Evaluation of gender disparities from the Balkan countries

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Abstract

Social gaps caused by gender differences were evaluated for the first time by PNUD (UNDP) using two composite indicators: Gender-Related Development Index and Gender Empowerment Measure. Among the criticisms these indicators have been subjected to, we note their inability to adapt its territorial context of the phenomenon. This paper aims the adjustment of an indicator for gender disparity in the particular context of Balkan countries by testing several dimensions of inequalities: cultural stereotypes, reproductive health, unemployment, longevity. The final results extracted by the factor analysis will attempt to identify how certain gender attitudes are dependent or not of the territorial architecture.

1. Introduction

The concern of measuring gender inequalities emerged in the academic and political environment after 1990, along with the awareness of the actual connections between social risks and the presence of these inequalities, also as a result of highlighting the associations between these and economic growth (Dollar and Gatti: 1999). The implementation of the mitigation policies for gender inequalities, in a first stage, involves knowing the causes which lead to the emergence, the emphasizing and perpetuation of these odds, which implicitly assumes solutions for measuring the gender equality/inequality (Branisa et al., 2009). Although there are numerous studies in this direction, the most popularized quantification methods for the gender inequalities are proposed by PNUD (UNDP),

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which produced two synthetic indicators used worldwide: GDI (Gender-Related Development Index) and GEM (Gender Empowerment Measure). Subsequently, these two indicators were subjected to criticism coming from the perspective of the composing solutions for subsequent indicators, and also from the inability to synthesize very different socio-cultural realities. The answer to these inadequacies was the proposal of adjusting correctors or simple adjusted versions of the two already consecrated indicators: Gender-related Development Index, Global Gender Gap Measure, Gender Equity Index, Social Institutions and Gender Index, etc.

Radiography of these indicators raises the following issues: their multi-dimensional character makes difficult an adequate interpretation (Hammer, 2000), normalization and standardization of initial parameters (Djikstra, 2002), the central values used to obtain synthetic indicators hide statistics jamming. Heterogeneity of the variables that make up the indicators of gender inequality is one aspect discussed in relation to the representativity of their results. Firstly, most of the proposed indicators, attach by different methods values that belong to at least three dimensions of inequality: education, reproductive health, income, labor market access, etc.

The problem occurs when indicators are calculated for each of these variables: half of the variables are calculated in the form of participation rates, while the second half would rather prefer the type of female versus male rate. Their final aggregation will always hide statistics interference (jamming). Bardhan and Klasen (1999) raise the issue of income variables calculated within the indicators of inequality, their territorial variation being very high as well as the way in which the registrations made on this chapter differs greatly from one country to another. For example, if the Balkan countries, countries that experienced the communist regime, have as occupational structures peer review practice, all persons who have a minimum agricultural area. The effect is to artificially increase the working active population and income indicators deformation. Moreover a lot of information about income is kept at the household level and not at the individual level, making it difficult to interpret the results for not knowing the redistribution of funds within families (Akder, 1994).

Regarding the standardization of the variables that compose the final indicators, Djikstra draws attention to the statistically heterogeneous nature of the used data. The new indicator proposed by him in 2002, called the Standardized Index of Gender Equality (SIGE), seeks to eliminate most of the previous errors using the standard deviation for each of the five variables that make up the mentioned indicator. Although the version obtained by Djikstra manages to eliminate a significant part of GDI and GEM superficiality, the indicator is sensitive to the availability of data, to international comparisons, and to the proportion of each variable in the final value of the indicator.

The summary of the partial indicators in order to obtain a single quantifiably response, remains an open problem of the literature in domain. World Economic Forum proposes in 2006 a new global indicator for calculating the gender disparity, called Gender Gap Index (GGI). This has the advantage that uses weighting methods to observe the importance of each original variable individually. In addition, all variables are transformed in feminine-masculine type measures. With these new changes, the final indicator will no longer be sensitive to the variance of each component (variables with high variance held a higher weight in the final result.

Quality / Quantity conflict is also admitted by geographical disciplines that prefer in the case of gender studies a more consistent leaning towards the qualitative ones relying on emphasizing the reflective, subjective and personal aspects, contextual knowledge and specific experiences (McDowell, 2002). Not giving up the quantitative approach, geographers recognize the difficulty to approach the gender themes, particularly due to insufficient database selectively collected (Ortiz, A., 2004).

Extremely large differences between the indicators which, at least theoretically, measure the same thing, comes from the effect sub-indicators produce on the final outcome. GDI and HDI included information about revenue in the calculation formula, while GGM replaces the income variable with the differentiated participation in the labor market. The introduction of income variable produces a hierarchy effect on the final outcome, so that countries where purchasing power of the population is higher will grow in the hierarchy, regardless of the its distribution on sexes. Conversely, removing and replacing this variable with indicators for labor market participation will hide structural and statistical deficiencies of registration of active female population. Urbanized countries like Greece will be downgraded and those with a more rural population, active in the primary sector, will grow in the rankings (Romania, Bulgaria Albania).
2. Methodological aspects

Selected study area is limited to nine countries in the region: Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, Albania, Serbia, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. Disparities observation was achieved using variables selected from on the national statistical websites, the preferred statistical-administrative level being NUTS3. For Bosnia-Herzegovina and Albania were used administrative levels intermediate between municipalities and regions, while for Montenegro has been used the national level.

The aspects described in the introductory chapter draw attention to some shortcomings of the indicators used in various sources in order to evaluate the gender inequality: huge diversity of the partial indicators and the failure to observe the presence of a cultural pattern that would favor the inequality, incomplete circumscription of the income variables and their imprecision, elimination of redundancy between partial indicators and their synthesis as a final response, infra-national variance of the used variables creates uncertainty when interpreting the final results.

Each of these three groups of measures may contain one or more variables: one for the economic category, three for the second category and one variable for the last category. The ways in which these variables are recorded must support parametric analysis. Regarding the problem posed by differentiated income variables between women and men, in the present work, the replacement of these indicators with variables of occupational level shall be preferred, the most expressive for the analyzed area being unemployment (female unemployment vs. male unemployment). Errors caused by the presence of a hidden agricultural unemployment will be considered insignificant, given that both sexes are equally exposed compared to occupation plethora record in agriculture.

In the category of socio-demographic indicators two subcategories of variables will be analyzed : in the first subcategory is evaluated women's reproductive health and will use two variables: women overall fertility and infant mortality; in second subcategory difference between men and women in regarding the chance of a long life is evaluated, using as variable life expectancy at birth as an index to quantify sexual dimorphism produced by inequality. In cultural category is preferred an index that would notify the size of macho / sexist attitudes, using as a "proxy" the freedom of expression level of LGBT community, considering that the discriminatory attitudes towards members of this community are strongly correlated with those against women.

Composing a final indicator of gender inequality will take into account the correlation matrix of the five variables entered in the analysis, so that by using the factorial analysis method will eliminate the redundancy between primary variables and by factors association shall identify social, economic or cultural elements affecting most obviously the Gender Equality in the Balkan Peninsula. The use of this method allows obtaining the coefficients for each of the five primary variable introduced in the study of inequality. Return to the original variables will be done starting from the weights derived from factorial analysis and will allow to obtain a final indicator of inequality that will be called Gender Disparity Index. Mapping and territorial interpretation of the indicators obtained will be able to explain the participation of the space component in the formation of inequatable attitudes and will reduce the effect of generalized conclusions that classic indicators of gender inequality tend to formulate at a national level.

3. Infra-regional differences of gender inequalities in Balkan Europe. Gender disparity indicators. A social and economic approach

As we noticed at in the methodological chapter, the remanence or exacerbation of gender disparities from Balkan countries is analysed on the basis of five indicators at county level (NUTS3) which are grouped in three different domains:

a. Economic indicators - the gap between female labour force occupancy and the male one; b. Social and socio-demographic indicators - infant mortality (fig. 1), fertility (fig. 2), sexual dimorphism in life expectancy at birth (or the difference between men and women in terms of chance to a long life) (fig. 3); c. Cultural indicator- free expression of gay population.

For the first two sets of indicators, the specifically goal was not only the spatial distribution of variable values but also the regional character that gender differences customize the evolution of the average indicator. For example, for the female unemployment indicator was not considered sufficient the simply distribution of female population share looking for a job.

So we used a disparity index of unemployment in the two sexes according to the formula:
Idgu - unemployment gender disparity index, UF - unemployed female population, Pf - active female population, Um - unemployed male population, Pm - active male population.

It should be noted that the study focuses on disparities in the direction of observation male - female and not vice versa, considering a priori that the incidence of first situation is much more common. Therefore, for this indicator the value 1 shows perfect equality between the sexes, if greater than 1 indicates an imbalance in the labor market to the advantage of men and the contrary when it falls below 1, indicating an imbalance in the labor market but in favor of women.

In the Balkans, 66 statistical units have a higher unemployment for men than female and for the remaining 79 units female unemployment is higher (fig. 4). There is interesting to analyze the values below 0.75 and above 1.25, showing strong imbalances. Spread female - male is reduced, only 35 units have values less than 0.75 and 42 units have values greater than 1.25, the biggest imbalance being characteristic for Greece (in the EU, Greece has the largest multi-year female unemployment and also the most important gap between feminine and masculine unemployment).

For the second indicator we analyzed the difference between men and women in terms of chance at longevity. As for the first indicator, there was not enough the distribution observation of life expectancy at birth for women, because many areas with inequalities between men and women maintain high levels for this indicator due to genetic factors or ambient (Dinaric population and the Albanians). Because of these differences, many of the researches using the gap between life expectancy at birth for women and for men prefer use of a 5 year equality standard (Klasen, 2006). Such a model assumes that, in a country, there is a gender equality considering that women live on average five years longer than men. Such methodological framework is not always useful, considering that the longevity gap may be higher or lower, depending on the genre particularities: in the former communist countries the alcoholism scourge among men extend this gap without involving equal opportunities to long life for both sexes, the unequal distribution of income affects the life expectancy at birth, which is differentiated for both sexes; but beyond certain thresholds of manifestation, feminization/masculinization process of the urban/rural environments or of the certain socio-professional backgrounds can also hide errors in the subsequent interpretation of the longevity disparity.

Using the correlation techniques, Stephen Bye (2012) identifies the forms the longevity differences between men and women become sensitive to the particularities of the social, economic or geographical context. For the countries from Balkan Peninsula, it is noted that, if the level of urbanization is higher, women tend to increase their longevity gap comparing with the men’s one, as in the case of countries experiencing a balanced distribution of the income, the relations being reverse in countries where the infant mortality is higher than average or where the health system is deficient. In order to reduce the hidden effect of such deviations the next formula was used:

\[
I_{dgu} = \frac{UM/UF}{Pm/Pf}
\]

\( I_{dgu} \) - unemployment gender disparity index, \( UF \) - unemployed female population, \( Pf \) - active female population, \( Um \) - unemployed male population, \( Pm \) - active male population.

In this context, countries such as Albania or Kosovo, where life expectancy at birth for women is higher than the regional average, are downgraded because of the absence of a longevity difference comparing to men according to the regional average. In the same context, the best ranked regions will be those which have a higher life expectancy at birth, and those where the women live longer, and, as opposite, the regions with a low life expectancy at birth and where women live less than men.
Machismo – cultural indicator of gender disparity

The occurrence of community stereotypical attitudes, modified according to religious or traditional customs, generates rigid psycho-behavioural architectures, territorially observable, like the rejection or reticence towards certain sexual/affective displays, considered deflective or simply taboo subjects. Machismo answers to this kind of affective heritages of communities, where the man has held the primary role in society. Meanwhile the woman’s role is distinctly preordained, if not officially, at least on a psychological level. This type of societies circumscribe on the subject of homosexuality an entire synopsis of preconceptions, inhibiting individuals within the behavioural group
deficiencies; community continues to dictate individual behaviour even after the modernization of social structures (the public authority effect is latent de jure, but efficient and manifested de facto).

The inertness of these types of cohabitation, of perpetuating a set of rules perceived within the community and lived by each individual, can assume varying aspects; sociological and psychological studies, and also some studies in gender geography, revealed that the most interesting aspects are noticeable in the case of male subjects (Nast H., 2002, Castaneda M., 2007). Indirectly, human groups tend to give different semiotics to the two situations: affective relationship between two women is viewed with indifference or even compassion and is considered a temporary decision, a solution the two parties of the couple adopt in order to solve easier the vicissitudes of a world ruled by men without implying other meanings due to the more fluid nature of female’s sexuality (Peplau, 2001); affective relationship between two men is analysed a lot more uncompromisingly and is frequently associated with a pagan/dishonouring attitude and sometimes with an illness (Herrek, G., 1988, Ferrand M., 2004).

The apparent absence of homosexual sources from certain communities or the refusal to declare homosexuality freely and without compromises in some societies can identify a cultural deficiency in the alignment of feminine values next to the masculine ones and an acute after-effect of stereotypical attitudes towards the role of every gender. Although incomplete and with numerous imperfections, the database obtained on the gay population of the Balkan countries offers a veridical enough hypostasis on the manner in which homosexual substructures affirm their identity; the research is based on the selection according to NUTS3 of the homosexual male population found on the most important site of online dating (www.gayromeo.com).

In a first phase, we obtain a situation on the repartition of homosexual population in Balkan countries and afterwards, using concentration and specialisation parameters we will follow to what extent gay internet users are subjected to the spatial membership metropolitanization effect, underlining the magnitude and intensity of machismo disparities infra-national and infra-regional. According to the number of gay internet users, we can find more concentration and specialisation coefficients, in order to compass the regions where the gay community advertising on the online dating sites will keep to the standard amount, in our case, the number of adult males (fig. 5). The values greater than 1 will identify the regions where gay community is over-represented at a regional level in relation to the reference unit, whilst the values smaller than 1 will indicate the under-representation; the values greater than 1,5 or smaller than 0,5 are also very interesting. The spatial arrangement of gay internet users indicates a preference of these categories of internet users to post on the address of regions with a high degree of urbanization, preferring anonymity, without offering a photograph and details about the region of origin or the activities developed.

Fig. 5. Gay population concentration index   Fig. 6. Gay equality index
Regions with a high degree of rurality are always under-represented; the differentiation between them is made according to the proximity of some urban centres, available and sufficient in order to obtain a virtual residence close to the selection area. Countries with a more balanced/polycentric urban structure benefit by a slightly more equitable distribution of gay internet users, each regional centre becoming a hub for the cybernetic space (Salonic, Patras, Cluj-Napoca, Iasi, Timisoara, Novi Sad, Nis, Split, etc.). On the contrary, keenly rural spaces don’t manage to create their own cybernetic networks; the small magnitude of the capacity of local interaction between the members of gay space exiles the dating users to the regional or national cybernetic space or throws them in the plasma of virtual interstices, indefinitely situated between the hub and the periphery, known as “others”.

The examination of these particularities of gay internet users infers the procurement of typologies of the analysed space; the way in which “machismo” manages to obtain territorial divisions is extracted from the relation between the following variables: the coefficient of gay internet users concentration on a national scale (IcNAT); the coefficient of gay internet users concentration on a regional scale (IcREG); the weight of internet users on a national scale (P1); the weight of adult males on a national scale (P2). We can express all these in a synthesised way, according to the formula:

\[ I_{ge} = \frac{P2 \times IcNAT \times IcREG}{P1} \]

where \( I_{ge} \) represents the coefficient of equity for the free expression of the gay minority (fig. 6).

As we noticed previously, from the separate study of primary variables, the coefficients develop a visible positive connection with the presence of urban agglomerations or of regions with a high level of urbanisation, capable to ensure an anonymous/discreet space for the users from nearby regions. At the opposite pole we find the peripheral regions, mainly rural or depositary of refractory urban populations, incapable of structuring social networks hidden from notoriety.

4. Variables and factors of gender disparity. Areas of inequality

The detection of deviations towards the medium profile of primary variables is insufficient in order to observe the infra-regional disparities, presenting at the same time the disadvantage of lack of possibility to obtain a hierarchy of the level of equality between sexes, a fact that might reveal focal points where discrimination manifests itself, which are also of reversed contamination regarding the sexist and machist perceptions. In the same train of ideas, the presence of high deviations in the case of some variables, accompanied by reversed deviations for other variables, become relevant only when the redundancy between variables isn’t very high, and the dispersion of values is expressed is approximately equal for all the 5 variables taken into consideration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>CP1</th>
<th>CP2</th>
<th>CP3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LabourForce</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEBd</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>-452</td>
<td>-308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fertility</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-798</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>InfantMortality</td>
<td>-619</td>
<td>-313</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ige</td>
<td>795</td>
<td>-169</td>
<td>-108</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 Correlation between variables and factors

Through factor analysis we can increase or diminish the role played by certain variables in the study of gender disparities. The first step consists in the study of correlations installed between each group of two variables; those who have positive or negative correlations higher than 0.500 are recorded if there are only 5 variables, amid a completely inferential statistical space. Afterwards we observe the relationship between patent and latent variables. The table above (table 1) records the contributions of each variable to the completion of latent variables. We notice that the importance of variables gay equality and infantile mortality is sizeable, considering that they both load factor 1 which explains most of the dispersion (35%) and complete factors 3 and 4. On the other hand, the variable index of concentration of female unemployment doesn’t participate substantially to the development of none of the 3 selected factors of analysis and is more likely a variable with small power of explanation, assimilated in a great measure by
the other variables. Studying the same relationships established between the initial variables and the synthesis factors, we will keep in the final analysis only the first three factors that manage to explain almost 75% of the total dispersion and according to the way in which variables with high correlation are associated, we can rename them as follows:

**CP1 Gender Culture & Place (32% of total variance)** is a factor which estimates the role of the cultural heritage in preserving of some stereotypes of the gender disparity. The consistent participation of the gay equality index variable is explained before the inverse association between the variables: infant mortality and gender disparity for longevity. From this point of view, the factor indirectly assures the evaluation of inequality by which men and women have access to education and health systems, becoming a variable that is extremely sensitive to the ethnical or socio-economic factor.

**CP2 Demo Modern (23% of total variance)** is generated by the significant participation of the fertility variable, partially associated with one of the complex variables for the factor analysis, meaning the gender disparity for longevity. Pairing the two variables with the minus sign reveals a hidden dimension of the longevity index, which tends to mitigate the male-female gap in the context of some areas with significant presence of the rural population. Briefly, this factor causes that, in the Balkans, some areas, which are still incompletely modernized in terms of demographic upgrading, manage, by the traditional family nature, to maintain small disparities regarding the chance for a long life.

**CP3 Work-Equi (18% of total variance)** assesses women’s participation in the economic life of the societies to which they belong. The low representativeness of this axis indicates that, in the studied area, the occurrence of the working female population is a consequence and not a factor of reducing the gender disparity. The presence in the factor of a new complex variable, namely fertility, can be interpreted as a form to preserve, in the Balkan region, a dichotomy between the economic and family life of women. From this point of view, this factor also can be translated as an extension of the reproductive behavior in the economic life of women.

Mapping each factor one can observe the degree of regional vulnerability for each chapter of gender disparities; the cluster analysis unifies in a synthesized form the typology of territorial inequalities in relation to women’s access to the job market health and education services, etc.

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**GenderCulture&Place** (fig. 7) identifies the presence of extremely high infra-national disparities in Croatia’s case, with very high values around the capital or in Dalmatia, but with very low values in Slavonia, an aspect which reveals the culturally composite character of this country, where the main discrepancies between the two regions consist in the difference in perception concerning the woman’s role in society. The same situation is also encountered in Romania, although in a more tessellated form, where the transition through all the categories of classes is less trenchant; still, we identify as in Croatia’s case, the spatially incomplete manifestation of the modernization of the family concept and, in woman’s case, an insufficient detachment between residence and work place (Oltenia and Muntenia seem to quarter the most manifest gender disparities concerning the social role every gender assumes).
Work-Equi (fig. 8) detaches compact territorial structures in the south and the western Balkans. Greece, with the best position in the classification, seems to associate demographic modernization and a rising of occupied active population. It is necessary, though, the reduction of infra-national disparities between the continental part and the insular one, the latter identifying bigger disparities for this coefficient, as women don’t benefit by the same opportunities of access to the job market (Crete, the islands situated north of the Aegean Sea).

DemoModern (fig. 9) describes the way in which female excessive involvement in the family space can produce depreciation, impossibility of decision about conception or/and manifestation of social cankers which imply the erosion of integrity and social participation of the woman. The spatial arrangement of values reveals the influence of two factors: the affiliation to a certain territory, as the state frontiers can also become demographical frontiers, although contamination or infiltrations always bring about convergences (as in the case of Serbian and Romanian Banat); the ethnical and religious component, which can hold a decisive role in the after-effect of some vetust demographical and social behaviours encountered on a regional level (Kosovo with Albanian majority, Central Macedonia and Thrace, both with an important Muslim element, etc.).

The three factors have the capacity to analyse sequentially different chapters in the quality of social and economic relationships between genders and through their weight according to the specific coefficients resulting from the array of contributions, we can obtain a synthesis coefficient to extract a hierarchy of administrative units in Balkans in terms of gender disparities (Gender Disparity Index - GDI) (fig. 10). The resulted hierarchy of GDI, completed by cluster analysis, captures the following features of the Balkan societies (fig. 11):

In Greece, most prefectures forma privileged class at the regional scale, having average positive deviations for all the analyzed factors. Crete and North Aegean dorsea particular model, with negative deviation on the last factor, which suggests a deficiency of the female population’ access to the labour market as well as a decrease in the indices of vitality compared to infra-regional male population and the inter-regional female population. Bulgaria offers the profile of a country with divergent, sometimes contrasting behaviours and attitudes regarding the female/male social report. Modernization of social life is the prerogative of large urban centers, the metropolisation effect of non-machist attitudes being very strong for this country. North and south-eastern areas remain dependent on predominantly traditional values, all factors showing negative deviations.

![Fig. 10 The typology of gender inequality](image1)
![Fig. 11 The distribution of Gender Disparity Index](image2)

Although Romania hides some big contrasts in gender disparities indicators’ hierarchy, this does not highlights territorial segregation, the extreme cases being evenly distributed. The index’ lowest values are completed by
counties where the multi-variate analysis reveals very high vulnerabilities to factor I, showing the presence of selective fertility attached to rural spaces or to the presence of ethnic minorities. Units with positive deviations from factors 1 and 2 are sensitive to two types of territories: the ones modernized by metropolization and the ones modernized by socio-behavioural contamination (Bucharest and counties form the center and the west of the country). Ex-Yugoslavia is the most heterogeneous area from the Balkans, certain behaviours being responsive to the socio-spatial borders created by the emergence of the new states. It can be summarized by pointing out two types of spaces: the “macho” spaces - reluctant gender stereotypes’ change, with large efficiencies in providing equal opportunities to men and women, both in the social and economic life (Macedonia, Bosnia Herzegovina and areas from Croatia with a Serbian population majority before 1990-Krajna and Slavonia); spaces of justice – without large imbalances between men and women, some being for a long time under the Occidental influences, others modernized by advanced urbanization (coastal Croatia and Zagreb, Central Serbia and Vojvodina, Montenegro). Albania and Kosovo offer the extreme cases of two countries incompletely spatial correlated to the values of the region they belong to. Here the ignoring of recent legislative harmonization perpetuates sexist and macho behavior and the role of women remains strongly peripheral.

5. Conclusions

Using specific indicators in the study of gender disparities is an approach based mostly on non-parametric analysis or on subjective variables, sensitive to the perception of respondents regarding the response form. They became useful in the process of quantifying the discrimination when applied at international scale and to populations to which the representation of female and male values are not tributary to one single model. It is the case of the indices quantifying the women’s satisfaction and respect comparing to men’s, with questionable results when applied to very religious, traditional or autarkic societies. The disparity between women and men can find useful answers also in the alternative forms of manifestation of the society, for example in the collective attitude towards the "third gender", the macho and anti-gay behaviour being the hidden forms of sexism and rejection of feminine values.

From the territorial perspective, the used indicators reveal the presence of numerous features induced by local specific. Gay Equality index is the variable that explains most of the forms of gender disparity in the Balkan countries. The indicator develops a positive addiction towards the metropolitan areas, opposite to the isolated territorial structures or rural population high share structures. The significant contribution to the formation of the first axis reveals that, in the Balkan countries, although the legislation related to the gender discrimination problems has been aligned to the Community one, the stereotypical operating forms of the societies can overcome the legal normality. There is clear partnership between the territorial structures, which are still in the demographic modernization process, and those with persisting gender disparities. Although these partnerships can hide the ethnic or confessional patent of the analysed units, the resulted factorial pattern indicates that, within the Balkans, changing the demographic behaviour of the population structure involves an upgrade of gender attitudes.

This study reveals the duplicitous behaviour of “life expectancy at birth” variable. The differential set up of the first two factors, where the indicator takes part with opposite signs, draws attention towards the complex nature of the variable and to its prudent use for the gender studies.

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