FACTORS DETERMINING THE CHILDREN INVOLVEMENT IN UNPAID WORK THE CASE OF ALBANIA

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Abstract

This article explores the gender roles formation in the division of unpaid work. Unlike previous research on the use of time, this article has in its focus children aged 10 to 17 years old. In Albanian culture, families typically follow a nuclear model comprised of parents and their children. According to 2011 census data, in Albania one tenth of households are with two or more family nucleuses. The issue of whether the presence of grandparents affects the grandchildren gender role formation as regards the unpaid work is very much debated by giving more emphasis to the intergenerational transmission of gender roles. Using data from the 2010-2011 Time Use Survey (TUS) in Albania, we estimate a logit model, to analyze the influencing factors of children involvement in unpaid work. The findings of this study give evidence that gender role formation in the division of unpaid work within the household begins at very prime ages. Analysis of children gendered division of unpaid work by household composition reveals that although the presence of co-resident grandparents encourages a more balanced involvement of boys and girls in doing household work, the gender gap remains still far away of being egalitarian and it is very skewed, strengthening the definition of household chores as girls' duty. We find evidence that time devoted to household chores increases for children of both sexes, who have both grandparents co-residing in the same home. For girls, the unpaid workload is even higher compared to girls who have only one of the grandparents living in the same household.

1. INTRODUCTION

The question of gender division of paid and unpaid work between women and men and girls and boys has been widely debated in the social science and gender economics (Bianchi, et al., 2006; Olah and Gähler, 2014, etc). Gender equality is the core of development policies and national and international strategies, putting more emphasis on objective of narrowing gender gaps as defined by target indicators such as the gender pay gap, gender gap in labour force participation and gender gap in education (Alvares and Miles, 2008). Even though statistics confirm for a positive progress in gender gaps narrowing, one cannot say the same thing as regards to the gender roles division in everyday activities at home. Women, in the Albanian society, as well as in many other societies, are considered to be the backbone of the household, maintaining home and taking care about children, elderly living in household, and even more caring about their partner/husband (Elezi, 2017).

The study of time use in Albania during the years 2010-2011, corroborated clearly, for the first time in quantitative term, the gender role division concerning paid and unpaid work. Men are seen as financial household pillars that provide income for their family (in other words the breadwinners), while women have to carry out the household chores and take care about children, even if they are employees. Much research has been done on gender role division of unpaid work, focusing mainly on the analysis of who does what at home (Fernandez and Sevilla-Sanz, 2006). However, there are some interesting and relevant problems to be addressed related to unpaid work division within households composed by two or more family nucleuses.

This article concentrates on the question of de/construction gender gap in unpaid work among children aged 10-17 co-residing with their parents (with either parents or one of them) and with at least one of the grandmother/fathers or both. It aims to address the issue of how strong are the correlations of gender role and the intergenerational transmission by controlling for parents employment status and household composition. The influence of the presence of grandparents in obstructing gender division of unpaid work among grandchildren is the one of the hypothesis of this study. Alvares and Miles (2008) explored the hypothesis of transmission of gender roles focusing on how children reproduce their parents' roles at home. This research differs from other empirical analyses of gender role division of unpaid work in that it relies on children information instead of adult information. It extends the time use gender gap analyses by nuclear households.

For the empirical analysis shown in this article, we use time use survey data. Within each sampled household were interviewed all individuals aged 10 years and above, who also completed two diaries. One diary was filled in on a selected weekday and the other diary on a weekend day. The TUS allow matching parents' data with their children data, which is crucial for analysing the inter-generational relations. The remaining of the article is organised as follow: Section 2 provides a brief literature review in the gender roles transmission within the household. Section 3 presents a description of how time use is gendered at very prime ages. Section 4 provides the model specification, followed by section 5 which contains the empirical data analysis. Last section contains main finding drawn from empirical analysis.

2. LITERATURE INSIGHTS

Albanian society is characterised by strong family ties (Bajraba, 2014). Therefore, the transmission process of beliefs and attitudes from parents to their children becomes easier. Alesina and Guiliano (2007) state that strong family ties imply a stricter division of labour with the male working in the market and the female working at home performing a variety of services, probably including maintaining the family ties strong. Gender roles are shaped early in life through the interactions with their environment.

Using the 2002-2003 Spanish Time Use Survey data, Alvares & Miles (2008) found a strong and significant correlation between fathers' and sons' involvement with domestic tasks. They argue that policies aimed at equalizing parents' gender roles may have positive long-term implications through children. Alvares & Miles (2008) points out that a considerable challenge to estimating the casual effect of parental gender roles on children gender roles, measured through household domestic chores, is the endogeneity of father's behaviour because it causes bias of the estimated effect. They argue that it is even more difficult to isolate the father's impact (vertical transmission) from the societal impact (oblique transmission), because the society may also influence fathers' gender roles.

Cosp and Roman (2014) studied the parent-to-child transmission of gender roles in Spain analysing the effects of parent characteristics on the extent to which gender roles are transmitted. They argue that the division of unpaid work in the household is used in many cases as an indicator of behaviour more or less traditional. Whereas, variables such as mother's occupation, father's participation in unpaid work, parents' education explain much of the variation in

child gender roles, supporting an important effect of child-parent mimicry in gendered behaviour.

Dex (2010) raises the concern whether policy intervention in men's and women's shares of unpaid work is possible or realistic. From a labour market viewpoint, she argues that government policies which facilitate the reconciliation of work and family life often play a key role in female labour force participation. On the other hand she accepts that these policies aim to support both parents, but frequently they inadvertently reinforce the more traditional role of women as caregivers, thereby contributing to persistent gender inequality.

Gimenez-Nadal, Molina and Ortega (2017) studied the relationship between parents' time devoted to housework and the time devoted to housework by their children. They showed positive correlations between parents' and children's housework time, indicating that the more time parents devote to housework, the more time their children devote to housework.

Dotti (2016) studied the extent to which daughters and sons learn how to "do gender" in household chores in Italy. She argues that, although both sons and daughters are more likely to engage in housework if their father does so, the effect of paternal involvement is much stronger for sons than daughters. Moreover, she states that the learning of housework is a gendered process and being such it has important implications for the reproduction of gender inequalities in Italy and possibly elsewhere.

In the descriptive and empirical analyses presented in the upcoming sections, when analyzing the factors influencing children involvement in unpaid work activities, are taken into account all the above mentioned factors. In addition to these theoretical aspects, the analysis explores the role of co-residing grandparents (living in the same household with their nephews/nieces), impact in the deconstruction or construction of gender gap in unpaid work.

3. CHILDREN AND UNPAID WORK DIVISION

Time use survey (TUS) is one of the most preferable sources to study gender inequalities in the division of paid and unpaid work in quantitative terms. In Albania, the first survey on time use was carried out during the period 2010-2011. According to TUS results, time use patterns in Albania demonstrate for huge gender disparities regarding the division of household works and the gainful employment or paid work. Time use patterns, by population age structure, revealed that gender inequalities in time use begin at very young ages. Children aged 10 to 14 spend on an average day 53 minutes doing unpaid work, whereas children aged 15 to 17 spend one hour and 14 minutes doing unpaid work.

Based on the TUS estimates, 49% of children aged 10-17, participate in household chores such as household up keeping, shopping, child care, adult care, gardening, laundering and ironing. Also, there are wide gender differences in the proportions of children participating in cleaning, dishwashing, and laundering and ironing. Comparing boys' and girls' participation rates in household chores it seems

Table 1: Children engaged in unpaid work activities

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

Source: Albania Time Use Survey 2010-11, Author's calculations, weighted data

quite evident from the Figure 1 that in Albania these activities are considered as girls' duty. In rural areas the proportion of boys aged 15-17 years doing unpaid work is 30 % while the proportion of urban boys of the same age is 15 %. The level of participation in doing unpaid work is higher among girls aged 10 to 17 (73 %) and for rural girls it becomes even higher (83 %).

The presence of grandparents living in the same household has a controversial impact on the

There are solid preconditions of a plausible effect of grandparents on deconstruction or construction of gender gap in unpaid work of children. Therefore it is important to study the grandparents' role on the nephews/nieces engagement in unpaid work.

Figure 2 outlines the proportions of children, parents and grandparents undertaking any kind of unpaid work activity by sex and family composition. From this figure it can be seen that boys residing in households with either one or both grandparent

Figure 1: Percentage of children aged 10-17 engaged in unpaid work by type of activity and sex
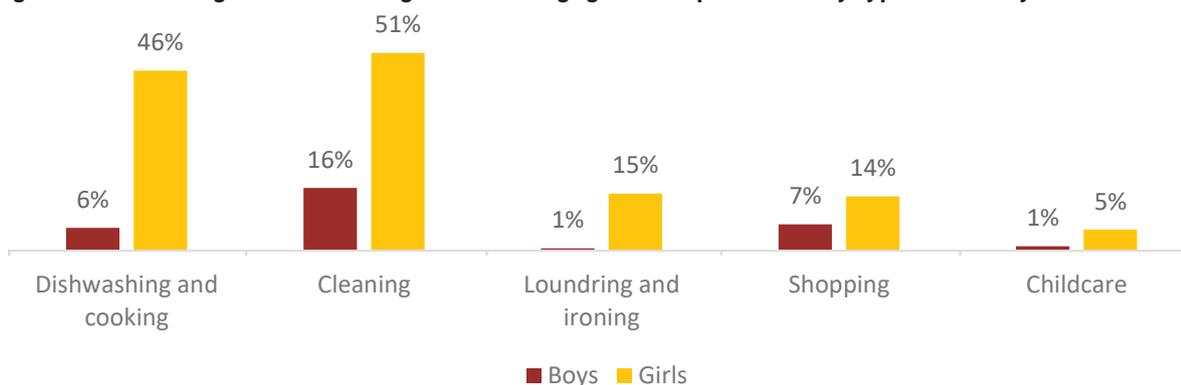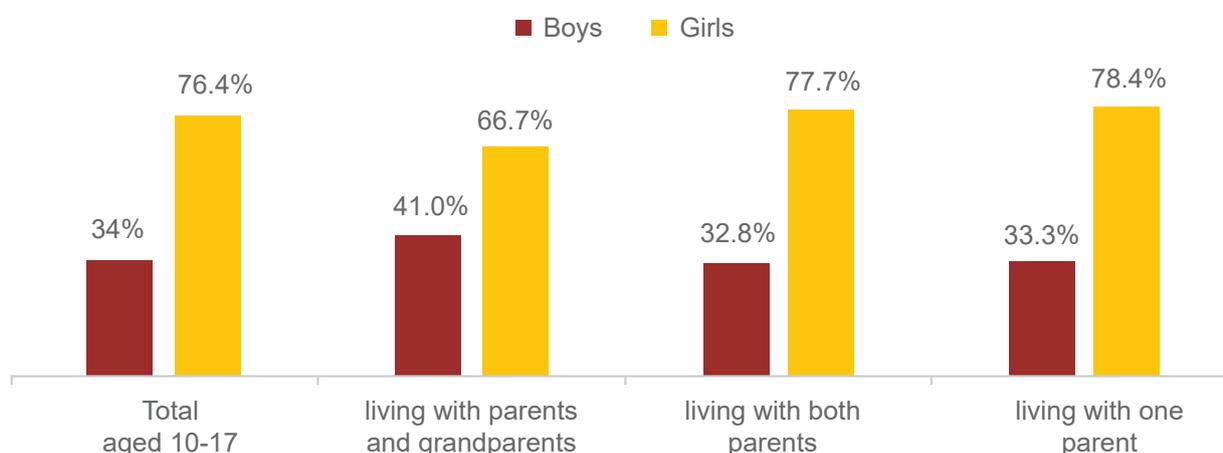

Source: Albania Time Use Survey 2010-11, Author's calculations, weighted data

children involvement in unpaid work / domestic chores. According to 2011 census data, in Albania, one tenth of households are with two or more family nucleuses. From a traditional point of view, grandparents are more affectionate to their grandchildren. In Albania it is common to hear from the grandparents the saying "he/she is my honey's honey", phrase that refers to their grandchildren. Grandparents tend to transmit social norms and culture to their grandchildren and feel it like a duty to take care about them and their education.

have a higher participation rate in doing household chores compared to boys residing in one nuclear household. The difference in percentage points is 8.8. Girls' involvement in domestic tasks is much higher compared to boys in all household types, but, as follows from the figure shown below, the proportion of girls undertaking unpaid work is lower in three-generational households, and even lower compared to girls that live with parents (with a difference of 11 pp.). An important implication of these findings is that grandparents not only engage

Figure 2: Proportions of children undertaking unpaid work activities by sex and living status

Source: Albania Time Use Survey 2010-11, Author's calculations, weighted data

themselves in undertaking household chores, but play an important role for stimulating gender equity in unpaid work division within the household.
The average time spent on any unpaid work activity depends on the proportion of people who engage in that activity and the amount of time those individuals spend on the activities. Table 2 summarizes the average time spent on an average day in unpaid work activities by sex and type of household. Gender differences remain significantly high among all generations, even though not in the same amount.

The presence of grandparents in the two or more family nuclei induces a higher participation of boys in household works but still the division of unpaid work in Albania is far way of an egalitarian one (Figure 3).

The participation of fathers in household work is also lower in households with two or more nuclei compared to fathers in nuclear households.

The same holds for girls, who are being less involved in unpaid work if co-residing with grandparents. The lower participation in unpaid work of both fathers and girls in households with two or more nuclei is affected by the involvement of grandparents in doing unpaid work.
The analysis presented hitherto quantifies the time spent and percentage of unpaid work doers. In the next section the analysis is extended by putting emphasise to the potential factors that influence children involvement in unpaid work.

Table 2: Average time spent on an average day in unpaid work by sex and household composition

	Sex	Nuclear household	Two or more family nuclei	Total
		in hours and minutes		
Children	boys	00:31	00:29	00:31
	girls	02:27	02:31	02:28
Parents	men	00:51	00:28	00:47
	women	06:44	06:26	06:41
Grandparents	men	…	00:44	00:44
	women	…	02:51	02:51
Total	men	00:41	00:31	00:39
	women	05:02	04:10	04:50

Source: Albania Time Use Survey 2010-11, Author's calculations, weighted data

Figure 3: Proportions undertaking unpaid work activity by sex and family composition
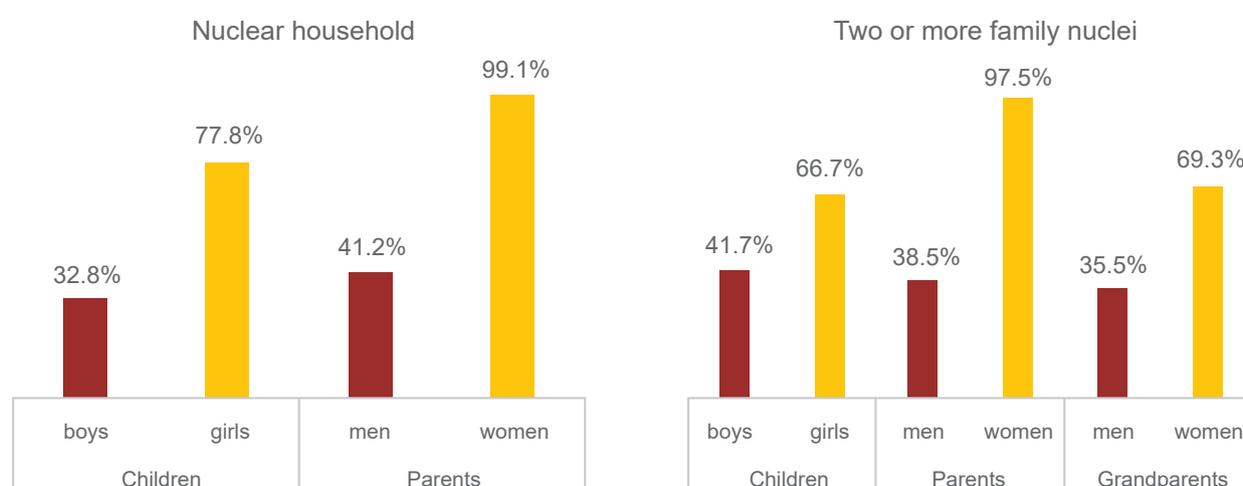
Source: Albania Time Use Survey 2010-11, Author's calculations

4. MODEL SPECIFICATION

The empirical analysis is based on 2010-11 Albanian Time Use Survey (ATUS). The 2010-11 ATUS is based on a representative probability sample of 2,250 households. The survey covers the Albanian population 10 years and older. Each household member aged 10 years and over was asked to fill in the individual questionnaire and two time diaries. The information on time use was collected by means of a fixed interval (10 minutes) time diary in which the respondents themselves recorded their time use for two randomly designated diary days.

For the analysis presented in this article we use data for children aged 10-17, their parents as well grandparents. The household composition is grouped in two broad categories: (1) nuclear household that is defined as a household consisting entirely of a single family nucleus (both parents with child/children or single mother/father with child/children); and (2) two or more nuclei related to each other (children living with parents, either both or one of them, and with either both grandparents or one of them). These restrictions yield a sample of 954 children, 1,200 parents and 95 grandparents. Unpaid work or household and family care activities throughout this paper refer to the main activity and include food preparation, dish washing, household upkeep, gardening, shopping, childcare, adult care and other related activities.

Included in analysis are some variables that might influence the gender role division regarding to household chores. The literature on gender division of housework demonstrates that the activity status of parents influences the engagement of children in unpaid work activities and has a significant impact on the gender roles formation. In this article the activity status of parents is categorised in four broad categories: both parents are employed; both parents are not in employment; father is employed, mother not in employment; and mother is employed, father not in employment.

Another instrumental variable used in analysis relates to the number of siblings. This variable is grouped in two categories taking value 1 if the child has older sibling/s above the age ten, and value 0 if the child has younger sibling/s less than 10 years old.

We estimate a logit model to explore what determines the gender role division of unpaid work among children. For given vector of p independent variables, the logit of the multiple logistic regression is given by the equation:

$$g(x) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_1 + \cdots + \sum_{j=1}^{k_j-1} \beta_{jl} D_{jl} + \beta_p x_p$$

the logistic regression model is:

$$\Pr(child_{uw} = 1) = \pi(x) = \frac{e^{g(x)}}{1+e^{g(x)}}, \text{ where}$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
g(x) = \beta_0 &+ \beta_1 Sex + \beta_2 AGE + \beta_3 siblings \\
&+ \beta_4 Father_{uw} + \beta_5 GrandFath_{uw} \\
&+ \beta_6 GrandMoth_{uw} + \beta_7 Fath_{empl} \\
&+ \beta_8 Parents_{NE} + \beta_9 Moth_{empl} \\
&+ \beta_{10} nucleus_{Both\ parents} + \beta_{11} nucleus_{one\ parent} \\
&+ \beta_{12} settlement + \beta_{13} day
\end{aligned}
$$

Table 3: Description of variables included in the logit model

Variables	Description	Coding
$Child_{uw}$ (outcome variable)	Child participation in unpaid work activities	0 - not participates 1 - participates
Sex	Child gender	0 - male 1 - female
Age	Age of respondent	
$Siblings$	Presence of siblings	0 – Has younger sibling/s less than 10 years old 1 – has older sibling/s above the age ten
$Father_{uw}$	Father participation in unpaid work activities	0 - does not participate 1 - participates
$GrandFath_{uw}$	Grandfather participation in unpaid work activities	0 - does not participate 1 - participates
$GranfMoth_{uw}$	Grandmother participation in unpaid work activities	0 - does not participate 1 - participates
$Father_{empl}$	Father is in employment, while mother is not in employment	1 - Father employed, mother not in employment 0 - Otherwise
$Parents_{NE}$	Both parents are not in employment	1 - Both parents are not in employment 0 - Otherwise
$Mother_{empl}$	Mother is in employment, while father is not in employment	1 – Mother employed, father not in employment 0 - Otherwise
$nucleus_{Both\ parents}$	A single family nucleus (children live with both parents)	1 – live with both parents (single family nucleus) 0 - otherwise
$nucleus_{one\ parent}$	A single family nucleus (children live with one of parents)	1 – live with one parent (single family nucleus) 0 – otherwise (two or more family nuclei, or in a single family nucleus with both parents
$settlement$	Settlement area	1 – urban area 2 – rural area
day	Type of day	1 – weekday 2 – weekend day

5. EMPIRICAL RESULTS

Table 4 shows the results of the estimated odds ratios of the logit model that explains the probability of children involvement in any kind of unpaid work. The descriptive analysis showed the gender gap in children involvement in unpaid work and this is confirmed by the logit model estimates which tell us that girls involve significantly in household work. The probability that a girl participates in doing household chores is 7.4 times higher than the one of a boy. The division of unpaid work activities is strongly gendered and skewed.
Having siblings is considered a significant factor influencing involvement of children in unpaid work

(Solaz and Wolf, 2015). Alvares and Miles, (2008) argue that the presence of siblings could also affect to the transmission of gender roles. The results of the estimated logit model indicate that the likelihood of involvement in household chores is lower for a child who has older siblings of age ten and above than of a child who has younger siblings aged ten years or less. Usually older siblings take care about their younger siblings.

Most of empirical studies indicate a statistically significant impact of participation of fathers in housework activities (Gimenez-Nadal, Molina and Zhu, 2014). Estimated results show that in the participation of fathers in doing unpaid work has a

Table 4: Estimated odds ratios for children participation in unpaid work activities

Variables	Odd ratios	Standard error (Bootstrap)	P > z
Sex **Ref. categ: Boys**	7.382*	0.926	0.000
Age	1.116*	0.030	0.000
Siblings **Ref. categ: Has younger sibling/s less than 10 years old**	0.644*	0.066	0.000
Father$_{uw}$	1.420*	0.168	0.003
GrandFath$_{uw}$	2.175	0.982	0.085
GranfMoth$_{uw}$	0.792	0.282	0.512
Father$_{empl}$ **Ref. categ: Both parents in employment**	0.725*	0.089	0.009
Parents$_{NE}$ **Ref. categ: Both parents in employment**	0.805	0.153	0.253
Mother$_{empl}$ **Ref. categ: Both parents in employment**	1.083	0.273	0.753
nucleus$_{Both\ parents}$ **Ref. categ: two or more family nuclei**	1.027	0.251	0.914
nucleus$_{one\ parent}$ **Ref. categ: two or more family nuclei**	1.234	0.414	0.531
Settlement **Ref. categ: Urban area**	1.913*	0.187	0.000
Day **Ref. categ: weekday**	1.688*	0.176	0.000
Constant	0.070	0.031	0.000

Number of obs = 1764
Wald chi2(12) = 492.58, Log likelihood = -991.315
Prob > chi2 = 0.0000
Pseudo R2 = 0.1816
*p= 0.05

statistically significant positive effect on children involvement in doing household work. Thus, the likelihood of participation in unpaid work is 1.4 timed higher for a child whose father does any unpaid work at home. This finding supports the hypothesis on parental role model and intergenerational transmission (Sevilla, Gimenez-Nadal, and Fernandes, 2010), where the father's participation in unpaid work affects the transmission of gender roles.

Conforming to the evidence provided in section 3, age has the expected positive effect on children participation in unpaid work and is statistically significant. Children are more engaged in unpaid work activities as they grow up. Considering the economic activity status of parents, the likelihood of children participation in unpaid work decreases for children whose fathers are in employment and mothers are not.

The results provide evidence on the insignificant relationship between grandparents' participation in unpaid work and children participation. The possible limitations of this finding might be related to the observed number of the households with two or more nuclei, and the fact that there is a higher proportion of single family nucleus.

The estimates in Table 4 reveal that the likelihood of participation in any unpaid work is twice times higher for a child of the rural area compared to a child of the urban area. The likelihood that children do engage in household chores is higher in weekend days.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This article studied the determinants of gendered division of unpaid work among children in Albania, using TUS data and estimating a logit model. Gender inequalities in unpaid work division begin at very young ages, while the empirical analysis shows that the presence of grandparents in gender role formation related to unpaid work activities encourages a higher participation of boys in household works. But despite this, the division of unpaid work in Albania is far way of an egalitarian one.
Comparing boys' and girls' participation rates in household chores it is clearly proved that in Albania these activities are considered as girls' duty.
The division of unpaid work activities is strongly gendered and skewed. The probability that a girl participates in doing household chores is 7.4 times higher than the one of a boy.
The participation of fathers in doing unpaid work has a statistically significant positive effect on children involvement in doing household work. Thus, the likelihood of participation in unpaid work is 1.4 timed higher for a child whose father does any unpaid work at home.
The settlement area is another factor that has a statistically significant positive impact on children involvement in unpaid work activities. Thus, the likelihood of engaging in household chores is higher for a child who lives in rural area compared to a child living in urban area.
Type of day determines children participation in unpaid work, with a higher likelihood if is weekend day.

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