



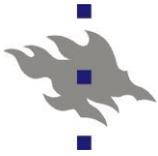
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# Trajectories of the Welfare State in Post-Soviet Russia

Dr.Soc.Sc. Meri Kulmala  
20 October, 2014

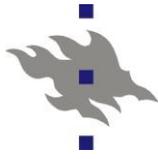
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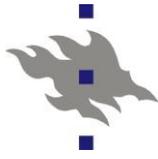
## Content of the lecture

- Contextualizing: about well-/ill-being in Post-Soviet Russia
  
- Theorizing: welfare regime typologies
  
- About welfare state in the Russian context
  - Socialist welfare regime
  - Post-socialist welfare state
  - Family policy as the top priority
  
- Discussion



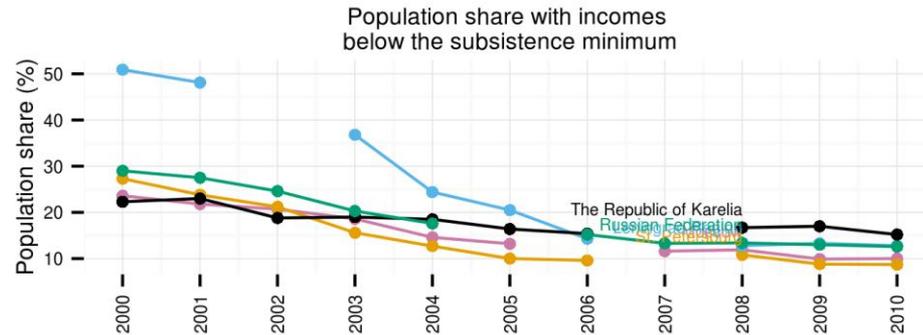
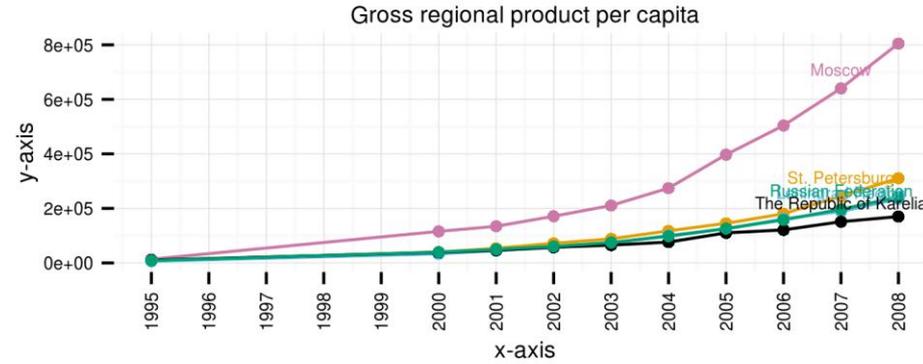
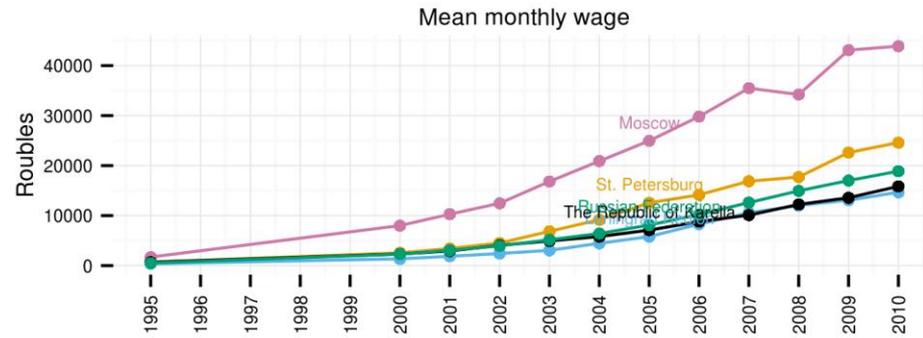
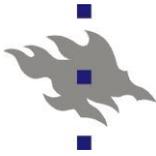
## ”Post-Soviet welfare crisis”

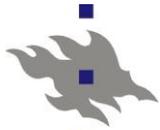
- Dramatic indicators of social crisis: poverty, inequality, infectious diseases, alcohol and drug abuse and unemployment
- Decline in international comparisons, UN/HDI (Human Development Index: Life expectancy; health, education, command over resources)
  - USSR 1987: 26th (of 105) -> RUS 1994: 71th; 2012: 55th (of 187)
  - GII (Gender Inequality Index): education, participation in labor, health care)
    - 2012: NL 1st; NOR 5th; FIN 6th; US 42nd; RUS 51st
- Old welfare structures ”rusty”
  - Parallel liberalization and statist arrangements, old Soviet practices, ad hoc measures



## Post-Soviet problems of social welfare: poverty

- Post-Soviet sharp decline in living conditions and discrepancies in income
  - No poor in the USSR? – full employment
- Currently, appr. 10 % lives under the subsistence minimum
  - In reality 1/3 of the households?
  - Regional difference (big cities vs. countryside)
  - Pensioners, single parents, families with children
    - Gendered phenomenon (majority: women; extreme poor men)
  - Working poor
    - National Priority Projects
    - Examples (e.g. Karelia)
  - Income-tested social support for poor (no universalism)
  - Health problems





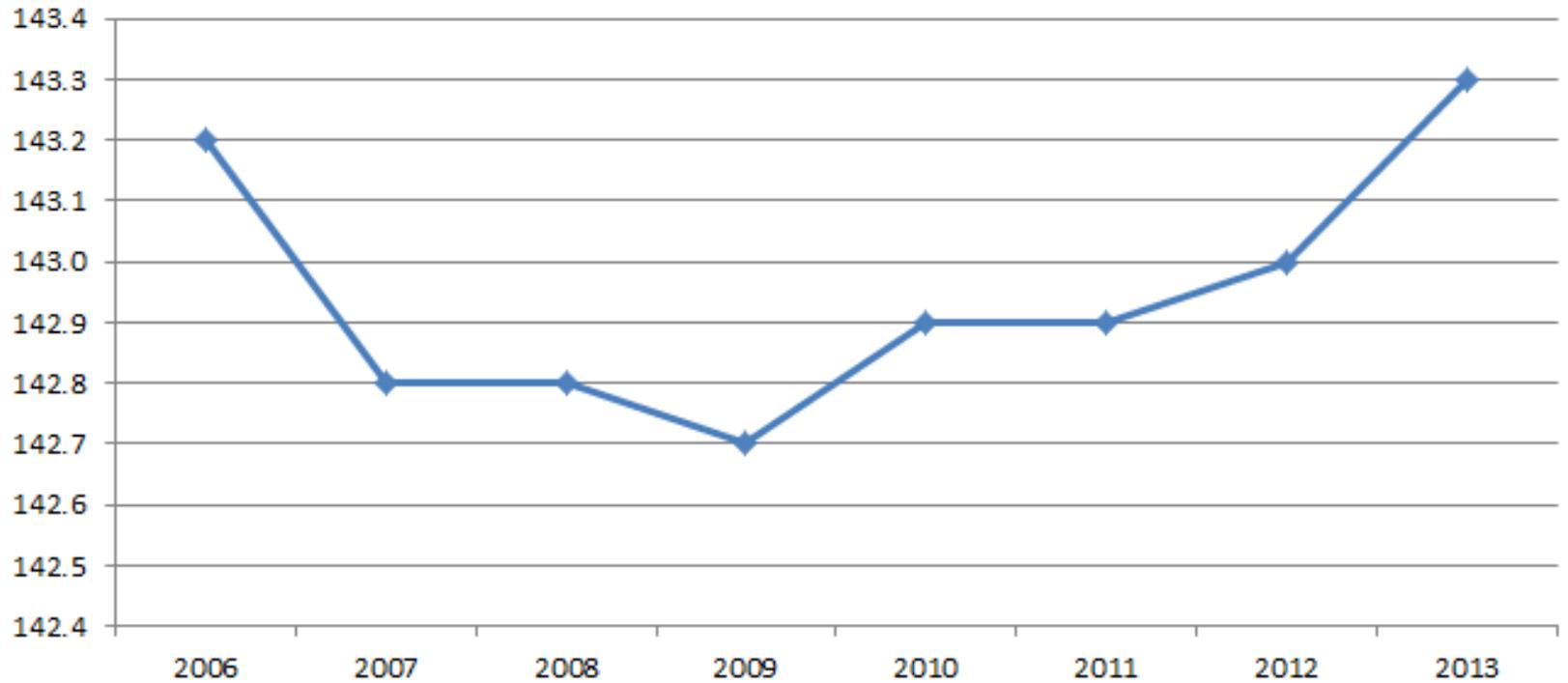
## Welfare crisis = demographic crisis

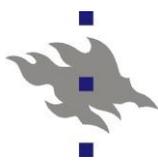
### ■ Unequaled depopulation:

- Decline in population: population shrinking from its peak, 148.7 million at the beginning of 1992, by 700,000 per year
  - A 2008 UN report projected a decline in population from 142 million in 2007 to 130 million in 2025 and as low as 100 million by 2050
  - Russia's official goal: to stabilize the population near its present level, from 140 million to 142 million by 2015, and to create conditions for growth to 145 million by 2025
- 
- Decrease until 2009-2010 – currently 143 million (2013)
    - 0.4% increase from 2010
- 
- Threatening Russia's national security and economic development
    - Became a national priority in the middle of 2000s'



## Russia Population 2006-2013

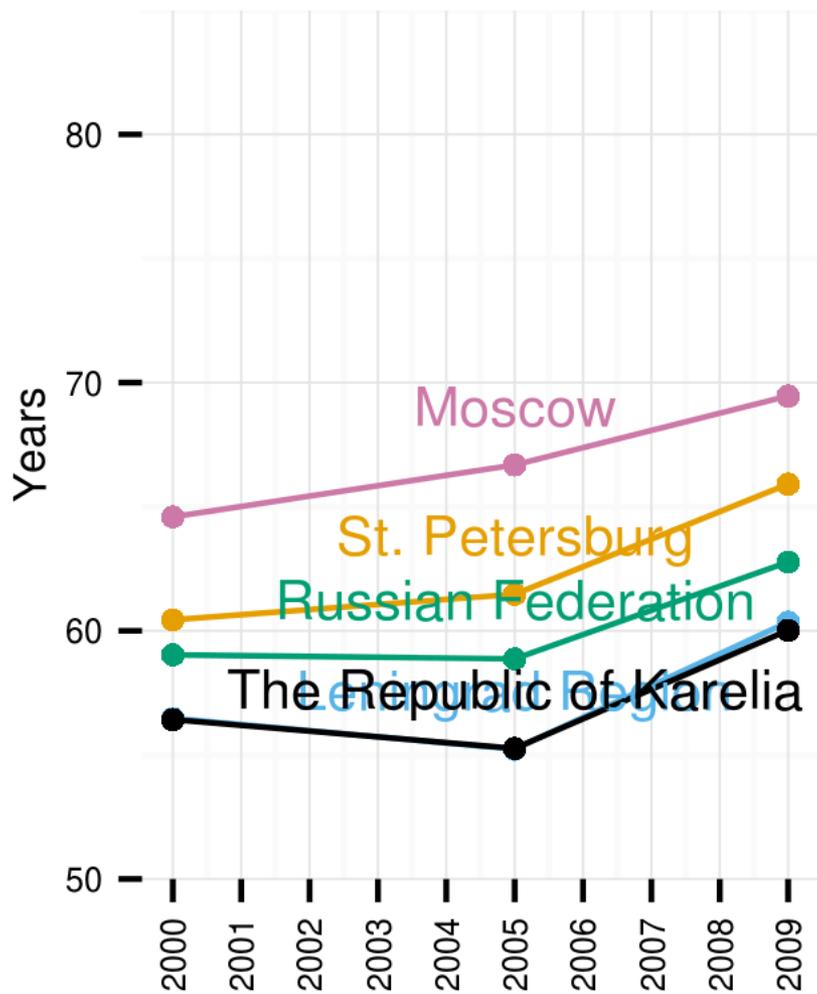




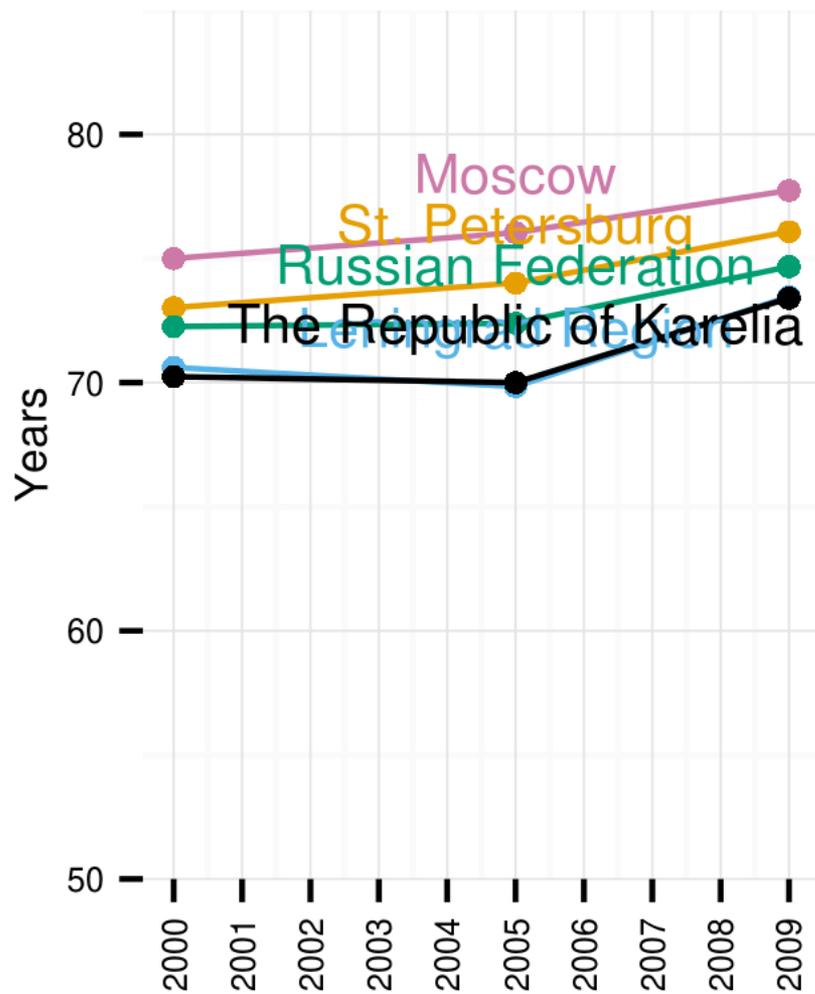
# Welfare crisis = demographic crisis = mortality crisis plus fertility crisis

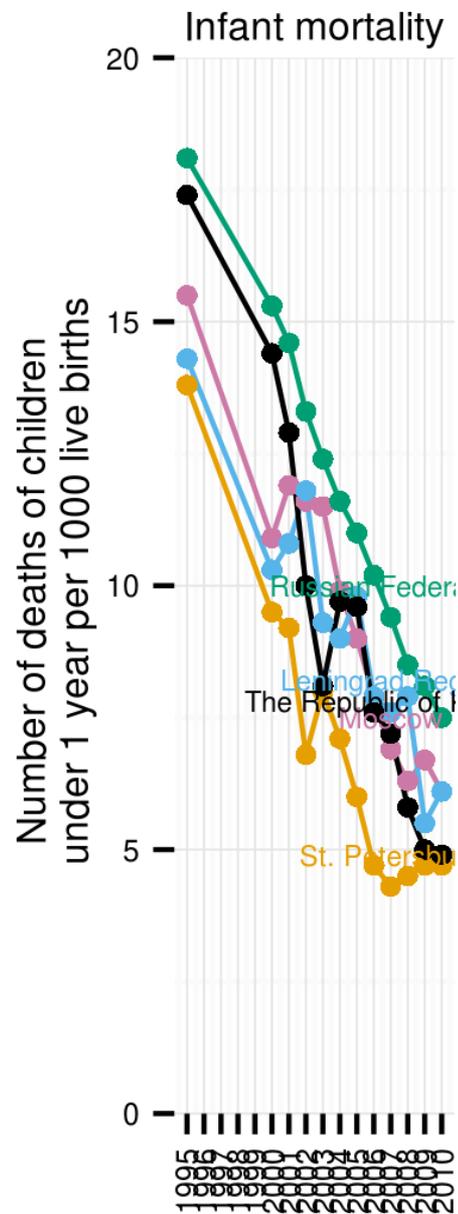
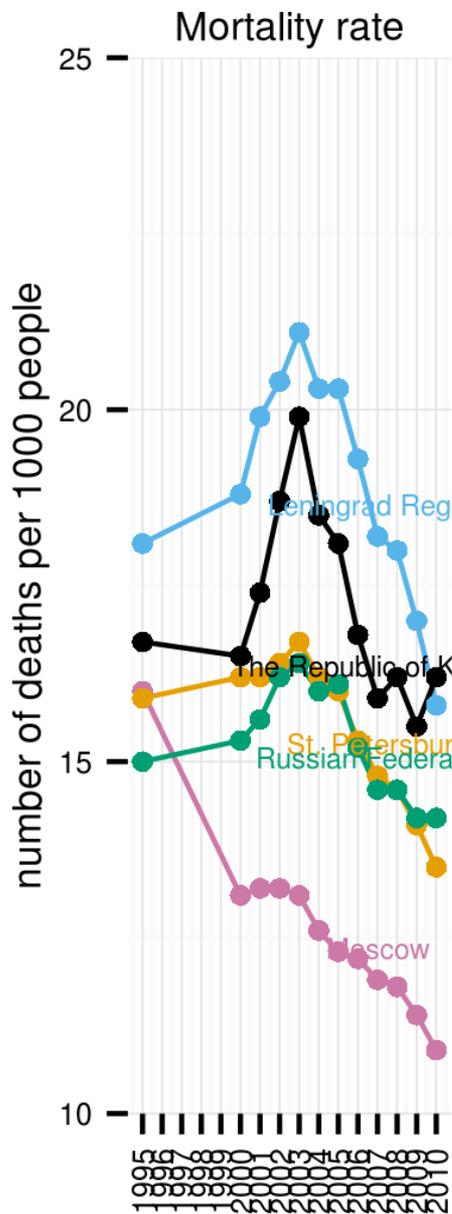
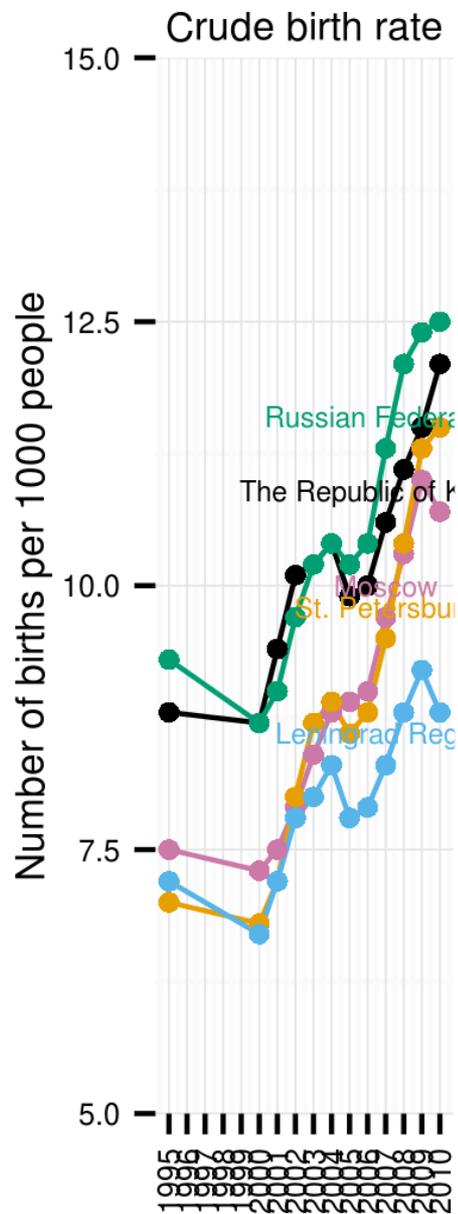
- Low life expectancy, especially of Russian men
  - Life expectancy had fallen from 68 years in 1990 to less than 60 years for men in early 2000s
    - At the turn of 1980s and 1990s: men ~ 60; women ~ 74
    - Men/Women: in 1997 -- 57.38/ 72.85; in 2003 -- 58.53/ 71.85; in 2013 -- 64.56/75.86
  
- Low birth rate
  - In 1993, the number of deaths had exceeded births by 11.2 million
  - In 1990: 1.89; in 1999: 1.16; growth starting from 2006

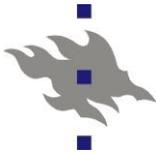
Men



Women



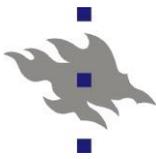




## Mortality crisis vs. fertility crisis

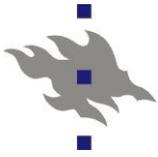
- Low life expectancy of mainly men derives from their unhealthy ways of life
  - Alcohol use, smoking, bad diets -> cardio-vascular diseases, cancer
  - Violent deaths (homicides, suicides)
  - Accidents (at work, in traffic)
- Low fertility as "women's problem"
  - Underlying assumption: addressing the demographic crisis is women's responsibility (to have more babies), even as the crisis is rooted in some men's unhealthy ways of life
- NB! Good results in infant mortality

→ Focus to families and increasing the birth rate through pronatalist family policies



## Different welfare regimes

- Central question in welfare research: welfare regimes
  - Welfare regimes, i.e. welfare models refer to ways how (what kinds of arrangements and by which stakeholders) welfare is produced; focus on the division of labor between different societal sectors (state, market, third sector, individuals) in a given society
  
- Typologies Esping-Andersen (Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism, 1990)
  - Distinctive elements: the main provider; size of overlap between different sectors
  - Geographical variation
  - NB! Ideal types



# Esping-Andersen typology

## ■ Liberal model

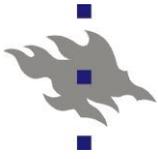
- Market-based, private welfare solutions dominant
- Responsibility at the individual level
- Large differences in income; inequalities
- U.S., Australia

## ■ Conservative/corporatist model

- Working place based solutions
- Third sector and religions organizations (funded by the state)
- Germany, Italy, France

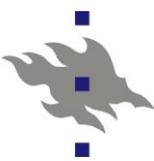
## ■ Social-democratic model

- State-regulated arrangements; public-sector services
- Universalism
- Nordic countries



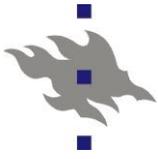
## Socialist welfare regime (I)

- Statist, state-paternalist model
  - Created in 1930s in the Soviet Union (culminated in 1960-70s)
  - 100 % of state control, planning and financing
  - No role for the market or third sector
  
- Universalism
  - Free-of-charge (e.g. health care, education) or strongly subsidized (e.g. housing) services
  - Based on work (day care, health care)
  - Full employment (men and women)
    - Low salaries but small differences in income
    - Social policy only for marginal groups



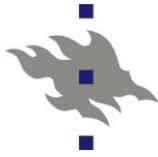
## Socialist welfare regime (II)

- Categorized benefits
  - Contributions in military and labor forces
  - Disabilities
  - Cf. equality
  
- Scarce resources, low quality
  - Technology and industries prioritized areas
  - Reproductive health forgotten area
  
- Accessibility and equality (in principle)
  - Wide system (cf. Central Asian countries)
  - Legacies and nostalgia



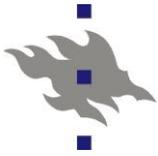
# Post-Soviet Liberalization

- Restricting the role of the state
  - Decentralization
  - Market-based arrangements (health care, higher education)
  - Means-tested social support (for the poor)
  - On the agenda of the international organizations (IMF, World Bank)
- The different stages of liberalization by Linda J. Cook (Postcommunist Welfare States, 2007)
  - 1991-1993: Non-negotiated Liberalization (chaotic, poor-quality reforms)
  - 1994-1999: Contested liberalization (no extreme reforms due to the policy dead-lock in the duma)
  - 2000-2005: Negotiated liberalization within the elite



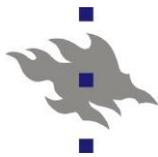
## Statist turn under Putin's second term

- Outcome of the previous developments: combination of the state- and market-based solutions and informal practices
- Welfare questions at the top of the agenda – more interventions by the state
  - 2006 speech on the state of the nation
  - Demographic crisis and new demographic policies
  - National priority projects
- On the other hand, neo-liberal openings
  - More role and responsibility to NGOs and businesses
- Incoherent policies: statism and liberalism, ad hoc measures



# Statist turn through National Priority Projects

- Goal: to improve well-being of Russian citizens
  - "To invest in people" (cf. Stabilization fund thanks to the high price of oil in the market)
  
- Four programs of "Health", "Education", "Housing", and "Rural Russia"
  - Putin's innovation in 2006-2007; introduced by Medvedev
  - Followed by "Modernization"
  - Focus: the birth rate and family policies



## ”Fifth national priority project”: families

- ■ Putin in his annual address to the nation in May 2006:
  - Demographic development as “the most acute problem facing our country today”;
  - Situation was seen as an actual threat to national security
  - “Love for one’s country starts from love from one’s family”, president continued in his speech and thus marked family and family policies as the major priorities through which the demographic crisis was to be addressed
  
- Ever since
  - Promotion of the highly traditional family values by the state
  - Several reforms in increasing the state’s involvement in providing support for Russian families – with a clear focus on pronatalism and work and family reconciliation (to encourage more births).



## ■ Increasing the birth rate and support for work-and-family reconciliation as a state responsibility

- While Gorbachev wished women to return home to their traditional roles Putin has emphasized that it is the duty of the state to help women to reconcile work and family – and thus support giving births to more children
  - “If the state is genuinely interested in increasing the birthrate, it must support women who decide to have a second child.”
  - Resemblances with the Soviet family policies, which were centered around the wage-earning mothers



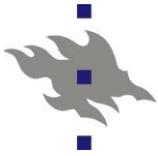
## ■ National Priority Project "Health"

- Support for motherhood and work-family reconciliation, among others
  - Matkapital, i.e. maternity capital of 250,000 Rubles (second or more children)
    - To be spent to purposes predefined by the state
      - 97 % goes for improving housing conditions
    - In 2014: 429,408 Rubles
    - [http://www.pfrf.ru/family\\_capital/](http://www.pfrf.ru/family_capital/)
    - Remains underused and criticized
  - Birth certificates for maternity clinics during pregnancies: free-of-charge services
  - Progressive parental leave payments
  - Progressive subsidies of day care
  - Birth grants and child benefits increased
- The more children, the more money



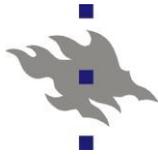
## Support for Young Families

- Conception of National Policies on Young Families
  - Particular focus to housing (and rural areas)
  
- Young families with children
  - Seen as a demographic resource with reproductive potential
  - Well-functioning (*blagopoluchnaia*) young families of a registered marriage of two under 30 years old with one or more children
    - Expected to “fulfill the reproduction norm” of the region in which a family in question lives
    - Cf. incomplete (*nepolnaia*), disadvantaged (*neblagopoluchnaia*) families



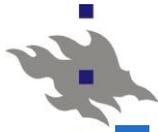
## Other openings in welfare

- National conception of Family Policy (2014)
  - Work-and-family reconciliation – more responsibility for employers
- A very recent focus on foster care: An idea of a right of each child to grow in a family (several national programs)
  - Deinstitutionalization of the foster care
    - Dismantling the extensive system of children's homes
    - Development of foster families (and domestic adoption)
    - Prevention of “social orphanhood”
  - Shifts the focus on “disadvantaged” families
- Raises in pensions
  - Also during the 2008 economic crisis
- Salaries of the public-sector workers (through the national priority projects)
- Next lecture: “socially oriented NGOs”



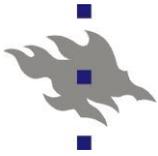
## A few comments to welfare and family policies

- A statist turn within (neo)liberal welfare reforms – with selected priorities
  - Putin: to "invest in people"
  - Yet, the interventionist role of the state in certain priorities
  
- Paradox: working-age men mortality resolved by supporting motherhood and young families (health → family policy)
  
- No attention to the male mortality but the birth rate has increased
  - "Baby-boomers" of the 1980s'
  - Other explanations to the higher birth rate?
  
- Russian miracle in social policy is an overstatement: the political will can hardly be seen in outlays in their relative numbers
  - Plus selectiveness



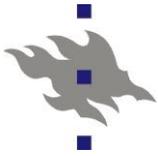
## A few more remarks...

- ■ Gender more visible again?
  - Though, work-and-family reconciliation exclusively as “women’s issue”
    - Invisibility of men in family life – even if in principle “parental benefits”
  - Promotion of women’s role for Russian society as whole but as defined by the state’s needs
- Conservative family values
  - National Conception of Family Policies from 2013 thru 2025: marriage with children (partners without children not even considered as family)
  - Women = mothers
  - Highly normative understanding of well-functioning families prevails
  - Family is not discussed from any critical perspective nothing is said about changing the gendered structures within the family
  - Neofamilialist or neotraditionalist regime?



## And finally,

- President "in tune"?
  - The strong ideal of a two-child family (rooted in the 1960s)
  - Yet, in practice, one-child family has become increasingly common
    - First child is a self-evident event in the life course of Russian women, while the second child is subject to careful planning
  - More money, however, would not solve the problem
  
- Disparity between the national policies and local circumstances
  - Problems with local infrastructure
  - Bureaucracy
  - Citizens' large expectations combined with low trust toward the state



## Further readings

- Kulmala, Meri, Kainu, Markus, Nikula, Jouko & Kivinen, Markku (2014, in print): "Paradoxes of Agency: Democracy and Welfare in Russia". [\*Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization\*](#) 23 (4), 523-552.
- **Cook, Linda J. (2011):** "Russia's Welfare Regime: The Shift Toward Statism." In *Gazing at Welfare, Gender and Agency in Post-socialist Countries*, ed. by Maija Jäppinen, Meri Kulmala, and Aino Saarinen. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 14-35.