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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Problem Statement: Role of Religious Communities in Russia's Social Support System

The social support system in Russia is now going through significant changes. The state system of social benefits characteristic of the soviet era, took a neoliberal course influencing all levels of social work. Alongside a decentralisation of social work system and the establishment of new legal and organisational forms of social security that shall lead to emergence of a market for social services (Ирина Григорьева 2003, 2007; Елена Ярская-Смирнова and Романов 2013). The social support system also experiences an ever-growing participation of non-governmental actors, such as non-profit organisations, charitable foundations and faith-based organisations within Russia's traditional religious denominations (Romanov and Kononenko 2014).

In the time of economic instability and social crises all available channels of help and social support are required. The increasing number of non-governmental social support actors, charitable foundations and non-profit social support organisations typical for recent years shows the population's ever-growing need for various types of support. Such a high demand for institutionalised social support is explained by the weakness of social support networks that makes it impossible to rely on one's close circle, friends and relatives in the time of need. Today, according to the OECD's Better Life Index, Russia ranks 18th out of 38 countries in terms of social support¹.

In Europe and the USA religious organisations and parish communities are rightfully considered to be important actors in the welfare system. Depending on the institutional environment and the state policy on religious organisations, churches play a specific role in the welfare system and fulfil socially important functions via outreach programmes and via forming stable support networks (Bäckström et al. 2010a, 2010b; Beaumont and Cloke 2012; Cairns, Harris, and Hutchison 2007; Chaves 2004; Chaves et al. 1999; Chaves and Tsitsos 2001; Cnaan and Boddie 2002; Margaret Harris 1998b; Annette Leis-Peters 2014; Unruh and Sider 2005; Robert Wuthnow 2006). The revival of the social ministry of the Orthodox Church, Russia's most numerous denomination, started in late 20th century. In 2011 the institutionalisation and systematisation of the Church's social work and charity began on the church-wide level. Nowadays, Orthodox Church organisations and parish communities participate in dealing with socially important issues

¹Source: OECD Better Life Index, URL: <http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/countries/russian-federation/> [Access date 08-08-2019].

(Врублевская 2016; Забаев, Орешина, and Пруцкова 2013; Ростислав Кононенко 2013; Елена Павлюткина 2012).

Other denominations show commitment as well. The Muslim (Ирина Кузнецова 2012), Protestant, Catholic, Judaic² communities also make their contributions to social wellbeing by helping members of their communities as well as others in need. Nonetheless, Russian Orthodox Church possesses the most wide-spread network of voluntary associations reaching even far-away areas of the country. In 2017 there were more than 20,000³ Orthodox parishes and monasteries and convents in Russia. They are current or potential actors in the field of social help and social support in Russia.

The adoption of fundamental documents that regulate social work of the Orthodox Church in 2011 launched the process of institutionalisation in the sphere of parish-based social work. Social policy experts point out that today the institutionalisation of parish-based social work has only just begun; the number of active parishes is still small, and the scope of responsibilities of parish social workers, as well as requirements to their qualifications, remain quite vague (Romanov and Kononenko 2014). However, through a series of administrative measures and purpose-oriented training of church social workers an ideology is gradually being formed to define the path of long-term development of church social work on the level of parishes, the most basic level of the Church organisation. Such importance of the parish level is determined by a number of factors. Firstly, ROC parishes form the largest network of volunteer associations in the country, with its outreach and presence unrivaled by any other foundation or non-profit organisation. Secondly, it is the parish that remains the primary point of contact between the Church and the population.

The steps taken by the ROC to develop parish social services are first and foremost administrative in the sense that they deal mostly with approaches to social work organisation and social project realisation technologies. The nucleus of parish Diakonia – its ideology in a manner of speaking, its fundamental principles – stays out of focus among the Church “top management”, as well as among researchers of the subject.

Should help always take form of a structured programme or a project aimed at solving a specific problem or eliminating a certain risk? Should people be helped by professionals or welfare institutions? What is the structure of parish community life in terms of conditions for the development of help practices? Which forms of help could be the most

² We could not find any empiric studies mentioning Russian Catholic and Judaic communities' current participation in social work, however, the information found on the websites of such communities and religious organisations confirms their participants' involvement in social work in Russia, including such work in cooperation with the ROC. See: URL: <http://caritas.ru/kto-my> [Access date: 08.08.2019]; URL: <http://www.bez-doma.ru/about.html> [access date: 08.08.2019].

³ See section 1.4. Sources of empirical data, paragraph 1.4.3

efficient in parish communities and how can their progress be stimulated? A similar scope of questions is sometimes posed by scholars in works that problematise the dominant concept of help and support as purposive action (Schlecker and Fleischer 2013), offer a critical analysis of the understanding of social work (Folgheraiter and Raineri 2012) as professional occupation or deal with similar subjects. The conceptual background of anthropological, sociological and philosophical theories, such as the theory of gift exchange (Malinowski and Frazer 2002; Mauss 2002; Marshall D. Sahlins 1963, 1974) and relational sociology (Folgheraiter 2007), enables researchers to demonstrate how certain conditions make structured, purpose-oriented activities less efficient than forms of help based on different mechanisms, such as mutuality, networking, reciprocity, solidarity, etc.

1.2 Research Question and the Goal of the Dissertation

Our problem is grounded in two sets of premises: one set is a direct result of empirical evidence and the second one arises from theories on social help.

The subject of our research is the social work performed by the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) at present, so the first set of premises lies in the very structure of this field and problems caused by it. An analysis of current situation is presented in Chapter 2. In short, it should be said, that the current approach to the development of parish social work is characterised mostly by project-orientation or management-orientation and help is considered a purposive action. Steps taken to ensure the development of church social work in Russia have an issue in common: the community mode of parish life (and corresponding forms of help) is being largely disregarded as irrelevant or even nonexistent. This vision of help is predominant among researchers, politicians, grant makers and even in the Church; consequently, its impact on help practices in all sectors is unavoidable. The problem, as we see it, is not limited to the negative impact that the management-based mode of existence which is imposed on parish communities has on the Christian aspect of parish social help (although this perspective matters as well). It may prove that management-based measures fail to engage significant resources available to parish communities, in particular, their abilities to normalise the requests for help that are inconvenient in other conditions (Юдин and Орешина 2016) and to start chains of gift exchange (Врублевская 2016). Applied to the concept of church social help, the limited framework of purposive action does not enable one to assess and realise the full potential of parish communities regarding the development of a mutual help network within the entrusted territory.

Similarly, studies that base the understanding of church social work upon the idea of help as a project with a defined target audience, resources, and goals do not provide a realistic assessment of the scope and significance of this phenomenon for the whole

country. The set of research tools based on this approach disregards a number of meaningful aspects of the church social work phenomenon. Such categories as social work, social services, and welfare in general are used to describe specific manifestations of the broader phenomenon of help in certain social settings. Help and support are the key concepts that can be used to conceptualise the domain of church social work for the purposes of our research. Consequently, the theoretical premises of the research are embedded in the existing theories of help. A review of the theories is presented in Chapter 3 in relation to the developed analytical model of parish-based social help.

The two sets of premises converge on the same issue, namely the matter of principles that should underlie the development of social work in Orthodox parishes at the present stage.

Along with studies and assessment procedures the elaboration of measures for further development of parish social work requires a revision of the idea of parish social work that is now taking root in the Russian discourse, taking into consideration the specific conditions of help and support that characterise parish communities.

Our research question is what are the principles that should underlie the development of social work in parishes in the specific situation of the Orthodox Church in contemporary Russia?

The research goals are the following:

1. To analyse the specifics of the Orthodox Church social work development in Russian context after 1990s.
2. To construct a conceptual model of Church social work that encompasses forms of help compatible and consistent with the parish as a Christian community.
3. To test the model against empirical data:
 - a. to describe types of the Church social work, fruitful both for the parish community and for society in general;
 - b. to examine factors that contribute to the development of these fruitful types of the Church social work.
4. To formulate the recommendations for future Church social work development.

Chapters of the dissertation reach the research goals and answer our question in the following way.

1.3 Structure of the Dissertation: an Overview of the Chapters

Chapter 2 of the dissertation examines current situation in the field of faith-based welfare provision in Russia. It regards the following questions: what the main actors of Church social work are; how the field of Church social work is regulated; what kind of practices constitute Orthodox Church welfare work; why the ROC parishes should be regarded as the key players in the field of faith-based social support in Russia; how the ROC social work scope and its impact to social support system in Russia can be evaluated, etc. One of the main tasks of the second chapter is to introduce problematics in understanding of the Church social work specifics both by researchers and by doers. Thus, Chapter 2 introduces empirical premises for a new conceptual model of Church social work.

In Chapter 3, firstly, the mainstream theories of social work and faith-based welfare work are reviewed. Secondly, the conceptual model of the Church social work is constructed. This model is grounded in contemporary theories of faith-based social work and the specifics of the ROC social ministry today. The model of parish social work has three constitutive elements: community of mutual help; informal social work and professional social work. Constructed this way, the model allows researchers to classify parishes according to the character of their non-liturgical life's social effects and examine the factors which influence this or that kind of effect. A three-dimensional view of the parish social work can help the Church social workers and authorities elaborate more focused measures for the development of the Orthodox Diakonia, its support and evaluation depending on the type of parish.

Chapters 4 and 5 present the results of empirical data analysis. Firstly, we apply our model to the qualitative data from 15 parishes and construct the empirical typology of parish social work; we single out community-based types of social work consistent with the Church community nature, fruitful both for parishes and society. Secondly, we examine factors, that condition the emergence and progress of different types of parish social work. The priest's approaches to working with people in the parish and "beyond the church fence" are studied as key factors for the ROC social work development. Thirdly, we provide evidence from a quantitative survey of parish social workers that corroborates the effects of these factors on an extended sample of parishes.

In Chapter 5 parish social work is examined from the perspective of social network analysis (SNA). The analysis of parishes' non-liturgical practices in terms of networks results in the notion of community-based social work and illustrates the factors that contribute to its development. We elaborate the thesis that the community-based type of social work (and its subtypes) is a fruitful and efficient way for the ROC Diakonia's further development.

The goal of the sixth chapter is to summarise the results of the research and to provide recommendations for the development of the ROC's Diakonia. Chapter 6 raises problems for future research and tries to formulate the questions for discussion within the Church.

1.4 Sources of Empirical Data

The research employs empirical sociological data (qualitative and quantitative) as well as an analysis of open data (statistics) and documents.

1.4.1 Sociological Research

Qualitative Data

Research “Social work organisation on the Russian Orthodox Church parishes in the first half of 21st century. Sociological Analysis”. Research grant of the Russian Foundation for Humanities (at the present moment — RFBR) #12-03-00565 (2012–2013). During this research in 2012–2013 in-depth interviews were conducted with parishioners, priests, and non-parishioners involved into parish non-liturgical activities in 15 parishes of 11 regions of the Russian Federation: in Moscow and Moscow oblast, Kaluga, Yaroslavl, Irkutsk, Tyumen, Samara, Rostov oblasts, Khabarovsk, Krasnoyarsk and Altai krais⁴. The sample includes parishes from all kinds of settlements such as a megapolis, cities with a population of over one million people, cities with a population from 500 thousand to one million people, large towns with a population of 100 — 150 thousand people and less than 50 thousand people, towns with a population of less than 15 thousand people as well as small towns and villages. Sometimes an interviewer needed the bishop's blessing to access a parish (this was usually the case in all regions outside the Moscow oblast). In other parishes, the rector's (head of a parish) blessing was enough.

All in all, 154 interviews with priests, laypeople and non-parishioners participating in non-liturgical activities were recorded, 60 to 180 minutes each. For the description of the study's subjects (type of settlement, region, number of parishioners), including the number of interviews conducted, see Appendix 1.

Field materials of the present study include transcriptions of the audio recorded interviews (around 1,800 pages), field diaries and interviewers' reports (on observations regarding the parish), extracts from parish registers (where applicable) about the number of parishioners and those to take communion on holidays and ordinary Sundays.

⁴ Oblast, krai — an administrative unit or region in Russia and the former Soviet Union, and in some constituent republics of the former Soviet Union. URL: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/oblast> [Access date 08-08-2019]

Quantitative Data

“Monitoring of Church social workers” (“Monitoring...”) is a survey of the participants of the online educational course on Church social work, wave 1 to 5, conducted in 2014 – 2018. The total number of respondents in five waves is 2206; 78 to 93 percent of the respondents in each wave are practicing social workers of the ROC parishes in all the Russian eparchies.

The research was conducted within the framework of the programme of PSTGU Development Foundation in 2014-2018.

An online course on Church social work was organised by the Synodal Department for Church Charity and Social Ministry of Russian Orthodox Church (later referred to as SDCCSM). The survey was conducted via the Survey Monkey software in the form of an online questionnaire. For the sample of respondents a database of electronic addresses of all current course participants was used. The list of addresses was provided to the research group by an SDCCSM employee based on the agreement between the parties concerning storing and using the data. The data was provided in accordance with the anonymity and confidentiality requirements. After the survey the research group destroyed the copies of all the data obtained from SDCCSM. An invitation to take part in the survey was sent to all the addresses from the database. And then during one month the participants received reminders asking them to fill in the questionnaire. A link to the questionnaire and the invitation itself signed by bishop Panteleimon (Shatov), the chairman of the department were put on the online course website. Thus, the respondents could learn about the questionnaire from the email newsletter or from the website. The monitoring involves all participants of the online course on Church social work from 2015 to 2018.

Table 1.1 Number of respondents in 5 waves of the “Monitoring...”

	w1, May 2015a	w2, July 2015b	w3, May 2016	w4, June 2017	w5, May 2018
Number of addresses	858	5115	1098	912	483
Delivery failure	20	271	9	8	0
Number of responses	287	585	441	574	319
Percent of responses (excluding failed deliveries)	34%*	12%**	40%	63%	66%

*The 30+ percent response rate is considered to be a rather good result for an online survey, including ones that assess the efficiency of an educational programme. Analysing the responses in the 68 surveys used in 49 studies, C. Cook and his co-authors conclude

that the average response rate is 39,6 percent (standard deviation is 19,6 percent) (Coleen Cook, Heath, and Thompson 2000). K. L. Manfreda and co-authors that also used meta-analysis to determine how internet surveys differ from other methods of data collection in terms of response, provide 29 surveys with the average response rate of 35,5 percent (18,9 percent standard deviation) (Lozar Manfreda et al. 2008). D. Nulty has considered the response in 8 internet surveys assessing the results of an educational course and points out that the average response rate equaled 33 percent (where the lowest was 20 percent and the highest – 47 percent) (Nulty 2008).

**The second wave includes the respondents who took part in the programme before 2014. Low response rate in this case could be explained by the fact that unlike SDCCSM ‘freshmen’ informed of the upcoming survey by the course coordinator, the people from previous years could have rejected the survey due to various reasons: many SDCCSM website (diaconia.ru) subscribers might not be involved in social work in their parishes at that moment and that is why they were not interested in the social service related survey; they might be too busy at the time when the survey in question was conducted; they might have changed their email address; or the letter may have gotten into spam folder, etc.

1.4.2 The ROC Social Ministry Database

The only current source of data on the engagement of ROC parishes in social work is the ROC social ministry database launched in 2010 by SDCCSM and accessible to the public on the www.miloserdie.ru website. Parishes and Orthodox non-profit organisations register in the database on a voluntary basis. The initial goal of this database was to help church social workers and volunteers find partners for their social projects and share experience. However, the database now functions predominantly as a tool of parish involvement into social service assessment. Parishes and especially eparchial workers responsible for the annual eparchial reports on social work for the Patriarchate and SDCCSM are usually interested in presenting information about significant social projects in the database. The SDCCSM specialist checks the information about newly registered projects and organisations before putting it in a publicly available database; the relevance of the information in the database is regularly checked.

For each unit (parish social project or non-profit organisation) the database contains information about (1) location (country, region, eparchy, name of the locality, name of the church); (2) contact data; (3) type of social project and (4) description of the project; (5) practices of help; (6) assigned institutions (hospitals, schools, etc. under supervision of the parish); (7) groups of the needy who receive support (elderly, homeless, families with many children, etc.); (8) number of permanent staff and volunteers; (9) regularity of help. Fields (7), (8) and (9) are seldom filled in, so we do not use them for analysis. For the fields (3), (5), (6), (7) one can choose a response from the list or write one’s own response in the field “Other”.

To conduct the analysis data was downloaded in August 2017, which amounted to 4,634 registered social projects of parishes and organisations. The database was launched by SDCCSM to assist practicing social workers, without any research goals, such as the construction of typologies of social work providers and clear classifications of their helping practices. Hence, the preparation of data for the analysis required additional checking and coding. Data on (3) type of social project and (5) practices of help were checked, so that (a) description of the project matched the type of the project, and (b) responses listed in the field “Other” were grouped into relevant categories. When it was needed, websites of particular parishes or projects were checked to help clarify the type of the project or help practice. Through this checking procedure some new categories (types of projects, practices of help) were introduced to the initial list of the database. All transformations of the initial lists of social projects types and practices of help were discussed with the specialists from SDCCSM responsible for the database update and data checking. Not all questions about database entries were answered, of course. However, the data we have allows us to present empirical evidence concerning the social work of the ROC parish communities. The research was conducted within the framework of the PSTGU Development Foundation’s programme in 2017-2018.

Three projects described above were conducted by the «Sociology of Religion» research laboratory (St. Tikhon's University, Moscow, Russia). The author of the dissertation was the head of the research team in all three projects, took part in the methodology development, field work and data analysis.

1.4.3 Data on the Number of the ROC Parishes and Monasteries and Convents in Russia

The data was obtained from eparchial websites in November 2017. First, we referred to an up-to-date list of eparchies⁵. Then we studied the website of each eparchy within the territory of Russia and calculated the total number of parishes and monasteries and convents listed on the web pages. As of today, it remains the only public source of relevant data regarding the number of parishes. In November 2017 there were 193 eparchies of the ROC on the territory of the Russian Federation. No information about the parishes of 10 eparchies was provided, neither on eparchial websites, nor on the website of the Patriarchate. One hundred and eighty-three eparchies declared to have 20,060 parishes. Altogether 193 eparchies declare 20,698 parishes, monasteries, and convents; this number includes 31 stauropegic monasteries and convents, subordinating directly to the Patriarchate.

⁵ URL: <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/organizations/30968/> [Access date: 08-08-2019]

Chapter 2. Social Ministry of Russian Orthodox Church in the Beginning of the 21st Century: Principles of It's Organisation, Evaluation of the Scope and Major Fields of Activity

Parish communities as basic units of the Church system follow ROC's general rules and procedures. Standard ways of organisation are modified depending on the specific properties of a parish and the priest's own view on the goals and priorities of the community's activity. However, some general church protocols and regulations are considered binding and thus, they inevitably shape a parish's activity and determine the trajectory of its development.

The first section of the Chapter considers the organisation of the ROC's social ministry based on official documents, mainly "The Principles of the Social Work Organisation in the Russian Orthodox Church" (2011).

One should realise that even before 2011 when the document was adopted, parishes were practicing social work in one way or another. Moreover, parish social work after 2011 often represents an adaptation of already existing practices to the new recording-related procedures and criteria of the Church (Забаяев, Орешина, and Пруцкова 2010). The second section of the Chapter looks at how social service is performed in parishes and assesses the number of ROC parishes involved in social work.

2.1 Why Parishes Are Important? Principles of the ROC Social Ministry Organisation

2.1.1 Revival of the ROC Charity Traditions After the 1990s

In pre-Soviet Russia charity has always been regarded as an essential component of the Orthodox Church life. Parishes, monasteries and convents of the ROC along with especially organised brotherhoods and sisterhoods provided various kinds of help for the needy – for the poor, hungry, and those who were left without any sources of support – widows, orphans, elderly, ill and disabled. Church charitable work was strictly prohibited by the decree from 1918; it was allowed again only in 1990 when the law "On Religious Freedom" was adopted.

The early 2000s brought dynamic changes to religious life in Russia. These changes included an increase in the number of people who identify themselves as Orthodox Christians, as well as an expansion of the ROC representatives' presence in the public domain (Zabaev, Mikhaylova, and Oreshina 2018), the integration of the Church into other institutions (education, in particular (Köllner 2016)) and explicit public statements from ROC representatives concerning meaningful social and political issues.

As for religiosity in post-Soviet Russia, the results of sociological surveys⁶ show an increase in the number of Orthodox Christian believers from 30 percent in the 1990s to 60+ percent in the 2010s. At the same time there is a significant gap between those who identify themselves with Orthodoxy (according to various surveys, between 60 and 80 percent) and practicing (church-going) Orthodox Christians. According to various estimates, from 3 to 15 percent of the population regularly (at least once a month) attend church services, go to confession and take communion (Н. Зоркая 2009; Синелина 2006, 2013; Д. Фурман and Каарияйнен 2007а, 2007b; В. Чеснокова 2005).

The revival of religious life has been coupled with the restoration of Church charity traditions. Adopted at the Bishops' Council of the ROC in 2000, the document entitled "The Basis of the Social Concept of the Russian Orthodox Church" lists the following things among the major lines of collaboration between the Church and the state: charity and deeds of mercy and development of joint social programmes. According to the directive of the Bishops' Council of February 4, 2011 (document entitled "About the Principles of the Social Work Organisation in the Russian Orthodox Church"), each parish was asked to put a member of clergy or laity in charge of the parish social work coordination. The adoption of this document in 2011 launched the institutionalisation of parish-based social work in the ROC. This document defined Church social work⁷ as a "range of activities initiated, organised, coordinated or funded by the Church or with the support of the Church with the purpose of providing help to the needy". Today the ROC's social work is developing in the forms of (1) parish- and monastery-based social projects, organised by priests and lay volunteers and aimed at different groups of the needy, usually – poor, homeless, elderly, families with many children, pregnant women in crises, former inmates, etc.; (2) movements and associations against social diseases (the pro-life movement, the anti-alcohol movement, etc.); (3) provision of care services and spiritual support in hospitals, almshouses, mental health facilities which is usually done by sisters of mercy who are members of sisterhoods, where they receive special training to be prepared for this work; (4) establishing the Church social entities — hospitals, orphanages, almshouses, rehabilitation centres for drug users, etc.

2.1.2 Parish within the Structure of the Russian Orthodox Church

The ROC has a hierarchical structure and includes the following units which correspond with the country's territorial division. Parishes are the basic level of church life; a parish is headed by a rector who oversees the parish staff and other members of the parish clergy.

⁶ Surveys are conducted by the Institute of Socio-Political Research of RAS, the Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM), the Public Opinion Foundation (FOM), Levada-Center, and others.

⁷In the Document, the terms Church social work, social ministry, charity, Diakonia are used interchangeably, as synonyms.

Above this is the level of *blagochinie* – a group of parishes within one eparchy (diocese), united on the territorial basis. A priest is the head of a *blagochinie* or a *blagochinny*. The third level is the eparchy with the bishop as its head. In 2017, there were 193 eparchies on the territory of the Russian Federation. Some of them are old, whereas others have been formed by splitting a large eparchy into smaller constituents over the last few years. The process of restructuring eparchies is still going on. A group of several eparchies within one federal subject constitute a metropolis, headed by a metropolitan. The highest level is the Patriarchate with the Patriarch as the head of the ROC. Low-level units are subordinated to high-level units. Monasteries and convents may be subordinated either to eparchies (eparchial ones), or directly to the Patriarch (stauropegic ones).

The ROC parishes form the largest network of volunteer associations in Russia with an outreach and presence unrivaled by any other foundation or non-profit organisation. Other denominations (Catholic, Protestant, Muslims, Judaic, etc.) are also active in the field of social support. However, the representation of these denominations in Russia is incomparable with the population of Orthodox believers and the number of Orthodox congregations. In fact, by 2017, the number of Orthodox parishes in Russia exceeded 20,000. An Orthodox parish is a non-profit religious organisation by its legal status and a voluntary association by its nature. In the ROC it is the local parish that remains the primary point of contact between the Church and the population. The following words of Joseph Fichter, an American Catholic priest and religious scholar, accurately captured the current situation in Russia: "Parish means people. Parish is a unique place, where people, Catholics and non-Catholics, come into contact with the Church... Beliefs, behaviour, Catholic faith may be expressed whether in the parish, or they are not expressed at all..." (Fichter 1951, 8). In a country with its experience of forced secularisation, low levels of early religious socialization where more than half of the population identify themselves as Orthodox Christians, the actual effects and consequences of religiousness manifest themselves predominantly in parish communities. Here the effects of religiosity on values, attitudes and behaviour in socially-meaningful spheres such as marriages and divorces, child-bearing, work ethics, etc., and indicators of social capital are considered (Zabaev, Oreshina, and Prutskova 2015; Забаев et al. 2013; Забаев, Орешина, and Пруцкова 2012).

Today, social work initiatives of the ROC tend to appear based in parishes or monasteries and convents, and less frequently – in the form of religious non-profit organisations. Even when Orthodox non-profits for social help appear they are frequently connected with parishes (1) through the infrastructure, that is, the offices are located on the parish territories, occupy parish buildings, etc., (2) through the participation of volunteers who are recruited from the parish community, and, (3) more importantly,

through the motivation for social ministry and spiritual support that lay volunteers or employees receive from parish priests.

2.1.3 The Regulation of the ROC Social Work

The development of Church social work is the responsibility of the Synodal Department for Church Charity and Social Ministry (SDCCSM) which resides in Moscow. Since 2011, the department has been actively seeking to include more parishes in social service practices (helping the needy, e. g. the poor people, families with many children, the elderly, people with diseases and disabilities, the homeless, etc.), mainly through training (online educational courses for parish members), facilitating experience exchange, the preparing and distributing manuals on various types of Church social services. Such manuals usually provide basic instructions on how to perform various forms of social work in the parish (e. g., storage space for collection and distribution of non-monetary donations — clothes, medicaments, etc., charitable canteen or soup kitchen, or a mutual support group for people with disabilities, etc.); how to organise social work within the parish (basics of fundraising, organisation of volunteer groups, social project management, etc.); how to assist people in hospitals, almshouses, prisons, orphanages, etc.

The Church's ideas on the organisation of social services is officially stated in the document “About the Principles of the Social Work organisation in the Russian Orthodox Church” (2011). In essence, this document determines what is expected from Church units of different levels in terms of social work. The organisation of Church social work suggests the distribution of responsibilities among Church entities of different levels: parish, blagochinie, eparchy, and the Church as a whole. We suggest classifying these responsibilities using six categories:

1. Social programmes / social services
2. Fundraising / collecting resources for charitable and social programmes
3. Education / training in the sphere of social work
4. Promotion of Church charitable and social work
5. Development of relations with local authorities, governmental institutions (government relations)
6. The control / assessment of parish social work. Control and assessment have the following form: parishes provide information about their social work to the blagochinniy; then an eparchial worker gathers information from eparchial blagochinies to compose a report on social work for the bishop, the SDCCSM and the Patriarchate. The Patriarchate and the SDCCSM demand reports once a year; periodicity of parish reports to their eparchy depends on the bishops’

management style, an eparchy may demand reports annually, twice a year, or even quarterly.

When we classify all the responsibilities listed in the document into these six categories, we arrive at an understanding of the role of each Church level in social and charitable work (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1. Responsibilities of the Four Church Levels of Organisation in the Field of Social Work. Number of Tasks within Each Category for Each Level

Responsibilities	Parish Level	Blagochinie Level	Eparchy Level	Church Level
Social programmes / social services implementation	7	-	1	-
Fund-raising / collecting resources for charitable and social programmes	1	-	2	1
Education / training in the sphere of social work	-	-	2	4
Promotion of charitable and social work performed by the Church	3	1	4	2
Development of relations with authorities and governmental institutions (government relations)	-	1	6	4
Control / assessment	1	3	3	-

According to the current ROC normative documents, almost all the responsibilities for Church social work are assigned to the parishes, monasteries and convents. Eparchies and bishops have mainly control functions in relation to parishes and are responsible for contacts with different levels of government bodies and administration. There is also one more entity – a eparchial department for social work that is responsible for the development and coordination of the Church social ministry within the eparchy. In practice, the department is the same as the parish: as a rule, the head of the department is a rector of the parish who is active in the field of social ministry (they have more social projects, more volunteers, etc. than other parishes in the eparchy). This prior has no institutional financial support for the department except for the resources they managed to raise for their parish and social projects; they have no official authority in relation to other parishes and priests in the eparchy. That is why we do not regard eparchial departments for social work as a separate actor.

This section on official regulation of the Orthodox Church social work after 2010 might give an incorrect impression about parish communities as performers of the tasks ordered from above and working exclusively because of the administrative stimuli. In fact, for many parishes communication and mutual assistance among the parishioners, as well as helping the needy “beyond the church fence” had always been a natural continuation of the liturgical practices, notwithstanding the current administrative stimuli and demands (Daniel 2006). Moreover, the period from 1990 to 2011 saw the emergence of networked Orthodox initiatives across different eparchies and parishes, with the participation of Orthodox activists, such as the pro-life movement, inmate assistance, homeless assistance (Елена Павлюткина 2012) among other forms of help and activism. Both types of parishes – those that practiced social work and formed communities of mutual social support on their own before 2010 and those which gather primarily for the liturgy (that is, Orthodox worship services), and not for social needs – had to adapt their parish life to new institutional demands.

2.2 ROC Social Ministry Scope and Main Spheres of Activity

2.2.1 Evaluation of the Scope of the ROC Social Work

To evaluate a parish’s involvement in social work one should calculate the number of its social programmes and projects. Parishes make reports on their social work which are then considered at the blagochinie level, and further on – at the eparchy and the Church-wide level which allows to evaluate the number of parishes involved in social work as well as to list and rank various types of social activities. This kind of generalised data about social service is included in the Patriarch’s public reports (See Patriarch’s report, 2013).

The only current source of data on the engagement of the ROC parishes in social work is the ROC social ministry database launched in 2010 by the SDCCSM⁸.

Of the four thousand six hundred and thirty-four (4,634) social projects registered in the database, 82 percent (3,819) projects are parish or monastery-based, while 18 percent (815) were launched by organisations without direct attachment to parishes. Of the former type, 91 percent (of the 3,819 social projects) were launched by parishes, and nine percent by monasteries. This supports the initial assumption that parish communities are the key players in the field of faith-based social work in Russia.

In 2017 2,205 parishes, monasteries and convents registered their projects in the database. As has been mentioned, in November 2017 there were 20,698 ROC parishes and monasteries / convents on the territory of the Russian Federation. About 11 percent

⁸ See details in section 1.4 Sources of Empirical Data.

of the parishes reported having one or more social projects. The first measurement of this indicator was done in 2013 (Забаяев, Орешина, and Пруцкова 2013), and it was the same – 11 percent. Although the number of ROC parishes is gradually increasing, indicators of their social activity remain stable. Thus, on average there is more than one social project (1.7) for each parish or monastery / convent in the database. Sixty-two percent have one social project, 21 percent reported having two projects, 15 have 3-5 projects, and 2 percent stated six or more.

Table 2.2 Level of Engagement in Social Work for Parishes, Monasteries and Convents

Percentage of Parishes, Monasteries and Convents Engaged in Social Work	Number and Percentage of Eparchies with the Corresponding Level of Engagement in Social Work for Parishes, Monasteries and Convents	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
75%	1	1%
50 - 30%	8	4%
29-20%	11	6%
19-10%	61	32%
9-5%	72	37%
4% and less	24	12%
0%*	9	5%
Eparchies have social projects but no data on the number of parishes in the eparchy available	7	4%

*Zero means that parishes in these eparchies provided no data on their social work in the database.

11 percent may appear like very low rate of parish engagement in social work when compared with the United States, where about 90 percent of congregations report having at least one social programme⁹. However, if indicators of religious participation in Russia and the USA are taken into account, along with historical and institutional conditions, the question can be reframed in another way: how did these 11 percent manage to succeed in developing a social work component?

This index shall be considered not only from the quantitative point of view (if it is high or low). One shall also take into account the factors that determine it. As it has been

⁹According to the 2012 National Congregation Study, 87% of American congregations practiced social help in various areas. The most widespread assistance programmes included giving out food to the needy (63% of congregations engaged in social work offer free food to the homeless, the poor, etc.) (Chaves and Anderson 2014).

mentioned, parish social work-related duties are numerous and do not get much institutional support. Parishes can apply for grants for social projects but this option is rather limited due to the limited character of the offer itself (the size of the grant) and the participation opportunities (not all parishes have people that are qualified to apply for a grant and make the final report when the project is over). Talking about how a parish's social work can be supported by its parishioners, one should be aware of the peculiarities of religious processes in Russia. Social research conducted since 1990s shows a split between the number of Orthodox people and the number of people going to church and taking communion or confessions (Н. Зоркая 2009; Синелина 2013; Д. Фурман and Каарийнен 2007a, 2007b). According to the Public Opinion Foundation report in 2014, "Since 1997 the number of the Russians that consider themselves Orthodox has grown from 52 percent to 68 percent. However, only about 13 percent of them are practicing Orthodox denomination as they go to church at least once a month, often go to Communion, use original prayers and pray in the morning and in the evening"¹⁰. In 2014 only 11 percent of the Russians went to church one or more times a month, 26 percent went to church a few times a year but not on a monthly basis¹¹. These results show that there are some objective factors that limit the development of Church social work: if a person rarely goes to church and does not actively take part in the community's life, what are the conditions and what is the possibility of their inclusion into the parish's life? To ensure volunteers' help and parishioners' financial support, the priest and regular parishioners must put in special effort and think of some special methods of work.

It is also necessary to take into consideration the following information. The SDCCSM database only includes the parishes whose social work is structured (or can be defined as such): specific problem areas to focus on and specific target categories of people for whom a support centre or group are organised within a parish. That is why one should remember that a parish can be called an organisation from the legal point of view only. A parish community is, in fact, a group of believers where the first priority is mutual help and support as well as informal acts of mercy while organised programmes and support services are not seen as such. The number of structured and formalised areas for social work and social organisations is one of the indicators of the Church social work, though it is not the only one. Today, mutual help practices and the creation of support networks within a community cannot be assessed and thus mentioned in a parish's social work reports. Which means that the 11 percent gives only a partial image of what Church social work exactly is.

¹⁰ Source: Public Opinion Foundation, a survey among Russian citizens above the age of 18. May 25, 2014. 43 regions of Russia, 100 settlements, 1 500 respondents. Residents of various areas were interviewed. URL: <http://fom.ru/TSennosti/11587> [Access date: 08.08.2019]

¹¹ Ibid.

All this considered, the question should not be how big the 11 percent is, but rather how and by what means those 11 percent of parishes organise their social work? What are the conditions that enhance the involvement in social work?

2.2.2 Social Work in Cities, Towns, and Villages

Information about the location of the parish or organisation was used to add statistical data on the population in each locality so we could analyse how social work is distributed across cities, towns and villages. We anticipated that due to ecological factors (demography, available resources, etc.) there would be a large difference between Church social work in rural environments and in major cities. The data in Table 2.3 reveal, however, that parishes in villages tend to be as active as those in cities.

Table 2.3 Social Projects of Parishes, Monasteries, Convents and Organisations in in Cities, Towns, and Villages, %

Local Population Size	Total Number of Social Projects	Parish- or Monastery-Based Social Projects	Organisations
Small and medium rural villages (200 – 1,000)	6	6	3
Big and large rural villages (1,001 – 10,000)	13	14	6
Small towns (10,001 – 50,000)	17	17	13
Medium towns (50,000 – 100,000)	10	9	15
Big cities (100,001 – 250,000)	10	9	12
Large cities (250,001 – 500,000)	11	9	20
Major cities (500,000 – 1,000,000)	9	8	13
Megapolises (more than 1,000,000)	25	27	16
Total	4,575	3,751	824

The data on eparchial rates of social engagement and social projects' distribution among cities, towns and villages allow us to assume that there are factors on the eparchial level which influence parish engagement in social work. E.g., the number of priests may influence not only the religious performance indicators but also the social engagement of

parishes (Емельянов 2016). Another hypothesis concerns bishop’s vision on the development of social ministry in the eparchy, the intentions or ambitions of the bishop to enact official instructions from the SDCCSM.

2.2.3 Types of Social Projects and Practices of Help

Table 2.4 presents types of projects and practices of help of the ROC. We united data on parish-based and monastery-based projects with organisations that are not attached to the parish because (1) non-profit organisations without attachment to the parishes, monasteries, convents or eparchies are in the minority and because (2) there are no activities performed exclusively by organisations; almost all types of projects are launched either by parishes or monasteries / convents, or by organisations. The significant difference is observed only for the repositories for collection and distribution of non-monetary donations (clothes, medicines, etc.): parishes establish such repositories three times more often than organisations. Help for inmates and ex-prisoners is provided only by parish communities. Help for women in crisis situations, anti-abortion work involves higher percent of organisations than of parish communities.

Table 2.4. Social Projects of Parishes, Monasteries, Convents and Organisations of the ROC, %

Social Projects of Parishes, Monasteries, Convents and Organisations	%
1. Collection and distribution of recourses	27
Storage space for collection and distribution of non-monetary donations (clothes, medicaments, etc.)	14
Charitable canteen / soup kitchen	12
Eparchial mutual aid funds (usually support retired priests and/or widow families of priests)	1
2. Mobilisation of people for helping the needy	25
Groups for mercy and associations of volunteers	18
Sisterhoods (courses for sisters of mercy included)	7
3. Organisation of social support in difficult life situations	17.4
Information / consulting services	5
Mutual support groups (addicts or people with HIV, etc. helping each other)	3
Helping women in crisis situations, anti-abortion work	3
Associations for people with disabilities	2
Sobriety courses, schools, associations	2

Medical help services	1
Helping inmates or ex-inmates	0.9
Patronage (nursing) services	0.4
Helping homeless people (including burial of the homeless)	0.3
Burial (of those who have no relatives or friends)	0.2
Helping the unemployed (educational courses, assistance with employment)	0.1
Medical equipment (equipment for medical care), rent	0.05
4. Work with youth (education, organisation of leisure)	10
Youth summer camps	4
Educational and leisure centres, programmes, projects	3
Youth associations, brotherhoods	3
5. Educational and missionary activity	6
Orthodox Christian libraries	1
Shelters and hostels for pilgrims	3
Catechisation and Christian education (including Orthodox schools, kindergartens)	2
6. Social help entities	5.2
Orphanages and shelters for children	2
Rehabilitation for addicts (including help for victims of sects)	2
Almshouses	1
Hospital, hospices	0.2
7. Other	10
Charitable foundations; eparchial commissions; brotherhoods; non-profit organisations; orthodox doctors' associations; other projects / programmes.	10

We split the list into six groups (the seventh is “Other”) to illustrate what kind of social projects are more and what kind are less common for the ROC parishes.

Organisation of direct help with clothes, food or money (27 percent) is the most popular. Such social projects do not require special infrastructure (buildings, equipment), workers with special skills (everything can be organised by volunteers), full-time engagement of staff or a fixed schedule.

The second category (25 percent) consists of projects aimed at mobilising people for acts of mercy. In general, groups for mercy (groups for social ministry) and associations of volunteers unite lay people (parishioners whom other volunteers can join) for various assistance practices: such groups may specialise in helping a certain category of the needy (e.g. the homeless) or several different categories depending on the demand from the neighbourhood community or decisions of the priest. Specialists in helping professions (doctors, lawyers, etc.) sometimes participate in such groups but it is not obligatory. In contrast, sisterhoods (*sestri miloserdia* – sisters of mercy) require special training (courses are usually organised in eparchies); sisters take care of patients in hospitals and other medical and social institutions, and this work usually has the character of a full-time job with a fixed schedule. Sisters are usually supervised by a priest who provides them, first and foremost, with spiritual support.

The third category includes projects focused on the needs of certain vulnerable groups of the population. There may be mutual-help or self-help groups – like associations of people with a certain kind of disability, groups of people with HIV or former addicts, etc. In other cases, there may be specialised services for certain vulnerable groups – for inmates, for women in crises, etc.

Projects under the category number four (work with youth) are distinguished from previous activities because they are not focused on social problems, they rather tend to improve the quality of life for young people through filling important “social niches” (organised leisure, gathering youth into communities, mutual work etc.)

Category number five — educational and missionary activity — cannot be called social work in the strict sense of the term, as such activity is aimed first and foremost at the religious socialisation and education of parishioners and their children. However, there are several reasons to include these practices in the analysis. Firstly, religious socialisation is an important contributory personal factor to the acts of mercy. Secondly, schools and kindergartens create opportunities for parishioners to get acquainted and act together, thus contributing to the process of parish community formation. When people know one another and a certain level of trust is built among them, it is easier for a priest or a lay social worker to involve people in socially useful activities. We assume that various non-liturgical activities of the Church contribute to a growth in social assistance practices, either directly or indirectly.

The sixth group includes projects which are not common for parishes as they require a lot of resources: buildings; professionals; full-time staff, etc. It is hard to imagine how a parish community can support an orphanage or a rehabilitation centre and meet all the institutional and legislative demands of this work. However, there are parishes that launch these types of professional and resource-demanding social projects; not only sponsors are

important here, but also the energy and the will of priests and laity to cope with this task. Rehabilitation centres, almshouses orphanages established by church communities usually respond to the demands of a local community overlooked by the state or the local authorities.

2.3 Specifics of the Parish Community as a Faith-based Welfare Provider: Grounds for a New Conceptual Model Development

It is apparent that the Orthodox parish community is the primary provider of faith-based social services in Russia.

The role of a voluntary association, providing support to its members and social services to the needy on the neighbourhood territory has always been natural for Orthodox parishes. This support is not limited by formally organised services or projects. A parish is not an organisation but rather a network including priests, the laity (parish members who participate in liturgy and sacraments) and also people and organisations “behind the church fence”. External members of the network get connected to the parish community via different channels: as participants of parish social events, festivals, hobby-based or educational groups and clubs, summer camps (especially on the territories with poor social life and restricted opportunities for leisure – in rural villages, small towns); as volunteers; as partner organisations, providing infrastructure (buildings, transport) for faith-based social projects; as sponsors for parish social projects, events and other needs of the community. Such contacts are usually made by the priest who, due to their specific structural position, is able to ask not for himself, but for others; more rarely this task is performed by a lay person (Емельянов and Юдин 2018). Thus, parishes contribute to the “bonding”, as well as “bridging” social capital accumulation (Putnam 2001).

Different types of faith-based social work, distinguished in international studies are relevant to characterise the complexity of the Orthodox parish social work. Apart from organised social projects, there are such types as indirect social work, informal care, informal care in an organised framework (in hospitals, prisons, almshouses, etc.), mutual aid (reciprocal exchange of help services, usually – among members of the congregation who go through similar challenges: elderly people, divorced people, young mothers etc.), and social integration (involvement of lonely people lacking support in congregational activities) (Cnaan and Boddie 2002; Margaret Harris 1995). Having researched cases of Orthodox Church social ministry in Russia, we may add to this list several other important forms of welfare work. Orthodox providers introduce innovative approaches to social problems, adopted then by governmental organisations. They establish “bridges” between different governmental organisations and people in order to cope with social problems. At times dealing with such problems requires cooperation of bodies not interested in common action. E. g., in the case of helping the homeless in big cities when a person

needs a series of services – place to stay and a shower to new documents, contact with relatives in another city and money for transportation home, or temporary work. Governmental organisations usually provide separate services rather than bundled ones. Religious organisations are better poised to succeed in bringing people back home from the street when they cooperate with a number of separate entities, and help people revive contacts with their home (Елена Павлюткина 2012). Parish communities sometimes facilitate communication among the local population, organisations, establishment and authorities for the sake of the progress of the local communities: cases of how the village came to life and mobilised around parish social activities are sometimes described in the local media. Parish communities also cultivate such types of relations that make it possible for their members to ask for help, accept it, and offer it on a regular basis. Creating opportunities for parishioners to get acquainted and act together, parishes build networks of support (Юдин and Орешина 2016). The effects of these functions should not be underestimated in comparison with direct effects of welfare programmes and projects, measured by the number of the needy who receive help.

R. Wuthnow suggested two models to characterise the social role of a religious congregation: “service-organisation model” and “caring community”. In the service-organisation model providers who have resources help recipients who do not have any. A caring community is based on the principles of reciprocal help (when positions of recipients and providers are interchangeable), regular communication and shared values, beliefs and understandings (Robert Wuthnow 2006, 25–98). In the case of the ROC, the promotion of the principles of social work organisation in the Church normative documents and the activity of the SDCSSM since 2010 (e.g. the introduction of a training course for parish social workers, issuing blueprints on the different types of social projects, etc.) imposed on parishes (1) the obligatory duties of assisting the needy within and outside the parish, as well as supervising social establishments, (2) the way to fulfil the parish social work obligations. The parish community is in charge of forming volunteer groups, training and educating them — if necessary — as well as encouraging and supporting volunteers. Besides, burdened with a fair share of assigned obligations, the parish is not provided with institutional means of support. Raising funds for social programmes and remuneration of the employed social workers is the responsibility of the parish, and more precisely – the rector of the parish. The eparchy can provide some support or reinforce the resource base of parish social programmes at its own expense or through fundraising, but it is neither a stable nor a guaranteed source of funding; in practice this rarely happens. At the same time, the parish is obliged to report its social work activities to higher levels of the Church hierarchy. The choice of social project type should be approved by the bishop; in addition, the eparchy assigns social institutions (hospitals, schools, nursing homes for the elderly, orphanages, jails, etc.) to parishes.

These requirements are predetermined by a concept of parish social work as a structured activity, or a service-organisation model in terms of R. Wuthnow. Reports on Church social work (as well as database registration) are designed as if parishes always had well-structured social projects, a defined target audience (categories of the needy), or social institutions under their supervision. However, in many parishes social work is not organised in this formal way: they lack people, finances and infrastructure (buildings, transport facilities, etc.), but their parishioners actively practice mutual help and the parish community is solidary and cohesive. In officially demanded reports, there is no space for this type of mutual support or informal care, so they are left underestimated by the Church and government and are usually left disregarded by the researchers. Different models of parish welfare work do not contradict each other and in practice coexist in different configurations, depending on specific conditions. However, organisation and regulation of the ROC social work today rather stimulates and makes visible service-organisation model and disregards significance of caring communities.

A profound study of the principles of parish social help organisation as fruitful and sustainable requires a specific conceptual model. This conceptual model should consider not only the service capacity of a parish, but also the specifics of a parish as a religious community and a caring community. Such a model is suggested in the third Chapter. In Chapters four and five the model is tested against empirical data.

Chapter 3. Parish Community Social Work: Development of the Conceptual Model

In the discourse of the Russian Orthodox Church the concepts of faith-based social work, church charity and acts of mercy are synonymous and are defined in the basic document regulating social work of a parish, first of all, via a list of duties attributed to a parish social worker and a list of recommended focus activity areas¹². These duties can be characterised as aimed at helping various groups of the needy. This usually is the first association that arises when dealing with the concept of Church social work¹³. However, in our research we would like to go beyond the boundaries of its narrow meaning of merely rendering help to those in need. As shown in Chapter 2, those non-liturgical parish practices that can be classified as social projects or help services represent only one of the many possible forms of church-based social work. To “see” some other aspects of church non-religious practices, analyse their social effects and determine the factors that boost the development of social work in its broad sense, a proper conceptual model is required.

3.1 Parish and Parish Community: the Problem of Definition

Parish communities as basic organisational units of the religious life are a form of voluntary association as people join a community voluntarily. There are several ways of defining a parish. From the point of view of the Russian legislation a parish is a local religious organisation¹⁴.

According to the Regulations of the Russian Orthodox Church, “a parish is a community of Orthodox Christians consisting of clergy and laypeople and united by the same church... To obtain the status of a legal entity, a parish shall be registered by an authorised state body in conformity with the legislation of the state in which the parish is located. ...A parish is supervised by its eparchial bishop and the parish priest assigned by him. The frontiers of parishes are decided by the eparchial council”¹⁵. In other words, the

¹²See the Document “About the Principles of the Social Work Organization in the Russian Orthodox Church”, 2011. URL: <http://patriarchia.ru/db/text/1401894.html> [Access date: 08-08-2019]

¹³ The few empirical studies on the ROC’s parish social work existing in Russia tend to interpret Church social work in a rather narrow sense – as support of the needy (or social services), not taking into account the specific character of a community’s non-liturgical life which represents an integral context ensuring the possibility of such support (Оксана Антонова and Костина 2009; Елена Воронова 2011, 2013).

¹⁴ See Federal Law of 26.09.1997 N 125-FZ (last edited on 06.07.2016) “About the freedom of consciousness and religion”.

¹⁵Regulations of the Russian Orthodox Church, 2000. Chapter XVII. Parishes. URL: www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/133141.html [Access date: 08-08-2019]

Regulations of the Russian Orthodox Church define a parish as an organisational and administrative unit controlled by the Church authorities.

As a rule, a parish community is understood in its sociological sense as an association of laypeople and clergy that attend the same church and are characterised by a certain level of integrity and interaction. A community in its sociological sense cannot be found in every church. There are countries where one's membership in a parish can be formalised through a system of church taxes (e.g. in Germany or Switzerland). In other countries, including Russia, we do not have the opportunity to count the number of the ROC's parishioners with the use of a formal criterion since formalised membership, if applicable, will only reveal the number of parishioners that donate money while parishioners' inclusion into the community's religious and social life requires a separate research. There are no clear criteria to identify a community; community membership criteria are determined in the course of research depending on the set of goals.

3.1.1 Criteria that Define a Parish Community in Sociological Studies

The criteria making a parish community have been defined differently in the course of history. In the early Catholic studies, alongside the institution-related criteria (living within the parish area, being baptised, race) and participation in liturgical practices, confessions and communions, parishioners' involvement into non-liturgical activities (including acts of mercy, charity, etc.) was to be taken into account, too (Fichter 1954).

The University of Notre Dame study of Catholic parishes singles out the sense of community as the main criterion. A straightforward question served as its indicator, "How much of a sense of community is there in your parish?" (David Leedge 1987, 7). M. Hornsby-Smith suggested his set of criteria based on dogmatic texts: firstly, common beliefs and values; secondly, a developed system of social support and, thirdly, communication among parishioners and practicing mutual help in the parish (Hornsby-Smith 1989, 59).

Contemporary British and American authors usually choose the term 'congregation' to denote a parish or a religious community, this term was introduced into the research discourse due to the social and historical context of the religious life in the US (William H. Swatos Jr. 1998). In modern studies of parish communities (congregational studies), the term 'congregation' is synonymous to a parish community, no matter its religious denomination. M. Chaves suggests the following definition of a congregation: "a social institution in which individuals who are not all religious specialists¹⁶ gather in physical proximity to one another, frequently and at regularly scheduled intervals, for activities and events with explicitly religious content and purpose, and in which there is continuity

¹⁶ Religious specialists — monks, priests, specialists working in denominational organisations.

over time in the individuals who gather, the location of the gathering, and the nature of the activities and events at each gathering” (Chaves 2004). M. Chaves suggests that one should distinguish between a congregation and any other religious events and gatherings that are not characterised by the continuity over time, the people who gather, the location of the gathering, and the nature of the activities and events taking place at each gathering. The participants of religious radio and television productions are not to be considered a community (or a congregation) if they do not all gather in physical proximity; religious holiday gatherings and other religious assemblies since they may occur at regular but infrequent intervals; pilgrimage, religious trips and camps, post-game circle prayer. In spite of acknowledging a certain vagueness of that definition (employees’ collective prayer after a meal at work is less than a congregation while a religious community where people live and work is indeed more than a congregation), Chaves positively believes that it allows to draw a distinction between a congregation and other social forms of religious life (Chaves 2004, 3).

It is hard to imagine religious life without a person’s introduction into a parish. There one meets the priest and the other parishioners, liturgies and sacraments are performed. Aside from its strictly religious activity, a parish also has a certain social life that varies in form, eventfulness and intensity depending on a parish. One can say that a parish community is formed when the parish in question has some kind of social life even if it is as much as tea parties and informal communication among parishioners and clergy.

For the purpose of researching modern Russian Orthodox Church, a community index was worked out and approbated, and it consists of three dimensions: (1) religious practice (participation in liturgies, confession, communion), (2) self-identification, (3) awareness of the parish and parishioners’ life. Based on these three factors, a community can be divided into the core and the periphery (Забаяев, Орешина, and Пруцкова 2012, 8–9). The periphery, in turn, may be subdivided into several circles, the further division of which depends on the purposes of the study. Alongside the core and peripheral parishioners, there are non-community parishioners or non-parishioners that participate in parish social activities. The influence of the Orthodox Church on the believers’ behaviour, attitudes and values is different in case of core and peripheral members of a community (Zabaev, Oreshina, and Prutskova 2015; Забаяев, Орешина, and Пруцкова 2012).

One of the major differences between parish communities and non-profit organisations, including faith-based organisations providing social services, is in their primary objectives. The main purpose of parish communities are religious activities: liturgies, rites, sacraments, etc. And though the range of motives for a person to join a parish community may be very wide, social programmes and support of the needy shall

not be more important for a community than liturgical practices and maintenance of places of worship like churches where all people gather.

In that case, what grounds does one have to consider a community an active actor of the modern society's social life? Firstly, almost all world religions contain in one way or another the commandments instructing to help one's neighbours, not to remain indifferent seeing the others' need and suffering. These instructions stimulate various forms of mutual help inside the community as well as the implementation of various outreach programmes. Secondly, apart from purely ethic instructions, in some Churches (e.g. the Roman Catholic Church, the Russian Orthodox Church), the realisation of social programmes on multiple church levels is formalised in respective internal church documents. Thirdly, now, parish communities are not isolated or closed associations; they are both denominationally and institutionally embedded (Ammerman 2005; Robert Wuthnow 2006) and, thus, respond to the external demands and the situation in society (Cnaan and Boddie 2002; Cnaan, Wineburg, and Boddie 1999), as well as to the institutionalised stimuli (Chaves and Anderson 2014).

As shown by international studies of faith-bases social work, parish communities fulfil socially relevant functions through a wide range of practices that in their turn can be classified according to several different criteria. E. g., according to their level of professionalisation and form of organisation: informal help, organised programmes, professional services (Margaret Harris 1995). By targeting an individual receiver or a community; by the expected result: it may be a single act of help to a person that needs food, a roof, clothes as well as long-term result-oriented work (Unruh and Sider 2005). By the degree of inclusion into the partnership networks: there are communities that implement social programmes by themselves but the majority work in cooperation with a long list of organisations (Ammerman 2005; Chaves 2004). By the character of the relationship with the person in need: these can be long-term programmes requiring face-to-face communication with the person or different ones with no more than brief, superficial interaction between the helper and the needy (Chaves 2004).

3.2 Social Work: the Problem of Definition

Such categories as social work, social services and welfare work in general are used to describe specific manifestations of the broader phenomenon of help in certain social settings. Help and support are the key concepts that can assist us in conceptualising the sphere of church social work for the purposes of our research.

In the sociological discourse, the term "help" is used to define actions related to satisfaction of another person's needs (Luhmann 1991). Proposed by Niklas Luhman, this phrasing brings together specific conditions of help (psychological and social ones). In psychology, helping behaviour is a concept that encompasses actions performed for the

benefit of another person or for the improvement of his or her wellbeing (Dovidio 2006). A more specific definition of the concept of help depends on the context and purpose of the research. The present-day mainstream social sciences discourse encompasses the following contexts of conceptualising social help for different levels of social organisation.

3.2.1 Institutionalised Help: Social Assistance, Social Protection, and Social Work

The social policy discourse uses the terms "social protection", "welfare", and "social insurance" to denote the corresponding forms of institutional help. The emergence of the welfare state, a state that undertakes the majority of obligations in terms of ensuring economic equality, social security and solidarity, dates back to the 19th century. The necessity to satisfy the citizens' basic needs (housing, education, healthcare, and personal income) conditioned the development of corresponding formal institutes which determined the outline of the so-called welfare state (Gërkhani and Koster 2012). In its broadest sense, the concept of the welfare state denotes such a power structure that extends the obligations of the state beyond sustaining domestic order and national security to include responsibility for its citizens' wellbeing (Alber 1988). In literature, the concept of the welfare state has multiple interpretations and connotations; depending on the ideological, political and historical context, it can stand for an array of welfare provision activities. As a rule, the welfare state is understood as a set of lines of activity denoted by one of the following terms: social insurance, social support or social assistance, social security, and social provision or welfare services. At the same time, it is usually problematic to draw a clear line between the concepts of welfare state and social security or social insurance, as their definitions are interconnected (Béland 2011).

Definitions of social work as a profession are numerous. The International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) and the International Association of School of Social Work (IASSW) officially approved the following definition at their respective General Assemblies in 2000: "The social work profession promotes social change, problem solving in human relationships and the empowerment and liberation of people to enhance wellbeing. Utilising theories of human behaviour and social systems, Social Work intervenes at the points where people interact with their environments. Principles of human rights and social justice are fundamental to Social Work" (Hare 2004).

3.2.2 Help and Public Good: Charity and Philanthropy

The concepts of charity and philanthropy represent a form of help on the society level as well. The concept of "public good" is frequently used in its broadest sense – in reference to a wide range of public practices aimed at improving the state of affairs in any social sphere (social security, healthcare, rights advocacy, environmental protection, etc.) (Payton 1988). In the meantime, it is common for researchers of the welfare state and

adjacent subjects to assess the scope of philanthropy or charity in amounts of money donated to organisations of the non-profit sector (Schuyt 2010). In a narrower sense, the phenomena of charity and philanthropy are related to a voluntary transfer of means (resources, mostly money, in the form of gifts or donations) to organisations of the third sector with the purpose of funding their work in an array of important social spheres.

3.2.3 Help and Community: Relations of Social Support and Mutual Help

Scholars interpret the concept of social support in a number of different ways as well. The theory of social support emphasises the protective and "cushioning" properties of support in undesirable (or unpredictable) social, physical or psychological circumstances. It is customary to point out two primary analytical differences between social support and social help services. Firstly, social support includes emotional support and encouragement / approval as an indispensable component, whereas social help services are activity-based or related to material or financial assistance. Secondly, social support emerges in relationship networks and normally determines the impact of one's inclusion in social relations (or social networks) on one's health and wellbeing (James S. House, Umberson, and Landis 1988). The concepts of social support and social support system are close to the concept of mutual aid, as they are used to describe such relations among individuals, or between individuals and groups, that enhance adaptive competences with the purpose of overcoming short-term crises, long-term stress or complicated life situations (Katz 1981). It is believed that the necessary conditions of support extend beyond the very acts of help and include its (perceived) accessibility in the eyes of those who need it.

3.2.4 Care, Caregiving, and Emotional Labour

The term "care" is traditionally used in reference to types of caregiving activities for the benefit of individuals who are unable to take care of themselves: children, seniors, the sick, or the incapable (Daly 2002). Traditionally explored within the framework of feminist theory, the concept of care initially described the sphere of women's activities and the private sphere – that is, unpaid work within the household – and has only been transferred to the domain of welfare state studies relatively recently. In empirical studies, the concept of care (denoted as care, care services or social care) has been used primarily in the analysis of the social sphere in Great Britain and Scandinavian states (and has not been widely used in the USA) (Daly and Lewis 2000).

The introduction of the concept of care to the discourse of social policy is connected to the evolution of gender roles and an increase in the representation of women on the labour market which left the family needs that had earlier been covered by unpaid female work unsatisfied (it has become possible to outsource care for sick relatives, children, and seniors to professional caregivers) (Daly and Lewis 2000; England 2005). Daly and

Lewis, researchers of the phenomenon of care, point out that, traditionally, the specifications of care relations were determined by the relationship and interdependence of actors – “ties of obligation, commitment, trust, and loyalty ” (Daly and Lewis 2000). Acts of encouragement and emotional support (unlike the activity-oriented and material components of help services) can also be part of services.

3.2.5 The Drawback of Mainstream Approaches to Conceptualisation of Faith-based Social Work

It is easy to observe that the majority of sociological approaches tend to understand help as organised action that provides a solution to a specific problem. Strange as it may seem, researchers of faith-based social help, in particular, congregational social services, adhere to the same approach, trying to fit the variety of parish and congregational life into a rigid framework of social programmes, services, projects. They are successful only to a certain extent: almost every study of congregational help services or social programmes features a reference to non-formalised support, casual acts of sympathy and mercy, and similar displays of help that cannot be labeled with organisational categories of programmes, services, qualifications, etc. (Cnaan et al. 2006; Cnaan and Boddie 2002; Cnaan, Sinha, and McGrew 2004; Davidson and Koch 1998; Margaret Harris 1995, 1998a; Unruh and Sider 2005).

R. J. Sider and H. R. Unruh stress that when we regard congregational social help through the lens of organised social programmes, we miss a significant scope of personal help, provided by church-members to the needy on everyday basis (Unruh and Sider 2005). R. Cnaan in his study of congregational involvement into social ministry and social programmes distribution takes into account only structured programmes (which he classifies as on-site congregational programmes; off-site congregational programmes; on-site non-congregational programmes; support for non-congregational programmes). At the same time, Cnaan insists that informal help (unaccounted for in his study) has an extreme significance for society (Cnaan and Boddie 2002). M. Harris emphasises that contemporary religious congregations, along with special projects to provide welfare services, contribute to the welfare of both members and non-members in a variety of less direct ways. She distinguishes indirect welfare work, informal care (within the parish friendship network), informal care in an organised framework, mutual aid groups, social integration of lonely and isolated people into parish community (Margaret Harris 1995). Informal, spontaneous and personal acts of help are considered to be relevant in the mainstream research on the subject. However, researchers confess that they fail to conceptualise them for the evaluation of the religious contribution to welfare with the chosen research instruments, borrowed principally from organisational studies.

The overview of major approaches to conceptualisation of help confirms Luhman's thesis that the industrially developed regions of the modern global society have seen the

alignment of needs evolve into yet another system of monetary economy. Professional social work has become the predominant form of alignment of needs (Bedarfausgleich). Volunteer aid and reciprocal acts (those rendered out of gratitude) are still common practice, along with spontaneous good deeds – they are needed, and people perform them for the sake of the acts themselves. Luhmann states that various forms of help coexist by coincidence. In the absence of a single point of reference, such as a set of religious or ethical postulates, professional, programmed help can take over unprogrammed aid. Professional social work is guided by the perspectives according to which its result will be estimated positively. If there are no such perspectives, it forms them. Thus, the question of whether you help or not is not a question of kindness, mutuality, and ethics but one of training and interpretation of a programme brought to life during the limited working hours (Luhmann 1991).

In the context of our research, it is implied that for the conceptualisation of parish social work to reflect forms of help that are functional in parish communities, one has to abandon the approaches suggested by mainstream theories of welfare and social work and refer to other resources of social theory. Some scholars of anthropology and sociology have attempted to revise the understanding of help and support as structured “purposive action, broadly understood as efforts to alleviate and overcome problematic states of affairs” (Schlecker 2013). E. g., M. Schlecker and other authors of the collected volume *Ethnographies of Social Support* suggest reinterpreting the phenomenon of support through the category of mutuality. The combined resources of Mauss' gift exchange theory, Gudeman's conceptualisation of sharing as an act of making and maintaining community. “If purposive action foregrounds questions of effective mitigation and prevention of problems and risks, mutuality brings into focus the adhering to a common moral code, the sharing of values, the maintaining of solidarity, and the perpetuation of communities. Where support is recognised as a set of functions or a strategic conduct, supporter and supported as separate roles and their hierarchical relations are given salience. Mutuality foregrounds a common bond of mutual reliance that ties together people”(Schlecker 2013, 1).

Searching for an alternative conceptualisation of help (its principle and forms) in relation to a parish setting bears significance not only for academic purposes, but also for the development of new approaches to social help in parish communities.

3.3 Parish Community Social Work: Conceptual Model

We propose that parish activity should be considered at three levels different in the degree of formalisation and professionalisation of practices. The idea of the three levels of social work belongs to Galina Medvedeva (Галина Медведева 2009) and consists of classifying social work according to the type of actors that determines the work structure

and effects. The first level is that of non-professional social work where help and support (incl. moral and emotional ones) are rendered to those in need by their peers, people like them (their friends, neighbours, relatives, members of formal and informal organisations). The second level corresponds to social work performed by people specialised in related fields, i.e. the help that specialists of corresponding fields offer to the needy as an addition to their direct responsibilities (e.g. teachers, doctors, psychologists, priests). The third level supposes professional work performed by specialists. Galina Medvedeva's three levels of social work, in fact, include mutual help, non-professional help and specialised professional help.

Such a subdivision seems reasonable as it allows to distribute very distinct practices and forms of work organisation among a limited number of categories that vary in terms of social effects.

3.3.1 The Three Levels of Parish Social Work

Applying this scheme to parish social activity we can speak of its three levels or constituents: (1) community of mutual help, social support network; (2) non-professional social work or informal help provided to those in need by the parishioners and priests (non-professionals); (3) parish-based professional social work, social services and programmes implemented by professionals.

Community of mutual help or social support network emerges when there are conditions for getting to know new people and communicating informally in a parish to form stable trusting relationships that allow people to share their worries and needs with one another. In parishes with rich non-liturgical life there are conditions ensuring the development of such relationships: tea parties, clean-up and improvement works in a church or its adjacent grounds, holiday celebrations, communication among families with children on a playground near the church, common leisure, etc. Social work at this basic level is not actually very much different from other non-liturgical practices. These can be both organised activities (e.g. Sunday school, parish hobby clubs and societies) and informal conversations with the priest. On the one hand, a collective meal or a conversation over a cup of tea after the church grounds clean-up can hardly be called social work in the narrow sense of the term. On the other hand, such practices create the environment necessary to establish relationships between people (Юдин and Орешина 2016). Informal acts of mutual help and mutual support are a part of parish community life which cannot be categorised as organised social services. A community not only creates favourable conditions for informal communication but also propagates the importance of mutual help and support (Robert Wuthnow 2006, 64–98): via sermons or conversations, the community motivates people to build friendly and stable relationships.

The community of mutual help implies that there are norms of reciprocity and there is no division into recipients and providers, receivers of a service and donors.

Non-professional social work or informal help of an Orthodox parish is performed by the clergy and laypeople, volunteers that are not professionals in social work or adjacent fields — e.g. doctors, teachers, psychologists and social workers. This may take the form of both individual acts in response to specific requests of the needy and systemic longterm volunteer projects. Such social acts cannot be called services as in that case help is not provided by specialists and professionals (even if there are specialists in the helpers' team, they do not act as professionals but rather as volunteers). Non-professional social work means that there is a division into receivers and providers of help. However, it is a voluntary activity, be it group or individual, and its purposes and methods are chosen by the helpers. Non-professional social work may include organisation of help programmes within the parish (delivery of medicine to lonely old people, support of families with many children, etc.), helping the needy who are not members of the parish (giving warm food to the homeless), and supporting (often emotionally) patients of state institutions (such as hospitals, nursing homes, etc.).

Parish-based professional social work, social services and programmes implemented by professionals presuppose community activities in which participation of qualified professionals is required: social workers, doctors, psychologists, lawyers, and representatives of other fields of work. Help services do not only imply a division into recipients and helpers (those who have resources to distribute) but also require that the latter possess special knowledge and skills. Such activities are supported by the community (by giving their resources, time, etc.) but can also be implemented by contractors, without parishioners' participation. This level of social work is represented by professional social workers, doctors, social teachers and other specialists collaborating with a parish; non-profit organisations and foundations some of which have their offices in the parish; sisterhoods and visiting nurse service that require workers with certain professional skills; social projects targeting families and individuals in need of professional assistance (e.g. disabled people with rare or severe diseases, etc.). The difference between non-professional social work and professional social services does not lie in the choice of the target audience but rather in the way they work with the recipients and the effects of the activity. E. g., parish volunteers can visit patients in hospitals and offer them emotional support, even bring them food or other necessary things; while organising a visiting nurses service requires specialised nurses (or providing specialised training for nurses). Thus, these two types of social work tackle different tasks.

We suggest that parish non-liturgical practices should be considered at the three levels indicated above. Each level has a set of corresponding social effects.

The significant effect produced by *mutual help communities* consists in creating stable friendly relationships that, in turn, generate social capital allowing to get help and support from the other community members (Schneider 2006, 293; Robert Wuthnow 2006, 79–80). Communities generate bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital is characterised by close emotional bonds and relationships with high levels of trust within homogeneous groups. These relationships represent a source of emotional support as well as other types of help for the parish community members. The so-called open or bridging social capital allows to establish contacts among people from all sorts of professional backgrounds and with various income levels. Unlike other types of organisations and associations, a parish does not have an institutionalised membership and, thus, presents no obstacles for joining in: anyone can attend a worship or a meal that follows, no matter their job, income or connections. A parish creates conditions that favour communication among people of various layers of society. A priest enjoying the community's trust may take on the role of a mediator (or a bridge) between the needy and those with resources (Юдин and Орешина 2016).

Social capital generated by communities does not only allow their members to obtain help and support. The sense of community is an important condition of potential common activities (Lucia Boccacin 2014); participation in the community's life fosters civic responsibility by developing moral values, encouraging altruism and civic involvement in the parishioners (Putnam 2001, 79). Within a parish people form various groups engage in collective activities depending on their objectives and needs (e.g. associations of parents with many children for whom it is easier to resolve family issues together rather than alone).

A positive influence on the community members' personal well-being is an indirect effect of community life which is not explicitly connected with the parish social work organisation (Cnaan, Wineburg, and Boddie 1999, 153–56; Lim and Putnam 2010). This effect exists at the individual level, that is why we will not consider it in our conceptual model which describes the effects of the activities of a parish community as a social actor.

The effects of *the informal non-professional community help* are connected with satisfying the needs of those who come to the parish for help. It includes non-regular work with those who seek help (giving clothes, food to a person in need or buying a train ticket for a person who comes to a church and asks for it); visiting patients of state institutions (nursing homes, hospitals) which is an important source of moral support, etc. The effects of this level of social work consist in resolving the issues of the needy that do not require the involvement of specialists. In other words, creating a hotline for women in distress can be considered a professional service, specialised project; however, rendering aid to a pregnant woman that came to a church for help — by giving her clothes, food, a doctor's contact or the contacts of a specialised foundation or a mothers' shelter

— is more like an informal non-professional support. Both types of help are aimed at satisfying a person's needs.

The effect of *parish-based professional social work, social services and programmes implemented by professionals* mainly has to do with resolving the issues of the recipients of a programme or a service. Parish-based professional help programmes and services can be considered to be a significant support to the state social work and the activity of social organisations of the non-profit sector (Cnaan, Sinha, and McGrew 2004). Secondly, by implementing social services and programmes, communities develop partnership networks collaborating with other parishes, state and non-profit organisations or businesses (Ammerman 2005, 158–205; Chaves 2004, 68–71; Robert Wuthnow 2000). Such a collaboration is not encouraged exclusively by the need of attracting resources for social work. In many cases church social programmes are targeted at the 'clients' of state institutions such as schools, hospitals, nursing homes, orphanages. In other cases, parishes may cooperate with state or non-profit organisations in order to reach certain goals together. The parish and collaborating organisations exchange useful experience and, moreover, well-developed partnership networks ensure effective work of non-profit organisations (Mesch and Schwirian 1996). Finally, parish communities can fulfil an innovative function producing efficient solutions for various social problems that will be further put to good use by other organisations.

The suggested conceptual model of parish social work is as follows:

Figure 3.1. Parish community social work model



The analytical model illustrated by the diagram (see Figure 3.1) allows to describe parish community social work as a combination of various levels of activities and to define the effects of the parish work depending on its configuration. Although we considered community mutual help, professional services and informal acts of helps to be various levels of social work, this division is not hierarchical. We suppose that community activities are often interconnected so that professional services and informal help can go side by side. The interconnection of the tree levels of social work will be explained in the chapters analysing empirical data.

This model allows to formulate hypotheses about the conditions that influence the development of certain types of social work and help achieve the desired effects. That is why our model shall be complemented by *a classification of conditions* determining the focus of parish social work. These conditions can be of macro-, meso-, and micro-levels.

3.3.2 Conditions of Parish Social Work Development

At the *macro-level*, parish communities' social work is based on the religious doctrine, no matter the denomination. Major religious doctrines underline such aspects as mutual help, the necessity to help the needy even if they are strangers, showing care and compassion towards the neighbours no matter the place of residence and financial situation. A doctrine may be interpreted in many ways and putting into practice its instructions depends on various conditions. We assume that even among the ROC's parish communities we considered in the present study, interpretations of the role of a parish community in help activities may vary. The question of the specific denominational basis for help and social ministry is beyond the scope of our research (especially, taking into account that our research is limited by the communities of one denomination within one country. The macro-level can also include the Church doctrine documents that state the Church's position on a wide range of social issues¹⁷ as well as other more exact official church documents containing the principles of social ministry. Alongside the church instructions, institutional context is no less important as it conditions the status, rights and duties of religious organisations in the country: parish communities can only act in conformity with the legislation and general rules for non-profit organisations, as well as following the operational norms for religious organisations. The state social policy defines the field of church social work and the state's and people's expectations. Such objective conditions as the level of the population's religiousness and the degree of its inclusion into church life; people's attitude towards the expansion of faith-based organisations into the social work field.

¹⁷ Such as "The Russian Orthodox Church concept foundations", or the Catholic Church social doctrine presented in form of a corpus (e.g. "Compendium of the Church social doctrine", 2004, as well as some earlier encyclicals).

People's attitude towards charity, volunteer activities and operation of non-profit organisations will generally influence their attitude towards church charity and social work. In other words, the macro-level conditions describe the framework for social activity of parish communities of a specific Church in a specific country.

At the *meso-level* parish social work is mostly determined by geography-related factors: the level of social and economic development, the size and status of the settlement, social and demographic content, employment rates (percentage and major sectors), and others – condition the number of parishioners, population's free time for parish activities and availability of resources. At the same time, specific characteristics of a community, its main problems and needs determine the community's expectations of a parish as a social help provider (Ammerman 2005; Castelli and Gremillion 1987; Cnaan and Boddie 2002). In multi-denominational countries the competition with the neighbouring parishes of distinct denominations is one of the crucial factors.

At the *micro-level*, we should speak of the relationships inside a community as a social work development factor. Whatever the Church rules and regulations are, the management of a parish community and the implementation of various activities depend on the convictions and ideas of specific people, clergy and laypeople (Cavendish 2000; David Leedge 1986; David Leedge and Trozzolo 1987). And since in the Orthodox Church tradition, it is the priest that has the key responsibility for all the processes in the community, it is only logical to assume that the priest's ideas of what parish social activity should be like play a crucial role when planning that activity.

We assume that together the above-mentioned conditions determine the way parish community work is done, i.e. its range of practices that may be classified into three levels according to the expected social effect.

In the Chapters four and five of the dissertation we are going to describe the structure of parish social work in accordance with our model and try to find out when the ROC's parish communities achieve socially important effects. To find the answer to this question we consider the meso- and micro-level conditions exclusively as macro-level factors can only be included into the empiric research structure provided that an international comparative research and study of parish communities of several different denominations is held. Since our research focuses on one denomination within one country, macro-level conditions are understood as an objective context for communities' activities. These macro-level conditions in fact constitute the empirical premises of our research; they were analysed in the second Chapter of the dissertation (what the main actors of church social work are, how it is regulated by the Church, etc.).

Analysing the influence of the meso- and micro-level conditions on parish activity is of great practical use. E. g., social and economic conditions of parish work should be

taken into consideration when elaborating support measures for parishes and training programmes for church workers and volunteers from various parts of the country, as well as when choosing adequate criteria for the evaluation of parish social work. The micro-level conditions influence the start and progress of parish social work (incl. through preparation and training of clergy and laypeople).

Chapter 4. Factors of the Parish Community Social Work Development: Empirical Analysis

The second Chapter describes the current organisation of the Russian Orthodox Church social work and singles out a range of problems that parishes come across when adapting to some institutional novelties.

Besides the difficulties parish communities have, reducing parish social work to organised and structured project activities or help services does not allow us to see a large and significant part of parish social work and, consequently, to assess its contribution into the social sphere and discuss the development mechanisms of the community mutual help networks. The conceptual model described in Chapter three is aimed at overcoming this narrow understanding of parish social work and help one discover the principles that contribute to the progress of parish social work.

The fourth Chapter examines the social work of fifteen parishes¹⁸ from the point of view of our theoretical model. The Chapter consists of three main sections and a conclusion. In section 4.1 an empirical typology of parishes' social work is constructed and three types, fruitful in terms of their effects for parish community and society in general are distinguished. In section 4.2 we analyse the principles of social work organisation in 15 parishes and single out three factors contributing to the development of parish social work. In section 4.3 quantitative data¹⁹ is present to corroborate the effect of the examined factors on the extended sample of observations.

4.1 Typology of Parish Communities' Social Work

4.1.1 Types of Parish Communities' Social Work

In this section the social work of fifteen parishes is examined from the point of view of our three-level model of social work where the levels (or constituent parts) are as follows: first of all, a community of mutual help or a social support network; then goes non-professional social work or informal help (fulfilled by clergy and laypeople, volunteers that are not professionals in social work or connected fields); and finally, there are professional social work, social services and social programmes that are implemented by

¹⁸ Source of empirical data – the research: “Social work organisation in ROC’s parishes in the 21st century. Social analysis”. See details in section 1.4 “Sources of empirical data”. Characteristics of parishes under consideration can be found in Appendix 1.

¹⁹ Source of empirical data – “Monitoring of Church social workers”, see details in section 1.4 “Sources of empirical data”.

the people with certain professional skills and often require a specialised infrastructure (e.g. a rehabilitation centre for addicts, an orphanage, a crisis pregnancy centre, etc).

A parish community's contribution to the social sphere can be categorised as satisfying certain needs of the population (both parishioners and non-parishioners); as increasing parishioners' social capital, involving them into mutual support networks, improving individual welfare; as developing partnership networks in collaboration with other local organisations. The components listed above may be present in a parish in various combinations or not present at all. I. e., the social work profile of a parish is determined by three present/absent variables. Eight types of parish social work can be distinguished following this logic. Short descriptions of these analytical types are given in Table 4.1 as well as a list of parishes of each type. A more detailed description of the empirical prototypes of each social work analytical type can be found below the Table 4.1. The notations are as follows: (1) a community of mutual help or a social support network; (2) non-professional social work or informal help provided to those in need by the parishioners and priests (non-professionals); (3) parish-based professional social work, social services and programmes implemented by professionals ; (1-) absence of a component; (1+) presence of a component in the work of a parish.

Table 4.1 Typology of Parish Social Work

№	Type of parish social work	Combination of social work components	Empirical prototypes
1	No social work	(1-), (2-), (3-) All social work components are absent	Parish № 4
2	A community of mutual help	(1+), (2-), (3-) Only the first component is present	Parish № 6
3	Autonomous social work of non-professionals	(1-), (2+), (3-) Only the second component is present	Parishes № 5, № 12
4	Community-based social work	(1+), (2+), (3-) The first and the second components are present	Parishes № 1, № 7, № 9, № 13, № 11, № 15
5	Autonomous social work of professionals, contract workers	(1-), (2-), (3+) Only the third component is present	No match found
6	Autonomous social work of professionals and non-professionals	(1-), (2+), (3+) The second and the third components are present	No match found
7	A community of mutual help; autonomous social work of professionals	(1+), (2-), (3+) The first and the third components are present	No clear match found. Parish № 3 is close to it.
8	Community-based social work of professionals and non-professionals	(1+), (2+), (3+) All the three components are present	Parishes № 2, № 8, № 10, № 14

Let us describe empirical prototypes of these social work analytical types.

The first type representing the absence of social work was found in a big city cathedral. According to field data, there was no community or social work since the arrival of the new priest who wanted to have all the power to himself and to supervise all the cathedral's activities; at the time of the field research he hadn't managed to build a relationship of trust with the parishioners.

The second type, a community of mutual help or a support network, was found in a small parish in a big city. Hardly any actual social work was done there, however, the priest managed to form a group of regular parishioners thanks to constant care and

concern about their well-being. The parishioners know each other well and are eager to use each other's resources and advice to minimise spending and take the right decision in a situation of uncertainty. It is normal to ask for and accept help there.

The third type, autonomous social work of non-professionals, is represented by the work of the priest of a big church in a large city. The priest provides spiritual guidance to a pretrial detention centre following the directions of the eparchy; he works in the church but doesn't arrange the community's life and nor does he try to involve the parish members into helping each other and non-parishioners. He explains that his point of view is based on the fact that in the past his initiative was cut short by his bishop.

The fourth type or community-based social work turns out to be the most frequent one in our sample. Such parishes form a community of mutual help, members of which initiate help activities (or get involved on the priest's advice) targeted at various categories of the needy "outside the church fence". Such parishes do not only help the needy but also try to involve people living in the neighbourhood into the community's activities, festivities, etc., to make new contacts for the community. Such parishes can be found in all kinds of settlements where priests managed to make the community life more active and initiate both the community's work (organise Sunday schools, youth centres, etc.) and its interaction with some external actors (nursing homes, hospitals, veterans' organisations, town administrations, etc.). As a rule, collaboration with external agents requires not special skills but time and concern about the lives of others (wishing merry holidays, helping with the housework, looking after the sick).

The fifth type, autonomous social work of professionals, contract workers, was not found during our research. An example of such work: when a priest hires a professional to fulfil certain task.

The sixth type implies autonomous work of non-professionals and professionals. It is different from the previous category as here the priest or the rector themselves helps to a professional. E. g., a priest can take on spiritual guidance of a hospital so that he himself performs sacraments and talks to the patients while a parishioner who specialises in one field or another organises care services or helps the hospital's patients in a different way. However, the parish community does not participate in it or maybe does not even exist in the parish. Such cases can often be seen in big churches where the flow of people is enormous and priests are few and have failed to form a community. But there are one or more parishioners that perform acts of mercy on behalf of their parish.

The seventh type, autonomous non-community-based professional work existing alongside a community of mutual help was found in a large city parish. There was a community with a well-developed support network and at the same time there was a monk that was involved in social work as he used to be a highly qualified specialist in some

field before taking the vows. What is more, he was hardworking and energetic which allowed him to fulfill many projects (both lobbying them in the eparchy and the city administration and implementing them), although the community's reception of his initiatives was rather cautious.

The rector showed his talent and skill by managing to settle the differences between the parishioners and the energetic monk as well as to assist the monk as much as possible in bringing his projects to life. The members of the community preferred not to take part in the monk's projects.

The eighth and final type which is the community-based work of professionals and non-professionals was found in a few parishes situated in large cities. In such parishes the community of mutual help is involved in social services targeted at non-parishioners. Members of community help professionals fulfill their social projects, often as volunteers performing some of the tasks that do not require special training.

The rectors in these parishes not only managed to unite the people and help them find mutual support but also made them spend their time and energy helping people outside their parish. Besides, the priests try to contribute to professional projects, including with material resources: e.g. there is a non-profit organisation that was started as one of the parish's projects and now resides in one of the parish buildings. A more detailed description of this type of social work will be given in the next chapter.

Let us point out that in many cases, the rector is the centre of all the parish activity, the majority of contacts are made by him; in other cases the priest does not participate in social work but does not hinder it either. He is apparently capable of fulfilling his pastoral functions in relation to people of various professions that gather in the parish. Some of those professionals are either integrated into the parish community or not (knew a few parishioners).

4.1.2 Community-based Social Work

To name the types of social work such markers as "community-based", "non-professional work", "professional work" were used. All the eight types of social work can be subdivided into autonomous and community-based.

Social work is called autonomous when it is performed by a professional or a group of people (or an organisation) controlled by a professional without the members of a community being involved. The work of professionals and non-professionals is only possible when a social worker (a person responsible for social work no matter their position in the parish) is assigned in order to perform a certain set of tasks. Such a person can find professionals and volunteers that will join their team. However, parish resources

are not used in this work: either because there is no community of mutual help or due to the project's specifics and its manager's views.

As a rule, community-based social work includes projects and areas of activity that are based on the informal communication among the parishioners and started on a layperson's or the priest's initiative. A professional that has just entered a parish can join the already existing community and thus their work becomes integrated into the community. Empirically, the difference between community-based and autonomous social work can be seen when it comes to looking for resources or assistance. When a social worker, whether professional or not, needs help, a community-based worker can use the community's network and find what they require (volunteers, time, money, information, etc.) either among the members of the community or with their help. In practice it means that one can make a newsletter, reach a few people by phone so that they pass it on to other people. An autonomous social worker only has their own resources and contacts or addresses the priest for assistance. Besides the feeling of being supported, a community can also provide some real support (some of the parishioners will come and do what is needed) or become a mediator in the search of resources. Let's say a parish crisis pregnancy centre (a non-profit organisation) may be called a community-based project if it involves the community members to perform certain tasks that do not require special skills and if its workers are parishioners. If the parish did not have a community or the crisis centre only occupied a building on the parish grounds without cooperating with the parishioners or involving them in its activities, we would classify it as an autonomous social project implemented by professionals.

In the parishes researched very different scenarios of social work realisation were found. Some of them can hardly be called realisation as a controlled process, since the communities of mutual help were formed naturally, in the course of a certain period of time as the priest communicated with the laypeople, the latter collectively participated in the activities aimed at maintenance and improvement of the church and the church grounds and preparation for the holidays. When a parish becomes a place to meet new people and the priest sets a certain mood of the communication and highlights the importance of mutual help and support, favourable conditions are created in the parish to ask for and accept help. The normalisation of accepting help is an important aspect of a community's life. It is usually difficult for a person to accept one's help as it automatically makes them indebted. Parish communities manage to cultivate relationships of reciprocity that make accepting help easier: a community member that helps others will be ready to accept help without feeling the burden of debt. Moreover, people who know each other and are more or less close can fulfil the Christian commandments and help the needy outside their parish. In this case the latter are considered to be recipients of a community's help. A community can reduce its

responsibilities to meeting the needs of help and emotional support of its members only, and this will be enough a contribution to the parishioners' individual well-being and that of the society in general. The professionalisation of projects requires additional resources and conditions and is not an obligatory result of the growth of a community of mutual help. However, if there are resources and professionals, a parish community may take on some volunteer jobs enjoying the feeling of involvement with an important and serious project.

As it was mentioned, there are other scenarios, too. In particular, assigning social tasks to a volunteer (either a layperson or a member of clergy) or a professional (depending on the resources at hand and the priest's view of the situation). In this case we call it autonomous, non-community-based social work. Organising such work in parishes with a weak or non-existent community can be motivated by some institutional requirements and the need to fulfil and report social ministry. Of course, there may be a positive and not bureaucracy-determined scenario, when a parish has resources to meet certain demands of the environment closing the gap that emerged due to the lack of the state support. In this case, when a parish's participation is ensured by contract workers, a social organisation (an Orthodox orphanage or an almshouse), a sisterhood (to look after bed-bound patients), a women's crisis shelter, etc. are created. We must admit though that due to the specifics of a parish as a social actor, this scenario is more of an exception than a regular and accessible response to the institutional social work requirements. Any parish activity depends on donations and the resources the laypeople and clergy managed to find. However, fundraising cannot become a parish's main focus even if the funds are needed for such a noble cause as social ministry. In that sense a mutual help within the community and practices of helping non-parishioners are a more natural way for a parish to do social work. Not requiring any additional resources, trained professionals or instructions and permissions of the higher levels of the Church hierarchy such basic social work as the development of a community of mutual help shall be available in any parish. Members of the parishes where such social work exists demonstrate the ability to self-organise in order to solve their own problems and maintain the community's normal every-day life using their own resources.

In the Table 4.1, the community-based types of social work – the second, fourth and eighth – are highlighted. We believe this type of social work to be the most interesting one for further study in the course of which some practical mechanisms of how such communities are formed can be revealed. The development of community-based social work requires using a parish's own resources and fulfilling its potential as a community instead of establishing a parish-based social services organisation. This approach to the parish social work development can prove to be the most efficient for the majority of parishes. The second section of the Chapter will investigate the factors stimulating the

development of parish social work. The fourth Chapter will concentrate on various types of community-based social work from the point of view of its effects.

4.2 Factors of the Development of Parish Community-based Social Work

Community-based social work is the most promising way of developing parish social work as it mostly meets the conditions and opportunities a parish has to follow Christian commandments. Professional social services or informal help that are autonomous from the community life is a form of social ministry that is only possible if certain conditions and resources are available. However, to create a community of mutual help a parish should have such an environment that encourages people to know each other and communicate. All parishioners are both receivers and providers of services so it is not necessary to look for additional resources for those people who act as receivers of help in the community. At the same time, when a parish community is fully formed it can offer social services to non-parishioners.

Based on the analysis of 15 parishes, this Chapter is to find out what factors are required for the development of a mutual help community as well as what are the conditions that determine the introduction of community-based professional and non-professional help.

4.2.1 Conditions of Parish Social Work Development: External and Internal

When elaborating the research model and conducting pilot interviews an assumption was made that the development of parish social work equally depends on the so-called external and internal conditions. External are such factors as the availability of resources (human or material) that mostly depends on the town's location and size; the demographics of a parish (whether it is possible or not to involve or assign people to coordinate certain areas of activity, whether they have the necessary skills); the possibility of cooperation with other organisations and institutions; the structure of a parish's activities (division into areas and projects); the eparchy's and the bishop's support. Internal factors are a rector's idea of the parish's social work and his way of organising parish life; the history of the parish (if its social ministry was stopped during the Soviet era; when were the liturgies started or renewed, etc.). To understand the role of the external factors in the development of parish social work, parishes from different parts of Russia and different types of settlements are included into the sample.

The situation in the parishes analysed demonstrates the influence of the following external conditions on parish social work can be singled out. Firstly, the type of a settlement. The necessary condition for parish social work is the availability of resources:

there are obviously more opportunities to find resources and people for social activities in a big city than in a village or a small town.

Secondly, the demographics of a parish: organisers and leaders emerging among the laypeople; the parishioners' active or passive attitude towards social ministry can be explained by their age (young people are more active; middle-aged working parishioners with children are more passive), their level of education, presence or absence of a full-time job, family, income level, etc. However, we have observed cases when a rector managed to overcome the lack of the necessary (in theory) external conditions for social work by his own effort. E. g., parishes can often begin social work with almost no resources or people available (a destroyed church and adjacent buildings, badly maintained church grounds) and soon there is a community of mutual help, a refurbished church and rich parish life, "...first there was one parishioner. And I worked there, conducting a church service alone, with a thurible. She would be the only one to attend. And then, at some point, other people began to gather. People began to attend services, too." (the rector from parish No.6, with a developed community of mutual help). Sometimes the situation is the opposite: a lack of money is indicated as the main obstacle for social work while the parish, in fact, has enough money (donations) and there are people, "The support should proceed either from the centre or from the eparchy. I cannot see any kind of manna going down from the sky in form of money. It's not that they have money to burn. Quite the opposite, actually, there is too little to think of helping others... So, isn't it an evidence that the Russian Orthodox Church does not have enough resources to fund social work? Of course, now and then people donate money. I have seen this happen: when someone comes and says that they have 100 thousand rubles which they want to give to the church..." (church worker, parish No.5) Even with active young parishioners, resources and buildings at hand, parish No.11 failed to develop their Youth centre. While in parish No. 6 opened in 2006 and with mostly elderly parishioners there is an active community; besides mutual support, the community sometimes offers assistance to the needy that come to the parish for help (at the time of the survey, they had just opened a storage space for collection and distribution of non-monetary donations (clothes, medicaments, etc.) also the homeless can get warm food and tea in the church).

Such conditions as the availability of resources, parishioners with leadership and management skills are a potential that can be useful for targeted support of those in need, the development of professional social services focused on certain categories of the needy as well as activating parish community life. On the other hand, those same external factors can objectively limit a parish's social work. "We have tried to organise such services [support for families with many children] in other towns and the first problem we came across is the lack of people as they try to go to Moscow if there is such a chance. Those with decent education manage to rent a flat and find a job there. Or if they haven't gone

to Moscow, they just don't have free time as they spend all day trying to provide for their family and not to die of hunger. There are no human or financial resources..." (Parishioner, social help coordinator, parish No. 2)

The cases we studied let one suppose that external socio-economic conditions determine the difference in social work parameters: the contents of help programmes; time that parishioners and clergy can spend on social work; the number of people to take care of; the number and variety of a parish's focus areas, etc. Nevertheless, these conditions are not indispensable when it comes to launching and developing a parish's social work. How exactly external factors influence separate aspects of parish social work (choice of focus area; approaches; contents of help programmes; long- or short-term orientation, etc.) is a subject of a separate research. This Chapter concentrates on the conditions favouring the creation of a community of mutual help and the further development of community-based social services and projects. What makes people who come to church for religious services and sacraments support each other and even help those outside the parish fence?

We believe that the start of social work in a parish (initiating mutual help practices) and its further vector of development depends on the rector, their way of communicating with people, the type of relationship encouraged among the parishioners in sermons and private conversations; the practices that they support or reject. In a ROC's parish, a rector is the one who is responsible for all the decision-making. That is why one can hardly imagine any parish activity, be it a meal and tea meeting, celebration of a holiday or a clothes collecting event for the needy, which is not approved by the rector. On the other hand, parishioners are not some company's employees that are assigned a certain job to do. Participating social work is always voluntary. It is only logical that parishioners respond to the priest's call for participation in this or that parish activity only if the priest has a certain level of credibility. Forming a community in a ROC's parish is a bilateral process, the intention of both parties (clergymen and laypeople) is necessary. No matter what kind of people the parishioners are (sociable and ready for cooperation or vice versa, those who are not interested in making new friends or being involved in common activities), besides the priest's direct liturgical duties, the priest should provide favourable conditions for communication, friendship and, later on, organisation of common projects. Let us call these "ways of working with the people". These are also the factors of the development of community-based social work in a parish. And it is the rector – the head of a parish – we are talking about and not clergy in general. First of all, the rector is often the only clergyman in a parish. Secondly, as it has been mentioned, parish life is fully determined by the rector; other clergy members' initiatives can be either approved of or rejected by the rector but cannot be implemented against their will.

Now we are going to examine which ways of working with the parishioners led to the creation of a mutual help community and the implementation of community-based work in the parishes studied. We singled out three key factors that enhance the development of community-based types of social work.

(1) The priest (rector) works with the people: assembles, takes care of them, supports them, works on “spiritual resources”, i.e., on their spiritual education and churching.

(2) The priest (rector) encourages non-liturgical activities and delegates responsibility to the laypeople.

(3) The priest (rector) works with professionals: gives them spiritual guidance, invites them to work in the parish, and supports their social initiatives and projects, ensures a balanced coexistence of the community and the professional.

Let us illustrate how these ways of working with people are put into practice by rectors. And after that we are going to consider how social work develops in parishes with several members of clergy proving our idea that it is the rector (and not parish clergy in general) who has the crucial role.

4.2.2 Rector’s Ways of Working with the Parishioners as Factors of Parish Social Work Development

Factor 1. The priest (rector) works with the people: assembles, takes care of them, supports them, works on “spiritual resources”, i.e., on their spiritual education and churching

Factor 1 describes a rector’s ways of working with both parishioners and people or organisations outside the church fence. These approaches have to do with continuous concern for the people, on the one hand, and their spiritual guidance, churching and religious education and churching, on the other hand. We chose to include these two aspects into one factor as together they form an approach that results in a strong parish community of mutual help. What is more, differentiating these two aspects is not easy since the concern for the people and their religious education are closely interconnected in everyday practices in which a priest is involved, e.g. informal meetings and conversations between the priest and the parishioners, sermons, providing pastoral care for the parishioners at home or in various institutions, the rector’s communication with third-party organisations, etc.

“A priest should organise non-liturgical life, assemble people, keep in contact with them and suggest some forms of communication within the parish, explain matters of faith, as Christianity is not, in fact, individualistic; Church is a group of believers, it consists of people, and that is, it implies community life. This must be talked about during sermons.” (rector, parish No. 9)

Let us elaborate on what the phrase “a priest works with people” means. The first factor includes a set of characteristics of a rector’s work that are commented upon by the respondents in the following way.

The first thing a rector is supposed to do is to create friendly atmosphere and *family-ish* relations in the parish. Such an environment encourages one to accept or ask for help, suggest some initiatives or approve those of other people.

“All the problems we come across are never resolved by one person but rather by all of us together. The priest assembles everyone and we discuss the issue, what, how, what is right and what is wrong. We work together ... We are a big united family: no one will offend you but every person will try to say something nice to you, treat you with love. Of course, every family comes across some difficulties, it’s inevitable, but the problems are resolved in a friendly, loving manner, mildly and humbly.” (parishioner, parish No. 11)

“That is, when you suggest something, it will be met positively. They will not necessarily offer you support but at least your initiative they will approve of your initiative, let you act on it, nobody will interfere with it or pressure you. So the atmosphere in the church is nice...” (parishioner, member of a group dedicated to helping the homeless, parish No. 2)

A rector that manages to create such an environment is usually described by the parishioners as “our father”, a “caring, attentive, close” person.

“This all comes kind of naturally. You see that people love the priest, that the atmosphere in the parish is warm. And in this case there will always be someone who comes and says, ‘Father, let’s...’.” (parishioner, parish No. 3)

“And how else can they treat him if he is so kind to everyone? That’s how things are in our parish. The rector is like a father to everyone, including the clergy, and we are like brothers and sisters...” (parishioner, participant of a social help group, parish No. 2)

If a priest wants the parishioners to treat each other as family, they are expected to ensure certain conditions for their communication because knowing about one’s personal life and professional activities makes it easier to involve the person into the community’s work.

“Every time a person came up to the candle box, I would ask them where they worked. Just to know how they might help. We have doctors, teachers, ophthalmologists, and even a dressmaker. We come to them when we are ill, ask for advice...” (candle-shop worker, parish No. 6)

“Since the very beginning Father B. has tried to feed everyone. We had a small room in the church which served as a dining room. And though there was no income and no parish, a meal was always there. It was mainly Father’s initiative though we also tried to

contribute. We could always hope for a meal and a conversation, and the inspiration would not go away.” (parishioner, parish No. 6)

Teamwork, going on pilgrimage and passing time together as well as attending meetings on spiritual matters also help to strengthen parishioners’ relationships.

“All the people turned out to be really friendly. What actually helped a lot was that when the winter Epiphany bathing tradition was introduced, people would come in their free time to do the cleaning, some physical work. That allowed one to meet new people and get to know each other better, as well. The meal and tea tradition after celebrations helped, too.” (church employee, parish No. 8)

A rector should remind people about the importance of communication in both sermons and private conversations with the parishioners.

“...our rector is like this, he keeps telling us to turn to the person near us and ask their name and introduce ourselves, too, and then pray for each other. And after that, when we come to the church again, we already know those people, greet them.” (parishioner, parish No. 10)

The second aspect has to do with churching, religious upbringing and education, maintaining a certain “degree of spiritual life in a parish”. One of the respondents called it working with spiritual resources which is the basis for creating a community and cultivating relationships of mutual help and support. Such work with “spiritual resources” can assume many forms: catechetical courses, the Gospel readings and discussions, thematic meetings on spiritual matters, Sunday school for adults, young people, children, private conversations with the priest, informal meals, etc.

“There is a Gospel group and it helps unite the parish, too. There is a catechetical group supported by the rector. Services are always accompanied by a sermon... That is, there is a number of some rather basic things that improve spiritual life in the parish. Confessions are taken privately. A person can talk to the priest one on one. There are confessions in the evening when one can discuss an issue or ask for advice, etc. The mere concept of spiritual life implies that it’s not a come and go thing. That’s why living a more or less thoughtful spiritual life is the first condition that allows to form a solid core of a community.” (parishioner, the head of a crisis centre for pregnant women, parish No. 2)

“Just look at the notice board and you will see that the priest goes on pilgrimages with the parish... He knows everyone in person and the parishioners know him.” (churchwarden, parish No. 14)

According to the respondents, the “*spiritual resource*” becomes a crucial condition for the formation of the core of a parish community where the practices of mutual help

and mutual support already develop among parishioners as well as some initiatives to help people outside the church fence.

“In other words, it is the main source of energy that allows one to participate in such [social work] activities: how observant one is, if they pray and take part in sacraments. Surely, it is a basic thing.” (parishioner, the head of a crisis centre for pregnant women, parish No. 2)

This type of work can include a priest’s regular encouragement of mutual help and social ministry.

“I like that he [the rector] addresses the parishioners after every service! ‘Dear brothers and sisters, dear parishioners, you see, there are people around you. If you see a person, especially, someone you know, greet them’. He asks people to be attentive and caring. Those who have a car: if you see an old lady, approach her, ask if she needs help. He is always encouraging us to be more caring, more attentive and try and communicate with each other. Always says this at Sunday service. Isn’t this great?” (parishioner, parish No. 10)

The impetus produced by community life can be used in both parish internal activities and individual acts of mercy or social initiatives outside the church. In one of the parishes, the church guard began to restore the church in his native village and give food to the homeless living in the neighbourhood (Parish No. 14).

“Helping others is natural. It can be your neighbour or flat-mate or just a dog run over by a car that you see on the road: take it to the vet’s. I may be talking about some very basic things but they are true. It’s a natural state of a person, of a human soul.” (parishioner who gives food to the homeless, parish No. 14)

The third important aspect is that a rector should be involved in the parish’s non-liturgical life, be open to informal communication and private discussions.

In some cases, a priest’s informal communication with the parish is nothing more than having tea and a meal together accompanied by conversations. But it can, in fact, take on many different forms.

“<...>our rector is such an enthusiast, always doing something. Gets a boat and drives along the river M. Last summer they [the parishioners’ children] didn’t have a single free day! One day it is paintball, air gun shooting, playing war, the next day – a banana boat (Let everyone try. That attraction lasted three days), then flower design lessons.” (the rector’s assistant, parish No. 14)

It is not the contents of the events that matter but the regular informal communication between the clergy and laypeople that takes place at such events.

“Let’s say, non-liturgical communication makes people more unified. After all, we are a family, Christ’s body. Not separate parts: arms and legs, like after an explosion. We are whole.” (the second priest, parish No. 11)

The forth aspect implies that a rector takes part in the laity’s life and is always ready to help serving as an example for everybody.

“Then, if someone is in trouble, the priest launches a fundraising campaign to get money for an operation or help families with many children to buy school supplies for the children.” (parishioner, parish No.10)

When a parishioner comes for help the rector either helps them himself or finds someone else who can do it.

“He [the rector] tries to help large families [those with many children]) as much as he can. He may give money to repair electric wiring. ... why don’t they go to the head of the local administration with this request? Well, they just don’t. There one needs to submit a formal application for the matter to be looked at and they will decide if they should help, if there are enough resources. It’s so much easier with the priest. Come and ask... He won’t refuse. If necessary, he will even give money from his own budget and ask others to contribute, too, ‘We shall help’, he will say.” (parishioner, parish No. 13)

As a result of such a caring attitude, the relationships in the parish become caring as well and people begin to show concern about one another both inside and outside the parish.

“Now he [a parishioner] offers his guidance to the newcomers. He spends his small earnings on books, he buys many of these and he always notices when a new person comes to the parish. He will always talk to the newcomer, give them a book and then that person will come again. And that’s why our parish keeps growing in number. We try to show interest in people at once and treat them with all our warmth and tenderness, explain, show, give a gift. And after that people will say, ‘Well, we haven’t seen a parish like yours...’.” (candle shop worker, parish No. 6)

“One of the parishioners needed to have some firewood piled and the parishioners quickly volunteered to help her. There is an old lady with a disabled granddaughter, she needed help and a woman from the parish gave her the help required even without my mediation. There are many helpers, I know that people are ready to help...” (the rector, parish No. 9)

“Our parishioners are very sympathetic, they are always eager to help each other. Say, when someone suddenly felt sick in the church, everyone ran up to that person to help... Besides, there are families with many children. The girls try to help them by taking their

children from school or kindergarten, for example. Everyone helps them.” (parishioner, parish No. 15)

“Like in any parish there are elderly people. Some of them don’t have relatives to take care of them. They either live too far or got alienated, and our parishioners, the younger ones, try to take care of them, visit and help them. There was an old man, he was around 80, and he had to come from a very far-off place to attend a service. Took him two hours, he could hardly come on time. So our parishioners noticed his problem and tried to help him as much as they could: give him a lift to the church or home...” (the rector, parish No. 10)

The fifth trait that a rector should have is to pay attention not only to his parishioners but to other people, too. Such a rector also cares about those believers who cannot come to the church and others that need his attention.

“There is a nun living not far from the church, an old sick woman. Priests come to hear her confession and give her communion. We try to provide her with some practical assistance, too... There are such people, the elderly, families with many children...” (parishioner, parish No. 15)

This is the principle professed by a rector when cooperating with representatives of other organisations with whom he needs to work due to some circumstances or voluntarily.

“One should try to fill community life with more sense not reducing it to the ‘came, conducted a service and left’ formula. Call on a school after the service, talk to the students, spend an hour or two there. Walk around the church – there are people who need your help.” (rector, parish No. 7)

Showing care and concern about the visitors increases the influx of people (new parishioners, volunteers, people eager to help) and resources (donors and charitable foundations).

“If we didn’t help old ladies and didn’t give communions to the elderly at home, sponsors wouldn’t donate so much money. ... I don’t mean that if we didn’t help the elderly, it would be all that bad. But what wasn’t right, in my and the rector’s opinion, is that before the current rector came, they hadn’t practiced giving communion to the dying.” (churchwarden, parish No. 14)

“He [the rector] loves people and that attracts many of that kind. That’s how we got some really important sponsors who are ready to donate money... However, no one knows about it and father doesn’t talk about it...” (parishioner, parish No.6)

The most significant result of the described approach to working with parishioners and non-parishioners is not the number of devoted believers or the people who received help

(though this is important) but rather the development of community relationship in a parish and the initiation of ‘the chains of mutual help’. The chains of mutual help follow the ‘pay it forward’ principle when each member of a community receives or provides support to their neighbour not as a part of some project or a service but whenever help is required.

“We are all brothers and sisters here, all the parishioners. ...Isn’t it normal in a big family when the elder brother gives his jacket which is now too small for him to his younger sibling. That’s why here, in the parish, people bring old clothes and no one feels ashamed to wear them. Especially if they are in need.” (church worker, parish No. 14)

Initiating and maintaining such relationships among the parishioners is one of the basic effects of social work.

Factor 2. The priest (rector) encourages non-liturgical activities and delegates responsibility to the laypeople

Factor 2 describes a rector’s attitude towards non-liturgical initiatives in the parish and to the ways of implementing them. Social activities as a part of parish collective work or as individual acts can develop if the rector considers social ministry to be an important part of parish life and delegates some of the responsibility and organisational tasks to the laity, encouraging and supporting the parishioners’ initiatives.

These characteristics of a rector’s way – delegating responsibility and encouraging social work – are interconnected.

Parishioners are ready to show some initiative when they feel that they really can influence the results and change the situation for the better. And if you feel that your actions can make a real difference, you have a certain degree of freedom when it comes to decision-making, you feel personally responsible for what you do.

Delegating responsibility and encouraging parishioners’ initiatives is crucial as it helps both to involve the parish into performing works of mercy, thus implementing the Christian commandments, and to resolve some administrative issues regarding the organisation of social work, apart from mutual help practices within a community. A rector usually has many responsibilities as alongside conducting liturgies, sacraments, religious rites and managing the parish assigned to him, he may be responsible for building or repairing the church; providing religious guidance to certain organisations; or he may have some administrative responsibilities in the eparchy. There is also pastoral care which stands a bit aside as it is a form of a confession conducted during informal meetings and conversations that have nothing to do with sacraments (Емельянов 2017). In other words, a rector cannot devote a lot of time to social work due to some objective reasons. Creating favourable conditions for implementing the parishioners’ social initiatives is one of the rector’s administrative objectives.

A rector encourages non-liturgical activities and social work in the following ways. Firstly, one of the best ways to involve the laity into parish activities is for the priest himself to set an example for the parishioners.

“<...> the priest is not always the organiser. What I want to say is that before offering any initiatives one should see what the priest himself is doing. And when a person does something and there are some real results, you want to help and give, come and say, ‘Here I am, please, accept my help. Tell me what I can do, where I’m needed’.” (parishioner, parish No. 13)

Secondly, how a rector communicates with the parishioners and what he does also creates an environment that encourages the parishioners’ initiatives and attracts new active people to join the parish.

“<...> and as for the priests’ participation, I think what he should do is not offer some initiative but rather put the parishioners’ initiatives to good use. It’s often more efficient when people themselves determine what they want to and can do while the priest just coordinates their actions or gives advice. Sometimes, when a person acts voluntarily, the results are more impressive. There are such times in the life of a parish when it is really better to depend on the parishioners’ initiative...” (parishioner, member of a group dedicated to helping the homeless, parish No. 2)

“Everyone shall do something useful for society and not necessarily the work given by the priest. We offer him our help, ‘Father, we want to work. May we?’ Good deeds are always appreciated. With these little jobs we show our devotion and humbleness.” (parishioner, parish No. 6)

When a rector considers social work to be an important part of parish life, the parish is quick to respond.

“I try to help the homeless that are asking for alms near the church. I work with them. If I see that someone needs help, I come to our rector for blessing and after he gives it to me, I communicate with them, we find them shelter...” (parishioner, parish No. 8)

Thirdly, putting to good use the parishioners’ strengths and professional competences is also important for the development of parish social work. In some cases parish work allows a person to implement the skills and abilities that were not in demand in their non-parish life, and the rector’s responsibility is creating favourable conditions for it.

“We have a preschool group where children prepare for school, an ordinary one. It is led by a professional teacher with 30 years of experience. She teaches Russian and Maths. She’s not a priest and what she does has to do with secular matters, but it is a kind of a church sermon and a child absorbs the knowledge that she gives...” (priest, parish No. 1)

“People want to communicate in a non-liturgical environment, too. It means a lot to them and it is our responsibility to make it possible. And when people come to the church and want to be useful, want to serve people and the Church, we must give them such an opportunity, it strengthens the relationships in the parish. So, of course, it is important.” (the rector’s wife, parish No. 10)

Besides encouraging the parishioners’ initiatives, a rector may suggest something himself and start projects.

“Father B. <...> participates in all the meetings himself. We discuss our ideas with them [the priest and his wife]. Sometimes they suggest something themselves, ‘Why don’t we arrange such a meeting? And another one of a different kind...’ There are people who just have this gift, who can inspire and unite others around them.” (parishioner, parish No. 15)

However, a rector should not force the parishioners to participate in social work, it should not be a duty but rather a voluntary activity.

“I believe people feel at ease. Our priests do not impose anything on us, do not consider themselves to be the centre of the universe so that people feel more or less at ease and try to be active and creative...” (parishioner, parish No. 2)

A rector encouraging the parishioners’ action should not forget to react to the impulses and demands of the external environment either. When a rector understands his field of responsibility in a broader sense, external social issues and needs are considered to be points of application of the parishioners’ efforts. In some cases, it is the parish community that looks for such points of application of efforts by studying society’s needs.

“My first initiative was aimed at helping the members of our community. And it still exists. So when I came up with that idea I assembled all the people that were ready to help other community members from time to time but very soon I realised how small the area of activity would be. The parishioners that need help are much fewer in number than those who are eager to offer their assistance. While in the outside world such demand is inexhaustible.” (priest, parish No. 2)

In some cases people come to a parish for help. And it is not only about having a few individual requests that require some need (usually material) to be satisfied as soon as possible but rather about considering a parish as a full actor of the social sphere, as a social organisation that can productively cooperate with other societies and associations to resolve common issues. When a rector is ready to react to such impulses, the parish’s area of activity enlarges and their contacts grow in number.

“They [Disabled Children’s Association] came to us themselves. A woman with a thirteen-year-old son came and said, ‘Can you help us? The town’s administration doesn’t

help much, so maybe you can'. We began to invite them to holiday celebrations, cook for them. Of course, it is always a problem for them to get everyone together, then take all of them to church as they don't have a car; the children often fall ill. But at least twice a year they manage to get to the church, on some important holidays." (Sunday school director, parish No. 11)

"I don't remember exactly when orphanage No. 7 was opened but they came to us almost at once and said they needed a chapel. Father D. asked for the Bishop's blessing, we prepared everything, refurbished the building and so the chapel was opened. ... We tried to involve sick children from the orphanage in parish activities, they sang in a choir. Then a Sunday school was opened, it has been operating for three years now. Actually, some orphanage teachers came to us and asked to take on their troubled teenagers that attempted to run away, asked to work with them. It turned out there was a special needs teacher in our parish who was trained to work with sick children and she began to teach in our Sunday school." (Sunday school principal, parish No. 8)

In other cases, rectors are more proactive: they make an analysis of the current situation, find some unoccupied areas in the social help sphere and initiate projects targeting certain groups of people.

"One day I was drinking tea with my assistant, she's a sister of mercy, and we were discussing why children with disabilities don't go to church, though it was only logical for them to do so. There are around two thousand families with disabled children. And it turned out that the problem was really serious as such children's parents are full of insecurities. They are convinced that if they have a disabled child, they will be rejected by society and that they should shut themselves away in their house. We would like to create something like a playroom with soft walls and no sharp corners since they are children with disabilities and we shall ensure their safety. There will be educational games and toys. We want to invite specialists there, maybe psychologists and physiotherapists who are trained to work with such children, athletes with disabilities who may help the children. The children are very different. Some of them are more troubled, others less, there are children who go to school. And while those children are in the playroom, their parents and the clergy will have a cup of tea with pies, discuss something. The problem is deeper than it seems. As behind the symptoms there is the lack of understanding: why did it happen to my family? How can I live with it, how can I feel normal?" (priest, parish No. 14)

Encouraging social initiatives and projects proves efficient when the rector delegates responsibility to the laity and to the other members of clergy. This happens in the following way.

First of all, the parishioners' independence is appreciated: if an activity has already been blessed, the rector does not have to supervise it on its later stages.

“The woman responsible for working with the youth comes to me for advice. So she explains her idea and then asks for my blessing. And I give her my blessing. And the work begins. At first, I had to be responsible for everything, arrange everything myself but then I tried to teach them to be independent, to organise something by themselves. As for non-liturgical activities, I usually arrange mass events but when it comes with individual requests of help, the parishioners decide who helps and in what way.” (rector, parish No. 9)

“I believe that he [the rector] has wonderful skills, his ways of working are really subtle. One should have a special gift to be able to control without being seen, and for him it comes naturally...” (church librarian, parish No. 7)

Such a rector is tries to delegate non-liturgical responsibilities to the laity.

“When I have a question about some construction work, nothing global, I say to the priest, ‘Listen, the thing is...’ And he responds: ‘You are better at this than I am. Please have my blessing. No need to go deep into details!’ ‘Alright, thank you!’ There are similar situations at Sunday school, they don’t happen too often, though. ‘You are a professional now. So go on!’ Like with the theatre. ‘Father, Andersen’s Snow Queen is on. Do you want to go?’ ‘Yeah, sure, book the buses and the tickets. Arrange it yourself, it’s your responsibility’. It’s not his responsibility to do it. He shows the direction and I decide how to reach the goal. It’s my duty.” (churchwarden, parish No. 14)

Besides, the rector may work on training and choosing the ones to whom he delegates this or that field of activity.

“The senior members of the groups and the rector’s assistant discuss their actions with the rector. But the chosen person, a senior member or an assistant, shall meet certain requirements: they should be devoted Christians. That is why the rector works closely with them to see how that person thinks and acts. If the rector sees that the person manifests in the right way, makes the right decisions, acts right as a believer, he permits them to make their own decisions concerning certain issues. Otherwise, nothing works out in such an important field of activity.” (parishioner, parish No. 10)

While choosing a person to assume non-liturgical responsibilities, not only their spiritual preparation is considered but also their skills and competences necessary for a project.

“Sunday school is managed by the parishioners. There are teachers, choreographers, singers, they organise everything. The school was actually opened by and thanks to the parishioners’ effort.” (rector, parish No. 11)

Parish work is only effective when the parishioners feel their responsibility for it. So it is particularly important for the rector not to take on the responsibility for everything but to show the parishioners that they are personally responsible for the result.

“I made sure the parents would maintain the school themselves. It’s very important. It’s not the parish that needs Sunday school due to some administrative duties but the parents, and that’s why it’s only logical that they should donate a certain sum of money. They calculated that one child costs the school 1000 rubles a month. And based on this information and their income they decide how much they pay. Some pays more, others pay less, someone cannot pay at all. The total sum is redistributed. We spend it on food, books. We have a special box ‘for the Sunday school’ in the church where people can put their donations which means they do not donate money for the church in general but for the Sunday school...” (priest, parish No. 1)

“Yes, I told them, it is you and your children who need the school. <...> I’m a priest, I shall serve God. Everything beyond it is secondary to me. So, if you want your children to be able to study there, then it’s your responsibility.’ This year when I opened the boxes and there was no money, I went to the cook (he is one of the parents, too, we don’t hire anyone) and I told him, ‘if there is no food, give them bread and tea.’ The parents came about an hour later and asked how they could donate money. Very effective, isn’t it? They realised that the school is maintained by them. Many people will nod in agreement and then do nothing. And there they got some real evidence: if your contribution is null, your child will have white bread for lunch instead of the selection of two dishes that we have now. By the way, the food is really good. And as strange as it may seem, tasty food is another very important factor. It’s a very big deal.” (parishioner, parish No. 1)

The third important aspect of delegating responsibility is that a rector supports the parish and should be ready to offer his help when the parishioners and his assistants cannot reach the desired results by themselves. It is usually the case when it comes to finding resources and establishing contacts with other organisations. Or when it has to do with moral issues that need to be resolved by the priest.

“If it is a big event, he participates in all the stages. His role is to give blessings and give advice. At the first stage we discuss everything and he helps us with the preliminary arrangements.” (church social worker, parish No. 14)

“I don’t hesitate to assume responsibility. May God forgive me my sins. I know how busy the priest is and I take on responsibility not to disturb him when it is not absolutely necessary. It has to do with some solvable issues that do not contain any moral controversy and do not have to do with people coming for spiritual advice. Of course, I come to him for blessing now and then but not very often...” (social work coordinator, parish No. 10)

In some cases a rector creates the conditions and finds the resources required to bring a project or an idea to life, to hold an event.

“It is my responsibility [the rector] to figure out whom I may ask for help, where to get the resources, to call, to arrange. I know a deputy, for example. Or let’s say, I can call a shop when holidays are coming, and I ask to decorate the gifts beautifully. And look at them, those gift baskets, the balloons. You need to organise all of this, find people, do everything...” (rector, parish No. 13)

“<...> though one should not criticise the predecessors but I cannot help but feel a kind of bewilderment looking back at what it was like before. The children seemed downtrodden and apathetic. They were scared, hiding from the world. The floor was dirty as the rector wouldn’t give them money to buy a floor cloth. They didn’t have anywhere to go. Only to S. as it was cheap and to P. as there was football, again for free. And now the picture is very different. We have good furniture, a huge plasma screen so that the children can watch cartoons when they are tired. There are educational movies; we are going to the theatre on March, 24, we go to museums, libraries, cinemas on a regular basis.” (churchwarden, parish No. 14)

Factor 3. The priest (rector) works with professionals: gives them spiritual guidance, invites them to work in the parish, and supports their social initiatives and projects, ensures a balanced coexistence of the community and the professional

This factor describes a rector’s attitude towards delegating a part of the parish work to people whose methods and approaches may seem strange and unclear due to some professional specifics. I. e., working with children with Cerebral palsy (CP) or special needs is a specific area where professional skills are required. If a rector asks such a professional to organise activities aimed at helping children with CP, then the professional will most likely insist on their own approach to the organisation and implementation of such work based on their education and experience in the field. In this case, a rector who is not a specialist in this or that issue has to trust the professional and agree with them on the majority of the aspects that have to do with organising such a special service in the parish, including educating and involving non-professional parishioners into the work. A professional project requires more time and effort than targeted non-professional help provided by volunteers. Considering that in a ROC parish it is the rector who has the final word, when the team is joined by a professional with their own views and approaches, a conflict may arise. That is why, in our opinion, if a parish community is ready to work at a professional level or not depends on the rector’s views on the management of the parish in general and social work in particular. Surely, not all activities require the professionals to be fully autonomous. Sometimes a professional can fulfil their functions in the context of non-professional services and fit

into the parish context. In this case, a rector shall put some extra effort to find and involve such a specialist and create favourable conditions for their work in the parish.

A rector works with professionals in the following way. First of all, he finds out what are his parishioners' skills and competences and uses them to organise certain non-liturgical parish activity.

“<...> and then we felt that we could do something, something good, and the priest suggested organising such work in the parish. He's already had that idea for ages, he wanted the parish to be like a family and to run various projects. So, knowing that I am a doctor, he suggested that I should be the head of Orthodox doctors not an association, but a community of Orthodox doctors. It was called 'Healer'.” (parishioner, parish No. 10)

“It all started with pregnancy classes. About a year ago a person who worked as a fitness coach told me in an informal conversation that they wanted to work with pregnant women. As the rector's wife I know a lot of people from the parish and I thought that we could start that programme in the parish, invite some professionals who would like to serve the Church with their talent and knowledge to take part in it. And we suggested opening such a course.” (the rector's wife, parish No. 10)

Secondly, a rector may be looking for a professional, both in and outside the parish, for a specific project.

“I was offered a position of a social teacher as I had six children in my custody. I agreed and began to work in our social help centre... I was a social teacher in the department of rehabilitation for children with disabilities; I also taught home-based classes for the disabled. The children that don't go either to school or kindergarten are the hardest. As I already went to church at that time, I realised that church would be the only salvation for them. <...>What was the year? Probably, 2004 or 2005, and that is, I worked there for about 3 years. I used to come two times a week and work with them; I also used to take them to church for communion at weekends. <...> In six months the church got vacancies for social workers and Father O. invited me. <...> Later on, when I had already been working here for some time, we signed a formal agreement on social teachers' cooperation and education of children with the orphanage. We have a calendar of common events for the year. So I've been here [in this church] for three years, it will be four years in May since I started working here; and I had already been working with this orphanage for a year before that moment which means I have been working with them for five years now. Some of my ex-students now go to university and have small children...” (church social worker, works with orphanages and children with disabilities, parish No. 9)

“We have speech therapists, cardiologists in our parish. People come to us voluntarily and say that they are specialists in certain areas and are ready to help. We arrange visiting hours, so anyone can come...” (priest, parish No. 1)

“And who will be doing it if we don’t have such a specialist? The thing is not to just assign any person but to find a professional. And if we manage to find such a person, like our K., then we can launch some social project... And that’s it...” (rector, parish No. 7)

Thirdly, a rector may provide a platform for already existing social projects.

“Before that we didn’t cooperate with any parish though we suggested such an option. However, our initiative wasn’t supported by any parish. And only Father B. accepted it...” (the head of a crisis centre for pregnant women and women in distress, NPO, parish No. 2)

Finally, a rector may have specific skills and education and arrange non-liturgical work in accordance with them.

“The peculiarity of our parish is that apart from the members of the icon painting school, there are many other painters. We have many icon painters and other painters, and people with other artistic talents, like musicians. That’s because Father K. is an artist himself and he attracts other such people. Many different people want to organise master classes in our parish.” (parishioner, parish No. 15)

“The situation was as follows: we then had a priest, though now he has already retired, who has been practicing karate since his childhood... And he was at a rather advanced level. So he opened a karate school and people began to come to him. There were children and adults, non-parishioners, too. He admitted everyone. However, gradually he churched those people during the lessons and some of them got really interested. It was very good religious education, very subtle, in the framework of an interesting social activity.” (priest, parish No. 11)

The examples of how parishioners’ skills were put to good use and how specialists were involved in implementing parish projects and the possibility of launching programmes based in a parish community prove that modern Orthodox parishes have a very high potential for the social sphere development. However, such practices in parish life are more of an exception than a rule. Aside from some obvious external reasons (lack of specialists in the town, lack of resources for salaries), there are also internal limitations. First of all, sometimes rectors are not ready to delegate responsibility and management to a layperson no matter how good a specialist they are. Secondly, not every professional (even if they specialise in social work, charity, education, etc.) will choose to spend their free time and effort on parish work. Thirdly, even if a parishioner is eager to offer their help to the parish, it is not always clear where their knowledge and skills can be

applicable. It can be assumed that there are enough people, not necessarily professionals in social work or adjacent field who would like to take part in church activities; however, for some reasons, they remain unnoticed by the priests or the parishioners that are already involved in some work.

4.2.3 Scenarios of Cooperation between the Rector and Other Priests and Their Consequences for the Development of Social Work in a Parish

A rector's ways of working with people (factors of the social work development) described in the first part of the Chapter can also be applied to a priest's work. If a parish is managed by the rector alone, he is responsible for both working with spiritual matters and organising parish life (informal communication, mutual help practices, etc.). If he is helped by one or more priests or deacons, these tasks can be distributed among them in whatever manner is chosen, provided that the rector encourages the development of a community and non-liturgical activities in the parish, he should at least not block the work with people and he should encourage non-liturgical work in the parish.

One of the examples is a parish where the rector who is also an important official in the eparchy does not have the opportunity to be fully involved in parish life. That is why all non-liturgical projects are initiated and organised by a team of young priests sharing common ideas. The rector's role in that case is as follows. Firstly, he selects the priests that are ready to provide spiritual education for people (Sunday schools for adults and children), organises the parish's informal life (football matches, pilgrimage, camps), and implements social projects (there is a professional social worker in the parish who helps the parishioners in all possible ways related to social welfare; targeted help for those in need). Secondly, the rector helps these priests chose the right way of organising the parish life and interacting with the parishioners. Finally, the rector delegates them full responsibility for non-liturgical activities.

“He [rector] stepped aside. He only follows the situation in general and we are both perfectly OK with it. Yes, we are. The rest is my responsibility. I invited people. Thankfully, the parish was growing and many people were coming voluntarily.” (priest, parish No. 1)

Not all the rectors practice such an approach to organising parish life . Sometimes a rector will not support the people or can even block the other clergy's attempts to make the parish's life more eventful. Take parish No. 2 as an example where the head of the parish prohibits all kinds of social initiatives suggested by the subordinated priest, so the church's activities are reduced to religious services and rites.

“He [rector] thought it was nonsense. Don't I have anything to do other than working in the church hospital every day? You already have rites, funeral services, baptisms, etc. Why should we conduct catechetical discussions, too? <...> baptisms and funeral

services will always be here. And if religious rites bring enough money, why start any social work?" (priest, parish No. 4)

Analytically, the following scenarios of cooperation between the head of the parish and the priests can be singled out . (Table 4.2)

Table 4.2. Scenarios of how the rector's and priests' ways of acting correlate in terms of the development of social work and non-liturgical life in a parish

A subordinated priest's point of view	The rector's point of view	
	The rector encourages social work	The rector does not encourage social work
There are not any priests except for the rector.	There are a community and social work of this or that type Example: parish No. 13	No social work Examples: not found in our sample
The priest encourages the development of social work.	There are a community and social work this or that type. The scale of non-liturgical work can become bigger than in the parishes with no second member of clergy or with a priest that does not encourage social work. Examples: parishes No. 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 14, 15	There is either no social work or it is reduced to the priest's providing spiritual guidance in social institutions without the parish community being involved Examples: parishes No. 4 and 5
The priest does not encourage the development of social work.	There are a community and social work this or that type. Example: parish No. 6	No social work Example: not found in our sample

In other words, the statement that the rector has the key role in the development of non-liturgical life and social work in a parish is also true for the parishes with several priests. The head of a parish has the final word even when he shares his responsibilities for the communication with the parishioners and the organisation of parish life with the other members of clergy or when he delegates a significant part of the responsibility to the priests due to having a lot of work in the eparchy, in educational or other institutions or his personal predisposition to different activities. The rector's approach, together with the principles of the parish life organisation in the Orthodox Church, determines the way of acting chosen by other members of clergy. In some cases, the rector is the one thanks to whom all of the non-liturgical life develops, regardless of the actions the second priest

takes. The reverse situation when a priest acts against his rector's orders is hardly possible.

The sample includes parishes where the rector has changed and priests who had transferred to another parish 1-5 years before the research took place. Those cases were analysed in order to see in what way such transfers influence parish non-liturgical life. As a result, five possible scenarios were elaborated.

(1) A rector who favours social work is transferred to a parish with non-existent (or underdeveloped) non-liturgical life and social work. Social work and non-liturgical life are being developed. (parishes No. 1 and No. 13)

(2) A rector who favours social work is transferred to a parish with a well-developed non-liturgical life and social activities. The level of social activity is preserved, new approaches and ideas are added. (parish No. 15)

(3) A priest who favours social work is transferred to work with a rector who either bans or just does not support such practices. The priest chooses to cut short his own initiatives and reduces their church activities to services and rites. (parishes No. 4 and 5)

(4) A priest who favours social work is transferred to work with a rector who has similar views and ensures the priest's efficient work in the new place. (parishes No. 14 and 2)

(5) The transfer of a priest who is not interested in social activities to work with a rector who encourages social work may develop according to several scenarios. Such a situation can be observed in parish No. 6 where the subordinated priest did not participate in the community life and social work and only fulfilled his liturgical duties. By the time the survey was conducted, this priest had worked in the parish for less than a year and the way he acted was a subject for thought for the rector: he was thinking how he could involve the priest into the parish life (and whether it was necessary). A different scenario can be imagined: a priest who is not interested in social work gets involved in it together with the parishioners after the transfer. One can hardly imagine the third scenario in which the non-active newcomer has a negative effect on a parish actively involved in social work.

We would like to stress that the development of social work in a parish requires the rector primarily to have an active position regarding the work with people. Other members of clergy and active laypeople will be ready to practice interaction with people (getting involved in communities of mutual help), support non-liturgical activities, delegate responsibility and cooperate with professionals only in cases where the priest encourages such work.

4.3 Cooperation between the Clergy and the Laity as a Factor in Parish Social Work Development. Evidence from the Survey of Parish Social Workers

Section 4.2 examines three factors that characterise a rector's approach to working with people in the parishes with fruitful community life and social services. One of the main factors of social work development is delegating responsibility to the laity. How can the influence of the distribution of responsibility between the parishioners and the clergy on the parish social work development be evaluated? Is there any difference between the parishes where the laity suggest more initiatives and whose initiatives are approved of and the parishes where most of the initiatives belong to the clergy? In section 4.3 we provide evidence from a survey of parish social workers that corroborates the statement that delegating responsibility contributes to parish social work statistics in terms of the number of social projects, number of church social work participants, number of partner organisations, etc. Empirical analysis is based on the data from the "*Monitoring of Church social workers*"²⁰.

4.3.1 Who Initiates Social Work in the Parish?

In "*Monitoring...*" the relationship between the clergy and the laity in the framework of parish social work was evaluated as explained below. One of the questions included in the questionnaire was who initiates non-liturgical projects and events, social work among them, in the respondent's parish. The following answers were given: (1) non-liturgical projects and events, social work among them, are mostly initiated by the rector; (2) non-liturgical projects and events, social work among them, are mostly initiated by the clergy (but not the rector); (3) non-liturgical projects and events, social work among them, are mostly initiated by the laity; (4) non-liturgical projects and events, social work among them, are initiated by the clergy and laity in equal measures; (5) do not know. In the analysis, the first two options were combined into one. For the analysis the data from five waves of the survey (2015-2018) are used.

In 15 percent of the parishes social work is mostly initiated by the laity while in 27 percent of the cases, it is mainly the rector's responsibility. In half of the parishes (52 percent) the initiative for non-liturgical projects belongs equally to both laypeople and clergy. There are only about 5 percent of parishes where the initiative belongs to the clergy but not the rector (too little to be able to analyse the correlation with other variables). That is why we shall combine this category with category 1 (where the initiative mostly belongs to the rector). And 6 percent of the respondents do not know²¹.

²⁰ See details in Section 1.4 "Sources of empirical data".

²¹ See Appendix 2 for details.

In the parishes where the initiative belongs equally to the clergy and the laity, both groups usually *implement social projects in cooperation*²².

Let us look closely at two situations in which the rector initiates non-liturgical activities more often. Firstly, these are the parishes of newcomer respondents (those who got involved into a parish's social work in 2015 or later). Secondly, the parishes of the respondents with the longest social work experience. The second case might be explained by historical reasons as before 2010 there were no institutional mechanisms of involving parishioners in social work (no training programmes for the laity, no mandatory social worker vacancies, etc.), and that is why in the parishes where the priests and the parishioners were involved in social work, the leading model for the distribution of initiative and responsibility that had been formed was the one with the rector as the main decision-maker.

The situation when the laity and the clergy participate equally in initiating and implementing social projects as well as performing social work is the one that prevails in half of the respondents' parishes. This index remains the same no matter the parish's geographical position. (See Table 4.3) However, in small towns the clergy and the rector are more likely to take on the initiative and the responsibility for social work than the laity. This could be partly explained by socio-economic and demographic conditions: in small towns and rural areas the population rate is usually lower as well as the people's income. In these conditions people's voluntary activity in the church is limited by the fact that they are more preoccupied with the matters of their own survival. They are ready to cooperate with active clergy, but the expected motivation for self-organised voluntary social work within the Church is weak.

²² Another question in the survey was who is to implement social work in a parish: (1) only the clergy; (2) mostly the clergy; (3) the clergy and the laity in equal measures; (4) mostly the laity; (5) only the laity; (6) do not know (options (1) and (2), (4) and (5) were combined). In the majority of cases social work is equally executed by both clergy and laypeople; in 11% of the parishes social work is done mostly or exclusively by the clergy; in a quarter of the parishes, social work is implemented mostly (22%) or exclusively (3%) by the laity. Answers to this question strongly correlate with the answers to the question about initiative (Who initiates non-liturgical projects and events, social work among them, in a respondent's parish?). The question was asked only in first two waves (in 2015), and then excluded from the survey, as far as it provides us with no additional information on clergy-laity relations in the area of non-liturgical parish work. (See Appendix 2).

Table 4.3 *The Clergy's and the Laity's Social Work Initiative by the Size of Settlement (% by columns)*

What statement best describes the situation in your parish? Non-liturgical projects and events, social work among them, are..	Megapolis with a population of over 1 million. people	City or town (50 thousand – 1 million people)	Rural area
... mostly initiated by the rector and/or the clergy	18	28	34
... mostly initiated by the laity	18	15	12
... initiated by the clergy and laity in equal measures	56	51	51
Do not know	8	6	3
Total number of the respondents	283	743	288

Three groups of parishes are singled out depending on the type of cooperation between the laity and the clergy in parish social work. (1) *The first group* includes the parishes where social work is mostly the responsibility of the laypeople. (2) *The second group* has to do with the parishes where the social initiative mostly belongs to the rector and the other members of clergy are closely involved in bringing projects to life. (3) *The third group* includes parishes where the clergy and the laity play an equal role in initiating and the implementing non-liturgical projects. We called them “partnership parishes”. This third group of parishes differs from the other parishes in several characteristics of social work²³.

Firstly, in “partnership parishes” more people are involved in social work: in 60 percent of the parishes from the third group there are more than 6 people who take part in social work and the same average result is found in 51 percent of the first and in 55 percent of the second group.

Secondly, the respondents from partnership parishes mention organised groups of volunteers more often: there are volunteer groups in 79 percent of the third group of parishes and in 67 percent and 61 percent of the parishes from the first and the second group correspondingly.

²³ This difference is summed up in Appendix 2.

Thirdly, partnership parishes cover more fields of social work than the sample average. A mean number of social work fields in such parishes is higher for every wave.

Finally, partnership networks (the number of organisations with which a parish cooperates) include a larger number of organisations when both the laity and the clergy are involved in implementing non-liturgical projects and social work. The partnership parishes generally cooperate with an average of 5,5 organisations while the parishes with either the clergy's or the laypeople's prevailing initiative the cooperation indexes are 5,3 and 4,5 correspondingly.

To sum up, for the "partnership parishes" one can observe better quantitative indicators of the parish social work than for the parishes where initiative belongs mainly to the laypeople. Parishes with the leading role of the clergy usually have either weaker or the same indicators as "partnership parishes".

Table 4.4 Comparison of the Social Work Indicators for Three Groups of Parishes

	<i>Waves of the survey</i>	Non-liturgical projects and events, social work among them, are		
		(1)... mostly initiated by the laity	(2)... mostly initiated by the rector and/or the clergy	(3) “partnership parishes”
Number of participants in social work in the parish = 6 and more (% of parishes)	w1-w5	51%	55%	60%
Organised groups of volunteers in the parish = YES (% of parishes)	w1-w2	67%	61%	79%
Number of SW fields in the parish (mean)*	w1-w2	7.5	6.2	7.5
	w4	5.2	4.8	5.4
	w5	4.2	5.9	5.5
Number of partner organisations (mean)	w1-w2 w4-w5	4.5	5.3	5.5
Number of wards in the parish = more than 10 (% of parishes)	w3-w5	63%	74%	79%
Is there a person in the parish responsible for the resources (fundraising) for social work = NO (% of parishes)	w3-w4	13%	9%	5%

**Different ways of asking the question were tested in different waves. That is why in the table we provide figures for different waves separately.*

4.3.2 “Partnership Parish”

The third group of parishes is characterised by a closer cooperation between the clergy and the laity when it comes to initiating and implementing social projects as well as by more developed non-liturgical work. This group will be denominated as *partnership parishes*. The term *partnership parish* reflects the way of organising parish life aimed at the development of communication within a parish community as well as that of a parish’s network of contacts outside the church fence. This shows once again that the development of parish social life depends not only on the rector’s blessing (which serves as a permission) of certain initiatives and projects and unilaterally delegating responsibility for implementing them to the laity but also on the clergy’s stable interest in the development of community life and their direct cooperation with the parishioners.

The clergy’s involvement into parish social work assumes many forms. The replies to the questionnaire do not allow us to evaluate all the forms of a rector’s and the clergy’s participation in community life. However, we believe that it is a rather big range and that a rector’s approach to people depends on the conditions typical of his parish as well as his personal convictions and experience. In some cases, a rector does all the planning and manages parish work, sets his own goals and elaborates projects and events aimed at attracting new people and involving parishioners into active parish life. In other cases, a rector is mainly responsible for taking care of the friendly, trusting, family-ish relationships in the parish and the parishioners’ spiritual education; such friendly environment in a parish makes people want to do something together, i. e. to help each other and people outside the parish. One should realise that, in practice, the scenarios of the development of parish social work in particular and non-liturgical parish life in general may vary. Based on our research, we can suppose that a priest’s close cooperation with the laity in the framework of non-liturgical activities is one of the crucial variables determining parish life. The cases described in section 4.2 prove that a priest’s personal contribution to the relationship among the people within and outside the parish allows to overcome the conditions that do not favour or even hinder the development of parish non-liturgical activities.

These conclusions leave the question of *fruitful* scenarios of a priest’s work (from the point of view of the development of a community and social work) and their strong and weak points open for further studies. Since every social process has its advantages and disadvantages, we should also consider the dynamics of social relationships in parishes with different rectors and the way implementing non-liturgical projects and events influences the community and its individual members. How are power and responsibility distributed? How and why can one become a leader? Is there always a consensus and, if not, how one can reach an agreement? Can the process of planning and implementing social projects become a catalyst of conflicts in a parish and when and how are such

conflicts resolved? What happens on the parish limits?, in the relationship between the parishioners and non-parishioners, friends, relatives, colleagues, when a person gets actively involved in parish work? Finally, the personal “trajectories” of the priests who manage to establish unified and stable communities with well-developed social work and the factors determine a rector’s approach to the development of parish social life are also of a certain interest.

4.4 Conclusions: a Rector’s Ways of Working with People and Types of Parish Social Work

The results of our empirical analysis of parishes allow us to demonstrate how certain ways of working with people chosen by a priest help to establish a community of mutual help and enhance the development of community-based social work (sections 4.1 and 4.2). The data from the survey of parish social workers corroborated the statement that cooperation of the clergy and the laity in the Orthodox Church parish has a significant influence on parish social work indicators (section 4.3). Such a cooperation becomes possible in the parishes where the the clergy’s (and first of all – of the rector’s) way of working with laity is characterised by the following three factors. Different combinations of these three factors “produce” certain types of parish social work.

The first factor – a rector’s work with the people – is the minimal condition to form a parish community with developed informal communication, parishioners working and spending their free time together (type 2 of social work). When a rector works on the parishioners’ spiritual education, advises them or even asks them to show concern for a neighbour, relationships of support and mutual help are formed in the parish. Maintaining (for a long time) a stable community whose members can get assistance and provide help to a neighbour is an important effect of parish social work, no matter if the community provides professional help services or not. It becomes a social support network for its own parishioners.

Moreover, expressing (in sermons and informal conversations) the idea of how important it is to be attentive to other people’s needs not only encourages mutual help in a community but also stimulates the parishioners to act outside the parish , i. e., supporting friends and relatives, helping random strangers as the parishioners’ circle of contacts is not limited to the their community. Thus, communities of mutual help influence more than the parishioners’ well-being. Studying this indirect effect of a parish community is a subject for a separate research.

If a rector not only works with the people but also encourages and supports non-liturgical activities, delegates responsibility to the laity or the other clergy, some professional types of social work supported and performed by the parish members appear (type 4 of social work). These may be both individual and group activities. If the

parishioners have time and the parish has at least some resources to fund social work with, the following types of work may appear: targeted help for those in need (working with specific cases), organised help groups focusing on certain audiences (orphanages, the homeless, helping inmates), an active group of laypeople and clergy who sometimes organise various social activities (giving food to the homeless, helping families with many children, providing spiritual guidance to people retirement homes). The parish members often join the priest in working with social institutions.

When a rector works with specialists (who usually but not necessarily are his spiritual children), professional non-liturgical projects may appear in the parish. We have come across several groups of such projects. *The first group* includes social projects aimed at helping certain categories of the needy, e.g. a crisis centre for pregnant women or a group for helping inmates (maintaining correspondence with them in order to involve them in church, providing spiritual guidance and support). E. g., parish No. 2. *The second group* has to do with professional educational activities: preparing a series of Orthodoxy-related TV-programmes with the help of a professional director and a cameraman who are members of the parish (e. g., parish No. 8). *The third group* includes specialised parish-based schools, e.g. icon painting school established by parishioners who are professional icon painters, e. g., parish No. 15. The school allows to educate children, unite the parish around educational activities and, thus, helps develop the parish community. *The fourth group* implies social events of municipal or regional levels: film festivals, Epiphany bathing rites. E. g., parish No. 8 or parish No. 3.

Professional projects from groups 2, 3 and 4 cannot be called social work in its narrow sense that is helping the needy or vulnerable groups of the population. We decided to mention them here to show how wide the range of non-liturgical parish activities is. An even more important reason is that in the abovementioned cases the people involved in a professional project are also active participants of their parish community (they know people, communicate with them and take part in communal events). Moreover, the implementation of such projects became possible because there were people in the community ready to take on responsibility: for the filming process or the promotion or for preparing the Epiphany bathing rites activities for the whole town. Talking about parish social work in its broad sense as the way to unite people and form a community of mutual help, all the three projects contribute to achieving this goal.

Professional social work exists either as a parish project or a non-profit organisation or a network service involving people from several parishes. The coordinator (the organiser) of a professional project is usually a parishioner who communicates directly with the rector. Such a parishioner may be their spiritual child but it is not a necessary condition. To achieve the project goals, professionals who are not necessarily members of the parish may be hired. If there is a parish community, its members are invited to

participate in professional projects to help in areas where special education and skills are not required. E. g., besides psychological consultations, a crisis centre for pregnant women provides material support for the women that have just given birth. Parishioners help transport personal belongings, meet the women at the hospital while professional psychologists organise a hot-line for consultations. In other words, professional social projects also contribute to the development of a community support network.

The determined factors of the development of community-based social work can be correlated with our analytical types of social work. In this Chapter we have discussed community-based social work for which the priest's cooperation with the people is a basic condition. An autonomous social work can take place in two situations. The first one is where there is no community; the rector does not work with the people (the way it is described above) but there are agreements with individual parishioners or third-party professionals who fulfil certain tasks. The second situation is when there is a community but there is also a professional that fulfils a social project independently. Some parishes in our sample turned out to be rather close to this type. (see Table 4.1 in section 4.1) Theoretically speaking, it is possible for a rector not to work with the people but to delegate responsibility, encourage social ministry and be capable of attracting and involving new professionals. A rector may also separate working with people for establishing a community from fulfilling professional and non-professional projects. A theoretical correlation of a rector's ways of working and the types of parish social work can be found in Table 4.5. This Table 4.5 can be considered as the final model depicting the factors of the development of parish social work. The model explains the development of community-based social work (types 2, 4 and 8 are highlighted in colour). As for the autonomous (non-community-based) types of social work, the data represented in the Table 4.5 allow one to formulate some additional hypotheses: under what conditions does the rector choose the autonomous type of social work? Can an independent professional influence the formation of a community (and what kind of an influence is it)? Does autonomous social work become community-based and vice versa? Such questions are beyond the scope of our dissertation but these are important issues for future research. In the following Chapters we are going to continue the discussion of community-based social work and its effects.

Table 4.5 Differentiating the Types of Social Work by the Rector's Way of Working

No.	Type of social work	Factor 1. The rector works with the people	Factor 2. The rector encourages non-liturgical work	Factor 3. The rector cooperates with professionals
1	No social work	-	-	-
2	A community of mutual help	+	-	-
3	Autonomous social work of non-professionals	-	+	-
4	Community-based social work	+	+	-
5	Autonomous social work of professionals, contract workers	-	-	+
6	Autonomous social work of professionals and non-professionals	-	+	+
7	A community of mutual help; autonomous social work of professionals	+	-	+
8	Community-based social work of professionals and non-professionals	+	+	+

Chapter 5. Results of Social Network Analysis: Significance of the Priest's way of Working with People for Parish Community and Partnership Network Development

The fourth chapter shows that the development of parish community-based social work could be explained by the three factors describing a rector's way of working with people.

(1) The rector works with the people: assembles, takes care of them, supports them, works on "spiritual resources", i.e., on their spiritual education and churching.

(2) The rector encourages non-liturgical activities and delegates responsibility to the laypeople.

(3) The rector works with professionals: gives them spiritual guidance, invites them to work in the parish, and supports their social initiatives and projects, ensures a balanced coexistence of the community and the professional.

In the fifth Chapter we are going to visualise parishes' complete social networks to demonstrate how a rector's actions influence the development of mutual help networks in a parish and a parish's contacts outside its own grounds. In the introduction we are going to explain the way parish social work can be considered from the point of view of the social network theory and what a parish community's internal and external relationships mean for parish social work. The main part of the chapter includes a visualisation of the social networks of three parishes that develop different types of social work, depending on a rector's way of acting.

5.1 Parish Social Work from the Point of View of the Social Networks Concept

Describing different types of social work in the second chapter, we mentioned that forming a tight-knit parish community does not require any special conditions (material resources, special skills and knowledge) but the priest's eagerness to work with the people (factor 1). Community-based social work is a more productive way of performing parish social work. When a community is formed (i. e. the parishioners know each other, communicate on a regular basis and help one another) it considerably increases the opportunities for parish non-liturgical work. Firstly, it is possible to involve more people in certain activities. Secondly, considering that each parish member has their own non-parish network of contacts (neighbours, friends, relatives, colleagues, people with shared interests, etc.), some of them can also be invited to do parish work when necessary. Parishioners can distribute responsibilities for maintaining the church and its grounds,

organising common leisure or social work; moreover, in a community there are more opportunities to ask for advice, get information, find material help for oneself or for another person than in a church where the people do not communicate with each other and, thus, the level of trust is lower. In an undeveloped community the ties among the parishioners are either weak or non-existent, so the priest becomes the only person to address to concerning both liturgical and non-liturgical issues. One can assume that in such cases when people communicate with the priest but do not communicate with each other without his mediation, parish life is limited to the activities organised by the rector in addition to his direct duties. A community represents a network of ties (or contacts).

A parish's external contacts including state institutions, sponsors, third-party helpers and volunteers, partner organisations working on joint events and projects develop in the process of social work. Social work that goes beyond mutual help is developing either simultaneously with or due to the broadening of the network of contacts as a response to an external demand when individuals or organisations come to the parishioners or the priest for help; or as an extension of the priest's and the parishioners' work beyond the church fence when they decide to help other people that need or may need their help. Such a network is both a social work resource and the result of its development.

Orthodox parishes are open organisations: any Orthodox Christian can take part in liturgies, sacraments²⁴, talk to a parishioner or a priest. In particular, some social projects of the parishes considered by us included non-Orthodox Christians (protestants), the so-called non-practicing Orthodox Christians (baptised Christians that do not participate in religious services) and representatives of other denominations. However, not every parish community is open for cooperation with third-party organisations or non-churched Orthodox Christians.

Social work is one of the methods used to embed²⁵ a parish community into society and extend its partnership network. There are other ways of extending a parish's partnership network, e.g. missionary work. Since the subject of our study is parish social work, we are interested in how it influences the extension of a parish's network of contacts and what mechanisms are used to achieve it.

²⁴ Saying 'any' we, realise that there may be certain canonical rules prohibiting a person to participate in church life or specific sacraments. There are also closed communities or groups that require time and special effort to join them. However, such cases have to do with more complex aspects of church life or a priest's particular vision of the community. What we want to say is that there are no institutional restrictions that prevent a person from coming to an Orthodox church, participating in worships or other activities.

²⁵ Network embeddedness or society embeddedness, is a term used to describe the development of the partnership relationship between non-profit organisation in their field of work. The research shows that the efficiency of the work of non-profit organisations depends on the degree of their embeddedness in local society (Mesch and Schwirian 1996).

A contact network of the clergy and the parishioners can be called a network of mutual help, or a mutual help community. A network of contacts with organisations and people outside the community is called a parish's partnership network. From the point of view of the social network theory, a community of mutual help can be described via the notion of strong social ties while a parish's partnership network is a source of weak ties. The strength of a tie is defined as a combination of "the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy, or mutual confiding, and the reciprocal services that characterise the tie. Each of these is somewhat independent of the other, though the set is obviously highly intracorrelated." (Granovetter 1973, 1361) From the point of view of the social capital theory, a community's network of mutual help is responsible for the reproduction of the bonding social capital while a partnership network has to do with the bridging capital (Putnam 2001). Bonding social capital creates close emotional ties and relationships characterised by a high level of trust within homogeneous groups while bridging capital connects different communities²⁶.

Theoretically speaking, a parish community should have closer emotional ties and a higher level of interpersonal connections among its members and, thus, remain a source of strong ties or bonding social capital for the parishioners. A parish's external ties, including the participation of non-community parishioners in social work, represent bridging social capital that stimulates the development of weak ties in the community. We can assume that under certain conditions an Orthodox parish adds to the development of social capital in the society where this parish is embedded²⁷. One of such conditions is a rector's way of working. Now let us illustrate our hypothesis describing the social networks of the parishes with community-based social work. Using social network analysis, we are going to show how a rector's way (social work development factors) can influence the development of the community and the parish's external social network.

5.2 Visualisation of a Parish's Complete Social Network Based on the Interviews. Methodological Explanations and Assumptions

There are two main approaches to analysing social networks: ego network analysis and complete network analysis. Ego networks consist of the central actor or ego, and the people they are directly connected to. A complete network is a group of actors researched and the relations among them (Prell 2012, 8). There are also several levels of network

²⁶ The difference between the two types of capitals or the two types of ties is important from the point of view of studying their sources, methods of use and the effects on certain aspects of individual or social well-being (Banfield 1958; Beugelsdijk and Smulders 2003; Ted Mouw 2006; Alejandro Portes 2000; Michael Woolcock and Narayan 2000).

²⁷ In the international research, parish communities (congregations) are considered as one of the sources of social capital (Putnam 2001; Unruh and Sider 2005; Robert Wuthnow 2006).

analysis. E. g., the analysis of individual actors in complete or ego networks; dyad and triad analysis; subgroup analysis; network analysis (Prell 2012, 93–197). A separate set of indicators is elaborated for each level of analysis.

To illustrate our statement about the effect of a rector's way of working on the development of the parish social network, we are going to provide a visualisation of the complete networks of the parishes with community-based social work and study the ego network of the priests to see how external contacts appear in a parish (through the clergy or through the laity).

The complete network analysis method supposes that complete social networks are based on a sociometric matrix including the description of all the relationships among the network members. Based on that matrix, a graph is drawn visualising the ties among the network actors. The matrix consists of actors, or nodes, and indicates the presence and the properties of a tie between the actors²⁸. Such a matrix is built based on the replies from the sociometric questionnaire.

Since we only have qualitative data, we cannot speak of a network analysis in the strict sense. However, we are using the resources of this approach for visualising the observations regarding the parishes' potential in the development of support and partnership networks in a community; as well as for demonstrating how a rector's way of working in the parish influences the development of such networks.

The matrices for all the illustrations below were based on the data obtained by means of in-depth interviews with the priests, the parishioners and other participants of non-liturgical life of a parish. The respondents were asked a few questions concerning social work: (1) the number of participants of the project or the field of activity; regularity of participation; (2) the participants' membership in the parish (if they attend this parish church for services and confessions); (3) the way people were brought into social work (by the priest, by the parishioners, as contract workers); (4) actors, collaborating with the respondent in the course of a project implementation (organisations, sponsors, people, state institutions, etc.). Nodes are the people participating in parish social work, our respondents, and those who were mentioned by them. The ties between nodes (either 'present' or 'absent') mean the actors' inclusion into the common work no matter if they know each other by sight only, know each other in person or have a deeper, friendly relationship. The nodes' attribute matrices also take into account such characteristics as

²⁸ The relationships among the actors can be described in terms of the presence of a tie (1) or its absence (0). A matrix can show both the presence of a tie and its strength/attribute (instead of a '1' – another value according to the chosen system of notations can be put down). The direction and the reciprocity of a tie can be considered, too. E. g., if it is a gossip exchange network, then a connection between the actors can be unidirectional (A tells a gossip to B, B tells it to C but C does not return it to A), reciprocal (A tells gossips to B while B tells some gossips to A) (Prell 2012, 81).

(1) the field? of an actor's social work; (2) gender; (3) status (a rector, other parish clergy, or a layperson); (4) membership in the parish (in terms of participating in church services, confession and communion). The fourth parameter is required to find out if there are non-parish participants in a parish's activities and if a parish is embedded in society. From that perspective, several groups can be singled out: (1) the church parishioners, those who go to that church for services and communions; (2) non-parish participants of social work – people from a different parish; non-practicing Orthodox Christians; members of other denominations, etc.

The method of the complete social network chart suggests that we have the list of actors and can describe the ties of each pair of nodes. This kind of studies are suitable for organisations (when we have a list of the staff members), schools and universities (if the list of students is available). The first methodological difficulty is that Orthodox parishes do not have a list of parishioners and the division into community members and 'external' people is not unconditional and depends on the purpose of the research. The second characteristic that becomes a methodical problem is that many parishioners know each other by sight but not by name which is a significant obstacle when it comes to creating sociometric matrices. The third difficulty is the consequence of the first two, it is the question of what the limits of the community are. If we take a parish, the parishioners are connected to other people that are not members of that same parish; the latter have their own circles, etc. In theory, the opportunities for extending a network are endless. The scholars working with network studies claim that there is no certain method to determine the limits of a network but there are several approaches that are used. First of all, a realistic or reputational approach, when one gets information about the parish members from the respondents (all members of a parish together can name all the members while an individual parishioner cannot identify each member of the parish; that is why the limits are determined by a researcher via an accurate collection of information). Secondly, a nominalist approach when the limits are determined based on the research theory and design. Thirdly, the snowball method can be used: the initial group of respondents are asked to name other members of the studied group; the second group names their circle and so on until the names begin to repeat and the researchers feel that the sample is complete (Prell 2012, 66–67). Our method of determining the network limits is closer to the first approach (the realist one): to determine the number of nodes and the types of ties among them, we asked various people participating in social work who else takes part in such activities, how many are those people, what they are.

We consider a parish as a structure of ties consisting of people doing social work as it is the subject of our study. Several social networks can be singled out in one parish based on different criteria. E. g., there may be people in a parish who pray for each other and they can be described as a network. (A prays for B and C, C prays for B and K, etc.) There

can be a network of godparents uniting whole families instead of individuals. That means that any empirical type of social relationships can be taken as the basis for a network. Sometimes (though not always) networks can overlap for various reasons. One and the same person can be included both in the social work network and the godparent network while their children’s godparents (the people who are members of the same godparent network) should not necessarily be involved in social work. For the purposes of our study, participation in social work is chosen as the basis of the parish network analysed.

Further on, we are going to present the visualisations of the social networks of parishes with community-based social work. The illustrations are made using GEPHI software based on the matrices created applying the method described above.

5.3 Social Networks of Parishes with Community-based Social Work

As was mentioned above, the types of community-based social work are as follows. (Table 5.1)

Table 5.1 Types of community-based social work

Type of social work	Factors of the development of this type of social work	Empirical prototype
Community of mutual help or social support network; a parish has a community, the parishioners know and help each other (type 2)	Factor 1	Parish No. 6
Community-based social work; there is mutual help and non-professional social work in a parish (type 4)	Factor 1 + Factor 2	Parish No. 7
Community-based work of professionals and non-professionals; there is mutual help, non-professional and professional social work in a parish (type 8)	Factor 1+Factor 2+Factor 3	Parish No. 2

Figures 5.1 – 5.6 illustrate parish networks and rectors’ ego networks for each type of community-based social work. The complete network of a parish allows to see the size and the structure of the network of contacts emerging in the course of parish social work. The rector’s ego network shows who initiates external contacts in a parish: the priest or the laity responsible for social work.

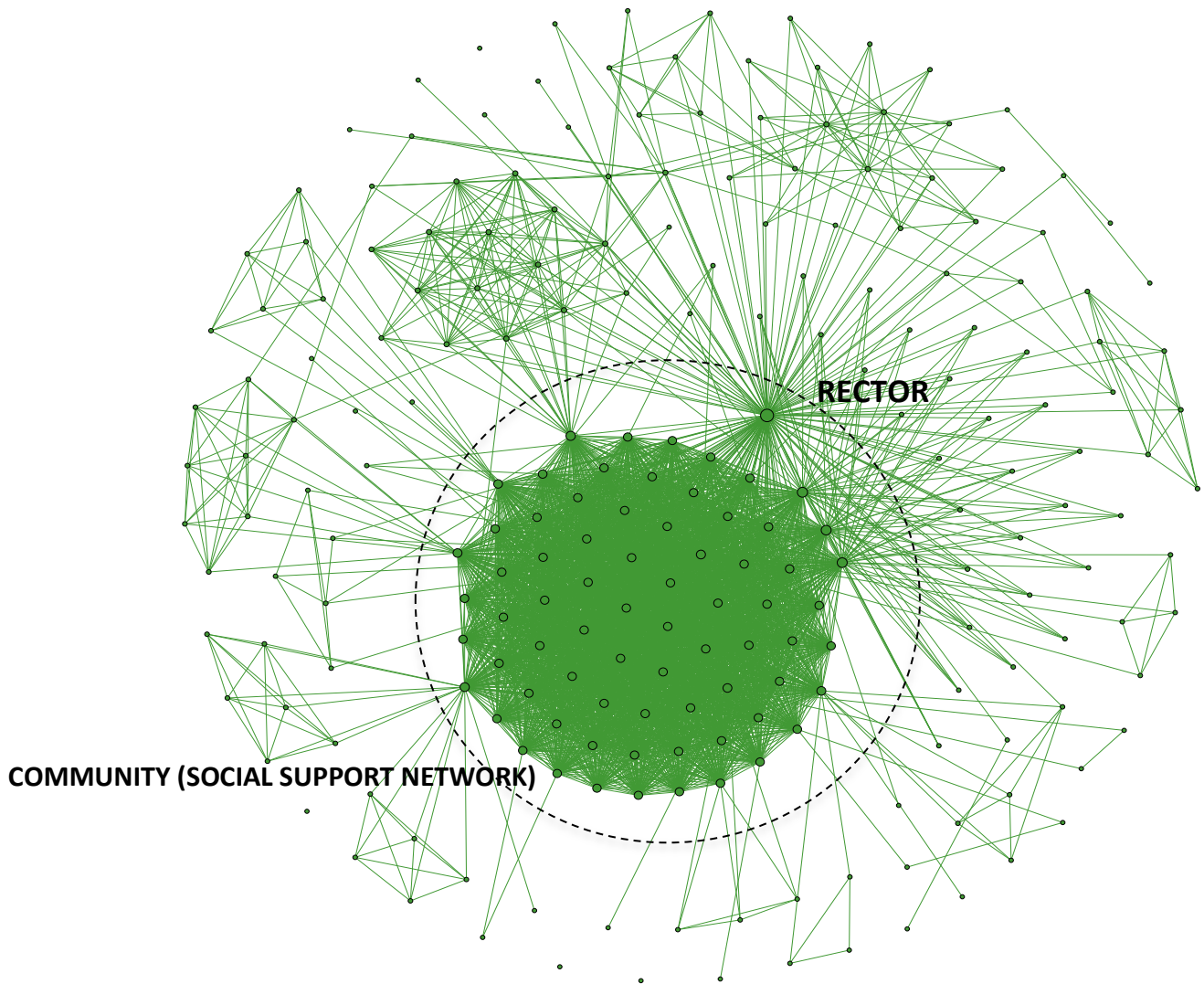
The graphic elements used in the figures are as follows. A node is a person, or, in some cases, a representative of an organisation. An edge or a tie between a pair of nodes means that those two people participate in the same social work activity in the parish, no matter if they know each other by name or just by sight. The size of a node shows the

number of ties: the more contacts one has, the bigger the node is. The colour of a node suggests the person's involvement in a certain field of social work in figures 5.1 – 5.6. Figure 5.7 illustrates the situation when non-parishioners join parish social work: parishioners of the church and non-parishioners involved in social work are differentiated by colour.

5.3.1 Community of Mutual Help or Social Support Network

Figure 5.1 visualises the network of a parish where the rector considers working with the people as a priority: he assembles them, takes care of them, works on their education and churching. As a result, there is a strong community in the parish, the parishioners there know each other in person, are aware of each other's professions and skills and understand who they can ask for help when necessary. New people are welcomed and taken care of (the relationship pattern translated by the rector), so that the community grows. In the parish depicted in figure 5.1, the community has been built by the rector from scratch in less than 7 years; before that the church was closed and there were no parishioners. Since there are no non-liturgical projects, the parish's external contacts are mainly the rector's contacts that can be used for parish work: to prove this statement, figure 5.2 represents the rector's ego network. The parishioners' external contacts are relationships with their first circle: friends, relatives, acquaintances. The parish has very few weak ties with non-parish actors emerging during the implementation of social projects and activities. That is why all the nodes in the network are of the same colour, unlike the networks of other types of parishes where there are several areas of non-liturgical work different in terms target audiences and content. (fig. 5.3 and 5.5)

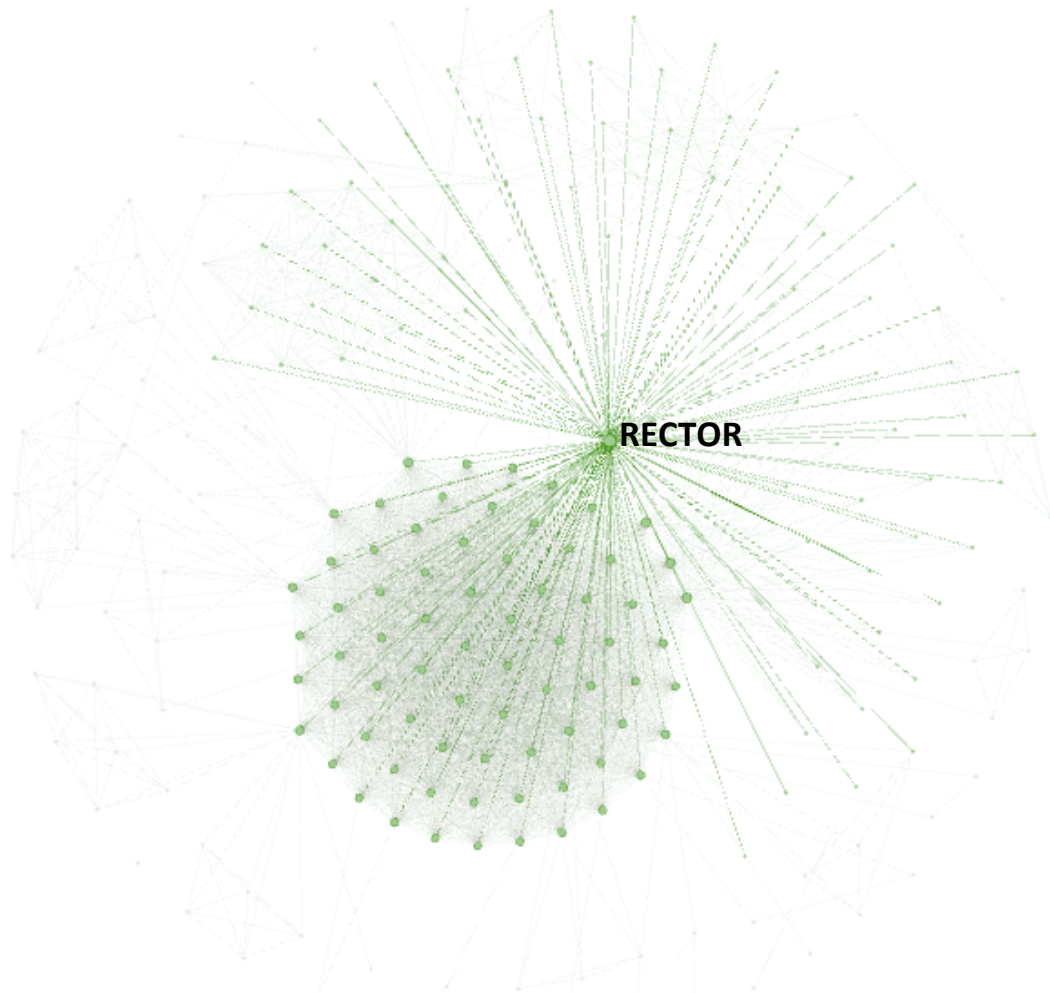
Figure 5.1. The complete network of a parish. Community of mutual help or social support network



Parish No. 6. A town with a population of 500,000 to 1 million people. There are two priests, including the rector (the other priest came less than 6 months prior to the survey). The parish attendance on ordinary Sundays reaches about 50 people, though there are more people on holidays²⁹.

²⁹ We could not get the required information from the parish register so the figures are based on the rector's interview, "...there are around 50 regular parishioners. However, on holidays more people come." (the rector, parish No. 6)

Figure 5.2. The rector's social network. Community of mutual help or social support network



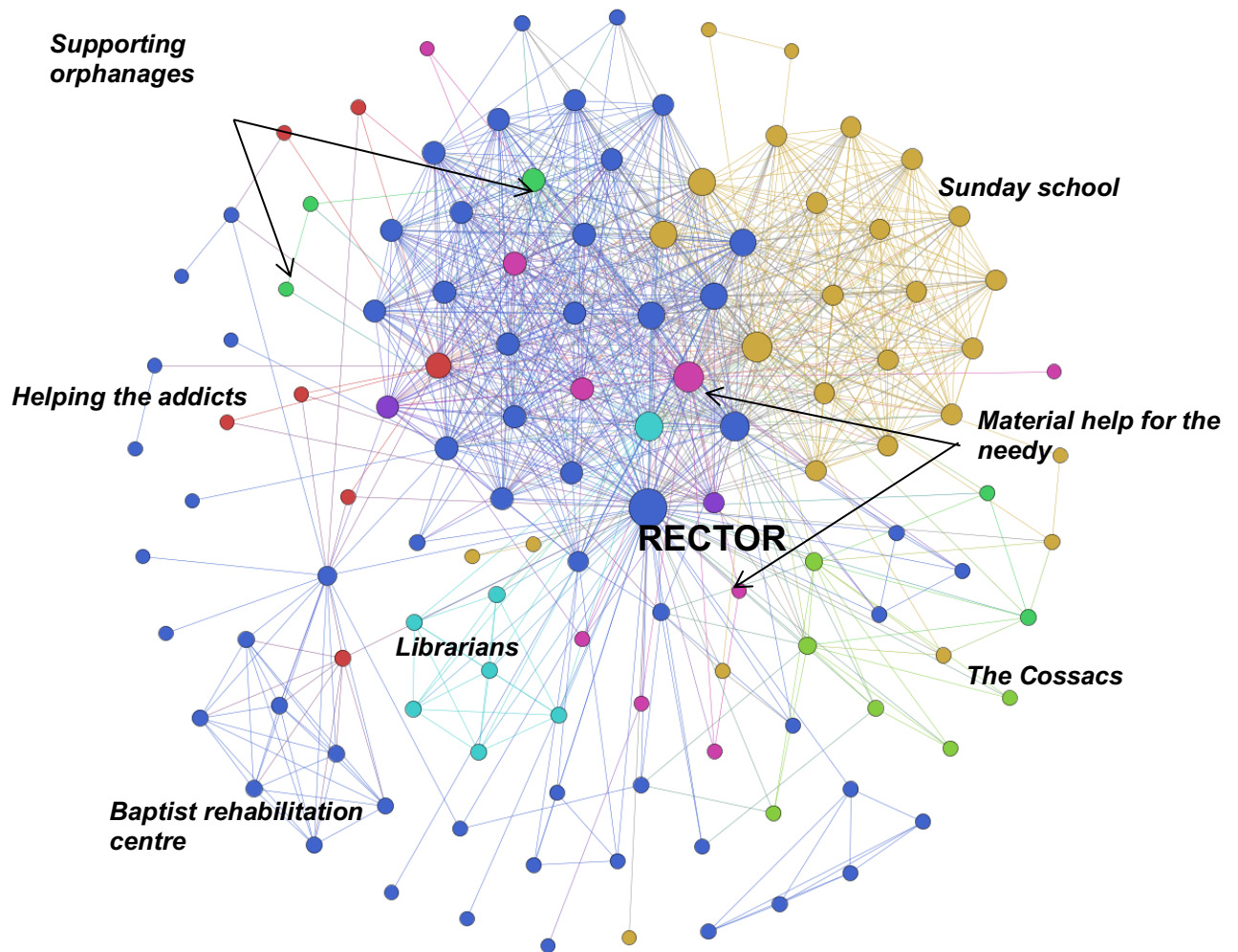
Parish No. 6. A town with a population of 500,000 to 1 million people. There are two priests, including the rector (the other priest came less than 6 months prior to the survey). The parish attendance on ordinary Sundays reaches about 50 people, though there are more people on holidays³⁰.

³⁰ We could not get the required information from the parish register, so the figures are based on the rector's interview, "...there are around 50 regular parishioners. However, on holidays more people come." (the rector, parish No. 6)

5.3.2 Community-based Social Work: Developed Community of Mutual Help and Non-professional Social Work in a Parish

Figure 5.3 depicts the complete network of a parish with the type 4 social work with several fields of work developed apart from mutual help: Sunday school, support for orphanages (by one of the parish families), support for the addicts (in cooperation with the Baptist rehabilitation centre where the priest sends the addicted people due to the lack of resources for treatment), a community of librarians uniting specialists from various towns (started by the parishioners). The priest encourages social work and is involved in it himself (first of all, in the work of the Sunday school and helping the addicts). However, at the time of the research, there were no laypeople to whom one could delegate some of the responsibility for social projects in the parish.

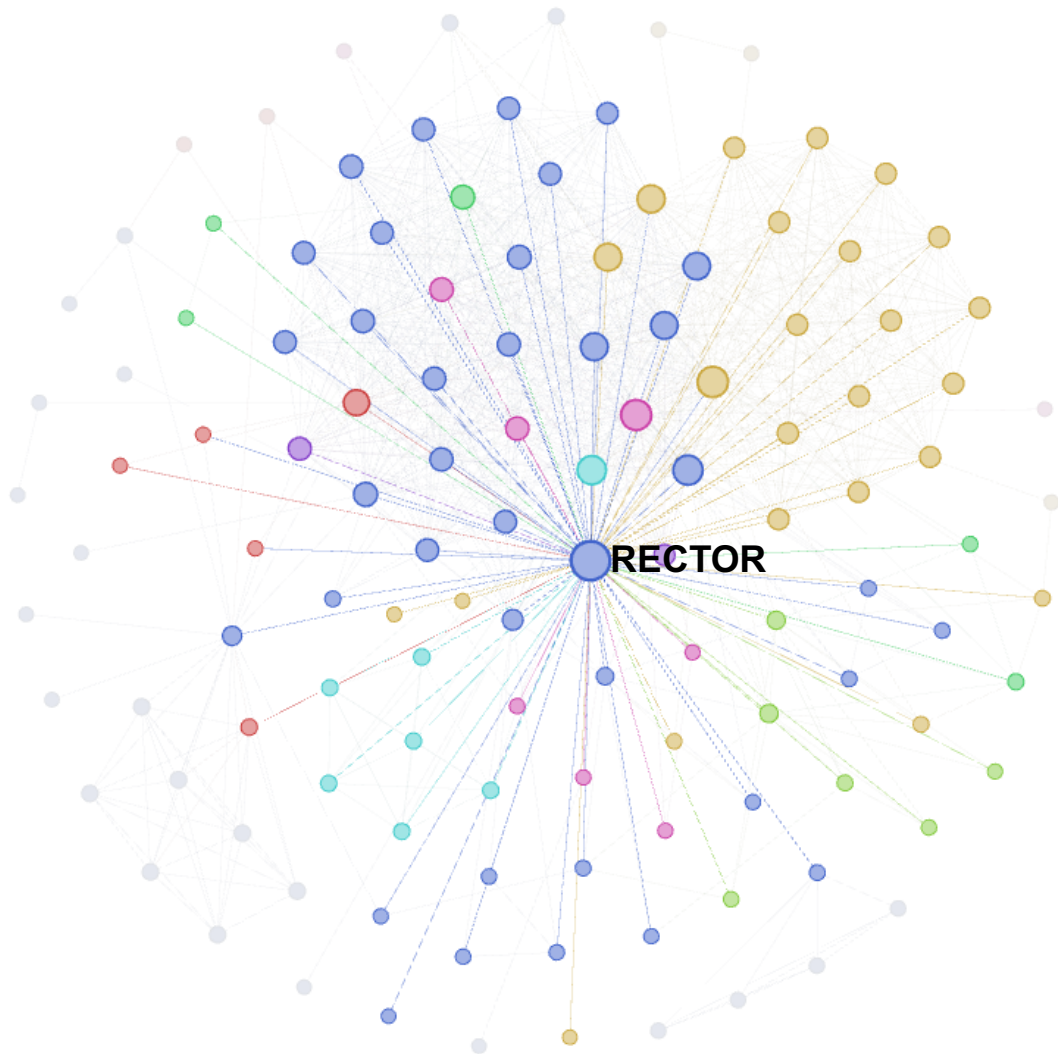
Figure 5.3 The complete network of a parish. Community-based social work (mutual help and non-professional social work)



Parish No. 7. A town with a population of 25 thousand people. There are only two Orthodox churches in the town. The parish has two priests including the rector. According to the register, the attendance on big holidays (Easter or Christmas) is around 400 people, forty people come for Communion. On regular Sundays, the attendance is 50-70 people and 10 people to take Communion.

Figure 5.4 illustrates the social network of the rector from parish No. 7. The majority of the external ties connected to the parish's social work, including its cooperation with organisations and sponsors, come from the rector. The parish has contacts with institutions, other parishes and representatives of various denominations. This extends the parish's social network; however, these ties are maintained by the rector for the most part (Figure 5.4). This parish's social network is highly centralised. There can be two reasons for it: the rector either does not want to delegate responsibility or does not have anyone to delegate it to, and that is why he has to resolve most of the issues himself. Considering the peculiarities of the settlement (low incomes, poverty, high percent of alcohol and drug addicts, mass departure of the youth and the working-age population), one may conclude that most likely the delegating problem in that parish has to do with the lack of people (at the time of the survey) who could take on responsibility rather than the priest's authoritarian policy.

Figure 5.4. The rector's social network. Community-based social work (mutual help and non-professional social work)



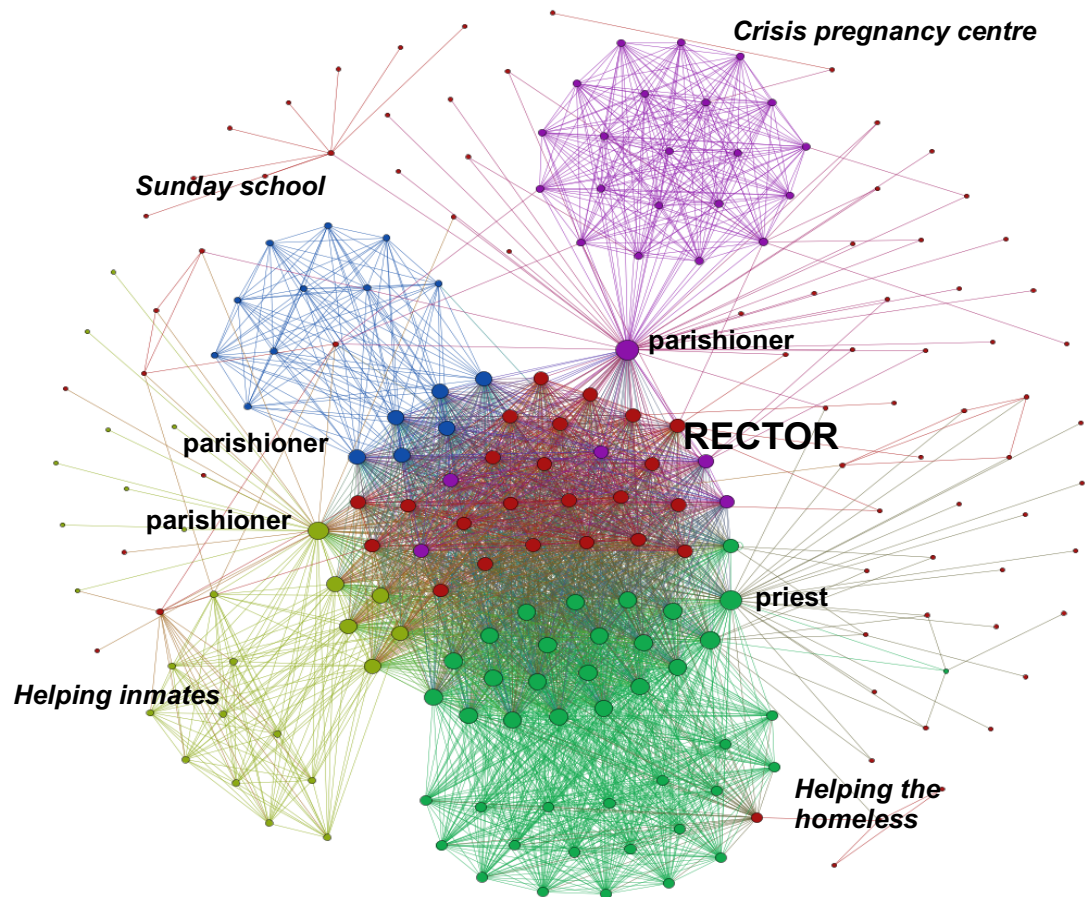
Parish No. 7. A town with a population of 25 thousand people. There are only two Orthodox churches in the town. The parish has two priests including the rector. According to the register, the attendance on big holidays (Easter or Christmas) is around 400 people, forty people come for Communion. On regular Sundays, the attendance is 50-70 people and 10 people to take Communion.

5.3.3 Community-based Work of Professionals and Non-professionals (Mutual Help, Professional and Non-professional Social Work)

Figure 5.5 shows the social network of a parish with well-developed non-liturgical life and social work. That parish has a unified community, groups providing targeted help (giving food to the homeless), involvement in interparish network projects (helping inmates), non-profit organisations that have grown from the parish's initiatives (helping women, incl. pregnant women in crisis situations). Besides various types of social work, there are a Sunday school, a developed community of mutual help between the parishioners and targeted help for individuals in need.

How is this parish's network different from those of the previous ones? Firstly, the rector delegates responsibility: the coordinators of the majority of social projects (or areas of work) are laypeople, the rector does not manage any social projects.

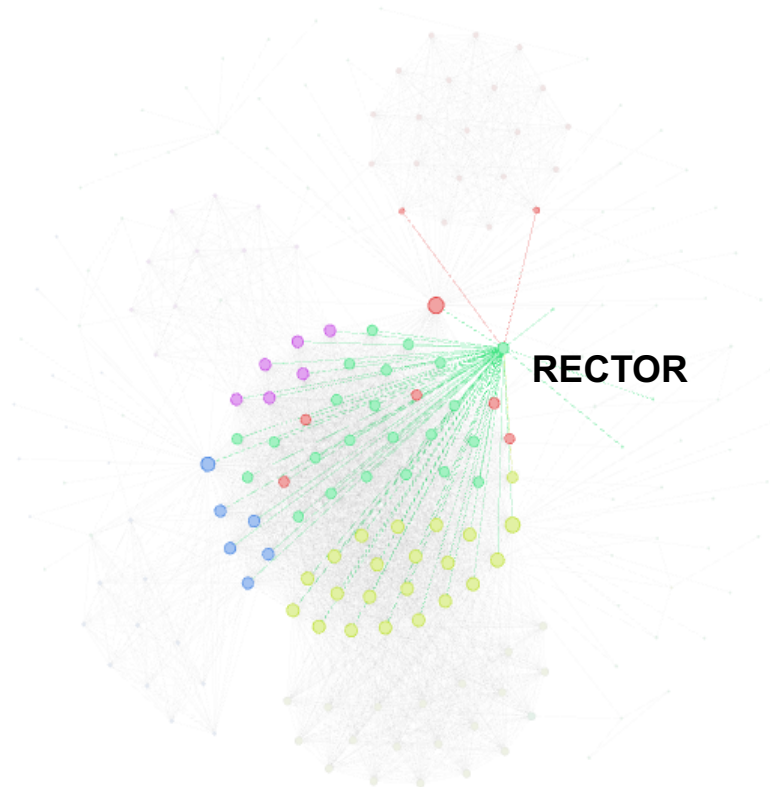
Figure 5.5. The complete network of a parish. Community-based social work of professionals and non-professionals (mutual help, professional and non-professional social work)



Parish No. 2. The church is situated in Moscow (a megopolis with a population of more than 12 million people). The parish has a rector and four priests. According to the register, in 2012 the number of parishioners reached 1187 people taking Communion on big holidays (Easter, two services) and 322 people on regular Sundays (two services).

Figure 5.6 demonstrates the rector's social network. The network includes the core of the parish while the external contacts are made by the participants and coordinators of social work. The rector (as well as the other clergy) is not the only source of external contacts or the key figure (coordinator, administrator) in social work. In this community the rector's priority is working with people, their spiritual education and churching. Social projects are delegated to the other clergy and the laity. Professionals who are the rector's spiritual children are given a platform for their projects in the parish, they can also use the resources of the parish community when necessary.

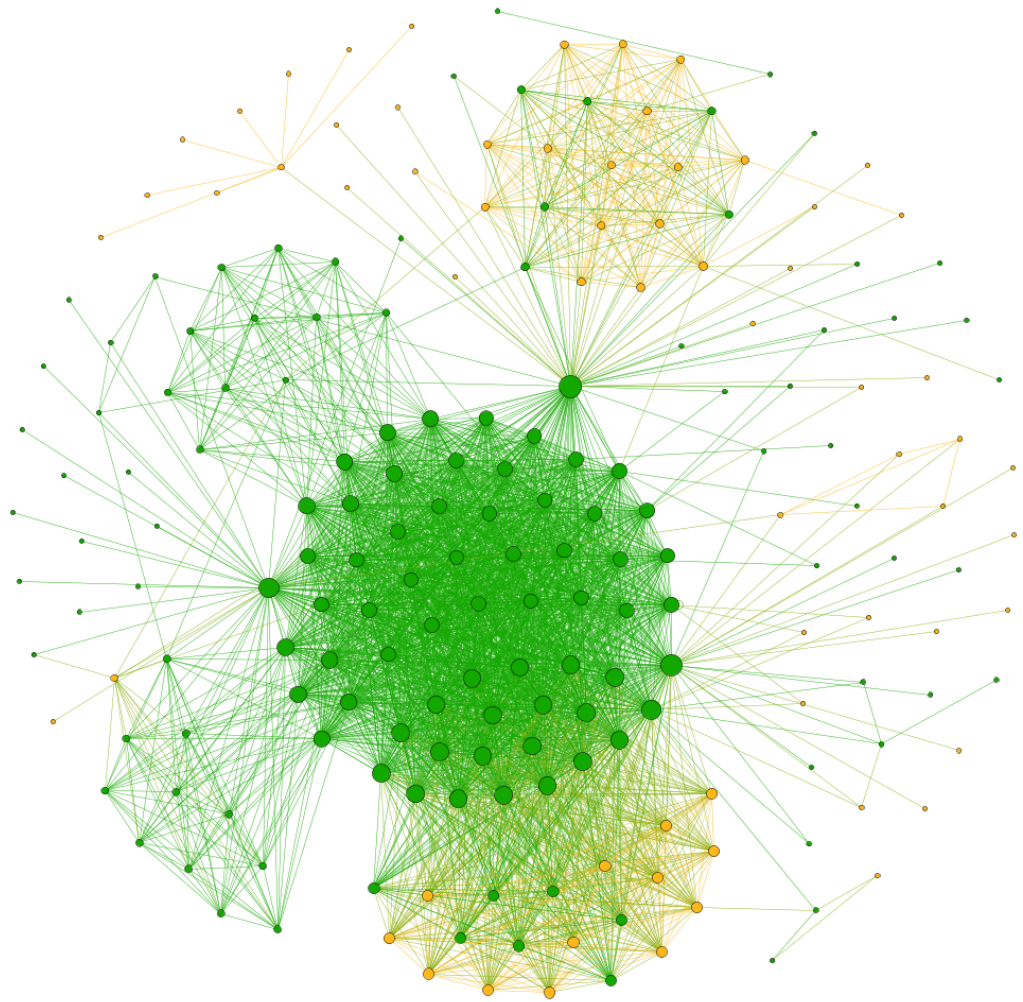
Figure 5.6. The rector's social network. Community-based social work of professionals and non-professionals (mutual help, professional and non-professional social work)



Parish No. 2. The church is situated in Moscow (a megopolis with a population of more than 12 million people). The parish has a rector and four priests. According to the register, in 2012 the number of parishioners reached 1187 people taking Communion on big holidays (Easter, two services) and 322 people on regular Sundays (two services).

This parish has a big network of external contacts as non-parishioners are involved in social work as well. In the case of the crisis pregnancy centre, these are professional psychologists. In the case of helping inmates, these are parishioners from other churches. In the case of helping the homeless, these are volunteers from the circle of the parishioners' friends and acquaintances (there are people that do not participate in religious services, representatives of different denominations) and sponsor organisations. In figure 5.7, parishioners and non-parish participants of social work are marked by green nodes and yellow nodes respectively. Involving non-parishioners occurs in the course of regular work or projects of separate social activist groups by using external contacts of the participants.

Figure 5.7. Involving non-parish participants in parish projects. Community-based social work of professionals and non-professionals (mutual help, professional and non-professional social work)



Parish No. 2. The church is situated in Moscow (a megapolis with a population of more than 12 million people). The parish has a rector and four priests. According to the register, in 2012 the number of parishioners reached 1187 people taking Communion on big holidays (Easter, two services) and 322 people on regular Sundays (two services).

5.4 Conclusions: Consequences of the Rector's Way of Working with People for Community-based Social Work Development

The figures given above illustrate the networks of contacts that emerge in the course of social work in the three parishes with various types of community-based social work. Each illustration demonstrates how a certain rector's way of working with the parishioners and non-parishioners applied in certain conditions leads to the extension and diversification of the contact network of a parish.

The development of social work in form of a support network and a community of mutual help (Figure 5.1) is possible when the rector works with the people (factor 1). In our research a parish of this type has a developed parish community and does not have any social projects that the community can get involved in or initiate. Non-parish contacts are limited mainly to the rector's contacts (with the eparchy, other churches, sponsors) and the parishioners' close circle (relatives, friends). The method of developing a parish network in this case is by working with the people, i.e. strengthening the core of regular parishioners and spreading the ideas of mutual help.

If a rector works with the parishioners (factor 1) and supports social work outside the parish (factor 2), the community-based social work is developed which means that alongside a mutual help community, there is one or more non-liturgical activities. In our example (parish No. 7), there is a parishioner who helps the addicts, cooperates with the Baptist rehabilitation centre and sends them there. There is also a lay family that helps orphanages, sometimes inviting other parishioners to participate in their work. The parish's social network develops mostly due to the rector's efforts and the majority of the external contacts belong to the rector only.

The community-based social work of professionals and non-professionals develops provided that there is a unified parish community (factor 1), the priest is eager to and has the opportunity to delegate social projects to the other clergy and the laity (factor 2), and there are conditions (including the rector's approval) for professionals' work (factor 3). In such a parish, the rector primarily works with the community and their spiritual resources. Social work is fully delegated to the laity and the priests. The social network in such a parish includes a lot of external contacts and is formed due to the participation of sponsor and partner organisations, the parishioners' friends and relatives, contract workers (when necessary) and people from other churches in the parish's initiatives. The developed social work not only strengthens the parish's internal ties but also helps multiply the external ones. At the same time, the parish is embedded in society i.e. in a larger network of contacts which can be used for both parish projects and dealing with the parishioners' issues.

The illustrations of the networks of parishes with community-based social work demonstrate that different types of social work form networks of contacts different in size and structure. Delegating non-liturgical tasks to the laity or the clergy, if possible, may extend the network of contacts even without the rector's participation. In parish No. 2 (Figure 5.5) a social network is bigger, the respondents' contacts are people and organisations representing various professions. Figure 5.6 shows that in parish No. 2 the rector is not involved in social work, in that case the external contacts belong to the laypeople and other priests. However, this does not mean that the rector does not have external contacts outside social work. When it comes to social work, the rector communicates mainly with the parish community while all the other tasks, such as the search for resources, fundraising, establishing partnerships and the implementing of social projects, are delegated to coordinators of the respective activities. Unlike the rector from parish No. 7 (Figures 5.5 and 5.4), the rector of parish No. 2 is not the key person when it comes to communication. In other words, the community members and non-parishioners participating in social work can negotiate with each other directly, without the rector's mediation. The rector's work with the parish, with 'spiritual resources' boosts people's involvement in various types of social work. Many issues are resolved by the parishioners' own effort and social work is not limited by the rector's free time. This type of parish life arrangement has a more pronounced effect for society. Increasing the number of its own ties, the parish also contributes to the increase in weak ties in society in general. We assume that the parishioners' active work 'beyond the church fence' increases not only the social capital of the parish but also that of society in general.

In conclusion, having considered a parish's social work from the point of view of its network of internal and external contacts that develop together with social work we thought of the evaluation methods for the parish social work effects. Evaluating the effects of social work in terms of the number of social help recipients and the number of projects, we suggest that there should be people to take care of and specific areas of help. If no projects and specific areas of help or projects can be singled out nor can the number of people in need who obtained a consultation, material or financial help be counted, then such parishes cannot be evaluated from that perspective. Obviously, not every parish operates on a project basis. In some cases, it may be explained by the external conditions (absence of people and resources for the social services or projects), in others, by the priest's personal vision of social work. However, if a parish has a caring community, the social capital of its members may increase and the community may help resolve some of its members' issues. The elderly people in the community will not need extra support if all the elderly take care of one another, can ask for a doctor's advice in case of health problems, meet up for holiday celebrations and shared pastime be it a simple talk or pilgrimage and meals as in parish No. 6. (Figure 5.1) If a parish develops external

contacts, then parish social work can somehow influence society. Such an approach to the evaluation of parish social work effects requires additional research and theoretical studies that go beyond the scope of this work.

Chapter 6. Main Conclusions and Questions for Future Discussion

6.1 Social Ministry of Parish Communities as a Way for Christian Churches to Be Present in the Modern World

Help cannot be separated from Christian life. Love as manifestation of care for one's neighbour, Caritas is part of the Christian theology's core.

Diakonia or social ministry is one of the most credible ways for Christian churches to be present in the modern world. Ways of displaying Christian love for one's neighbour vary in different national contexts and they transform with the development of society (Luhmann 1991). Those who wanted to represent the Church always painted the two scenes of the Lord's Supper and the washing of the feet. For the Church following in the footsteps of its Master, saw itself as a community that serves, i. e., "washes the feet of the poor" (John 13)³¹ (Zulehner 2018).

At the current stage, besides professional services of social help institutions that were developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, voluntary ministry in Christian parish communities preserves its special meaning (Benedict 2008; Robert Wuthnow 2006). For the Russian Orthodox Church which had lived through an era of forced secularisation and destruction of religious life traditions social ministry is an important way for a non-churched³² person to find oneself in contact with the Orthodox Christianity. While bringing social projects to life the laity and the clergy are in contact with a great number of people aside help recipients, they attract donors and volunteers, negotiate with the employees of partner organisations (hospitals, retirement homes and other institutions), they work with the media, meet the locals in the residential areas where the parish community does social work, etc. Through such direct communication with active members of the parish the people who are not involved in the Church life, come to know the Christian way of life and way of action. The way Orthodox Church Diakonia will be organised and developed can have a serious impact on the attitude towards the Church and the involvement of society in the Church life in Russia.

But one thing must not be forgotten: the commitment to the poor is not primarily to attract people to the Church but to contribute that they can live with dignity. For the Church is an instrument at the service of God's love for every human being. But that is again the reason why Diakonia is an indispensable part of the life of the Church. The

³¹ New American Standard Bible, Source: <http://allbible.info/bible/standart/> [Access date: 08-08-2019]

³² Non-churched Orthodox believer is one who considers oneself Orthodox and does not practice the faith: does not attend church and participate in liturgy or sacraments, does not take part in social life of the parish.

Church thus proves to be a tool (therefore “sacramentum”) of God's love precisely for the poor.³³

6.2 Social Ministry of the Parish Communities — the Principal Way of Development for the Orthodox Church Diakonia in Russia

The social ministry of the Orthodox Church in modern Russia started reestablishing in parish communities and monasteries after an interruption.

6.2.1 The Russian Orthodox Church's Social Ministry: Key Characteristics

Firstly, the parish communities that are not social service organisations and cannot turn into such are the main actor. As there is no institutional support the Orthodox social work is now done as voluntary ministry of parishioners. The professionalisation of the parish's social work may be in conflict with the basic properties of a parish community, thus diminishing the positive effects of the community life.

Secondly, the communities' potential abilities in the domain of social work are very much limited from the two sides: (a) low church attendance and low involvement of the country's population in the parish life, (b) the limited number of priests in Russia and, respectively, the limited amount of time available to them for social work and interaction with parishioners (Емельянов 2019)

Thirdly, these communities are formed and managed by clergy. The profile of an Orthodox community's non-liturgical activity and the launch of any social projects depends on the priest's views on how the life of the parish should be organised.

Orthodox social service organisations exist in Russia but there are quite few of them yet and they are — with some minor exceptions — are very much behind the unreligious non-profit social service organisations that develop fast, use modern tools of promotion and fundraising, attract more money, offer more professional and qualified social services. At the same time, firstly, Orthodox parish communities have their specific functions. Secondly, these church communities exist in all the regions and populated areas of the country. While the trends of the non-profit sector's development in Russia are such that most professional charitable organisations and foundations are situated in big cities. Same can be said of the Orthodox service organisations, the biggest and most efficient of which are based in the capital and the regional centres. *It is because of the network of parish communities The Orthodox Church holds a specific, very important niche in the sphere of social support in Russia.*

³³ See the literature about the theology of liberation (Boff 1988, 2012).

6.2.2 The 2 Ways of Development of Diakonia of the Russian Orthodox Church

Further development of the *Orthodox* Church charity and social ministry in Russia can go the following two directions: (1) developing social work institutions, (2) developing the potential of parish communities — social support networks that cultivate relationships of mutual help, non-specialised practices and in some cases — professional parish-based social help services.

The conditions of development of faith-based institutions of help in Russia is a question for a separate research, it's outside this dissertation. However, one can easily assume that this process would require a long time, the government's support, additional sources of funding as well as — likely — a transformation of public sentiment towards Church organisations. This trajectory is not obvious and it depends on many conditions.

As for developing the potential of parish communities, it is the thing that the Orthodox church and the believers themselves can work with here and now regardless of the government's support social policies.

Even if the ROC goes by the way of developing the Church institutions of professional help, the importance of the communities cannot be underestimated. Firstly, the parishes' potential for uniting the community makes them an important point in modern cities: a Christian community hospitable to outsiders allows to see the community's needs, cross the borders of social inequality, unite dissociated people for a common action. Secondly, communities carry out an important task of religion: to teach trust and remind the people that very many difficulties in life from losing a job or a home to losing one's family or a loved one lead to deplorable consequences much more often in case of social isolation (Benedict 2008, 222–24). The community forms an atmosphere of trust in which asking for, getting and offering help becomes the norm (Юдин and Орешина 2016). Thus, communities bring to life the gift exchange principle initiated by the primary gift of life from God (Benedict 2008, 222). At the basis of the gift exchange relationships lies the *pay it forward* principle i. e. instead of the recipient—provider relationship characteristic for the professional services sector, the community forms relationships of mutual support where at different times everyone can be either a recipient or a provider of help. Thirdly, a parish priest (for instance, a priest in an Orthodox Church community) has a unique advantage of starting these gift exchange relationships involving various circles of people in them. *"The priest's advantage is constituted in the fact that originally they are in the position of a representative of the God and then both getting and giving a gift do not create any personal liabilities... As a matter of fact, the priest's border position that combines the personal and impersonal components does not depend on whether their partner in the communication believes in God. The impersonal component in one's relationship with the priest is dictated by the fact that it is a social role recognised by non-believers, too. That is why one does not have to join their faith to be involved in a*

gift exchange relationship with them. That is why the gift exchange systems initiated by a priest often include non-religious members, too, and also define the behaviour outside the domain of the sacred. The gift exchange mechanism, started by a priest, can produce solidarity both in sacred and profane situations: the impact of the relationships started by the priest can spread well outside the community limits"(Емельянов and Юдин 2018).

6.3 Potential of the ROC Parish Communities in the Domain of Social Ministry: Quantitative Assessments

In November 2017 there were 20,698 ROC parishes and monasteries on the territory of the Russian Federation. About 11 percent of the parishes reported one or more social projects. This indicator only includes the parishes whose social activity is structured (or can be defined as such): they report concrete problematic areas to focus on and specific target groups for whom a support centre or group are organised within a parish. However, one should remember that a parish can be called an organisation from the legal point of view only. A parish community is, in fact, a group of believers in which the first priority is mutual help and support as well as informal acts of mercy while organised programmes and support services are not seen as such. The number of structured and formalised areas for social work and social organisations is one of the indicators of the Church social activity, though not the only one. Today, mutual help practices and the creation of support networks within a community cannot be assessed and thus mentioned in a parish's reports on social work. Which means that the 11 percent gives only a partial image of what church social work exactly is. The number of communities with well-developed networks of mutual help may be much higher.

Anyway, more than 20,000 parishes in all regions and all types of residential areas are the great potential which the Church could use to improve the social situation at the local level. Regardless of how much bigger the number of the Church's professionally organised structured social projects will be, the increase of the number of parishes itself will have positive consequences for society and for the Church. In the sociological part of the research a parish with a well-developed mutual help community was named *a parish with community-based social work*.

6.4 Parish with Community-based Social Work: Social Effects and Conditions of Development

6.4.1 Classification of Parishes in Respect to Social Work (Diakonia) Components

The results of the sociological research let us distinguish three main components (or levels) of parish social work. Depending on presence or absence of these components, parishes are classified in the following way.

Table 6.1 Classification of Parishes in Respect to Social Work (Diakonia) Components

	Parish life components	Parish as liturgical community, no Diakonia	Parish with autonomous social work*	Parish with community-based social work**
DIAKONIA	1. Community of mutual help			+
	2. Informal help; non-professional social work		+	+
	3. Professional social work; social services and programmes		+	+
	LITURGY, SACRAMENTS	+	+	+

* In the parishes with autonomous social work there is no social life and community of mutual help, professionals or non-professionals perform social projects and help services for the needy as contract workers (conditions of such a “contract” may vary and depend on relationship between the social worker and the rector). In such a parish either component 2 or 3 or both are present.

** Professional social services and projects in these parishes are sometimes performed autonomously from the community which means that community members may not participate in such services or projects of the professionals. However, we suggest considering this way of parish life organisation as a “parish with community-based social work” as far as social outcomes of such a parish are the same as when projects and services are embedded in a parish community and imply parish members involvement.

Community-based social work includes projects and areas of activities that are based on the informal communication between the parishioners on a layperson’s or the priest’s initiative. We consider *community-based social work to be an optimal development option for parish social work* as it suggests the best way to fulfil the Christian commandments with the conditions and opportunities that a parish can count on. Professional social services or informal help that are *autonomous from the community life* are a form of social ministry that is only possible if certain conditions and resources are available. However, to create a community of mutual help, a parish requires such an environment that would encourage people to know each other and to communicate.

6.4.2 The Effects of Community-based Social Work

Creating social support networks and generating bonding social capital

Participating in the community’s life allows to answer the parishioners’ need for emotional support and includes them in chains of mutual help. Knowing each other’s needs and abilities in the atmosphere of trust and friendliness allows one to offer, ask for and accept help. When a parish unites people in similar life situations (e. g. families with

many children or parents of children with special needs; retired people, etc.) it allows them to support each other in dealing with everyday problems. Moreover, a parish community creates conditions for contacts not only within homogeneous groups but also between people of very different education, professions, incomes, abilities and needs. A priest often serves as a bridge between people whose contact would have been problematic outside the parish. Or, in some cases, a parishioner may serve as a 'communicator', getting to know people and then presenting them to each other. Including people with different professional and life experience and different abilities is an important factor in the development of a parish's social work. This can be done according to the following two scenarios. The first one is using the skills, the experience and the knowledge of a specialist to diversify the non-liturgical parish life and its social ministry. Often, the presence of a teacher who had left their main job in the community leads to the formation of learning groups and helps the development of Sunday school. When a person experienced in sports or tourism appears in the parish this creates possibilities for organising summer camps and camping trips, etc. Such people are usually integrated into the community. The second scenario is supporting the community's work using the resources of people on the outside who are willing and able to help the parish. It is often done through the priest: the donor is not necessarily integrated in the community's social life but thanks to the relationship of trust between them and the priest they know about the parish's needs and they support those in need or the community's social projects.

Informal help for the ones who need it and professional social projects

The community members' spiritual upbringing on the one hand and the opportunities for self-organisation and common actions on the other hand become good grounds for uniting the actions of the laity and the clergy both in answering the community's social demands and taking their own proactive actions to tackle the burning (according to parishioners and the clergy) social issues.

A parish often gets individual requests, in such cases both priests and the laity should decide how to react to such requests: whom should they help and who would do that? Starting a group for providing a certain type of services or help to a category of people in need (e. g. the homeless, low income families, the elderly, etc.) could be conditioned by the social situation in the neighbourhood or connected to the desire of the parishioners for putting the principles of the Christian ministry into practice. This ministry can be organised in various ways: in some cases the parish has a person or a group of people specialising in one area of help (e.g. visiting the elderly to help around the house or distributing free hot meals), in others the same group of people share all the social activities in the parish (organising repositories for collection and distribution of non-monetary donations (clothes, medicaments, etc.), helping low income families,

organising the leisure of the children from big families as well as summer camps for the youth, etc.). In some communities besides non-specialised voluntary help they manage to start professional social service organisation for a certain category of people in need: an orphanage, a centre for pregnant women in crisis, a rehabilitation centre for the addicted, etc. Such institutions are beyond the spectrum of abilities of ordinary parish volunteers as they require the involvement of specialists, employees working constantly, special infrastructure and separate resources respectively. Parishioners can participate in such social work as volunteers, however, main work should be done by professionals working full-time. As a rule, an ordinary parish does not have such abilities. So it's natural that specialised professional help or social service organisations in parishes are created much more rarely and, usually, in cooperation with other organisations.

We believe that mutual help in a community and parishioners' informal help are the most productive forms of social ministry suitable for the nature of the community life. Professional social projects and social service organisations should be considered more as a special case than as a rule of parish practice.

Developing partnership networks and generating bridging social capital

Communities do not act autonomously: in the course of social activities they make contacts with other organisations — state institutions, commercial firms, non-profit social service organisations, local authorities, the media as well as other parishes of the Orthodox Church and representatives of other traditional religious denominations. Through social activities a parish becomes embedded in the local community and, as other organisations do, it makes its input to the development of partnership among the state, economy and non-profit sector of the society in order to deal with social problems on the territory.

6.4.3 Conditions for the Development of Community-based Social Work of a Parish

In the field research three key factors that lead to the development of community-based types of social work were highlighted.

(1) The rector works with the people: assembles, takes care of them, supports them, works on “spiritual resources”, i.e., on their spiritual education and churching.

(2) The rector encourages non-liturgical activities and delegates responsibility to the laypeople.

(3) The rector works with professionals: gives them spiritual guidance, invites them to work in the parish, and supports their social initiatives and projects, ensures a balanced coexistence of the community and the professional.

The first factor – a rector’s work with the people – is the minimal condition to form a parish community with the developed informal communication, parishioners’ common work and pastime practices. When a rector works on the parishioners’ spiritual education, advises them or even asks them to show concern for a neighbour, the relationship of support and mutual help get formed in the parish. Maintaining for a long time a stable community whose members can get assistance and provide help to a neighbour is an important effect of parish social work, no matter if the community provides help services or not. It becomes a social support network for its own parishioners. Moreover, expressing the idea of how important it is to be attentive to other people’s needs in sermons and informal conversations does not only help to develop community mutual help but also stimulates the parishioners to act outside the parish gates. It can be supporting friends and relatives, helping random strangers as the parishioners’ circle of contacts is not limited by the parish community. Thus, the effect of communities of mutual help has a broader scope than the parishioners’ well-being.

If a rector not only works with the people but also encourages and supports non-liturgical activities (the second factor), delegates responsibility for them to the laity or the other clergy, some specialised types of social work supported and implemented by the parish members can appear in the parish. It may be both individual and group activities.

When a rector works with professionals (who usually but not necessarily are his spiritual children), professional non-liturgical projects can appear in the parish (the third factor).

Table 6.2 Three Types of Community-based Social Work and Factors of Their Development

Type of community-based social work and its effects:	Factors of the development of this type of social work
<p>Community of mutual help or social support network. A parish:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generates bonding social capital; • Promotes the Christian idea of the importance of mutual help and encourages helping attitude; • Satisfies significant needs in emotional support. 	Factor 1
<p>Community-based social work; there is mutual help and non-professional social work (informal help) in a parish. A parish:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides informal non-professional help to the needy; • Contributes to the development of partnership networks; • Generates bridging and bonding social capital. 	Factor 1 + Factor 2
<p>Community-based work of professionals and non-professionals; there is mutual help, non-professional and professional social work in a parish. A parish:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides professional social services, creates social service organisations; • Develops new approaches to the work with the needy and new solutions of social problems; • Develops partnership networks. Generates bridging and bonding social capital. 	Factor 1 + Factor 2 + Factor 3

6.5 Problems the Orthodox Church Has to Solve in Order for the Community-based Social Work to Develop in Parishes

6.5.1 “Priest-Centredness” of a Parish Community and its Consequences

The first problem in the development of the community-based social work is the so-called priest-centredness of a parish community when any activity of the parish depends on the priest’s blessing and on whether they have time for this activity.

This problem has several aspects:

(1) the number of priests in our country is limited as is the resource (time) of the priests for working with people, educating parishioners and keeping the level of the spiritual life (Емельянов 2017);

(2) the idea of the development of the community's social work is not always supported by the clergy:

(2.1) not all parish priests support the idea of developing the community's social work, they believe that church's primary tasks are praying and liturgical practices;

(2.2) in some eparchies bishops do not support social work, this may limit the activity of some rectors and parish priests.

So the system for training parish priests should include educational blocks to help young priests form communities and direct priests (or certain groups) towards developing parish social ministry. These could be training courses (including discussions of international experience of the faith-based social ministry, the results of sociological and religious studies in Russia and abroad, etc.) and other formats, e. g. practicing in a socially developed parish of an eparchy, consulting with experienced priests and parish social workers, etc.

Theologically speaking, social ministry is the responsibility of every Christian, no matter if it is a priest or a layperson. To contribute something to the life of the community and to help the needy is an original task of laypeople in the Church. From this point of view, Diakonia as individual acts of mercy is independent of priests; priests should only remind laypeople about their original tasks.

However, when we discuss parish community as a social actor, the specifics of the ROC parish life organisation should be taken into account. Currently the role of the laypeople (their rights and responsibilities) in an Orthodox parish is not specified. Lay initiative and action in parish social life in general and social ministry in particular are frequently limited by priests. That is why, for parish social work development both aspects are important:

(1) Religious upbringing of the laypeople; reminding about the Christian service for the poor while preaching and in everyday communication;

(2) Creating conditions in Orthodox parishes for more intensive involvement of the laity into the social work initiating and decision-making concerning parish social life; delegating responsibility of decision-making, initiating and performing social work within the parishes to the laity. This second aspect requires changes in the training /education of priests, which are described above.

The Church's second task is connected to this.

6.5.2 Development of the Theology of Parish Social Ministry

It is necessary to develop the theology of parish social ministry as well as the discussion about the social ministry of the Orthodox Church in modern conditions in which experts from other fields could take part (including professionals in the field of non-religious charity, professional social workers, psychologists, medical workers, researchers).

Orthodox Church should find ways to develop the strengths of a parish community not impose on the community forms of organisation the ways of managing activities and approaches to assessing its results that are uncharacteristic to it. To solve this problem up-to-date research of a parish's structure and its social role should be used.

Modern approaches to managing a non-profit organisation, techniques of fundraising or working with volunteers could be useful to the community and be adapted to the needs of the parish if using them would not be ruining the harmony of relationships in the community. The parish community itself should not be reduced to a charity foundation, social service organisation or another form; religious dimension of church community life should not be taken off the table when discussing its social practices. This religious dimension determines forms of social relationships and ways of acting specific to the community. That is why the impulses and vectors for the development of parish life should be set by theology.

The international experience of developing faith-based social help also shows that the productive use of the faith-based resource in the modern world is impossible without theology. The Catholic and Evangelical Churches having succeeded in developing social help institutions in Europe are now actively discussing the importance of 'returning' religious dimension to the institutions of partnership between church and state. Considering that the idea of Christian charity is expressed through an organised professional system of help and individual acts of charity were substituted by institutions formed by the cooperation of Churches and the state (Bräcker et al. 2014), the question of preserving the Christian character of caring about the poor and the needy and the role of the theologians in managing social help organisations has become problematic (Hofmann et al. 2018). The notions themselves of charity, of alms and that of love for one's neighbour were washed out of the Diakonia discourse during the 20th century. Gradually, they were replaced by the notions of solidarity and justice to which the notion of charity is becoming more and more connected (Collinet 2014). A church organisation of social help is bound to exist in the framework of several logics: theological, economic and professional (that of professional medical workers, teachers and psychologists (Habenicht 2018, 58–61).

Having gotten into the world of professional standards, theologians and priests were not sure that their ways of work and their input in helping in the form of pastoral ministry,

pastoral care could be needed and sought after (Dargel 2018, 27–28). One of the essential questions for Diakonia in Germany today is how to return theology to the enterprise of social ministry, how to establish its role and its functions in organising help efficiently (Hofmann et al. 2018). Another example is the USA where congregations historically had a special position in the welfare providing not only programmes for helping certain vulnerable categories of people but also forming the so called invisible safety net. In the late 20th century, as the result of George Bush’s reforms in order to reinforce the support of the congregational social work, researchers, religious leaders and politicians were to face a question: how state interventions impact the Christian part of help and congregational life? How does the requirement to follow the instructions of the state agencies providing finance transform congregations? If social service organisation replaces the community, what impact will this make on the life of society (Chaves 1999).

Orthodox Church is now at the beginning of the development of its social ministry. The theology of the church social work is necessary to set the vectors of development for this activity and for the church social workers and members of communities not to be caught in the trap of professional standards (necessary in caring professions but probably superfluous for the community voluntary ministry), institutional requirements (similar to strict forms of paperwork on government grants) or manager-like approaches to work.

6.6. Principles of the Development of a Parish with Community-based Social Work. Final Suggestions

Sociological categories are used in the main part of the dissertation to describe a parish community. From the sociological point of view a community is considered fruitful when it generates bridging and bonding social capital, forms support networks, starts gift exchange relationships (in the parish and in the neighbourhood community). And all these social effects of a parish community depend on the ‘degree of spirituality’ that the priest maintains in their parish through sermon, sacraments as well in organising their communication with the parishioners and the people beyond church fence. This way of organising relationships with people, available not only to the priest but also, to a certain degree, to the laity, cannot be operationalised in sociological categories. Or it can but only partially as it has the ‘religious dimension’ which can only be indicated in a sociological research but cannot be tackled with sociological tools.

From the theological perspective one can suggest the following principles of forming a parish with community-based social work.

Preaching: the sermon is meant to draw people’s attention to each other — to one’s neighbours and strangers, to see the others’ joys and sorrows — and not to remain indifferent. A priest who is involved in social ministry stays a priest outside the church, too, performing pastoral care in the context of their daily actions and interactions. Thus

the Christian way of life and way of action opens to very different people. A similar mission can be performed by all the members of a parish community through daily action. “12 So when he had washed their feet, and taken his garments, and sat down again, he said unto them, Know ye what I have done to you? 13 Ye call me, Teacher, and, Lord: and ye say well; for so I am. If I then, the Lord and the Teacher, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. 15 For I have given you an example, that ye also should do as I have done to you. 16 Verily, verily, I say unto you, a servant is not greater than his lord; neither one that is sent greater than he that sent him. 17 If ye know these things, blessed are ye if ye do them”. (John 13 12-17)³⁴

The episode with the washing of the feet is a reminder about the example given by Jesus to the disciples for them to act in the same way and served their neighbour.

Fraternity: creating family-like relationships of trust in a community; normalising such problematic matters for a modern person as asking for, offering or accepting help (Godbout and Caille 1998). “And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul: and not one (of them) said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common”. (Act 4:32)³⁵ What is natural for a family or fraternity can become natural for the parish.

Hospitality: being hospitable (to strangers as well), teaching new members of the community this hospitality, coming to the segments of society where people need hospitality most — to big city ghettos, neglected rural areas and other places with high levels of atomisation and dissociation, manifestation of social inequality and helplessness in the face of social problems. “Being hospitable to strangers” is not only about the attitude towards the poor and vulnerable but also about the openness to strangers as people who think differently (with different cultural, social, economic backgrounds). “And Jesus answering said unto them, They that are in health have no need of a physician; but they that are sick.” (Luke 5:31)³⁶. Not only the highly religious people (core believers) need church but also those who stay on the periphery of religious life.

Such a parish wants all of its believers to embody in their daily actions and interactions the attitude towards the world that is characteristic to this very community. An attitude that is expressed through hospitality to strangers, in strengthening family binds with one’s

³⁴ New American Standard Bible, Source: <http://allbible.info/bible/standart/> [Access date: 08-08-2019]

³⁵ New American Standard Bible, Source: <http://allbible.info/bible/standart/> [Access date: 08-08-2019]

³⁶ New American Standard Bible, Source: <http://allbible.info/bible/standart/> [Access date: 08-08-2019]

neighbours, in the desire to maintain the 'degree of spirituality' in all the relationships inside and outside the church.

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Zusammenfassung

Die Diakonie bzw. das soziale Engagement ist ein wichtiger Aspekt der Präsenz der Christlichen Kirchen in der modernen Welt. Die gegenwärtige Entwicklung der Diakonie stellt die Kirchen und die Forscher vor eine Reihe von Fragen. Können nicht professionelle und nicht organisierte Hilfsdienste Akzeptanz in den modernen Gesellschaften finden? Wie lassen sich ihre Effekte messen? Wie könnte man in der Welt der Berufsstandards und Wirtschaftlichkeitskriterien den christlichen Charakter der Hilfe erhalten? Welche Formen der Hilfe sind unter welchen Umständen produktiv?

In der Dissertation werden diese Themen am Beispiel des sozialen Engagements der Russischen Orthodoxen Kirche im zeitgenössischen Russland behandelt. *Im Mittelpunkt steht die Frage danach, auf welchen Prinzipien das soziale Engagement der Russischen Orthodoxen Kirche heute basiert.*

Unsere Studie zeigt, dass die Orthodoxe Kirche dank des Netzes ihrer Gemeinden, die in allen Regionen Russlands und in allen Stadt- und Siedlungstypen präsent sind, eine spezifische und wichtige Rolle im Bereich der sozialen Hilfe spielt. 2018 wurden in der Russischen Föderation über 20.000 Kirchengemeinden und Klöster gezählt.

Um die zentrale Frage der Dissertation zu beantworten, entwickelte die Verfasserin ein analytisches Modell zur Einschätzung der Sozialarbeit in Kirchengemeinden. Der Inhalt und die Effekte der Sozialarbeit werden auf drei Ebenen betrachtet: gegenseitige Hilfe in der Gemeinde; nichtprofessionelle Sozialarbeit; professionelle soziale Projekte und Dienstleistungen. Diese drei Komponenten der Sozialarbeit können in einer Gemeinde gleichzeitig oder in verschiedenen Kombinationen zu finden sein. Dieser Ansatz bei der Betrachtung des sozialen Engagements der Kirchengemeinde berücksichtigt die Effekte des Gemeindelebens (Herausbildung von Hilfs- und Beistandsnetzwerken sowie von Geschenkaustauschketten - "giftexchange") und lässt vermeiden, dass die Kirchengemeinde auf eine Sozialhilfeeinrichtung reduziert wird.

Außerdem wird dieses Modell an den Daten empirischer soziologischer Studien überprüft. Der Zweck des soziologischen Teils der Dissertation besteht darin, (1) die Typen der sozialen Arbeit in der Kirchengemeinde, die für die Kirche und die ganze Gesellschaft von Nutzen sind, festzustellen und zu beschreiben und (2) die Faktoren zu ermitteln, die zur Weiterentwicklung des sozialen Engagements in den orthodoxen Kirchengemeinden beitragen können.

Die Verfasserin stellt fest, dass die gemeindliche Sozialarbeit die aussichtsreichste Entwicklungsrichtung des sozialen Engagements ist. Man kann von gemeindlicher Sozialarbeit sprechen, wenn in einer Kirchengemeinde eine Gemeinschaft gegenseitiger Hilfe besteht (caring community, wie R. Wuthnow sie nennt). Eine Gemeinschaft

gegenseitiger Hilfe entsteht, wenn in einer Kirchengemeinde Bedingungen für Bekanntschaft und informelle Kommunikation bestehen, wenn durch Predigt und Gespräch die Wichtigkeit der Hilfe für die Nächsten und Bedürftigen nahegebracht wird; wenn vertrauensvolle und feste Beziehungen aufgebaut werden, in deren Kontext das Bitten um Hilfe und Hilfsangebote als Norm akzeptiert werden. Dem gegenseitigen Beistand liegt das Prinzip der Reziprozität zu Grunde, wobei zwischen den Gebern und Empfängern der Hilfe keine Trennlinie gezogen wird. Sowohl nicht professionelle Sozialarbeit als auch professionelle Dienstleistungen und Projekte können von der Gemeinde veranlasst werden oder auf Initiative des Priesters oder eines Laien sich aus der informellen Kommunikation herauskristallisieren. Ihre Existenz ist jedoch keine obligatorische Voraussetzung, um die Kirchengemeinde als „produktiv“ zu bezeichnen.

Die gemeindliche Sozialarbeit entspricht den Möglichkeiten, über die die Kirchengemeinden verfügen, um die christlichen Gebote zu verwirklichen, während die professionellen sozialen Dienstleistungen und Projekte spezielle Bedingungen bzw. Ressourcen benötigen und in der gemeindlichen Praxis eher eine Ausnahme darstellen.

Von grundlegender Bedeutung für die Entwicklung der gemeindlichen Sozialarbeit ist die Art und Weise, wie der Gemeindevorsteher innerhalb und außerhalb der Kirchenmauern mit den Menschen umgeht. Spezielle Kapitel der Dissertation gelten den Methoden der Kommunikation des Priesters mit der Gemeinde.

Das Potential der Kirchengemeinden als Netzwerke für gegenseitige Hilfe ist das Feld, auf dem die Orthodoxe Kirche und die Gläubigen hier und heute aktiv sein können, unabhängig von der Sozialpolitik des Staates und von der auswärtigen Hilfe. Die Weiterentwicklung des sozialen Engagements der Kirche auf dem Weg der gemeindlichen Sozialarbeit macht einige Maßnahmen von Seiten der Russischen Orthodoxen Kirche notwendig, darunter eine Erneuerung des Priesterausbildungssystems, die Schaffung von Bedingungen für eine aktivere Einbeziehung der Laien in die Entscheidungsfindung zur Weiterentwicklung des Gemeindelebens außerhalb der Gottesdienste, eine theologische Begründung des gemeindlichen Sozialengagements, die Suche nach neuen Formen der Predigt, um die Laien immer wieder daran zu erinnern, dass die Nächstenhilfe eine der Hauptaufgaben eines jeden Christen ist.

Der Dissertation liegen die Ergebnisse von Feldstudien zu Grunde. Es waren 154 Tiefeninterviews mit Laien und Priestern von 15 Kirchengemeinden in 11 Regionen der Russischen Föderation sowie eine Umfrage von Teilnehmern an einem Fernlehrgang für kirchliche Sozialarbeit (2206 Befragte). In der Dissertation werden zwei unterschiedliche Methoden benutzt: die Methode der quantitativen und qualitativen Analyse der sozialen Daten und die Methode der Analyse der Sozialnetzwerke (social network analysis -

SNA). Mit Hilfe der SNA-Methode lassen sich die kompletten Netzwerke (complete networks) von Kirchengemeinden mit unterschiedlichen Typen der Sozialarbeit visualisieren. Den Graphiken ist abzulesen, wie sich die Sozialnetzwerke der Gemeinden voneinander unterscheiden in Abhängigkeit davon, zu welchen Methoden der Gemeindevorsteher greift, um das nichtliturgische Leben der Kirchengemeinde zu lenken.

Appendix 1. Parishes Participating in the Research “Social work organization on the Russian Orthodox Church parishes in the first half of XXI. Sociological Analysis” : Key Characteristics

Parish number	Geography ³⁷	Type of settlement (number of population)	Number of priests in the parish (rector included)	Position of the rector in the eparchy	Size of a parish: number of people taking communion ... ³⁸		Year when the church was opened	Year of the interview	Number of interviews in the parish	Number of pages (interview transcripts)
					...taking communion on Easter	... taking communion on regular Sunday ³⁹				
1	Moscow oblast	Big and large rural villages (1,001 – 10,000)	4	Bishop's secretary	About 1000	250-300	Wasn't closed in Soviet period	2010-2012	13	201

³⁷ Oblast, krai - an administrative unit or region in Russia and the former Soviet Union, and in some constituent republics of the former Soviet Union. <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/oblast>

³⁸ Data are obtained from the parish register. If the parish register was not available, or the data were absent, the data from the rector's interview are used (rector's evaluation of the number of people).

³⁹ The Sunday on the 23rd week after Pentecost was taken for the “regular Sunday”. It is a floating date, usually – it is October. This date was chosen due to the following reasons: people usually return back home from their vacations, there're no big feasts and no fast in this period of time. So, one can expect, that mostly regular (core) parishioners shall attend church on Sundays in this period.

2	Moscow	More than 10,000,000	5		1187	322	1996	2010-2012	11	152
3	Kaluga oblast	Big cities (100,001 – 250,000)	2	blagochinny ⁴⁰	100	55	1994	2012	15	159
4	Moscow oblast	Small towns (10,001 – 50,000)	3	blagochinny	30	15	1989	2010-2012	2	51
5	Samara oblast	Megapolises (more than 1,000,000)	4	bishop	150-200	110	Wasn't closed in Soviet period	2012	7	40
6	Yaroslavl oblast	Major cities (500,000 – 1,000,000)	2		More than 50 ⁴¹	50 ⁴²	2006	2012	12	111
7	Rostov oblast	Small towns (10,001 – 50,000)	2		40 ⁴³	about 10	1992	2013	10	83
8	Irkutsk oblast	Major cities (500,000 – 1,000,000)	3		90	90	2000	2013	12	156
9	Altai krai	Big cities (100,001 – 250,000)	2		30	15-30	2001	2013	15	187
10	Khabarovsk krai	Major cities (500,000 – 1,000,000)	6	blagochinny	4000	400-500	2003	2013	7	52

⁴⁰ Blagochinnyy – is the head of a blagochinie; blagochinie – a group of parishes within one eparchy (diocese), united on the territorial basis.

⁴¹ Source: the Rector's interview.

⁴² Source: the Rector's interview.

⁴³ Number of people taking communion on Palm Sunday.

11	Tyumen oblast	Major cities (500,000 – 1,000,000)	4	blagochinny	793 ⁴⁴	252 ⁴⁵	1942	2013	10	73
12	Tyumen oblast	Major cities (500,000 – 1,000,000)	1	blagochinny	-	-	1999	2013	8	50
13	Samara oblast	Big and large rural villages (1,001 – 10,000)	1	blagochinny	20-25	15	1989	2013	10	106
14	Krasnoyarsk krai	Megapolises (more than 1,000,000)	4		300	240	1999	2013	16	313
15	Moscow	More than 10,000,000	4		500	80	1990	2013	6	40
		PILOT INTERVIEWS								
16	Moscow	More than 10,000,000	3					2010-2011	3	
17	Moscow	More than 10,000,000	2					2010-2011	3	
18	Moscow	More than 10,000,000	2					2010-2011	3	

⁴⁴ Number of people attending service (liturgy). Number of people taking communion is not recorded in this parish.

⁴⁵ Number of people attending service (liturgy). Number of people taking communion is not recorded in this parish.

Appendix 2. Comparison of the Social Work Indicators for Three Groups of Parishes

Table 1a. What statement is the best to describe the situation in your parish?

	2015a	2015b	2016	2017	2018	The Sample average
Non-liturgical projects and events, social ones among them, are initiated by the clergy and laity in equal measures	48	51	52	52	55	52
Non-liturgical projects and events, social ones among them, are mostly initiated by the rector and/or priests	28	29	26	26	27	27
Non-liturgical projects and events, social ones among them, are mostly initiated by the laity	20	15	12	16	11	15
Do not know	4	5	10	6	7	6
Number of respondents	188	172	389	401	227	1377

Table 2a. What statement is the best to describe the situation in your parish? (wave 1 + 2)

	SW is done equally by laity and priests	SW is done mainly by priests / by priests only	SW is done mainly by laity / by laity only	Hard to answer
Non-liturgical projects and events, social ones among them, are mostly initiated by the laity	25	2	68	5
Non-liturgical projects and events, social ones among them, are mostly initiated by the rector and/or priests	57	31	6	6
Non-liturgical projects and events, social ones among them, are initiated by the clergy and laity in equal measures	74	2	22	2

Table 3a. Comparison of the social work indicators for three groups of parishes

	Wave (year)	Non-liturgical projects and events, social ones among them, are mostly initiated by the laity	Non-liturgical projects and events, social ones among them, are mostly initiated by the rector and/or priests	“Partnership parish” Non-liturgical projects and events, social ones among them, are initiated by the clergy and laity in equal measures
Number of SW areas in the parish (mean)*	2015	7.5	6.2	7.5
	2017	5,2	4,8	5,4
	2018	4,2	5,9	5,5
	Sample average	51	55	60
Number of participants in social work in the parish = 6 and more (% of parishes)	2015+	39	40	49
	2017	65	61	64
	2018	50	64	67
	Sample average	51	55	60
Number of wards in the parish = more than 10 (% of parishes)	2015	-	-	-
	2016	63	69	76
	2017	69	88	89
	2018	58	66	72
	Sample average	63	74	79

Is there a person in the parish, responsible for the resources (fundraising) for social work = NO (% of parishes)	2015	-	-	-
	2016	22	14	9
	2017	16	12	6
	2018	-	-	-
	Sample average	13	9	5
Organised groups of volunteers in the parish = YES (% of parishes)	2015	67	61	79
Number of partner-organisations (mean)	2015	4.5	4.6	5.4
	2016	-	-	-
	2017	4.5	5.9	5.6
	2018	4.5	5.7	5.3
	Sample average	4.5	5.3	5.5