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**The Social Impact of Remittances on Gender roles in Kosovo; a catalyst for
Women Empowerment?**

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to study how social remittance have impacted gender roles in household structures in Kosovo. By studying the ideas, norms, practises and social capitals sent from the migrant families to the residing families in the country of origin, I will examine if this has led to a change in Kosovar household structure.

By conducting a field study, both surveys and interviews were carried out within the Kosovo-Albanian households. The main focus of the analysis will be shed on the 33 interviews conducted that were carried out in seven different locations around Kosovo. This gives vital information regarding Kosovars perception of how the household structure has changed.

The theoretical framework of the thesis consists of a nexus of theories with Peggy Levitt's theory on Social remittance, Amartya Sen's capabilities approach and New Economic of Labour migration theory. Together they create an understanding of the transmitting of ideas, how these ideas contribute to the capabilities of humans and shows how the migration pattern is connected to family based decisions.

The thesis is concluded by pointing out the interviewees perception of an on-going change in gender roles in Kosovar household structures. The interviewees argue that the change is occurring due to three factors – a raising awareness among the population through globalisation, improved illiteracy and better access to education and finally, the impact of the ideas from the diaspora. In the final part of the analysis, we look at how social remittance can act as a catalyst for female empowerment in household structures.

Key words: Social remittance, Kosovo, Migration, gender roles

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The MFS Scholarship Programme gives Swedish university students the opportunity to carry out fieldwork in low- and middle-income countries, or more specifically in the countries included on the *DAC List of ODA Recipients*, in relation to their Bachelor's or Master's thesis.

Sida's main purpose with the Scholarships is to stimulate the students' interest in, as well as increasing their knowledge and understanding of development issues. The Minor Field Studies provide the students with practical experience of fieldwork in developing settings. A further aim of Sida is to strengthen the cooperation between Swedish university departments and institutes and organisations in these countries.

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III. List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ASK - Kosovo Agency of Statistics (Agjencia e Statistikave të Kosovës)

ESI - European Stability Initiative UNDP – United Nations Development Program

EU – European Union

IOM- International Organisation of Migration

K-Albanian – Kosovo Albanian

K- Serb – Kosovo Serbian

NATO – The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NELM – New Economics of Labour Migration

SOK - Statistical office of Kosovo (Enti i Statistikës të Kosovës)

SST – Semi-Structured Interviews

UN- United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

UNMIK - United Nations Mission in Kosovo

1. Introduction

The study of migration remittances has since the beginning of the new millennium experienced a remarkable renaissance of interest in development studies. Yet, migration scholars such as Hein De Hass argues that while there has been a one-sided focus on remittances and their economic impact, less attention has been paid to non-pecuniary consequences of remittances, such as their impacts on health, education, social structure and gender. This is the inspiration the sociologist Peggy Levitt had when she coined the term ‘Social Remittances’ in her book *The Transnational Villages* in 2001, which calls attention to the fact that migrants send home more than just money. (Levitt& Lamba-Nieves, 2010). When a migrant goes abroad and settles in a new country and new conditions, the migrants tend to keep a close contact with his/her extended family in the country of origin. This new migration theory argues that ideas and culture would flow across borders and in that case, create a transnational tie between countries that perhaps previously did not have a major exchange of ideas, creating a unique fusion of two cultures.

The purpose of this thesis is to study this sort of transnational tie by using Kosovo as a case study. The Republic of Kosovo is one of the newest countries in the world, declaring its independence on 17th February 2008. Due to previous worried time, with a history of contested political governance, migration is a common matter for the Kosovars. The UNDP has recently estimated that the number of Kosovan emigrants residing abroad is between 220,000 and 500,000, indicating a great diaspora for the otherwise small country Kosovo. With a strong tie to diaspora, Kosovo creates an excellent case where I can examine the social impact that remittances have had on the Kosovar society.

Remittances and social remittances, personally, are an interesting force that is controlled by the people themselves and their own personal interest, not shaped by any national interest. Migration and remittances are seen as transformative forces, therefore an interesting topic to discuss in the contemporary development scene, which today seems to circle around national interest and protectionism instead of transnational ties and open borders. This create a reason for me to explore deeper into the non- pecuniary side of remittance, the side that some scholars would argue to be the unfocused– Social remittances.

2. Purpose, Specific aim and Research question

The purpose of this thesis will be, by analysing the interviews with Kosovo-Albanian households, the data collected in survey and the theoretical framework, to look at the relationship between families in Kosovo and migrants of the diaspora. All of these sources will give me, as a researcher, a unique opportunity to look at the possibilities of social remittances in Kosovo and the possible impacts they may have caused. The aim of this thesis is, to narrow it down, look more on the impact social remittances may have cause on gender. Historically, Kosovo has been considered to have traditional households structure with rich legacies of patriarchal families. A tradition consisting of man-dominated politics and businesses, where the role of women was set aside. Particularly, when it comes to labour, women are often seen as ‘household wives’. Their responsibilities are typically to take care of children, the elder and the house. The interest therefore sparked to study if the large diaspora, through social remittances, could have had any impact on gender roles in Kosovo.

Research Question: *What role does gender play in households that are affected by social remittances in Kosovo?*

The research question examines how gender roles are affected in the households. By focusing on the speculating on the different roles gender might take and to argue if gender roles have led to any change in households. One of Levitt’s main arguments was that social remittances could work as a catalyst for female empowerment, and in that case migrant women could transmit their ideas about women’s role towards an active engagement in the labour market. Non-migrant women would then use these social remittances to construct new versions of womanhood. Levitt however argues that their ideas could be a bit romanticized but that they would still represented a marked change in thinking about male-female relations. (Levitt, 1998) Therefore, the thesis will look deeper into the impacts on gender and women’s role in household structures and study labour incentives and use labour division as a tool to look at what impact it has on the household structure

The scope of the research question gives me an opportunity to speculate on discourses regarding the topic. By studying social remittances and gender, it gives me opportunities to apply the theories of social remittance on other topics, and see what impact social remittances can have on other areas such as education, health or politics.

Due to a patriarchal legacy and large diaspora, Kosovo-Albanian migration from Kosovo is chosen as a case study. Throughout the thesis, I will argue for how household structures in

Kosovo will present interesting examples of how social remittances can work as a catalyst for women's empowerment in household structures.

In background and analysis, we will map out the history of Kosovo-Albanian migration and the current migration and remittances patterns. In the analysis, I will discuss to what extent Kosovo's connected to the diaspora is and the emerge of a new family migration pattern. I will move on to the discussion about the household structure in Kosovo and argue how there is an on-going change in the gender roles in households, moving towards a more inclusive household for women where the roles are turning towards equal division. Concludingly, the thesis narrows down which factors are causing this change and concludes the three possible factors that may have impacted gender roles in household's structures: by raising awareness through globalisation, an improved illiteracy and better access to education and the impact from the diaspora.

The aim of the thesis is to look at impacts that are created through migration, remittances and gender. However, it is crucial to separate effects migration has on remittances from a more general process of social and cultural change affecting migrant sending communities. Even though migration may play an accelerating or reinforcing part in changes, such as gender roles, other factors must also be taken into consideration. Even Levitt (1998) argues that social remittances are just one of change catalysts exists between the sending and receiving end of communities. This is why a brief part of the analysis will be dedicated to other possible factors that the Kosovar household themselves believes could be feasible.

Moreover, as the thesis goes along it will discuss different views of gender roles. However, it is vital to bear in mind that the thesis does not take a moral stand and is not suggesting a moral superiority for any of the different views of women but is merely pointing out that there is an on-going change.

3. Background and Current Research

3.1 Remittances studies

Scholars like Devesh Kapur argue that remittances are the new development mantra (Kapur, 2003). Remittances are the money sent to the country of origin by migrants to provide local, regional and national development. (Ibid, 2003)

“Remittances are one of the most visible – and beneficial – aspects of how international migration is reshaping the countries of origin”
(Kapur, 2003:28).

However, remittances are constantly debated by development scholars and it has been shown that remittances can have both positive and negative impacts, which this research will take into consideration. Kapur shed a positive light on remittances, while Castle et Miller (2009) argue that you can also describe remittances as: “the idea of some of the world’s most exploited workers should provide the capital for development, where official aid programmes have failed” (Castle&Miller, 2009:58). Nevertheless, Castle et Miller continue by stating the positive impacts of remittances which could be a boost of economic development for the receivers and a transfer of skills and attitudes for both receivers and senders, known as social remittance, which the thesis will further develop. Remittances can also transfer brain drain into brain circulation and Migrant Diasporas can be used as a powerful source for development, through ideas and resources. Consequently, remittances can be shown to be a powerful tool.

Another thing that has been highly discussed in remittance studies, is to what extent remittances contribute to development. Scholar have been arguing that the expenditure of remittance necessarily is not spent on improving development. De Hass however, contests that remittances are spent with an aim for the developmental; like rural industry, improves methods and income. (De Hass, 2006) Also, by the expenditure of remittances, it creates demands and produces employment in the broader community, even by purchasing on expensive items as a car or arranging luxurious events.

3.2 Social remittances

De Hass (2007) argue that there has been a one-sided focus on remittances and on the economic impact related and calling for a greater discussion regarding the non-economic impacts. It is, however, argued by De Hass, that these remittances can have various effects on the receivers. On the positive side, they can help spur innovation and new hope but could also work in the opposite direction (De Hass, 2007), and other recent studies show that it can be a channel for attitude and skill (Castle& Miller, 2009:62). On the negative side, it can create a kind of depression because the receivers may compare with their situation and the migrant’s situation. Castle et Miller argue that social remittances prove that the very success of emigration is a weakness to development. If optimistic stories come back to the home communities about the low risks and high benefits of moving to higher-wage communities, this can encourage more people to move. (Castle&Miller, 2009:62)

Based on a migration research of Dominican Republic and Boston, USA, sociologist Peggy Levitt (1998) concluded that there is an exchange of ideas between the two communities. Levitt observed that there were four different types of exchange - *norms, practices, identities and social capital*, and named the phenomena: *Social remittances*. Social remittance can be studied as an exchange when migrants return to live in or visit their communities of origin; non-migrants visiting those in the receiving country; or through exchanges of letters, videos, e-mails, blog posts, and telephone calls. They are distinct from, but often reinforce and are reinforced by, other forms of global and cultural circulation. After this an academic discussion sparked as the widely-discussed topic remittances got a new perspective to look at. (Levitt, 1998)

3. 3 Remittances and gender

It is mainly argued that the selectivity and impacts of migration and remittances tends not to be gender neutral. It is often taken for granted that most of the female migration occurs as household strategies, for family reunification and with an intent towards family formations. (De Hass, 2007:19) Most of this sort of migration pattern is assumed to be from patriarchal societies. Moreover, when women migrate alone, they are usually portrayed as passive victims for smugglers or traffickers. (Lopez et al, 2011) Female labour migration tends to be focused on lower service sector jobs and even prostitution, which thereby denies them the power of agency, something men stereotypically are given. Female migration is therefore exposed for danger in a higher level than male migrants, emphasizing the reasoning for why migration is not gender neutral (ibid, 2011)

In other cases of gender and migration, previous research has mainly circulated around the issue of leaving wives alone in the country of origin while the husband migrates for labour purposes. It is assumed that the migration of men encourages the emancipation of women who stay behind since in their husbands' absence, women's responsibilities, autonomy and power would increase. (Fadloulah,2000 in De Hass,2007)

A few researchers are arguing if remittances may have an impact on gender roles. De Hass (2007) presents in his literature review on migration, remittance and social development different studies that present both positive and negative impact from remittances on gender roles. For instance, he presents in Egyptian and Yemeni cases that where women in the sending community might have gotten a worse position in gender roles due to the growing influence of conservative Islam-ideas that has been sent back when the migrants have come home to the country of origin. (Taylor, 1984 and Myntti, 1984 in De Hass, 2007)

However a study from Gammage (2004) shows that through migration and remittances, Haitian women have been able to interact with politics and been able to change traditional gender roles. (De Hass, 2007:20) Previous study thereby shows that there could be both positive and negative impact on gender roles from remittances, based on the case and circumstances that they have chosen to study.

However, as discussed in the introduction, it is important to separate the effect of migration and remittances from other processes that may have impacted households' structures, such as gender roles. De Hass (2007) presents another study done in Albania by King et al (2006) where they have seen positive transformations in patriarchal power structures towards a more dual power structure, but the impact is suggested to come from generational improvements instead of migration.

Furthermore, when it comes to gender and remittances, IOM stated in 2008 that women worldwide represent half of all remittances recipients despite the fact the migration is often supposed to be undertaken by men (Lopez et al, 2011). Lopez et al argues that because the sender of remittances is male, it has resulted into a current insufficiency of studies that examines different between female and male's remitting behaviour. (Lopez et al, 2011)

3.4 Kosovo Background

On February 17th, 2008 Kosovo declared itself independent from Serbia and became one of the youngest nations on the European Continent. The declaration was highly disputed where countries, as USA, Sweden and most EU members, approved it while Serbia and Russia among others disapproved it. Since the death of the Yugoslavian leader Tito in 1980, antagonism increased inside the republic and reached its highest point when the Serbian Slobodan Milošević was appointed president in 1989. After this, Serbia ruled, with an iron hand, over Kosovo and implemented Serbian oppression, which culminated in high rates of unemployment and informality in the labour sector among Kosovar Albanians (Baleci&Heeman, 2013:65). Thus, there was a major wave of migration from Kosovo to nearby countries throughout the 1990s, especially to close-by countries as Switzerland and Germany. The dissatisfaction with Serbian rule escalated into an armed conflict in 1998, which continued until the spring of 1999 when The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) intervened by bomb raids toward the Serbian capital Belgrade and Serbian troops retreated from Kosovo. (Landguiden,2017)

Kosovo was unstable despite that the Kosovo war ended, internal conflicts were still active between Kosovo-Albanians and Kosovo-Serbs. In the process of deciding Kosovo's future, United Nation installed United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) as a transitional administration. (Ibid, 2017)

Kosovo was considered to be the poorest region in the Former Republic of Yugoslavia, and became even poorer after the war ended in 1999. It even today consists as one of the poorest countries in the region, with 45% of the population living in general poverty and 15% in extreme poverty. The employment rate is estimated to be roughly 45%. However, since the end of the war, Kosovo's economy has been improved but most of it is argued to due to foreign aid, remittances and the establishment of its own public administration. (Baleci&Heeman, 2013:65)

When it comes to education, it is concluded in a report from the statistical office of Kosovo from 2001, that illiteracy and education in Kosovo is a gender issue. Just the illiteracy rate itself exceeds 10 per cent for men above over 65 years of age, the corresponding figure among females exceeds 50 per cent. On the average, 2.3 per cent of the men and 10.2 per cent of the women are illiterate in Kosovo (SOK, 2001:59) World Bank argues that Kosovo has made significant progress in improving literacy rates (World Bank, 2012:4). In the ages between 15-34 has illiteracy almost disappeared with less than 1 per cent being illiterate. However, World Bank also concludes that the biggest issue lies by with the population above 65 where still 25% is illiterate and there is a major gender disparity. They also conclude that illiteracy is most common in rural areas where the majority of the population lives (World Bank, 2012: 4) In education, World Bank states that women are underrepresented in every level of education except for, interesting enough, university where women represent 51% of the enrolment versus male enrolment of 49 % (World Bank, 2012). In every other level of education male represent a bigger percentage than women.

3.5 Migration and Remittances in Kosovo

Migration is nothing new for the Kosovars. The number of Kosovar emigrants residing abroad is an estimated between 220,000 and 500,000 (UNDP,2012). With a population of 1,8 million residing in Kosovo, this is considered to have a large diaspora compared to overall inhabitants in the nation. UNDP states that there have been four major migration waves from Kosovo.

In the table below, I outline the four waves. (UNDP, 2012:26)

Share of emigrants across emigration waves	
Emigration wave	Percentage of emigrants
I. Pre-1989	8.8%
II. 1989-1997	25.0%
III. 1998-1999	12.6%
IV. Post 1999	53.6%

Figure 1. Four waves of Migration in Kosovo

As illustrated, the biggest migration was during the post-1999 wave. It consists of more than 50% of total migration percentage. This may indicate of the instable condition in post-war Kosovo. UNDP stated that after the war, there was a major wave of illegal of unskilled and uneducated youngsters. Other migration reasons mentioned are family reunification and legal migration as more highly skilled and highly educated individuals through got better access to study- or work arrangements. (UNDP, 2012)

A total of 23,3 % of Kosovo-Albanians receives remittances. Resulting in a decrease from 27,2% which was the previous number. (ASK, 2013:27) Compare to the other ethnicities, Kosovo-Albanian receive the highest remittances, where Serbs get 6.1 % and other minorities receive 14,7 %. Moreover, Kosovo Agency of Statistic’s(ASK) report from 2013 also states that the percentage of household that receives remittances is higher in rural areas then in urban (ibid, 2013:28), which created a statement that supports looking at Kosovo-Albanian remittances patterns in rural areas.

By looking at the distribution of the diaspora, it is very clear that Germany is often chosen as the main target for migrants with a percentage of 31,3%. The other countries with a high percentage of Kosovo-Albanian migrants are Switzerland (27,9%), Austria (6,8%) and Italy (6,1%) (UNDP,2012).

The case study will further present new statistics on how well spread migration actually is in Kosovo, to be connected to a relative that works abroad, and in the analysis, it will be discussed how this could affect the possibilities of social remittances transfers.

3.6 Gender relations in Kosovo

Gender inequality is a major issue in Kosovo and has a deep traditional background. ESI argues that Kosovo have been able to preserve one of Europe's oldest and most conservative institutions: the patriarchal Balkan family. (ESI, 2006:2)

This is notable by looking at the statistics, in families' women tend to undertake the vast majority of the household responsibilities, including care for children, the elder as well as inter home maintenance. Women in the age of 25-54 spend 80% of their time on household chores and 10-20% of their time on work outside the household (Färnsveden et al, 2014) showing that women tend to be locked to their households. Moreover, it is argued that because women perform more labour within their home, which is unpaid, they tend to have fewer resources. Färnsveden et al (2014) argues that there is a lack of child care institutions, which would enable women to increase their participation in the labour market. It would both create job opportunities as it would unlock women from the household and child care. (Färnsveden et al, 2014)

Furthermore, the socio-economic situation is challenging, no country in Europe has so few women in the formal labour market as Kosovo, 18% of women's participation as compared with men's 55%, less than 10% of business is women-led and only 8% of properties are female-owned (Färnsveden et al, 2014). In rule of law, women tend to have less access to justice, realisation of legal remedies guaranteed by law, and compensation for crimes suffered (ibid, 2014)

4. Methodology

The data collected for the thesis is done through a field study conducted in Prishtina, Kosovo during January – March 2017, financed by the Minor Field Study grant through the Human Geography Department at Lund University. The data collection is designed as field study and consists of a mixed method approach where I collect primary data through Semi-Structured Interviews (SST) and through a survey conducted by UBO Consulting.

4.1 Case study

However, while the data is collected through a field study, the analysis will be done as a case study. Punch argues that case study is a tool that could provide and make it able to develop a full understanding of the case we analyse.

It recognises the complexity in every case. It also provides a holistic focus, aiming to preserve and understand the wholeness and unity of the case, which suits my research goals of looking in depth on the relationship between social remittances and household structure. (Punch, 2005:144) A common criticism against case study is the issue of generalization (Punch, 2005:145-146, Flyvbjerg, 2006).

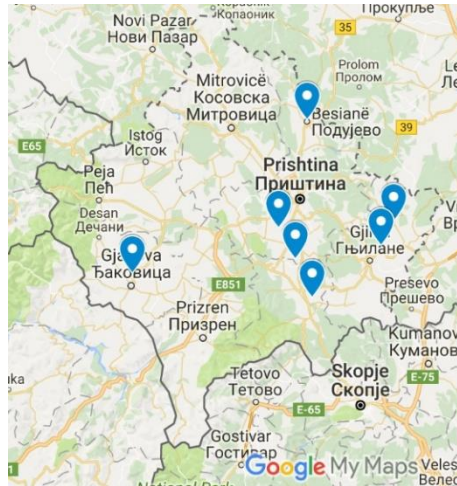
My study will only be based on the Kosovo case, but the aim of the study is to provide new perspectives and new knowledge on social remittance. According to Punch there is two main ways in which case studies could produce generalizable result, through conceptualizing and developing prepositions (Punch, 2005:146). Punch argues that the researcher, through methods of analysis, creates and develops one or more concepts to explain some aspects of what has been studied. Furthermore, to create these new concepts, it requires an in-depth study, which only a case study could provide.

4.2 Semi- Structured interviews, sampling method and analysis tools

The qualitative data collection of the thesis is based on 33 interviews conducted in Kosovar households taken place at seven different locations around the country¹. The aim of the research is to look at Kosovo-Albanians, living in rural areas and their relationship with the diaspora. The sampling is based on a randomised snowball approach where the seven locations were randomly chosen.

Through my contact organisation UNDP and my contact person that was an employee at UNDP, I was able to get in contact with the students that participated in the first ever made Model-UN in Kosovo in 2016 with my contact person as the one who organized the roleplay. The Model-UN was done in English therefore, a sufficient English level was required. My contact person chose seven of the most well performing participants that living in different locations around Kosovo for me to contact. I kept a continuously contacting with the translators through mail and text messages. I gave them information and the goals for my research and I asked them to map out potential candidates, both with relatives abroad and them without relatives abroad, as the right interviewee candidates. After that, we set a date to meet and I travelled to their location so we could conduct the interviews they had set up for.

¹ All the information about interviews will be displayed in appendix A



Map 1. Interview locations

The interviews were done in Albanian with the help of translators, who both contributed to my research with local knowledge and by translating what the interviewee subjects were saying. The goal of the interviews was to keep them semi-structured, with the same framework of questions for every interview, focusing on one participant at a time. The advantage with SST is that it allows me as a researcher to have an open conversation with the interviewee and given space for further in-depth answers. This way helped me to easily keep context in mind by feeding them with structured questions, much in line with how Punch argues about SST (Punch, 2005: 169-171). The structure of the interviews was based on a few questions concerning their perception of how their relatives abroad, if they had any, lived, why they chose to migrate and if they ever felt that they wanted to migrate. If they did not have any relatives abroad, the questions circulated around their wish to migrate and how they perceived the diasporas. After that, I moved towards questions regarding Kosovo in general, what they believe the biggest challenges of development were and finished off the interview by talking about household structures and how they perceived the role of women in Kosovo.

However, a challenge was encountered when I realized that it was hard to equally divide the interviews between men and women. When I entered a household, it seems like it was natural that I, as a male and foreigner, was supposed to talk to the men of the household and not the women. I, therefore, started to conduct interviews with both the husband and the wife of the household to be able to include them in my interviews and transcriptions. When I had a question that concerned the female role, I simply turned towards the woman and asked if she agreed with her husband etc.

All interviews were recorded and transcribed afterwards and they can be found in the appendix. Some of the interviews that were challenging to understand when translated have been transcribed with the help of one of the students.

The qualitative data collected in the field study was analysed through a framework provided by Miles and Huberman (Punch, 2005:197-204). This framework consists of several steps and the analysis starts off with “data reduction”, which basically means that the research edits, segments and summarizes the analysis data (Punch, 2005:198). The most vital aim is to find a theme, cluster and patterns and create concepts that I, as a researcher, could follow up in every interview conducted. When some of the data has gone through data reduction, I continued with one of the major steps by the Miles and Huberman Framework, which is coding and memoing where I dragged out the concepts from every interview and started making conclusions.

4.3 Surveys

The quantitative part of the research is done through surveys conducted by UBO consulting. UBO Consulting is a Kosovar based business research and consulting firm, that conducts Omnibus survey, where you as a researcher have the opportunity to purchase a question on their survey. Omnibus is administered in Kosovo’s 38 municipalities and includes a total of 1065 Kosovo citizens over 18 years old: K-Albanian (815), K-Serbs (150), and Other (100). The last two groups are oversampled in order to allow for a more reliable analysis and comparison. The sample is then weighted accordingly in order to reflect Kosovo’s ethnic structure. The sample design for this survey is based on a modified multistage random sampling methodology, where the total population is divided into smaller groups, known as stratas, based on the common characteristics of the members of these groups.

However, while analysing the data, I had to cut down the sampling size and take away the ethnicities and just keep Kosovo-Albanian which is the target group of the thesis. Important to keep in mind because I am cutting of participants from the sampling, that the research keeps a good coefficient level (Bryman, 2012:340-344)

Additionally, I added one question to the survey which were:

Do you have any close relatives abroad that you keep frequent contact with, who have been working abroad for more than 2 years? If yes, specify your relationship to that relative/s.

A multiple response question that will give me the opportunity to analyse how big the possibilities for social remittances could possibly be between the diaspora and the households of Kosovo. By using simple crosstabs, I will be able to get figures on how big the percentage of the people have relatives abroad, which kind of relations they have and also be able to look at gender because they specified their relations. With the primary empirical data, I got access to all the demographic data and basic data such as income level, ethnicity, employment and education-level. I got all the data handed to me in STATA format so I carried on working with data in STATA and work with crosstabs.

4.4 Methodological Limitations

While conducting this research, it is important to acknowledge the role of me as a researcher. This is the first time that I conducted serious research and therefore were the ethics of the research very crucial. Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens discussed this issue in their book and highlights that the research process must ensure the participants' dignity, privacy and safety. (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003:139-166). They discuss many ethical complications such as receiving the truth from participants, power relations between informants and researcher, the importance of anonymity and the safety of the researcher, which will be highly considered while conducting the research.

Moreover, in the surveys that was carried out by UBO consulting, a multiple response question was asked which gave more answers that participants because the participant had the opportunity to check more than one option. Out of 557 participants, the survey received 762 answers. The thesis will still keep this numbers because of the significant information they show but will be seen as a minor error in the research and taking into consideration while analysing the data.

5. Theoretical framework

By using a set of key migration theories, I will create a nexus that I will use as theoretical framework.

Firstly, I will mainly focus on Levitt's ideas of social remittances, i.e. the ideas that migrants send more than just money home. In *Transnational Villagers (2001)* she narrows down four types of social remittances; norms, practices, identities, and social capital. She continues with stating that social remittances circulate in several ways:

when migrants return to live in or visit their communities of origin; when non-immigrants visit their friends and family in a receiving country; or through letters, videos, e-mails, social media, and phone calls. There are furthermore a variety of factors - including the remittance itself, the transnational system, the messenger, the target audience, differences between sending and receiving countries, and the transmission process that would determine the nature and magnitude of the social remittance's impact. As a part of Levitt's theory, she argues that migrant brings a set of social and cultural tools to their new country of destination and use these tools adjust to their new lives. However, migrants interact in varying degrees with their new host society. By using their interpretive frames that they bring with them from their country of origin, they make sense of the new experience that they learn in the country that they migrate to. Just as they bring norms and ideas, these old ideas and norms get contested and mixed together with the new ideas that the migrant adopt to the new country. Levitt argues that the migrant therefore changes in the country of destination and this is where the creation of social remittances takes part. (Levitt, 1998: 930)

In the thesis, I will mainly focus on what Levitt argues to be *norms*, because these are the one that could impact the chosen topic the most. Norms are ideas, values and beliefs and covers interpersonal behaviour, notions of intrafamily responsibilities and gender appropriateness. Levitt argues that the migrated women can modify their ideas about women's' role into a more active engagement in the workplace (Levitt, 1998:933-934), Levitt argued that migrated women can transmit a new idea of womanhood, meaning that women would feel empowered and have greater saying in household and be a bigger part of the decision making in the household.

Secondly, this research will use Amartya Sen's Capabilities approach. This approach gives a new and wider perception of development where economic growth previously has been the main tools to measure development. Sen's capability approach argues that the real process of development is to expand real freedom for people to enjoy. To provide this freedom, he argued that the concept of human capability is providing the solution that will enable human beings to gain lives that they will value and to enhance their substantive choices (De Hass, 2007). By using Sen's capability approach, it shows the importance of not just looking at remittances and the direct impact that remittances can have on migrants and families, but to also look at how it affects both the sending communities and the receiving societies as a whole as a way of bringing a wider social perspective on remittance.

Sen's Capability approach goes along with the gender study that the thesis is taking. Gender Scholars argues that remittances could in some cases work as a promotor for equality for women

in recipient's household, the idea is that the diaspora women transmits a new image of women's capabilities to their homes.

Thirdly, New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) will be used as a theoretical framework. NELM argues that migration decisions are not made by isolated individuals but by families and household and will therefore support the household level that this research is based on. According to NELM, migration occurs through a collective decision that can improve the whole household and diversify income sources and provide resources for investment in existing activities. (Castle&Miller: 2009:24-25) NELM also encourages researcher to examine the long-term effects of remittances by looking at investment, work and social relationship. However, NELM have been argued to be gender blind, when it presents the households as monolithic, internally altruistic units that makes their decisions so it creates advantage for the whole group. (De Hass, 2007:19). Nevertheless, this proves out why it will t be important for this thesis to keep Sen's capability approach and the gender aspects of Levitt's theory as a counterweight to uphold a good gender balance.

6. Analysis

By using the theoretical framework and methodology as the backbone, I will construct the analysis taken from the data collected through the field study in Kosovo. To be able to prove if social remittances could exist in Kosovo, we will first look at Kosovo's social connection to the diaspora. Then by using Levitt's theory of social remittance, we will see if there has been a creation of social remittances. Furthermore, the analysis will discuss a new pattern of migration as perceived by Kosovars: that entail a migration based on whole families migrating together. The analysis will conclude by using Sen's Capabilities approach and examine if there is a possible on-going change in Kosovo Household structure and the possible factors that may have caused this impact.

6.1 Kosovo's Social Connection to the Diaspora

As argued previously in *Migration and Remittances in Kosovo*, migration has been an ongoing factor for a long time in Kosovo, which has led to large diaspora with its predominantly centre in Germany. For the thesis, a new survey was constructed to be able to look at how big the social connection would be for Kosovo-Albanians (K-Albanians), and see how many keep a frequent contact with their relatives. 815 K-Albanians were asked if they kept a frequent contact with their relatives abroad. This question was asked to get an indicator of how well spread the connection to diaspora is and how possible it would be for social remittances to act.

In the surveys, 557 K-Albanian answered *Yes* and 258 answered *No*, creating a majority of 68% of citizens in Kosovo with connections to abroad and creates a likely possibility for social remittances to be transmitted, which is outlined in figure 1. This strengthens Levitt's theory of the creation of Social Remittances that argues that when people migrate they remain a frequent contact with the family still residing in the country of origin. In the survey, the participants with relatives abroad were also asked to state what kind of relation they have with the diaspora. Out of the 557 participants that answered that they have relatives abroad I gained 762 answers, because it was design as a multi – response question, which is previously discussed in methodology. It became clear that the connection to Brother, Uncle or Sister was the most common, creating a minor majority of males living in the diaspora which will be discussed further down.

FIGURE 2
DO YOU HAVE ANY CLOSE RELATIVES ABROAD THAT YOU KEEP FREQUENT CONTACT WITH, WHO HAVE BEEN WORKING ABROAD FOR MORE THAN 2 YEARS?

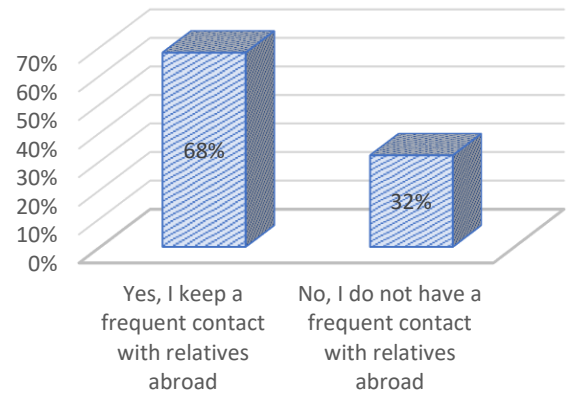
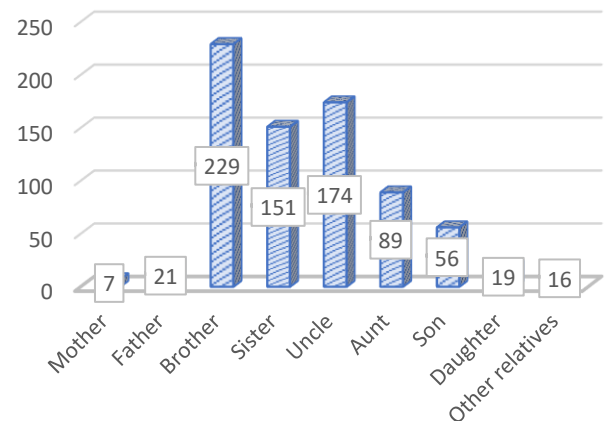


FIGURE 3
WHAT TYPE OF RELATION DO YOU HAVE IN THE DIASPORA?



6.2 The Creation of Social Remittances

The pattern of creating social remittances, as discussed previously in the theoretical framework was discovered while doing the interviews. By using Levitt's theory which argues that migrants use their interpretive frame that they have brought with them from their country of origin and together with that with new ideas adopted from their destination country, they create a new unique mix of ideas that they transmit back home. As a part of the interviews conducted, the questions were asking if people in Kosovo thought that people in the diaspora had changed since they migrated. In many of interviews, the interviewees admitted that they had seen a personal change of the migrants when they return to their origin country during the summers and visits their relatives.² In an interview with a couple that had relatives in Finland, they answered the following:

“They are almost Finnish now. They have not forgot their language but we [here in Kosovo] eat dinner whenever we want and they have their schedule for eating. We do not care at all for most of those things. When we go to the doctor, we go whenever we want, without an appointment. But in Finland you have to make an appointment. When they [relatives in Finland] go for a visit to relatives, they always call before, no one in Kosovo does that.” (Interview #22)

The interviewee subject states how the cultural norms are causing a differentiation between the Diasporas and Kosovars, indicating that the Diasporas has changed behaviour by scheduling meetings with the relatives in the country of origin. Later in the interview, the interviewee interestingly enough, admitted that he has started to make appointments when he goes and visits his family, a sign that an idea has been transmitted from a social remittance.

However, it is not always obvious that the idea must be turned into a positive change. In another interview, an older woman with relatives in Germany argued:

“They [relatives in Germany] have changed so much [...] They don't care about their brothers anymore, they don't listen to us anymore”. (interview #5)

We continued the conversation where she argued that the Diaspora had become taken a shift from being family-oriented to individually-oriented than before and does not act the same way as they did before they migrated. Nevertheless, Levitt argues about the exact same phenomena and it can be characterized as a change in norms, she argues that people that are still residing in

² Interview: 5, 8, 9, 11, 16, 22, 24, 31

the country of origin gets exposed to more possible self-concepts, which perhaps did not previously exist in the country of origin. (Levitt, 1998:934)

An interviewee, whom the thesis will get back to, described how the interviewee's father decided to migrate for the first time in 1960s:

“He first went to Belgrade and worked there as a farmer, then he came back to Kosovo and met his brother-in-law that just came back from his first migration trip to Switzerland. He was so elegant and he proposed to my father that he should migrate to Switzerland as well because he could easily find a good and well-paid job” (interview #17)

When asked if he think that his father changed as well, he answered:

“Yes, of course, he turned so elegant as well. Even though he didn't know how to read or write, he was perfect for the job in Switzerland” (interview #17)

The interviewee argued that the migrant change to ‘a more elegant appearance’ when they migrated and was found as appealing by the interviewee and intrigued them the wish to migrate. This change in interpersonal behaviour, Levitt would classify as a change in norms and fits her theory of social remittance's creation.

Furthermore, we can conclude by arguing that it is possible to find patterns of social remittance creation as Levitt discussed. A possible pattern was created through the interviews, Kosovars believed that migrants have changed and would therefore in that case support Levitt's theory.

6.3 Family based Kosovo Migration

Throughout the 20th century, migration has been a vital key for Kosovo, households survived and occasionally prospered by sending their men abroad as migrant labourers, to remaining away from their families for most of the year/lives.

American Sociologist Janet Reineck, an American anthropologist, that studied gender, migration and ideology in the region of Opoja in south-west Kosovo from May 1987 to December 1988, noted that migration in Kosovo serves an essential social function: in the minds of people, it provides the only hope of escaping poverty. Kosovo had been generating migrant workers for centuries. However, migration was not a welcome prospect. As one villager quoted by Reineck put it: (Reinbeck, 1991)

“It is understood that we have to become migrants. The prospect of migrating is a weight on everyone’s shoulders. We don’t like the idea, but for most families it is reality. Migration is the tradition established by our forefathers. It has always been this way.” (Reinbeck, 1991:125)

During the socialist era of Yugoslavia, internal migration was a big mechanism and the main destinations were Zagreb and Belgrade. However, when former president Tito of Yugoslavia started to open up the border for labour migration in the 1960s, the migration route went further west (ESI, 2015:2-3). As described by interviewee number 17, he explained how he on his own migrated to Switzerland in 1984 to work at a construction company. He stayed in Switzerland for 12 years with the main purpose of sending home money to his family in Kamenica, Kosovo. When asked why he moved back, he explained that it was impossible for him to bring his family to Switzerland so he decided to move back to his home country. (Interview #17, 2017) Interviewee 17 is just one of the many who choose to migrate for family supplying as a main reason during the socialist era of Yugoslavia.

According to NELM, migration is family based decisions and argues that migration could work as an income diversification and provide resources for an existing family business (Castle, 2009:24). De Hass argue that in line with NELM, that most recent empirical research supports the view of the labour migration being a livelihood strategy pursued by social group (typically households) to secure and increase income and acquire investment capital, rather than being a response to destitution or absolute poverty. (De Hass, 2007: 7)

Remittances are central elements of such households’ strategies to overcome local development constrains, which goes along the migration pattern shown in Kosovo. Interview 17 strengthens the link to NELM when he argued family was his main reason for migration and that he constantly prioritized the needs of his family (Interview #17, 2017)

Moreover, ESI described that there has been a slight change in the nature of the Kosovar migration, they argue that in previous generations, emigrants were predominantly single, young men, sent abroad by their families to find work. Their social obligations to the family in the village remained strong³. They would live frugally in their host countries, remitting a high share of their income back to the head of the household. This would usually continue until they returned to Kosovo.

³ As proven out in the case of interview #17

However, this is where the change has occurred, which is also proven out in the conducted interviews. I examined the migration intention by asking the young interviewees if they would migrate if they got the chance today and a pattern was found that most of them said that they would but when asked if they would migrate alone, it seems like they were not so sure anymore.⁴ Interview four and 11 raised definite concerns that that they would not migrate without their families and would therefore prioritize spending time with their family above migrating. This would go in line with the slight change acknowledge by ESI. Additionally, If the migrant got married and brought their wife to live with them in Western Europe, as the typical destination found by the yet so far migrated, the previous migration pattern changes completely. As soon as they began to raise a family of their own abroad, if formally split them from the household in Kosovo, ESI argues that the level of remittances would decline sharply. (ESI, 2015:4-5)

Family bonds, however, still consists as a major part of migration dynamics in Kosovo. The previous migration pattern, where one family member migrated, has decreased and instead been exchanged to a pattern where the whole family migrates. Instead a pattern is created where families abroad keep contact with the extended family still residing in Kosovo. This fact become very vital in the conducted interviews as remittances seemed to have worked as a sort of social security for the families in Kosovo. Schrieder and Knerr argues, based on a case study in Cameroon, that remittances do not always provides satisfactory means for the remittance receivers but that remittances tend to lift business out of times of crises and in that sense, could work as a social security system. (Schrieder&Knerr, 2000).

In interview 19, the interviewee was asked about her relations with relatives abroad and if they would help out in her household, where she relayed that they are always ready. She continued then to help out a lot when she had to pay for her children's education, and due to the strong family bond the relatives in Switzerland payed most of the fees. (Interview #19) Nevertheless, the thesis goes along the same lines as NELM that the decision for migration was driven by family reasons and overall strengthens family bonds. Additionally, this new migration pattern of family migration creates an advantage for social remittances to transmit ideas regarding gender roles, which will be discussed further down.

⁴ (Interview # 4,5,11, 12,14, 16, 20, 22)

Bearing in mind that previous research around gender and migration has mainly explained how migration has been circulated around single male migration, how female migrants has been heavily exposed or the emancipation of women left in the country of origin - Kosovo shows of a new type of case with the new pattern of family migration. It seems that in Kosovo with family based migration, this brings up a new aspect of migration. Previous research about single person migration seems a bit out-dated and is therefore not relevant in the thesis.

6.4 Household Structures in Kosovo

Kosovo maintains one of Europe's largest household (ESI, 2006:12) According to Kosovo's Ministry of Public Administration the average household size in rural areas is 6,4 members, which should be considered as high compare to neighbouring countries. (MPA, 2011) As discussed previously in Gender Relation, Kosovo household structure consisted of a strong form of a patriarchal family structure that once was common across the Balkans and now keeps its grip in Kosovo. Mostly these patriarchal families had a very restricted view of women and the household structure where man dominated and was clearly emphasized while conducting the interviews.

Janet Reineck noted that in the centre of the Kosovar lifestyle, at least in rural areas, was the large patriarchal family. Within the family, wives were to obey their husbands, all adult family members and senior in-married women. Husbands obey their elders. Everyone obeys the will of the head of the household. (ESI, 2006:9)

In interview 31, a woman who was studying as a master's degree and working in the municipality in Kamenica argue as following:

“Families here used to be patriarchal, no one asked the women. Men had the first talk and the last. Women just took care of the household. I am working on a topic for my master degree and one of my topics is gender equality budget, that women makes a lot of the work but do not get paid. Who takes care of the children? Women! Who take care when someone gets sick? Women!” (Interview 31, 2017)

The woman had strong arguments that the large sized Kosovar family was controlled by men and leaving the women to do all the household chores.

Moreover, it is argued that the patriarchal families in Kosovo have two sides which are contradicting, ESI argues that it on one side has helped protect Kosovo Albanians in the phases of weak or hostile state institutions.

Meanwhile it has also contributed to the lowest rates of female employment in Europe: serious underinvestment in education and a general lack of innovation and entrepreneurship. (ESI, 2006:2), This was also discussed in the gender relation's section in the background.

However, the traces of the patriarchal household structure are still evident, especially when it comes to socio-economic development and access to justice, realisation of legal remedies guaranteed by law.

In interview nine, an older man with a lot of relatives in the diaspora, said:

“When it comes to heritage, women are not equal to men. Law exist but it is not applied. Women don't receive anything from their father, heritage-wise. In Europe, the father always applies the heritage equal to his children, here it is only practised by 10% [...] if someone has 5 daughters and 1 son, most of them leave the heritage to their son”. (Interview 9, 2017)

The father admits that the heritage system in Kosovo is in favour of men, but it is also very noticeable that the father heavily disagreed with how the heritage system worked today, creating the question if a change is possible in patriarchal system in Kosovo towards a equal households structure.

6.5 A potential shift in gender roles in household structures

While conducting interviews it became clear that many households argues that there is an on-going change within Kosovo's household structures. When talking about women, many interviewees argued that there is an ongoing change in Kosovo at the moment⁵ and interviewee 17 stated if women in the previous generation had any role in the process of making decisions:

“No, back then it was tradition for men to make decisions and women should just obey them, but nowadays it has changed for like 95% of all families and women are taking part of making decisions for the good of their families” (Interview 17, 2017)

Interview 17 argues that, there has been a shift that has led to increased capabilities for women. 'Making decisions' is highly linked to Levitt's theory when she argues that social remittance can increase womanhood where women has a greater saying within households. In interview 12 an elder husband said:

“The situation for the wife has changed. Now it is better, before women didn't have the chance to make decisions or giving the opinions, now they do [...] They [Women] move more free now, they can go to their sisters by bus or taxi and go out with friends and they can go to their jobs. (Interview #12)

⁵ Interview: 5,11, 12,17, 18, 24, 20,31

Interviewee 12 argues that the situation has changed but does not go more into depth of the reasoning's for what has caused this change. However, he argues that mobility and access to mobility has changed and made it easier for women to move freely. Seen through Sen's capabilities approach, this is a welcomed change as it would increase the capabilities of women highly. Moreover, a pattern throughout the interviews has become clear that mobility for women has increased during the last years as many interviewees stated that the view of women's mobility gives them empowerment⁶, meaning that mobility was very limited in the former household structure that is now experiencing a shift

As understood, a current structural change is perceived to be on going in Kosovo's households, which is shown through the patterns found and the quotes from the interviewee subjects. This change is argued to make the gender roles in the household structures inclusive for women as they get to partake more of the decision-making in the family and be a greater agency in the household structure.

6.6 Three impacts leading to a change of gender roles in the household structures

As mentioned in the introduction – we now arrive at a stage where it is very important to separate the effects of migration and remittances from the general processes towards the specific social and cultural changes that affects an increase of the migrant sending communities.

While analysing the interviews, a pattern showed that the interviewees could see the three different main impacts that had created this change of gender roles in the household structure. The impacts were *raising awareness*, in the sense of globalisation and more easily access to information around the world as a first. Secondly, the interview pointed towards that *better access to education and illiteracy* has improved the situation for women and how Kosovo has improved their education system over the last decades. Lastly, a major part of the interviewee argued that *diaspora* has made an impact on the gender roles of the current household structure in Kosovo and it on that note that this thesis will put its focus.

1. Raising awareness

As seen all over the world, globalisation seems to be a transformative force in Kosovo as well. The new inflow of easy-accessed information from around the world is feeding Kosovars' with new ideas and while conducting interviews,

⁶ Interview 1,4, 7, 8,9, 12

it seemed like these ideas had also affected gender roles of the household structure. In interview 18, a male farmer and with no relatives abroad admitted:

“Now that technology has evolved and we are more linked to western countries more, we started to realize that women should work and have their rights, and also they started seeing differently and won their independence.”

The interviewee argues that technology is the reason behind the global society and that this contributes to women’s independence. In interview 7, with a young male entrepreneur also with no relatives abroad argued:

“The creation of the change is caused by what is happening around the world, we see that here too because of the internet. We are trying to change. We are in the face of transition, we are trying to make it better.”

It is interesting how these two interviewees agreed that there is a change going on and they argue it is because of development of constant new technology and the access to information, mainly through the internet. Furthermore, this makes it possible for me to state that the change in household structure occurs without a connection to the diaspora and strengthens the argument there are more possible impacts that can create change than ideas from the diaspora.

2. Improvements in Illiteracy and Education

As argued in *Kosovo Background* chapter, education and illiteracy is a gender issue. It is shown in Kosovo that 10,2 % of women is illiterate, which is significant higher than the male share. However, it is also argued that Kosovo has made a significant progress in improving literacy rates as stated throughout the interviews. This made it rather obvious from the interviewee’s viewpoint that an increase and improvement in education participation by women has caused a change in the household structure.

In interview 31 a woman who worked as an officer for European Integration argued that a change in gender roles has been formed due to educated women. She argued that now women have the right to vote and they have the possibility to get public jobs. However, she emphasizes that a further investment for education is needed and women should be braver and demand their rights towards an equal society (interview #31)

Additionally, in interview 12 an elder husband of a household, states that the structure has changed because women are being active in school, creating an ambition to finish their education with good grades and becoming socially engaged which has created changes of gender roles in home. (interview #12)

3. The Impact of Diaspora on Kosovo's household structure

The last pattern that could be found in the interviews when discussing the different possible impact found on the change in household structure was the impact from the diaspora. As debated earlier in the thesis, migration has for centuries been a major factor of the Kosovar society.

Bearing in mind that Levitt discussed how social remittance could transmit ideas about female empowerment and an idea of a more active female participation in the labour market (Levitt, 1998) Lopez-Ekra et al. (2011) discussed in the same way when she explained the possibility of what happens when women in the diaspora start to work, and earn money. Lopez-Ekra et al. argue that women can start to challenge the intra-household patterns and challenge the previous idea of them being subordinate to men and will lead to woman having a greater say in the decision-making of their household. The idea is then that these women from the diaspora with renewed self-confidence and self-esteem, could work as a catalyst for the women that still are in the country of origin. The women in the diaspora would then transmit a new image of women's capabilities, which goes in line with Sen's capabilities approach, to the women that still lives in the country of origin and send the norms coming from the social remittances that may empower women.

As briefly mentioned in the sections *Family based Kosovo Migration*, the possibility for ideas about change in gender roles to be sent increases when women join migration together with their families. What could be seen in previous patterns were that men returned from the diaspora alone are naturally less likely to spread an idea about increases of capabilities for women. But now when women migrate as well, the *catalyst-idea* that Lopez et al discussed become very conceivable. Women are today, with their newly gained experiences and self-esteem, more likely to migrate than what they were in the previous generation, which has led towards a possible transmitting of change in gender roles.

Moreover, a link should be made with the statistics presented in *Kosovo's connection to the Diaspora*, where we in figure 2 can see the different relations people in Kosovo have in the diaspora. Even if we still see that most dominate connections abroad is male⁷, the difference between male and female relations is not too significant. Sister and Aunt still consisted as a vital part of the connections⁸ in the diaspora and proving the possibility that social remittances

⁷ 228 answered Brother and 174 answered Uncle

⁸ 151 answered Sister and 89 answer Aunt

from the diaspora can sent from the women in the diaspora to the women in the country in origin. This pattern of female catalyst became clear throughout the interviews⁹ through social remittances. In interview 31 with a woman working as an officer for European Integration she said:

“The people that went abroad early in the 1960, the first group that went to the diaspora to work, they of course brought back a better view on equality and the idea of how law adjusted it. They also brought back culture from Switzerland, Sweden and Norway – how you look at things differently and I believe they have been broadcasted to people”. (Interview #31)

Interviewee 31 used the word ‘broadcasted’ when she described how the idea of equality and law enforcement for equality was spread to Kosovo and how the migrant also brought back culture from the diaspora. Culture is a broad term and could entails many different sorts of idea, but could be according to Levitt interpreted as a practice, one of the four different types of social remittances that can be sent. Levitt argues practises as actions shaped by normative structures and may include household labour and patterns of civil and political participation (Levitt, 1998:934). Interviewee 31 shows a good case of how practises were transmitted to Kosovo, when she argues that you may look at ‘things’ another way, indicating ideas of more equality.

During interview 14, a young man that just came back from Sweden and now working on his VISA application back to Sweden, gave another perspective when we talked about his mother. His mother was not working and when I asked him why she did not work, he said:

“Because of the tradition! Even if she wanted to work, the males would tell her not to work. When I came back from Sweden I explained how women worked in Sweden and how hard they work. I also explained to her that in Sweden there is no man or women. If you need to wash your clothes, you should wash them on your own! Does not matter if you’re a woman or not, but here in Kosovo, it is just women who washes! I wash my own clothes now, I just take them and put them in the machining machine.” (Interview #14)

The young man illustrated how gender roles have equal rights in the Swedish society and that there are no differences between men and women. He compared this situation to the one in Kosovar households and explains that a division of gender exists because the society is in favour of the man.

⁹ Interview 8, 9, 11, 14, 17, 22, 31

As discussed previously in the background, women in Kosovo spend 80% of their time doing households chores. This young man however transmitted an idea that it should be more equally divided instead, arguing that women should be able to spend their time participating in the labour market and indicated a need of more capabilities for women. Nevertheless, interviewee 14 was an interesting case, because he creates an exception and showed that males also can transmit an idea of change in gender roles in the households.

Moreover, while discussing gender roles and the possible impact of diaspora, interviewee eight, a younger wife with many relatives abroad, went on a deeper level and gave an example of her experienced of change with her relatives:

“When a woman is engaged and pregnant, even if the husband used violence or they did not really match as a couple, the wife would not dare to divorce. For engagement, mostly of the time, the father chooses the future husband for his daughter and the woman would not see her future husband until the day of her wedding. But now it is different, they can divorce their husband and they can flirt with their future husband before they get married and I believe that is a culture brought from the diaspora. “(interview #8)

Here I can find a clear example of how the capabilities for women have increased. The interviewee argues that her freedom has improved and she explains how she is able to have a greater saying about herself and her private life through an idea brought from the diaspora.

Through interviews, current research and theory, I have, in this final section of the analysis, narrowed down three different factors that emphasizes a change in gender roles in household structure perceived by the Kosovar themselves, which will also be discussed in the conclusion.

7. Conclusion

Throughout the thesis, I have tried to map out the possible impacts that social remittance may have caused on gender roles in household structures and I have used Kosovo as a case study.

It is vital to highlight the weakness of this research. Being mostly based on interviews, the thesis can only describe the perception of the 33 households that were included in the study and cannot prove out or put precise evidence for this case. For case to be evidenced it need more in-depth research and much greater research design. However, through the thesis, I can conclude that there is a perception in Kosovo that claims that a change in house structure is an on-going development.

The thesis takes its starting point in explaining social remittance, the theories arguing that migrants send more than just money to their country of origin when they remit. Peggy Levitt argued that migrants send home ideas, norms, practices and social capital through channels that are created between migrants and people in the country of origin. The thesis focus is on how these potential social remittances could have impacted the gender roles in household's structures. By looking at such factors as division of household labour, the aim is to study if any change is possible and what may have created it. Kosovo was chosen as a case study due to their large diaspora and their man-dominated household structure, which was proven out through the interviews conducted.

By phrasing back to the research question: *What role does gender play in households that are affected by social remittances in Kosovo?* I started to analyse the situation with the significant use of data collected and tools of the theoretical framework and concluded that diaspora possibly could have created a change in gender roles in household structures as ideas from the diaspora have started to challenge previous existing patriarchal patterns. Women argued that migrants from the diaspora has brought home ideas from the diaspora about equality between man and woman in many different areas. In the interviews, I found examples of how women have started to challenge previous patterns when it comes to heritage rights and decision-making within the households. By looking at division of household labour, the women that we interviewed argued that they started to feel more emancipated and explained how they have starting to seek higher positions in the labour market, where women in the previous generation never had the opportunity to do. Many of these women argue that this idea has its foundation in the diaspora, that women in the diaspora has catalysed an idea of empowerment to the women in the country of origin.

Nevertheless, as argued throughout this thesis, it is very significant to keep in mind that there is other impact that just the ideas from the diaspora. In the interviews, it also became clear that factors like raising awareness because of media and globalisation and improvement in education and illiteracy have made impact on gender roles in household structures in Kosovo.

Social remittances may create a social change inside households in Kosovo, pulling women towards a culture that has its origin in diaspora societies, which is commonly found in the western countries with a western view on women. Nevertheless, as argued in specific aim, the thesis is not taking any moral stand for specific view of women but merely looking at situation through Sen's capabilities approach where women's capabilities would be empowered through an increased position in labour division in households.

However, a link to more general social development is needed. More research would be needed how this change in household structures is affecting the social development in Kosovo in general.

Finally, further research is suggested to study on how social remittances may have impact other sectors, such as health, education and politics. This focus of the thesis was to examine how gender roles in household structure have been affected but it became clear throughout the analysis that the ideas from the diaspora may have impact far more than gender alone, which led to the conclusion that remittances is far more than just money.

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Appendix A – Semi- Structured Interviews

Number	Female/Male/Bot h	Relatives abrod/No Relatives	Location	Date of interview
1	M	NR	Lluga	3/02/2017
2	M	NR	Lluga	3/02/2017
3	F	R	Rubofe i Vogël	8/02/2017
4	M	NR	Rubofe i Vogël	8/02/2017
5	B	R	Rubofe i Vogël	8/02/2017
6	F	R	Rubofe i Vogël	8/02/2017
7	M	NR	Komoyllarë	9/02/2017
8	F	R	Komogllavë	9/02/2017
9	M	R	Komogllarë	9/02/2017
10	M	R	Komoyllarë	9/02/2017
11	B	R	Podujevë	15/02/2017
12	M	R	Podujevë	15/02/2017
13	M	R	Podujevë	15/02/2017
14	M	R	Podujevë	15/02/2017
15	M	R	Podujevë	15/02/2017
16	M	R	Kamenicë	16/02/2017
17	M	R	Kamenicë	16/02/2017
18	M	NR	Kamenicë	16/02/2017
19	F	R	Kamenicë	16/02/2017
20	F	R	Kamenicë	16/02/2017
21	M	R	Përlepticë	23/02/2017
22	B	R	Përlepticë	23/02/2017
23	M	R	Përlepticë	23/02/2017
24	B	NR	Përlepticë	23/02/2017

25	B	NR	Përlepnicë	23/02/2017
26	F	R	Lugbunar	2/03/2017
27	M	R	Lugbunar	2/03/2017
28	F	R	Lugbunar	2/03/2017
29	M	R	Lugbunar	2/03/2017
30	M	Remittances Officer	Gjilan(Kamenicë)	10/03/2017
31	F	Remittances Officer	Kamenicë	10/03/2017
32	B	NR	Hogabatr(Kamenicë)	10/03/2017
33	F	R	Kamenicë	10/03/2017