

COVID-19 and Gender Pay Gap in Southeast Europe

Eleni Siapikoudi

MA International Politics, Newcastle University

Περίληψη

Το μισθολογικό χάσμα ανάμεσα σε γυναίκες και άνδρες είναι μια σημαντική μεταβλητή για να εξετάσουμε την ανισότητα ανάμεσα στα δύο φύλα. Παρά τις προσπάθειες σε ευρωπαϊκό και παγκόσμιο επίπεδο για την εξάλειψη του προβλήματος και την προώθηση ισότητας στον εργασιακό χώρο, η λεγόμενη μισθολογική ανισότητα παραμένει βασικό εμπόδιο. Οι αιτίες του αυτού του χρόνιου προβλήματος μπορούν να αναζητηθούν σε πολλά επίπεδα, από την εκπαίδευση μέχρι το εργασιακό περιβάλλον, την επιρροή που μπορούν να έχουν οι γυναίκες στην λήψη αποφάσεων όπως στην συμμετοχή στην κοινωνική και πολιτική ζωή. Στην Ελλάδα το ποσοστό του μισθολογικού χάσματος μεταξύ ανδρών και γυναικών παραμένει 12%, ακολουθώντας τα ποσοστά των χωρών στη Νοτιοανατολική Ευρώπη. Οι οικονομικές και πολιτικές συνθήκες της χώρας όπως και τα ιστορικά γεγονότα αποτελούν κάποιους από τους λόγους που εξηγούν αυτήν την κατάσταση. Μέσω αυτό το άρθρου στοχεύω να αναλύσω το μισθολογικό χάσμα στη Νοτιοανατολική Ευρώπη και πως η πανδημία της COVID-19 έχει επηρεάσει το ζήτημα αυτό τα τελευταία δύο χρόνια. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, το κύριο ερευνητικό ερώτημα είναι το κατά πόσο έχει επηρεάσει η πανδημία το μισθολογικό χάσμα και τον γενικότερο ρόλο της γυναίκας στον χώρο εργασίας. Βιβλιογραφία, επιστημονικά άρθρα και στατιστικά στοιχεία από διεθνείς οργανισμούς και την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση χρησιμοποιήθηκαν για την τελική ανάλυση.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: Έμφυλο μισθολογικό χάσμα, COVID-19, ισότητα, ισότητα φύλων, Νοτιοανατολική Ευρώπη

Abstract

The gender pay gap between women and men is a significant variable for examining gender inequalities. Despite the European and global eradication efforts of this problem and the promotion of equality at work, the so-called gender pay gap remains a key obstacle. The causes of this chronic problem can be identified in various fields, from education to the working environment, and also to the influence that women may have in political decision-making and participation in social and political life. The percentage of the gender pay gap in Greece remains at 12%, following the rest of the countries in Southeast Europe. The reason behind that ranking could be identified in various fields, such as the region's economic, political, and historical deficiencies that have delayed the overall process. This article aims to analyze the Gender Pay Gap in Southeast Europe and how COVID-19 has affected the current issue over the last two years. More precisely, the main research question will be at which level COVID-19 has influenced the gender pay gap and the general role of women in the workplace. Literature, scientific articles, and statistical data from international organizations and the EU will be used for the final analysis.

Key words: Gender Pay Gap, COVID-19, equality, gender inequality, Southeast Europe

Introduction

The year 2020 was a shock for the world. The Covid-19 pandemic turned into a multidimensional crisis. What started as a health crisis has spread to nearly every country with continuing ramifications on the economy, education, food security, and gender equality. Gender issues have not been unscathed from this crisis. Especially women and girls were particularly disadvantaged during this period due to the unequal structures, power relations, and social norms before the crisis. This refers to healthcare, education, and participation in decision-making processes that affect their lives. As a result, they have to deal with higher risks of falling into poverty, dropping out of school, and experiencing hunger and malnutrition ([Dugarova 2020, p. 3](#)).

Methodology

The research started with the outcry of the pandemic, and it was a first attempt to assess the potential consequences of the pandemic on gender equality, and especially on the Gender Pay Gap. The literature on that topic has been increasing in the last few years, and it gradually catches the attention of policymakers and decision-makers. Although the issue is highly important for gender equality in Southeast Europe, the number of studies and policy reports is still scarce. For that reason, this paper aims to outline the issue of Gender equality and the Gender Pay Gap in Southeast Europe and take COVID-19 as a springboard to clarify the gender division in the workplace. To achieve that, quantitative data and statistics have been analyzed and compared in an analysis for the years before and after the pandemic.

COVID-19 and Gender Discrimination

While ample evidence of COVID-19 effects and gender-disaggregated data are yet to emerge, its negative impact in many sectors is evident ([WFP¹ 2020](#), [WEF² 2021](#)). Recent studies have identified examples of how women's employability has been impacted. Firstly, in the USA, women's unemployment rate rose by 12.8 percentage points between February and April 2020, 2.9 percentage points larger than men's increase of 9.9 percentage points. The more significant impact of Covid-19 on women's versus men's employment can also be observed in other countries such as Canada, the United Kingdom, and Spain. Women's employment tended to be more stable during downturns than men's employment, providing economic safeguard in many two-parent households during previous recessions. In this recession, that may no longer be the case ([Alon et al. 2020](#)).

¹ World Food Program

² World Economic Forum

At the same time, a study by DIW (Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung)³, the Germany's leading economic research body, has shown that more than a quarter of women with children under 14 are spending less time on paid work since the lockdown began, compared with 16% of men, with women, in particular, restructuring their paid jobs to stay at home. It has voiced its concern that this may harm their long-term professional development and earning prospects, as well as their pensions (Connolly et al. 2020).

As a United Nations Women's report highlights, the pandemic-included poverty will widen the gender poverty gap, and women-owned enterprises and compensated female labor will be hit harder. The pandemic and measures to prevent its spread are driving a disproportionate increase in women's unemployment (as compared to men's) and also decreasing their overall working time (UN Women 2020). Arguably, the impact of the crisis on women's employment refers to the economic opportunities of women who cannot work during the pandemic. Some will drop out of the labor force permanently, while others may lose their positions and find it challenging to reenter the same career track. Therefore, these factors will likely limit women's career opportunities and increase the gender pay gap (Alon et al. 2020).

Another factor is the altering of norms and practices at home. The change in parental responsibilities that we can see -in which men play a more active and involved role- needs to be highlighted. So, traditional gender roles of the men as breadwinners and the women responsible for care and work at home have slowly been evolved over the years. More precisely, the Great Recession of 2008, which affected employability and the working hour, “forced” some men to spend more time at home and eventually move away from the “breadwinner identity” and involving more in family matters (Schulte and Swenson 2020). From this perspective, the pandemic is considered to be a crossroads.

Gender Pay Gap

One aspect of gender equality refers to the labor market, which has to do with labor force participation, employment, earnings, and job quality regarding benefits, rights, and opportunities for further development. Due to the detrimental effects of discriminatory societies on economic growth, the loss of talent, and overall quality of life is a major issue for both economic and social development (Mason and King 2011).

Even though women make up a sizable portion of the workforce and have high levels of education, there are still disparities between male and female employees in terms of pay, career

³ German Institute for Economic Research

opportunities, earnings, political empowerment, and involvement. The improvement of the situation and the promotion of some governments in order to encourage women to study a particular subject and enter a “male dominant” profession seems that still cannot improve the situation (Anastasiou, Filippidis and Stergiou 2015, p. 42). In addition, women spend twice as much time as men on household responsibilities and four times as much on childcare. Thus, gender inequality touches on the “unequal treatment” or differentiation of individuals based on their gender and emerges biological or socially constructed gender roles.

There are various ways to identify gender inequality, including the gender wage gap (GWG). The gender pay gap is a complex issue, which can be caused by various factors such as gender roles, direct/indirect discrimination in workplace and workplace practices, female underrepresentation in politics and economy, pay system, etc. (Anastasiou, Filippidis and Stergiou 2015, p. 43). Notably, the GWG has been investigated since the 1970s, and many researchers and analysts are still trying to keep this issue highlighted and studied in economic and social literature. GWG refers to the differentiation between the wages earned by women and men. In order to clarify this difference, emphasis is given to factors such as education, training, and work experience related to productivity and human capital, and secondly, job characteristics such as occupation, job level, and firm size. However, there is also the unexplained wage difference, which may consist the discrimination between the two genders (Aglomirgianakis, Bertsatos and Tsounis 2019, p. 3).

There are many approaches to the issue. Oaxaca and Blinder developed an econometric technique that compared the discrimination in wages and individual product characteristics (Blinder 1973, pp. 337-338, Oaxaca 1973, pp. 694-697). Juhn, Murphy and Pierce have presented an alternative method: the predicted gap based on various characteristics and the residual gap based on different residuals (Juhn, Murphy and Pierce 1993, pp. 410-442). Moreover, according to Arulampalam, there is an alteration in GWG and wage distribution among countries and across the public and private sectors. As it is widely known, there is the “glass ceiling effect”, in which the gap is widened on the higher positions, and there is also the “sticky floor effect” that the widening is happening at the bottom (Arulampalam, Booth and Bryan 2007, pp. 163-187).

There is also the argument that imperfect competition impacts the so-called unexplained gender wage gap, as Hirsch argues. In this way, the power of employers on wage setting and the lack of sensitivity over wages promote more discrimination against female workers. He concludes that to fight the discrimination that arose from the market economy, women’s wage sensitivity measures and legislation for equal payment need to be introduced (Hirsch 2016, p. 310).

Equal pay will inevitably result in changes in societal power relations in various places, such as homes, work, and communities. The fact that most women are poorer and lag to ensure a “living wage” led us to conclude that pay equity is broadly part of the overall political and social struggle to address poverty and promote economic and social rights. Although there are verifiable facts and figures that demonstrate how undervalued women's labor is, we need also to emphasize that this undervaluation is widespread, systematic, and deeply ingrained in the economic system and societal norms (Cornish 2007, p. 223).

As such gender pay gap is widely considered a measurement of gender inequality in the workplace, and in some cases, it is used to monitor the national and international developments regarding gender equality. More precisely, many organizations and reports focus on gender conditions and equality in the workplace. Firstly, there is the “Decent work and economic growth” chapter on the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal (SDG), which targets to achieve “equal pay for work of equal value” by 2030, and the Equal Pay International Coalition (EPIC), a new multi-stakeholder coalition launched in September 2017 also identifies the gender pay gap as an indicator of achieving the SDG target (ILO⁴ 2018, p. 19).

In order to understand GPG, we must bear in mind two crucial factors. First of all, the analysis of this practice must be examined in connotation with other facets of inequality between the two genders, such as women's limited opportunities for paid work and the unequal division of labor in the household. In this vein, there is also the differentiation between high-income economies and low-income economies. In the first case, there has been an increase in women's participation in paid employment over the last decades, gaining near parity with men in some countries. On the contrary, in low-income economies, women still have fewer opportunities to participate in the labor force (ILO 2018, p. 19).

Another factor refers to the case that women do participate in labor. Even in that case, they usually acquire restricted opportunities in higher positions. Mainly, management and high-position placements are massively conducted by men, which leads to have better salaries. This trend can also be identified by the fact that among CEOs, less than 6% are women.

Moreover, there is a separation of education and labor market, meaning that women tend to be misrepresented or overrepresented depending on the sector and occupation. In some countries, it is identified that women are paid less than men, even with the same level of

⁴ International Labour Office

experience and education in professions such as teaching, nursing, or sales. Despite the existence of a legal framework, pay discrimination is still a practice (EC⁵ 2017).

Another significant element that promotes inequality in payment is unpaid tasks, such as household work and caring for children or relatives. Arguably, women have to deal with most of the household tasks and most unpaid care work concerning their household and the care of children and elderly family members. For that reason, women's labor market participation is negatively affected by this disproportionate burden of unpaid care work, especially in counties where there is no lack of provisions or policies for childcare or a family-friendly workplace (ILO 2018, pp. 19-20).

Inequality in Southeastern Europe

In Southeastern Europe, levels of income inequality tend to be among the highest in Europe, taking into consideration that it is a region undergoing challenging economic and political transition. Despite the issue's significance, governments in the area have not devoted the appropriate attention to this issue (Jusić 2018, p.2). Despite the improvement of legal protection and women's representation in education and the workforce, there is a long way ahead to achieve gender equality. Especially inequality could be identified in various existing norms and practices. For instance, violence, and especially sexual violence, against women and girls remains a crucial issue.

Moreover, harmful traditional practices such as gender-biased sex selection, honor killings, bride kidnapping and forced marriage also persist being a reality in some countries, while high levels of poverty can be more easily detected in women and female-headed households. Therefore, it is necessary to address and identify the causes of discrimination in order to handle these issues (UNFPA⁶ 2015, p. 1).

Due to the communist past of the area, they have experienced a legal framework of equal opportunities for both genders. Even in that case, women occupied more “feminine” occupations, while men had the opportunity for higher positions, meaning also being part of the decision-making. Thus, the transitional period affected many women and their working habits, as many have been forced to work in the informal sector. That led to the loss of their social protection and job security. Nowadays, the working sector constitutes around 80 women per 100 men. Although their share in the highly-paid sector is eliminated, separations are increasing, and more and more women are experiencing prolonged unemployment (ILO n.d., Haider 2017, p. 3).

⁵ European Commission

⁶ United Nations Population Fund

The causes of these practices need to be sought in gender relations and women's rights in the post-conflict context (Simić 2015). A crucial obstacle to the alteration remains the patriarchal social norms and predefined gender roles inside the society. Studies provide evidence that in many ex-Yugoslav countries, education remains in the same context as the traditional value system. More profoundly, patriarchal values, structures of power, social relations, and constructions of masculinity stay, to a great extent, unchangeable without transforming gender relations (Berna 2014). Therefore, discrimination could be identified by gender-based violence, gender stereotyping, participation in political life and decision-making, and, lastly, discrimination in the workplace.

All these types of discrimination help us understand why inequality continues to exist and especially how the gender pay gap is promoted. Particularly, the disparity between male and female labor participation exists in countries across the region. According to the findings of the Prishtina-based Riinvest Institute, “female labor participation in all countries is lower than 50%, meaning that a majority of women in the WB are not engaged actively in the labor market, i.e., either employed or actively seeking employment” (Lazarević and Tadić 2018, p. 10).

In Kosovo, the issue is quite apparent, with 18% of women taking part in the labor market. Moreover, in rural areas, the phenomenon is more intense with the so-called unpaid households and agriculture holding being done by women. Arguably, the situation is even worse among vulnerable groups or minority communities.

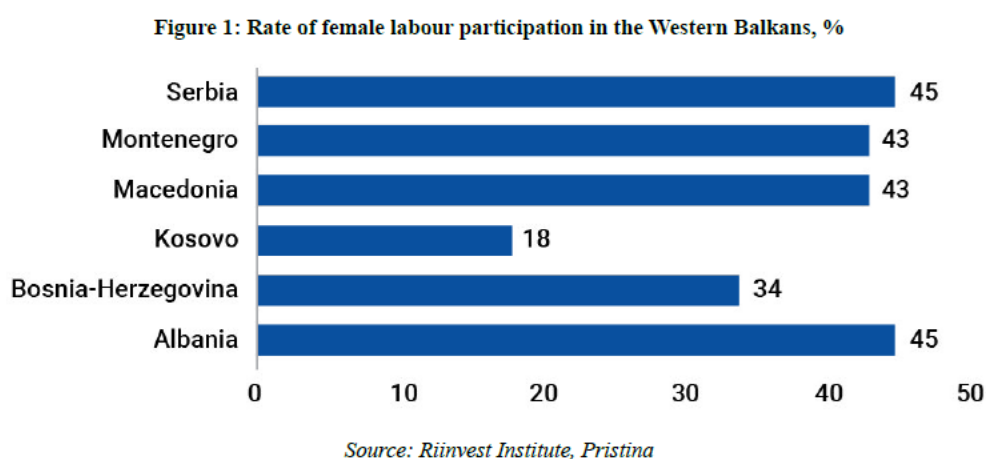


Fig. 1 Rate of female labour participation in the Western Balkans. Screenshot taken from Lazarević, M. and Tadić, K. (2018), p. 11

Even in the case of participation, several discriminations can be detected against women. Questions like marital status or family plans are typical for a women's interview. Also, some

surveys identify the language of job advertisements that are discriminatory in a masculine codified way in order to discourage women from seeking employment ([GAP Institute 2017](#)). Last but not least, the cases of terminating a contract for pregnancy or maternity leave have severe effects on women's employability.

As far as entrepreneurship is concerned, data shows discouraging terms for creating a new business, which as a consequence, leads to a low proportion of female entrepreneurs. The primary challenges faced by women are finding a balance between work and family responsibilities, prejudice, and lack of property ownership. While measures have been taken to resolve the aforementioned challenges, this balance between private and professional life remains an open question. For that reason, women distance themselves or even withdraw from the business sector when they start a family ([Lazarević and Tadić 2018, pp. 11-12](#)).

In the region of Western Balkans, female employees earn less than males and have diminished possibilities to occupy high-level positions due to gendered barriers. Especially an analysis in 2013 in Serbia, Montenegro, and North Macedonia shows that even in cases like Serbia, where women are better qualified than men, their earnings are 11% less. In North Macedonia, the gender wage gap is calculated at 18% less than men's, and in Montenegro, it is 16%. Interestingly, in these countries, the differentiation of wages is higher in the private sector. Thus, even in the public sector, more educated women tend to get paid less than men ([Avlijaš et al. 2013](#)).

Bosnia and Herzegovina also has to deal with economic empowerment. The end of the war and the complexity of the political system in the country create a non-competitive economic environment. The poverty levels are excessively high across the country, especially in Republika Srpska, with men's employment at 41% while women's at 23%. This number is deficient compared to the regional standards. Also, in that case, there is a lack of women representation in decision-making positions and overrepresentation in the educational, health, and social protection sectors ([Hughson 2014](#)).

Albania, another country in the region, has similar traditional gender roles to the rest countries, meaning that women are primarily responsible for domestic and unpaid care work. In accordance with UN Women reports, “in 2015 employment was 60.5% for men and 45.5% for women”. Additionally, there is a lack of formal employment, and in many cases, women work more hours per day than men due to their responsibilities at home. What we also need to highlight is that half of the employed women hold their own businesses in the agricultural sector ([UN Women & UNDP 2016](#)).

Gender Pay Gap in Southeastern Europe

The pandemic of COVID-19 has disrupted the “normality” in every aspect of life and governments have taken various measures to deal with this unprecedented situation. The region of Eastern and Southeastern Europe was not an exception. The pandemic has and will continue to cast a shadow on the reforms and advancements. Civil liberties and fundamental human rights are questioned in many cases, with governments using the pandemic as an excuse.

As I already argued, gender pay gap is used as an indicator to examine gender inequality in the workplace. First of all, International Labor Organization provides two-year reports about the gender pay gap with specific components for every region and country. Moreover, they provide crucial data and clarifications about the causes and the facts that lead to increased discrimination in the labor market. Secondly, World Economic Forum produces an annual index of the Global Gender Gap. The focuses of the Index are the measurement of the gap and capture of the gap in outcome variables rather than women's empowerment. Thus, the framework of the index emphasizes “Economic Participation & Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health & Survival, and Political Empowerment.” Therefore, the index's benchmarks of national gender gaps focus on economic, education, health, and political criteria (WEF 2018, pp. 3-4).

Before the pandemic, the Index of 2018 made some crucial clarifications for the examined region. Arguably, the area of Eastern Europe and Central Asia have an average remaining gap of 29.3%, ranking fourth globally, slightly behind Latin America and the Caribbean, and about 5% below Western Europe's regional average. In this context, the countries' performance is somewhat less divergent than in other regions. The top-rated countries of the region as Slovenia, Latvia, and Bulgaria, which also score in the top 20 of the comprehensive report, have respectively closed the 78%, 76%, and 76% of their overall gender gap. Instead, the index shows that the nations in the region with the worst performances were Greece (78), Montenegro (69), Romania (63), Bosnia & Herzegovina (62), and Croatia (59). Only Serbia seems to perform better, ranking 34th, Albania 38th, and Bulgaria at 18th position had the best ranking among the researching countries in the region.

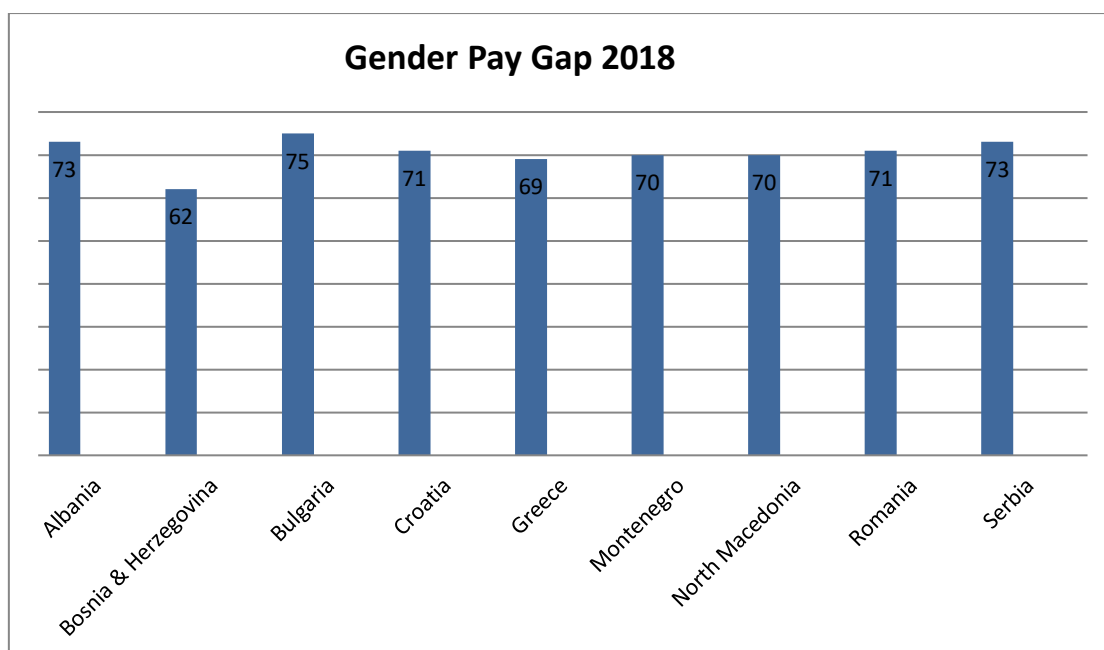


Fig. 2 Gender Pay Gap 2018

In the 2018 report, Bulgaria, with 18, preserves the ranking of the previous year. The country has made progress in closing the gap between legislators, senior officials, and managers. Albania and Serbia, almost with the same ranking, present an improvement in order to narrow the gender gaps in labor force participation and also in the case of Serbia's Political Empowerment. Croatia's (71) and Romania's (71) rankings remained the same, while Bosnia & Herzegovina (62) improved gender equality on the subindexes of Health and Survival, Political Empowerment, and Economic Participation and Opportunity. Also, at the same levels, North Macedonia (70) and Montenegro (70), the former recorded a worth mentioned enhancement in equal representation inside the parliament. At the same time, the latter raised several ranks due to improvements in economic participation and opportunities (WEF 2018, pp. 21-22). Lastly, Greece in the index is in the regional group of Western Europe. However, it is also a country part of this case study and ranks 78, the highest of all the rest from the region.



Fig. 3 Gender Pay Gap 2020-2022

The first report of the World Economic Forum after the expansion of the pandemic in 2020 provides more recent and specific data for the gender wage gap in order to capture the disparities based on gender and examine the process that had been made. Especially, 71% of the gender gap has been achieved in Eastern Europe and Central Asia up until now, and the differentiation with Western Europe is only five points. The most considerable amount of the region (18 out of 26) has improved its performance from the previous year, and eight remain stable or have reduced the gap. The terms “Educational Attainment” (above 94%) and “Health and Survival” (almost 97%) provide a closing on the gender gap for these factors. Interestingly, the high levels of women's participation in the labor force (74.7%) and the outstanding share of women in senior roles (49%) helped improve countries' ranking.

Analyzing the performance of the respective countries, it is crucial to highlight the improvement in some sectors and the passivity in others. Firstly: the gender distribution among senior officials and the relatively low payment differences between genders (e.g. Slovenia 80.9%). Secondly, and possibly due to the high participation of women in the labor force, a few countries demonstrate relatively low differences in income between genders. In contrast, political empowerment remains an obstacle to equality in most countries in the region. The best regional performer is Albania, which closed 76% of its gap.

Comparing the data from 2021 and 2022, when the pandemic has normalized and the states have found new methods to continue economic activities, fewer alterations can be observed. Romania and Greece are at the bottom of the list, coming in at 33rd and 35th in all of Europe, while Albania continues to be among the nations that have made the most progress.

Some other crucial factors are that North Macedonia and Bosnia & Herzegovina are at the bottom of the subindex of Economic Participation & Opportunity. In contrast, Bulgaria increased the gender parity score regarding the share of women in senior positions.

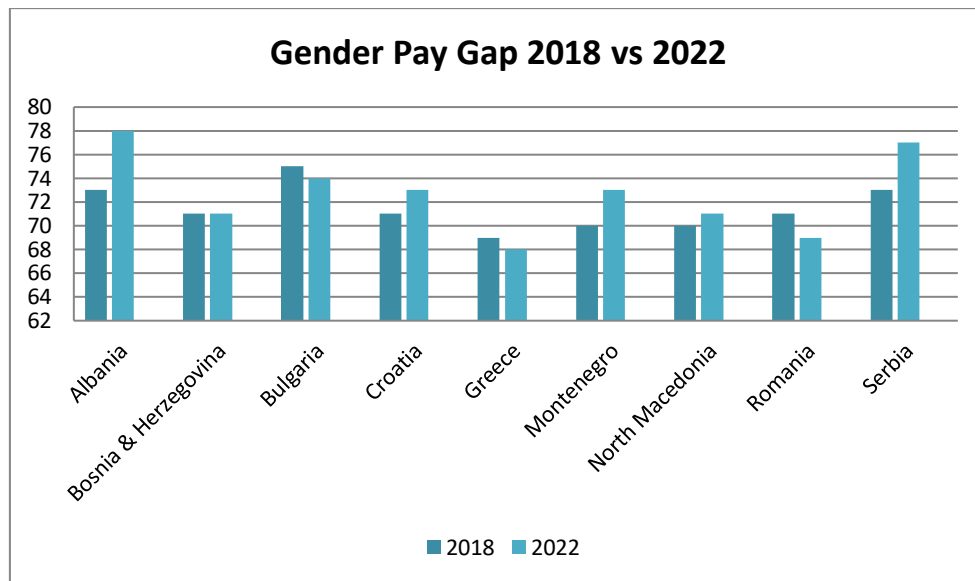


Fig. 4 Gender Pay Gap 2018 vs 2022

The above table shows the differentiation in the countries' ranking before and after the pandemic. Albania, which improved its score from 0.787 to 0.769 in 2020, Serbia, which increased its score from 0.711 to 0.779 (1.00 parity), and Montenegro, which increased its score from 0.706 to 0.732 in 2020, are the nations that showed a considerable improvement. The other countries had an increasing gender pay gap or stayed static. More precisely, Bosnia & Herzegovina remained at the same level of 0.712 and only differentiated in the ranking from 62 to 73. Croatia scored 0.712 in 2018 and 0.720 in the previous year, but the ranking increased by one position. Greece scored 0.696 in 2018 and 0.689 in 2022, but the ranking changed from 78 to 100. In contrast, Bulgaria is the country with a massive decrease in parity levels from 0.756 to 0.740. Therefore, the general aftermath after the beginning of the pandemic is that the countries of the region lost some points in the ranking in the general image. Still, they stayed stable or with minor improvements.

Conclusion

Over the years, the traditional or mainstream approach to the gender pay gap has generally concentrated on gender gaps and, in particular, women's inadequacies compared to men's attributes. Many factors examining the gender pay gap, such as education and experience, have been improved and are no longer helpful in shaping policies. For that reason, other factors tend to explain the gender pay gap. Moreover, many of these studies dismiss the element of the

work environment's influence. Even though there is a strong link between low pay and gender pay discrepancy, policymakers fail to recognize this ([Rubery, Grimshaw and Figueiredo 2005, pp. 207-208](#)).

Particularly, in the region of Southeast Europe, the gap in wages has not experienced many significant changes. However, the pandemic changed our lives on multiple levels and this has implications also for the working environment. Under the dual pressures of the COVID-19 epidemic and the deployment of new technology, the labor market is transforming. According to the World Economic Forum's Future of Occupations Report 2020, 84% of businesses are speeding up their digitization initiatives and 50% plan to speed up the automation of jobs. These changes are likely to hasten the demise of a group of roles that are becoming more and more unnecessary in the modern workplace, while also hastening the emergence of new roles that can contribute to prosperity.

Policy-makers need to learn from these trends and create inclusive solutions, promoting gender equality in our societies and all areas of life. This is even direr considering the effects of the current pandemic. It is of crucial importance that gender gaps are addressed now, or gender equality will always remain a distant dream. Let us not wait another 100 years, as it is long overdue for policy-makers, and anyone else with a voice, to take action to achieve gender equality.

References

- Alon, T., Doepke, M., Olmstead-Rumsey, J. and Tertilt, M. (2020) “Impact of the Covid-19 Crisis on Women’s Employment” [online]. Available at: <https://econofact.org/impact-of-the-covid-19-crisis-on-womens-employment>. [Accessed: 27 August 2021].
- Anastasiou, S., Filippidis, K. and Stergiou, K. (2015) “Economic Recession, Austerity and Gender Inequality at Work. Evidence from Greece and Other Balkan Countries”, *Procedia Economics and Finance*, 24, pp. 41-49.
- Aglomirgianakis, G. M., Bertsatos, G. and Tsounis, G. (2019) “Gender Wage Gaps and Economic Crisis in Greece”, *International Review of Applied Economics*, 33(2), pp. 254-276.
- Juhn, C., Murphy, K. M. and Pierce, B. (1993) “Wage Inequality and the Rise in Returns to Skills”, *Journal of Political Economy*, 101(3), pp. 410-442.
- Arulampalam, W., Booth, A. L. and Bryan, M. L. (2007) “Is there a Glass Ceiling over Europe? Exploring the Gender Pay Gap Across the Wage Distribution”, *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 60(2), pp. 163-187.
- Avlijaš, S., Ivanović, N., Vladislavljević, M. and Vujić, S. (2013) *Gender Pay Gap in the Western Balkan Countries: Evidence from Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia*. Belgrade: FREN (Foundation for the Advancement of Economics) [online]. Available at: <https://fren.org.rs/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Policy-Brief-EN.pdf> (Accessed: 25 December 2022).
- Berna, I.B. (2014) “Post-conflict Gender Politics in the Western Balkans - Between the Same Circle of Palms with Human Security and a Small Stream Outside the Box”, *Revista Hiperboreea*, 1(2), pp. 282-300.
- Blinder, A. S. (1973) “Wage Discrimination: Reduced Form and Structural Estimates”, *Journal of Human Resources*, 8(4), pp. 436-455.
- Connolly, K., Kassam, A., Willsher, K. and Carroll, R. (2020) “‘We are losers in this crisis’: research finds lockdowns reinforcing gender inequality”, *The Guardian*, 29 May [online]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2020/may/29/we-are-losers-in-this-crisis-research-finds-lockdowns-reinforcing-gender-inequality> [Accessed: 10 August 2020].
- Cornish, M. (2007) “Closing the Global Gender Pay Gap: Securing Justice for Women's Work”, *Comparative Labor Law and Policy Journal*, 28, pp. 219-249.
- Dugarova, E. (2020) “Unpaid care work in times of the COVID-19 crisis: Gendered impacts, emerging evidence, and promising policy responses”, *UN Expert Group Meeting*

"Families in development: Assessing progress, challenges and emerging issues. Focus on modalities for IYF+30", 16-18 June [online]. Available at:

https://www.un.org/development/desa/family/wp-content/uploads/sites/23/2020/09/Duragova.Paper_.pdf (Accessed: 10 December 2022).

- European Commission (2017) *The Gender Pay Gap in Greece* [online]. Available at: <https://isotita.gr/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Gender-Pay-Gap-in-Greece.pdf> [Accessed: 25 December 2022].
- GAP Institute (2017) *Labour Market Discrimination: How Job Advertisements Create Gender Inequality* [online]. Available at: https://www.institutigap.org/documents/20684_LABOUR%20MARKET%20DISCRIMINATION.pdf [Accessed: 10 December 2022].
- Haider, H. (2017) "Gender and Conflict in the Western Balkans", *K4D: Helpdesk Report* [online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5b9bb0bcd915d6f1c574968/K4D_HDR_Gender_and_conflict_in_the_Western_Balkans.pdf (Accessed: 13 December 2022).
- Hirsch, B. (2016) "Gender Wage Discrimination-Does the Extent of Competition in Labor Markets Explain Why Female Workers are Paid Less Than Men?", *IZA World of Labor* [online]. Available at: <https://wol.iza.org/articles/gender-wage-discrimination/long> [Accessed: 10 July 2021].
- Hughson, M. (2014) *Gender Country Profile for Bosnia and Herzegovina*. London: HTSPE Limited [online]. Available at: https://europa.ba/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/delegacijaEU_2014070314432045eng.pdf [Accessed: 10 June 2020].
- International Labour Office (2018) *Global Wage Report 2018/19. What Lies Behind Gender Pay Gaps*. Geneva: ILO [online]. Available at: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_650553.pdf [Accessed: 9 August 2021].
- ILO (n.d.) "Gender Equality" [online]. Available at: <https://www.ilo.org/moscow/areas-of-work/gender-equality/lang-en/index.htm> [Accessed: 10 July 2021].
- Jusić, M. (2018) *Inequality in Southeast Europe*. Sarajevo: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung [online]. Available at: <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/sarajevo/14451.pdf> [Accessed: 10 July 2021].

- Lazarević, M. and Tadić, K. (2018) “Gender Issues in the Western Balkans”, *CSF Policy Brief*, 4 [online]. Available at: <https://www.balkanfund.org/csf-publications/gender-issues-in-the-western-balkans> [Accessed: 12 July 2022].
- Mehmeti, I., Dobranja, D. and Hashani, A. (2017) *Women at the Workplace: An Analysis of The Workforce Conditions for Women in Kosovo*. Prishtina: Riinvest Institute [online]. Available at: https://www.riinvestinstitute.org/uploads/files/2017/November/10/Women_in_the_workforce1510308291.pdf [Accessed: 25 December 2022].
- Oaxaca, R. (1973) “Male-Female Wage Differences in Urban Labor Markets”, *International Economic Review*, 14(3), pp. 693-709.
- Mason, A. D. and King, E. M. (2011) *Engendering Development through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources, and Voice. A World Bank Policy Research Report*. Washington: World Bank Group [online]. Available at: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/512911468327401785/Engendering-development-through-gender-equality-in-rights-resources-and-voice> (Accessed: 22 October 2022).
- Rubery, J., Grimshaw, D. and Figueiredo, H. (2005) “How to Close the Gender Pay Gap in Europe: Towards the Gender Mainstreaming of Pay Policy”, *Industrial Relations Journal*, 36(3), pp. 84-213.
- Schulte, B. and Swenson, H. (2020) “An Unexpected Upside to Lockdown: Men Have Discovered Housework”, *The Guardian*, 17 June [online]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jun/17/gender-roles-parenting-housework-coronavirus-pandemic> [Accessed: 18 September 2020].
- Simić, O. (2015) “Gender (In)equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina: One Step Forwards, Two Steps “Back” in Ramet, S.P. and Hassenstab, C. (eds.) *Gender (In)equality and Gender Politics in Southeastern Europe: A Question of Justice*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 87-107.
- UN Women & UNDP (2016) *Gender Brief Albania 2016*. Prepared by Monika Kocaqi, Ani Plaku and Dolly Wittberger. Tirana: UN Women. Available at: <https://albania.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2016/10/albania-gender-brief-0> [Accessed: 10 June 2020].
- UNFPA (2015) *Focusing on Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment in Eastern Europe and Central Asia*. Istanbul: UNFPA-Regional Office for Eastern Europe and Central Asia [online]. Available at:

<https://menengage.unfpa.org/en/resources/focusing-gender-equality-and-womens-empowerment-eastern-europe-and-central-asia>

[Accessed: 21 August 2022].

- United Nations Women (2020) “COVID-19 and its Economic Toll on Women: The Story Behind the Numbers”, *UN Women*, 16 September [online]. Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/9/feature-covid-19-economic-impacts-on-women> [Accessed: 16 September 2020].
- World Economic Forum (2018) *The Global Gender Gap Report 2018*, Geneva: WEF [online]. Available at: https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2018.pdf [Accessed 10 January 2020].
- World Economic Forum (2020) *The Global Gender Gap Report 2020* [online]. Available at: <https://www.weforum.org/reports/gender-gap-2020-report-100-years-pay-equality/> [Accessed: 10 January 2020].
- World Economic Forum (2021) *The Global Gender Gap Report 2021* [online]. Available at: https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2021.pdf?fbclid=IwAR3jfZx10tH_GGm_0tx7sIn3Oes5IU3u2aO46hJT7YRxpntWHH8YoLSSwzM [Accessed: 03 January 2023].
- World Food Programme (2020) “COVID-19 Will Double the Number of People Facing Food Crises Unless Swift Action is Taken”, *WFP*, 21 April [online]. Available at: <https://www.wfp.org/news/covid-19-will-double-number-people-facing-food-crises-unless-swift-action-taken> [Accessed: 8 June 2020].