

“GENDER TRANSITION” AND DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT: SOME ISSUES OF POPULATION POLICY

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Demographic development is a process of evolutionary quantitative changes and revolutionary qualitative changes that is movement on stages of demographic transitions. In demographic researches the significant amount of concepts of transitions from one qualitative condition of the population to another is saved up. Besides classical first demographic transition on change in birth rate and death rate (Landry, 1934; Notestaine, 1945) by this time formulates concepts of "the second demographic transition» on change in reproductive and matrimonial behavior, in system of values (van de Kaa, 1987; Lesthaeghe, van de Kaa, 1986) and «the third demographic transition» on changes in ethnic structure of the population in connection with mass immigration (Coleman, 2006). Besides, in early of 1970th concepts of "epidemiological transition» about change of structure of the reasons of death rate have been formulated (Omran, 1971) and «mobility transition» about change of structure of migratory streams (W. Zelinsky, 1971).

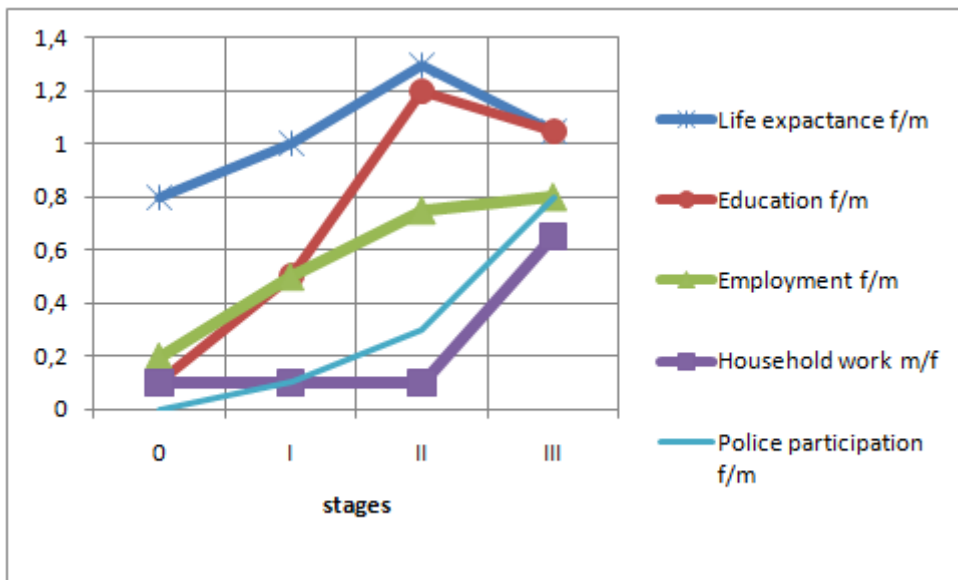
We propose that gender factor is the key and complex factor of the most of demographic changes. To analyze qualitative changes in demographic development under the influence of the factor of gender equality, we have developed the concept of “gender transition”, describing stages of these changes at movement on transition stages. “Gender equality” we define concept as equality of the rights, possibilities and self-values of the identification of men and women (and their roles). At once we will notice that the concept of “gender transition” covers not only demographic development, but also social and economic development (Kalabikhina, 2009). But in given paper we will concentrate the attention to use of this concept for the analysis of demographic development. The research issue to be addressed to building a concept of “gender transition” in demographic development. One of the main idea is that gender factor complex influences demographic development (dynamics of fertility, sex difference in mortality, qualitative changes in migration flows). This study is connected with description of stages of “gender transition” and classification of some countries by these stages. The purposes of the study is to estimate dynamics of indicators of “gender transition” and to formulate the perspective approach to population policy.

Theoretical framework are the following concepts: “second demographic transition” (van de Kaa, 1987), “feminist paradox” (Chesnais, 1996, 1998); “gender equity in fertility transition” (McDonald, 2000). Data: UN Statistic Databases (UNECE Statistical Division Database, LABORSTA ILO EAPEP version 5, etc.); «Devision» Database (<http://devision-dmo.econ.msu.ru/>).

Development of gender equality influences demographic development through influence of operating conditions of various social and economic institutes (development of equality of these institutes) on demographic behavior of the population. The basic institutes, in our opinion, are the labor market and a household. “Gender transition” (transition to gender equality it is consecutive in different spheres of live) has claims for universality, contains the stages of transition. At the first stage gender equality starts to get into public institutes, on the second one - there is a considerable backlog household institutes from public concerning development of gender equality, on the third one – household institutes "catch up" with the public ones in gender development¹.

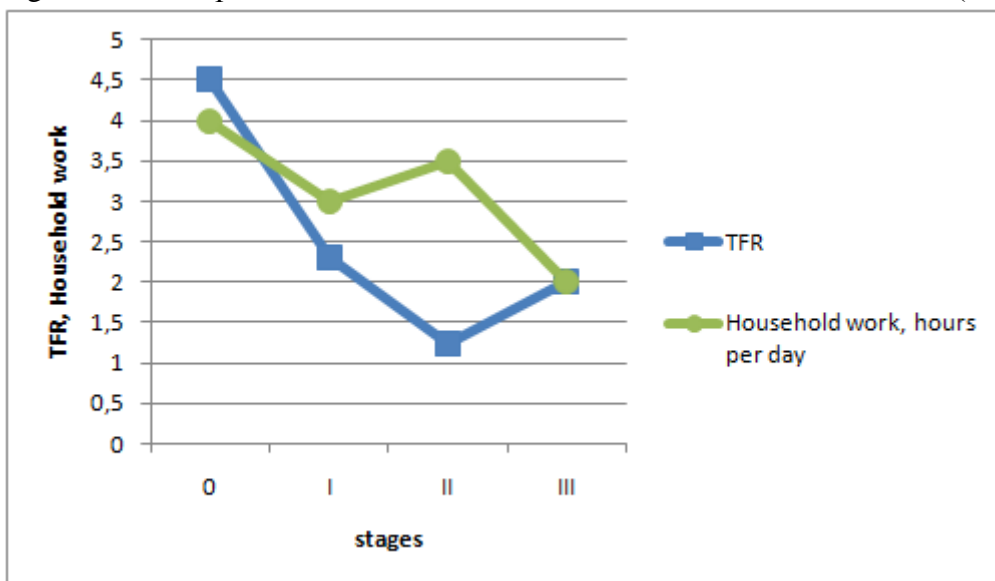
Let's present the scheme of “gender transition”, consisting of three stages (fig. 1,2). The zero stage describes level of the basic indicators of “gender transition” in pretransition stages. The indicators of “gender transition” are female/male ratios of some variables (life expectance at birth, education level, employment participation and policy participation level); male/female ratio of household work participation; total fertility rate; female household work participation.

Fig.1. Conceptual Scheme of “Gender Transition” (relatively indicators)



¹ McDonald (2000) could these institutes as individual-oriented and family-oriented institutions. Fertility falling in many developed countries to the level which is not providing simple reproduction, connect with the contradiction between high level of gender equality at the individually-oriented social institutes and "the fallen asleep" gender inequality of the family-oriented social institutes.

Fig.2. Conceptual Scheme of “Gender Transition” (female indicators)



Dynamics of development of gender equality basically public and household institutes (that is dynamics of level of female employment, an educational level of women and participation in household work) on stages of “gender transition” to an example of the concrete countries (the most advanced on the way «gender transition») is represented on figures in Appendixes.

The basic driving factor of “gender transition” is non-uniform development of gender equality in public and household institutes. Stability of a gender inequality in distribution of house work has allowed to isolate a separate stage in “gender transition”, influencing on economic and demographic development of a society. The reasons of such stability are discussed in the modern economic literature in a context neoclassical or institutional models of an economic exchange (in which house work is offered in exchange for material support) or in culturological model of “the gender display” (in which gender relations regulate symbolical displays of femininity and masculinity through rigid division of roles in a household). According to models of an exchange (dependence), growth of economic independence of the wife will increase level of participation of the husband in house work, and on the contrary. According to model of “the gender display”, growth of economic independence of the wife will reduce level of participation of the husband in house work to compensate discrepancy of a man's role. We will notice that empirical researches confirm viability of both concepts, and, reaction of women is more entered in the exchange concept, and reaction of men – in the concept of “the gender display”. Wives carry out the more homework, the in a greater degree they depend on men. Men carry out the less homework, than in a greater degree they depend on women. Least help on the house it is long jobless husbands and the husbands having the salary lower, than at the wife. One of explanations more adherences of men to “gender-display” behavior is given by sociologists through the description of asymmetry in the course of gender identity – the social law of masculinity demands constant acknowledgement and does not suppose deviations from "norm" (Bines, 1994).

The first stage of “gender transition” - equity development in public sphere (involving of women in sphere of paid employment and the first levels of education). For this stage there are the following demographic and social changes:

- Fertility decrease (to reproductive level of or it is a little above). Fertility falling restrains, in particular, operating while preferences in a birth of sons. Expansion of access of women to planning of a birth of children and protection of reproductive health, legalization of abortions.
- Display of a priority prize of women at movement on stages of epidemiological transition, decrease in maternity mortality, growth of male overmortality.
- (Growth) participation of women in the international migration mainly for the family reasons.

All these changes occur against decrease in absolute volume household work (as a result of growth labor-save technologies in the housekeeping, developing system of social support for children, changes of the relation of working women to quantity of "necessary" house work), but rigid preservation of asymmetric gender distribution of house work.

The second stage – adaptation to developing equality in a public order (proceeding growth of level of participation of women in paid employment, involving on the third level of education) and preserved patriarchy household order:

- Decrease in fertility below reproductive level, putting off of marriages and births, phenomenon occurrence «child free» (conscious childlessness). Growth of the price of time of the woman and change of system of values - the important factor in dynamics of reproduction of the population.
- Continuation of growth of male overmortality, backlog of men in advancement on stages of epidemiological transition.
- Active involving of women in labor migration (mainly in the spheres connected with the offer of reproductive work in a broad sense of this word: nurses, service of private households, service sex; that is in spheres mainly female, often not qualified, informal, employment). Excess of a share of women in the general stream of the international labor migration over a share of men in end of the second stage of transition.

All these changes occur against growth of absolute volume household no-charge work (in a greater degree at women of middle generation) owing to: 1) ageing of the population and the arisen necessity simultaneously to look after children and aged members of a household, 2) growth of a share of small households (in connection with growth of nuclear families, the effect of economy on scale decreases), 3) growth property (and housing) security of families. And also preservations of asymmetric gender distribution of house work.

At this stage there can be a strengthening of the conflict of parental and professional interests («the double working day»), because of the preservation conflict imperious relations in a household.

Each country has the peculiar features of passage of stages of “gender transition”. Depth of falling of fertility, for example, substantially depends on the social policy of the state capable or incapable to smooth the conflict of professional and reproductive interests of the woman. For example, in Russia (and in other countries on the post-Soviet territory) in 1990-2006 the scenario of the second stage of “gender transition” has been aggravated by inability of the state to smooth

the professional and parental conflict. Besides, there was a return gender transition, recoil to the first stage, characterized by strengthening patriarchy gender order which has led to the whole set of negative consequences for men and women, to recession in gender development (Kalabikhina, 2009).

The third stage of “gender transition” – equality development in household sphere, a future stage. It’s characteristics:

- Fertility increase, realization (and growth) reproductive attitudes (f.e., to reproductive level or about it in the countries where fertility decline at the second stage was essential).
- Decrease in gender gap in mortality.
- Growth of a share of labor migrants-women in the spheres connected with the offer of highly skilled work; alignment of a numerical parity of men and women in migratory streams.

At this stage there is a decrease in absolute volume of household work as a result of revolutionary growth technologies in housekeeping (probably, along with development of system of social services within the limits of care economy). But revolutionary changes are connected with more uniform gender distribution of not paid house work, involving of men in education of children and housekeeping maintenance.

Some stages of “gender transition” are crossed with stages of classical (first) demographic transition. For example, zero, first and second stages of “gender transition” correspond to the first, second and third stage of demographic transition. In particular, at the first stages of demographic transition it is considered to be one of the recognized reasons of decrease in fertility was growth of educational level of women. It speaks also that is considered one of major factors of demographic transition involving of women in an education and employment. “The second demographic transition”, describing changes in reproductive and matrimonial behavior, as the explaining factor offers transformation of system of values, an individualization in development of a human society. These changes coincide with end of the second stage of “gender transition” when fertility decreases below reproductive level. The individuality priority to the detriment of a clannishness and domesticity became possible substantially thanks to development of equality of institutes in public sphere, thanks to the appeared possibility at each member of a household, and first of all at women, not to depend on incomes of a working member of a family.

Today we understand that in the low-level fertility countries material support of the families, wishing to give birth to children does not suffice. Change of system of values, increase of reproductive attitudes is necessary. A necessary condition for change of system of values is presence of resources which can support such changes. In discussion on increase of reproductive attitudes we often forget about the politician that not household income, but time of the woman becomes the limited resource in the modern developed societies. In this respect the third stage of “gender transition” expands volume of a resource of time for the woman because of equality growth in household institutes.

Besides, modern understanding of equality as equalities of self-value of gender groups, can be reached at the further change of system of value at women and men towards harmonization of roles in a household and on a labor market at different stages of life cycle, towards the equal

relation and equal "estimation" of traditionally "female" and "man's" roles. This message of the concept of "the second demographic transition» (change of system of values) can be the factor of a finishing stage of "gender transition".

In the country rather low fertility is combined with rather considerable quantity of time spent by women on work in a household. In the countries with very low level of fertility and a high educational level and employment among women we consider as the basic measure of increase of fertility involving of men in house work, first of all, on care of the child, strengthening of institute of paternity, carrying out of a policy which will lead more equity division of roles in a household, along with the developed and differentiated system of child care.

Policy of harmonization work and life as a rule leads to higher possibility of second birth in below-replacement fertility countries (Olah, 1998; Adsera, 2006; McDonald, 2006).

In our studies in those countries, where the gender policy (at level of national programs and action plans, so cold "gender mainstream policy") it has started to be carried out already about 1980th, in these countries «gender transition» in fertility is coming to the end, having entered the third stage. Gender-oriented policy was in the countries where been started 1) supported parenthood, instead of the only motherhood (f.e., father leave on care of the child was entered), 2) the developed system of child care, 3) flexible modes of employment and harmonization of work and life balance.

As far as concerns male overmortality it can be connected with conflict between ideal requirements to men, as to "breadwinner", and a real situation at which there are two-salary families, a competition to women on a labor market, washing out of role specialization in marriage. On an example of the countries with transitive economy growth of gender gap in life expectancy (mainly at the expense of growth of man's death rate from the external reasons (suicides, murders and so forth), illnesses of system of blood circulation) has coincided with the Renaissance patriarchy families in these countries against a two-salary family as basic model of a family, growth of criminalization and instability of environment. In "the advanced" countries from the point of view of "gender transition" ideals come to conformity with a reality: both men, and women at different stages of life cycle can choose for themselves dominant roles. Refusal from patriarchy models of gender relations (for example, a role model of "macho" as extreme degree of display an patriarchy order) can reduce risk of man's death rate at able-bodied age from the external reasons and illnesses of system of blood circulation.

Described before the concept of "an economic exchange" and "the gender display" can be used in an explanation of dynamics of gap in life expectancy of women and men. According to the concept of "an economic exchange", the man "pays" in the health for the right and a duty to be "breadwinner", to dispose of resources in a household, for "the first places" on a labor market, for intensive career, high employment, highly paid work in harmful working conditions. And the woman in exchange for economically state of dependence receives more flexible mode of time, less stressful living conditions that as a result positively affects its life expectancy. According to the concept of "the gender display", the social law of masculinity which demands constant acknowledgement and does not suppose deviations from "norm", holds men in constant stress from necessity to prove the courage, the «normality». Besides, worse vital behavior of men (alcohol consumption, a tobacco smoking) - one more possibility to prove the courage.

At the first stage of “gender transition” the man receives “payment” wholly, the exchange is high-grade: it has the right to occupy also a duty “the first places” on a labor market, but also the duty in a family has the right to dominate also, to dispose of family incomes. In a stage of an aggravation of the conflict in equality development of public and household institutes (the second stage of “gender transition”) it is necessary to occupy from the man only a duty «the first places» on a labor market. The unconditional right to «the first places» to a labor market at it does not remain, women get access to a labor market and compete to men. In household sphere also the man loses the unconditional right to domination as women more and more become economically independent. For a duty to be “breadwinner” (the society still makes to “normal” men the demand to be “breadwinner”, “to contain a family”) the man only receives “right” to be released from house work. Backlog of household spheres in development of gender equality at the second stage of transition is shown basically in non-uniform distribution of budgets of time of men and women. And it involves a problem of the “double” working day for women and, as reaction, refusal of a birth of children.

Public institutes cannot develop, be modernized, without household ones. Otherwise we observe negative consequences in demographic development – grows of gap in life expectancy, fertility essentially decreases. Men “pay” in the health and a short life, women “pay” in refusal of a birth of children (probably wished).

Changes in migration in frameworks of “gender transition” occur concerning quantitative parameters - feminization of the international migration, growth of a share of women in labor and educational migration amplifies. Changes in migration in frameworks of “gender transition” occur as well concerning qualitative parameters: a considerable share of women-migrants at the second stage of “gender transition” work in sphere of reproductive work in a broad sense this word, on the third – in the more socially protected and highly professional sphere. The countries, in which women migrate for employment by reproductive work in the broad sense of the word, low qualified “female” work, as a rule, are or at the third stage of transition, or in the end of the second. Partially there is a replacement of “female” work by work of immigrants from less advanced countries. Thus, in the arrival countries development of gender equality in public consciousness as immigrants reproduce a patriarchy gender order can be braked. In the countries of departure the situation with development of gender equality owing to migration of women can develop in two directions. On the one hand, the patriarchy gender order can amplify: in spite of the fact that women leave the families, the children and go on earnings, they position themselves as the good mothers, earning to the children on formation and other needs. Morokvasic (2007) and Keough (2006), for example, studying postsocialist female migration, tell about updating, but not motherhood deconstructions, about “new moral economy”, about new concepts of family responsibility, the rights and relations, but nevertheless in a channel a patriarchy gender order. On the other hand, in the departure countries female migration can provoke development of gender equality, sharply changing a life of women concerning freedom of acceptance of daily decisions, occurrences even small own money resources (it, more likely, concerns immigrants from the countries of southeast Asia).

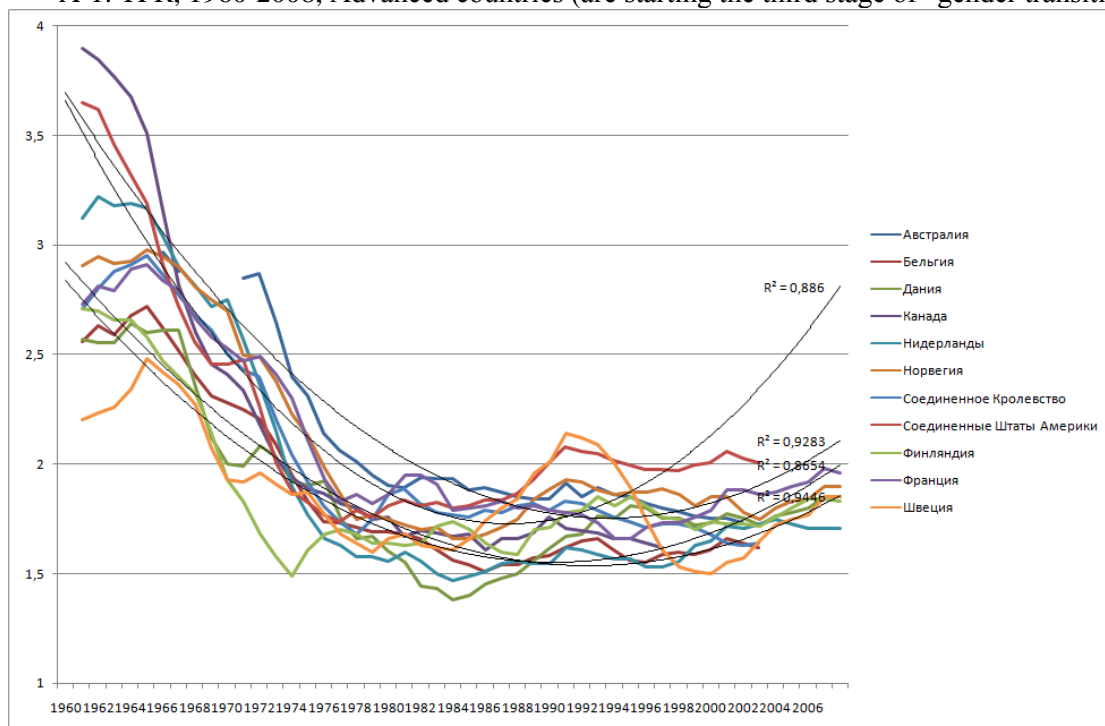
In given paper we have resulted influence examples of “gender transition” to population reproduction mainly in those countries where transition was included into the finishing stage (the countries of “the state feminism”, the countries which are carrying out gender policy in this or that form about 1980th, for example, these are countries of Northern Europe, the English-

speaking countries (Australia, Great Britain, Canada, the USA)); a number of the countries are in the end of the second stage, where crisis already is planned (for example, the countries of Southern Europe, some countries of the Central Europe, Japan, the countries in which the gender policy or its elements started only about second half 1990th); some countries are still far from an exit from the second stage (Russia and the majority of the CIS countries which have endured the Renaissance of a patriarchy family).

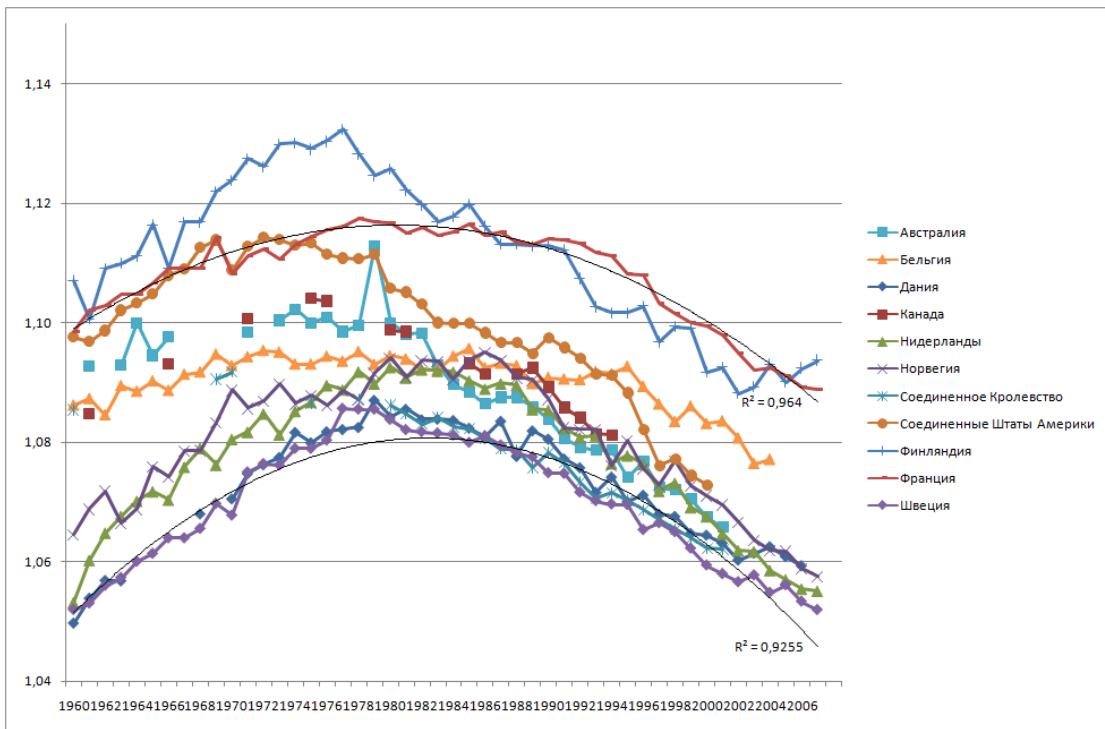
Thus, the concept of “gender transition” describes trends in demographic development (dynamics of fertility, gender gap in mortality, quantitative and qualitative changes in migration) in a context of development of gender equality at public and household institutes. According to a concept of “gender transition” we conclude that policy of gender equality in the framework of population policy is key way to more effective population policy (particularly for low-fertility countries in the terms of growth of fertility up to about reproductive level, of reduce of male overmortality, of balance of migration flows).

Appendixes.

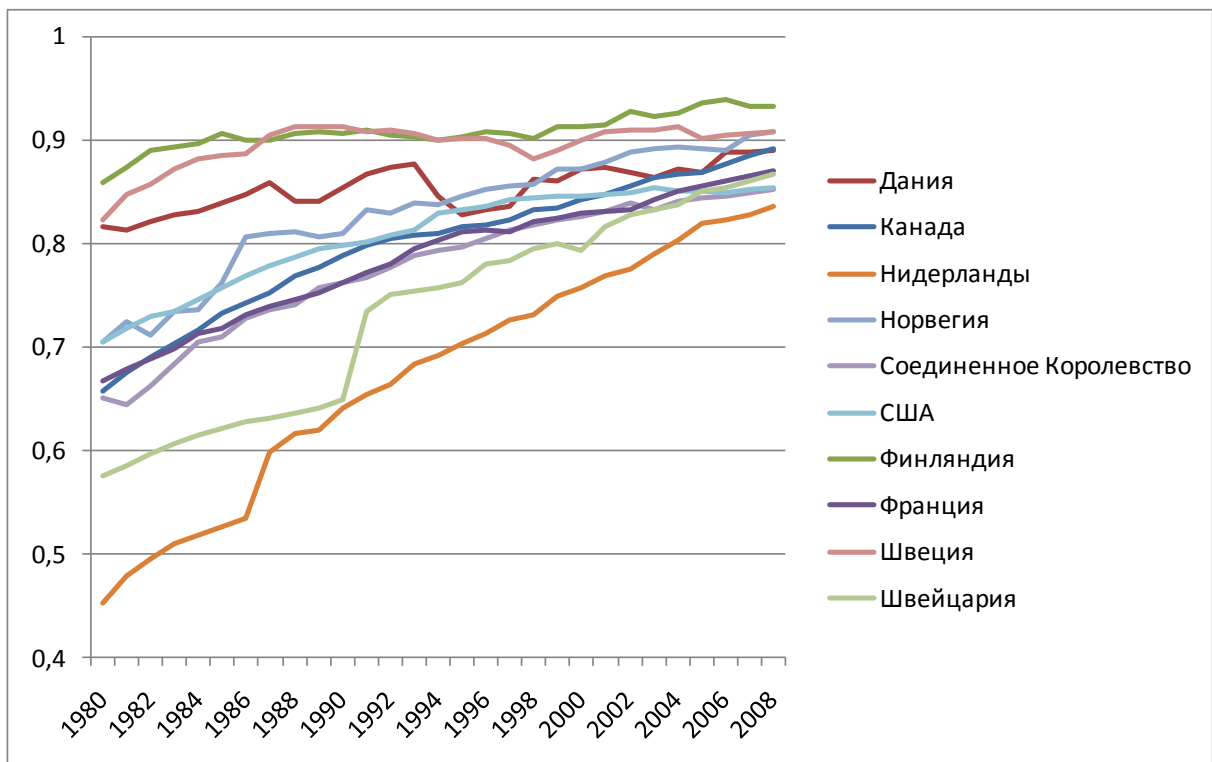
A-1. TFR, 1960-2008, Advanced countries (are starting the third stage of “gender transition”)



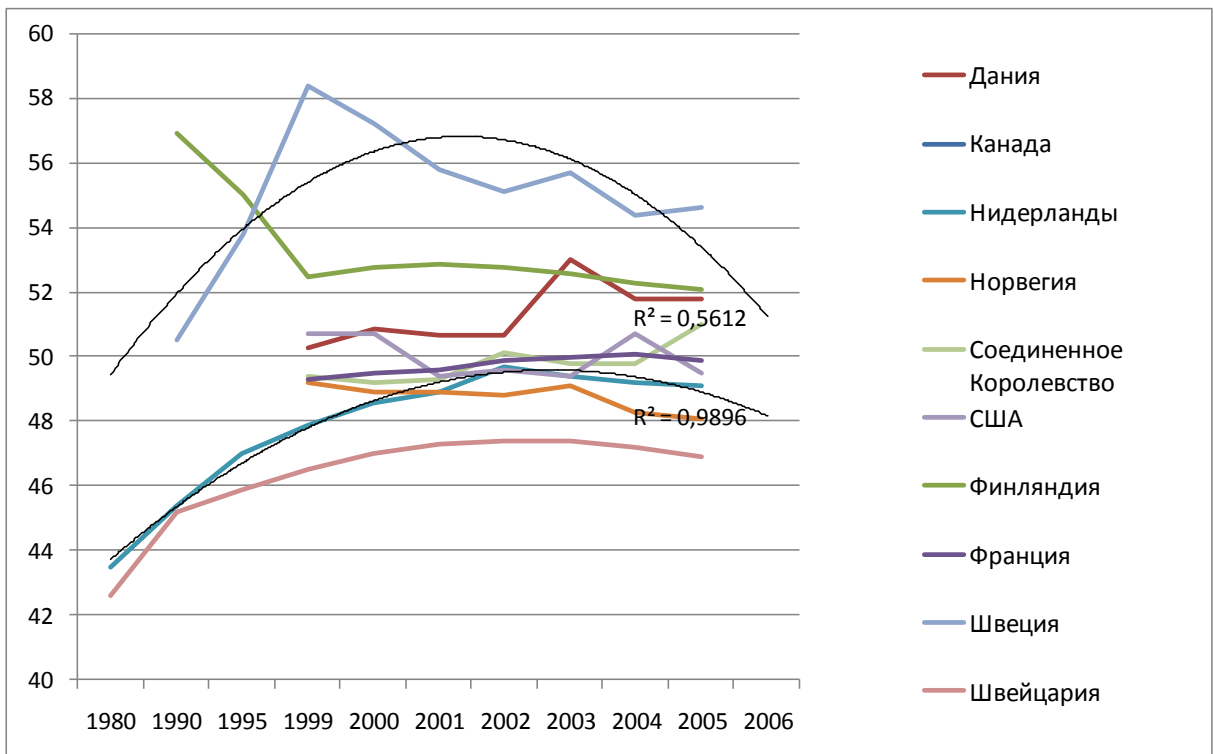
A-2. Gender gap in mortality, 1960-2008, Advanced countries (are starting the third stage of “gender transition”)



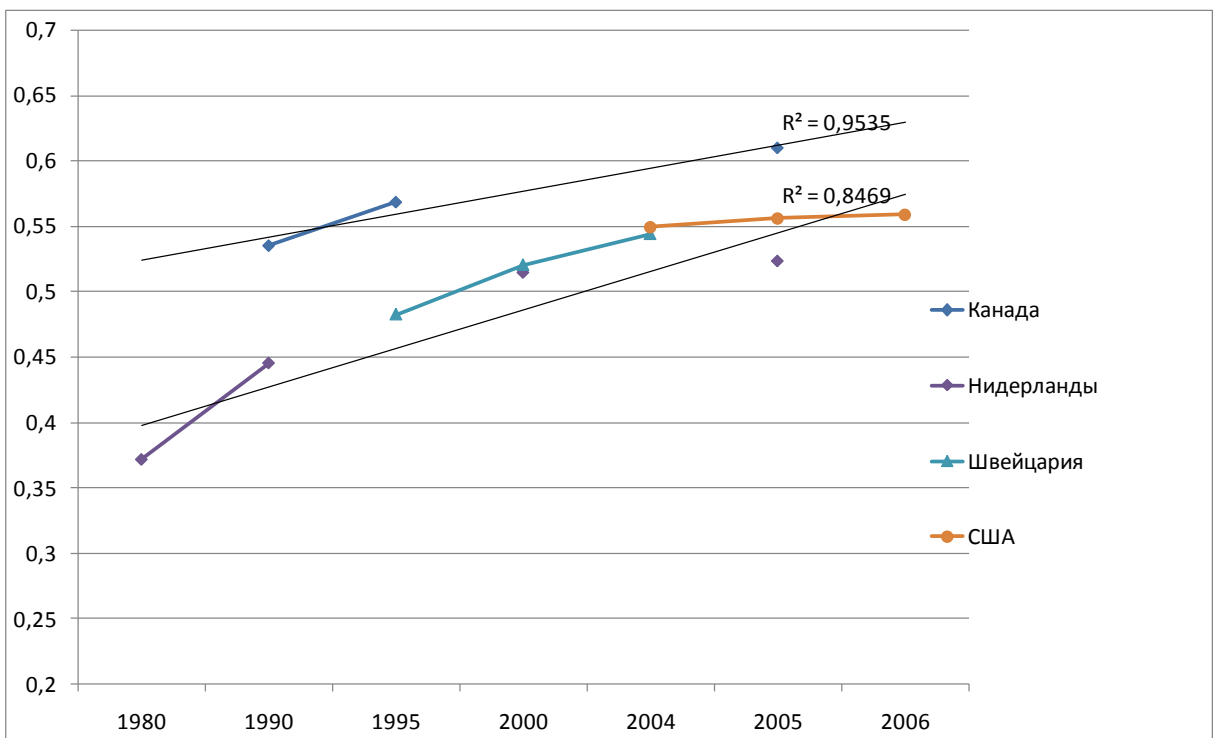
A-3. Economic activity ratio (female/male), 1980-2008. LABORSTA ILO EAPEP version 5
<http://laborsta.ilo.org>



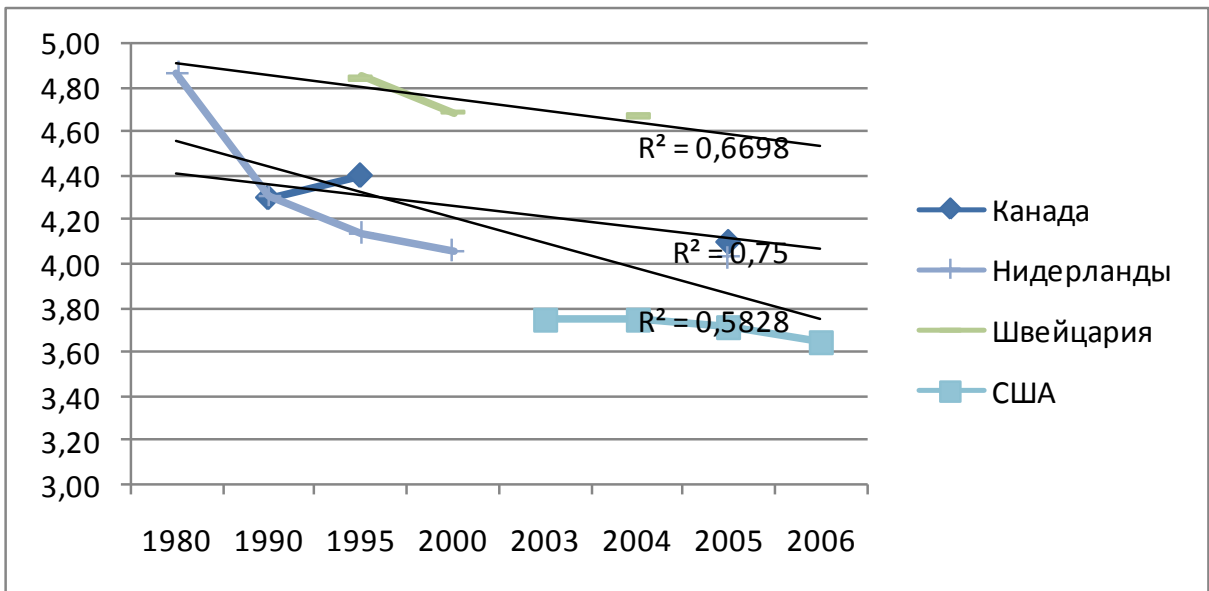
A-4. Female share on third level of education, 1980-2006, %. UNECE Statistical Division Database, compiled from national and international (Eurostat and UNESCO Institute for Statistics) official sources



A-5. Ratio of household work participation, male/female, 1980-2006. UNECE Statistical Division Database <http://w3.unece.org/>

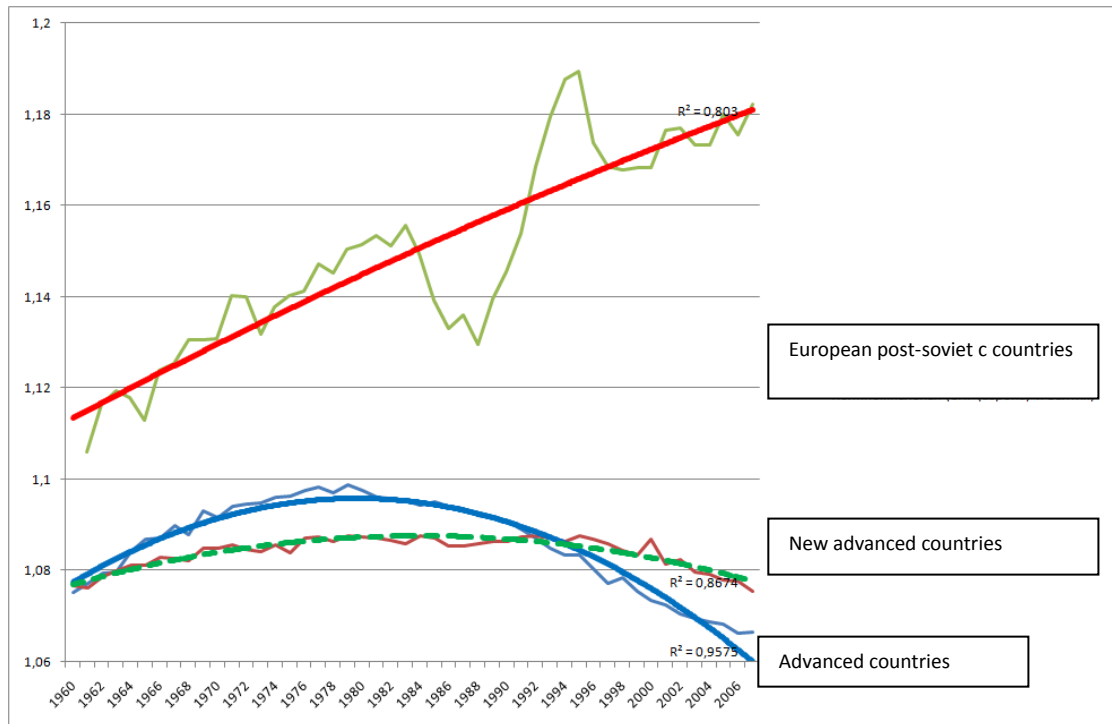


A-6. Female household work, 1980-2006, hours per day. UNECE Statistical Division Database <http://w3.unece.org/>

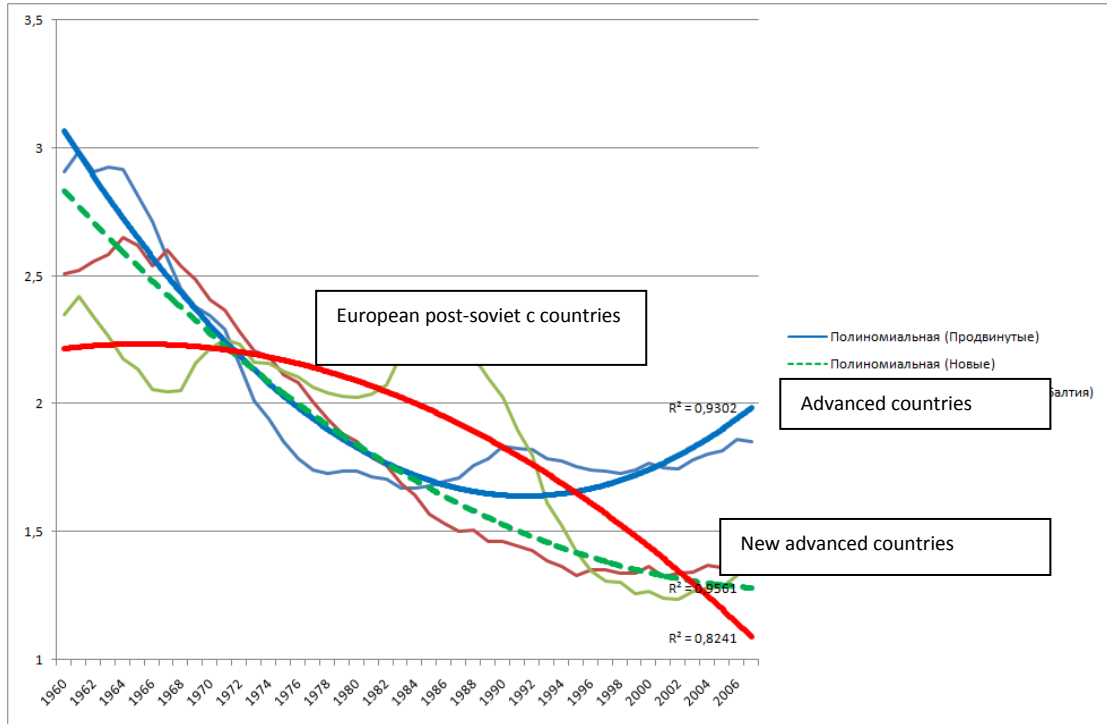


CONTEMPORARY STUDIES

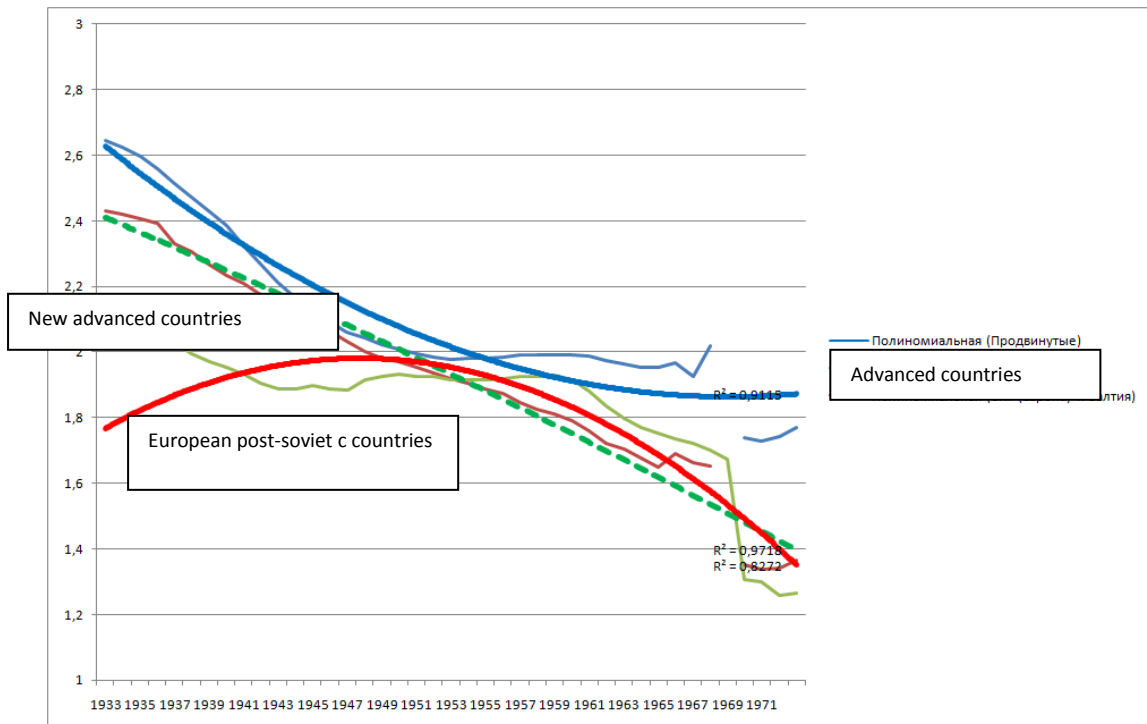
A-I. Gender gap in mortality



A-II. TFR



A-III. Cohort TFR



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