specifying inheritance rights. It ensures equal inheritance rights for all individuals under the same conditions, regardless of their marital status. In the case of extramarital spouses, they are granted equal inheritance rights, provided that their relationship has lasted for at least five years (Law No.2004/26 on Inheritance in Kosova). The law defines an order of inheritance, with priority given to children, adopted children, spouses, parents, siblings, and grand-

parents and their descendants (Law No.2004/26 on Inheritance in Kosova).

To promote gender equality, Kosova has enacted the "Law on Gender Equality," which prohibits sex and gender-based discrimination and mandates affirmative measures to address existing inequalities (Law No. 05/L-020 n Gender Equality). These measures include initiatives to promote economic empowerment, enhance the status of women and men in various sectors, and allocate or reallocate resources.

In line with these legislative efforts, the Government of Kosova introduced the "Administrative Instruction on Special Measures for Registration of Joint Immovable Property on Behalf of Both Spouses" in 2016 that is renewed on an annual basis as a temporary measure to accelerate property registration on names of both spouses (Administrative Instruction (GRK) No. 01/2022). This temporary measure was designed to encourage the registration of immovable property as joint property for couples. The Administrative Instruction offers benefits such as exemption from registration fees, property tax, and notary expenses for a specified period. It aims to increase the number of women registered as joint property owners, enhance their societal standing, and indirectly improve women's economic opportunities, particularly in entrepreneurship. The success of this special measure is evidenced by a joint ownership registration rise from approximately 7% of all properties to around 20% in 2023, prompting the Kosovan Government to renew the Administrative Instruction annually since 2016.

Double Shift and Unpaid Work

According to the World Economic Forum, women dedicate approximately 8 hours and 49 minutes a day to both paid and unpaid work, while men work 7 hours and 47 minutes (World Economic Forum, 2022). Notably, men allocate only 1 hour and 30 minutes on average to unpaid care work, while women shoulder the burden by investing up to 4 hours and 47 minutes daily in unpaid care work (World Economic Forum, 2022).

Irrespective of their employment status, women spend an average of 3 hours and 30 minutes exclusively on household work, excluding caregiving responsibilities. Employed women spend a little less than 3 hours on household chores and balance this with their paid employment, while unemployed women spend an average of 4 hours on domestic tasks (Mehmeti et al.). The time invested in household work increases to over 4 hours for women with children in general. For working mothers, the average time spent on household work is 3 hours and 20 minutes, in contrast to 2 hours for employed women without children (Mehmeti et al. 2017). Conversely, unemployed women with children spend nearly 5 hours on household work. Moreover, the time devoted to household tasks increases with the overall number of family members. In Kosova, the studies conducted on women's time allocation during the day show that women spend significantly more time than men on household work. To illuminate the economic impact of women's unpaid care work, one approach is to assess the market value of their hourly salary. This narrative explores the time women invest in both paid and unpaid work and considers the potential additional income they could earn if their unpaid work were compensated.

To assess the economic contribution of women in households, beyond their paid work, a simple calculation of their contribution can be done using the following parameters: the average salary in Kosova in 2022 is €521 (equivalent to a market rate of €3.25 per hour) and women engage in approximately 3 hours of unpaid work daily. If this unpaid work were monetarily compensated based on market value, the surveyed women would earn an additional €195 monthly when considering only workdays. While these calculations vary across different income levels, the overarching conclusion persists compensating unpaid care work would result in a substantial increase in women's income. In a conservative scenario, this increase would be by 35 percentage points, and in a more realistic case, by 50 percentage points. The daily time spent on unpaid work varies with income levels, influencing the opportunity cost associated with such work. Notably, the difference between the current salary and the potential salary (if unpaid work were paid) widens as income levels increase, even as the time spent on unpaid work decreases at higher salary levels.

In conclusion, this chapter focused on the gendered dimensions of political and economic participation. Through the lens of discursive power, the chapter illuminates gendered patterns in economic engagement, entrepreneurship, access to credit, and the legal frameworks surrounding property rights. The multifaceted exploration offers valuable insights into the challenges and opportunities that women encounter while navigating Kosova's socio-economic landscape.

To summarise, the discourse on entrepreneurship and access to credit underscores a global and local disparity in women's representation in the entrepreneurial landscape. Despite women globally owning 37% of businesses, their presence in top management positions and as CEOs remains notably low. In Kosova, women face distinct challenges, including limited financial resources, difficulties accessing funding, and entrenched cultural barriers, hindering their entry into and growth within the business realm. Land ownership and property rights reveal alarming disparities, with women owning only 15% of all property in Kosova. Despite clear legislation, obstacles such as property renunciation persist. Finally, the chapter looks at the burden of the double shift and unpaid work shouldered by women. The significant time invested in household tasks, coupled with the stark contrast in unpaid care work between men and women, underscores the need to assess the economic impact. Calculations based on market value suggest that compensating women for their unpaid care work could lead to a substantial increase in income, ranging from 35% to 50%, depending on different scenarios and income levels.

Chapter 4

The (Non) Inclusion of Women in Peace, Security, and Politics

This chapter provides an overview of the position of women in Kosova in three important and interrelated fields: peace, security, and politics. Given the historical context of Kosova, both in the early post-conflict era and 24 years later, the involvement of women in peacebuilding and political decision-making processes is characterized by interesting developments. At times, these developments have been marked by positive highlights. One example is having women as the key representatives at negotiation tables on the peacebuilding agenda, like Edita Tahiri, who served as the Kosova Chief Negotiator for the Dialogue with Serbia for seven years. Moreover, Kosovan women have served as presidents twice (including the present one), currently hold five Minister positions in the Prime Minister's Cabinet out of 10 man-led ministries and hold 43/120 seats in the current Kosova Assembly.

While these examples are encouraging, they do not necessarily compensate for the different layers of gender disparities when it comes to women's involvement in peacebuilding and politics on a larger scale. Stereotypes still exist about women's involvement in security structures. Moreover, while progress has been made with the adoption of the 30% guota on representation of women in elections, it hasn't reached the full parity level (50% as required by the Law on Gender Equality), nor has it eliminated elementary obstacles women face before deciding to pursue political careers. Such a reality exists as a result of the patriarchal mindset that persists in Kosova regarding institutional power. It must therefore be reiterated that while there is progress towards gender justice to a certain extent, the remains a need to expand and sustain the momentum of progress. In other words, the need to break the cycles of the patriarchal ways of power distribution in Kosova writ large.

Therefore, apart from unveiling the situation of the (non)inclusion of women in Kosova in peace, security, and politics, this chapter will also seek to identify the factors that impede the advancement of a more gender-just and gender-equal security and political environment in Kosova.

Women, Peace, and Security

"No decisions about women without women"

The concept Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) is theoretically defined by Thornton and Whitman as "drawing out from a variety of disciplines and discourses, including political science, international relations, and sociology" (Bhatia, 2016 p. 4). In the Kosova context, this concept in large applies to the legacy of the war in 1999 and the post-war peacebuilding/dialogue process with Serbia that continues to this day. In addition, when discussing the domestic political scene, as mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the issue of gender-equal representation of women in politics has gained attention but not to the desired extent. In addition, as Kosova still strives for recognition from four NATO member countries (Slovakia, Greece, Spain, and Romania) and five EU non-recognizing countries (the latter four plus Cyprus), foreign policy remains a crucial point that deserves attention in terms of the WPS definition in Kosova as defined by Thornton and Whitman. Before diving into greater detail regarding the latter, this part of the subchapter will initially focus on peace and security.

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, which was adopted in 2000, is dedicated to promoting and enhancing women's involvement in peacebuilding, peace negotiations, and sustainability at the local and national level. This Resolution was introduced one year after the war in Kosova ended. While it calls for the inclusion of women in the decision-making processes of peace and security, UNSCR 1325 also emphasizes that women are among the most affected by conflicts (United States Institute for Peace, 2018).fl

Indeed, apart from being killed and persecuted during the war in 1999, around 20.000 women (and men) in Kosova were raped by Serbian military forces (Jahjaga, 2019). However, even though sexual abuse and rape were used as a war weapon to actively weaken Kosova's population, it did not stop the victims and activists from speaking out. On the other hand, while being the targeted victims, the war with Serbia did not stop some women activists in

Kosova from having their voices heard. According to research conducted by Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security, the activism of women in Kosova during the war, though largely unnoticed, was present and meaningful. For example, during the war, women established networks across villages and communities where they provided education for children as a distraction from the harsh reality on the ground (Bhatia, 2016, p. 9). The report further writes, "Though women were not heavily involved in the formal peace negotiations that ended the hostilities in Kosova, they played key roles in civil society before the war and actively sought ways to participate in reconstruction efforts. At the grassroots levels, and in unofficial channels, women worked towards peace and stability in their communities" (Bhatia, 2016, p 8). Flora Macula, a gender-justice and war-time activist and an Officer in Charge at UN Women in Kosova advising on UNSCR 1325 Regional Program, spoke in great detail about these findings by adding that it was the women activists in Kosova who vouched for the "no decisions about women without women" approach right after the war ended (Macula, 2023).

Furthermore, while giving credit to other womens' activism in the post-war situation in Kosova, Macula particularly applauded the work of Edita Tahiri who worked as a Chief Negotiator for the dialogue with Serbia for seven years. However, when asked about the involvement of women in the current dialogue process with Serbia, Besa Luzha, an activist of civil society on gender issues since the immediate aftermath of the war, stated that the current involvement of women on this issue is not satisfactory given that only one woman is presently in the negotiating team of the Kosovan government (Luzha, 2023). Moreover, Macula added that peace and security have different layers. She insisted that women do the early warnings during conflicts, but it is the men who end up making the final decisions. Macula concluded that it is as if the representation of women is short-lived and, ultimately, the bigger decisions are made by men. It must be noted that even on the global scale, from the year 1990 to 2019, only 13% of negotiators and 6% of signees during peace processes have been women (Behrami et al, 2021, p. 7).

Returning to where Kosova stands in terms of the implementation of the UNSCR 1325, the Kosova Agency for Gender Equality (which is the official part of the Office of the Prime Minister) adopted the provisions of UNSCR 1325 by developing the National Action Plan (NAP) in 2014, whereby the Kosova Government committed to providing 51% of the funding this policy required. The three main purposes of this NAP are the following:

- a. Increasing women's role in decision-making and peacebuilding.
- b. Closing the gender gap in security.
- c. Providing access to justice for victims of conflict-related sexual violence.

Almost 10 years since the adoption of NAP, it is difficult to measure the extent to which Kosova has benefitted from this policy due to the absence of a systematic evaluation of its implementation. Nevertheless, there are a number of positive developments that Kosova has marked in this aspect and beyond. In an interview with Vlora Tuzi Nushi, Head of the UN Women Office in Kosova, we found that Kosova has taken significant steps in adopting global initiatives and resolutions apart from 1325 to eliminate gender discrimination. For example, Kosova is among the first countries in the Western Balkans to incorporate both the CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women) and the Istanbul Convention (The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combatting Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence) in its constitution.

Apart from having women leading a peace negotiation process for seven years, one of the greatest benefits of adopting the 1325 NAP is the recognition of CRSV (Conflict-Related Sexual Violence) survivors. As a result of this recognition, the survivors receive life-long pensions and economic empowerment, which contributes to the breaking of stereotypes on these topics. Therefore, "In a way, Kosova is leading ahead with many international obligations by including them in the constitution, and at the same time harmonizing its legal framework in line with these international conventions and treaties," Nushi concludes (Nushi, 2023).

Moreover, civil society activism has contributed a great deal to this aspect as well. In 2022, Kosova Women's Network (KWN), one of the key civil society organizations that deal with pushing forward women's rights in Kosova, published the book, Facts and Fables about Resolution 1325 which revealed findings on the progress of the implementation of resolution 1325 (Murati et al, 2021, p. 285). The book has a table measuring the Kosova's progress or regress according to indicators in addressing gender equality in fields pertaining to the resolution's recommendations. Furthermore, the book states that while the resolution has "no teeth," i.e., it is not legally binding, it has served as a guide for empowering the role of women in various levels of security, gender equality, and economic development. Moreover, the book also emphasizes that women and girls should not be treated only as victims, but as active participants involved in the decision-making process at all levels and sectors of society, because the decisions concern them (Murati et al, 2021, p 15). Hence the quote "No decisions about women, without women," which was echoed also during the Women, Peace, and Security Conference organized by the Office of the Kosovan President, Vjosa Osmani, in October 2022.

As the chapter of this study suggests, while the inclusion of women in peace, security, and politics has made some positive steps (including the adoption of international resolutions and so on), there is still room for improvement, and the path to achieving this limited progress has faced obstacles. For example, additional findings in Facts and Fables on the 1325 Resolution describe how women activists, in the immediate aftermath of the war in Kosova, persisted in being involved in policy-making despite resistance from some international missions' representatives and men politicians in Kosova. For example, there were no women involved in the talks for the establishment of Kosova's status at the Vienna Negotiations in 2006. "This was a failure. But it is not a failure of women, because women were proactive. It was a failure of men," the KWN book concludes (Murati et. Al, 2021, p 81).

These discriminatory cases, however, did not stop women in Kosova from continuing their activism. Such resistance also inspired the women of Kosova to establish cooperation networks not just with women within the country, but also across the region. For example, KWN, together with the Women in Black (an organization of women from Belgrade who protested Serbia's genocidal wars in Kosova and Bosnia) established the Women's Coalition for Peace. The cooperation extended beyond Kosova and Serbia to Southeastern Europe where Edita Tahiri, who participated in the organization, became part of the Regional Women's Advocacy for Peace, Security, and Justice.

There are additional applaudable activities undertaken by Kosovan concerning the guest for justice after the war in Kosova. Former President Atifete Jahjaga established the National Council for Survivors of Sexual Violence During the War of Kosova. Similar work has been done by the NGO KRTC (Kosova Rehabilitation and Trauma Center). In the summer of 2015, President Jahjaga, along with some women MPs and the Office of the Prime Minsiter of Kosova, established the "Heroinat" monument to recognize their sacrifice and devotion (Bhatia, 2016, p 9-10). She also drafted the Prishtina Principles on "advancing women's security and justice, economic empowerment and political representation" (NDI, 2021) Most importantly, in 2019, President Jahjaga spoke before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, about Kosova's Wartime Victims in a testimony named "The Quest for Justice", which emphasized women as victims of terror by Serbian forces (Jahjaga, 2019).

These are successful initiatives, and they should inspire more action by women from all sectors of Kosovan society for activism in peace and security. Indeed, the findings above indicate that women in Kosova oftentimes had to push to make their voices heard and their decisions implemented. It is arguable that if women did not push for these decisions to establish a more gender-just society, such policies would been excluded from the policy-making agenda of a men-dominated world, although women are the main victims when it comes to peace and security. It is unfortunate that in the patriarchal society of Kosova, the stigma remains and women still struggle to feel comfortable to assert their positions and share their stories.

Women: Local, National, and Foreign Policy

"Gender Progress, but No Gender Parity."

The report by Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace, and Security stated, "In Kosova, women play an increasingly critical and diverse role in the country's political development. Their influence has led to several key advancements in policy, specifically with regard to women's property rights and the dialogue with Serbia. Yet, they still face obstacles on the path to full political empowerment, most significantly cultural attitudes and the political party system" (NDI, 2021). This phenomenon has been raised and confirmed by several other think-tank reports, roundtable events, and high-level discussions regarding women's involvement in Kosovan politics. Therefore, it will also be one of the points this analysis will seek to elucidate.

Women's Representation in National, Local, and Foreign Policy

The parliamentary elections that took place in Kosova in February 2021 were perceived as generally successful in terms of increased progress towards women's representation. Women won 43/120 seats. While the law on the 30% legislative quota has had a positive impact on these results, it is certainly worth noting that 34 out of the 43 seats were earned without the guota. Moreover, out of the fifteen ministries allocated under the current Prime Minister Cabinet, five women hold the seat of ministers (Minister of Justice, Minister of Education, Minister of Economy, Ministry of Industry, Trade and Infrastructure, and Minister of Foreign Affairs), and there are two women as deputy PMs, and women are chair of fourteen parliamentary committees.fl According to an NDI report focused on this exact topic, compared to 2015, the year 2021, significant progress has been made (Bhatia, 2016, p 16). Namely, Kosova is at a turning point in terms of increased participation of women in politics compared to previous elections. However, this does not mean that there is no longer room for criticism. Burdens that women must bear before deciding to pursue political careers persist, meaning that such successes cannot be taken for granted. This should serve as reasoning to follow this issue closely by unveiling and addressing the double burdens women face while deciding to pursue political careers. Ultimately, this will progress the quest to establish an environment where there can be full parity for gender-equal participation in politics.

Regarding local elections and the extent to which women in Kosova are represented, the picture is far less progressive. Kosova has had only one woman as a mayor in 2013-2017 (Municipality of Gjakova, Mimoza Kusari-Lila). The local elections are mainly focused on the capital of Prishtina. In the latest 2021 local elections, only 14 of the 166 candidates for mayor were women (EU EOM Kosove, 2021, p 34). While compared to the previous local elections in 2013 and 2017, there was an increase in the number of women candidates, this does not mean that there is no high discrepancy between men and women mayoral candidates in Kosova. In the 2021 local elections, two women were elected as mayors, namely in the Serbian-majority municipalities of Gracanica and Ranillug, which reflects the lack of competition within that community (NDI, 2022). Arta Berisha, a prominent journalist on gender equality from Kosova argues that while Kosova has marked significant progress in terms of the role of women in politics (read: parliamentary elections), the road to equal opportunities is not positive in local elections. The situation has not improved compared to the first local elections in 2000. "For example, in 2000, the number of women candidates for the assembly was 1,322. Out of 5,239 candidates for municipal assemblies in 2021, only 1,943 were women, or only about 37%," Berisha concludes (Berisha, 2021).

Finally, in terms of women's representation in foreign policy, the situation may be assessed as semi-progressive, but with a need for improvement as well. The current Minister of Foreign Affairs is a woman, and the chairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on European Integration belong to women. However, when talking about diplomacy abroad, on a wider scope, most ambassador positions are still held by men. Out of 34 embassies abroad (including a liaison office in Serbia), 11 ambassadors are women, compared to 23 men (Government of the Republic of Kosova, Embassies).

Regarding Kosovan women's representation in diplomatic missions abroad, Vlora Tuzi-Nushi argues that the result may be fair, but not excellent. "It would be a great initiative to enhance a stronger debate on feminist foreign policy in Kosova," Nushi argues. That is because feminist foreign policy is not only about nominating women as ambassadors, but also about the security and insurance they need provided. Unlike men, who accept their ambassador positions when offered without concern for the modalities of taking that position, women often hesitate to do so because they are aware of the additional implications of the job. Such implications include the family they have to take with them such as affording childcare and schooling (if they have children), other broader implications concern being replaced if a new political party comes to power thereby rendering them unemployed (Nushi, 2023). Therefore, this case indicates that Kosova does need a new progressive approach to adopt feminist foreign policy. Given the importance of Kosova being carefully represented abroad and the need to strengthen

Kosova's international subjectivity, it would be a positive step if the Kosovan government and relevant stakeholders invested in promoting and implementing feminist foreign policy so that women could take diplomatic positions without having to worry about burdens typically and traditionally faced by women.

Furthermore, in 2005, a few Kosova women politicians established the Women Caucus which is active to this day. Political parties have established the respective Women Forums to tackle issues of gender justice within the political system. However, while these may be positive signs, the women's caucuses and forums are attended mostly by women. Besa Luzha has a critical approach towards this because she said, "Everything related to gender stays within those caucuses, and rarely goes beyond them" (Luzha, 2023). Furthermore, while political parties have established the Women Forum within their establishments, research shows that these issues mostly remain within the framework of these exact circles. As the NDI report also confirms, "Women are restricted or restrict themselves to engage in stereotypical women's issues and are excluded from topics such as economy and defense" (NDI, 2021, p 7-8). Indeed, as of 2021, in the Kosova Police, only 15% out of 9.100 recruits are women. Likewise, in the Kosova Security Force, only 11% out of 2.500 recruits are women (Qenaj, 2021). Kosova has never had a woman in the seat of the Ministry of Defense; whereas in the Parliamentary Committee on Defense and Security, there is only one woman member (Kosova Assembly, Parliamentary Committee on Security and Defense).

With all these elements in mind, one may ask what are the factors that impede women from having more just access to decision-making in peace, security, and politics. First and foremost, more needs to be done in terms of the legal aspect. Kosova has not harmonized two conflicting laws related to gender representation. The law on election quota is implemented, but not the law on GE, which sets a 50% across all legislative, executive, and public institutions. Moreover, political parties do not invest in preparing women for elections, precisely due to the existence of the legislative guota, which, to political parties, is less of a "burden" to invest in since the guota guarantees the seats. Furthermore, it is not only the political parties that do not invest in women for political representation. It is also the media that plays a significant role in this aspect. Research shows that during the 2021 election campaign, some media focused more on the physical appearances of women, rather than the subject of their campaign speeches. Violence, including verbal and emotional, was also present - partly perpetrated by the media. Apart from these unjust representations of women in the media, it has been noted that during the televised local election debates in 2021, there was an enormous discrepancy in terms of women representation, as shown in the figure below (NDI, 2022).

Table 2:

Representation off women in TV election debates

| Women participation in Tv debates | Male participants | Female participants |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Zgjedhjet Lokale and Analiza on RTK | 80 | 20 |
| Zgjedhjet ne Kohe on KTV | 25 | 3 |
| Publikon on Klan Kosova | 35 | 3 |
| Pressing on T7 | 63 | 9 |
| Context on ATV | 21 | 1 |
| Debat Plus on TV Dukagjini | 58 | 1 |

In September of this year, the Kosova Parliament enacted the law on Gender-Based Violence and Domestic Violence (Kosova Assembly, 2023)¹, which also addresses political violence and harassment in its definitions of scope of law. However, it remains to be seen whether this law will be implemented, or if it will remain only on paper, as most other laws pertaining to gender discrimination do.

Finally, rarely do society and political parties acknowledge that women have a double burden when it comes to their careers. That is because they are expected to do both their full-time job as well as take care of family needs. This is a persisting factor that has historically impeded women from deciding to pursue a political career.

According to some public opinion polls in Kosova regarding elections and the representation of women in the political sphere, women are being perceived as more "honest," "compassionate," and "intelligent" than men by a significant portion of voters (Bhatia, 2016, p 2). As the examples shown at the beginning of this chapter, women in Kosova have indeed taken initiatives that have truly sought to make a positive change in society, even if that was within smaller communities and under difficult conditions (as was the case during and after the war). Furthermore, some theorists argue that including women in policymaking improves the quality of the political processes, given that they tend to be more "collaborative and less corrupt" by providing diversity of perspectives, and thus a more robust and deliberative policy-making process (Bhatia, 2016. p 11-12).

With all these elements in mind, a few additional questions can be raised. For instance, how can one contribute to enhancing a much more gender-equal representation in society? If women have proven that their

involvement in peace, security, and politics can be fruitful, why haven't political establishments done more to reach full gender parity? Given the significance of strengthening democracy and social justice for a young country such as Kosova, providing the conditions and breaking the barriers for women's representation is a must. The participation of women in political processes appeals to democratic principles as well, as it is an individual right of all the citizens of a state, including women. Hence, a "lack of participation of women constitutes a democratic deficit" that poses a threat to "the stability of the state and undermines its very character as a democracy" (Bhatia, 2016, p 11).

In a nutshell, the picture provided by the findings of this subchapter indicates that while Kosova may have experienced positive steps for mitigating the deficit in women's participation in peace, security, and politics, it still has a long way to go to fully eliminate that deficit. The burdens that are caused as a result of the inherent misogynistic attitudes within political parties, from the media, as well as from the society as a whole need to be torn down and shifted towards a progressive agenda for gender justice. To enable a more consistent implementation of the legislation in place and increased progress towards this issue, a holistic approach must be applied. It is an approach where all possible stakeholders need to contribute in order to enable an environment that provides women equal opportunities for participating in the peace, security, and the political agenda. These stakeholders include, but are not limited to the government, the civil society, the media, and even people in close circles of women. As Kosova works towards strengthening its democracy on its path to becoming fully emboldened within the EU perspective, it is of paramount importance that it respects important prerequisites for gender justice.

¹LIGJI NR. 08/L-185 PËR PARANDALIMIN DHE MBROJTJEN NGA DHUNA NË FAMILJE DHUNA NDAJ GRAVE DHE DHUNA NË BAZA GJINORE.

Chapter 5

Gender-Specific Power Dynamics

Globally gender differences in human capital are evident and often largely impact and are impacted by gender differences in other areas. Reskin and Bielby (2005) identify that social stratification arises from persistent and systemic disparities in resource distribution based on individual characteristics. This phenomenon has led to the concentration of women in professions closely associated with caregiving, nurturing, and interpersonal interactions-typically fields characterized by lower remuneration, limited promotional avenues, and a higher incidence of part-time employment (Garcia-Mainar et al., 2018). Contrary to the conventional economic assertion that women voluntarily choose occupations they find more fitting (MacPherson and Hirsch, 1995), recent research challenges this notion by revealing diminishing gender gaps in education and experience (Goldin, 2006), while occupational gender segregation persists (Blau and Khan, 2016). Kosova, too, mirrors a narrowing gender gap in human capital, as evidenced by more women enrolling in and completing tertiary education than men (KAS, 2023). Nevertheless, despite overall educational parity, discernible patterns of segregation persist in subject choices and career preferences, thereby perpetuating occupational segregation. Kosova still faces stark gender differences in education, human capital development, and societal norms. Historically, these differences have manifested in various ways, influencing access to educational opportunities, impacting choices in profession, shaping the accumulation of human capital, and reinforcing entrenched social norms

Education and Human Capital

In education in Kosova, attendance rates in primary and secondary education are similar for boys and girls. However, preschool and kindergarten attendance rates are low for both genders, which has consequences for broader aspects of society and the economy. The absence of affordable and high-guality kindergartens affects children's participation in organised learning at a young age, with only 15% of children aged 3-5 attending such programs (MICS, 2019). In university education, more women enroll in bachelor programs in public universities, while more men study in private universities. This difference may be attributed to parents' greater willingness to pay for their sons' education, or to daughters outperforming sons in secondary education and receiving preferential treatment when applying to public universities. The latest data from the Ministry of Education, Science, Technology, and Innovation indicates that, in 2020, 65% of bachelor graduates from public universities were women, while in master's programs, 54% of graduates were women (MESTI, 2023). However, there are still differences in the choice of concentration and faculty of study between men and women.

Regarding educational choices, a LEAP study in 2018 revealed gender disparities in the decisions of high school students when choosing university courses. Boys tend to opt for majors requiring higher mathematical skills and aligning with masculine traits, such as Computer Science, Economics, Engineering, Agriculture, and Physical Education. In contrast, girls choose courses and professions that demand higher verbal skills and align with the caring nature expectations for girls, including fields like Medicine, Education, and Psychology (Demukaj et al., 2019). These disparities further persist when men and women enter the labour market and lead to occupational segregation, which is covered in detail in Chapter 2.

A 2016 study by Rapoport and Thibout in Australia indicates that boys and girls consider future earnings when choosing educational pathways, and when accounting for test score differences and considering the future earnings, there are no gender effects in the decision-making (Rapoport & Thibout, 2016). However, there are marked differences in the educational choices made by boys and girls, particularly in the selection of study paths in terms of entry requirements and possible study durations. The study further finds that boys often value their perceived skills, measured by test scores, more than girls, especially in prestigious or competitive study paths (Rapoport & Thibout, 2016). The results suggest that reducing the gender wage gap after obtaining a diploma could impact educational choices as well as improve girls' perceptions of their skills, particularly in sciences, which could in turn lead to more diverse enrolment in high-ranking jobs (Rapoport & Thibout, 2016). While these findings do not show a complete picture, they explain some of the decision-making processes between boys and girls in terms of their educational paths. Role models and improved perception of skills for girls are crucial, but the formulation and implementation of policies are key to changing the outcomes, especially when challenging gender norms and improving gender outcomes altogether. A study by Monkman and Hoffman argues that while policy discourse prioritizes girls' education, it often marginalizes the role of gender in understanding the complexities of educating all children (Monkman & Hoffman, 2013). The authors state that policy

discourse tends to simplify complex social, cultural, political, and economic issues, leading to initiatives that may not address the root causes of gender inequities.

This is crucial, especially in Kosova, where most interventions have been developed based on successful outcomes in other contexts and countries. The study emphasizes the need to understand how policy text shapes the framing of educational issues, highlighting the importance of challenging unquestioned assumptions. Specifically, it suggests that policy documents, while conveying broad ideas globally, selectively convey certain issues, and the omission of important topics can impact the effectiveness of initiatives (Monkman & Hoffman, 2013). Monkman and Hoffman's study critiques the narrow framing of girls' education policy without undermining the positive work accomplished in the field, however, the results differ in other individual countries.

Access to Healthcare and Reproductive Rights

Kosova faces challenges in providing adequate healthcare and health services. Civil society organisations' studies indicate that women encounter greater barriers in accessing healthcare, with 23% of women reporting that their male partners decide when they can visit a doctor. This percentage is even higher in rural areas and among women without personal income (Farnsworth et al., 2016). The lack of financial independence, coupled with cultural barriers, hinders women's access to healthcare. especially concerning reproductive health. The same study conducted by the Kosova Women's Network found that only 35% of respondents were aware that local family healthcare centres offered reproductive health services. This, in turn, affected contraceptive usage, with only 11% of women reporting the use of modern contraceptive methods. Although fertility rates in Kosova have been declining, in line with socio-economic development, this trend has raised concerns among various stakeholders. The declining fertility rates, from 2.96 children per woman in 2000 to 2.00 children per woman in 2018 (World Bank, 2019), have triggered discussions about the Law on Labor and legislation regulating maternity, paternity, and parental leave.

Access to Childcare

In examinations of policy interventions across various transition and developing economies, researchers have consistently observed the positive impact of childcare support on women's employment, entrepreneurship, and involvement in agricultural activities (Todd, 2013). This trend spans economies with diverse developmental levels and encompasses women of different ages and educational backgrounds. In Kosova, women face family and childcare responsibilities as a major obstacle to their economic participation, affecting those employed, unemployed, inactive, or involved in entrepreneurship. While a significant number of non-working women identify this as a major barrier, even working women believe that

improved access to childcare would enhance their employment prospects and career advancement. A 2018 Riinvest study revealed that 52% of women, both employed and unemployed, expressed that access to affordable and high-quality childcare would positively influence their outcomes in the labour market (Dobranja et al., 2018). The establishment of community-based childcare centres, facilitated by cooperation between communities and municipalities, has been a successful initiative. The Municipality of Prishtina, as a pioneer, implemented these centres based on the Law on Preschool Education and Administrative Instruction on Conditions and Possibilities for community support of preschool education. This initiative, involving community engagement and municipal support, has effectively increased the availability of affordable and quality childcare facilities, mitigating a significant barrier to women's economic activity in Prishtina. The process involves community engagement, identification of suitable facilities or lands, renovation or construction, community awareness, board election, staff selection, and setting fees based on family income, resulting in a successful model with increased childcare opportunities in the city.

Still, childcare remains one of the main reasons that women are inactive in the labour market or engage in part time work. The World Bank (2023) has identified 226 institutions that provide early childhood education, of which 39 are public institutions, 177 are licensed private institutions, and 10 are community-based institutions. The idea of using community-based institutions as a solution to challenges in the childcare sector is not widely embraced, with only 10 such institutions currently in existence in Kosovo. However, a positive step forward in providing alternative childcare is the establishment of Public-Private childcare institutions, that operate through a collaboration between a private provider and the respective municipality. According to the World Bank, there are three such institutions in Pristina, Prizren, and Fushe Kosove. These function similarly to private kindergartens, with some level of support from the municipalities (World Bank, 2023). For example, in Pristina, the municipality contributes to a portion of the parental fee, while in Prizren, it covers a part of the rent. However, the regulatory framework for these institutions is yet to be developed by MESTI (World Bank, 2023).

Investment in alternative childcare models offers an opportunity to expand childcare, which in turn would positively impact women's time and their opportunities to engage in paid labour and educational activities while all together improving their options for engagement in activities other than care.

Gender-Based Violence and Agency

The principles of gender equality and non-discrimination are enshrined in Kosova's Constitution and the Law on Gender Equality, which stipulates that women and men should be granted equal opportunities for participation and treatment in various domains, including political and

public life, the economy, employment, education, health, and social and cultural aspects (as per Law No. 05/L -020, on Gender Equality). However, despite the legislative framework aimed at ensuring gender equality, Kosova continues to be influenced by patriarchal norms. A public perception assessment conducted by UN Women in 2018 revealed that women in Kosova were still expected to adhere to traditional gender norms (UN Women, 2019). This expectation is particularly prominent for newly married women, who are often burdened with household and caregiving responsibilities. This expectation is upheld by both men and women alike. The study also found that men primarily hold decision-making power in households, with women having limited agency in household decisions (UN Women, 2019). A report from the Kosova Women's Network indicates that men are the sole decision-makers for significant purchases in 35% of cases, compared to only 10% of cases where women hold this role. In terms of major family decisions, men are solely responsible 33% of the time, compared to a mere 4% for women (An Analysis of Attitudes, Incidence, and Institutional Responses to Domestic Violence in Kosova No More Excuses, n.d.). These dynamics are closely linked to economic independence within households. The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) conducted in Kosova by OSCE and UN Habitat in 2018 revealed that 51% of men stated they were the primary income earners in their households, with only 2% identifying their partners as the main source of income (A Men's Perspective on Gender Equality in Kosova: Main Findings from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES), 2019). A higher proportion of female respondents, 55%, indicated that their partners were the primary income source. However, a 2017 study by the Riinvest Institute, focused on employed women, showed that employed women who had higher incomes played a more significant role in household decision-making. The study also found that higher income directly correlated with women's involvement in decision-making within the household, both in day-to-day matters and significant investments (Mehmeti et al., 2017). This increased involvement in decision-making typically took the form of joint decision-making rather than individual decision-making.

These gender norms and differing expectations have a direct bearing on the incidence and nature of gender-based violence in Kosova. Gender-based violence is accepted to some extent by both women and men. According to the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) conducted by the Kosova Agency of Statistics (KAS) and UNICEF Kosova, women are more likely to justify violence within marriage compared to men (MICS, 2019). Notably, there are differences in the acceptance of gender-based violence based on economic status. Both women and men in the poorest households are more likely to justify violence within marriage. Age differences also play a role, with younger respondents (aged 15-19) demonstrating a higher level of acceptance of gender-based violence within families than those aged 20-29. However, in general, as age increases, so does the acceptance of violence. These differences in the acceptance of violence indicate a significant degree of internalisation of gender-based violence among women. Women in patriarchal societies

often rationalise their husbands' abusive behaviour as serving their own (women's) interests (Javed et al., 2021). With approximately 30% of people perceiving domestic violence as a normal aspect of a relationship (UN Women, 2018) and women being more likely to justify such violence, deeply ingrained patriarchal norms remain prevalent.

These norms have been recognized by public authorities. The Kosova Program for Gender Equality 2020-2024, adopted in June 2020, acknowledges that women's economic empowerment is hindered by inequalities and structural exclusions from socio-economic life.

Moreover, the legislative framework in Kosova recognizes the gendered dimension, and it has further incorporated the Istanbul Convention, aligning its constitution with a gender perspective. The recently enacted law expands the definitions of violence against women, encompassing Gender-Based Violence and Domestic Violence. However, challenges persist in the implementation phase, marked by impunity for perpetrators within the justice system and a pressing need for increased human and budgetary resources, which the state must provide.

Efforts towards economic empowerment are underway, as illustrated by recent initiatives. The Ministry of Finance has championed a program offering 70% financial support to employers who hire victims of Domestic Violence, spanning a six-month period. Such interventions play a crucial role in providing opportunities for women to extricate themselves from abusive relationships. Drawing inspiration from Croatia, where the state supports Domestic Violence survivors with paid remuneration to facilitate their departure from violent environments, Kosova is moving towards comprehensive support mechanisms.

In conclusion, this chapter highlights the gender-specific power dynamics prevalent globally and, specifically, in Kosova. Social stratification, rooted in persistent gender disparities in resource distribution, contributes to the concentration of women in caregiving professions marked by lower remuneration and limited promotional avenues. The education sector in Kosova exhibits gender disparities in university enrolment and choice of concentrations. While women dominate public university bachelor programs, men tend to study in private universities and opt for majors aligned with masculine traits. High school students' decisions regarding university courses also reflect gender disparities, with boys favouring fields requiring higher mathematical skills, while girls choose professions aligned with verbal skills and caring expectations

Access to healthcare and reproductive rights in Kosova poses challenges for women, particularly those hindered by financial dependence and cultural barriers. Childcare, a crucial factor in women's economic participation, is addressed through community-based initiatives and public-private collaborations. However, there is room for further expansion and improvement in alternative childcare models to enhance women's opportunities for paid labour and educational activities. Gender-based violence persists in Kosova, influenced by patriarchal norms that impact women's agency and decision-making power within households. Acceptance of violence within marriage, particularly among women, reflects deeply ingrained patriarchal attitudes. Efforts to address these issues must consider the broader societal context, challenging gender norms, and promoting economic empowerment as integral components of gender equality initiatives. The study emphasizes the need to reframe policies, incorporating a more comprehensive understanding of gender equity beyond conventional frameworks. Addressing these multifaceted challenges requires a holistic approach, acknowledging the complexities of gender dynamics in Kosova and working towards transformative change.

Chapter 6

Intersectionality and Its Applications

In our initial chapter, we emphasized the importance of investigating gender (in)equality holistically. While political economy broadens our perspective beyond a single-issue approach, intersectionality, pioneered by Kimberlé Crenshaw in the late 1980s, is the foundational theoretical framework guiding our exploration. It challenges simplistic analyses of social inequalities, advocating for a nuanced understanding of discrimination and oppression. Intersectionality recognizes that individuals occupy multiple social positions simultaneously, with identities such as gender, race, class, sexuality, disability, and socio-economic status intersecting to create complex experiences. Originally coined by Crenshaw to highlight the marginalization of Black women, intersectionality has evolved beyond academic circles, influencing policymaking and inequality analysis in various fields.

Critics note the complexity of applying intersectionality, but its impact is evident in diverse areas like climate policy, labor policy, education policy, and more. In the specific context of Kosova, an intersectional exploration of ethnicity proves insightful, particularly in understanding the experiences of Romani and Ashkali women. Additionally, within technology, considering age alongside gender adds depth to the analysis therefore fostering a more comprehensive understanding (Crenshaw, 2017).

The intersectional approach discerns, comprehends, and contextually rectifies examples, acknowledging the multifaceted identities that shape people's experiences. This perspective unveils how individuals, based on their identities, encounter services like education and healthcare differently due to intricate power dynamics. Traditional inequality analyses often overlook the nuanced experiences of marginalized groups, especially in social policies, health initiatives, and educational reforms, as noted in Chapter 5.

To design effective policies for women and marginalized communities, we must move beyond a surface-level understanding. Intersectionality emphasizes the role of gender and other intersecting factors in shaping individuals' experiences, necessitating their integration into policy formulation and implementation. This inclusive approach is crucial for crafting well-intentioned, effective, and responsive policies.

Intersectionality avoids prioritizing one social category's inequality over another, requiring a contextual understanding of historical and contemporary structures of inequality. This framework is particularly relevant for Kosova, given its unique post-conflict challenges resulting in enduring social and economic disparities. In Kosova, an intersectional analysis examines how gender, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status intersect to shape experiences and access to resources. Women in Kosova face distinct challenges in post-conflict recovery compounded by their ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds. Educational and economic opportunities in Kosova vary significantly based on these intersections. The following subchapter will delve into how intersectionality applies to the healthcare system in Kosova.

Case Analysis: An Intersectional Lens on Healthcare in Kosova

The lack of a proper target group analysis and a lack of theoretical fundament might explain why many policies and reforms in Kosova did not achieve their desired outcomes. Take, for example, the health care system in Kosova. Even though multiple attempts were made to decentralize the system and adhere to the needs of a population with limited economic and structural resources, other factors were disregarded, for instance, gender. Healthcare in Kosova is marked by a multifaceted structure, where primary care was decentralized in the early 2000s. This change placed the responsibility for primary care in the hands of municipal governments, while secondary and tertiary healthcare remained the responsibility of the Ministry of Health. However, this decentralization resulted in fragmented oversight and numerous challenges that hampered the effectivity of the healthcare system (KWN, 2016).

Efforts were made to train family doctors, but this reform faced significant challenges. A fundamental issue was the reluctance of patients to shift towards the primary care model, resulting in low utilization. Instead, people tend to seek specialist (secondary) care, with seven regional hospitals and the University Clinical Center of Kosova (UCCK) in Prishtina serving as access points. The UCCK offers both secondary care for Prishtina and tertiary care for the entire nation, highlighting its crucial role in Kosova's healthcare. However, it is concerning that their specific healthcare needs have often been overlooked within the structural framework. There has been a historical lack of emphasis on both pre and postnatal care within the healthcare system, and gender-related matters like maternity care were only addressed later. That is all the more concerning seeing that women in Kosova have consistently demonstrated a higher utilization of healthcare services in comparison to men (KWN, 2016).

This situation is further exacerbated by deeply ingrained sociocultural norms, the enduring trauma stemming from past conflicts, patriarchal expectations, and a general lack of awareness regarding the available healthcare services. These factors converge to create a multitude of barriers that obstruct women in Kosova from accessing the healthcare they require, specifically in preventative care as well as reproductive health. The utilization of these two spheres could drastically improve women's health (Hesketh et al., 2004). Dr. Izet Sadiku, for example, states that a campaign targeted at breast cancer awareness raising in Kosova has resulted in over 800 more mammograms in 2023 than the previous year (Tuesday Saloon). Surprisingly, over half of the survey respondents in Kosova reported that they have never undergone a general health examination, and critical screening tests for conditions like cancer are being underutilized (KWN, 2016).

The lack of awareness surrounding the available healthcare services aggravates this problem, especially in the Kosova context. Furthermore, many respondents were unaware that Main Family Medicine Centers offer reproductive health services, which contributes to low contraceptive usage and a higher incidence of abortions among women in Kosova compared to the average in other developing countries (KWN, 2016). The latter cannot be said with certainty because there have only been respondent surveys on the matter and no official numbers are available. With public health insurance nonexistent, private health insurance is also increasingly low and barely existent specifically among women living in rural areas. This makes the intersection between gender and geographic disparities clearly visible. Only a small percentage of the population opts for private insurance, while the majority prefer public healthcare facilities due to cost considerations. In countries where health insurance is both publicly available and exhaustive, the average individual bears around 13% of the health care costs. In Kosova an individual citizen bears around 40% of the health care costs, emphasizing the financial factor in accessing health care services (KWN, 2016; World Bank, 2012). The quality of healthcare is another factor influencing this choice, and the potential for healthcare workers to be employed in both private and public facilities further complicates the matter.

Incorporating an intersectional lens and looking beyond gender reveals that women in rural areas and of specific ethnicities face a myriad of sociocultural, financial, and geographic barriers in accessing healthcare. Dr. Fatmire Kollcaku, MP and chair of the Assembly of Kosova's Sustainable Development Council, who is a medical doctor, has potentiated that policies need to be formulated by professionals who understand the field (Tuesday Saloon, 2023). For instance, Bosnian and Turkish women encounter more significant obstacles than men from the same ethnic backgrounds and Albanian women and men. Roma, Ashkali, Egyptian, and Gorani women and men confront some of the most challenging geographic, financial, and cultural barriers. Understanding the nuances of intersecting identities in crafting effective policies can address the healthcare disparities faced by these communities (Office of the Prime Minister, 2022).

For the upcoming HPV Vaccine Campaign, health and policy professionals potentiated the need to identify and target these groups and find political mechanisms that are fitting (Tuesday Saloon, 2023). Usually, identifying the target group would be an easier task since the vaccine is aimed at prepubescent children who legally should be attending school, however, with a higher number of Roma and Ashkali and Egyptian children leaving education before the year of administration, this target group needs specific consideration. Among Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children and specifically girls, early school drop-out rates are not the only obstacle to receiving healthcare. Early child marriage poses additional obstacles to receiving appropriate care and accessing healthcare. Such marriages can lead to early abortions and other adverse health impacts (UNFPA, n.d). By doing so, policies can be tailored to better target the specific needs of these marginalized groups, acknowledging the multiple layers of disadvantage they may face. Potentiating an intersectional lens allows us to recognize and account for the various facets of an individual's identity that shape their experiences and access to healthcare.

When talking to Flora Macula, a former officer in charge at UN Women Kosova, she emphasized that women are more often than not double and triple burdened. Roma women suffer double discrimination, she says, both in the majority communities and their own. Their access to education is limited, they have no means of accessing transportation needed to go places, and they are the main target of early marriages. With regards to age, young women are double burdened differently, Macula potentiates: if you are young, you will be asked to provide statements on your career commitment since it is automatically assumed you will completely have to carry the care-work burden alone. Macula suggests that all forms of discrimination are interrelated. Looking at CEDAW, she says, we need to reemphasize that stereotypes translate into prejudice and prejudice to discrimination which leads to the violation of human rights. It's chain-like structure is why it is intersectional: one form of discrimination includes another form of discrimination.

Moreover, the imperative of mainstreaming gender considerations into political mechanisms cannot be overstated. Policymaking must consider the distinct challenges that women, especially those in rural areas and specific ethnic groups, encounter. By integrating gender perspectives into the decision-making process, we can develop more equitable and inclusive policies that foster improved healthcare access for all, regardless of their background or identity. Therefore, the application of intersectionality provides us with a powerful lens through which we can more comprehensively analyze target groups, identify the myriad factors that exacerbate their inequalities, and even recognize groups burdened by multiple intersecting disadvantages. This nuanced perspective ultimately enables the development of more finely tuned policies and mechanisms that are better equipped to address the complex realities of marginalized populations and promote greater social equity.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this examination of gender dynamics in Kosova we look at historical shifts, economic structures, international aid, and globalization. Patriarchy, deeply rooted and historically varied, is shown to be responsive to economic necessities rather than an inherent aspect of societal progress. The interconnection between economic structures, political dynamics, and gender roles influences individual choices, aligning preferences with societal norms.

International aid, a significant contributor to Kosova's post-war recovery, has played a crucial role in advancing gender equality through legal and policy changes. Simultaneously, globalization has presented both opportunities and challenges, impacting women's economic empowerment positively while introducing issues of exploitation and violence, notably in migration contexts. The combined influences of international aid and globalization underscore the imperative for comprehensive, gender-inclusive policies to address persistent inequalities in Kosova.

Examining labor market and gender disparities reveals significant gaps, influenced by societal expectations and discriminatory practices. Vulnerable employment, the gender wage gap, occupational segregation, and informality in the labor market underscore the need for gender-sensitive policies. This includes addressing discriminatory practices, particularly in maternity and paternity leave regulations that reinforce traditional gender roles.

The gendered dimensions of political and economic participation showcase disparities in entrepreneurship, access to credit, and property rights. Women in Kosova face distinct challenges, such as limited financial resources, difficulties accessing funding, and cultural barriers hindering their entry into the business realm. Alarming disparities in land ownership and property rights emphasize the necessity for targeted interventions. The burden of the double shift and unpaid work highlights the economic impact on women, necessitating a reassessment and valuation of unpaid care work.

While positive turning points are acknowledged in mitigating the deficit in women's participation in peace, security, and politics, persistent challenges rooted in misogynistic attitudes call for a holistic approach. Government, civil society, media, and societal circles must contribute to eliminating barriers and promoting gender justice.

Gender-specific power dynamics, social stratification, and disparities in resource distribution contribute to the concentration of women in caregiving professions. Education, access to healthcare, reproductive rights, and gender-based violence persist as challenges, emphasizing the need for policies beyond conventional frameworks that embrace a comprehensive understanding of gender equity.

The theoretical framework of intersectionality is proposed for future analyses, recognizing the importance of considering how gender intersects with other social dimensions. Tailored policies are advocated to address the diverse experiences of marginalized groups, ensuring inclusivity and genuine gender equity in Kosova.

In conclusion, the multifaceted nature of gender dynamics in Kosova calls for continued research and a holistic approach in policymaking to foster sustainable and equitable development. The challenges and opportunities faced by women underscore the importance of addressing structural inequalities and promoting transformative change. As Kosova moves forward, recognizing and addressing the complex factors through comprehensive policies is essential for fostering genuine gender equity and ensuring inclusivity in line with the diverse realities of its population.

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Persistent gender disparities in entrepreneurship remain, with women in Kosova facing obstacles in initiating and growing businesses, including limited financial resources and cultural barriers. Moreover, the unequal distribution of unpaid care work, coupled with disparities in land ownership, further underscores the complex challenges women navigate in the economic sphere. Efforts to address these issues require comprehensive strategies that encompass financial support, cultural shifts, and legislative improvements to foster a more inclusive and equitable economic landscape for women in Kosova.

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In the gender landscape of post-war Kosova, the significance of international aid and globalization remain crucial. Despite recognizing positive advancements in gender equality, persistent challenges like traditional gender roles, low female employment, and limited property ownership continue to impede progress. International aid plays a pivotal role in shaping legal reforms and empowering women through various While initiatives. globalization provides economic opportunities, it also introduces complexities, potentially leading to exploitation and presenting challenges for women in lower socio-economic positions.

