VOICES OF YOUTH

Gender Equality and Social Cohesion in the Western Balkans

Annex IV: Kosovo

Author: Hana Bacaj

YOUth
Inclusion, Equality & Trust

VOICES OF YOUTH

Gender Equality and Social Cohesion in the Western Balkans

Annex IV: Kosovo[1]

Author: Hana Bacaj

YOUth
Inclusion, Equality & Trust

---

[1] *All references to Kosovo shall be understood in the context of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999).*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF IMAGES AND FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on the relationship between youth development, gender equality, and social cohesion in Kosovo. The sociopolitical landscape of Kosovo is complex, shaped by its recent history of conflict and post-independence status. This research's focus on youth, gender equality, and social cohesion is highly relevant considering Kosovo's demographics, as over half of its population is under 30 years old. Therefore, in a post-conflict society like Kosovo, youth have the potential to influence the trajectory towards peace, reconciliation, and social cohesion (Kelmendi, 2023).

Moreover, Kosovo has been advancing towards gender equality amidst challenges associated with deep-seated patriarchal norms and customs. Despite the establishment of a comprehensive legal framework to support gender equality, encompassing laws against domestic violence and gender-based discrimination, the implementation of these policies continues to face obstacles due to various sociocultural barriers (Kosovo Program for Gender Equality 2020-2024, 2020).

Therefore, analyzing the interplay between youth development, gender equality, and social cohesion generates crucial insights for future policy-making.

In general, the study held great importance for Kosovo as it involved youth who have the potential to drive positive change and create a more inclusive and cohesive environment not only in Kosovo, but also in the region.

Key Findings

- The youth demonstrated a deep understanding of social cohesion, largely due to the efforts of international organisations and youth-led initiatives. They define it as interconnectedness, support, equality, and unity. However, they believe there is room for improvement in Kosovo's societal cohesion.

- Participants emphasised that gender equality is not only about women's rights but encompasses fairness, justice, and the dismantling of power hierarchies. They perceive a moderate level of gender equality in their community.

- Major barriers to social cohesion include corruption, discrimination, and hate speech (88%, 85%, and 75% respectively). [2] Respondents highlighted the importance of equal job opportunities, quality education, and gender equality in building a fairer society.

- Cultural norms and patriarchal systems in Kosovo perpetuate gender inequality. A significant 79% of the respondents view it as a major obstacle. Factors like historical conflicts and societal norms further reinforce harmful gender expectations.

- Youth in Kosovo face discrimination based on gender, with gender-based violence, especially domestic violence, being alarmingly prevalent. The pandemic has exacerbated this issue.

- Gender roles in Kosovo are deeply influenced by cultural norms, with families and educational institutions playing pivotal roles in reinforcing these stereotypes.

- Despite laws promoting gender equality, public institutions in Kosovo still reflect gender stereotypes, with men predominantly in power roles. The study indicates a low level of trust in these institutions among the youth (with an average score of 2.66 on a scale of 1 to 5).

- Technology presents both challenges and opportunities for gender equality and social cohesion. Whilst it can perpetuate harmful ideologies, it also offers platforms for positive activism and exposure to diverse perspectives.

---

[2] *The differences noted between men and women were not considered relevant to the objective of the Paper, which was to give an inclusive representation of young people's perceptions of the issues under study.*

Key findings in Kosovo

27% — Percentage of respondents who believe that society in Kosovo is marked by social cohesion

26% — Percentage of respondents who believe that society in Kosovo is marked by gender equality

Contexts of gender inequality
- Religious environment
- School
- Workplace
- Family
- Media

Obstacles to social cohesion
- Corruption
- Discrimination
- Gender inequality
- Hate speech

Grounds of discrimination
- Ethnicity
- Gender
- Social status
- Religion
- Sexual orientation

Factors helping gender equality
- Increased awareness on gender equality and discrimination
- Equal employment opportunities
- Youth-led social movements, including digital activism

Image 1. Key Findings in Kosovo

1. METHODOLOGY

1.1 Research design and research sample

The research conducted for this study adopts a participatory youth-led approach, involving young researchers from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), North Macedonia, Serbia, and Kosovo in the design, implementation, and analysis phases. A participatory approach in research refers to a methodological approach that actively involves participants in the research process. The approach moves away from the traditional researcher-subject relationship, instead viewing the participants as co-researchers or partners in the research work (Jagosh et al., 2012). Adopting a participatory approach alongside the mixed methods makes the research more inclusive and representative of the youth's perspectives from the region. A mixed-methods approach, combining qualitative and quantitative techniques, offers a comprehensive perspective in this research on youth development, gender equality, and social cohesion: the online survey captured general trends and patterns which allowed for an analysis of quantitative data; the local consultation allowed for a more interactive and detailed discussion; and the in-depth interviews provided a nuanced understanding of the challenges and opportunities faced by youth in formal settings. Finally, the document underwent peer review by two young individuals who had been actively engaged in various stages of the research, providing valuable insights from a youthful perspective.

Quantitative and qualitative approaches to the research
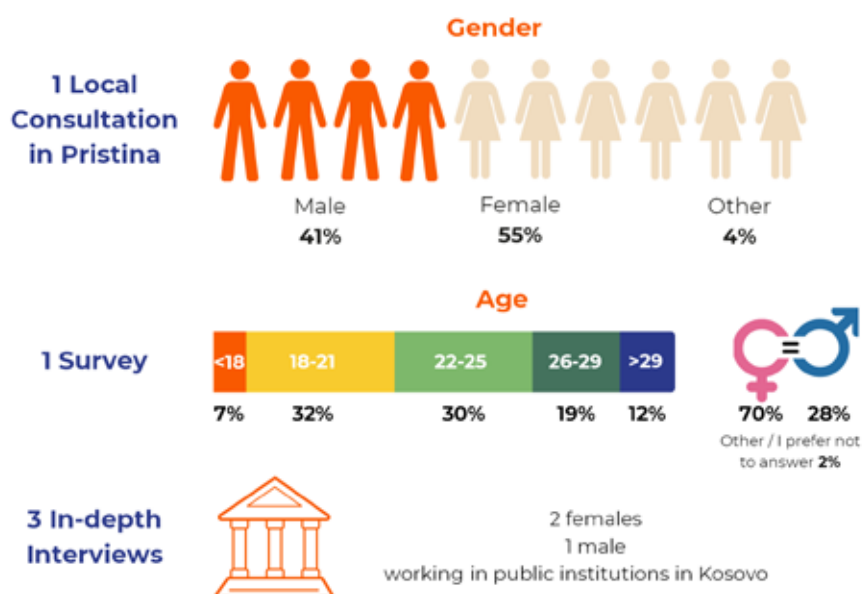
Image 2. Research sample in qualitative and quantitative research

1.2 Observations on Youth Engagement

During the implementation of the research project, several observations were made regarding youth engagement, providing valuable insights into the level of participation and understanding among participants.

Youth showed a keen interest throughout their engagement with the project activities in cultural exchange, learning about peers from different backgrounds, and sharing their own cultural experiences.

Young people engaged in the research in Kosovo displayed a good understanding of social cohesion and gender equality, and showed a strong interest in participating in initiatives that promote these values, such as this participatory study. This suggests that young individuals are actively seeking avenues to contribute positively to societal issues.

Youth invited to participate in the group discussion on gender equality and social cohesion seized the opportunity to share their thoughts, experiences, and perspectives, contributing to thought-provoking conversations. Whilst some participants in the local consultation, especially women, were more active, others were more hesitant to speak on certain topics as they found either their views aligned with those already expressed or felt uncomfortable expressing their opinion.

When it came to communication, youth participants preferred digital communication platforms, such as social media and instant messaging, over traditional methods like emails or face-to-face meetings.

In conclusion, the research underscores the evolving dynamics of youth engagement. Their deep understanding of societal values, enthusiasm for cultural exchange, and preference for digital communication highlight the importance of adapting our methodologies to resonate with this generation.

1.3 Literature review

Social cohesion refers to how individuals and groups in society are connected, trust each other, and work together towards common goals, which is crucial in inclusivity and sustainable development within communities (Social Cohesion - OECD). Social cohesion is critical in post-conflict and developing countries since it promotes a sense of trust, affinity, and collaboration among individuals, contributing to peacebuilding, economic development, and the overall well-being of a society (Colletta et al., 2001).

Various factors hinder social inclusion or cohesion, including rigid gender norms that marginalize individuals based on gender identity and perpetuate power imbalances. In addition, negative legacies of past conflicts and divisions can hinder trust-building and cohesive efforts within different ethnic groups. All these factors emphasize the importance of challenging toxic norms, addressing historical legacies, and promoting inclusivity to foster a more cohesive society (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2016).

These very aspects, namely the impact of historical legacies and the influence of rigid gender norms, are central findings of this study and are elaborated upon in subsequent sections.

Achieving gender equality and fostering social cohesion in post-conflict and developing countries face challenges. Persistent gender inequalities, perpetuated by cultural norms and discriminatory practices, limit women's rights and opportunities, impeding progress towards gender equality and social cohesion. Gender-based violence, including domestic violence and sexual harassment, as well as discrimination, undermine social cohesion and women's empowerment, emphasising the need for prevention and intervention measures (UN Women, 2018). These challenges, too, form the basis of research questions in this study, with detailed discussions in sections dedicated to gender-based violence, discrimination, and hate speech.

For instance, in the labour market, women in Kosovo face the obstacles of gender segregation and stereotypes (which are also reflected in some of the challenges to gender equality revealed by this study). The unemployment rate in Kosovo among women is notably higher than among men, with a significant proportion of the young population unemployed, and a clear gender disparity evident: the unemployment rate for women stands at 25%, higher than the rate for men at 19% (Labour Survey 2021, 2022). Sociocultural norms that position women primarily as caregivers limit their economic empowerment, as is manifested in the gender wage gap, with women consistently earning less than men across all education levels (Gusia, 2020). Gender bias and stereotypes are not only restricted to wages but also permeate job advertisements, where masculine-coded language dominates, restricting certain genders' opportunities despite the legal prohibition of such practices in Kosovo (Gender-based discrimination in job vacancies, 2023).

Women's limited representation in decision-making roles is another critical impediment to gender equality. Despite recent progress in the 2021 parliamentary elections, where a record 43 women were elected to the 120-seat Kosovo Assembly, women's representation in local level and boards of public enterprises and independent agencies remains significantly low. Whilst

the legislative gender quota has played a key role in improving representation, it is still important to ensure women can secure these roles even without them. These challenges in the labor market and decision-making roles are further explored in the study sections titled "Discrimination and Hate Speech" and "Youth Perceptions of Public Institutions."

Based on the literature review conducted, it is evident that several factors hinder social cohesion in general, especially in post-conflict territories like Kosovo. However, the review also highlights the crucial role of gender equality and youth involvement in achieving social cohesion. Based on this, the study presents a collection of findings derived from a research study specifically aimed to explore the perspectives of youth in Kosovo on social cohesion and gender equality.

Through a comprehensive analysis of qualitative and quantitative data, key insights were obtained regarding the challenges and opportunities for enhancing social cohesion and promoting gender equality in the context of Kosovo.

2. GENDER EQUALITY AND SOCIAL COHESION IN KOSOVO

A study from the Kosovo Women's Network (Farnsworth et al., 2018) confirms the prevalent gender inequalities in Kosovo by providing an in-depth analysis of the systemic, cultural, and institutional factors contributing to gender inequality, thereby demonstrating the significant challenges it poses in building stronger and more equitable societies. The analysis uncovers that, despite the legal framework for gender equality, women and other marginalized groups continue to experience discrimination and exclusion due to deeply rooted patriarchal norms, biased societal attitudes, and discriminatory practices in public and private life.

The current research (both qualitative and quantitative) reveals that gender equality remains a significant challenge in Kosovo, with deeply ingrained cultural norms and patriarchal systems perpetuating discrimination. In the local consultation in Kosovo, participants believed that, among all the discriminatory issues faced, gender inequality is the main issue against social cohesion. They emphasized the importance of increasing awareness and knowledge regarding these concepts since many believe gender equality refers only to women's rights. In addition, the survey data show that 81% of respondents perceive gender inequality as a significant hindrance to building stronger and fairer societies. This indicates a recognition of the pervasive gender disparities and discrimination faced by young people in Kosovo due to their gender. The persistence of gender inequality hinders progress towards social cohesion and perpetuates power imbalances and exclusionary practices within society.

In your opinion, which of the following factors help build stronger and fairer societies? Please, select the three most significant

Factor	Percentage
Gender inequality	81%
Equal access to quality education	85%
Equal labour opportunities	90%
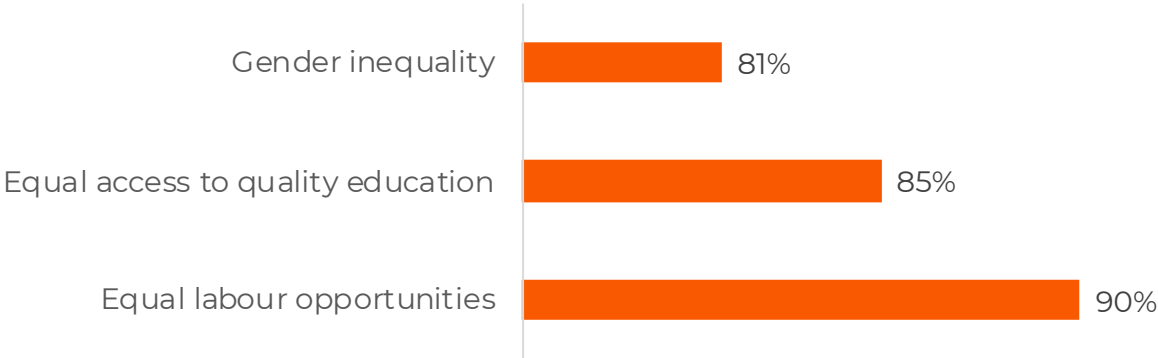
Figure 1. Youth perceptions of factors helping the building of stronger and fairer societies

On the other hand, the data presented in the survey highlights also the factors that respondents perceive as significant in building stronger and fairer societies. Three factors were selected: equal labor opportunities, equal access to quality education, and gender equality. Gender equality, as reflected by the significant percentage of respondents, is closely connected to both social cohesion and the promotion of fairer societies. This is because gender equality dismantles discriminatory practices, challenges harmful gender norms, and fosters inclusivity. It ensures that women and marginalised gender groups have equal rights, opportunities, and representation, leading to more balanced and cohesive communities.

2.1 Gender equality as a key aspect of social cohesion

The youth population participating in this study has demonstrated remarkable awareness and understanding regarding social cohesion and gender equality. This heightened awareness can be attributed to the extensive activities carried out by international organisations and youth-led initiatives in the territory.

This understanding was demonstrated clearly during the local consultation, where youth participants were prompted to share the words that came to their minds in association with these concepts. In the quantitative questionnaire, youth were provided definitions before responding to questions, ensuring a solid foundation of knowledge on the subjects. Moreover, in-depth interviews conducted with youth working in public institutions revealed their significant level of consciousness about these concepts. They exhibited awareness of the agendas of public institutions and donor organizations, which actively seek to promote social cohesion and gender equality.

As mentioned, during the local consultation in Kosovo, participants' responses provided valuable insights into their conceptualizations of these concepts. When asked about social cohesion, words such as 'intersection,' (in Albanian: ndërthurje) 'solidarity,' (in Albanian: solidaritet) 'equality,' (in Albanian: barazi) 'inclusion,' (in Albanian: gjithëpërfshirje), and 'unity,' (in Albanian: bashkim) emerged, reflecting their perception of social cohesion as a society characterized by interconnectedness, collective support, equal treatment, and a sense of togetherness (See Image 2 for the word cloud).

When you think of "social cohesion", what words come to your mind?³

Image 3. Word cloud for social cohesion

Regarding gender equality, participants used words like 'human rights,' (in Albanian: të drejta njerëzore) 'no discrimination,' (in Albanian: jo diskriminim) 'horizontal,' (in Albanian: horizontale), and 'social justice,' (in Albanian: drejtesia sociale), and emphasized the phrase 'equal rights' (See Image 3 for the word cloud). These responses indicate that participants view gender equality as upholding fairness and justice principles and eliminating hierarchical power structures.

One participant highlighted the concept of 'horizontal' as an alternative to patriarchal or matriarchal systems, emphasizing the importance of an equal and non-hierarchical society.

"I think that the goal of gender equality and feminism should not be the overthrow of patriarchy and the development of matriarchy but the fight to eliminate a hierarchical system where one rules over another. I think we should live in a horizontal system where everyone is equal to the other."

Participant, local consultation

---

³ *Communication; Society; Connection; Coexistence; Current Society; Social Inclusion; Human Relations; Interrelations; Interpersonal connections in social groups; Social Cohesion linked to the satisfaction and wellbeing of a group or a society; Interaction of a group with common ethnic goals; UNITY; Inclusiveness; Interweave; Harmony; United; Solidarity.*

When you think of "gender equality", what words come to your mind?[4]

Meritokracia
Equal pay horizontale
Drejtesia Sociale
Barazi shoqerore Diskrimin
Jete e dinjitetshme
Mundesi per te gjitheTë
Të drejta të barabarta gjinore
te drejta te barabarta
drejta te barabarta mes dy gjinive
ndarja e barabarte e puneve
feminizmisterotipet gjinore
E drejte njerezore
e drejta e votes
Dallim mes gjinive
Drejtesi
Jo diskriminim
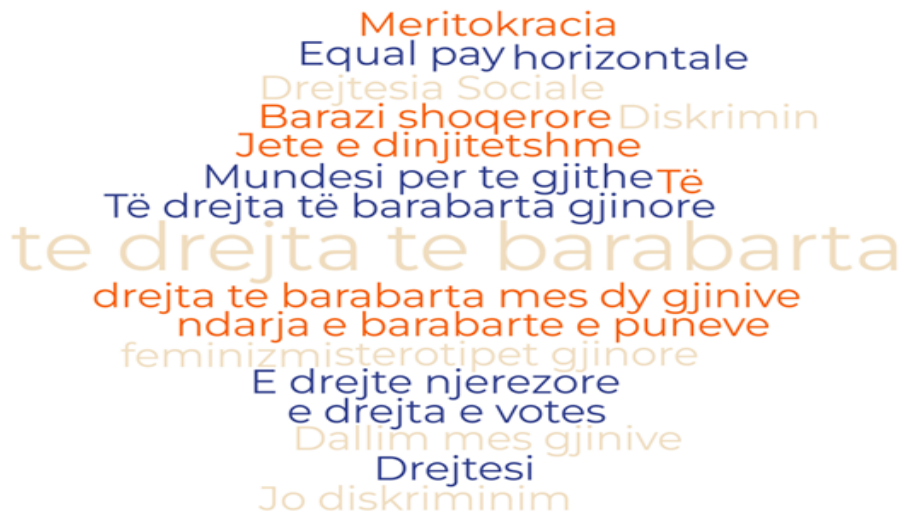
Image 4. Word cloud for gender equality

The findings indicate that youth perceive their society as generally marked by a moderate level of social cohesion: whilst only a small percentage of youth indicated that there is 'not at all' social cohesion, the majority expressed a reasonable level of social cohesion with a rating of 3.

To what extent would you say the society you live in is marked by social cohesion? Please answer by indicating your opinion on a level from 1 to 5, where 1 is "not at all" and 5 is "very much"

Not at all	4%
2	10%
3	59%
4	21%
Very much	6%
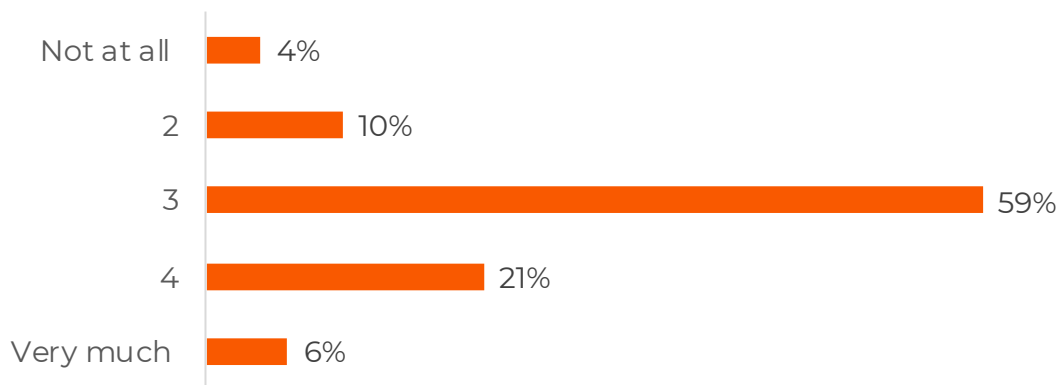
Figure 2. Social cohesion in the society

[4] Meritocracy; Equal Pay; The right to vote; Gender Difference; Discrimination; Equal Opportunities; Gender Stereotypes; Equal Gender Rights; EQUAL RIGHTS; Equal Division of Labour; Feminism; Equal Society; Human Right; Social Justice; Justice; Non-discrimination.

It is important to recognize that social cohesion is multifaceted and influenced by various cultural, economic, and political factors.

In your opinion, to what extent do the following factors negatively impact youth well-being in your community? Please answer by indicating your opinion on a level from 1 to 5, where 1 is "not at all" and 5 is "very much"

Factor	Rating
Poverty	4,54
Lack of employment opportunities	4,34
Domestic or family violence	4,33
Lack of healthcare services	4,21
Discrimination (please specify on which ground(s)	4,13
Lack of educational opportunities	4,04
Violence in the streets /criminality and lack of general safety	3,98
Other forms of violence	3,89
Lack of infrastructure	3,63
Ethnic tensions and divisions	3,51
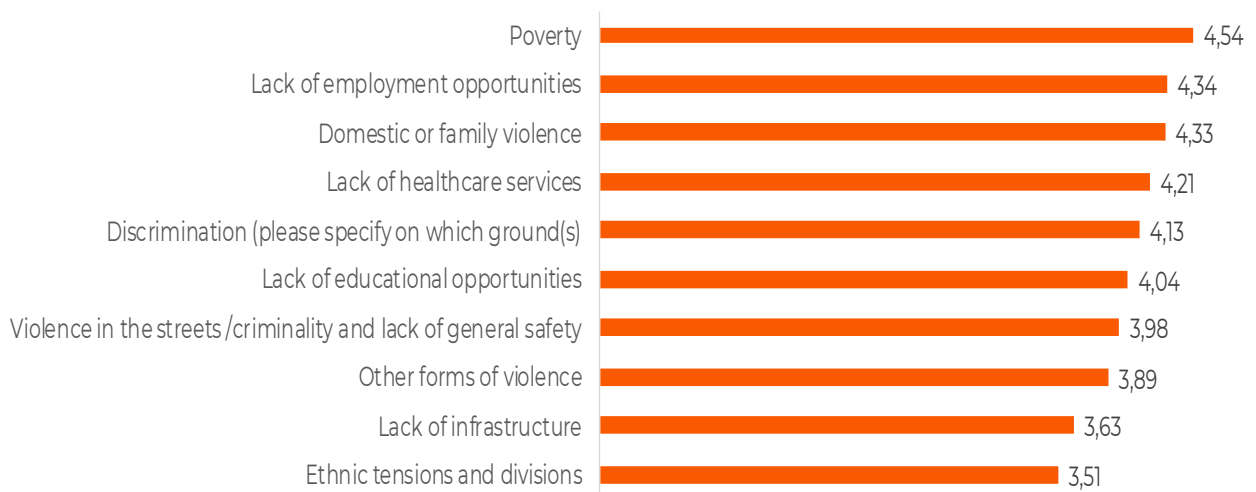
Figure 3. Youth perceptions of factors negatively impacting their well-being in the community.

As seen in Figure 4, the rankings shed light on the perceived negative impacts on youth well-being within their communities.

Poverty, lack of employment opportunities, and domestic or domestic violence emerged as the top three factors influencing youth well-being, with the highest average ratings. These findings underscore the pressing challenges that youth face, including economic hardships, social inequalities, and the impact of violence in various forms.

2.2 Youth perceptions of intergroup relationships

Another important aspect of social cohesion is the intergroup relationship, which fosters social cohesion within a community or society.

When individuals from different ethnic, religious, or cultural backgrounds come together, build connections, and engage in meaningful interactions, it promotes understanding, empathy, and a sense of shared identity. For these reasons, it is crucial to understand youth's opinions about intergroup relationships because their interaction with people from different backgrounds can help challenge stereotypes, fostering a more inclusive and accepting society. As seen in Figure 4 below, the data reflects both positive and concerning aspects of intergroup relationships among youth in Kosovo.

Whilst there is a significant presence of cross-ethnic friendships and a willingness to connect with different groups, challenges related to socialisation patterns and preferences for ethnically homogeneous communities persist. The recent IPS Musine Kokalari survey similar to the findings above points out a pronounced social distance among Kosovo's ethnic groups. According to this study, this sentiment is rooted in historical conflicts, socio-political differences, and perpetuated stereotypes. Although there appears to be some openness to collaborating professionally across ethnic boundaries, living close is less well-received (Attitudes of Communities in Kosovo Towards Living Next To & Working Alongside Each Other, 2023).

Which one(s) of these statements are true for you?
You can select more than one option

Statement	Percentage
I have friends from different ethnic and religious groups	94%
In my neighbourhood I know people who are ready to help me when I need it	71%
I would date/I dated someone from a different ethnic and/or religious group	56%
People tend to socialise more with members of their ethnic and religious groups	56%
I would marry a person who does not belong to my ethnic and/or religious group	50%
My parents talk about the previous war and I know how much people from my ethnic group suffered	48%
My parents talk about the previous war and I know how much people from other ethnic groups suffered	40%
In my community, people share their personal experiences and critical opinions with mutual trust	27%
In my neighbourhood people gather from time to time to discuss problems and solve them together	21%
It is easier to live in ethnically homogeneous communities	21%

Figure 4. Intergroup trust and approach behaviour

The data on youth perceptions of intergroup relationships in Kosovo reveals a complex landscape. They suggest a degree of trust and approach behavior among youth, fostering intergroup connections and potentially contributing to social cohesion. A high percentage of youth reported having friends from different ethnic and religious groups (94%), and a significant percentage of youth feel that people in their neighborhood are ready to help them when needed (71%).

Based on the figure, most of the youth believes that people tend to socialize more with members of their own ethnic and religious groups (56%),

but only 21% have the perception that it is easier to live in ethnically homogeneous communities. The data points related to parents talking about the previous conflicts and their children's knowledge of the suffering experienced by people from their ethnic group and other ethnic groups provide insights into the intergenerational transmission of historical experiences and perceptions. These findings suggest that the parents' narratives on their children's perception of historical events can contribute to shaping intergroup attitudes and perspectives.

It highlights the potential influence of family dynamics and socialization processes in reinforcing or challenging intergroup divisions.

Nevertheless, the data reveals mixed perceptions regarding shared values and regional identity. Whilst a substantial portion of youth (56%) expressed willingness to date or have dated someone from a different ethnic and/or religious group, indicating openness to intergroup relationships, the percentage decreases when considering marriage outside one's ethnic and/or religious group (50%).

It is important to note that these findings do not represent the entire youth population in Kosovo, but rather provide a snapshot of youth perspectives on intergroup relationships.

2.3 Impact of negative legacies of the past

The negative legacies of the past in Kosovo encompass a range of factors, including historical conflicts, political instability, and deep-rooted societal norms. These legacies have had a lasting impact on various aspects of society, including social cohesion and particularly gender inequality.

During the local consultation, participants highlighted the deep-rooted societal norms and cultural beliefs prioritising male children over females, perpetuating gender inequalities and limiting women's opportunities. In particular, youth participants identified patriarchal traditions, such as the expectation for women to stay at home and the deprivation from education, as negative influences.

Other traditions, such as the concept of purity and morality, are burdens falling solely on women that even nowadays lead to cases of violence and crime. One participant linked these attitudes to historical factors, such as the Industrial Revolution, creating new opportunities for men in the workforce whilst reinforcing the idea of women's unpaid work within the home

as their primary role. Additionally, during the discussion, unawareness and lack of education were identified as factors that perpetuate inequalities, with societal resistance to improvement and emancipation due to perceived cultural opposition.

Previous studies expose the prevalence of victim-blaming attitudes in rape cases, where around 20% of men and 23% of women question the victim's reputation (A Men's Perspective on Gender Equality in Kosovo., 2018). Additionally, a study reveals attitudes that align with rape culture, with some participants suggesting that women should be cautious to avoid provoking men. Furthermore, the results reveal that in Kosovo, one out of every twenty- five men acknowledges engaging in non-consensual sexual activity with their girlfriend or wife (A Men's Perspective on Gender Equality in Kosovo., 2018). This behaviour stems from a belief among some men that sexual intercourse with their partner is their inherent entitlement, rather than a matter that requires explicit consent. These findings underscore the urgent need to challenge toxic masculinity and societal norms that unfairly burden women. Traditional concepts of purity and morality often place undue responsibility on women, leading to violence and crime in present times.

As mentioned above, the top three factors that hinder achieving gender equality in the community were traditional gender norms, the representation of rigid gender roles and stereotypes, and negative legacies of the past. In addition to that, the data in Figure 5 illustrate that most respondents (84%) believe that cultural and traditional norms in their community set different expectations for men and women. This indicates a widespread recognition of gendered expectations and roles influenced by cultural and traditional norms.

In your opinion, do cultural and traditional norms set different expectations for men and women in your community?

84% 8% 8%

■ Yes ■ No ■ Do not know
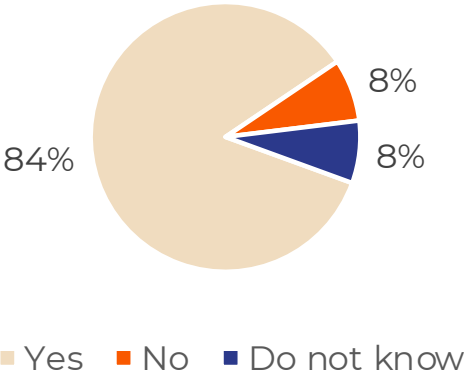
Figure 5. Youth perceptions of men and women expectations deriving from cultural and traditional norms

The negative legacies of the past can influence and reinforce traditional and social norms, which in turn contribute to the agency problem and perpetuate gender inequalities. Historical and cultural factors, such as patriarchal systems, discriminatory practices, and traditional beliefs, can shape societal expectations and reinforce gender roles that assign certain responsibilities and expectations to women and men. Therefore, youth in the survey were asked about the expectations in their community regarding gender roles and responsibilities. The data in Figure 9 (Paragraph 4.1) illustrates the division of these expectations between women and men. The agency problem arises from the discrepancy between the expectations placed on individuals based on gender. In this context, social norms play a significant role in shaping these expectations and limiting individual agency.

3. OBSTACLES TO GENDER EQUALITY AND SOCIAL COHESION FROM A YOUTH PERSPECTIVE

According to the respondents to the survey, the factors of corruption, discrimination, and hate speech, identified by 88%, 85%, and 75%, respectively, play important roles in hindering the development of stronger and fairer societies. Corruption undermines trust in institutions, leading to unfair practices and unequal resource access. Similarly, discrimination based on factors like ethnicity or religion creates divisions and exclusion; hate speech fosters hostility and undermines social harmony. Therefore, these factors collectively hinder the development of stronger and fairer societies by impeding trust, inclusivity, and unity within communities.

In your opinion, which of the following factors hinder building stronger and fairer societies? Please, select the four most significant
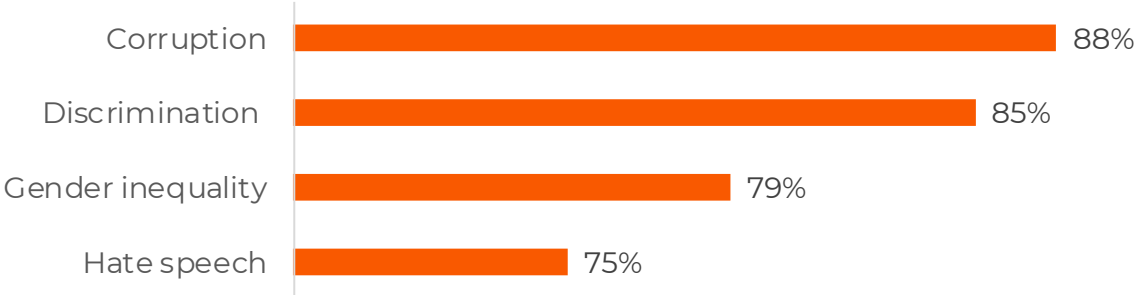
Corruption	88%
Discrimination	85%
Gender inequality	79%
Hate speech	75%

Figure 6. Youth perceptions of factors hindering the building of stronger and fairer societies

The collective perception of these factors as significant hindrances suggests a need for targeted interventions and policy measures to address corruption, discrimination, gender inequality, and hate speech. The reasoning behind this suggestion is that when these challenges are actively addressed, it has the potential to bring about positive changes in Kosovo's society.

3.1 Rigid gender roles and stereotyped gender expectations

The data collected during this research indicates that youth perceive persistent challenges to gender equality in their community. When asked to rate the extent of gender equality on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 representing "not at all" and 5 representing "very much", the average rating was 3.08. This suggests that youth perceive moderate gender equality in their community.

The findings reveal the significant factors hindering the achievement of gender equality in the community. Traditional gender norms are identified by 85% of respondents as a major obstacle, suggesting the persistence of deeply ingrained societal expectations that perpetuate inequality. The representation of rigid gender roles and stereotypes in media and social media is also recognised as a significant hindrance by 74% of respondents, highlighting the influence of these platforms in reinforcing unequal gender dynamics.

Additionally, 72% of respondents acknowledge the negative legacies of the past, including historical conflicts and divisions, as barriers to gender equality. These findings align with a research study that uses an internationally accepted measurement, the Gender Equitable Men Scale, as a tool developed for measuring attitudes towards gender norms (A Men's Perspective on Gender Equality in Kosovo., 2018).

Based on this study, most men and women fall within the moderate equity norms, meaning that men and women in some instances support traditional, often unequal, gender roles. Gender Equitable Men Scale shows that a higher percentage of men belong to the low equity category in gender norms as opposed to women belonging to that category.

This indicates that a significant proportion of men hold less equitable views on gender norms than women, indicating the need to address and challenge these deeply ingrained norms to promote more equitable gender relations in the community (A Men's Perspective on Gender Equality in Kosovo., 2018).

In your opinion, which of the following factors hinder achieving gender equality in your community? Please, select the three most significant
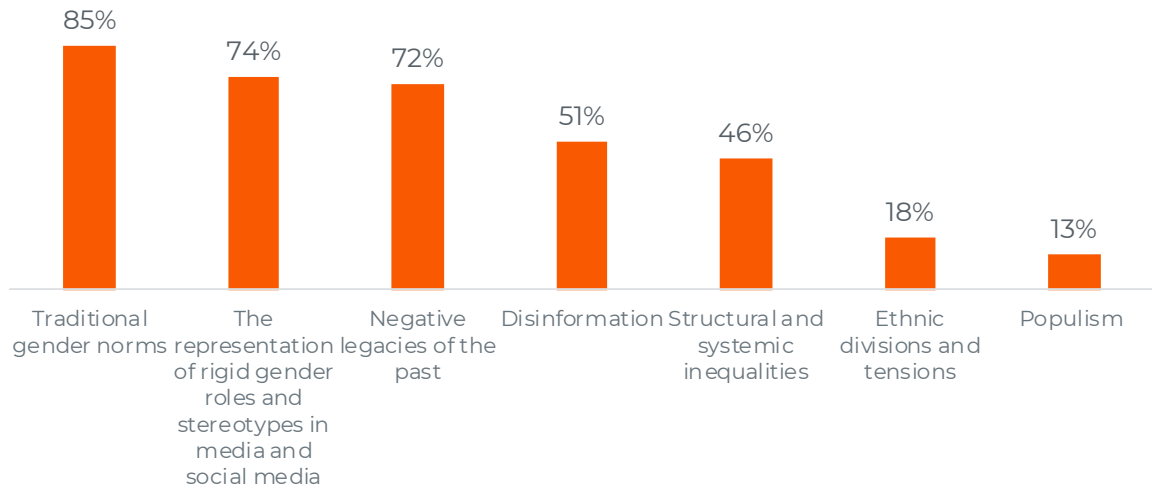
Figure 7 Youth perceptions of factors that hinder gender equality

The study's findings provide a detailed examination of the contexts in which gender inequality is most prominently perceived within the community. Data gathered from the participants indicates a pronounced perception of gender inequality within religious settings, with educational institutions and workplaces following closely (Figure 8).

These insights are invaluable for shaping future interventions aimed at mitigating gender disparities. By identifying the primary contexts, such as religious environments, schools, and workplaces, where youth discern gender imbalances, strategies can be devised with greater precision and efficacy. Nevertheless, it is imperative, especially when interpreting findings related to religious settings, to distinguish between cultural norms and the doctrinal teachings of Islam. Blurring these distinctions risks oversimplification and the propagation of stereotypes.

Therefore, a comprehensive approach is essential, one that not only addresses religious interpretations, but also considers the broader societal, cultural, and political frameworks that reinforce gender disparities.

In which of the following contexts is most common to find gender inequality in your community? Please answer by indicating your opinion on a level from 1 to 5, where 1 is "not at all" and 5 is "very much"

Context	Value
Religious environment	3,53
School	3,48
Workplace	3,43
Family	3,10
Online media channels, especially social media	3,05
Offline media channels (TV, radio, newspapers...)	3,00
Civil society (youth clubs, cultural associations ...)	2,50
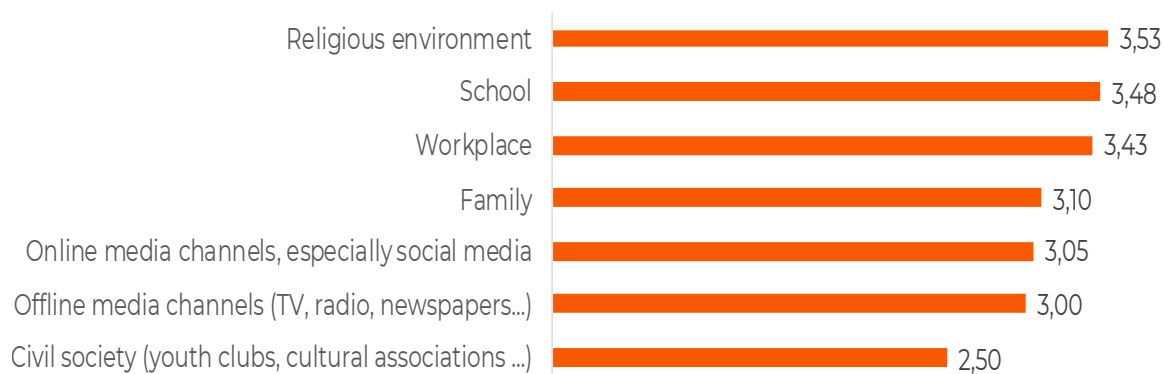
Figure 8. Youth perceptions of the contexts in which gender inequality is most common

In the data presented in Figure 9, it can be observed how social norms assign certain roles predominantly to women or men. For example, youth think that women are expected to spend more time caring for the household, provide emotional support to family members, and have children at a young age. On the other hand, men are expected to be the head of the household, provide security and financial support, and earn more than their partners.

In your community, who is expected to...

Spend more time taking care of the household
- 0%
- 13%
- 3%
- 84%

Provide emotional support to family members
- 0%
- 15%
- 5%
- 80%

Not have sexual intercourse before marriage
- 15%
- 8%
- 0%
- 77%

Spend time, effort and labour taking care of the family
- 0%
- 28%
- 2%
- 70%

Have children at a young age
- 23%
- 15%
- 0%
- 62%

Get married at a young age
- 15%
- 23%
- 3%
- 59%

Hide emotions in public
- 5%
- 10%
- 62%
- 23%

Be the head of the household
- 5%
- 5%
- 88%
- 2%

Earn more than the partner
- 5%
- 8%
- 87%
- 0%

Provide security and financial support for the family
- 3%
- 8%
- 89%
- 0%

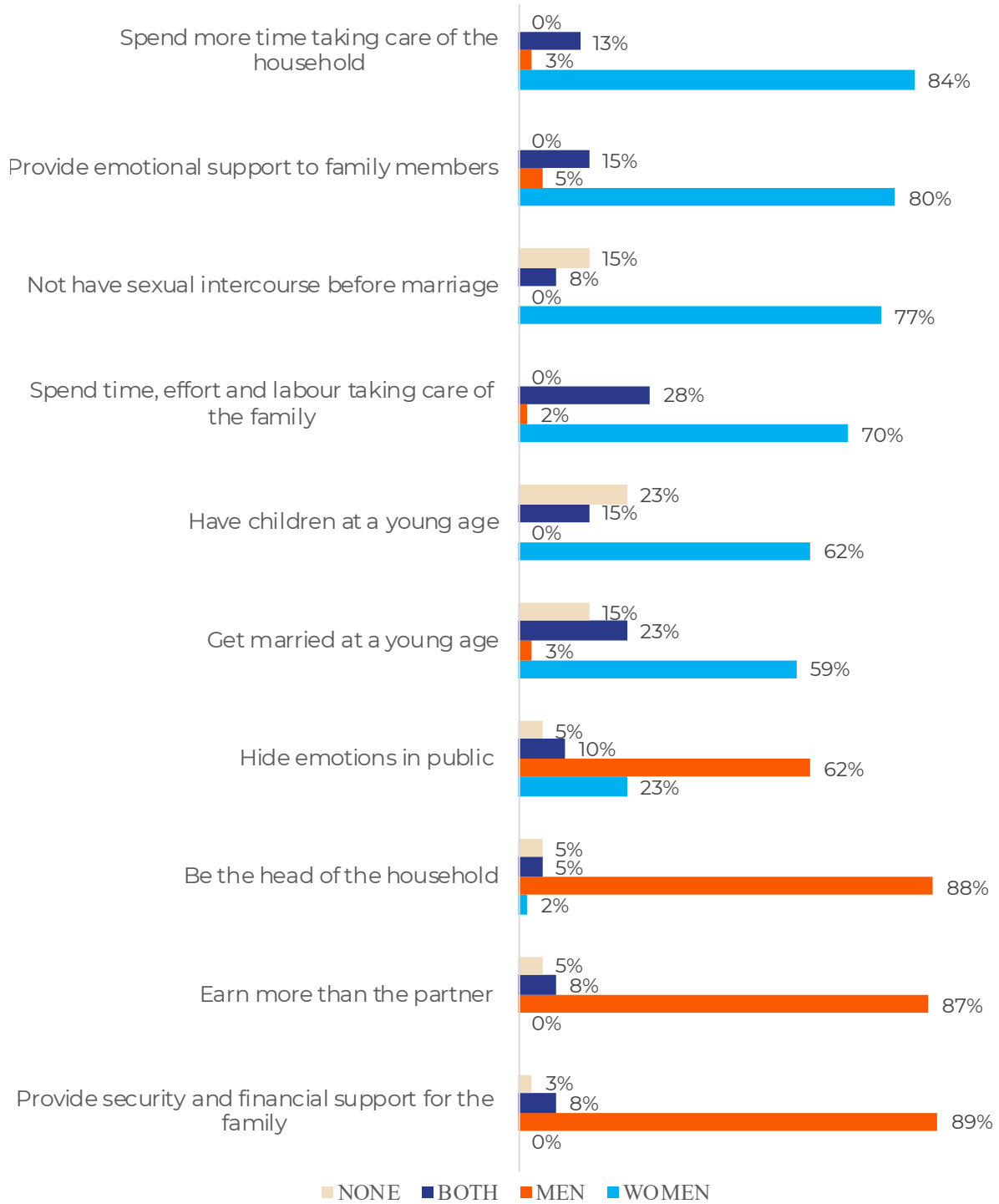Legend: ■NONE ■BOTH ■MEN ■WOMEN

Figure 9. Youth perceptions of stereotyped gender expectations

Besides these current findings, previous studies conducted in Kosovo have shed light on the awareness of youth regarding gender roles in their community, revealing that they not only acknowledge these roles, but also indirectly believe that certain responsibilities should be assigned exclusively to one gender. These findings underline the influential role of families and schools in perpetuating and reinforcing gender expectations and stereotypes. Specifically, one study demonstrated that young men and women hold beliefs that align with traditional gender roles, assigning domestic work primarily to women and girls, whilst expecting men and boys to excel in technical or external tasks (The Youth Attitudes Towards Gender and Social Norms, Development and Human Security in Kosovo, 2022).

The findings highlight the need to address and challenge these entrenched gender expectations and stereotypes within families and educational institutions. By promoting equal opportunities, providing comprehensive gender education, and encouraging critical thinking, both families and schools can play a crucial role in dismantling these harmful norms and empowering youth to make choices based on their interests and abilities rather than conforming to traditional gender roles.

3.2 Gender-based violence

Gender-based violence remains a significant issue in Kosovo. It encompasses various forms of violence, including domestic violence and sexual assault. Despite efforts to address this problem, gender-based violence continues to pose a notable challenge to achieving gender equality and social cohesion in Kosovo.

The situation of gender-based violence was worsened by the Covid-19 pandemic, which witnessed an alarming 11% increase in domestic violence cases during the initial seven months of the outbreak. From March 2020 to the end of 2021, there has been an alarming 28% surge in domestic violence cases. Women bore the disproportionate effect of domestic violence, accounting for 80% of the victims. The data also reveals concerning escalation in violence against children aged 0-18 and elderly individuals over 70 years old during the pandemic.

These findings highlight the severe impact of heightened family pressures during the crisis, leaving women, children, and older people particularly vulnerable to domestic violence (Limani and Limani, 2022).

According to a recent article published by Balkan Insight, in 2022, over 2,700 domestic violence cases were reported in Kosovo. These reported cases shed light on the prevalence of gender-based violence within domestic settings (BIRN, 2023). It is important to note that the reported cases represent only a fraction of the actual domestic violence incidents, as many cases go unreported due to various factors including fear, shame, and societal pressure. The extent of gender-based violence in Kosovo is therefore higher than the reported numbers (BIRN, 2023).

According to the findings in this study, gender-based violence was connected to toxic and militarised masculinity. During the local consultation, youth shared their insights on the underlying factors contributing to domestic violence, with some highlighting the role of mental health issues and economic and social factors, particularly evident during times of crisis such as the pandemic. The devastating consequences of poor mental health were acknowledged, with instances where mothers were harmed by their sons. However, other participants said that mental health alone does not account for all cases of gender-based violence, as violence has always existed to some degree. The pandemic has brought an increased focus on gender-based violence due to prolonged exposure and increased awareness of the issue.

The concept of toxic masculinity was mentioned during the discussion, with instances where being a man is used to justify harmful behaviour. Specifically, the youth brought up a point related to the division of public and private spaces and how it has contributed to gender-based violence. It was noted that the public domain has historically been seen as a space belonging to men, whilst the private domain was typically associated with women. As a result, this power dynamic has fostered a sense of ownership over women, where their actions and behaviours are often controlled. This power imbalance can, in some cases, contribute to the perpetration of violence against women, as it reinforces a mindset that justifies control, dominance and even acts of aggression.

Participants in the discussion also recognized toxic masculinity's detrimental effects on men. They highlighted how societal expectations often pressure men to suppress their emotions, resulting in difficulties in expressing their feelings and seeking support. However, concerns were expressed regarding the lack of security and support from institutions when reporting incidents of violence.

Participants raised the issue of inadequate response and limited access to resources for survivors of gender-based violence, regardless of their gender, which further compounds their challenges. These findings are in line with previous studies, highlighting the rigid expectations set for men re-

garding masculinity can lead to feelings of low self-esteem or depression when they are unable to fulfil these expectations. These previous studies show that men may be less likely to seek help when feeling sad, disappointed, or frustrated, possibly due to associating help-seeking with a perceived lack of masculinity (A Men's Perspective on Gender Equality in Kosovo 2018).

The quantitative findings also show a need to take several steps to combat this phenomenon. As seen in Figure 10, a significant percentage of respondents prioritise increased awareness of gender equality, gender discrimination, and toxic masculinity culture as essential in achieving gender equality and combating sexism, misogyny, and gender-based violence in their community (72%). Other crucial factors include equal employment opportunities and youth-led social movements (including digital activism). These results highlight the need for more awareness, education, representation, and empowerment to tackle the root causes of gender-based discrimination and violence.
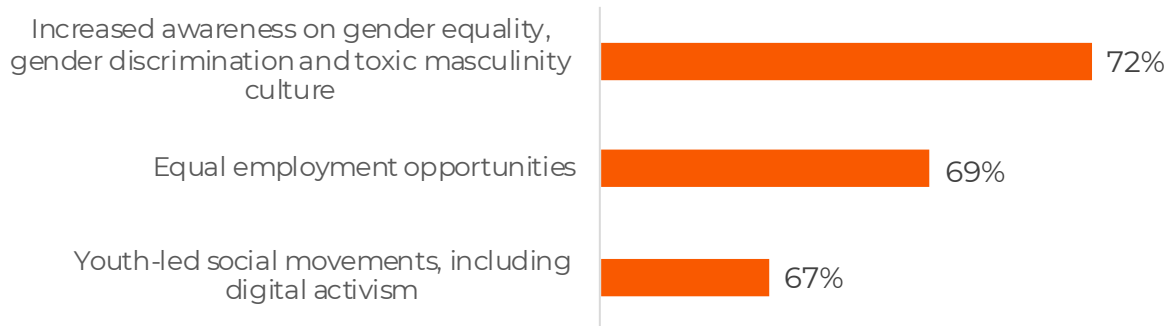
This aligns with numerous previous studies showing that education and awareness-raising are powerful tools for challenging and changing harmful gender norms and attitudes. Sexism and misogyny are topics extensively explored in academic literature, and these studies have furthered our understanding of the roots, manifestations, and potential solutions to these issues. In one of the leading works, Manne illustrates how misogyny can be ingrained in societal norms and structures and often goes unnoticed or is normalised. The authors argue for collective and systemic change's importance in challenging these ingrained biases (2017).

Other studies also emphasise the role of education in tackling sexism and misogyny. For instance, a study by Hill and Kearl (2011) underscores the importance of comprehensive sex and relationships education in challenging sexist attitudes among young people. The study used a representative survey to document the experiences of students from grades 7-12, providing evidence that girls and boys experience sexual harassment and gender discrimination, but girls were more likely to be negatively affected by these experiences.

The report examines how sexism and misogyny can manifest in educational settings from an early age, which also comes from how curricula are designed. It emphasizes the need for education and intervention to challenge and change harmful gender norms and stereotypes that contribute to a culture of sexual harassment.

Therefore, the Kosovo survey results align with broader global trends and research findings, suggesting a universal need for increased awareness, education, representation, and empowerment to tackle sexism, misogyny, and gender-based violence effectively.

In your opinion, which of the following factors would help achieve gender equality and fight sexism, misogyny and gender-based violence in your community? Please, select the three most significant

Increased awareness on gender equality, gender discrimination and toxic masculinity culture **72%**

Equal employment opportunities **69%**

Youth-led social movements, including digital activism **67%**

Figure 10. Youth perceptions of the most helpful factors to achieve gender equality and fight sexism, misogyny and gender-based violence in theircommunity

3.3 Discrimination and Hate Speech

Despite efforts to promote gender equality and inclusivity, young people in Kosovo continue to face various forms of discrimination and unequal treatment based on gender. As mentioned above, high percentages of respondents identifying corruption, discrimination, and hate speech as factors that hinder the development of stronger and fairer societies reflect the pervasive nature of these issues in Kosovo. Focusing on discrimination, Figure 11 shows the percentage of interviewed youth who have personally experienced or/and witnessed discrimination or intolerance based on different grounds.

The findings indicate that gender-based discrimination is a prevalent form of discrimination experienced by youth in Kosovo (26% of respondents) and witnessed by 28% of young people engaged in the survey. Racial or ethnic discrimination is also significant, with a higher percentage of young people witnessing it (43% of respondents) and a considerable percentage of youth personally experiencing it (17% of respondents). 15% of the respondents have personally experienced social status or social background discrimination, and 41% have witnessed it. Most youth engaged in the survey in Kosovo reported not personally experiencing or witnessing instances of discrimination based on migrant status (74%), marital status (56%), or sexuality (54%). However, this result can also be read in connection with the variable degree of young people's awareness of certain personal characteristics that may make them vulnerable to discrimination, which might affect the capacity of recognizing instances of discrimination when witnessed or personally experienced.

Have you personally experienced or witnessed any instances of discrimination or intolerance based on the following grounds?
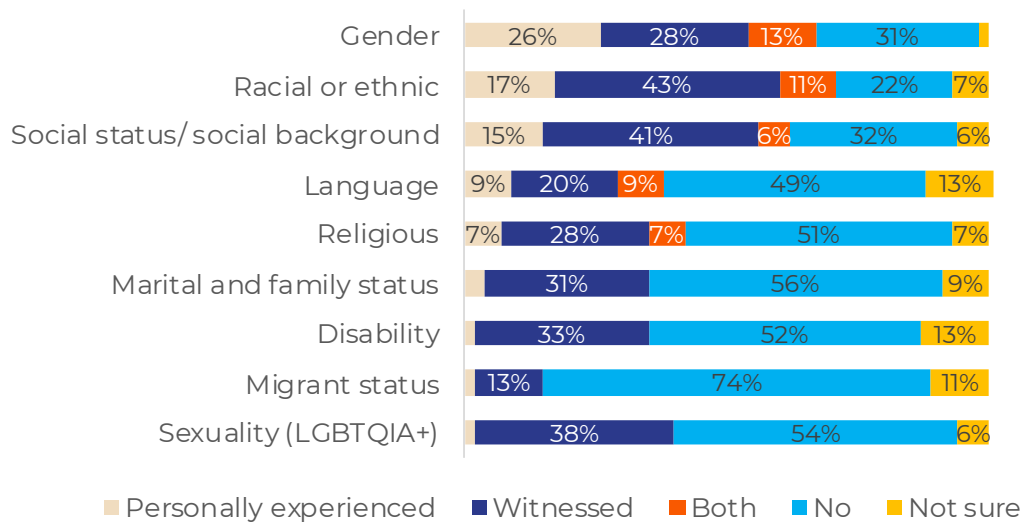
	Personally experienced	Witnessed	Both	No	Not sure
Gender	26%	28%	13%	31%	
Racial or ethnic	17%	43%	11%	22%	7%
Social status/ social background	15%	41%	6%	32%	6%
Language	9%	20%	9%	49%	13%
Religious	7%	28%	7%	51%	7%
Marital and family status		31%		56%	9%
Disability		33%		52%	13%
Migrant status		13%		74%	11%
Sexuality (LGBTQIA+)		38%		54%	6%

■ Personally experienced ■ Witnessed ■ Both ■ No ■ Not sure

Figure 11. Experiences of discrimination[5]

Participants also highlighted workplace discrimination, social media platforms, and decision-makers narratives. One participant shared a personal story:

"As a woman with mobility difficulties, I have not faced discrimination in the family or at school, but at work, when I took the position of ambassador. Every time I walked in an institution, I noticed a change in my colleagues' facial expression and their conversation. I tried to share my experiences and achievements, but the only thing that mattered to them was that I had mobility difficulties."

Participant, local consultation

Additional findings on forms of discrimination were mentioned during the local consultation, where participants emphasised the prevalence of gender discrimination and hate speech in various settings. They emphasised that discrimination is everywhere, starting from the early stages of life as kindergarten and family and extending to various spheres as workspace, school, media and politics. Concrete instances were shared, illustrating discriminatory behaviours and hate speech within educational institutions, particularly targeting individuals with special needs or those from marginalised groups like the LGBTQIA+ community.

---

[5] *4% of participants indicated 'personally experienced' in relation to the category of marital and family status.*
2% of participants indicated 'personally experienced' in relation to the category of disability, migrant status, and sexuality (LGBTQIA+).
2% of participants indicated 'not sure' in relation to the category of gender.

3.4 Proliferation of polarising identity speeches

The proliferation of polarizing identity speeches, particularly those against gender equality, has been a topic of increasing concern in contemporary discourse. Such speeches often perpetuate discrimination and intolerance, targeting specific groups, including women, girls, and the LGBTQIA+ community.

Based on the data collected from participants, there is a discernible acknowledgement of the negative impact of movements against gender equality. When asked to rate their agreement with the statement "The movements against gender equality promote discrimination and intolerance towards women, girls, LGBTQIA+ persons," the average response was 3.62 on a scale of 1 to 5. The findings provide a nuanced understanding of the youth's perspective on the proliferation of polarising identity speeches in Kosovo, particularly those against gender equality.
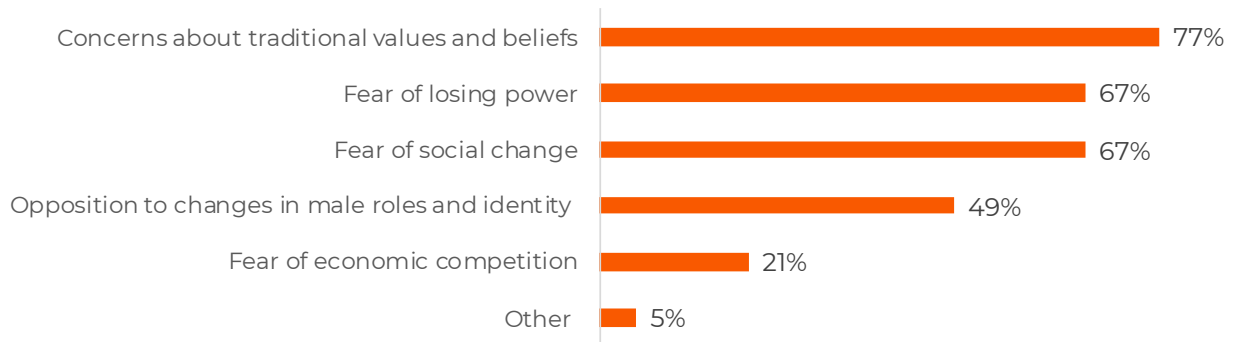
The average rating in response to the statement about movements against gender equality promoting discrimination indicates that a significant portion of the youth recognises and is concerned about the divisive rhetoric.

This suggests that there is an awareness among the youth about the negative implications of such speeches, which can be harnessed to counteract these narratives.

- Concerns about traditional values and beliefs: 77% of respondents believe that these groups are driven by a desire to uphold traditional values and beliefs, which often conflict with the principles of gender equality.
- Fear of social change: 67% of participants feel that resistance to gender equality stems from apprehension about the broader societal changes that gender equality might bring about.
- ·Fear of losing power: 67% also perceive that these groups fear a loss of power, particularly in societal structures where power dynamics have historically favoured one gender over others.
- Opposition to changes in male roles and identity: 49% of respondents think that there is resistance to the evolving roles and identities of men in society, which gender equality movements often advocate for.
- Fear of economic competition: 21% believe that economic considerations, particularly the fear of increased competition in job markets and other economic spheres, drive opposition to gender equality.

Concerns about traditional values and beliefs — 77%
Fear of losing power — 67%
Fear of social change — 67%
Opposition to changes in male roles and identity — 49%
Fear of economic competition — 21%
Other — 5%

Figure 12. Youth perceptions of the main reasons for the existence of political and other groups opposed to gender equality

The reasons identified by the youth for the existence of groups opposing gender equality provide insights into the root causes of such polarizing speeches. The dominant concern about traditional values and beliefs (77%) suggests that cultural and historical contexts play a significant role in shaping these narratives. This implies that any intervention aimed at addressing polarizing identity speeches needs to consider and respect Kosovo's cultural fabric, whilst also promoting progressive values.

The fears of social change (67%) and losing power (67%) highlight that resistance to gender equality is not only about preserving traditional values, but also about maintaining existing power dynamics.

This suggests that polarising identity speeches might be a reaction to perceived threats to the status quo, and interventions might need to focus on alleviating these fears. The opposition to changes in male roles and identity, as indicated by 49% of respondents, points towards a societal transition where traditional gender roles are being challenged. This underscores the importance of educational and awareness campaigns that promote a more flexible understanding of gender roles, benefiting both men and women.

These findings shed light on the multifaceted reasons behind the resistance to gender equality. Addressing the proliferation of polarising identity speeches requires a comprehensive understanding of these motivations, paving the way for targeted interventions and strategies to foster a more inclusive societal narrative.

4. YOUTH PERCEPTIONS OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

Qualitative data gathered indicate that public institutions in Kosovo reflect the existing gender stereotypes prevalent in society. Whilst a significant number of women are employed in the public sector, executive positions and positions of power are predominantly occupied by men. Despite the presence of Law nr. 05/L-020 on Gender Equality, which emphasises the importance of promoting gender equality as a fundamental value in a democratic society, public institutions have been slow in implementing measures to foster gender equality.

Reduced progress has been reported, for example, in the implementation of measures that ensure a minimum representation of 50% of women in these institutions, as stipulated in Article 6(8) of the law. Although individual leaders within the organizations may understand the value of gender equality, there is a lack of institutional mechanisms to implement such principles effectively.

Whilst public institutions may have rules and agendas in place to promote gender equality, the lack of necessary resources, both monetary and technical, hinders their ability to translate these intentions into practice. In addition to the in-depth interviews conducted, the survey also explored youth perceptions of trust in public institutions in Kosovo. The findings indicate that the level of trust in public institutions is relatively low, with an average score of 2.66 on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 represents "not at all" and 5 represents "very much" trust.

Please answer the following questions by indicating your opinion on a level from 1 to 5, where 1 is "not at all" and 5 is "very much"
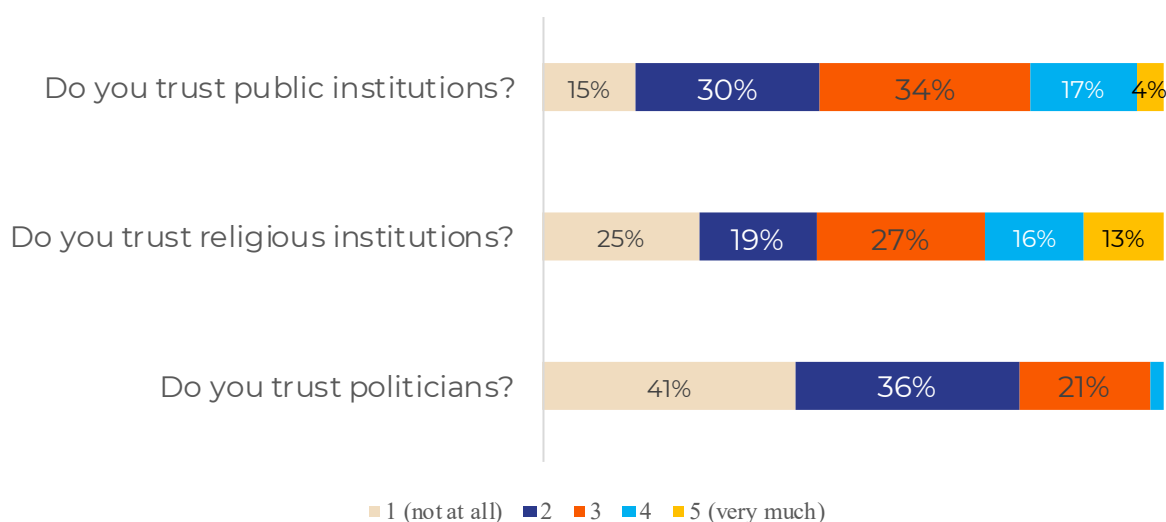

Figure 13. Level of trust in public institutions [6]

The perspectives from the in-depth interviews and local consultations shed light on how the absence of women in public life is seen as having a significant impact on the rise of narratives that perpetuate gender inequalities. Interviewees emphasized that the increased presence of women would challenge cultural norms and bring fresh perspectives since they consider that the limited representation of women in politics reinforces narratives that undermine gender equality. On a related note, youth highlighted the importance of the participation of women in peace negotiations, harnessing their unique perspectives and experiences to strengthen social cohesion:

"Women can help to identify root causes of conflict, address the needs of marginalised groups, and develop comprehensive and durable peace agreements."

Participant, local consultation

The insights collected from youth highlight the need for public institutions in Kosovo to take concrete steps in promoting gender equality and addressing gender disparities. These institutions must move beyond words and implement measures that ensure equal representation and opportunities for women.

Building trust in public institutions requires transparency, accountability, and inclusivity, focusing on hearing and addressing the concerns of young people. By actively promoting gender equality, public institutions can set an example for the wider society and contribute to a more equitable and inclusive Kosovo.

---

6. *2% of participants selected 4 in relation to their level of trust in politicians.*

5. USE OF TECHNOLOGY FOR GENDER EQUALITY AND SOCIAL COHESION: RISKS AND OPPORTUNITIES

The use of technology for gender equality and social cohesion was mostly discussed in the local consultation. Participants in the consultation expressed concerns about the negative portrayal of gender issues in the media and exaggeration in content.

In addition, some participants raised concerns about the role of algorithms in shaping social media content, as they can create an 'echo chamber effect' by repeatedly showing similar content, reinforcing harmful ideologies, and limiting exposure to different perspectives. However, youth also recognised the potential for media, including social media platforms, to positively influence youth by promoting constructive messages and exposing them to new cultures and experiences.

Participants highlighted both the positive and negative aspects when it comes to technology use by youth and activism. Technology can be a platform for positive engagement and activism, where young people can raise awareness, share personal stories, and inspire others. However, there is also a risk of modern media outlets amplifying hate speech, misinformation, and divisive narratives, which requires responsible navigation and developing critical thinking skills.

Overall, these findings highlight the complex dynamics of technology concerning gender equality and social cohesion, emphasizing the importance of promoting responsible use and critical engagement with digital platforms among young people.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS FROM YOUTH

Based on in-depth interviews and local consultation in Kosovo, participants have proposed several recommendations to promote gender equality and social cohesion. The following recommendations emerged from the discussions:

- **Involving youth in public institutions and media**, to help bridge the gap between politics, public opinion, and civil society. A more representative and inclusive society can be fostered by including youth in decision-making processes and providing them with platforms to express their opinions.

- **Enact educational reforms** integrating comprehensive and age-appropriate education on gender equality, consent, healthy relationships, and the consequences of sexism and violence. By including these subjects in the curriculum, young people can develop a deeper understanding of gender issues and contribute to dismantling harmful societal norms.

- **Enact legal and policy reforms** to actively address the issues related to gender inequality and unequal treatment of marginalised groups. This involves reviewing legal content to ensure it aligns with international standards and determining appropriate punishments for gender-based violence and any other form of violence or discrimination. However, the focus should not solely be on the quality of applicable laws but on the effective enforcement of legally guaranteed rights. It is necessary to establish mechanisms for enforcing these rights, providing specialised training for legal professionals, and implementing long-term awareness programmes.

- **Encourage and support activism and community engagement**, particularly in smaller communities where these issues may be more prevalent, to foster grassroots movements that address the root causes of sexism, misogyny, and violence. Youth recognised the importance of sustained activism in raising awareness, advocating for change, and holding institutions accountable.

- **Facilitate open dialogues** where community members can discuss political issues, express concerns, and propose solutions. Encourage respectful debates and active participation to foster a culture of democratic discussion.

- **Provide accessible and reliable information** about local politics, public initiatives, and community events. Establish online platforms, community newsletters, or local radio programs to disseminate information widely.

- **Actively involve young people in community projects** and decision-making processes. Create youth councils or committees where they can voice their opinions and initiate projects that address community issues.

- **Establish partnerships with local NGOs, schools, and universities** to collaborate on community engagement projects. Leverage their resources and expertise to enhance the impact of activism initiatives.

CONCLUSION

The study reveals the youth in Kosovo have a remarkable awareness and understanding of social cohesion and gender equality. They perceive social cohesion as interconnectedness, collective support, equal treatment, and a sense of togetherness, although there is room for improvement.

Corruption, discrimination, and hate speech hinder social cohesion and fairer societies in Kosovo, whereas youth consider equal labor opportunities, access to quality education, and gender equality as crucial factors to achieve a fairer society. Gender inequality remains a significant challenge, perpetuated by cultural norms and patriarchal systems, leading to discrimination. In addition, negative legacies of the past, including historical conflicts and societal norms, contribute to these gender disparities. Thus, empowering youth through equal opportunities, comprehensive gender education, and critical thinking within families and educational institutions is essential.

Addressing gender inequality, discrimination, and negative legacies is vital for fostering social cohesion and building an equitable and inclusive society. Greater youth engagement, comprehensive education, legal reforms, and grassroots activism are crucial for such progress. By considering these recommendations, Kosovo can work towards a more inclusive society that embraces the diversity and potential of its young population.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A Men's Perspective on Gender Equality in Kosovo. (2018). Prishtina, Kosovo.: OSCE Mission in Kosovo/UNFPA Kosovo.

Attitudes of Communities in Kosovo Towards Living Next To & Working Alongside Each Other (2023). Prishtina, Kosovo: IPS Musine Kokalari.

BIRN (2023) 'Share Your Experience: Domestic Violence in Kosovo', Balkan Insight, 13 March. Available at: https://balkaninsight.com/2023/03/13/share-your-experience-domestic-violence-in-kosovo/ (Accessed: 11 July 2023).

Colletta, N.J. et al. (eds) (2001) Social cohesion and conflict prevention in Asia: managing diversity through development. Asian Regional Consultation on Social Cohesion and Conflict Management, Washington, DC: World Bank (Conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction).

Demukaj, V., Maloku, E. and Anyla Beqa (2019) 'Gender Stereotypes and Educational Choices in Kosovo'. Available at: https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.22691.81449.

Farnsworth, N. et al. (2018) Kosovo Gender Analysis. Prishtina, Kosovo: Kosovo Women's Network.

Gender-based discrimination in job vacancies (2023). Prishtina, Kosovo: GAP Institute.

Gusia, E. (2020) The Gender Pay Gap. UN Women.

Hill, C. and Kearl, H. (2011) Crossing the line: sexual harassment at school. Washington, DC: AAUW.

Jagosh, J. et al. (2012) 'Uncovering the Benefits of Participatory Research: Implications of a Realist Review for Health Research and Practice: A Realist Review for Health Research and Practice', Milbank Quarterly, 90(2), pp. 311–346. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0009.2012.00665.x.

Kelmendi, F. (2023) Kosovo's youth: Overcoming challenges and creating opportunities. Vienna, Austria: Österreichische Gesellschaft für Europapolitik (ÖGfE).

Kosovo Program for Gender Equality 2020-2024 (2020). Prishtina, Kosovo: Agency for Gender Equality Kosovo.

Labour Survey 2021 (2022). Prishtina, Kosovo: Kosovo Agency of Statistics.

Limani, Merita and Limani, Meli (2022) 'Gender-Based Violence in Kosovo during the COVID-19 Pandemic', European Journal of Social Sciences, 5(2), pp. 110–126. Available at: https://doi.org/10.2478/eujss-2022-0003.

Manne, K. (2017) Down Girl. Oxford University Press. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190604981.001.0001.

Social Cohesion - OECD (no date). Available at: https://www.oecd.org/dev/inclusive-societies-development/social-cohesion.htm (Accessed: 9 July 2023).

Social Cohesion in Kosovo: Context review and entry-points (2019). Prishtina, Kosovo: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

The Youth Attitudes Towards Gender and Social Norms, Development and Human Security in Kosovo (2022). Prishtina, Kosovo: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Kosovo.

UN Women (ed.) (2018) Turning promises into action: gender equality in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. New York, NY: UN Women.

UNDP (ed.) (2019) Beyond income, beyond averages, beyond today: inequalities in human development in the 21st century. New York, NY: United Nations Development Programme (Human development report / publ. for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2019).