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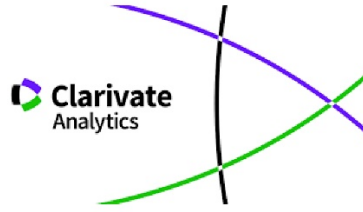
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SOLIDARITY AS A CONSTITUENT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL: ROLE OF HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS IN EXERCIZING THE RIGHTS OF YOUNG PARENTS

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ABSTRACT

Based on the resource approach the authors of this article analyze the human capital structure (education, income, qualifications) at an individual level, along with social capital (membership in informal and formal networks, relationships of solidarity and support in difficult real-life situations, friendships and collegial relationships). An approach to the implementation of the mechanism for protection of social and labor rights of mothers was offered.

Keywords: *Rights of Young Parents, Social Capital, Resource Approach, Human Rights Organizations, Solidarity, Conceptual Approach, Protection of Human Rights.*

INTRODUCTION

Human rights organizations are functionally oriented towards sustainable development of society and implementation of important social tasks. For example, as part of civil society, they are meant to fulfil the function of society linking, connecting private and public interests, mediating between an individual and the state. In turn, the civil society acts as a field, on the one hand, where a struggle between diverse interests takes place and a compromise between them is reached. On the other hand, a network of social associations and movements, being the civil society basis, is an active factor in the process of social and political consolidation (Kazakov, Fomin, 2002: 36).

According to 2015 data from the Federal State Statistics Service, the total number of socially oriented non-profit organizations in the Russian Federation (hereinafter - NPO) amounted to 140 thousand and 31 organizations that included 991 thousand 81 employees and 2 million 492 thousand 974 volunteers; 3 thousand 966 NPOs with 39 thousand 955 employees and 31 thousand 841 volunteers were registered in St. Petersburg. Of the total amount of NPOs in the Russian Federation, 3 thousand 852 NPOs provided legal assistance free of charge or on a preferential basis to the citizens, took part in legal education of the population, protection of the rights and freedoms of humans and citizens, and 975 NPOs provided legal assistance to non-profit organizations (the Federal State Statistics Service 2015: 1).

The role of human rights organizations also includes solving social issues by protecting human rights. According to Ya.I. Gilinsky, the function of the human rights organization is to exercise social control in public relations in the form of "self-organization (self-regulation) mechanism, and self-preservation of society through establishment and maintenance of the regulatory procedures in this society and elimination, neutralization, minimization of law-breaching - deviant behavior" (Gilinsky 2007: 420). In case of violation of labor legislation, social control is carried out by formal institutions such as the court, welfare bodies, but also by informal possibly including political parties, municipalities, non-governmental organizations in particular human rights ones. What functions does a human rights organization perform promoting the ideology of gender equality and protection from gender-based discrimination? What are the peculiarities of provided support and its substantial characteristics? How are informal social networks of mothers with young children and of pregnant women whose social and labor rights have been violated formed? What are the mechanisms of influence of informal social networks on the activation of life potential of a young family, and mobilization of parental responsibility for the birth and upbringing of a child? What are the ways the leaders and activists of a human rights organization use to influence the authorities in order to change their policy towards support for parenthood and childhood? These issues were key in our study.

St. Petersburg NPO "Society for Social Protection of Citizens "Petersburg Egida" was established in 2002 (hereinafter - the human rights organization, organization). The mission of the organization included promotion of protection of social and labor rights of the citizens, trade unions and social organizations, formation of an active human rights position in Russian citizens through provision of legal assistance and education. The organization set the goals of improving the social and labor rights mechanisms, encouraging the citizens to defend their rights, developing the civil society, promoting gender equality policy. The activity of St. Petersburg public organization " Society for Social Protection of Citizens "Petersburg Egida" was peculiar for its legal support for pregnant women and mothers with small children and the victims of major violations of labor rights, lobbying of progressive legislation on gender equality and improvement of the mechanisms for protection of labor rights of mothers including that of discrimination.



The ongoing economic crisis has revealed the most obvious groups of women - gender discrimination objects. These, above all, include young women under 30 with small children under a year and a half and pregnant women. The existing mechanisms for protection of labor rights do not ensure full protection of this category of women from unlawful dismissal, non-payment of maternity allowances, child care allowances. The current legislation of the Russian Federation and the North-West region lacks a legal mechanism of pre-trial settlement of gender discrimination issues at the labor market, and the term "discrimination" has not been disclosed in the Labor Code of the Russian Federation. No federal and regional laws on gender equality has been adopted yet, there is no Ombudsman gender equality institute, there is no organized, including trade union, support against gender discrimination. In this regard, a significant part of mothers applies for restoration of their rights to the supervisory authorities, and when they do not find support - to the courts. This entails large expenditures of money and time, affects the psychological state of women who have suffered gender discrimination in the workplaces, has a significant impact on the process of restoration of their social and labor rights.

Considering solution of demographic issues in the plane of gender approach, it is important to define what is meant by the "gender policy" and "gender discrimination" terms. Gender policy is reviewed in this study as a state policy focused on achieving a balance of opportunities between men and women to possess political, economic and social resources in the family and society. According to the resource approach, discrimination is linked to actions that block certain groups' access to resources or income sources available to others (Giddens 2005). Thus, from the standpoint of the resource approach, high-resource groups having power seek to make decisions that meet the interests of their group, while consciously or unconsciously discriminating the interests of the low-resource group. Therefore, women, as a low-resource group that does not have a political and symbolic power in the Russian society, can potentially be a subject to discrimination on the part of men, not only as employers, when those are men, but also on the part of legislators when any laws that do not meet the interests of women are adopted.

2. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH METHODS

The resource approach sees the structure of the human capital (education, income, qualifications) at the individual level, along with social capital (membership in informal and formal networks, relationships of solidarity and support in difficult real-life situations, friendships and collegial relationships) as a resource for social mobility, health improvement, stress elimination, improvement of life quality. Social capital as a resource of social networks and relationships produced in the networks is an important characteristic of the social support network. P Bourdieu defines social capital as resources associated with belonging to a group: a network of mobilizing relations, which cannot be used otherwise than through the group that has specific authority and is able to provide "quid pro quo" (family, friends, church, association, sports or cultural club).

The amount of social capital possessed by a social agent depends on: 1) the size of the network and connections they can effectively mobilize, 2) the amount of capital (economic, cultural, or symbolic), which is, in its turn, possessed by each of those connected with them (Bourdieu 2002: 65–71, Bourdieu 1989: 26–37).

According to the concept of J. Coleman, social capital is generated in the network of social relations based on trust and confidence in the fact that other members of the network will voluntarily fulfill their obligations, with allocation of a social norm, which "not only facilitates certain actions, but also inhibits other (negative) trends». J. Coleman differentiated between three forms of social capital: 1) obligations and expectations, which are dependent on reliability of the social environment, 2) ability of the social structure to transmit information flows, 3) norms accompanied by effective sanctions (Coleman 2001: 129, Coleman 1992: 1-15).

Another interpretation of social capital as a resource for social support networks was offered by R. Putnam, F. Fukuyama, M. Granovetter. Its essence and generation methods were reviewed by scientists primarily in the civil society network structures, which fulfil the function of society linking, mediating between an individual and the state, connecting citizens with each other. The American Sociologist R. Putnam suggested that social capital is one of the most important factors in the formation of democratic political culture, which accumulates through participation of citizens in organizations and associations of the civil society (Putnam 1996, Putnam 1995: 65–78, Putnam 1993: 35–42). He sees social capital as "social networks, trust and mutuality norms",



which promote coordination and cooperation for the common good. The forms of social capital are social norms, trust institutionalized in social practices and "horizontal" relations based on cooperation rather than in "vertical" hierarchical social relations, subordination and dependence (Putnam 1995: 65–78). Studying social capital of various groups, F. Fukuyama suggested to consider its manifestations through the prism of the "radius of trust" concept. According to the sociologist, trust, as a key element of social capital, suggests that society members expect its other members to behave predictably, fair and attentive to the needs of others in accordance with the general rules. The author divides all groups vested with social capital in accordance with some radius of trust defining a circle of individuals or social groups where joint rules and trust relationships prevail. As a result, in Fukuyama's concept, modern society is represented with concentric and overlapping radii of trust. A "narrow radius of trust" in the group and society results in solidarity within a limited group of individuals only and correlates with the lack of "weak" links complicating transfer of information, human resources and innovations (Fukuyama 1999, Fukuyama 1995).

The topical issues also include the "trust deficiency" problem that has become remarkably urgent almost in all spheres of the modern life. Researchers pay attention to the balance between Interpersonal Trust and Institutional, Political Trust. In Mishler-Rose's integrated conceptual index of institutional trust, they are included in a single three-link block of institutional trust suggesting measurement of the following parameters: 1) trust to political institutions (parties, trade unions, etc.); 2) trust to civic institutions; 3) trust to other people. Regarding the first block of institutional trust parameters, the approach applied by Mishler-Rose has revealed institutional skepticism and uncovered mistrust in the basic elements of the institutional structure, on the one hand, and a much higher (compared to the political trust level) level of interpersonal trust, and trust to civic institutions (Mishler W., Rose R. 1999 : 78-99, Mishler W., Rose R. 2001: 30-62, Mishler W., Rose R. 1996: 553-581, Mishler W., Rose R. 1997: 418-451, Lukin V.N., Musienko T.V. 2014: 296-309).



Conceptual approach of M. Granovetter describes the social support network based on its internal division of relations into strong and weak ones with evidence of "power of weak relations» (Granovetter 1973). Weak relations are a key mechanism for mobilizing resources, ideas and information, both in finding employment and in solving various issues. The value of "weak" relations suggests there can be much more of them than of "strong" ones, as their maintenance requires less investment and effort. "Strong" relations include those that usually dominate in the interaction between family members, close friends, neighbors or colleagues at work, are characterized by longevity, trust and mutuality, and require a significant investment of time and energy (Granovetter M. 2007).

Thus, social capital is both an individual form and a social form, is produced and accumulates in the network structures of the civil society, which was broadly and narrowly construed in our study, as: 1) the combination of non-governmental institutions and self-organized intermediary groups, independent from both public authorities and separate private structures of (re)production (firms and families) and capable of organized and responsible collective actions to defend socially significant interests (Schmitter 1996: 16 - 27); 2) the field of civil communications, whose function lies in integrating and increasing the level of solidarity and trust in the society (Dzyaloshinsky 2009); 3) a new type of social relations united by the trust

and solidarity values, and produced in the self-organization process based on identity, social relations and mutual aid and collective action practices.

In this study, the concept of community is understood as a communicative network representing the interweaving of personal communicative activity of individuals, methods and tools of their interaction, as well as of the social capital that circulates and accumulates during communicative exchange (Shadrin 2002: 95). We consider parenthood to be a palette of parental identities defined by the type of the parental culture with its values, attitudes, norms and practices towards children: motivation of their birth, reproductive attitudes, principles of child-parent relationships, responsibility, essence of parental roles and functions (Bezrukova 2011: 23). Parental community, in its turn, is considered by us as a communicative network representing the interweaving of personal communicative activity of parents, methods and tools of their interaction regarding parental roles and functions, protection of their parental rights and the rights of their families and children, as well as of the social capital, which circulates and accumulates in communicative exchange.

The study was conducted using a qualitative methodology by a case-study method. The main qualitative research tools included content analysis of individual and group interviews with female victims, interviews with employees of public organizations and experts, discourse analysis of statements of the participants of the female group “Moms Deceived by their Employers” in Vkontakte social network and those of the parental community on the site of St. Petersburg parents «LittleOne». We reviewed the data of state statistics, media materials, official documents including regulations of Family and Demographic Policy of the Russian Federation and St. Petersburg, the Labor Legislation of the Russian Federation and the Nordic countries, the materials of civil society organizations "Petersburg Egida," St. Petersburg Medical and Educational Orthodox Center "Life", Charity Fund "Warm House", "SOS Children's Villages" and the program “Vmeste s mamoy” (“Together with my Mother”) (Murmansk). A total of 25 women of the socially prosperous group and 44 of the socially vulnerable one, 14 experts and non-governmental organizations members were engaged in the study. To obtain the data, a total survey of the headers of all parental community posts (1576 topics during 2010 - 2011) and a representative selection of comments to them were used as a selection method.

3. SOLIDARITY PRACTICE AS A MECHANISM FOR PROTECTION OF SOCIAL AND LABOR RIGHTS OF MOTHERS

The materials of the research in the group of socially vulnerable women lead to the conclusion that the issues of illegal dismissal and non-payment of maternity allowances and monthly child-care allowances by employers, as well as impossibility to receive social security benefits from federal sources are widespread and latent. Thus, only 15 out of 44 women of the socially vulnerable group were formally employed, were registered as unemployed, were students, had informal employment before becoming pregnant. All the women of the socially prosperous group had permanent employment, were formally employed in accordance with the applicable law before their pregnancies and childbirths, however, they could not get their allowances either.

Most of our informants who did no labor income before pregnancy or who worked without an employment record, as well as some women with formal employment applied neither to court



nor to any social services regarding their lack of the required resources: 1) awareness of their rights; 2) confidence in the support from officials of public services; 3) availability of free time; 4) tangible assets; 5) information on institutions and organizations that could provide legal support in a difficult situation; 6) mobility due to a newborn baby; 7) trust in the state; 8) confidence in law justice. Single women of the socially vulnerable group found themselves in a more difficult situation, as, during pregnancy, they had no support from their relatives including due to the refusal of child's father to help, lack of permanent housing and means of subsistence due to their dismissal / employer's refusal to give employment and their need to seek funds to feed and take care of the newborn. The attempts to apply to the departments of social protection of the population of St. Petersburg areas showed that search for "missing firms" and reporting on the possible ways of issue solving were not part of social workers' responsibilities.

The performed study demonstrated, firstly, existing definite "de jure" discrimination towards young mothers, as the current legislation does not fully take into account the actual practice of running Russian business, mentality peculiarities of officials, businessmen and women themselves, as well as the quality of life of young families with children during the economic crisis. Secondly, it showed "de facto" discrimination manifested in informal practices and relationships taking root in the culture of a pregnant woman neglect, in unestablished practice of joint responsibility of the state and the business community in support of motherhood, and in some cases, in rejection of authorities and entrepreneurs to face their obligations with respect to mothers.

The study results showed that the informal network of support in the social space of relations between the young mothers who did not receive allowances with non-governmental organizations, parties, municipalities, associations of citizens is full of structural gaps and voids. It is not customary to the group of socially prosperous women to seek help from political parties, municipalities and public organizations. Such step is beyond their traditional way of life when resolution of everyday problems is an urgent concern for the family circle: "No, I applied to nowhere, because, firstly, I was shocked by non-performance. Secondly, we are ordinary people, we do not know anything. Personally, I never thought that it would become my business, because I had very good employers at that time. I just did not think and did not know, and when I faced it I had already had a child in my arms, no free time at all" (N., 28 years old, sales clerk, child - 2 years and 8 months old).

Others appeals for support to public receptions of political parties, in particular of "United Russia", in cases of non-payment of allowances resulted in realization of futility of such appeals, since no positive results were achieved. One of our respondents turned to the leader of "LDPR" V.V. Zhirinovskiy and did not get any real help either. Having promised to consider the issues of protection of social and labor rights of women who had not received childcare allowance, the representatives of the public political organization seem to have forgotten about their appeals. Having united with other women of their enterprise that owed them monthly child allowances, Irina applied to the Commissioner for Human Rights in St. Petersburg, to the reception of the "United Russia" party, besides the public authorities, but no help came: "I applied to public organizations, to the Reception of "United Russia", the office of the Commissioner for Human Rights, then to the Social Policy Committee, the Labor Inspectorate, the Labor Committee. To those, let's say, supervisory, political ones. But, apparently, when they started seeing into it more



thoroughly, it seemed futile to them just like to everybody else. No way fiddling with it, sending requests" (I., 35, personnel manager, child - 2 years and 6 months old).

The attitude to the problems of young families in the public receptions of political parties turned out to be largely the same as in public services, and the principle of interaction with women was deprived of active feedback implying informal response and particular results. In general, we can say that appeal of female victims to public and political organizations brought nothing but frustration and distrust of them, and was accompanied by personality changes. Many of the women suffered from depression, self-doubt, confusion, stigmatization that "it's my fault that I wanted to have a baby", which, in general, reduced the social capital of trust in parties, social solidarity and mutual assistance: "At first, you do not understand what is happening, and you do not know how you should live your future life. Yes, when it all leans heavily on you, and you realize that they had done it to you. Then, you start applying somewhere else, and you do not find any feedback whatsoever. They look at you, and there must be the following train of thought: "Yes, if they have done this to you, then you are really worth it." They even do not find out who you really are, what you are, what kind of person you are, what you stand for in your life, what you have achieved. Yes, and it is your fault that you decided to give birth to your baby. It's your decision, now it's your problem. It is the problem of both of you, if there are two parents. And if you're a single mother, then ... it's your own fault. As he did not marry you" (I., 35, personnel manager, child - 2 years and 6 months old).

Thus, the support of political parties and public women associations was formal in the situations described by them. In the descriptions of life twists and turns of our respondents, we never met attempts at active participation from the representatives of party and government organizations to change the current situation. In our opinion, this could be done by analyzing the actual practices accompanying the allowance arrangement process; by conducting an objective analysis of the violation causes, jointly with employers, community organizations, regulatory authorities and social protection bodies; by initiating public debates on the issues of violations of the labor law and the rights of pregnant women; by adopting amendments to the laws for the benefit of pregnant women and those with little children.

Perhaps, the only support in the network of social interactions of the study participants from the "strong" group, which allowed the women not only to get legal assistance but also to learn coping with difficulties, being stronger, withstanding stress, uniting with other people, and therefore treating their lives with more responsibility, was obtained through solidarity from the employees of the social organization "Petersburg Egida". The analysis of social support provided by the public organization showed that it had been implemented in different forms. First of all, "Petersburg Egida" accompanied women in the struggle for their rights providing qualified legal assistance: "And all the rest just appealed:" You can apply here, you can apply there" But there was no assistance from them. And then, I turned out to apply to "Petersburg Egida". And they started helping and preparing legal documents properly. Preparing different statements of claim and accompanying me in the courts, representing my interests. They know laws and articles better than I do. I just do not have any law education. And judges could not have such pressure on me anymore. Here, one judge told me: "Why do you keep applying? You will not achieve anything anyway" (N., 29, sales manager, child - 8 months old).



An important factor, according to our informants, lies in the fact that the lawyers of the public organization were more competent than the lawyers of state organizations. Moreover, the lawyers of the human rights organization primarily defended the interests of affected women, but not those of the employer, and their assistance was provided free of charge: "Free-of-charge basis was, of course, the main advantage. After all, this is what employees count on, they know that a pregnant woman spends all her money on her baby. Of course, woman's first priority is to secure her child, but not to run the courts. Secondly, "Petersburg Egida" has really qualified assistance and support, and competent lawyers. However much I visited labor inspections, called other law firms, I was always told they had the right to dismiss me. Here, it was the first time when I was clearly told they didn't" (Ok., 23, accountant, child - 3 months).

The influence mechanism of the network of moral and organizational resources to overcome the difficulties was provided by solidarity of human rights defenders with the affected mothers, by common goals, values and interests, and their implementation in specific practical actions that allowed women to see negative events in a less dramatic perspective and develop effective strategies for stress coping. This psychological support was essential when many mothers did not have their own resources to overcome difficulties or were not always able to uncover their existing potential: "When you start thinking of yourself, you start falling apart, that is, it is very necessary to have someone to urge on you. This injection to be kept up, bit by bit. In any case, you have some light at the end of your tunnel. But when you start speculating on your own: whether it is necessary, and, oh, the same thing again. They did not allow you to sink into despair" (Ir., 35, personnel manager, child -. 2 years and 6 months old).

Many respondents mentioned the confidence that employees of the organization gave them. Firstly, because they believed in the ability to uphold justice, and secondly, because their social position added new strength to continue dynamic actions. Almost each of our respondents felt her dependence on the support from her husband and her family, hoped both for compliance with formal laws and generosity of the employer. The history of each woman has developed in its own unique way, and sometimes in a dramatic way, but at the same time, all affected mothers were united with lack of knowledge of their rights and effective protection procedures, weak resources to fight for their rights: "A mother that cannot leave her child to rat to the Director: "How can you do this?". For the woman is pregnant, she is dependent, and she is already a little humiliated by it. Because she waits for response from her husband, she is very vulnerable in this period. She is afraid of everything. And she expects this support, and of course, for me personally, it was very stressful. Because I cannot just sit and count on what is entitled for me by law, and no one gives it" (An., 30, marketing expert, children - 6 years old, 4 years and 5 months old, and one year).

The organization lawyers visited courts with the affected women, prepared requests to supervising authorities, provided legal advice. In general, during five months of work of the public reception of "Petersburg Egida" (from 1 June to 31 October 2010), 148 women had applied to the organization. Of these, legal assistance had been provided to 125 women. Almost half of mothers in need (63 of 125) had received legal advice on the phone lacking the ability to move freely with their newborn child. While 62 women had received personal consultations, which resulted in preparation of the necessary documents for the lawsuit, and lawyers from the human rights organization represented their interests in court. As a result, over the period of



2010 - 2011, 6.4 million rubles had been collected from the employers, but only half of them could be given back to the affected mothers.

Thus, one of the most important functions of the social organization was representation of the interests of affected women in law courts, against their employers and the authorities. The intermediary role of the human rights organization was to protect the interests of mothers against their employers in order to find a compromise and resolve the issue of allowances to the point: "When you know that you have a representative of your interests, a competent one, you somehow feel more confident. If I had been refused, for example, in a lawyer who would accompany me in the beginning, I would not have gone. I would have been afraid, and probably would have left on my own accord "(Ok., 23, accountant, child ~ 3 months).

As it turned out, the networks of legal support for affected women included women only as intermediaries in the care of other women who have experience of caring for others and the identity of a woman-mother. Taking responsibility for the destiny of the women that applied to them, the employees of the organization had both the desire to provide emotional support and the relevant knowledge and competence: "It is important that all lawyers here are women. As your attitude to the male part of humanity is already a little suspicious"(A., 27, real estate agent, child - one year old). Thus, the "weak" networks of professional legal support turned out to be effective and a more "powerful" tool in the struggle for labor rights in comparison with the moral support from relatives.

In spite of "disappearance" of employers and unpaid allowances, many women who have received invaluable solidarity support experiences were grateful to the activists of "Petersburg Egida", in the lack of which they could have hardly got a favorable judgement in the court. The important experience obtained by our informants suggested that it was necessary to team up with other affected women to persistently head to the common goal. Only then, it is possible to reach the result, get satisfaction with the work done and understand that law and practice of attitude to mothers can be changed only by pooling the interests. This support through general female solidarity helped the most active ones to realize their rights, to feel that they need to learn how to fight, to feel their civil position, to unite for collective action to defend their interests: "They always helped and encouraged me not to give up and to keep on fighting. And they tried to hold me up as an example, only me who neither refused to give any interviews or nor was afraid to be on TV. Why, my colleague at work is a daring person too, she keeps fighting. First, she started with kind of timid pace. We met on the radio, she did not even want to speak of her employer, she was afraid. But eventually, she realized that she had nothing to lose and she had the right to win her own childcare money by court. And she also kept on fighting" (N., 29, sales manager, child ~ 8 months old).

Another significant result of cooperation with the public organization was overcoming fear of the pressure from support networks of the several of our respondents: "It seems that my employer has money and connections, which I do not have, unfortunately. And they try to push it on me, I wrote a complaint to the investigative committee to initiate a criminal case. But I was refused twice by the investigator. And they hint that they will sue me slander and providing false documents. The documents are real, but I received such hints. The employer must be acting in



this way because he had already received a call from the investigator of the Investigative Committee "(N., 29, sales manager, child - 8 months old).

Not only N. but other girls experienced such pressure situation but she was one of the few who were not afraid to give interviews on television and radio thanks to psychological support from "Petersburg Egida" and her husband. Another of our respondents, on the contrary, rejected to fight after she had failed to receive any moral support from her relatives, and especially her husband, despite the assistance from human rights defenders. The analysis of the statements of our informants focuses our attention on the issue of the low level of institutional trust in the state manifested in women's lack of confidence in state's ability to protect them from illegal actions of the employer and creating a personal feeling of legal insecurity: "Your surname can happen to be spotted somewhere. And then, you want to get employed with a normal job. And you will be, how shall we put it ... well, someone might recognize you. And they would not hire you anywhere. And someone will hear somewhere that you complain of not being paid. Especially, God forbid, they will see it on TV. I think that I would have probably gone somewhere, would have striven for it. But my husband stopped my attempts, just in case. And there are many people who are afraid" (N., 30, car sales department consultant, child - one year and 5 months old).

Describing the obtained experience of cooperation with the lawyers of the public organization "Petersburg Egida", almost all the women mentioned human dignity of employed women, their sincere desire to help, attentive attitude to people, understanding of the needs of a woman with a little child, competence and professionalism. Many women got trust in the people who were helping them who, in fact, were the only ones who wanted to help them: "There was a lawyer there, N.K., a very confident, persevering woman. She accompanied and supported me, by the way. She taught me that I could write a statement, they should have paid me some extra settlement at my place of employment. We went there, she waited for me downstairs, I went there and got it, but she is just a stranger. We usually count on our relatives, and it turned out that neither my friends who worked with me, nor anybody else actually helped me" (S., 34, shop assistant, 2 children - 10 years old and one year and 7 months old).

An important advantage of legal and psychological support from the public organization was the desire of the girls to help others by sharing their experience. Thus, a mechanism of mutual assistance and solidarity with other women who shall be armed with knowledge at childbirth was initiated. Such cognitive assistance through the algorithms of "correct" interaction with the employer and the competence of an employee that helped to assert the rights seems to be required by many young families who are going to have children soon: "Firstly, I have learned to be prudent with all sorts of papers, different contracts, paysheets. Secondly, we had such moments, we've got two girls from my work who took maternity leave. I told them a lot of things, what to collect, not to leave, God forbid, not to quit. Take all the documents that your employer shall give you. I just give my advice of what I know, what I have gone through" (N., 27, sales clerk, child - 2 years and 8 months old).

The undoubted advantage of legal protection from "Petersburg Egida" consisted in integration of women in the field of social, legal and political relations in modern society, as well as assistance in the establishment of a network of communications between the research participants and affected women during joint discussions of legal cases promotions, joint



meetings and in the parental community on the Internet. In March 2010, the united parents held a rally, "No Flowers, Give the Law", and at the end of April, a movement for women's labor rights "Young Mothers - for Fair Law" was initiated. The activists of the social movement registered a female group "Moms Deceived by their Employers" in V Kontakte social network (electronic version) where they offer their assistance to other pregnant women and mothers who have lost their allowances leaving their details on the website of Petersburg parents "Littleone" and other network resources. Thus, the network support from the human rights organization has helped the most active women to unite and mobilize the resources of the concerned women and of those willing to fight for their women rights.

According to research by the Foundation "For Civil Society", all human rights organizations can be divided into "field" and "network" ones. The "field" human rights organizations are engaged in receiving citizens, working with specific appeals and cases, broadly helping specific individuals and population. "Network" organizations implement the projects of lobbying, monitoring, information character associated with the formation of a general human rights agenda (Research of the effectiveness of the human rights organizations in 2004: 13 - 75). The human rights organization "Petersburg Egida" (liquidated in March 2016) whose experience we reviewed might be attributed to mixed type or "universal" type organizations and uses both "field" and "network" forms of work in its activity.



The structure, nature and form of its human rights activities include work on interaction with the legislative, executive and judicial authorities, which is associated both with preparation of proposals for anti-discrimination regulations and with control over decision-making process in governmental bodies, with drawing attention of the authorities and public to the urgent social problem - labor discrimination based on gender principle. Over the last year, the lawyers have sent dozens of appeals to the Committee on Social Policy of the Administration of St. Petersburg, the Law Commission of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg, to the State Duma Committee on Family, Women and Children Issues. Bill No.284965-3 «On State Guarantees of Equal Rights and Freedoms for Women and Men" and recommendations of the Round Table "On Increasing Representation of Women in the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation: Law and Practice" were amended. Active human rights practices of "Petersburg Egida" and other public organizations and joint activities of women's movement helped to change payment of maternity allowances directly to recipients bypassing the employer from 1 July 2011 in the pilot regions of Nizhny Novgorod region and Karachayevo-Cherkessia as reflected in the Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation (Decree ... 2011). Moreover, the organization worked with specific appeals from young mothers of little children who faced violations of labor law, takes part in the case preparation and prosecution, is engaged in educational activities. At the same time, a distinctive feature of the human rights organization was activities on mobilization and consolidation of women who faced employment discrimination and of activists of women's organizations into the new public movement "Voice of a Woman". Therefore, we classified the human rights organization "Petersburg Egida" as a "consolidating" organization of the communication and practical type bringing affected mothers together around the common goals, values, interests, identity, active civil activity. In fact, the human rights organization "Petersburg Egida" contributed to the promotion of social technologies and algorithms for the solution of demographic problems to the mass consciousness and expert opinion allowing to

classify it as an organization focused on issues related to the basic needs of society and an individual. Besides, the proposed method for solving the issues associated with the low birth rate in Russia lies close to lobbying the new family and demographic policy focused on anti-discrimination legislation in the labor and political sphere, equality in gender relations and implementation of legal services that meet the requirements of young parents for social support.

Summing up the research, it is important to note that support from the human rights organization to abused women was diverse in structure and functions and was carried out in the following basic forms: legal; tool; information; emotional; competence; network; psychological, political. The human rights organization "Petersburg Egida" has contributed to the development of civil society, new social relations of solidarity and trust, fulfilled important social functions: 1) representative, representing the interests of women in governmental authorities; 2) intermediary, linking mothers, employers, officers, and the public to solve the problems of labor discrimination of women; 3) social control, organizing public control over the actions of the authorities, reducing social tensions, conflicts and preventing violence; 4) mobilizing, promoting formation of active life position of women; 5) consolidating, uniting women of different social groups in the struggle for their rights; 6) educational, teaching and sharing positive experience; 7) linking, developing additional social connections between people; 8) socializing, promoting social maturing of women; 9) standard-setting, creating laws that take into account the informal practice of their application and corresponding to women's interests; 10) building social capital, raising the overall level of interpersonal and institutional trust, primarily to human rights organizations, 11) political, influencing the adoption of fair and effective legislation regarding parenthood and childhood.



The political function of social capital, with the human rights organization being one of its sources, lies in: 1) parental realization of their social, labor and civil rights and mobilization of their personal resources for protection, 2) democratization of social relations between parents, parents and community / authorities, 3) construction of institutionalized structures, network parental communities and movements. The economic function of social capital lies in conversion of social relations of trust and cooperation, mutual support of parents into the economic capital (free-of-charge economic support to socially vulnerable people, return of unpaid allowances, reciprocal exchanges). The social function of social capital lies in: 1) creation of a new type of relations of solidarity between parents and civil society subjects; 2) realization of the fact that the problem cannot be solved alone, and improvement of the radius of trust of each member of the parental community, more effective interaction between activists, 3) establishment of a new network structure of horizontal links between them; 4) unification of different social groups of young parents both trouble-free and socially vulnerable ones; 5) redistribution of resources (organizational, legal, emotional, informational, competency-associated) from "strong" (leaders and activists of the parental community, women's movement) to "weak" young parents; 6) enhancement of the resources of responsibility of young parents for giving birth to and upbringing their children; 7) activation of internal resources of young parents and improvement of their civic and parental competence, mobilization of forces to defend their parental rights, 8) strengthening of the collective parental identity.

The issue of social and labor rights provision for young mothers remains urgent, and their protection mechanism continues shaping and improving, including with the participation of human rights organizations.

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