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## Demographic policy in Russia in context of the gender transition

### INTRODUCTION: GENDER TRANSITION CONCEPT

The roots of the gender transition concept come from the phenomenon of the stability of the patriarchal relations in family in comparison with the growth of egalitarianism in the public sphere (female representation in labour market, system of education and policy circle). This idea is a driver in the explanation of role of gender equity in fertility transition (McDonald, 2000). 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.

“Gender transition” (transition to gender equality it is consecutive in different spheres of live) has claims for universality, contains three stages of the transition. The degree of the egalitarianism of institutions is determined by the system of distribution of material and time resources between the genders (Kalabikhina, 2009)<sup>1</sup>. 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 development. The basic driving factor of “gender transition” is non-uniform development of gender equality in public and household institutes<sup>2</sup>. 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<sup>3</sup>. The driver indicators of “gender transition” are some variables: female/male ratio of education level, female/male ratio of employment participation, male/female ratio of household work participation (and female household work participation). Depended demographic indicators are female/male ratios of life expectancy at birth (relative indicator of gender gap in mortality) and total fertility rate (absolute indicator of fertility).

Myths about the fact that these problems are caused by the emancipation of women today are becoming untenable. And vice-versa, the lack of gender equality contributes to problems of transition.

A striking example: the fertility decline to below-replacement level states at the second crisis 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

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<sup>1</sup> At once we will notice that the concept of “gender transition” covers not only demographic development, but also social and economic development (in terms of household consumption, pension, saving and investment schemes, intergenerational transfers, composition of GDP). In that sense concept “gender transition” could be useful for analysis of social, demographic, economic development, particularly crisis stage. But in given paper we will concentrate the attention to use of this concept for the analysis of demographic development.

<sup>2</sup> McDonald (2000) cold 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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).

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).

Further development of gender equality restores reproduction. According to a concept of "gender transition" to demographic implementation 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).

#### GENDER TRANSITION AND DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT

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).

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 particularly, 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 understands 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.

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<sup>4</sup>.

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 post-socialist 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).

## GENDER TRANSITION AND DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY IN RUSSIA

We will stress only gender issues of pronatalist component of modern demographic policy in Russia. According to gender transition’s staging Russia is on the tense second stage, which is characterized by a significant decrease in fertility. Since the growth of gender equality (especially in the household institutes) promotes the growth of fertility (Olah, 1998; Adsera, 2006; McDonald, 2006), it is logical to assume that the population policy should include measures to promote gender equality.

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<sup>4</sup> 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.

We offer the analysis of demographic policy in Russia (it consists of the three stages: 2007-2010, 2011-2015, 2016-2025) for the presence of gender measures (first of all, the family-work balances' measures in pronatalist policy).

We classify the pronatalist measures during first (2007-2010) and second (2011-2015) stages of demographic policy in development of gender measures involving.

The main conclusion of our analysis is the lack of gender action in Russia, which reduces the potential of the effectiveness of the policy especially in context of the population structure perspectives.

Since demographic policy are less than family policy involves the gender mainstreaming it is important to control the gender issues in pronatalist policy. Especially in Russia where the idea that the development of gender equality contributes to economic and demographic development of the society has not yet found its recognition. The population policy is very active in Russia. However, the gender approach in the first stage policy generally not taken into account, and the second stage sounded weak call for the implementation of some measures without the need for a comprehensive and systematic gender mainstreaming. It aims to "support motherhood" predominantly material incentives ("maternity capital", increased benefits, etc.).

The main components of work-family balance policy should be the development of pre-school and school institutions, flexibility and friendly environment at labor market, and the development of a full-fledged institution of fatherhood. If preschools and friendly labor market (with respect only to women who are mothers) is becoming to the second phase of the demographic policy, the development of the institution of fatherhood is not on the agenda, which jeopardizes the implementation of the idea of work-family balance in modern society.

None of the work-family balance components is a priority of demographic policy in Russia. Nevertheless the unmet demand of child care places today are about 2 million Russian children. During gentle time in recent years this place has grown by more than one million children since the age of childbearing active in Russia became the largest generation of the 1980th. And for the same period fell the activation demographic policy, but public infrastructure was absolutely not ready to this. The flexible, distant or part-time employment are not common in practice. Only in 2013 (the seventh year of active policies) we are introducing the law on distant employment.

Fatherhood is also out of demographic policy. The "new" idea of measures to enable women to combine motherhood and only employment (to use women as an extensive expansion of the work force in squeezed time) evokes the feeling of *déjà vu*. In the Soviet Union realization of this approach to work-family balance only for women led to double burden for women, to choose between births of higher orders and employment in favor employment. Today the old approaches are even worse because of the aging population and growth of care economy.

We also use qualitative data to assess first stage of demographic policy in Russia (research was held in 2010 in Moscow, 71 in-depth interviews). The majority of respondents (3/4) expressed distrust demographic policy and its ability to influence the birth rate. Many of them called allowances like "ridiculous", even "maternity capital" had "ruffled reputation". Respondents, especially respondents with higher education expressed dissatisfaction with the existing measures (when the focus is mainly on financial support), talked about measures to successfully combine work and parenting. Work-family balance policy and housing development are the basic conditions that will allow the Russians to have a desired number of children.

The main conclusion is that we need to shift the focus of the current demographic policy in fertility with material support for families with children on the harmonization of parenthood and employment.