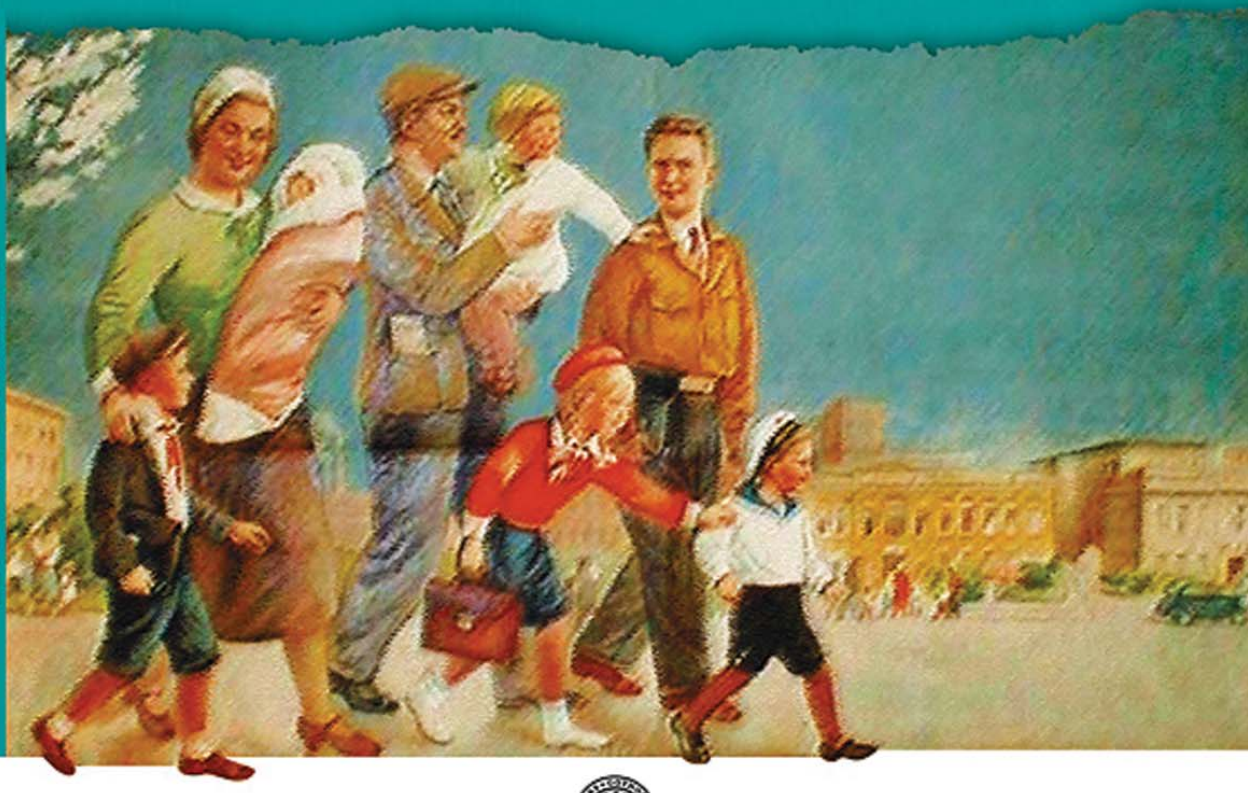
Class and gender in Russian welfare policies:

Soviet legacies and contemporary challenges

Elena Iarskaia-Smirnova



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

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Abstract

Title Class and gender in Russian welfare policies: Soviet legacies and contemporary challenges

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Key words class, gender, welfare policies, social policy, Russia, social work profession, ideology, institutions, culture, actors

The general aim of this thesis is to explore the gendered and classed nature of social work and social welfare in Russia to show how social policy can be a part of and reinforce marginalisation. The overall research question is in what ways class and gender are constructed in Russian social work practice and welfare rhetoric through Soviet legacies and contemporary challenges? In addition, which actors contribute to the constitution of social work values and how this value system affects the agency of the clients? This study focuses on contradictory ideologies that are shaped in discursive formations of social policy, social work training and practice. It is a qualitative study, containing five papers looking at this issue from three different perspectives: policy and institutions, culture and discourse, actors and identity. The data collection was arranged as a purposive–iterative process. The empirical material consists of qualitative interviews with social work practitioners, administrators and clients, participant observations in social services and analysis of documents of various kinds.

The results show that modernisation of social life under socialism was concerned with the internalisation of new forms of discipline, standards of everyday life, collectivist values and beliefs in equality which impacted on public and private domains, including social services provision (*Paper I*), which was of a classed and gendered nature. The post-Soviet welfare policy is characterised by the legacies of conservative thinking and lack of discretion in social work as a profession, excessive institutionalising of children and suppression of the voices of vulnerable people. Low income parents become the objects of governmental control, and existing forms of social policy act towards fastening them in vulnerable position. Additional pressure is on those families who raise children with disabilities and on parents who have disability themselves. Stigma affects a parent on a deep emotional level and has social implications for her and the child. Thus, the politics of exclusion at the institutional level flows to the level of personal experience and everyday practice (*Paper II*). Parenting is a cultural and classed experience by liberal welfare policy, which can reinforce marginalisation through institutional structures and discourses. The discursive and narrative practices are important cultural resources used by the parents to understand their personal lives and by service providers who create their own understandings of social problems (*Paper V*). The structural context of social work is constituted by inequality in the social order, which is mirrored in the conditions of the labour market. The problems of a client might be an outcome of beliefs in traditional gender roles and traditional family definitions, which supposes inequality and subordination of women. In addition, models of social work practice often admit such a definition and, therefore, worsen the condition of women (*Paper IV*). The contemporary situation in social work in Russia is featured by under-professionalisation and thereby a low degree of autonomy, absence of critical reflection of social work practice, and rigidity of governance (*Paper III*). This is the background where initiatives to change the existing social order can hardly be seen. However, social workers are gradually acquiring new knowledge and skills to effect social change in a democratic egalitarian mode rather than following the paternalist scheme of thought and action.

Contents

Svensk Sammanfattning

Målet med avhandlingen är att studera olika uttryck för klass och kön i socialt arbete och välfärds institutioner samt att studera hur socialpolitiska insatser både kan vara del av och förstärka olika gruppers marginalisering i samhället. Avhandlingens mer specifika syfte är att analysera på vilka sätt klass och kön produceras, omdefinieras och upplevs av olika aktörer i den samtida förändringen av välfärdsinstitutioner, ideologiska ramverk och socialt arbete. De övergripande forskningsfrågorna är: hur konstitueras klass och kön i praktiskt socialt arbete i en rysk kontext, vilka aktörer har inflytande över de värden som inbegrips i socialt arbete och på vilket sätt påverkar det klienters och praktikers handlingsutrymme? Genom att sätta fokus på inneboende ideologiska motsättningar, vilka skapas i diskursiva formationer inom socialpolitik, utbildning och praktiskt socialt arbete, ger studien en översikt av det Sovjetiska arvet och de samtida utmaningarna.

Avhandlingen bygger på en kvalitativ studie som utifrån tre angreppssätt studerar den ovan angivna problematiken. För det *första* analyseras den roll som välfärdspolitiken och socialtjänsten har när medborgarnas klass och könskaraktäristika definieras. Särskilt uppmärksammas hur människor kategoriseras i det praktiska arbetet samt om och hur detta bidrar till samhällets sociala differentiering. För det *andra* analyseras det sociala arbetets symboliska representationer som de kommer till uttryck i välfärdsretorik och inom utbildningen av socialarbetare. Fokus i studien är begreppen den goda medborgaren, familj, kvinnor och barn och hur de definieras som ”normala”

givet vissa specifika historiska kontexter. I studien identifieras arvet från Sovjet och dess olika uttrycksformer. Under den socialistiska perioden såg man på familjen med misstänksamhet. Detta ersattes senare med en traditionell syn på äktenskapet i kombination med en modern syn på kvinnans plats i produktionen. Den post-sovjetiska perioden kan sägas ha utgjort en neo-traditionell vändning.

Det sätt på vilket socialt arbete och dess värdesystem kom att legitimeras framstår som ambivalent. Detta studeras i avhandlingen utifrån olika nivåer, aktörer och olika perspektiv. Fokus är på hur de professionella i sitt dagliga arbete producerar och reproducerar klass och kön. För det *tredje* analyseras både socialarbetares och klienters levda erfarenheter. Olika aktörer bidrar till konstitueringen av socialt arbete som en ny profession i Ryssland. Professionens värdegrund är heterogen och har influenser från en rad aktörer på olika nivåer som stat, frivilligsektor, brukare, massmedier och det vetenskapliga samhället.

Studien inleds med en genomgång och diskussion av relevanta begrepp som senare fungerar som arbetande begrepp i analysen. Klass och kön och dess relation till välfärdspolitiken är de centrala teoretiska begreppen. Fokus i analysen riktas mot såväl ambivalensen i förhållningssätt som de institutioner som den Sovjetiska välfärdspolitiken omfattar. Syftet är att spåra rötterna till de samtida köns- och klassimpregnerade värderingarna. Analysen har särskilt fokus på hur ”den goda medborgaren” konstruerades. Vidare diskuteras den policy som fanns under socialismen avseende den av staten inrättade omsorgen om utsatta barn. Genom en analys av välfärdsretorik och socialt arbete karaktäriseras synen på normalitet. Detta exemplifieras med synen på uppfostran av utsatta barn och barn med funktionshinder. I den pågående sociala förändringsprocessen i Ryssland är det av största vikt att studera vilka implikationer som blir följden för barn och familjer och hur tillgängligheten av hjälp och stödsystem för utsatta grupper ser ut. För närvarande är ett brett spektra av legala rättigheter införda för personer med funktionshinder. Stereotypier och diskriminering mot olika grupper är emellertid svåra att förändra. Ensamstående mödrar med barn med funktionshinder har stort ansvar och utför omfattande arbetsinsatser. De möter i sitt dagliga liv i det närmaste oöverstigliga hinder när det gäller att få den hjälp och stöd som motsvarar deras hjälpbehov. I studien diskuteras vidare välfärdspolitikens huvudsakliga utmaningar i det post-sovjetiska Ryssland. Det innebär bland annat att frilägga socialtjänstens köns- och klasskaraktär och de inneboende ideologiska motsättningar som finns i utbildningen av socialarbetare. I studien visas hur värden från sovjetperioden reproduceras men också utmanas av ett neo- liberalt ideologiskt inflytande i en samexistens i det samtida sociala arbetets praktik och i existerande välfärdsretorik.

För att kunna få ett grepp över mångfalden av förändringar och dess olika aspekter har det empiriska underlaget samlats in med olika angreppssätt och metoder. Forskningsarbetet är huvudsakligen baserat på kvalitativa metoder; intervjuer, bildanalys och textanalys av läroböcker som används vid utbildning

av socialarbetare. Det insamlade datamaterialet avser att täcka huvudsakliga förändringar i välfärdspolitiken och social omsorgen under den socialistiska perioden och i det samtida Ryssland, med särskilt fokus på kvinnor, barn och familj.

Resultaten presenteras i fyra artiklar och ett kapitel. Moderniseringen under den socialistiska perioden avsåg bland annat att introducera nya former för disciplinering, livsstilar, kollektivistiska värderingar och en tro på ett rättvist samhälle. Förändringarna hade inflytande i privatlivet såväl som inom socialtjänstens område. I *artikel 1* visas hur dessa förändringar kom att bidra till en social stratifiering i samhället. Den post-sovjetiska välfärdspolitiken karaktäriseras av ett konservativt arv med bristande autonomi och förtryck av utsatta grupper och en omfattande praxis att placera barn i behov av stöd i institutionsvård. Familjer med svag ekonomi kontrollerades hårt av myndigheterna vilket i sig bidrog till deras marginalisering och ifrågasättande av deras lämplighet som föräldrar. Detta kom att drabba föräldrar med funktionshindrade barn särskilt hårt. Risken för stigmatisering var stor och drabbade många föräldrar (läs mödrar) med emotionella och sociala problem som följd.

De sociala myndigheterna har jurisdiktion att förhindra eller bidra till att grupper exkluderas från samhällslivet. Men denna policy – att exkludera – ger avtryck från institutions- till individnivå. Detta förhållande präglar sedan personliga erfarenheter och upplevelser samt vardagslivets praktiker, vilket är fokus *artikel II*. Socialt arbete i Ryssland karaktäriseras socialt arbete av under- professionalisering låg grad av autonomi, frånvaro av kritiskt tänkande och en rigid styrning, vilket är fokus i *artikel III*. Socialt arbete är skapat i ett samhälle präglat av sociala orättvisor, inte minst gäller det arbetsmarknaden. I föräldraskapets praktik finns såväl kulturella drag som uttryck för klassbaserade erfarenheter och inflytande från liberal välfärdspolitik. De diskurser som förmedlas via olika välfärdsinstitutioner bidrar till utsatta föräldrars marginalisering. Dessa diskurser och narrativ utgör strategiska resurser för klienter att skapa mening i sitt liv och av socialarbetare för att klassificera och förstå vilka problem som skall lösas, vilket är fokus i bidrag det femte bidraget som är ett *bokkapitel V*. De problem som en klient har kan vara resultatet av en traditionell könsrolls- och familjeform, byggd på ojämlikhet och kvinnors underordning. Dessa förhållanden förstärks ofta av att de modeller som tillämpas i socialt arbete bygger på de ovan angivna traditionella förställningarna något som i sin tur förvärrar kvinnors förhållande.

Som en följd av att stor en del av det praktiska sociala arbetet både lider av en bristande professionalisering och kritiskt reflexion, så tenderar det att fastna i stereotypa föreställningar. Dessa finns också i den vidare samhälleliga kontexten och i samtida policy och ideologier. Återigen visas svaga grupper tenderar att marginaliseras ytterligare genom det offentliga stödsystemets insatser, vilket är fokus i *artikel IV*. Man skall emellertid inte bortse från att

socialarbetare gradvis tillägnar sig ny kunskap och färdigheter vilket leder till förändring i en mer demokratisk och jämlik riktning.

Den sammantagna slutsatsen i avhandlingen är att välfärdspolitiken och socialtjänsten bidrar till att klassificera medborgarna utifrån klass och kön, vilket bidrar till den sociala stratifieringen i det samtida ryska samhället. De institutionella stöden vars syfte är att bistå svaga grupper att handskas med sin livssituation, kan emellertid också bidra till att förstärka och reproducera fattigdom och exkludering från samhällslivet. Därför är det viktigt att identifiera ambivalenser och problem och med en kritisk blick frilägga såväl uttalade som implicita villkor som utgör hinder för positiva förändringsprocesser. Genom adekvat utbildning och träning är det möjligt att skapa kritisk reflexion i det praktiska sociala arbetet.

Följande artiklar/kapitel ingår I avhandlingen.

List of Publications

This thesis is based on the following five papers, identified in the text by their Roman numerals:

1. Iarskaia-Smirnova, Elena and Pavel Romanov (2009) Visual case study in the history of Russian child welfare, in: Die Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Soziale Arbeit, 6/7: 29-50

2. Iarskaia-Smirnova, Elena (1999) "What the future will bring I do not know..." Mothering Children with Disabilities in Russia and the Politics of Exclusion, in: Frontiers. Journal for Women Studies, 2: 58-86.

3. Iarskaia-Smirnova, Elena and Pavel Romanov (2002) "A salary is not important here…" Professionalization of Social Work in Contemporary Russia, in: Social Policy and Administration, 36(2):123-141

4. Iarskaia-Smirnova, Elena and Pavel Romanov (2008) Gendering social work in Russia: towards anti-discriminatory practices, in: Equal Opportunities, 27(1): 64-76

5. Iarskaia-Smirnova, Elena and Pavel Romanov Doing class in social welfare discourses: 'unfortunate families' in Russia, submitted to "Rethinking class in Russia", edited by Suvi Salmenniemi, in print at Ashgate

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My approach to the study of social policy and social work was profoundly influenced by the colleagues with whom I had the great fortune to work during my study visits to the University of Gothenburg, Sweden, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA, Bodø University College, Norway, Universities of Siegen in Germany and Ljubljana in Slovenia, Universities of Warwick and Birmingham, UK, and Trinity College Dublin, Ireland. At each of these institutions, I have enjoyed great advice, friendship and support.

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Finally, and most importantly, I thank my family for their confidence in me, support and continuous encouragement. I am indebted to my husband and co-author of many publications Pavel Romanov who has kindly commented on earlier drafts and assisted with finding or analysing sources and information, and to my mother Valentina Yarskaya for her enthusiasm and unwavering support.

Introduction: Purpose of the Study

The goal of this thesis is to explore the gendered and classed nature of social work and social welfare in Russia to show how social policy can be a part of and reinforce marginalization. In particular, the thesis aims to analyse how class and gender are produced, redefined and experienced by different social actors in changing institutional and ideological frames of welfare policies and social work.

The overall research question is in what ways class and gender are constructed in Russian social work practice and welfare rhetoric through Soviet legacies and contemporary challenges? In addition, which actors contribute to the constitution of social work values and how this value system affects the agency of the clients? By focusing on contradictory ideologies that are shaped in discursive formations of social policy, social work training and practice, this study provides a review of Soviet legacies and contemporary challenges.

It is mainly a qualitative study looking at these questions from three different yet interrelated analytical perspectives: policy and institutions, culture and discourse, actors and identity. First, it considers the roles welfare policy and social services play in defining the classed and gendered dimensions of citizenship thus contributing to the social differentiation of society. In particular, it examines the labelling effects of social classifications made by institutions of welfare and social work practice as well as the consequences they engender. This analysis presents a critical review of socio historical dynamics in classed and gendered processes of welfare policy and social work practice.

Second, this thesis analyses symbolic representations of social order in welfare rhetoric and social work education. The focus is on concepts of normality in definitions of a good citizen, family, women and children, which are produced under specific socio historic circumstances. It traces Soviet legacies of suspicion towards families in the early socialist period which was later replaced by the reappraisal of traditionalist views on marriage and reproduction mixed with modernist emphases on women's mobilization for (industrial) production as well as a neo-traditionalist turn in post-Soviet era. Peculiarities of the public legitimacy of social work and its value system are studied through the prism of its classed and gendered professional ideology inflated and used at different levels by various carrier groups.

Third, the thesis examines a lived experience of social workers and service users who make sense of their positions in social hierarchy in relation to the welfare state and each other. The transition from a socialist to a market economy has been a rather fast and painful process causing major changes in the structure of the society and the understanding of social differentiation. Social work practitioners in Russia today build their identities in the context of increased individualism and social inequalities, pathologisation of single mothers, multi-child families, the disabled and the poor, as well as a restoration of traditionalist views on gender. This context contains a mixture of stereotypes concerning the normative family model, inherited from Soviet times and influenced by neoliberal ideology. The study at hand investigates how this ideology affects perceptions of families and the lives of single mothers and other marginalised groups.

The study presented here starts with a conceptual overview of some of the ways in which class and gender are understood as theoretical concepts embedded in visions of welfare policy. In the discussion that follows, I first consider the peculiarities of ideology and arrangements of Soviet welfare policy in order to dig out the roots of contemporary values that are gendered and classed. In particular, to understand how the 'good citizen' was constructed, the policy of institutionalised child care under socialism is further discussed. What were the means through which state control policies were implemented, while taking care of those in need?

Such forms of control inherit some features of the past. Much of today's ideology and forms of the family and child welfare system were developed in Soviet times. Women, children and family were the primary focus of welfare policy under socialism that sought to reinforce the power subordination in both public and private life.

The attempts of the welfare policies to govern the population, to shape good citizens according to the cultural norms of a socialist society, to institutionalise motherhood and childhood, to create new men and women suitable for the needs of the state, are traced throughout the history of Soviet welfare and in the current situation. In order to underpin the issue of normality, welfare ideology and social work values are discussed in relation to the upbringing of children left without parental care and raising children with disabilities.

As social change in Russia gets underway, it is important to examine the implications of these changes for children and their families within social contexts of time and space, gender and class, and the availability of services and networks. The legal and civil rights of persons with disabilities are now implemented on a broader scale than before. However, discriminatory stereotypes are not easy to change. This practice of exclusion and its critique is central in the analysis of mothering as a socially constructed phenomenon. Families of single mothers with children who have disabilities carry a colossal workload and face nearly insurmountable obstacles in obtaining basic services to meet just a few of their needs.

The study then goes on to discuss the key challenges in welfare policy in post-Soviet Russia including the development of a value base of social work, its classed and gendered nature, seeking to uncover the contradictory nature of the ideology of practice and training of social services. It shows how Soviet values are reproduced and challenged by neo-liberal ideology in the contemporary practice and rhetoric of welfare.

The specific aims of the five supporting papers are as follows:

Paper I: Visual case study in the history of Russian child welfare aims to increase our understanding of what were the principles and values of socialist welfare policy, to reveal what were the means through which welfare policies were implemented while taking care of those in need and how they shaped categories of gender and class. Specifically, the purpose is to analyse the meanings of 'a good citizen', starting with the upbringing of children in institutions, and how these meanings were shaped in visual representations.

Paper II: "What the future will bring I do not know..." Mothering Children with Disabilities in Russia and the Politics of Exclusion is focused on the investigation of how the personal experiences of women struggling to care for their children with disabilities are affected by exclusionary policies of structural context. More specifically, the purpose is to discuss obstacles and resources for the realisat ion of mothers' agency.

Paper III: "A salary is not important here…" Professionalization of Social Work in Contemporary Russia describes and analyses the main challenges and issues affecting processes of the development of social work as a new profession in post-Soviet Russia, to show contradictory ideologies that are shaped in discursive formations of social work training and practice.

Paper IV: Gendering social work in Russia: towards anti-discriminatory practices aims to critically investigate the gendered nature of social work knowledge and practice. More specifically, the analysis focuses on how stereotypes promoted by welfare policy and the wider societal context sustain inequality and reinforce marginalization in the society.

Paper V: Doing class in social welfare discourses: 'unfortunate families' in Russia questions the roles welfare policies, social workers and media play in the creation of the 'unfortunate family' identity in Russia. It analyses the way knowledge is produced and reproduced in social work practice and discusses what legacies of the Soviet past are challenged by structures and agents in contemporary Russia.

In order to grasp the diverse aspects of these developments, a broad approach to data collection and analysis was undertaken. The research is based on qualitative methodology, referring to interview material, visual images, and analysis of the Russian textbooks used in social work and social policy training. It addresses several main issues: the main changes in the ideology of welfare policy and social care throughout socialism and in contemporary Russia, with particular emphasis on women, family and childhood.

The research results presented in five supporting papers, demonstrate that modernisation of social life under socialism was concerned with the internalisation of new forms of discipline, standards of everyday life, collectivist values and beliefs in equality which impacted on public and private domains, including social services provision (*Paper I*), which was one of the mechanisms of social stratification.

Low income parents become the objects of governmental control, and existing forms of social policy work towards fastening them in marginalised position. Additional pressure is put on those families who raise children with disabilities and on parents who have a disability themselves. Stigma affects a parent on a deep emotional level and has social implications for her and the child. Social services may promote or hinder inclusion and the full participation of children and adults with disabilities and their families in society. Thus, the politics of exclusion at the institutional level flows to the level of personal experience and everyday practice (*Paper II*).

The contemporary situation in social work in Russia is characterised by under-professionalisation and therefore a low degree of professional autonomy, absence of critical reflection of social work practice, and rigidity of governance (*Paper III*). The structural context of social work is constituted by inequality in the social order, which is mirrored in the conditions of the labour market. Parenting is a cultural and classed experience and it is affected by liberal welfare policy, which can reinforce marginalisation through institutional structures and discourses. Discursive and narrative practices are important cultural resources used by parents to understand their personal lives and by service providers who create their own understandings of social problems. (*Paper V*). The problems of a client might stem from beliefs in traditional gender roles and traditional family definitions, which assume inequality and subordination of women. In addition, models of social work practice often accept such definitions and, therefore, worsen the condition of women.

Due to underprofessionalisation and lack of critical reflectivity of practitioners, social work is trapped in existing stereotypes promoted by welfare policy and the wider societal context, hence sustaining inequality in the society and reinforcing marginalisation (*Paper IV*). However, social workers are gradually acquiring new knowledge and skills to effect social change in a democratic egalitarian way rather than following a paternalist scheme of thought and action.

Conceptual Framework

In this chapter, I present the conceptual framework of the thesis, describe the conceptual tools used to analyse and interpret the discourses and experiences studied, within the wider frame of critical social theory. In order to grasp the diverse aspects of welfare in relation to class and gender, a broad approach was undertaken. The chapter is organised around three analytical levels: policy and institutions, culture and discourse, and actors and identity. It includes several parts, starting with a theoretical discussion of class, gender and welfare, which serves as a general background for the whole thesis. It overarches the thesis with direct links to all supporting papers, especially to *Paper V*, where the classing and gendering outcomes of contemporary welfare policies are scrutinised on the basis of empirical evidence.

The conceptual framework then continues through historical amplification, which provides necessary additional details to the picture drawn in *Paper I* in order to trace important changes in the development of Soviet welfare policies in relation to class and gender issues, as well as to outline the theoretical framework of studying the processes of social constructing of a 'good citizen' by means of welfare rhetoric and practices. The following part is devoted to the current issues of social policy in Russia. It serves as a contextual and conceptual base for *Papers II-V* by contemplating facts and figures of the post-Soviet welfare state, as well as theoretical frame of reference. The role played by institutions, values and actors in the processes of doing class and gender is looked at while taking into account legacies of the past and challenges of the present. The focus of the last part of this chapter is on social work professional ideology where the issues of class and gender manifest themselves on the levels of institutions, values and actors.

Class, Gender and Welfare: a Theoretical Background

In this part, the literature review is structured by three angles of analysis. It starts with the discussion on how the issues of class and gender inequality and social exclusion emerge as outcomes of welfare policy and institutions. The next step of argumentation is to bring to light the cultural assumptions that can ground corresponding concepts and actions in welfare policies, which in turn are experienced by different groups of population who may accept or resist categorisations imposed by the power structures. In the last section of this part I outline the "actors and identity" perspective in studying social welfare policy and social work.

Welfare policy and institutions: issues of inequality and exclusion

Issues of social inequality, poverty, class and exclusion are central for all studies of welfare. To understand the processes that put people at risk of being socially excluded, or which protect them from it, is important both for the purposes of academic and policy research. (Millar 2007: 7)

The most influential contribution to the comparative research of the welfare state is Esping-Andersen's (1990) "Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism", a solid empirically based analysis and a strong socio-political response to the concept of convergence (Wilensky 1975). Esping-Andersen has refined earlier theoretical contributions (in particular, Titmus 1974 and other theorists; see: van Voorhis 2002). Having reconsidered classical Marxist, liberal and conservative thinking in political economy, Esping-Andersen (1990) developed his analysis of welfare states with an emphasis on class inequality and the socio political role of classes.

In the core of politics of class inclusion inspired by Keynes's General Theory was the mechanism of the social wage, a basic subsistence level guaranteed by the state for temporarily unemployed workers, including some provision of health care and education (Green 2006: 609). There was mutual interest in a social wage: on the one hand, labour is eager to receive it in order to have guarantees of decommodification, on the other hand, capital wants to use such a means to minimise class struggle.

Esping-Andersen (1990: 16) claimed the welfare state is a power resource itself: "The social rights, income security, equalization, and eradication of poverty that a universalistic welfare state pursues are necessary preconditions for the strength and unity that collective power mobilization demands." However, he notes several objections to this class-mobilisation thesis. In a market society, wage-earners become "atomized and stratified – compelled to compete, insecure, and dependent on decisions and forces beyond their control. This limits their capacity for collective solidarity and mobilization." (Esping-Andersen 1990: 16.) Welfare provision thus aims to restrain mechanisms of

resistance, and it creates new forms of inequality, even when it is reconverted into "an administrative springboard into poverty-level employment" (Wacquant 2009: 15). Working class identities and interests have become fragmented, turning into a complex picture of various relationships of domination and resistance. The class interest in a 'social wage' provided by state welfare could no longer be unified due to the various forms of growing divisions. These are gender, race and income divisions within the working class, as well as the divisions between workers in the public and private sectors, between those who are highly dependent upon public provision and those who are less dependent (Wetherly 1988: 33).

The explanation of the division of welfare states into liberal, conservative and social democratic ideal regime types (Esping-Andersen 1990) has included three dimensions: decommodification, social stratification and the private–public mix. The welfare state is not only "a mechanism that intervenes in, and possibly corrects, the structure of inequality; it is, in its own right, a system of stratification" (Esping-Andersen 1990: 23). Each of the three types has different impact on inequality and stratification. Social democratic model of welfare state is the most encompassing among the three types in terms of the risks it covers while in the liberal regime little efforts are made in order to mitigate market-generated inequalities (Sachweh and Olafsdottir 2010).

Many authors have noted the ways that welfare policies could reify and reinforce other sources of inequality including class and gender (Pascal, Manning 2000; Korpi 2000), as well as 'race' (Lewis 2000). In particular, it has been argued that the concept of decommodification was gender-blind in that the role of women and the family in welfare provision was not taken into account (Lewis 1992; Sainsbury 1994). Gender was not considered a part of social stratification (Lewis 1992; Sainsbury 1994) while the impact of welfare states is not the same for men and women. The extent of gender inequality differs between different states in terms of unequal access to social benefits, their utilisation rates and other redistributive outcomes of welfare states (Sainsbury 1996). As Luc Wacquant (2009) demonstrates, the governing of social insecurity (Wacquant 2009) in the United States operates on the following share of gender roles: the public aid bureaucracy is for poor women (and indirectly their children), while men constitute the incarcerated public of approximately the same size.

Welfare state in Soviet Union was an outcome on the working class revolution. It had a comprehensive institutional system shaped around universalist principles similar to the social democratic model described by Esping-Andersen. Literature on class analysis and welfare policies would have been irrelevant to social scientists in Soviet Union for a long time because the society of "advanced socialism" was described as approximating a classless society. In socialist society, according to the dominant ideology shared by the social sciences, only two classes existed: workers and peasants, and intelligentsia as a "layer" in social structure. However, less ideological stratification

analyses have revealed relatively high heterogeneity of Soviet society, which was divided into various strata based on occupation and education, pay and remuneration, place of residence, nationality, party membership and life-style (see: Radaev 1991). Research of gender in relation to welfare policies and social work practice is a very new area in Russian scholarship. As Papers IV and V demonstrate, historical and contemporary regulations impact on the construction of gender. Following an agenda of feminist criticism contributed to a better understanding of the relationships of women to the welfare state (Hernes 1984; Hobson 1994; Lewis 1980), their statuses and claims will be studied as clients and citizens, service providers and service users.

A concept of 'class' based on economic inequality and solidarity has become unfashionable in sociology some time ago both as a theoretical idea and as an empirical tool. Ulrich Beck argued that class as well as family and household are 'zombie categories' because they are dead but still alive, making us blind to the realities of our lives, while informing decisions, actions and practices (see: Beck, 2002b: 203). Antony Giddens (1999) called class a 'shell institution', claiming that people are now the reflexive authors of their own lives, constructing their biographies actively, rather than following structurally determined pathways.

The debate on class has been complemented by a concept of social exclusion of deprived minorities. While the term 'social exclusion' still remains contested, the various definitions have in common an understanding that it is not only a lack of material resources, but complex structural processes by which some individuals and groups become marginalised in society, deprived of their opportunities, choices and life chances (Millar 2007: 2). Correspondingly, the broadly defined concept of social inclusion refers to a long-term prerequisite for maintaining a welfare state that embraces a comprehensive safety net covering the whole population combined with a more integrated society (Gordon 2007: 196). The focus of the policy agenda has been on the most disadvantaged groups, placing a concept of 'underclass' into a core of academic debate and policy concerns. Russia is not an exceptional case: here, the rapid formation of an underclass occurred from the early 1990s on the way to a market economy (Lokshin, Popkin 1999).

Class and gender in cultural grounds of welfare

Recently, a renaissance of thought about class occurs in research on more complex structural divisions and processes, which reveal nuances of social identities and highlight multiple moralities. This moral dimension of class experience "creates unequal possibilities for flourishing and suffering" (Sayer 2005: 218).

Conflicts of values in society, contradictions between different ideologies carried by parties, groups and organisations can ground social exclusion. Such values as individual choice, freedom, rewards for effort and ability justify a differentiated and meritocratic society, liberal welfare and social

work ideologies. Equality, fairness and justice constitute an opposing set of values justifying a universal welfare regime, affirmative action and radical social work while individual effort, merit and freedom to be different are challenged and not adequately recognised (Christian, Abrams 2007: xiii). Social reforms are driven by various ideologies, for example, as Molly Ladd-Taylor (1995) shows in her historical study: the ideology of maternalism was grounded in the changes in middle-class domestic work, and included values of "good mothering", "proper" socialisation of children and was translated from Anglo-American middle class to racial ethnic and working-class women (Ladd-Taylor 1995: 4-5).

Therefore, it is important to reflect upon classed and gendered assumptions in cultural values that ground welfare policy arrangements and social work practices. It does not mean, however, reducing the logic of social differentiation to cultural specificity. Banting and Kymlycka (2006: 13) warn that the focus on "culture", ethnic or racial difference in the political debate and research has displaced attention to class, and thereby economic marginalisation is not recognized as a real problem. Cultural explanations of poverty have contributed to symbolic processes of Othering, claiming that the causes of disadvantage of the poor are to be found in their dysfunctional moral practices, including "their poor commitment to paid work, welfare dependency, criminality, fatherless families and teen pregnancy." (Gillborn 2009: 13). In Paper II, I claim that processes of Othering reduce a woman's identity to one of 'caregiver' when she has a disabled child while welfare arrangements and societal attitudes do not provide necessary support. Rather, mothering of the disabled child is stigmatised due to the Soviet legacy when raising a disabled child was considered a deviance and the child was subject to institutionalisation in public facilities. Such images of the Other do not simply reflect inequalities. As Wendy Bottero (2005: 27) argues, they are also ammunition in strategies attempting to create or reinforce social distance. And for self-confidence of the wealthy the reassuring contrast is important; it is provided by the plight of the poor (Bauman 2001: 77). Thus, the wealthy class needs the poor for their labour power, and the protection and the contributed allocation and provision of welfare resources for the poor is not only a moral concern, but also a matter of rationality (Jacobsen, Marshman 2008: 32).

A class-based sociology defines class categories depending on what is going on in families, in households. But under the conditions of living-apart-together, divorce, and remarriage (Beck 2002a: 24-25) new configurations of families and household occur. Hence, new forms of collective identities and group interests develop, where social networks are supported not only by economic but also by symbolic classifications. Having examined debates and evidence relating to class differences in social mobility and educational achievement, Rosemary Crompton (2008: 134) argues that the family is a major transmission belt for the reproduction of these persisting inequalities, economically and culturally. Thus economic disparities are reinforced by cultural means.

The studies of governmentality, a concept derived from the work of Michel Foucault (2003), become a valuable theoretical perspective in social policy (for a critical discussion see McKee 2009), in attempts to understand power and rule in social welfare, public services and social work (Clarke et al 2007; McDonald and Marston 2005). It helps to see how social discipline in modern society is maintained by the institutions of welfare, which endorses the social control effects in people (Rodger 1988) and how this is grounded in a history of modern welfare policy. This perspective shows how welfare institutions, discourses, and other multiple sites for exercises of power "result in distributions of resources, that produce and maintain the ways we think about human normality and abnormality, and that mold the lives and the very selves of those caught up in them: disabled people, their nondisabled friends and loved ones, support workers, advocates, and so on" (McWhorter 2005: xiii).

Following this approach, welfare policy can be conceived not only as a way to organise legislation and institutions to "care" for populations and citizens within a sovereign nation-state, but also as a way of securing or "policing" well-being (Bloch et al. 2003: 4). Policing here is understood as the methods of governing through the "cultural reasoning systems" (Donzelot, 1997) that determine the individuality of the welfare person, family, childhood, and care (Bloch et al. 2003: 6). These methods started in the late eighteenth century from campaigns to educate the public and medicalise the population, establishing charitable institutions and economically rational mechanisms such as insurance and others (Tremain 2005: 5).

Welfare regimes, therefore, are "historically specific combinations of state policies and institutional practices that together set the terms of state redistribution and interpretation" (Haney 2002: 8). These modes of state regulation include a network of welfare agencies that structured social life, gender relations, "and gave rise to social conceptions of need" (ibid). They also shaped practices of manoeuvering that people invented to protect themselves from state regulation. In some circumstances, as Stefan Svallfors (1995) claims, a certain kind of socialisation experience of women within the public sector, creating bonds of sympathy and solidarity between public sector employees and their clients, patients and other 'welfare dependants', suggests possibilities for alliances between welfare clients and state bureaucrats (Svallfors 1995: 57). However, dominant punitive discourses impact on the lives of women caught up within the welfare system affecting their abilities to resist stigma (McCormack 2004). The work of doctors and pedagogues, social workers and psychologists, may entail classing processes in the sense of coding families as classed and attaching to them classed expectations.

Historically, with the rise of science, the experts of childhood and parenthood appeared among other mechanisms of social policy, who consecrated "who was considered normal, and who was not, which parents, families, or children required (temporary or long-term) intervention, and which did not" (Bloch et al. 2003: 17-18). The research presented in *Paper I*,

shows that in early Soviet Russia, the system of institutional upbringing was based on the assumption of the primacy of the collective before an individual person. Shaping a good citizen presupposed the priorities of labour training and discipline important for the needs of industrial modernisation as well as political loyalty with the socialist values and rule of governance. The research is focused on the processes by which cultural and political structural contexts as well as human agency are created, taking into account the semiotic rules by which objects obtain symbolic meanings (Barthes 1991), the discursive formations that underlie forms of knowledge (Foucault 1976), and the structures of domination in private and public spheres (Cruddas 2010).

And just as the welfare state in its historical development has vacillated between the institutional and the residual solutions to social problems, so has the profession changed its ideology (Souflee 1993). As Lynne Haney (2000) has shown in her research on welfare restructuring in Hungary in the late 1980s, with the adaptation of a discourse of poverty, all needs of clients became 'materialised' being reduced to poverty relief. During the transition from socialism to the market, new surveillance techniques and disciplinary welfare practices were introduced (Haney 2000: 70), and social workers experienced strong emotions striving to increase the distance between themselves and their clients.

Under the conditions of policy reforms, driven by the neo-liberal values of individualism and privatisation, commodification of relationships and communities increase (Green 2006: 614). While in the West an increase in commodification and raise of individualism is explained with a crisis of the welfare state, in Russia as in other post-communist countries these processes are caused by the fall of socialism, expanding of market reforms, reforming of institutional structures of social policy, and changes in the way people see and make sense of social differentiations.

Class and gender as experience: actors of social welfare

In the theory of social welfare, the concept of citizenship as formulated by T.H. Marshall (1965) is one of the key theoretical tools used to explore the distribution of rights and responsibilities between different groups in a society. In recent decades, feminist scholars contributed to understanding how various groups of population (depending on their gender, race, and other categorical attributes) are being included in and excluded from different spheres of social life (Bussemeiker and van Kersbergen 1994; Walby 1994). Therefore, it is important to stress that social exclusion does not happen by anonymous social structures. It happens as "a consequence of actions (or non-actions), by individuals, groups and institutions" (Millar 2007: 7). Scholars emphasised a direct connection between discourses and practices of the state welfare policies with respect to different groups of population and performance of their role of citizens (Lessa, 2006). It has been demonstrated that public policies play an important role in defining

the race-, class-, and gender-specific nature of citizenship (Lovell 2002: 194). Thus, the peculiarities of socio-economic context, socio-cultural definitions of male and female roles, and the development of welfare state structures and new actors in the provision of social support in Russia "have clearly influenced the development of gendered engagement with and experiences of care and social security" (Kay 2007a: 53). At the same time, under the rapidly changing socio political and economic conditions in Russia, women and men are not just victims but also agents of change and reaction; they invent ways of managing in new circumstances, energetically search for new channels and ways to cope and resist (Buckley 1997: 5).

The interpretations of social reality by different actors have been of interest in this study, aiming to find the content and meaning of everyday knowledge (ibid), to understand the subjective meanings of actions and achieve thick description of cultural practices (Geertz 1973) with an emphasis on critical reflection of power structures through which people are dominated and oppressed. Class and gender are treated as social constructs and lived experience (Bottero 2004; Devine et al. 2005), using the perspectives on everyday life (Goffman 1990) experiences and thoughts of individuals, on the life world as the concrete reality that is taken for granted by social actors and becomes a prerequisite for knowledge (Bäck-Wiklund 1995).

As the research presented in *Papers IV and V* demonstrates, in a process of interaction, the clients form common understanding of their social rights (opportunities and limitations), social workers and service users experience and refine their understandings of 'problems' and categories of client and citizen in classed and gendered terms. This research shows that social class is a process, and it is being constituted through discourses and practices of various actors. It is also a lived and inevitable gendered experience (Gillies 2007; Skeggs 2004). Class based differences in mothering are socially constructed as an identity through biographical experience, relations with partners and developing a career. In this way they become social moralities because through all these practices in everyday life, normative views concerning parenting are formed in social networks (Duncan 2005: 73). Walkerdine and Lucey (1989) have shown how mothers' childrearing practices are differentiated by class through housework and play, where a classed set of understandings is constructed about work, gender and about access to resources. According to Bourdieu, habitus, a cultural grammar of class, exposes the hidden mechanisms of class domination operating through tastes and lifestyles, through gaining specific sets of resources, like childcare and employment, which can also be described as the manoeuvres of different agents in the field of family policy (cited in Duncan 2005: 73). In regards to social exclusion, agency refers to "the active way in which people themselves respond to their situations, to risk events, or contingencies, and the resources that they are able to call upon." (Millar 2007: 7). The research presented in *Papers II* and *V*, shows how people react and try to cope with effects of stigma when they criticise and resist the networks of power and knowledge.

Using the intersectional perspectives of gender and class, I consider the rhetoric of welfare and practice of social work in Soviet history and in contemporary Russian society.

Class and Gender in Soviet Welfare Policies

This part contains a literature review which is organised around the main characteristics of the historical development of socialist welfare policies. I trace the key features of Soviet welfare policy throughout historical changes of institutional arrangements and ideologies. By focusing on care and control as two basic functions of welfare policy, I depict the issues of differential inclusion, namely, the class and gender dimensions of social inequality that were explicitly dealt with or hidden, redefined and reinforced by institutions and ideologies of welfare policy under socialism. Then, the peculiarities of the Soviet gender system are featured in order to present contradictory legacies of family policy that consisted of traditionalist and modernist values.

Care and control under socialism: differential inclusion

According to the classic on the welfare state, Richard M. Titmuss (1974), Soviet Russia had fashioned a model of social policy that is based on the principles of work-performance and achievement, in which social needs were met on the basis of merit and productivity (Aidukaite 2007: 7-9.) His understanding of the welfare state was centred on the concept of a good society; social policy is all about values and choices. Harold L. Wilensky (1975) was concerned about the material side of the welfare state: "Because the welfare state is about shared risks crosscutting generations, localities, classes, ethnic and racial groups, and educational levels, it is a major source of social integration in modern society." (Wilensky 2002: 211). Both of them considered the welfare state as a source of well-being, stability, security and solidarity. "The aim and the morality of the Soviet state was to improve the material well-being, health-care and longevity of the population, enhance equality and improve everyday life of families and women and children." (Aidukaite 2007: 10, 11).

Social historic analysis of the socialist welfare considers both advantages as well as failures to fulfil promises (Madison 1968; George, Manning 1980), diverse failures in authoritarian state planning (Scott 1999), in particular in relation to social services and independent living arrangements for children and adults with disabilities, which evoked complaints and protests (Fieseler 2005; Raymond 1989). Analysis reveals a considerable gap between the rhetoric of equality and its implementation (Hoffman 2000), in particular, in relation to gender issues (Buckley 1989), and shows that egalitarian social and democratic principles existed alongside conservative stratification guidelines.

The contradictions of social policies under socialism are considered in frameworks of social history (Fitzpatrick 1999) and comparative analysis (Cook 2007) that reveal social inequalities shaped and reinforced by the stratified welfare provision. Internalisation of the new forms of discipline and standards of everyday life (Damkjaer 1998) had an impact on public and private domains, shaping labour relations (see for example Koenker 2005; Husband 2007), family life (Attwood 1990; Goldman 1993), and social services provision.

The communist welfare state combined a broad social security coverage and access to basic social services with stratified provision (Cook 2007: 9). After the decline of czarism with its relatively low developed social services Russia experienced since 1917 the transition to socialist principles of welfare with its dual characteristics of universalism and employment-based provision (Standing 1996: 227). These principles underwent various major changes during years of Stalinism, the Second World War and in the post-war times, as well as in the late Soviet period.

From the beginning, the Bolshevik's claim to provide universal well-being dovetailed with the labour movement's demand to improve social insurance. As an ideal model, social protection was considered the essential right of politically loyal workers and their families. Many services were provided via the enterprises, and the performance of the worker including duration of his (her) employment at the factory was a key ground for entitlement.

The system's justification was based on the dogmatic identification of social problems as inherent in 'alien elements' and, at the same time, on the rhetoric of struggle and sacrifice 'for a radiant future'. But soon after the socialist revolution, the interests of the political establishment, which were to put an end to dissidence, provide constant growth of labour resources and keep them at the ready, became dominant (see for example Koenker 2005). The allegiance of the trade union movement changed very quickly. In the beginning it tried to balance the interests of workers and production, but as early as the 1920s it merged with management. Receiving no response to their demands, those who were left without care found alternative means to express their feelings and to satisfy their needs (Husband 2007: 796). In turn, the state imposed tough sanctions. Since the 1920s, the social taxonomies 'friend or foe' were applied to political regimes, practices, social groups and individuals; in the situation of strict selection of the 'deserving' this distinction once again became the foundation for instable, changing self-definition.

The development of Soviet social policy followed the ideological formulae common in many industrial countries during the modernisation period. Using the metaphor coined by Sheila Fitzpatrick (1999), the Soviet Union was something like school, barracks and charity house rolled into one. The development of the incentives system extended the scope of social groups; it involved welfare, education, transport, housing, public health service and recreation, but the great social promises were not supported by their sufficient fulfilment. The consumers of social services were categorized

as worthy and unworthy; the numerous types of transfers presupposed scanty payments and varied non-monetary benefits. The geographic disparity was also significant. There appeared subtle mechanisms for distinguishing between "ours" and "theirs" and at the same time the groups discriminated against developed various tactics of escape, concealment and mimicry (Fitzpatrick 1999).

An ideological strand emerged already after the 1917 Revolution, which excluded from help all the 'socially alien elements' such as White Army supporters, kulaks, manufacturers and landowners even if they were disabled. From the 1920s to the mid 1930s, a conflict in values concerning certain social problems became apparent. There was a clear shift from the struggle against objective conditions (civil war) to the struggle against a stigmatised, problematic group (eg. kulaks, rich peasants, "former bourgeoisie", "former military men of the White army and police, government officials and their family members", later so called "job-hoppers", "spongers", "parasites of society" and others). The notion of problematic groups justified the use of violence, since enlightenment could not bring about the necessary changes at the desired speed (Manning, Davidova 2001: 204). Soviet welfare politics were enacted in the situation of growing control over people's everyday life and discrimination of those who were considered "enemy elements" - former successful independent farmers and their children, anticommunist and communist oppositionists, priests and their families – who were deprived of the right to Soviet citizenship (lishenzy) (Gradskova et al. 2005).

From the start of the first Five-year plan and throughout the Stalin era, or the industrial period (1927—1953), social policy was subordinated to rapid industrial growth designed to increase the regime's industrial and military power. Social policy conformed to the policy of stimulating labour activity, and played an important role in improving labour discipline and productivity. The class approach was used in defining those who deserved assistance and reward. Supply and discipline of the labour force was the state's main problem, and everything that hindered its solution was considered damaging (Manning, Davidova 2001: 208). From 1927, absence from the working place without a reasonable excuse (illness had to be verified by a medical note) could lead to dismissal, eviction from housing provided by the collective and loss of other privileges.

In the late 1930s in all regions and cities of the Soviet Union social welfare departments (sobes) were/had been established. In addition to pension provision tasks, they were arranging social services for the pensioners taking into account their labour arrangements, everyday life needs, including the needs for prostheses and other assistance. Archive materials show that the state was trying to minimise the number of pensions paid and strict control over payment was one of the most important preoccupations of social workers in the social welfare departments. (Gradskova et al 2005).

Emphasis on rapid industrialisation in the 1930s meant intensification in the growth of the labour force, the need for which was satisfied through

engaging men and women many of whom were from the rural settlements into industrial work. This inexperienced, untrained and undisciplined work force took part in expanded industrial production. Soviet power needed to eradicate illiteracy, spread occupational skills among large groups of villagers and to teach them the norms of industrial culture. Social insurance was used as a weapon against "disorganisers" and as an educational measure to attract workers to their collectives, and especially to turn peasants accused of "proprietary attitudes" who demanded high wages, supplies of goods and decent housing, into workers. They were to be reoriented to understand the necessity for productivity increases, the creation of key industrial branches and relatedly, for joining their collectives.

During the 1930s, the authorities managed to provide the population with some of the promised benefits (Madison 1968). The successful completion of the first Five-year plan meant that the number of people eligible for insurance increased from 10.8 million in 1928 to 25.6 million in 1936, and 31.2 million in 1940 (George, Manning 1980: 41). However, such benefits mainly accrued to the urban dwellers and were much more restricted for the more numerous rural population, and collective farmers still relied on artel (cooperative associations) and self-help societies. As for the urban population, the aim of production discipline justified the tough measures of the state modernisation policy. The "moral order" system was part of a management strategy that contributed to labour productivity increases.

The political and economic context of the war and post-war periods defined the direction of social policy; its scale and focuses were strictly orientated towards a subsequent economic recovery. The high demand for work force in industry called for an intense labour mobilisation. The threat in the workplaces in order to force more discipline was growing, and even a minor absence caused criminal prosecution, indeed also for a woman, who ran home to nurse her baby.

In the late 1950s – early 1960s, the work conditions were improved, while the mobility of workers was simplified and prosecution for truancy was abolished. Taxes on low-income groups were reduced, salaries were raised, work schedules were reduced and the length of paid leave was extended. Maternity leave (reduced to 70 days by Stalin) was raised back to 112 days again.

Traditionally for Soviet history, the positive effects of those measures were primarily felt by city-dwellers, while collective farmers were still deprived: they had neither passports, nor the right of free mobility outside their residence. Until 1964 collective farmers had no state pensions, and their statutory retirement age came five years later than for other workers. Nevertheless, the restoration of social justice and reduction of social inequality became political priorities during that period. The number of benefits and grant recipients was growing. In 1956–1964, legislation modernised the welfare system, and made it one of the most accessible in the world. The level of benefits was raised, the connection with employment status became less relevant, and even some guarantees for low-paid workers were introduced.

The most persistent approach to social policy in Soviet times was 'who does not work does not eat'. This maxim resurfaced explicitly at several points throughout the 20th century, and was implicit in insurance-based healthcare for workers only, and the notion of 'rational management' of disability in relation to a person's capacity to work. Paradoxically, the development of 'rational management' of disability ultimately led to the marginalisation and exclusion from work of some disabled people thus juxtaposing a good working citizen and "a sponger". The establishment of nursing homes, advertised as a benefit of socialism, often led to the removal of disabled people to isolated institutions. Meanwhile the Soviet population, including activists among people with disabilities, mastered the skills of using official or unofficial channels to criticise the social environment as well as social policy itself (Raymond, 1989). While the State continued to present itself as a rich and responsible provider throughout the 'Zastoi' (stagnation) years of the 1980s, a sense of rebellion and liberation was revealing itself in underground literature, until the idea of 'rights' reached the light in the years of post-Soviet freedom. At this point, the parents of disabled children started to challenge openly the dubious classifications and practices of the 'experts'.

The Soviet system of social welfare shaped by the 1950s served as a model for the states of the Eastern socialist bloc (Schilde, Schulte 2005; Dixon, Macarov 1992). In its golden age, relating to Khrushchev's and early Brezhnev's period, the Soviet government built one of the most advanced systems of social assistance in the world, concerning access equality as well as the volume and quality of services. And although the right and duty for labour determined the access to many social services directly from the workplace, the segment of a universal welfare regime with typical disposition of domiciliary services available for all district residents was extended as well. The progress in house-building, medical provision, welfare and education made the Soviet Union the world leader concerning the growth rates and the volume of services. The resources of social policy were concentrated in big cities and the soviet citizens were not just passive recipients but actively were seeking state welfare (see Bittner 2003). Free education, public health care and social benefits that had been a fact of life for decades in the Soviet Union have now become an object of deep nostalgia for many people, especially the elderly. The state and its various agents carried out this double-faced task of care and control at all levels of social life, moving gradually from tough and selective schemes of social security and insurance to the "bright future" of a socialist welfare state. The welfare states emerging in post-socialist countries, it was an uneasy task to compete with the previous welfare system (Pascall, Manning 2000).

According to Linda Cook (2007: 2), three major problems of communist welfare were as follows: populations were state-dependents, popular attachments to the welfare state were strong, and organised stakeholders favoured its maintenance. In the West national welfare policies were influenced by civil society (about the role of women in the development of maternal and child welfare in the United States see Ladd-Taylor 1995). In contrast to this,

Soviet ideology stressed that social security benefits are a gift from the state, a genuine act of governmental benevolence, a true manifestation of socialist humanism (Rimlinger 1971: 254).

Social care tightly enwrapped the society, controlled the activity and thoughts of Soviet people for more than seventy years and within the system of dominant rules, its users made "innumerable and infinitesimal transformations in order to adapt it to their own interests and their own rules." (de Certeau, 1984, p. xiv.) The features of the Soviet society and ideology were the forms of its adjustments from below, which helped individual actors, families, and social groups to achieve a kind of inner freedom and to gain a certain level of social integration.

Gender politics under socialism

The modernising ideals and norms of state ideology particularly targeted women and the family as it penetrated into people's lives (Lapidus 1978; Stites 1991). The official Marxist explanation of social problems stressed the role of social disparity, poverty and illiteracy in high infant mortality rates and inequality between men and women. The desired social changes depended on strong involvement of the population in mass campaigns and volunteer mobilisation aimed at solving socially important problems. One of the social engineering projects of the entire Soviet period was "social maternity", i.e. the involvement of the state and society in solving family problems (see e.g., Ashwin 2000a; Goldman 1993). This was an instrumental policy aimed to break the subordination of women to the patriarchal family so that both men and women could serve as a "builders of communism" (Wood, 1997; Ashwin 2000b: 5)

As Rebecca Kay argues, "… certain categories within the population were singled out as having specific needs, and were entitled to additional support as a result. Gendered practices and ideologies of care were important factors in defining these 'special' categories." (Kay 2007a: 52.) Such a 'special' category was that of women-workers who required additional support to be able to carry a dual burden as both workers and mothers (Kay 2007a: 52-53). Special legislation and institutional infrastructure were created in the early Soviet period in order to implement the new policy and wide propaganda strategies were used (Gradskova 2007). Under this legislation, women workers were promised vacations and financial support upon giving birth, child care, the right to obtain alimony through court if fathers refused to "provide material support" for the child, and the right to abortion at will, as well as limits to work that would be detrimental to their health at certain stages of pregnancy.

A new image of the Soviet woman and her responsibilities as worker and mother were created (Buckley, 1989; Attwood, 1990). However, there was a considerable gap between the revolutionary rhetoric of gender equality and its implementation. In the first half of the 1920s, legal norms concerning the labour protection of pregnant and breast-feeding women were often violated,

and working conditions often did not meet sanitary and hygienic standards. Another factor of gender inequality in labour relations was that women generally had lower qualifications, so their wages were significantly lower than those paid to qualified (mostly male) workers.

In the 1930s, millions of women became part of the industrialisation drive's labour reserve – the increase in female labour outpaced male labour increases, partly as a result of political repression, of which men were the principle target. As a result, women not only gained access to the professions, but were also eagerly accepted into positions and industries that had traditionally been male, gained opportunities for rapid career advancement and filled the growing number of vacant positions in both towns and countryside.

To cite Buckley's metaphor, the ideological torch cast light on their collective achievements but not on the problems they faced (Buckley 1989: 113). Shortcomings in the legislation, the persistence of traditional behaviour among the population as well as a lack of state resources made it difficult to release women from "kitchen slavery". Public nurseries and kindergartens were provided by industrial enterprises, or as separate institutions, but they could neither accommodate all the children nor provide the desired moral and physical upbringing (Smirnova 2003: 226-246; Hoffman 2000). Being the active part of the workforce, women were also expected to shoulder the burden of privatised child care. Only the privileged bureaucrats could live more liberated lifestyle (see: Racioppi and O'Sullivan See, 2006).

"Equality" between women and men was constantly reinterpreted to meet economic policy needs, while rhetoric often differed radically from practice. In the process of politicisation of motherhood and childhood "the authorities sought to forge an alliance with mothers through their definition of motherhood as a noble and rewarded service to the state, rather than as a private matter proceeding from the relationship between husbands and wives" (Ashwin 2000b: 11), or between parents and children.

As Rebecca Kay (2007a: 53) argues, in the Soviet Union, "gendered constructions of need and entitlement and the differing access for men and women to public services and support" have made men almost invisible in the private sphere. Individual men's function was officially defined by their position in the service of the state, thus masculinity "became socialized and embodied in the Soviet state" (Ashwin 2000b: 1). While women entered "typically male" jobs, especially during the war, men were largely absent in care work.

The state's need for women to produce and reproduce, as well as their role in maintaining certain social and material conditions (at a time of millions of homeless children, poorly-financed orphanages, growth in the teenage crime rate and a wide-spread irresponsibility among fathers), reinforced a policy to restore a more traditional family and maternity model (see Goldman 1993). A strong emphasis on marriage, large families and parental responsibility was made. The 1936 decree prohibited abortion and made divorce much more difficult comparing to the liberal legislation of 1918.

Previous suspicion towards families was replaced by a strong emphasis on the normative concept of family based on traditionalist and modernist values. According to a gender contract of the "working mother", Soviet women should conduct "societally useful labour" and implement their mission of mother "as female natural destiny" and civic duty. At the same time, ideological and institutional arrangements promoted their sole responsibility for child rearing and multiple domestic chores.

While in the official rhetoric, the goal was to promote gender equality and to strengthen the family, the Soviet government weakened the autonomy of the family as a fortress against state intervention in private life and intensified women's subordination in the workplace and at home (Hoffman 2000).

While a normal family was considered a "full" or "complete" unit of both parents with children, the number of single mothers and so called "incomplete families" continued to increase, especially during and after the Second World War. Soviet government reacted with the establishment of allowances as well as certain privileges for single mothers at the working place and special provisions of child care. In 1974 monetary allowances were introduced for low income families. In the 1980s the state's concern about the well-being of children in one-parent families was reflected in the establishment of some modest measures for their support, including small-sized monetary benefits and privileged access to childcare services. Unfortunately, financial support provided to single mothers could not improve their life quality. Besides, a household headed by a single mother was largely perceived as an abnormal phenomenon both due to the patriarchal legacies of Imperial Russia, and similar logics restored under Stalin and persisting long after.

The term "neblagopoluchnaia" family was used in literature and research publications in the 1970s and especially in 1980s when ideological pressure was lessened. Employment was considered to be a measure of reducing "neblagopoluchie" of a family. To identify such families was the task of zhensovety (women's councils), which should organise individual work with them, appealing to the authorities if necessary.

Care and Order: Welfare Policy and the Shaping of Good Soviet Citizens

This part concentrates on building a theoretical framework to study the processes of social constructing of a 'good citizen' by means of social welfare rhetoric and practices. It sets out to give a social historical treatment of the institutional upbringing of children by applying theories in a case study of a Soviet children's home as a peculiar lab for raising an ideal citizen. Linked to this theme of ideal child, the normative expectations related to class and gender are considered. Given that the studies of Soviet child welfare focus

on institutions, actors and images, the last section of this part focuses on justifying an approach to visual analysis of Soviet child welfare.

How to raise a good citizen: institutional child upbringing in early Soviet Russia

Child protection is a form of state control over a population that has been arranged since the eighteenth century to reorganise the lives of the poor in terms of the state's social and economic needs (Donzelot 1997). New social policy institutions emerged with the rise of scientific discourses, "to intervene into the lives and identities of citizens, to develop ways to construct and govern the welfare of citizens" (Bloch et al. 2003: 17-18).

Under state socialism, many social problems were not recognized, or they were defined as medical or criminal issues. The recognition of such issues as problems generated by the system and not as an individual diagnosis would have meant an offence against the foundations of the dominating ideology. Therefore in socialist Russia the social, social-psychological, or social-medical services existed in a fragmentary form and rather belonged to other kinds of activity: although there were social welfare agencies (sobes), these mainly dealt with the issues of elderly people, pensioners, while family issues were to be resolved by voluntary women's organizations, trade unions, in court or at party gatherings. At the same time, the issues of family, women and children were the focus of perpetual debates since early Soviet history. Social care and social control practices were carried out by different professional and quasi-professional assistants—educators in youth and children's cultural centres and clubs, activists in women's organisations and trade unions, teachers at schools and educators in kindergartens and orphanages, nurses and visiting nurses at polyclinics, and officials of domestic affairs departments (Buckley 1996; Schrand 1999).

Soviet hygienists, nutritionists, sociologists, psychologists and pedagogues developed detailed guidance on how to raise a good citizen and on how to educate and advise parents. The legal base of taking a child away from his/her family justified by a court procedure of termination of parental rights was introduced already in 1918. The theory was that Soviet power would take on responsibility for children, raising them in institutions to transform them into communists (Bernstein 2001a). The First World War and the Civil War had left millions of children orphaned, homeless and unsupervised (beznadzornye) juvenile delinquents (Madison 1968: 40).

In the accounts of early revolutionary years, children personify problems that complicated or even undermined the efforts to emancipate women from domestic labour, and therefore the child question should be solved before the women's question (Kirschenbaum 2001: 1). Raising children in institutions was considered as an opportunity to "instill socialist principles (rather than the potentially reactionary teachings of parents)" (Hoffman, 2000). In the words of Svetlana Boym (1994: 91), "in the mid-1920s the pedagogical ideal

was a reformed orphan, the former homeless hooligan-besprizornik, a child of the Civil War turned into an exemplary builder of communism." However, the rise of the number of abandoned children was so high that the government could not accommodate and care for all of them and the juveniles engaged in the criminal activities, while adoption was a contested issue for many years in Soviet society (see Bernstein 2001b).

According to Bernice Madison, three particularly effective methods that were used in social welfare in general and in child welfare in particular have been derived from Makarenko's theory. "They are (1) an integrated casework-group work method that addresses itself simultaneously to the collective (kollektiv) and the individual, (2) community participation ('obshchestvennost'), defined as the effort of every individual on behalf of the total community, and (3) work therapy (trud)." (Madison 1968: 33-34.) Correspondingly, images of the rising generation represented "the vanguard of cultural change, as 'embryonic' collectivist, the independent, adaptable, resourceful, and bold constructors of the revolutionary future" (Kirschenbaum 2001: 1).

In early Soviet Russia, several institutions were set to regulate child protection, beginning in 1919. The Bolsheviks sought to replace the family with collective institutions. The family was considered with suspicion as it "would corrupt children and imbue them with anti-Soviet and religious values. This view remained popular within certain communist circles which included the Commissariat of Enlightenment as late as 1930" (Bernstein 2001a). Since 1935 work towards combating children's abandonment and homelessness was accelerated, and the main emphasis was placed on children's institutions, guardians, and parents. In 1936 the previously developed system of social upbringing was eliminated in the Soviet Union as "anti-Leninist theory of withering away the school". Psychology was declared bourgeois science and emphasis on children's homes was made. During the Second World War more than 1,000 children's homes with 100,000 children were moved from the front zone of military action to the rear in the second part of 1941 and 1942. The number of children's homes increased several times.

Many factors prevented the development of child custody forms alternative to institutional care: cases of abuse in foster families, lack of funding, corruption, apathy on behalf of provincial personnel and administrative disorder, involuntary fostering with insufficient means to feed another mouth (Bernstein, 2001b: 75). On the contrary, a children's home was considered a peculiar lab, within the framework of which the experiment on the creation of a new type of person could be realised. There was no bourgeois, demoralising influence of family and the mobilising role of a labour collective was fully embodied, as well as the concept of centralised and universally applicable order which is identically interpreted by all members of the society. "The ideal of the comrade served both sexes and meant both to be equally virile, while it rejected 'bourgeois psychology'" (Boym 1994: 89.)

Modernism invented convenient ways of control over bodies, and these new disciplinary forms allowed the elimination of individual bodily

characteristics and required the internalisation of standards of hygiene, movement and nutrition (see Damkjaer 1998), and these principles were employed by psychology and pedagogy. The Soviet system of education in the broadest sense declared its distinctness from a bourgeois and pre-revolutionary system of education. In the basis of such distinctions was the tendency to overcome class differences induced by inconsistencies of class society and to create conditions for the formation of the ideal worker-citizen, obeying the rules "of the builders of communism" or " of a socialist community" and characterised by the high degree of individual responsibility, labour enthusiasm, and personal ideological purity. The system of upbringing was built around the principle of primacy of the duties and obligations of an individual towards socialist society.

Institutional upbringing of children: theories and life experiences

The results of a historical case study of a children's home 'Krasnyi gorodok' [Red small town] show, that a concept of 'order' in the narratives of the former residents of the children's home "Krasnyi gorodok" is a key category, devoted to the organisation of life (Iarskaia-Smirnova, Romanov 2005). Verbal expressions concerning this order have extremely positive connotations. This order was associated with certainty and stability for those children, many of whom had experienced abandonment, famine, trauma and unpredictability in their past. The order constituted of the alternation of night rest, hygienic procedures, training, and meals. For the interviewee who had survived famine, this was attractive by virtue of these anticipated meal periods, as well as the understandable and quiet life in general. Activities in sewing, carpentry, locksmith's and other workshops were also an important element of the order, introducing older children to the adult world

The system of upbringing reflected ideology and the general policies of acculturation of the new generation of socialists. In the 1930s–1940s, 'cultureness' was both a means and a feature of positive socialisation. The meanings of the concept of 'order' include not only frames for time and space, but also certain qualities to be developed in pupils. To keep things in order, in an appropriate condition, washing, ironing, and repairing them occupied a special time in the life schedule of pupils. This care of oneself introduced children to adult life; it introduced to them a system of recognised values of a wider society.

An important element of the disciplining order in the memories of former pupils is the adult figure – a person, who is responsible for an exact and normal world order, who puts forward requirements and monitors their fulfilment. In addition to adults – tutors and administrators, supervisors of training workshops – the children, too, were functioning as tools of monitoring the order. Thus, the residents were organised in a specific system of hierarchies and responsibilities, carrying out surveillance, providing the administration

with messages and official reports. Children on duty were specifically mentioned in the interviews -- they were responsible for the maintenance of order in bedrooms. These relations inside the children's collective developed in a framework of the concept of unified social-labour upbringing, in which adults and children were a part of the system of management.

For the pupils these hierarchies were elements of an ideological system offered by adults, which had the approved normative forms. For the offenders of discipline, forms of collective punishment, including collective discussions [*prorabotki*] of behaviour were stipulated, where the comrades of the guilty pupils appealed to their feeling of collective identity.

The value of this common, collective identity is hard to overestimate. After many years, the inhabitants of the Krasnyi Gorodok still speak about the others like members of a large family. In the interviews, the creation of collective identity appears to be intimately tied to the processes of making the children internalise the orders of a children's home, its system of requirements, outside of which they could not imagine their existence any more. A contest for children between the institution and a family reflected the theoretical and policy debates concerning the changing notion of the child's best interests and highlighted the dilemmas of difficult times – famine, war, ruins, repressions.

"Schooling and education in various forms were to be instruments of colonization and modernization that would help to homogenize and fabricate the cosmopolitan and modern citizen" (Bloch et al. 2003: 20). A concept of 'kulturnost' ['cultured behaviour'] in children's homes was used in various practices of integrating a child into Soviet society. This process of acculturation included hygienic practices, discipline of the body, and internalising the rules of conduct. This was achieved by strong regulations of collective conduct, through collective marches, sequences of rest, meal, work and study in a time-table. The mental shaping was promoted through collective reading of approved literature, collective discussion of books and films, and collective punishment of the deviants.

Loyalty towards the political order was developed by the creation and reproduction of the 'proper' hierarchies where the leading positions were occupied by the children who corresponded most with the aspirations of the tutors, i.e. the most 'cultural', obedient, following officially designed rites and rules. The whole process of engaging into the determined order of things was arranged by the adults and proceeded under their vigilant control even when the children demonstrated certain elements of self-government. The general goal of this process was to create conditions of internalised control, a designated cultural imperative of the pupils. It is possible that this project was a success as a whole, and in particular, through the means of labour socialisation. Labour acquired an important political and cultural role in the Soviet era. At the same time, under the conditions of scarce resources, the pupils' labour was a base for the economic survival of the institution and of its integration into the local economy.

In the orphanage economy children "were more exposed to policies created primarily to fulfil the state's needs, rather than their own individual potential" (Varsa 2007: 2-4). Labour is a key leitmotif in all interviews with the ex-pupils of the children's home "Krasnyi gorodok". Talks about the importance of labour (mainly industrial, manual labour) and about its nearly sacred essence constitute common memories for any person who grew up in the 1930s. Such narratives are the natural product of the political system which announced dictatorship of the proletariat as the main doctrine and decorated labour with a special rhetoric. Since her childhood, one of our interviewees identified herself with industrial production and dreamed about a time when she would become a worker at some factory.

According to the stories collected, the labour practices of the residents of the children's home supported three forms of economy of the institution. These were (i) the economy of self-maintenance, (ii) local economy of the city, and (iii) national wartime economy, when all forces of the society were mobilised to military goals. The degree of involvement in such types of economy varied in time and depended on which resources were available from the state or were inevitably taken away by the state.

The self-maintenance economy was based on the children's work on maintaining order and cleanness on the premises, on agricultural production of vegetables and fruit, as well as production of clothes. The children's involvement in productive activity was legitimised not only by pedagogical explanations. It was of ultimate importance because of the lack of food, staff, and money. Another important aspect of the internal economic arrangements was the maintenance of the inside order of the institution, i.e. cleaning the building and disciplining each other. To keep their home tidy, children used all sorts of improvised means, which could be found on the streets. Moreover, such activities conformed with the principles of labour competition embraced in the Soviet Union.

A special emphasis in all interviews was placed on the everyday methods of managing scarce resources, practices of diligence; these practices were interconnected with the task of constructing and displaying gender. As an example, 'ironing' skirts by placing them on the boards under the mattress was a requirement for the girls. This meant that they had to lie carefully on their beds, avoiding any movement.

Children´s labour was seen not only as a basic economic necessity, but also as training for their future. In order to shape a good and useful citizen for the state, "the welfare character of residential care ensured that children would be given rigorous training in work and work discipline... On the other hand, the educational character of residential care was shaped so as to channel children toward the kinds of skilled or unskilled manual labor and training dictated by the fast-changing needs of industrial modernization." (Varsa 2007: 2-4.) Mainly, such crafts training was gender specific – girls were trained in sewing and knitting, while the boys acquired skills in shoe making, carpentry

and metalwork, though there are also memories of the former female pupils about their training and work in shoe workshops, where their success invoked a special pleasure in the supervisor. Children in these homes were acquiring working class identities although for some of them mobility channels were open to attain other kinds of careers.

Visual histories of Soviet child welfare

While conducting an overview of Soviet welfare policies, I was eager not to identify the shortcomings of the socialist model of social care, but, following the idea of Christina Kiaer and Eric Naiman (2006), to use the forms taken by everyday life and the modern subject in the Soviet Union as a way to call into question our own certainty about how these phenomena work. My analysis focuses on social policy during the socialist times when the ideology of care and control was established in accordance with the demands of industrial growth, formulating particular definitions of normality and deviance (Lebina 1999; George, Manning 1980; Manning, Davidova 2001).

In order to conduct such an analysis, a combination of approaches seemed to be productive. Photographs, photo albums and other collections, archives contain elements of hidden curricula (Margolis 1999), and the context of photo production, the use and meaning of the photographs to the owners and viewers are as important as the images themselves (Banks 2001; Bogdan and Marshall 1997). The phenomenological concern for the power of the image emphasises its political implications (see Moxey 2008). Popular historical memory and understanding are shaped by visual depictions that cloud, at times distort, as well as clarify the past, and are essential to the creation of historical myths (Weinberg, 1998). Visual methods and traditional data (personal narratives, archival sources) can complement each other as different types of knowledge, which can be experienced and represented (Pink, 2001; Guyas 2007). Analysis of visual images of children in historical contexts helps to reveal social relations and socialisation practices, cultural codes of labour, education, and family life, which shape childhood in a certain space and at a certain time (Higonnet, 1998; Kelly, 2008; Leppert, 2000; MacAustin and Thomson, 2003).

Symbolic meanings of childhood in early Soviet Russia and aspirations of Bolshevik pedagogues and policymakers were a "discursive lens through which the anxieties of early Soviet Russia were exposed and debated" (Gorsuch 2000: 2), and a "personification of the whole enterprise of cultural revolution" (Kirschenbaum 2001: 2). Pictorial constructs of normality and social problems are characteristic of a certain historic period of time; various forms of visual evidence illuminate social issues of the past and contemporary society. Interpretations of visual texts highlight peculiarities of social relations and individual experience as well as offering new understanding of the visual within a culture and a society. At the same time, they embody the conflict

between general goals of upbringing of the new Soviet individual and the private tasks of the workers in institutions coping with shortages and burdens of warfare, as well as conflicting social pedagogical theories and practices. The study presented in *Paper I*, was influenced by the image-based approach to research (Bonnell 1998, Prosser, 1998) and contemporary inter-disciplinary visual and textual research of memory (see, for example, Hirsch, 1997; Grady, 2008; Langford, 2001), that have become essential to understanding the dynamics of images of self and identity, emotions and thinking associated with visualising private and public spaces, social change and social policies, and to be able to interpret them.

Current Russian Welfare Policy

Focusing on recent changes in welfare policy, I open this part by placing the discussion in a complex comparative perspective in order to pinpoint the common ground as well as the peculiar position of Russia in regards to various paths of development in post-communist welfare states. In the next section of this part, I document the main facts and issues of the development of the welfare state in post-Soviet Russia, as well as underscore its classed and gendered effects. Here I discuss policies on single parenting as well as on parenting a disabled child, and conclude that many of the beliefs held by the people in today's Russia have deep roots in the Soviet past but they are mixed with new assumptions.

Post-communist welfare states: paths and crossroads

According to Harold Wilensky (1975) patterns of welfare-state development were to converge, including capitalist and communist nations. Other researchers challenged this idea and the debate still continues. Though there is an obvious general trend of convergence towards a residual regime of social security systems in post-socialist countries, now a notable differentiation of countries of this group is happening (Deacon 2000; Manning 2004). Social policy in the Baltic States after the collapse of the Soviet Union became less universal. "The ideology has shifted from a full state commitment to the safety of everybody in every situation to providing a safety net for its population, where people's primary responsibility is for their own welfare" (Aidukaite 2004: 43). The vector of social reforms is changing under the influence of political agenda (Careja, Emmenegger 2009; Standing 1998). The high degree of diversity of political and social-economic systems as well as cultural contexts was typical of these countries under socialism. Having rather different economic and political conditions, countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union undertook big efforts to repair former states or to build new social states on fundamentally different basis (Lal 1991; Haggard and Kaufman 2009). In the composition of institutional conditions of new social states significant roles are played by the degree of

power concentration, the power of civil society, the freedom of speech, the degree of prevalence of informal economic practices, including corruption and public opinion. The post-socialist space is characterised by considerable transformations of the role of state, ideology and arrangements of social policy. Comparative research of social policy in Baltic countries "confirms that family policy is a product of the prevailing ideology within a country, while the potential influence of globalisation and Europeanisation is detectable too" (Aidukaite 2004: 46).

At the very beginning of the 1990s, the Russian society changed drastically. It became more open and heterogeneous, bringing wealth to some people and hardship to others. Some people were able to start new companies or found new jobs acquiring new skills, while many others found themselves in declining sectors of agriculture, mining, or the military industry (Kivinen 2006: 275).

It was a time of big political changes and painful social transformations which were accompanied by a dramatic growth of inequality, poverty and unemployment, homelessness and juvenile delinquency, drug and alcohol misuse, mental health issues, and HIV/AIDS (Green et al. 2000; Höjdestrand 2003; McAuley 2010; Pridemore 2002; Stephenson 2000; Titterton 2006). Market reforms led to the appearance of significant social distinctions and the accelerated formation of classes: comparatively small strata of the very rich and a rather large proportion of the poor and impoverished, living on the poverty line (Lokshin, Popkin 1999). Some authors claim that formation of the median groups is a very slow process, and the proportion of such people is still very small (see: Manning, Tikhonova, 2004). The peculiarity of Russia is related to the mixture of socialist heritage and liberal innovations both in the rhetoric and practice of reform implementation, as well as specificity of social structure.

Russia, as many other postcommunist societies experienced the serious worsening of welfare indicators, the depths of distress, including evidence on declining life expectancy, rising morbidity, the erosion of schooling, lack of social protection and mass unemployment (Standing 1998), and increases in poverty (Cook 2007: 3). The drop in real incomes and rise in inequality was rapid at the very beginning of the market reforms, when a third of the country's population belonged to the poor category (Ovcharova, Popova 2005). The number of families with children falling into the poverty trap started to rise (Kivinen 2006: 273). The number of single parent families (90% of these are single mother families) was relatively stable during socialist times, steadily ranging between 16% in 1970 and 15,2% in 1989, but grew to 21% during the 1990s and to 23,3% in 2008. While in 1994 there were 9,4% households with three and more children, by 2002 this proportion dropped substantially down to 6,6% and in 2010 to 3,8%.

In the 1990s – 2000s new forms of social inequality were deepened by the differences in capabilities and life styles in big cities and small towns, the level of education and availability of health care and social networks. Many

rural regions in the middle part of Russia, Ural and Siberia, the Far East have especially suffered from these indirect results of liberalisation. In addition to these external attributes of poverty and instability there are also symbolic tools of categorisation of people as unfortunate and poor. They are used to establish a new government of social insecurity, to reinforce networks of militia, doctors and social workers aimed at controlling the conduct of women and men caught in the turbulence of economic instability (Wacquant 2009).

The decrease in the state social protection programmes in the 1990s, lack of accessible child care services, low chances in the labour market, and gender inequality vis-à-vis career opportunities have placed single mothers at a high risk of poverty. All this has played a crucial role in worsening the life situation of the majority of one parent families. Families with children are the largest group among poor people in Russia, while single mother families are at the biggest risk (Ovcharova, Popova 2005), especially when the child has a disability.

Doing class and gender in a post-communist welfare state

Welfare policies make class distinctions and mark families as classed (see Klett-Davies 2010). Contemporary discourse on good and bad parenting in the United Kingdom legitimate and normalise middle class parenting practices while pathologising working class ones (Perrier 2010: 18). A common feature of such discourse about 'poor parenting' in the United Kingdom and Russia, as I will show, is that it constructs inadequate parenting as the source of social problems (Perrier 2010: 28). In this situation, poverty and such other structural conditions as the unavailability of good education, housing and health care, high insecurity, crime and anti-social behaviour are individualised, "detached from their deep structural roots and explained through recourse to developmental psychology" (Gillies 2010: 44). Intensive structural processes of marginalisation are going on, effecting the fast sinking of so called "new poor" among those individuals and families who in Soviet times were doing better (single mothers, pensioners, teachers, librarians, etc.).

Gender is influential in and influenced by state-led social policies and structures, as well as by social practices and relations, shaping the experiences and lives of women and men (see Kay2007 b). Realisation of their rights as citizens by single mothers depends on the degree of "friendliness" of the state toward women (see Hernes 1987) in general, and female-led families in particular. This presupposes a widely developed network of public services, child care and possibilities of paid work for women. Besides, it is important for women to have a choice to either perform the caring work themselves or delegate it to public services.

While the Soviet state socialised many costs of motherhood and care work, nowadays families are bearing much heavier costs; women are more familialised, more dependent on family relationships (Pascal and Manning 2000). Low income parents, and single mothers in particular, have found

themselves in the less prestigious sector of the labour market. Having engaged in interactions with the social service system in the 1990s-2000s, they were often frustrated by the inadequate assistance and impossibility to improve their life situation. Negative attitudes are still being encountered by single parents in everyday communications and public discourse. Additional pressure is on those families who raise children with disabilities and on parents who have a disability themselves.

This strand of research is inspired by a debate about societal norms concerning life experiences of people who have experience of living with a disability. Technological advances in the West "permit disabled people to travel, study and work, and as the media incorporate their pictures and stories into articles, advertising, television programmes and films, their presence becomes more familiar and less frightening" (Mairs 1996: 127). In Russia, much of this is only beginning to happen. The two pillars of the contemporary paradigm of disability policy in Russia are the images of people with disabilities as clients and as patients (Rasell 2011). Parents of children with disabilities in Russia live in a societal environment where the legitimacy of the individualistic biomedical approach to disability is widespread. In the Soviet Union, if a disabled child was born, it was the State's responsibility to bring up and support the child, while the parents were to devote their time to work for the state. However, such children were not provided with "adequate education and support, and the family was not allowed or encouraged to help their child" (Dashkina 2007: 50.).

The post-Soviet framework inherits a medical model of disability, where the most significant task of the state is to provide medical help in order to restore ability of persons with disabilities in the first place to work. This model is manifested in social attitudes perpetuating stigma and misunderstanding. But the origins of this model are not to be found exclusively in the Soviet past. It is rooted in modernism when the classification of human value by labour contribution was especially important. The rise of cities, science and industries led to a commodification of the human body while disability meant deviation that should be under control. Statistical measurements of reproduction, fertility, ratio of births to deaths and other demographic data were used by the government to regulate population as a part of the new technologies of power. This bio-power was established as a means of control targeting public health and other economic and political issues since the late eighteenth century (Foucault 2003).

Characteristics of difference, understood not only in terms of income and health but also in regard to the ability to work became most important factors of state governance, while medicine, namely public hygiene, became the main institute of social control, more powerful than religion and law. Its moral power to define normality, sanction deviation, reproduce and maintain social order creates dependency on doctors and medications, while social and economic conditions only reinforce marginalisation of individuals and groups (Schram 2000). As a consequence of this medicalisation of poverty, political and economic

reforms are replaced by the organisation of psychological or psychiatric help, and the explanation of social problems is reduced to a description of behavioural symptoms or a special "culture" (Throop 2009: 42), for example to infantilisation (Ehrenreich 1990: 48), to stigmatisation and exclusion of individuals and groups. Stigma is not only reproduced in the social environment but also affects the self-definition of a person or group (Goffman 1963).

The legal and civil rights of persons with disabilities are now implemented in Russia on a broader scale than before. However, discriminatory stereotypes are not easy to change. A child with a disability is still presented often in mass media as a personal tragedy for a family in frames of traditional wisdom and values (Barnes and Oliver 1993: 5). Many of the problems that people with disabilities and their families experience are caused by prejudices, unadjusted physical and social environment, including failures of social policy and social work to recognise and meet the needs of disabled people.

This practice of stigmatisation and exclusion and its critique is central in the analysis of mothering as a socially constructed phenomenon. As is shown in *Paper II*, this downward slide is reflected in women's narrative representations of a future filled with uncertainty for them and for their children. Such families carry a colossal workload and face nearly insurmountable obstacles in obtaining basic services to meet just a few of their needs.

The changes in Russian social services of the late 1990s include the rise of a third sector, concern with social work professionalisation, and the development of new managerialism. In the 2000s the role of public welfare policies increased while the legislation tightened the welfare activities of civic organisations and their international cooperation. A characteristic feature of the process of change in the Russian public sector in general and in the social services sector in particular is so called "statist" welfare and the narrow possibilities for creating a competitive environment.

The on-going processes of social policy reforms in Russia are determined by the neoliberal principles of restructuring the welfare state by reducing subsidies and entitlements, introducing means testing and privatisation (Cook 2007: 2). This shift from universal provision and employment-based entitlement toward targeted provision had been legitimised by the emphasis on increasing the transparency of the system of social services in order to manage and optimise the distribution of budget resources. "New delivery mechanisms have had to be developed as enterprise structures and forms of employment changed and diversified and the social wage approach became defunct" (Kay 2007a: 53).

Social costs for such societal beneficiaries of communist welfare states as women who depended on state protections for access to labour markets, were subject to restructuring and retrenchment (Cook 2007: 4). This change was prompted by the cancellation of monthly benefits for all children except those of poor families in 2001. Since 2005, the authority to finance and legislatively regulate this benefit was transferred to the regional budgets, which resulted in a deterioration in the circumstances of children in economically depressed

regions. According to survey data, 80% of single parent families with children and more than 60% of families with many children are excluded from the social benefit system (Ovcharova, Popova 2005). Means-tested assistance was supposed to increase the effectiveness of the social welfare system, but it has had negative effects on the most vulnerable population, especially single mothers who are the heads of low-income households (Romanov 2008).

Neoliberal logic reinforced an ideal of a responsible, self-sufficient subject. When families suspected of child neglect are discussed in mass media, the emphasis is placed not on situations of extreme hardship but rather on "the inability of parents to make a success of their lives" (Welshman 2007: 189-190). Single parents families in public discourses and everyday life conversations often fall under the category of 'unfit' or 'unfortunate' (neblagopoluchnye), inherited from the late Soviet period and mixed with the neo-liberal rationalities.

It is the task of *Paper V*, to consider how social policy based on liberal ideology and rhetoric, is a part of such processes and reinforces marginalisation. The research presented in this paper, provides further evidence that the parenting is a cultural and classed experience shaped by welfare policy, and examines the consequences of this for identities of parents.

The Professional Ideology of Social Work and Issues of Exclusion

In this part, the issues of professional development of social work in Russia are discussed. Drawing on figures and facts of establishing a new occupation in post-Soviet Russia and on theoretical perspectives in sociology on professions, I describe the contradictions of the professionalisation of social work focusing in particular on gender aspects. Applying a concept of professional ideology, I consider legitimisation of social work on three levels: values, institutions, and actors. Social work is shown as a classing and gendering process driven by ideology which is shaped and modified by various sources. It reflects post-Soviet legitimacy of care and control as well as values of neo-liberal social reforms.

"Professional project" of social work in Russia

The "professional project" (Larson 1977) of social work began to be developed in Russia since 1991 when several new occupations and educational programmes were officially introduced in Russia. In the same year, university training programmes were established, and several professional associations created. During the 1990s a wide network of social services were established under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Labour and Social Development (currently Ministry of Health Care and Social Development). This social

service network has been expanding rapidly during the last 10-12 years. According to the Social Service Federal Law (1995), "the system of social service agencies includes organisations under the control of both Federal and regional authorities, in addition to municipal systems which involve municipal organisations of social services. Social service can also be provided by organisations and citizens representing different sectors of the economy". By now there are about six thousand organisations with more than 500 000 employees who provide services for the elderly, people with disabilities, and families with children. The social welfare sector in Russia covers a variety of agencies, providing direct care and support to service users. The welfare sector of this system in our description can broadly be split into family & children and adult services. Adult services include residential nursing homes, day care, home help, work with people with disabilities, homeless people, and job counselling for the unemployed. The main component of family and child services is work with families, which encompasses family care centres, rehabilitation facilities for children with disabilities and for children from families at risk, part time day care facilities, and nursing homes for children with learning difficulties. Outreach work with youth delinquents, drug addicts and homeless people is conducted mainly by NGOs, which are active in big cities. Most of the services are public agencies designed in a similar way according to an exemplary standing order and regulated by common bureaucratic requirements.

Russia inherited from the Soviet period a complex system of social security based in public institutions, without professional social work and with the small social transfers to different social groups (people with disabilities, single mothers, veterans, etc., altogether more than 150 categories of population), which were in addition irregularly paid. The most characteristic feature of these legacies in the Russian public sector in general and in the social service sector in particular is the persistence of the monopolised position of organisations providing public services and the narrow possibilities for creating a competitive environment (Romanov 2008). Due to the ineffectiveness of a universalistic approach, the emphasis in solving welfare problems was shifted to a means tested scheme. That has led to a cancellation of a number of welfare client groups, and to compensating them via monetary means.

According to Magali S. Larson, the successful professional project would result in a "monopoly of competence legitimised by officially sanctioned 'expertise', and a monopoly of credibility with the public" (Larson, 1977: 38). The processes of acquiring a market monopoly for its service, and status and upward mobility (collective as well as individual) in the social order (Evetts 2003: 401-402) is an uneasy project for social work as a new occupation in Russia. Since the beginning of the 1990s, its practice field was characterised with low pay and low prestige; it was developing rather separately from the field of professional training, while the situation in human resources of the social work service sector was characterised by low wages, labour shortage, high turnover of personnel and insufficient opportunities for retraining. In Russia, in

the early 1990s people associated the term "social work" either with "public voluntary work" as non-paid socially useful activity to be done in one's free time, or with the phenomenon of more current importance – "temporary public work" offered by the employment service for registered unemployed people. University teachers had to appeal to foreign experience for models of education and practice as they felt a dissonance between public perception and personal expectations in relation to the training of a university specialist.

The network of social work agencies was growing simultaneously with a number of universities offering professional education in social work that became an extremely popular choice for young people. In 1991 only four institutions of higher education were offering social work programmes, while in 2010 there were more than 130. However, there is a contradiction: due to the low wages, the majority of graduates leave the profession once they have received their diploma, and therefore, unqualified social carers still make up the majority of the workforce (Penn 2007). By setting up inadequate wage policies for social workers, the state reinforced the societal assumption of cheap women's labour. In addition, power relations in social work practice reinforce social inequalities. The ideology of a specific female work-capacity was reproduced in social work, as in other forms of care work. Flexible working hours provided opportunities for women to do care work both in the family and in public services. Added to this, these positions were open while other job opportunities were scarce and at risk to be closed down. Such a symbolic gender contract (Rotkirch, Temkina 1997) between women and the state has been legitimised by the 'National plan of activities concerning the improvement of women's position in Russia and increasing their role in society up to 2000' which promotes a 'creation of additional working places for women by widening the network of social services' (National Plan, 1996). An idea inherent within such a system is that social groups who have fewer opportunities of finding a job would work for less money, and that therefore a state interested in minimising social work expenditure will reproduce such a type of exploitation.

There are different approaches to the concept of professionalisation (see Reeser and Epstein 1996; Larson 1977; Jones and Joss 1995). The functionalist approach deals with the issue of division of labour and poses the question of what needs of society are met through the occupational functions of the professions (Durkheim 1933; Etzioni 1964; Parsons 1951). The years of the 1990s-2000s have been remarkable for the development of social work as a new occupation in Russia. It was evident that previous social institutions could not cope with these new social problems. The broad social policy strategies have attempted to manage both the legacy of social problems from the past and the new social costs of transition (Deacon 2000).

The important traits of a profession are described by the attribute approach, which goes back to Abraham Flexner (see Reeser and Epstein 1996:70-71). The list of traits by Millerson (1964) includes the use of skills based on theoretical knowledge; education and training in these skills; the

competence of professionals proved by examinations; a code of conduct to ensure professional integrity; performance of a service that is for the public good; a professional association that organises members. The importance of training and maintaining a set of core values for social work should be emphasised as a very important contribution to the notion of the professionalisation of social work. In Russia, as *Paper III* demonstrates, social work features do not fully correspond with this list due to the novelty and specific establishment of this "professional project".

The critical perspective on professionalisation is presented by Marxists, neo-Marxist and neo-Weberian visions of professions as supporting the status quo in their attempt to maintain or acquire power and status in the class system (see for example Mills 1953; Freidson 1970; Larson 1977). Jones and Joss (1995:21-27) have distinguished three main professional models in social work: practical professional, technical expert (with its 'variant' – managerial expert professionalism), and reflective practitioner.

Professionalism as a value set and ideology

According to Julia Evetts (2003), professionalism can both be seen as value system or as ideology. "The most obvious difference is that while professionalism as value system is guardedly optimistic about the positive contributions of the concept to a normative social order, professionalism as ideology focuses more negatively on professionalism as a hegemonic belief system and mechanism of social control for 'professional' workers" (Evetts 2003: 399). Social work ideology (Woodcock and Dixon 2005) includes professional values and beliefs motivating people to act in order to realise these values, but it also goes beyond the framework of profession, being incorporated into relations and discourses around social problems and ways to tackle them. It is not only "a consistent set of social, economic and political beliefs" (Mullaly 1997: 31) but rather complex series of relations and discourses that conceal what is really going on in society and that people inhabit in a contradictory, common-sense way (Baines 1999).

What is the character of changes that might be induced by social workers and which ideology do they correspond to in today's Russia? These ideologies can be operational on macro (societal, state and market), meso (organisations and institutions) and micro (groups and actors) levels (Evetts 2003). Correspondingly, the changes can be considered on macro (changes of policy and legislation, structure of service provision and nature of social work), meso (within an organisation, e.g. new kinds of services, departments, directions of work in a concrete service, i.e. some institutional transformations, concerning a rather broad circle of workers, administrators and clients) and micro (working place, e.g. proposals to change the content of forms of existing service provision) levels. Social work earns public legitimacy and develops its own professional ideology which is promoted and used at different levels by various carriers.

On a macro level, the state contributed to the formation of the value base of a new profession by introducing special mechanisms to accumulate social prestige. In 1995 an honourable title "Distinguished worker of social security of population of Russian Federation" was introduced by decree of President Eltsin. In 2000 the Social Worker's Day was established by the order of President Putin. Justification of the choice of this day, 8th of June, was traced back to the reforms of Peter the Great: on this day in 1701 the Russian Emperor carried the decree on assigning the paupers, sick and elderly to the poor-house. That Decree was similar to the Poor Law of Elisabeth I as it differentiated the poor into the deserving and non-deserving. Starting since 2001, each summer the regional departments of social security (or ministries of social development) have been arranging for concerts and costumed amateur performances at local theatres. This has been one of the important building blocks in the process of the making of social work a profession that should have its own 'glorified history'.

"In these ways the normative value system of professionalism in work, and how to behave, respond and advise, is reproduced at the micro level in individual practitioners and in the work places in which they work." (Evetts 2003: 401). Using the famous metaphor of a nation as an imagined community by Benedict Andersen (1991), one can elaborate it further by saying that a profession "is imagined because the members will never know most of their fellow-members…yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Andersen 1991: 6). The shared knowledge about the past and present is a base for common identity, which is produced and reproduced through occupational and professional socialisation as well as organisations (Blau 1960; Hughes 1958) thus contributing to the formation of an imagined community.

As Paper III argues, the competition for expertise between social workers and traditional professions (lawyers, medical doctors, pedagogues and psychologists) is going on in areas of definition and dealing with such issues as family and childhood, drugs and disability, etc. The social model of understanding and tackling these issues is not yet fully recognised, and the values of normality are still in place in social work practice and welfare rhetoric as it is shown in Paper V.

The intellectuals, by writing and publishing textbooks, can legitimise the value base of a profession on a macro-level. The code of ethics of the International Federation of Social Workers and International Association of Schools of Social Work (IFSW and IASSW 2005) suggest that social workers should promote the full involvement and participation of people through empowerment in all aspects of decisions and actions affecting their lives.

Critics of the international definition of social work values pinpoint that is no longer relevant to the context with the move from a welfare state to market welfare, which has changed the nature of relationships between social work, state and the clients. Besides, it is rooted in liberal thought while in reality professional practice exists in a world of various and often contradictory value

positions (Gilbert 2009). Especially it is concerned with the situation in Russia and other countries where the traditions of thought resist and reject Western liberal orthodoxy and hegemony. Alternative proposals of the Ethics of Care, Ethics of Emotion, and others raise challenges to the present definition, but they all confirm the core values of human dignity, worth, and social justice as each promotes a political imperative capable of social change (ibid).

Many textbooks in social policy and social work published in Russia since the early 1990s are written from the social pathology perspective (Mills 1943) and present a large incongruence between the IFSW& IASSW understanding of SW theories and practice. Mothers in general are presented here from the point of view of a patriarchal state ideology while single mothers in particular are shown as immoral, unfortunate and dangerous not only for their own children but also for society on the whole. These books avoid issues of non-discriminatory or multicultural social work, active tolerance and social criticism. The study presented in Paper IV, echoes the results of an analysis of textbooks on social disorganisation conducted by Ch. Wright Mills (1943) who argued that the authors' own norms are tacitly assumed as the standards of the society, so that, for example, an immigrant has to "adjust" to a milieu or to be "assimilated" or Americanized (Mills 1943: 171). Besides, by applying the concept "adjustment", which has a quasi-biological and structureless character, the pathologists tend to universalise it and "obscure specific social content." (Mills 1943: 179.)

Such discourses are rarely challenged: the analysed textbooks received little public critical appraisal as the practice of independent peer review is not yet a wide spread practice within the academic community. Looking at such textbooks, one may judge that social work theory and practice generally is taught in an apolitical way (see Ephross and Reisch 1982). But the reality of social work training in Russia is rather diverse. International projects have provided resources for institutional and curriculum development; they have influenced teaching methods and provided opportunities for teachers to improve their qualifications through new cross-cultural communication experiences, and the acquisition of updated professional knowledge (see the review of the input of international projects into social work development in Russia: Iarskaia-Smirnova 2011).

On a *meso-level*, an organisation is an environment for shaping social work legitimacy. "Not surprisingly, professional workers themselves prefer and utilize the normative discourse in their relations with clients, their occupational identities and their work practices" (Evetts 2003: 399). We can consider these discourses as social work everyday ideologies that are practice theories, which often exist in a form of 'tacit knowledge' (Zeira and Rosen 2000). It is 'practical wisdom', implicitly included in everyday practical action and tacitly implied directions in social work routine.

As the research presented in *Paper IV* shows, statutory agencies in the 1990s have operated on a base of positivist ideologies reflected in attitudes of determinism and passivity (Fook 2003) in dealing with the issues of domestic

violence against women, trying to solve the problems of each woman separately instead of bringing them together with other people with similar experience, which could provide help from the group. Using the ideas of Ch. Wright Mills (1943), one can interpret this to be due to the peculiarities of social workers' occupational socialisation. While they are working in welfare agencies, they are trained to think in terms of "situations", their "activities and mental outlook are set within the existent norms of society" (Mills 1943: 171). It explains the political limitation of their views, which can be seen in formulations of the projects that have been awarded. In contrast to this approach, some non-governmental organizations, for instance, crisis centres for women, working with the support of international donors, have developed a strong emancipatory view based on feminist ideology (see Johnson 2009; Salmenniemi 2008; Jäppinen 2011).

Due to their flexible organisational structure, strong motivation and the high qualifications of their leaders and employees, many NGOs working with orphans, people with disabilities, survivors of domestic violence and other vulnerable groups of the population have developed professional skills, are involved in international co-operation and in many cases collaborate with local government, social services and universities. Having grown out of the service users' associations and grass-roots movements, these NGOs use emancipatory and egalitarian ideology in their struggle to establish human rights and principles of independent living. NGOs located in big cities and funded by international and national foundations can provide an attractive labour market for qualified social work graduates as they offer better wages, encourage and support employees to improve professionally, and operate on a project-management base, which often is associated with a flexible and vivid organisational culture. However, the number of such organisations is rather limited and unstable due to the specific economic and political situation in Russia, where extensive involvement of foreign donors is not encouraged while national funds to support non-governmental activities are scarce. Besides, some big international donors and NGOs, which were previously very active in Russia are decreasing their presence.

The practitioner herself, on a *micro-level*, contributes to the construction of the set of notions and values about an ideal client and ideal technology for intervention and treatment, quality of work, as well as the need for certain knowledge and skills. However, individual workers tend to share the way their institutions think. Newcomers to an organisation become socialised and integrated. As Peter Blau (1960) has shown in his research on welfare services in Chicago in the late 1950s, new case workers were typically full of sympathy for clients' problems but soon began to experience a "reality shock", which made change their orientation. They managed to cope with this disillusioning experience through consolidating with the collective, by telling the jokes and stories about their clients. According to Mary Douglas (1986: 92), "Institutions systematically direct individual memory and channel our perceptions into forms compatible with the relations they authorize. They

fix processes that are essentially dynamic, they hide their influence, and they rouse our emotions to a standardized pitch on standardized issues." However, there are examples where the individuals have the hope and eagerness for intellectual independence, where "the first step in resistance is to discover how the institutional grip is laid upon our mind." (ibid.)

The examined discourses established in the practice of social work with single mothers (see: Iarskaia-Smirnova, Romanov 2004) reflected the fact that some categories of people are perceived as "worthy" of realisation of their social rights while others are not. This idea is being internalised and legitimised by both sides of the social worker/client relationship. In their communication with social services, single mothers are being stigmatised as clients whose claims for full citizenship based on social rights may be invalid according to the judgment of a professional expert. As Papers IV and V argue, social work is trapped in existing stereotypes, rules of justification and patterns of behaviour, and thus sustains inequality in the Russian society.

Neoliberal ideology in social work

The mainstream understanding of poverty in Russian society is shared by many social workers and neo-liberal policymakers; it tends to "blame the victim", and places on individuals the responsibility for problems of socio-structural origin, ignores important social conditions, and fails to provide serious attention to the challenges faced by people in their daily life. There is an ongoing debate whether or not Russia nowadays is a Welfare State, a "Social State" as it was stated in the post-Soviet basic law, the Constitution of the Russian Federation of 1993 – or rather laissez-faire arrangements. Marginalised individuals, families, groups or communities have not accumulated additional resources as a result of neo-managerialism. Although means-tested assistance was supposed to increase the effectiveness of the social welfare system, it has had negative effects on the most vulnerable population, especially single mothers who are the heads of low-income households. Having engaged in interactions with the social service system in the late 1990s-early 2000s, they were often frustrated by the inadequate assistance and impossibility to improve their life situations. Neither clients nor social workers were automatically empowered in a new way. The hard workload, which limited the initiative of social workers, was not reduced.

A category of class becomes recontextualised in an analytic scheme, which involves not only term of paid employment but also the concept of welfare benefit. An ideal, 'healthy' family is juxtaposed with the 'unfortunate' family, considered as immoral, unhappy and dangerous for the society (Gillies 2010).

The language of an institution helps to deconstruct the ideology of the profession, its symbolic features that are so often taken for granted and not discussed. Everyday theories of social problems are formed in practice for adjusting the complex reality of human relationships to the strict tasks of classification of the clients to the deserving and non-deserving. Categorisation

of people to deserving and non-deserving presents an example of symbolic power of nomination (Bourdieu 1991).

How is it possible that social workers embrace such stigmatising views of mothers and families? First of all, the majority of social workers (or specialists in social work) have not had professional training at university. University graduates avoid seeking jobs in social services due to the low pay and prestige of such work. Secondly, many training programmes and further qualification courses do not pay attention to antidiscriminatory social work principles, textbooks contain gender stereotypes, while the code of ethics has not been interiorised by the agencies or individual workers. Thirdly, the wider societal context is characterised by the legacies of Soviet hegemonic pronatalism (Rivkin-Fish 2006), neo-traditionalism and patriarchal renaissance: one can see idealisation and propaganda of traditional family and patriarchal gender relations, multi-children families and prohibition of abortion, while the decrease in fertility is explained to be caused by the economic and political emancipation of women. Thus public discourse that frames social work practice contains a mixture of stereotypes concerning a normative family model. They are inherited from Soviet times and induced by neoliberal ideology.

The terms, which social workers and clients use to describe social problems, are not just the products of social relations but also the tools which construct social order (Beresford, Croft 2001; Fook 2000; Taylor, White 2001). Social constructivist perspective (Spector, Kitsuse 1977) allows the recognition of the role that social work language and official rhetoric play in the creation of the "welfare clients" identity in Russia.

Many of the issues mentioned above are caused by underprofessionalisation of social work in Russia where practitioners rarely receive formal training while university graduates rarely take up the jobs in social services. However, the concept of professionalism is very important and attractive to social workers, social work educators, and to Russian authorities. Thus, cultural means are needed to form and maintain the jurisdiction and legitimacy of this occupational group (Abbot 1988). As Julie Evetts (2003: 406) argues, individual actors can see the appeal to professionalism "as a powerful motivating force of control 'at a distance' <…> At the level of systems, such as occupations, the appeal to professionalism can also be seen as a mechanism for promoting social change".

According to the international core values of social work as a profession, being committed to the promotion of social justice, social workers should recognise diversity, challenge unjust policies, the conditions that contribute to social exclusion, and work toward an inclusive society (IFSW, IASSW 2005). It is possible that in Russia, the 'professional project' will be developed in the direction of structural social work (e.g.: Weinberg 2008) and person-in-environment perspective, which is "manifested in the dual aspirations of the profession to provide personal care and further social justice" (Weiss-Gal, 2008). To overcome biases that hinder professional service (Payne 2001) it is worthwhile to raise the level of skills of specialists who work for social service agencies.

Methods

Before presenting the summary of results from five papers, I will describe and discuss the methodological procedure used to collect and analyse the empirical data of the thesis. The methods used in research are qualitative interviews, visual analysis, and text analysis.

The analysis was conducted on three levels: policy and institutions; discourse and culture; and actors and identity. Such an approach requires a methodology that combines studies of experiences of social work practitioners and service users, rhetoric of social welfare and social work education. Social work practice experience is analysed using the empirical data collected mainly in the city of Saratov, Russia. A city of about one million, it is a regional capital located on the Volga River about one thousand kilometres southeast of Moscow. Some of these studies were inter-regional, and the data base included interviews with service providers and service users not only from Saratov, but also Rostov-na-Donu, Izhevsk, Krasnodar, Tomsk, Kostroma, Saint Petersburg, Samara and Moscow (see some English language publications based on this research: Iarskaia-Smirnova, Romanov 2004, Iarskaia-Smirnova 2011). The choice of this geographical location is important. Firstly, it is a provincial city in the centre of the European part of Russia, where the situation is quite different from Moscow and Saint Petersburg, on the one hand, and from so called "ethnic republics" where different ethnic groups are superficially represented with political autonomy (see map of ethnic republics of Russian Federation: Mayfield

2008) on the other. Secondly, Saratov is typical among other similarly sized industrial Russian cities that have suffered extreme socioeconomic difficulties during the period of transition.

However, the objective was not to achieve empirical generalisation to formulate universal or statistical laws. Even in quantitative research, findings may not be fully generalisable. Any social researcher "should be careful not to let generalization overpower diversity, difference and heterogeneity" (Buckley 1997: 8). As this is a qualitative study, the goal was to reach theoretical generalisation by discovering not the laws but similarities and rules (Larsson 2009; Payne and Williams 2005). The forms of analytic generalisation include formulating context specific statements, describing relationships valuable under certain conditions, in similar situations, persons, and times, trying to conclude not about the facts of reality but about the discourses on reality (Mayring 2007).

Study Design

This thesis is mainly based on a case study conducted in the Saratov region in the late 1990s – late 2000s. The research represents a qualitative design and includes three types of studies: (1) ethnographic case studies of urban social services, (2) series of in-depth interviews with social work administrators, officials of the welfare department, social workers and service users, and (3) analysis of texts and artefacts including policy documents, teaching manuals and textbooks, posters and photographs. All studies were the different stages of a large research project with an overarching aim to explore the historic and current welfare policy contexts and peculiarities of social work in Russia. The empirical material was partly collected by my colleague and co-author of several papers Pavel Romanov and by the assistants.

Ethnographical data were collected during 1996-2001 and 2003-2010 in the Saratov region. During these years I have conducted a number of studies together with my colleagues focusing on the issues of social policy and social exclusion, professionalisation of social work, family well-being and interactions of clients with social services.

In addition to in-depth interviews and focus groups, different types of documents from social services were collected, various form sheets and statistics, as well as social adverts and media messages. Textbooks on social policy and social work published in the 1990s-2000s have been scrutinised, visual images collected and analysed in order to reconstruct the dynamics of the concepts of need and care, modes of governance in social welfare.

To sum up, this thesis includes analysis of data about the class and gender in social work practice and welfare rhetoric in Soviet times and in today's Russia.

	Type of field materials	Type of data / discourses / representations to be analysed	Number of cases collected	Year of data collection
1. Social work context				
	Photo albums, 1930-40s and 1940s-50s photographs and inscriptions in these albums	Photos of activities of children in orphanages, representing forms of public care in USSR, ideology of social policy	3 albums 58 photographs	2005
	Case study of social services	Institutional context of social work, ideology of service provision	20	1996-2000
	Textbooks and teaching manuals on social policy and social work	Representations of gender and ethnicity	42	Textbooks and manuals published 1999-2004
2. Social service providers				
	Interviews with social work practitioners and administrators	Ideologies of public policy in contemporary Russia, professional discourses, organisational subcultures	19	1996-1998
	Interviews with social workers and administrators	Experience of social work with families, mothers and children	10 15 10	1996-2001 2003-2006 2008-2010
3. Social work clients				
	Interviews with mothers of children with disabilities	Narratives on personal experience	12	2001-2006 2008-2010
	Interviews with single mothers who are social service users	Family well-being and contacts with social services and social workers	29	2003-2010
	Interviews with former residents of an orphanage (residents in 1930-40s)	Personal narratives. Recollections on everyday life of orphanage, perception of care and carers, micro-level of social policy	4	2005

Table 1. **Composition of field materials used in the thesis**

Study Participants and Data

During the process of research various data have been collected. The main type of data that provided access to social work practice, were qualitative interviews with social work administrators, practitioners and service users. Besides, commentaries in Internet-forums of service users were included into the data array. In order to study a context of social work and welfare policy, two main types of texts have been engaged into the analysis: visual historic documents and textbooks (teaching manuals) on social policy and social work. In addition, various materials were collected during case studies in organisations (assessment charts, announcements, posters, etc.). Such a study design has made it possible to represent various discourses of social problems and social work, welfare rhetoric and practices of policy implementation.

It is important to consider that the results obtained in this study were shaped by the process of recruiting and selecting participants, appropriate data and materials. It is possible to single out two main parts of data in this study. First, these are secondary materials that were not induced by this research: visual collections, textbooks, official documents, rhetoric and statistics, internal documents of social services. I have analysed government documents and social advertisements, mass media materials, social policy and social work textbooks, and popular scientific texts published during the 1990s-2000s. As a researcher, I could not affect the process of creation of such documents but I can be sure about their nature as typical cases (Becker 1996), as evidence that represents their time and relevant scope of knowledge, values and beliefs. The selection of certain photographs or texts for more detailed analysis than the others, was based on the likelihood assumption that they will confirm or elaborate on the emerging descriptions or provide opportunities for disconfirmation of the emerging pattern (Polkinghorne 2005: 140-142). It was important not only to understand and comment the documents but also to reconstruct the policy of selection of photographs for the albums, as well as to deconstruct the ideology, which is embedded into institutional processes that shape everyday life of social service providers, to clarify micro-level meanings of those statistic indicators, formal instruments of social service management.

The second part of materials was created during the research process – field notes, interview recordings and transcripts. The in-depth and focus group interviews were conducted with social workers, social service administrators, and service users as well as participant observation data from several of Russian cities (Saratov, Rostov-na-Donu, Izhevsk, Krasnodar, Tomsk, Kostroma, Saint Petersburg, Samara and Moscow) during several research projects during 1996-2001, and 2003-2010. The interviewed service users were predominantly single mothers and mothers of three and more children. Here, the qualitative methodology approaches to sampling was applied (Denzin, Lincoln 2005; DePaulo 2000; Marshall 1996). The information-rich cases were selected for

study in depth as "those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research (Patton 1990: 169). Sources were chosen according to the epistemology of qualitative research (Becker 1996; Petterson, Williams 2002; Silverman 2004; 2006) because they could provide clarifying accounts of an experience, and selection remained open throughout the research process (Polkinghorne 2005: 140-142). Thus theoretical sampling had been arranged in a purposive–iterative process of data collection (Glaser and Strauss 2006).

Data Collection Methods

The choice of data collection methods was guided by the study's aim and research questions. The methods used in the studies of this thesis were participant observation, qualitative interviews, and analysis of documents (including visual analysis). In order to study the legacies of socialist welfare and social services in contemporary Russian social policy and social work, a historical study has been implemented. In addition to the analysis of relevant literature and documents, the oral histories of the four former residents of an orphanage (born in late 1920s) were collected with elements of photo-elicitation. After initial accounts were gathered, they were analysed to construct a preliminary description or a theory of the experience (Polkinghorne 2005: 140-142), and later a further visual study was conducted. Three photo albums were analysed that are a part of history of two Saratov orphanages: one from "Krasnyi gorodok" [Red small-town] founded in 1924 and two from the children's home / kindergarten [detdom-detsad] for the "orphans of war" between 3 and 6 years old, founded in 1945. The children's home "Krasnyi gorodok" was located in the building of a former women's monastery on a picturesque Volga river embankment. The largest orphanage in the Saratov region, it offered room for more than five hundred pupils in the 1920s and 30s and for about a thousand in the war years. Krasnyi gorodok was disbanded in 1957. We found personal archives, official documents, published and unpublished memoirs, and were lucky to meet four women who were former pupils of this institution in 1930s-1940s. One of the former residents of Krasnyi gorodok, Nina Voitsekhovskaia, with the help of other former pupils, collected and arranged photographs (mostly amateur) of this institution's history from the 1930s and 1940s and made an album of them in the 1980s for a commemorative event. She included the lists of pupils and staff; many photographs have inscriptions and titles. She has also written memoirs but did not manage to have them published. The other two albums were made by the staff of the children's home / kindergarten in the 1940s and 1950s. This institution still exists in Saratov but today it takes in children of all ages from the age of three. These two albums have professional photographs and are decorated with coloured appliqué work, titles and inscriptions; some of the photos are shaped in the

form of an oval or circle. Although the camera is focused on the children, the main point of the photos is to draw attention to the advantages of the institution. The photos, which represent various activities of the orphans in the institutions, were to be read as the messages on the principles and values of Soviet upbringing. The related narration is important when it comes to reflecting upon this multi-stage process of selection of the materials in order to access and understand the logics of its participants. Reading visual data as cultural texts helps in the discussion of such issues as social order, gender roles, and social inequalities.

In order to study social work education discourses, the textbooks were selected and analysed. The main criteria for the inclusion of the textbooks in this study were, first, relevance of teaching material to social work and/or social policy issues, and second, recognition, i.e. a book should be published in a large number of copies (from one up to five or even ten thousand) by well established publishers. An additional criterion was related to the recommendation given by the National Council of Social Work Education or by the Ministry of Education for use in universities throughout Russia. This sample represented almost the entire list of teaching books on social work published and distributed on the national level in 1999 and 2004. In total,42 textbooks were selected that were widely used as teaching materials for social work curriculum in more than 100 Russian universities and published by the reputable Moscow and Saint Petersburg printing houses; 28 of these books were also recommended by the National Council of SWE or the Ministry of Education.

Social work experience is analysed using the empirical data collected between 1996-2010 in Saratov. The case studies in social services were conducted by a group of researchers including the author, in 1996-2001 based on various documentary data, observations and semi-structured qualitative interviews with service providers. Two centres for social services were selected, which are the most typical organisations for social work. This series of exploratory case studies (Yin, 1993) aimed to study the institutional context of social work with low income clients, including single mothers and families of children with disabilities. The research was focused on everyday routine work with clients, organisation of the working day, everyday theories, which are developed by social workers in order to explain and classify the situations and the clients. Various documents were collected including assessment charts, instructions, and orders and in addition, observations and interviews with administrators were conducted.

Views of social work practitioners have been studied through a series of interviews. The dimensions of professional performance were reflected in the constructs in narratives of the social services employees. The set of interviews was collected in Saratov in 1996-1998 by the author and research assistants from the Department of Social Work at Saratov State Technical University. The group of respondents included five heads of departments of social services, eight specialists in social work and seven social workers. Their experience

of working in social services ranged from two to eight years. None of them had a diploma in social work. Information was collected via semi-structured interviews.

Among our interviewees were social service employees, mainly social workers, but also social pedagogues, psychologists, and administrators of social services. Further material also includes ten interviews with administrators (2004) and 15 interviews with social workers (2006) who provided services for service users, mainly for low income single mothers and families of many children.

On the basis of the preliminary description, additional participants were selected who were thought to be able to fill in, expand, or challenge the initial description (Polkinghorne 2005: 140-142). The research process thus was an iterative one, moving from collection of data to analysis and back until the description is comprehensive (ibid).

The view point of service users was studied with help of in-depth interviews. The twelve mothers of children with disabilities whose narratives are examined here were interviewed by a colleague of mine, a psychologist at a rehabilitation centre. Interviews were voluntary and generally unstructured; however, the list of important questions to be covered was planned beforehand. Women between the ages of twenty-eight and fifty-four agreed to be interviewed. Their children were between the ages of five and fifteen; four of the mothers were single, seven women reported that they were unemployed.

Various issues of family well-being, and experience of interaction with social workers were studied in interviews with low income single mothers collected in 2001-2006 in the city of Saratov and Saratov region, as well as in other Russian regions in 2008-2010. These interviews were collected by the author and colleagues, the sociologists who were participants of our research projects.

Methodological Discussion and Analysis

The main research questions in these data collection series address gender and class in welfare rhetoric and social work practice, contradictions in the development of social work as a new profession in Russia, welfare ideologies, the knowledge base in social work and the ideologies of neo-managerialism in social services.

Visual representations collected in this study are not only produced but are consumed in a social context, one which evokes a resemblance to representations provided by dominant media and/or by social actors who initiate the use and re-use of visual memories. I have tried to look at the photo-images of orphanage life from different perspectives, applying different expositions and varying the focus of our view. Some photos have been considered from a semiotics perspective. Some visual units that

have been considered as texts to be interpreted in a historical context, are subjected to deconstruction to show the interconnectedness between the consumption and production in photography. Furthermore, the first album helped to activate memory work with its owner, who was the key interviewee. Her written memoirs, oral narratives and the photos served her both as roads to recollection and as aids to their certification (Naguib, 2008). Such cognitive mapping of the past shapes reminiscences, moulding them into the fixed forms of the past. The analysis of visual documents is presented in Paper I.

The categories chosen for analysing social work textbooks were, at first, personages, which were inscribed with 'gender traits' and qualified in a certain way. Second, such explicit categories as man, woman, he, she, feminism, gender, sex, sexual differences, gender-related categories such as sexuality, family, parenthood, as well as descriptions of social policy directions and social work practices related to gender. Third, I have looked at implicit gender dimensions, for instance, silence surrounding gender relations, gender differences and discrimination. Fourth, a special attention was paid to the manifestations of sexist language. Sometimes, and in addition, a book, a chapter or a section was selected for special analysis if it was devoted to gender issues as a whole. I have also scrutinised a certain volume of text in an attempt to quantify how much attention was paid to the topics of gender within a book and within an individual chapter. We looked at both the explicit – 'that has been told' – and the implicit – 'that hasn't been told' – dimensions of gender. In books that contained no explicit gender-related issues in the title or table of contents, we read the whole book to see whether or not there are any relevant messages in it. The analysis of textbooks is presented in Paper IV.

Case study design engages multiple sources of evidence (see Yin 2003: 90-99; Donnison 1975), i.e. observation, interviews, documentary sources. I used narrative analysis (Berger 1997; Kerby 1991; Maynard, Purvis 1995; Plummer 1995; Reinharz 1992; Riessman 1993; Thomas 1999) and grounded theory approach (Glaser, Strauss 2006) to interpret the stories told by the interviewees. The interviewed women constructed their lives as they talked about themselves. However, the historical truth of an individual's account is not the primary issue; rather, "the narrative is the meaning of prenarrative experience." (Kerby 1991: 84.) Such acts of self-narration are fundamental to the emergence and reality of that subject. In these stories, we hear the voices of people who feel restricted by their status of client or "inside the category of disability" (Mairs 1996), i.e. in the frames of an identity defined by a diagnosis and defect. At the same time, disability plays an important role in the lives of these people and therefore becomes a starting point in a personal or collective redefinition of one's identity and of social relations. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 107) suggest, "accounts are not simply representations of the world; they are part of the world they describe". The memories that help us to make sense of our life are both socially constructed and personal phenomena, embedded within the subjective experience of

each individual, within wider social processes and relationships of power (Priestley 1999: 92). As women are the main clients of contemporary social services in Russia, I have conducted gender analysis of textbooks. Using critical discourse analysis (Park, 2005; Titus 1993; Van Dijk 1997; Van Leeuwen 1993), I sought to investigate the particular ways in which 'gender' is inscribed and deployed in social work discourse. Language and discourse are approached in this study "as the instrument of power and control [...] as well as the instruments of social construction of reality" (Van Leeuwen 1993: 193).

I decoded and analysed the taped interviews with the mothers of children with disabilities as texts, using an approach that asks how meaning is being constructed and how it might be constructed differently—in other words, analysing the contextual basis of motives. Each woman narrated her past selectively, based upon her values and interests, like interviewees do in telling about complex and troubling events, as qualitative studies of family life have demonstrated (Gilgun, Daly, Handel 1992). The analysis of the perspectives of the service users is presented in Papers II and V. The analysis of the perspectives of social workers was done in Papers III-IV.

The images of children, orphanages and care givers are to be seen not just as illustrations or representations but also as important elements of a studied context – no less important than official documents or personal narratives. This is micro-level analysis, which makes it possible to understand how the representations reflect and construct specific forms of arrangement of space in orphanages, disciplinary practices, and ideological intentions of the photographers and organisers of such imaginative work. Christopher Musello (1980) and Richard Chalfen (1987, 1998) have developed frameworks for the qualitative study of collections of snapshots in the context of family photography. Their aim was to examine what these photographs represent and how these images serve as representations of a particular form of the human condition, how the construction, organisation and viewing of family photographs can be understood as a social activity (Chalfen 1998: 214). In this perspective, the snapshot as well as the events surrounding why and how it was taken and how it was used is called the "home mode" of visual /pictorial communication. This means that it is a symbolic form embedded in a communication process that essentially involves making (encoding), interpreting (decoding), and a multi-faceted use of pictures. Furthermore, it focuses on family life, mostly at home (ibid). According to Roland Barthes (1991), the photograph comprises two messages: "a denoted message, which is the analagon itself, and a connoted message, which is the way in which the society represents, to a certain extent, what it thinks of the analagon" (Barthes 1991: 6). Connotation, i.e., the imposition of a second meaning upon the photographic message proper, is elaborated at different levels of photographic production (selection, technical treatment, cropping, and layout) (Barthes 1991: 9). The tasks of these procedures are to impose the meaning onto the photography analagon in accordance with the repertoire

of cultural codes, which are understandable and easily received by the viewers.

The meanings attached to the notion of social work as a profession were analysed according to different perspectives on professionalisation, namely, functionalist, trait, critical, and interpretative approaches (see Reeser and Epstein 1996; Larson 1977; Jones and Joss 1995) in order to look at it from the levels of structure, culture, and agency, while meanings of 'women's work' in the interviews and in the mass media were analysed from a feminist social theory position and the critical accounts of social work ideology (Dominelli 2002; 2004; Fook 2003; Kuhlmann 2006).

In Paper II, as the single author, I was independently responsible for the whole process from the theoretical conceptualisation, design, data collection, analysis and interpretations of the empirical material. The writing of Papers I and III, including design of the studies, collection and interpretations of the empirical material, were divided equally between the first author and the second author. I was responsible for theoretical conceptualisations and analysis of materials in these papers. In Paper IV, Pavel Romanov participated in a process of analysis of empirical materials and in Papers V, he provided important support and advice.

The trustworthiness of the data depends on the integrity and honesty of the research (Polkinghorne 2005: 144), which is related to ethical issues.

Ethical Considerations

The general ethical principles for research in the social sciences (Kvale 1996; Patton 1990; Punch 1994) were followed in this research. The scholar has considerable leeway in the selection and process of developing data (Polkinghorne 2005: 144), which might present dilemmas to be solved by the researchers (Orb et al 2000). The kind of data required to study experience is from the personal lives of participants (Polkinghorne 2005: 144). According to Jan Fook (2000), instead of collecting the data, the researchers should be "accessing experiences" rather than "obtaining data", since the information we seek is the experiences themselves.

The access of the researcher to social services in Russia is limited by the vertical administrative structure that prohibits horizontal contacts of the organisations without official permission. Therefore, all proper formalities were settled in order to seek an informed consent at several levels of the system. Although the authorities were aware of the criticism inherent to sociological studies, the permission to conduct research was granted. Critical reflection was always combined with practical ecommendations in published materials where anonymity of the respondents and their organisations has been secured. At the same time, this leads to a depersonification of characters in the research narrative, while the language of description can become a

practice of oppression if it excludes views and contexts of experience, inter-subjective consensus or conflict of values shared by different participants of the studied situation (see Twigg 2000).

This research is characterised by sensitivity in several respects. First, some of the research topics are emotionally laden as they touch upon the experiences of raising a child who has a disability, living in extreme poverty and an unfriendly environment. Second, some of the interviewees, in particular, such social work clients as single mothers and parents of children with disabilities, belong to vulnerable social groups, they often feel isolated and oppressed by their social surroundings, attitudes of wider society and professionals. Social workers, including practitioners and administrators, are vulnerable in another way. Their job is underestimated and stereotyped in the society, the social workers feel insecure due to the uncertain regulations and high workload in their organisations.

Both sides of the social work process – clients and specialists – were eager to participate in the research hoping to promote positive changes. Some of the research projects described in this thesis included action and participatory action perspectives, including round table discussions and training courses with social workers and activists of NGOs, a photo session and photo exhibition with parents of children who have a disability, information campaigns, engagement of volunteers, etc.

Kvale (1996) considered an interview to be a moral endeavour, claiming that the participant's response is affected by the interviewer and the situation of the interview itself. All interviewees as well as owners of documents were informed about the purposes of study, and their anonymity, privacy and confidentiality have been ensured at all stages in all cases except those who wanted to appear in the publications with their full names. Patton (1990) recommended full disclosure of the purpose of the study when doing participant observation. Our case studies have been conducted under the conditions of fully informed participants. They were presented with the aims of study as well as information about the organisations where I worked – the Department of Social Work at Saratov State Technical University and an independent research organisation – the Center for Social Policy and Gender Studies. The participants of the study were also informed about the perspectives of use of the data in publications. In the Russian context it was considered enough to present an official letter from an organisation (on the stationery of the University or the Center) and get an oral (recorded) agreement for the interviews. Many people were hesitant about signing papers for international or national research projects. Ordinary people do not fully trust officials in state agencies, and neither do they acknowledge the worthiness of foreign interest towards their lives. Transcripts of interviews and field notes are stored in the author's and organisation's archives.

In the next chapter, I provide a summary of the main results of the five papers in this thesis.

Summary of Results

Study I: Visual Case Study in the History of Russian Child Welfare

Aims

This study aimed to increase our understanding of the principles of shaping a good citizen under socialism. Specifically, the purpose was by employing the analysis of visual representations, oral history, historical documents and relevant publications, to understand the specific forms of arrangement of instutionalised child care in Soviet history and how it was shaped in visual representations.

Results and conclusions

Social concern to legitimise the pedagogical project to create a new Soviet person in the institutions for collective upbringing was formed by the ideological work started in the 1920s, which called for the presentation of certain images of the pupils, tutors, procedures for care giving and upbringing on the pages of mass media and books, posters, photo reportages, films and documentaries. The imaginative poetic system of these texts is characterised by the poster-like convexity and visualisation.

By accumulating and analysing different visual sources in their context, it is possible to highlight the peculiarities of social discourse on the issue of

besprisornost [abandonment of children] and ways to combat it. The political regime appealed to the visual discourse of power in order to imprint into the people's consciousness normative images of the great leaders of Communism, men and women – builders of socialism and their enemies, good male workers, and female collective farm workers – as well as progressive Soviet children who self-discipline themselves in matters of schooling, work and collective decision-making.

The photos from both institions' own albums and the album made by the former resident, reflect those principles which are the cornerstones of the concept of institutional upbringing. These albums present an official version of an institutional and general political order. Photographs representing children's activities in an orphanage can be read as a message in a wider ideological and cultural context of the 1920s to the 1940s, echoing the professional media discourse on the principles and values of Soviet upbringing, which were presented in posters and other visual media. A concept of upbringing in the children's homes was effective in forming an important instrument of social control by creating a special sense and practice of collectivity. The collective has had an important effect on various aspects of children's lives. The Soviet form of institutionalised child care successfully settled two main tasks – to supervise and to control what was carried out on the basis of the important concepts and symbolic instruments of Soviet civilisation.

Visual representations collected in the study were not only produced but are consumed in a social context, one which evokes a resemblance to representations provided by dominant media and/or by social actors who initiate the use and re-use of visual memories. The photo albums were prepared for special occasions, e.g. anniversaries, and they provide information about everyday life and festivals of "public children", images that work as symbols of the key values of socialist upbringing. The pictures from the orphanage albums represent principles of social hygiene, the collective, 'cultureness', and labour participation, which are the cornerstones of the concept of institutional upbringing.

Study II: "What the future will bring I do not know..." Mothering Children with Disabilities in Russia and the Politics of Exclusion

Aims

This study aimed to understand in what way gender stereotypes, inadequate services and discriminatory social attitudes hinder the development of tolerance in the social environment and prevent the full participation of children with disabilities and their families in today's Russian society.

Specifically, the purpose was to reveal contemporary issues of social exclusion in the lives of women who parent children with disabilities. How does the personal experience of women caring for their children with disabilities demonstrate a need for gendered critiques of the institutionalised exclusionary policies that affect such families? What kind of identities do Russian mothers of children with disabilities construct for themselves in their narratives? Do they seek autonomy or dependence? Do they live in solitude, or do they feel supported, helped, included?

Results and conclusions

The study embarks from a theoretical assumption that motherhood is not only an individual experience; it is also a social institution, where certain structural arrangements and ideologies influence how a woman should mother. Institutionalised aspects of motherhood with associated social taboos compound problems presented by scarcity of resources available to caregivers. The women's narratives are indicators of the socially constructed nature of exclusion within Russian culture and the strain it places on the women's sense of autonomy and identity. While analysing the experience of mothering as a socially constructed phenomenon, it is possible to consider woman's identity in terms of exclusion, autonomy, and dependency. At the same time, the institutional context must be taken into account, particularly in regard to gendered cultural stereotypes, which can be obstacles for families coping with stress. Women's narratives about their interactions with health care professionals give us a picture of how a situation of exclusion is produced through the relationships between the powerful and powerless. When respondents were asked to tell the story of their child's birth, the distinguishing feature of the period surrounding the child's birth is poor communication with and irresponsibility of medical professionals. An analysis of a narrative scheme for these stories—diagnosis of pathology, information deprivation, separation—recalls the three forms of censorship described by Foucault (1976: 84): affirming that such a thought or statement is not permitted, preventing it from being said, and denying that it exists.

The intolerance is reproduced in the social environment when mothers of children with disabilities are excluded from an 'autonomous environment' (Levinas 1993). In this process, the social environment neither permits diversity nor recognises the special needs of individuals with disabilities and their families. Traditions and stereotypes reduce a woman's identity to one of caregiver without options. An effort to escape from dependency might take the shape of escape from reciprocity, that is, escape from the intimacy of shared feelings and relationships, such as that described by one woman who excluded her husband from sharing responsibility for and participating in care for their child. Generally, mothers choose themselves to blame, rejecting their roles as wives, professionals, or members of an organisation, keeping and sometimes exaggerating care giving identities. The new policies

instituted in 1991, did not change the old stereotype, and because the woman is most likely to be responsible for the day-to-day care giving, it is also her pattern of employment, her job and career opportunities, that are directly affected by the presence of a child with disability in the family. Parents who desperately need information and services to supplement their exhausted personal and financial resources do not receive them. Meanwhile, family support networks are still very weak, state facilities are only in the early stages of development, and the community is still undervalued as a potential source of help. Sociocultural reframing in Russia would require a contextual shift within society, a shift to redefine civil and civic rights based on concepts of human dignity rather than on diagnosis. For this to happen, Russia will have to make a considerable effort to build a form of development that embraces everyone and to develop an approach to citizenship in which each individual accepts his or her obligations to others.

Study III: "A salary is not important here…" Professionalization of Social Work in Contemporary Russia

Aims

This study aimed to analyse the peculiarities of the process of professionalisation of social work in Russia. Specifically, the purpose was to single out the features and problems of this development, to find out how the dimensions of professional performance were reflected and constructed by social services employees in the late 1990s, to study cultural forms of social work organisations, to decode the practitioners' language in order to deconstruct the ideology of the profession.

Results and conclusions

In Russia nowadays, we cannot expect social workers to become immediately what the theorists would like them to be. It seems, rather, that the most appropriate model of professionalism for the social work practitioner in Russia is one which emphasises the importance of experiential learning as the means by which professional competence is to be acquired and refined.

The professionalisation of social work in Russia in 1990s has been hindered by several parallel developments, or dysfunctions, both internal and external to social work itself. Inadequate financial resources at federal and local levels have affected the quality of the services and the motivation of employees. Old practices of administration, including patterns of recruitment and organisational socialisation in such agencies, support a rigid power

hierarchy; the interests of clients are subordinated to bureaucratic norms and looked down upon. It is not only the organisational but the larger cultural environment which produces discriminatory attitudes towards people with social problems and hampers the professional performance of social workers. Old explanatory models are still in evidence in academic discussion on social work. The lack of professional competencies among social workers is partly due to poor communication and collaboration between university departments of social work and the social work agencies.

From the perspective of critical social theory, every profession tries to clearly define a circle of issues which relate to professional competence, thus limiting its world view but enabling it to claim unique and legally supported spheres of competence. This basic strategy of professionalisation may cause serious conflicts between professionals and those who attempt to break their monopoly of status and expertise. Regarding social work, there are two main points of such conflict. First, graduates of social work departments often encounter hostility when coming to work within social services where the majority of positions are occupied by people with an inappropriate educational and professional background. Second, social work as a new profession overlaps with new and traditional ones which may also be experiencing renovation: social pedagogy and practical psychology. Social workers and the administrators of social services tend to be unaware of the professional community of social workers and the international experience of social work. They lack access to publicity, public relations, and inter-agency co-operation.

University departments of social work are intimately involved in the concern with the enhancement of the profession, but there is no openly voiced criticism either of social work education or its incongruence with social work practice. The question is debated within academia and public agencies, whether social work should be considered a distinct field of theory and practice, as opposed to a mixture of psychology, pedagogy and welfare services as well as health and community services. Meanwhile social, economic, medical, and vocational services for children with special needs, the disabled, the aged, and young people, remain fragmented.

The research shows that, by now, bureaucratic structures in social work are becoming completely formed and fixed. It means that the speed of social services transformation since the transition from communism is bound to be slow, whilst practices of administrative control in the agencies have become stable and widespread. Such practices reflect the peculiarities of social welfare in modern conditions; the specific organisational culture inherited from the Soviet sobes (welfare agency); as well as some influence of social work experience from Western countries evident at both the federal and the local level in Russia.

Study IV: Gendering Social Work in Russia: towards Anti-discriminatory Practices

Aims

This study aimed to uncover the gendered nature of discourses in social services and social work textbooks in Russia. Specifically, the purpose was to reveal the implications of labour market policies on social work as a profession, to analyse identity constructions of the social workers, to look at how discourses of gender are presented in social work teaching material and textbooks. The following questions were in the focus of the study: what are the societal assumptions of social work and which policy and institutional arrangements reinforce these stereotypes? Who are the actors in social work and how are they contributing to the rise of professional identity under the specific economic conditions of social workers and service users, and how is the knowledge produced and reproduced in social work practice? How is the gendered nature of the profession reconstructed and reproduced in the discourses of social work teaching books?

Results and conclusions

The research shows that power relations in social work practice reinforce social inequalities. The ideology of a specific female work-capacity is reproduced in social work, as in other forms of care work. The lack of professionalisation of social work is explained in terms of gender inequality in the social order, which is mirrored in the conditions of labour market. The societal assumptions of social work constitute this profession as 'female work', while the state has reinforced the stereotype of cheap women's labour by setting up inadequate wage policies for social workers. When social work practitioners uncritically admit gender prejudices, they can worsen the condition of women. Furthermore, professionals try to solve the problems of each woman separately instead of bringing them together with other people with similar experience, which could provide help in a group setting.

Analysis shows that the textbooks are insufficient in their gender analysis in preparing social workers for the reality they will face. At present, Russian social work textbooks still lack not only a serious discussion of gender and multiculturalism but also many other modern social theories. Gender is discussed on the basis of theories supported by foreign research examples and results in a few textbooks. Mothers in general and single mothers in some textbooks are examined from the point of view of patriarchal state ideology. The latter are classified as deserving and non-deserving – immoral, unfortunate and dangerous, not only for their own children but for society as a whole. Professional discourse reinforces the powerless status of the service users, labelling them as incompetent. The research underlines the need for anti-discriminatory and emancipatory practice and critical thinking in the education and professional development of social workers.

Study V: Doing Class in Social Welfare Discourses: 'Unfortunate Families' in Russia

Aims

This study aimed to consider how social policy based on liberal ideology and rhetoric, is a part of the processes of marginalisation. The research provided further evidence that parenting is a cultural and classed experience shaped by welfare policy, and examined the consequences of this for the identities of parents. What is the role welfare policies, social workers and media play in the creation of the 'unfortunate family' identity in Russia? What are the societal assumptions of social work and which policy and institutional arrangements reinforce these stereotypes? How is the knowledge produced and reproduced in social work practice and what legacies of the Soviet past are challenged by structures and agents in contemporary Russia?

Results and conclusions

An analysis of the ways, which are used in academic and pop-science discourse to constitute the formation of a cultural dimension of social distinctions of welfare clients as a specific social group show that parenting is a cultural and classed experience shaped by social policy. The relationship between class, family and social welfare is addressed by engaging in an analysis of, first, how the category of unfortunate, or 'neblagopoluchnye' families is constituted in scientific discourses, governmental documents, and social services, and second, how the parents negotiate this identity conferred upon them in their everyday conversations with service providers and in parents groups. The results show how gender and class are closely intertwined in the production of this identity, and how they also function as central axes according to which the current welfare model in Russia is constructed. This model is strongly geared towards a (neo-) liberal model, emphasising individual responsibility and means-testing (as opposed to a universalist model). The members of families engaging in interaction with the social service system often become frustrated by the inadequate assistance and impossibility to improve their life situations. Mainstream understandings of poverty in Russian society, shared by many social workers and neo-liberal policymakers, tend to "blame the victim", placing on individuals the responsibility for problems of socio-structural origin, ignore important social conditions, and fail to provide serious attention to the challenges faced by people in their daily life. The concept of neblagopoluchnaia family goes beyond a literary or pop-science lexicon to enter the political agenda, becomes a part of governmental rhetoric, and is reified in the form of barriers and almost hermetic walls between social groups, thus hindering social mobility.

Contests and Contexts of Social Work

This chapter comprises an integration of all levels and angles of analysis in order to accomplish the overall purpose of the thesis which was to explore the gendered and classed nature of social work and social welfare in Russia to show how social policy can be a part of and reinforce marginalisation. Archaeology of values and institutional arrangements of Soviet welfare policy has been attempted to find the roots of contemporary social work values. The policies of making new Soviet men and women through socialisation of mothering and institutionalisation of child care included the rhetoric of normality which reinforced power subordination through gendered and classed hierarchies in public and private spheres of the society. State ideology in socialist times combined elements of conservative and social democratic value systems, and while the early Soviet political rhetoric appealed to the values of self-government and equality, since the 1930s, the shift was made towards paternalism and differential inclusion. It was reflected in changes relating to the understanding of social problems, their causes and ways of tackling them, reforming social support and service provision. Many of these gendered and classed values and practices have been challenged in late 1980s and during the transition to market and democracy. But the contradictory nature of the ideology of welfare policy and practice of social services as well

as values wide spread in post-socialist Russian society sustains some of the legacies of the past. Different agents contribute to the constitution of social work as a new profession in Russia, and its heterogeneous value base is being formed under influences from the state, non-governmental sector, service users, mass media, and academia. The agency of parents as service users is supported by social networks helping to resist oppression and to understand their lives in personal, societal and political contexts.

Symbolic Roots of Modern Social Work

The Soviet history of welfare corresponds in many respects to global modernisation processes, but it has the unique features of the Soviet society and ideology, that in a special way determined Soviet social policy. It is characterised by the increasing state intervention into private sphere, official control and family support, as well as the constant extension of incentives, the rising number of welfare recipients and the tendency towards a prevalence of social guarantees. The Soviet system had developed the system of social services including residential care for the elderly and people with disabilities, support for the poor, orphans and students. But the universal medical care and equal welfare meant in practice the overall equally low level of service and unfair redistribution of resources to separate elite centres – for capital dwellers and party nomenklatura. In a whole range of aspects, the Soviet approach encouraged economic equality and certain independence of single mothers. However, the Soviet welfare policies were contradictory in their design and implementation. Financial support provided to single mothers could not significantly improve their living standards and contributed to their stigmatisation by separating them into a special group of the needy.

The character and mechanisms of social service under state socialism are signified by the contradictions between state responsibility on the one hand, and individual and family responsibility on the other. In the whole course of Soviet history the configuration of 'private' and 'public' was in a state of constant redefinition and ambivalence.

The collective, 'kulturnost' and labour were symbolic instruments of Soviet civilization. These concepts are alive in the memoirs of the ex-pupils of the children's home and were determinant of their destiny for many decades. It is possible to say that the majority of the pupils of children's homes became loyal and responsible citizens and patriots, they worked self-denyingly, fought in the Great Patriotic War (the Second World War), and sacrificed themselves for the country. A culture of self-restraint and self-discipline, commitment to the order taught the pupils not to be afraid of hardships, to be tolerant of the mistakes of political leaders and enthusiastically participate in epoch-making projects. Nevertheless, the same peculiarities of the formed culture contributed to conformism, limited autonomy and a lack of critical thinking.

The emphasis in social policy on the family as a key unit or target for support nowadays has become even stronger than in socialist times. However, "the family and the informal caring activities that take place within it also continue to be described as a predominantly or even exclusively female domain." (Kay 2007a: 53.) The state was no longer committed to maintaining women's employment, while "the other element of women's duty to the Soviet state – motherhood – is being redefined as a private institution and responsibility." (Ashwin 2000b: 19.) The making of a 'good mother' and 'normal' family persists as a central theme in welfare rhetoric.

Another example of socialist legacy is excessive institutionalising of children but labour today has less value in a framework of collective socialisation. Instead of providing support to parents who maybe temporarily unemployed, or experience a difficult life situation due to disability or other reasons, welfare policy is animated by a punitive and paternalist philosophy.

An important institutional transformation of the system results in a search for a new alternative to the termination of parental rights and involuntary placement of children into institutions, which is only more detrimental to their welfare. The shift away from the policy of excessive deprivation of parental rights in Russia could be made through the creation of support services in the community and preventive measures aimed at strengthening the family.

Throughout its short history in Russia, social work has undergone a constant process of change. This occupation itself constituted a big challenge to the Russian welfare system and social sciences as a new discipline and professional field which induced new debates on values and institutional arrangements among policy makers, experts, and researchers. Besides, new practices and identities have been called into life. On the one hand, thousands of people received services and have been promoted in their rights as citizens; on the other hand, they acquired new statuses as clients thus constituting a whole new strata in the society governed by neo-liberal policy. The state agencies, mass media and academia take part in boundary work trying to draw the clear borders for professional identity. At the same time, their efforts are stem from different and often competing ideological backgrounds, thus no common understanding of social work yet exists. The state has the main jurisdiction over the new profession and provides it with financial and symbolic capital. However, by setting up inadequate wage policies for social workers, the state has reinforced the societal assumption of cheap women's labour as well as the lack of professionalisation as the university graduates avoid social services as the place for their career. The authorities of social services use such criteria of selection as 'big heart' or 'feminine patience' of social work thus formulating a specific appeal to professionalism. The concept of professionalism is very important to social workers. But the professional values are substituted by the values of the organisation and political system, the initiative of individual workers and groups of colleagues is driven and governed by such means as bureaucratic, hierarchical and managerial controls; budgetary restrictions and

rationalisations; performance targets, accountability and increased political control (Evetts 2003: 407).

In today's Russia the principles of neo-managerialism in social work are infused by the ideologies of neo-liberal welfare state. Liberalisation of the social services market is limited in Russia because of the inherited features of informalisation and corruption of social sectors, shadow processes of distribution developed among state elites (Cook 2007), lack of standards of services, weak knowledge base concerning the methods of working with clients and standard regulation in this field, lack of skills in evaluation of quality and effectiveness by many public and non-governmental organisations, as well as knowledge of how to be competitive to promote good services, organisations and methods of work.

Intervention of market ideology (or 'businessology') in the 'caring' domain of social services (Harris, 2003) does not solve old but rather adds new dilemmas, problems and contradictions. Dividing the poor into the deserving and undeserving turned out to be very useful to scientifically rationalise the allocation of resources. By saving resources, ideologies of governmentality create a gap between clients and social workers.

The on-going processes of social policy reforms in Russia are determined by the intentions of neoliberal ideologists and the government to make relationships between the citizens and the state more efficient and effective. During last few years some experiments took place in this area, in that number those supported by international foundations and expert groups. Such innovations were directed towards an increase of effectiveness of social services as well as their managerialisation, with a great emphasis on measurable outcomes. Although the possibility is opened up for all types of social services to participate in the process of budget means distribution in the context of so called quasi-market processes, this process in Russia is limited by the lack of standards of services, weak knowledge base concerning the methods of working with clients and standard regulation in this field, lack of skills in evaluation of quality and effectiveness by many public and non-governmental organisations, as well as knowledge of how to be competitive to promote good services, organisations and methods of work. That is why the workers are incapable of seeing above a series of "cases" and are still disposed to paternalist treatment and pathologisation of the clients. This is in many cases supported by the lack of formal training and incapacity of practitioners to see structural causes of the problems.

This is a background where the initiatives to change the existing social order can hardly be seen. However, recently there is some evidence that local initiatives can initiate transformation of the social work and social policy system. Social workers initiate positive changes through counter-actions and compromises, individual activity or collective action, consolidation with social movements and other agents, through implementing fundamentally new methods of case work into the system of social services, or through the practice of institutionalised forms of conflict resolution. Capabilities to

promote social initiatives vary at different levels of organisational hierarchy, while the professional autonomy of specialists is very limited. Several cases in our research exemplify such exceptions when the initiatives of social workers have led to structural changes. These initiatives have been realised separately from such institutional channels as socio-cultural projects and contests that have been established by the system to stimulate and accumulate such kind of experience. However, this is still rather an exception than common practice.

University education in social work can have an impact on the enhancement of the professional identity of social work in terms of critical social thinking with a focus on social justice and human rights. The impact of international co-operation on the enhancement of the professional identity of social work is a valuable contribution to the development of structural social work.

Welfare, Exclusion and Agency as Contextual Issues of Social Work

Intersectional class and gender analysis in relation to family and welfare helps to reveal how welfare policy may reinforce marginalisation and exclusion. It shows how gender and class are closely intertwined in the production of an identity of 'unfortunate family', and how they also function as central axes according to which the current welfare model in Russia is constructed. Welfare policy plays an important role in defining the classed and gendered dimensions of citizenship contributing to the social differentiation of society.

The contemporary social policy model in Russia is reformed in accordance with the neo-liberal ideology, which emphasises individual responsibility and means-testing. The rhetoric of welfare includes neo-traditionalist emphases on the idealisation and propaganda of traditional family and patriarchal gender relations, and prohibition of abortion. Neo-liberal logic of control over the poor appears to be motivated by conservative attitudes that drive everyday practices of social welfare. Many social workers and public officials in Russia tend to individualise and medicalise poverty that partly echoes with Soviet logics in explaining social problems as bourgeois remains or individual deficiencies. A welfare policy based on a neo-paternalist and medicalised discourse describes problems of low-income families in medical and moral terms and locates them not in the broader political economy but rather in their behaviour (Schram 2000: 82). Single parents, especially mothers, are viewed by some public service agents and members of society as being unfit to bring up their children.

Many Russian families experienced a decrease in their standard of life in the 1990s and later during economic crisis of 2008-2010. Some of them have coped with these challenges, being able to overcome the hardships due to various factors, including living in big cities, being closer to benefits from

the economic growth in the country. They have capacities to challenge and criticise the faulty logic behind the current policy emphasis on parenting as a source of social problems. But many of those who are stigmatised do not raise their voice, having no access to mass media and the Internet. They live in small towns and settlements without getting a chance of well paid job or any job at all, and they can neither get an education nor provide it for their children.

Families with children with a disability face an especially hard situation. These people become the objects of governmental control, and existing forms of social policy act towards fastening them in a marginalised position. The lack of social tolerance and the rude attitudes, which could be defined as uncivil attention (paraphrasing Goffman's civil inattention), contribute to the isolation of mother and child, their exclusion from heteronomous, diverse social life, and lead to over-dependence of the mother and child on family relationships. Stigma affects a parent on a deep emotional level and has social implications for her and the child. Thus, the politics of exclusion at the institutional level flows to the level of personal experience and everyday practice.

Motherhood becomes institutionalised within a set of cultural practices. This process reduces the variety of motherhoods to that particular matrix of meanings and simultaneously identifies and excludes differences and exceptions. Because consumer goods and services, leisure activities, and almost all aspects of public life are usually designed with the able-bodied person in mind, people with disabilities and their families find themselves consistently requiring the exceptional. The family generally finds itself excluded because of its special needs and forced to rely only on the energy and muscle power of its members. The 'autonomous environment' that provides insufficient and low quality services for children and families overburdens women, forcing them to leave their jobs and depriving them of time to recover their physical and psychological strength. Additionally, hostile societal attitudes often blame women for their children's disability and deny a mother any chance of emotional support or acceptance from those around her. This hostility is constituted by the legacies of the past society with its rigid category of normality, restrictive measures of administration concerning 'problematic' social groups, and a high ideological preoccupation with a "healthy" nation. The parents are also aware of the power of public opinion, which can be complemented by institutionalised control over parenting and cause risk for the family.

In the lexicon of Russian officials, social workers, journalists and teachers there is a widely spread expression of "an incomplete family", that reflects the vision of a nuclear family unit (mother-father-child/children) as the "complete", normal, full composition of family structure. "Incompleteness" in such a context is associated with deviance from a norm, deficiency and law social status. "Incomplete families" are talked about in a context of poverty and need. There are also publications that contribute to the construction of a general image of mother-headed families as deficient, pathological, and a source of social problems in society.

Such treatment deepens the gap between the welfare clients and public agents, and it causes strong protest feelings in the parents. Many families do not willingly identify themselves with the category of "unfortunate", rather, they employ different discursive strategies to resist, contest and disassociate from it. Trying to overcome their social isolation, stigmatisation, and the social exclusion of their children, the parents try to find a supportive peer group.

While planning policy measures for social inclusion, the wider societal context has to be taken into account, with regard to family issues, employment opportunities, availability of natural supportive networks such as circles of relatives, friends and neighbours and networks of professional helpers. Mass media have also a role to play to promote social inclusion, as the predominant image portrayed of disabled people is associated with weakness and misery.

Important transformations have been based on a human rights-based approach to reforming social policy. It has given rise to the development of new concept of social services, a slow move towards a social model of disability policy, and inclusion as a framework for education. Many services and professionals receive positive appraisal for taking an important part in overcoming the difficulties in the life situations of their clients. If social work is to be truly committed to social justice and self-determination, it needs to critically review the gender ideology embedded in its knowledge base.

CONCLUSIONS

The goal of this thesis was to explore the gendered and classed nature of welfare policies in Russia. The overall research question was: in what ways class and gender are constructed in Russian social work practice and welfare rhetoric through Soviet legacies and contemporary challenges? An additional research question was, which actors contribute to the constitution of social work values and how this value system affects the agency of the clients?

These questions have been reflected upon in the supporting papers from the three angles of analysis. First, it considered the marginalising effects of social classifications made by welfare policies and institutional practices. Second, the symbolic organization of social citizenship was reconstructed in definitions of family and children, produced in Soviet and post-Soviet times. Public legitimacy of social work was scrutinised in relation to the contemporary professional ideology. Third, a lived experience of social workers and service users was studied with focus on the processes of identity-building under the conditions of increased individualism and social inequalities, as well as renaissance of traditionalist views.

Policy and Institutional Contexts

Welfare policy and social services play an important role in defining the classed and gendered dimensions of citizenship thus contributing to the social differentiation of society. As it was shown in Paper I, welfare policies

implemented in public institutions in Soviet times, shaped categories of gender and class by creating of 'a good citizen'. New forms of discipline and everyday life standards were internalized during modernization of social life. Collectivist values and beliefs in equality impacted on public and private domains, including social services provision, which is shown in this study as one of the mechanisms of social stratification. The legacies of Soviet past are revealed in contemporary welfare policies, including centralised governance and lack of autonomy of service providers, conservative thinking, excessive institutionalising of children and suppression of the voices of vulnerable people. Nowadays, institutions of welfare create the identity of 'unfortunateness' that encompasses stigma of incapacity to properly socialise the children and endorse social control over the capacities of single mothers to resist stigma. It is necessary to increase the opportunities of single mothers to (re)enter the labour market and to prevent discrimination in recruitment and careers, as well as to promote accessible social services for families and children on non-discriminatory base. Low income parents become the objects of governmental control, and existing institutional arrangements of welfare policies fasten them in marginalised position. Additional pressure is put on those families who raise children with disabilities and on parents who have a disability themselves. As Paper II demonstrates, stigma affects a parent on a deep emotional level and has social implications for her and the child. Thus, the politics of exclusion at the institutional level flows to the level of personal experience and everyday practice.

While the policy and institutional arrangements of welfare are established as mechanisms of support and coping, they may contribute to the reinforcement and reproduction of social exclusion and poverty. The growing level of poverty among single parents in Russia along with the additional indicators of decreasing quality of life in their families proves the necessity of immediately tackling this problem at the political level, reconsidering the forms and procedures of social provisions. Parenting is shown in Paper V as a cultural and classed experience affected by neo-liberal welfare policies through institutional structures and discourses.

Social work practice becomes an element of an institutional system which contributes to social exclusion on the micro-level, in the everyday routine of service provision. Under-professionalisation of social work in contemporary Russia is related with a low social status and lack of discretion, incapacities of critical reflection of social work practice, and rigidity of governance as it is shown in Paper III. Everyday theories of social workers are formed, in practice, in order to adjust the complex reality of human relationships to the strict classification of the clients to the 'deserving' and 'non-deserving'. The characteristics of social work education and training are (re)defined by such structuring parameters as the concept of professionalism, by highly ambivalent relations with the contemporary Russian public policy, by the background of educators, by a philosophy and ideology of human rights, and by international investments and exchange.

The importance of improving such training increases due to the intensive growth of the sector of social services and the demand for well qualified personnel. The job market for social work graduates is now quite large and diverse; educational programmes have been established for students and practitioners working in public and non-governmental agencies dealing with social services. There is a growing need for appropriate professional literature as well as for the popularisation of civil society and social work values by the mass media. An effective mechanism for the independent evaluation of social services is also needed, to make it possible to target educational and fundraising activities. It is important for government, foundations and the academic community to focus more on critical issues in social welfare and on the importance of developing conflict resolution skills and to support the development of social services research.

Critical analysis of social policy concepts and implementation is required in the form of dialogue between scholarship, education and practice. The necessity of partnership between education and practice as well as within different sectors of practical social work and other caring professions is being recognised. Training effects can be enhanced through developing in students a capacity for social criticism, anti-discriminatory values and inclusion. In order to strengthen the capacity of these partnerships and training mechanisms it would helpful to expand information-sharing and networking activities, and to assist the development of non-governmental social services - including direct services, advocacy groups and associations.

Knowledge production in social work

In welfare rhetoric and social work education the social order is represented through concepts of normality in definitions of good citizen, family, women and children produced under specific socio historic circumstances.

Contemporary public discourse which frames social work practice contains a mixture of stereotypes concerning the normative family model inherited from Soviet times and induced by neoliberal ideology as it is demonstrated in Paper V. The revival of traditionalist thinking about gender and family in the post-Soviet era manifests itself in various discursive means that are important components of a context in which clients understand their personal life situation in respect to the existing system of support and social workers create their own understanding of social problems.

In their interactions with each other and with the institutions of social welfare system, the process of knowledge production occurs. The treatment of clients based on the wide spread assumptions of immorality and danger immanent for single parents and multi child families, as well as for families of disabled children attaches stigma to them and diminishes human dignity. The discourse on ‘unfortunate families’ appears to be a significant and powerful

means in the neo-liberal welfare regime. Single parent households in today's Russia are evaluated in public discourse from deeply conservative positions and often depicted as immoral, unfortunate and dangerous not only for their own children but also for society on the whole. Single mothers are presented from the point of view of such patriarchal ideology even in special literature for social workers, as it is shown in Paper IV. Thus the problems of a client might be, for example, an outcome of beliefs in traditional gender roles and traditional family definitions, which supposes inequality and subordination of women. This can be explained due to the low level of abstraction in social work which in Russia remains underprofessionalised and focuses not on social structures but on cases and facts, with emphasis on knowledge of legal rules and qualities of a "big motherly heart". In such a view, the problems tend to be individualised and privatised, and structural inequalities are not taken into account.

Thus, the ideology of social work is considered to be a result of a complex process of the social construction of 'normalcy' and 'problems' that occurs both from above (from governing structures to individual specialists) and from below (by the participants of personal interactions on the micro-level who rely on accessible sources of legitimisation, and create their own meanings). In Russia today, socio-political and economic bases of social work are weak and the common value base is unclear. Placing social work ideology in a complex picture of theories, policies, philosophies and myths, it is possible to consider various agents contributing to the constitution of shared knowledge and value base of the profession. Among these agents can be social service administrators, social work practitioners, service users, educators and scholars, policy makers and mass media.

Actors and identity

In their everyday experience, social workers and service users make sense of their positions in the social hierarchy in relation to the welfare state and each other. Many helping professionals play crucially significant roles in the lives of families, helping to overcome difficult life situations, find a job, housing, rehabilitation services and social networks. However, the professional and material resources of public services are still very limited in Russia. The work of social services employees is characterised by constant stress because of the high workload and emotional character of their occupation. Social work is often understood as not specific professional activity so much as low paid domestic chores, and this has various consequences for everyday working activity. In some cases, it can be a positive sign of the absence of social and class barriers between the recipients of social help and the representatives of the agency. But at the same time, too low a barrier may have negative effects. It can hinder the rational performance of service

providers who copy the model of familial relations in their communication with clients. Social workers sometimes have a tendency to blame the victim, interpreting complex issues in the life situations of single mothers as their individual psychological peculiarities or laying the responsibility on women for problems that have societal origin, thus ignoring important social conditions. That is why it is important to identify problems and critically reveal explicit and implicit conditions that hinder the processes of positive changes.

Service users are not just passive recipients of care nor just objects of control. As it is shown in Paper V, they use discursive and narrative practices as important cultural resources to understand their personal lives, resist stigma and build supportive networks. It is possible to develop a capability for partnerships between service users and social workers, to rise critical reflection among the practitioners through relevant training and context in the working place. Social workers are gradually acquiring new skills to effect social change in a democratic egalitarian mode rather than following the paternalist scheme of thought and action. Each successfully completed case – helping the client to find a job, accumulate resources and networks – generates a more positive attitude towards the agency and the workers. The reflective practitioner type of professionalism is appropriate for social work, it involves a combination of theoretical and practical knowledge, values, cognitive and behavioural competencies in specific contexts through negotiating shared meanings. These specialists and their managers are highly motivated to receive training.

An important component of social work education, which is not yet recognised by Russian practitioners and administrators, is the concept and skills of empowerment. In order to mobilise the resources of local communities to help single mothers and other vulnerable groups fully realise their social citizenship, social workers need to collaborate with non-governmental organisations, including women's organisations, trade unions and human rights organisations. Social workers can help people understand that not individual guilt but social inequality and exclusion alienate people from the society.

However, the empowering role of social workers has not become yet a meaningful component of their professional activity. While the need for and benefits of a participatory approach are striking, the principles of non-discriminatory or culture-sensitive social work continue to be ignored in social work education discourse. The contemporary situation in social work in Russia is featured by under-professionalisation and thereby a low degree of professional autonomy, as well as lack of activism frames in social services culture, absence of critical reflection of social work practice, and rigidity of governance. However, recently there is some evidence that local initiatives can initiate transformation of the social work and social policy system. Social workers initiate positive changes through counter-actions and compromises, individual activity or collective action, consolidation with social movements and other agents, through implementing fundamentally new methods

of case work into the system of social services, or through the practice of institutionalised forms of conflict resolution.

Non-governmental organisations offering social services to the population have succeeded quite well in accumulating their human resources. Having grown out of the service users' associations and grass-roots movements, these NGOs use emancipatory and egalitarian ideology in their struggle to establish human rights and principles of independent living. NGOs located in big cities and funded by international and national foundations can provide an attractive labour market for qualified social work graduates as they offer better wages, encourage and support employees to improve professionally, and operate on a project-management base, which often is associated with a flexible and vivid organisational culture. However, the number of such organisations is rather limited and unstable due to the specific economic and political situation in Russia, where extensive involvement of foreign donors is not encouraged while national funds to support non-governmental activities are scarce.

In spite of these difficulties, it is possible to develop structural and empowering social work under the conditions of certain shifts in social policy, the administration of social services and consolidated efforts of educational programmes. A contextual approach in social work, critical and holistic knowledge and skills to empower service users need to be developed in both the public and the non-governmental sector in Russia to replace today's dominant approaches, which limit rather than improve the opportunities for social citizenship. Democratic egalitarian and non-discriminatory ideology is required in social services as well as in social work training. It is worthwhile to pay more attention to retraining programmes and to raise the level of skills of staff who already work for social service agencies because the vast majority of staff in those agencies do not get basic training in the field. Education is called to contribute to the development of such reflexive professionals who would be able recognise inequality on individual and institutional levels in direct contacts with clients or on a structural level during organisational, social and political interaction and come up with innovative means of tackling these problems.

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This study considers contradictory issues of welfare policies, looking at them from three different perspectives: policy and institutions, culture and discourse, actors and identity. It shows that modernisation of social life under socialism was concerned with the internalisation of new forms of discipline, standards of everyday life, collectivist values and beliefs in equality. These values and beliefs impacted on public and private domains, including social services provision, which was of a classed and gendered nature. The post-Soviet welfare policy is characterised by the legacies of conservative thinking, and influences of neo-liberal ideologies. Low income parents become the objects of governmental control, and existing forms of social policy act towards fastening them in vulnerable position. Additional pressure is on those families who raise children with disabilities. The contemporary situation in social work in Russia is featured by low degree of discretion, absence of critical reflection of social work practice, and rigidity of governance. This is the background where initiatives to change the existing social order can hardly be seen. However, social workers are gradually acquiring new knowledge and skills to effect social change in a democratic egalitarian mode rather than following the paternalist scheme of thought and action.