А. А. Николаева, И. А. Савченко, О. С. Степанова

Подростки в системе первичной и вторичной профилактики сиротства

**Введение.** В России, как и в мире в целом, достаточно остро стоит проблема сиротства. Одним из ее аспектов является нахождение подростков в системе первичной и вторичной профилактики сиротства. Концентрация именно на данном возрастном периоде объясняется особенностями возраста, которые оказывают дополнительным фактором активизации психологических травм, полученных подростками в детстве. Препятствия на пути формирования гармоничной социализированной личности подростков-сирот недостаточно эффективно решаются государством, в первую очередь, за счет отсутствия комплексного подхода.

**Материалы и методы.** Основной метод исследования – проблемный анализ, который позволил оценить характер проблемы, ее причины и найти возможное решение в соответствии с поставленной целью. В рамках данного метода использовался причинно-следственный метод, который включал такие процессы, как анализ теоретических источников, законодательной базы, данных государственной статистики, характера функционирования системы профилактики сиротства, а также сравнительный анализ ситуации в профилактике сиротства в России и за рубежом.

**Результаты и обсуждение.** Дети, находящиеся в системе профилактики, испытывают депривацию материнско-детских отношений. Это приводит к агрессии, неуверенности в себе, отсутствии доверия к взрослым, и другим особенностям. Ситуация усугубляется в критическом подростковом возрасте. Как результат развивается личность с эмоциональными, личностными, поведенческими нарушениями и проблемами социализации. Критически важной становится психокоррекционная работа, которая на данный момент не решает проблему. Новые технологии не рассматриваются, хотя накопленные научные знания позволяют это сделать, в том числе, с применением групповых методов, в частности, театральной деятельности. Спектр преимуществ, которые дает этот подход, в первую очередь, наполнение смыслом жизни подростков, позволяет решать целый ряд проблем в воспитательном процессе. При этом активизация волонтерского движения при поддержке государства смогло бы ускорить решение данной проблемы.

**Ключевые слова:** подросток, сиротство, система профилактики сиротства

Ссылка для цитирования:
Teenagers in the system of primary and secondary prevention of orphanhood

Introduction. In Russia, as in the world as a whole, the problem of orphanhood is quite acute. One of its aspects is finding teenagers in the system of primary and secondary prevention of orphanhood. The concentration on this particular age period is explained by the peculiarities of age, which turn out to be an additional factor in the activation of psychological trauma received by adolescents in childhood. Obstacles to the formation of a harmonious socialized personality of teenager orphans are not effectively addressed by the state, primarily due to the lack of an integrated approach.

Materials and methods. The main research method is problem analysis, which made it possible to assess the nature of the problem, its causes and find a possible solution in accordance with the set goal. Within the framework of this method, a cause-and-effect method was used, which included such processes as an analysis of theoretical sources, legislative base, state statistics data, the nature of the functioning of the system for preventing orphanhood, as well as a comparative analysis of the situation in the prevention of orphanhood in Russia and abroad.

Results and discussion. Children in the prevention system experience deprivation of maternal-child relationships. It leads to aggression, self-doubt, lack of trust in adults, and other characteristics. The situation is aggravated in critical teen age. As a result, a personality develops with emotional, personality, behavioral disorders and socialization problems. Psychocorrectional work becomes critically important, that at the moment does not solve the problem. New technologies are not considered, although the accumulated scientific knowledge makes it possible to do this, including using group methods, in particular, theatrical activities. The range of advantages that this approach gives, first of all, filling the life of teenagers with meaning, allows solving a number of problems in the educational process. At the same time, the activation of the volunteer movement with the support of the state could speed up the solution of this problem.

Keywords: teenager, orphanhood, orphanhood prevention system

For Reference:
Currently, one of the most acute problems in the world is orphanhood. Overcoming it, along with many others, is associated with the functioning of such numerous international UN initiatives as UNESCO, the Council of Europe and others. However, since it has not been possible to overcome it to date, a revision of traditional approaches is required, primarily within individual countries.

As early as the 19th century, practitioners in the field of psychology noticed that the long stay of children without a mother causes child’s psychological trauma. Long-term stay of a child in a shelter leads to the accumulation of negative experiences that affect his psychophysical health [21]. In the future, all this can be expressed not only in a lower level of education and qualifications, but also in a general inability to adult life, asocial behavior and, as a consequence, a difficult life situation [33].

The relevance of the problem of orphanhood is worldwide. It was most acute during the wars of the 20th century. As a result, by its middle, scientific understanding of the problem began. Research carried out within the framework of pedagogy, psychology and medicine did not sufficiently reflect its social aspects. During that period, the greatest interest was focused on the study of the causes of social orphanhood and the consequences of being in specialized institutions. Both then and now, at the heart of the problems of orphans, psychoanalytic theories about the imbalance of relations in the mother-child dyad are considered key. Among them there is the position of Z. Freud [18] that any traumatic effect is inherent in any event that causes fear, shame, horror, mental pain. S. Ferenczi [2] considers the situation of subordination to adults, in which children are afraid of losing the attention of adults and confuse the language of love and sexuality, which leads to suffering. J. Bowlby [33] describes the negative consequences of maternal deprivation. R. Spitz [53] argues that depressive states develop in children due to the experience of losing a good relationship with their mother. The authors of the theories of object relations M. Mahler [53], M. Klein [24], D. Winnicott [53] emphasize the importance of the influence of child-mother relations on the personal development of the child. A. Green [21] describes the phenomenon of “dead mother”, which leaves a negative imprint on the fate of the child.

Subsequently, considerable attention was paid to the process of socialization in the works of scientists. For example, T. Parsons was able to generalize the classical provisions that individuals build their behavior in accordance with social norms (S. Freud, E. Durkheim, J. Mead) [55]. Other authors have studied the problem by analyzing the practical steps of the state in the field of preventing orphanhood. It includes the peculiarities of family policy: L. Smagina and A. Vodneva [47] emphasized that the existing principles of working with a child and family have shortcomings and this is the reason for orphanhood. In addition, various factors are considered that bring a child to a specialized institution (M. Asstoyants [6] highlights disability, delinquency, mother’s alcoholism, father’s death, separation of parents or abandonment of parental roles, A. Vasiliev [54] indicates social disorganization families and a decrease in material opportunities), the influence of the social environment (E.E. Andreeva, G.B. Morozov [5] indicate a weak state policy in the field of resolving the issue of orphanhood, especially regarding the attitude of adoptive parents to children), the process of divergence of the social environment (I. Dementyeva and T. Safonova [59] argue that this phenomenon prevents the effective adaptation of orphans in society from the
very beginning). In any case, many authors consider attachment disorder in parent-child relationships to be the root cause.

Additionally, it should be noted that the scientific community is constantly trying to change the situation. For example, S.S. Bozhenova [9] believes that the successful use of a substitute family is possible. T.P. Korneeva [25] believes that graduates of orphanages need to be adapted into professional organizations. N.P. Ivanova and I.A. Bobalev point to the need for efforts to preserve the family [23]. V.V. Zaretsky [58] insists that the child should have a “significant other” with whom the child can share his troubles and joys. These are all elements that can be taken into account in a comprehensive support program for adolescent orphans. However, there is still no sufficient theoretical explanation and empirical description of the problem.

**Materials and methods**

As early as the 19th century, practitioners in the field of psychology noticed that the long stay of children without a mother causes child’s psychological trauma. Long-term stay of a child in a shelter leads to the accumulation of negative experiences that affect his psychophysical health [26]. In the future, all this can be expressed not only in a lower level of education and qualifications, but also in a general inability to adult life, asocial behavior and, as a consequence, a difficult life situation [39].

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**Research results**

The preamble to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted on November 20, 1989 by the UN General Assembly (resolution 44/25), provides for the right of children to special assistance and care. At the same time, it is indicated that the harmonious development of a child is possible in a family environment and a positive psychological atmosphere, which must be supported in order for parents to fulfill their responsibilities within society. Otherwise, the psychological trauma received will have a negative impact on the subsequent life of a person.

In Russia, where the problem of orphanhood and the protection of the rights of orphans are acute, the Convention on the Rights of the Child has been adopted and laid down in the basis of legislation. It is confirmed by the presence of many legislative initiatives, active public discussions and program documents providing for funding, as well as the introduction of the institution of the Ombudsman for the Rights of the Child. These actions, along with the participation of various non-profit organizations, make it possible to somewhat reduce the severity of the problem. However, the traditional approach that is currently used cannot be considered effective, since it does not take into account the psychological side of the issue.

Another aspect of the problem is the presence of many studies devoted to the problem of orphanhood. They are mainly devoted to the functioning of the support system for orphans and children left without parental care. But the range of topics covered mainly boils down to the study of the legal framework regulating the issues of orphanhood, the institutional structure of the system, economic issues related to financing, socio-moral and psychological aspects. The latter refers to the methods of providing psychological assistance to children.

The data above indicate that the state is implementing certain support measures, and the scientific community is trying to find ways to improve the functioning of the system. However, the problem remains unresolved. It indicates that the situation requires a revision of the traditional approach and changes.
Perhaps one of them could be more attention to the age periods of orphans and their psychological characteristics. This work is an attempt to present a new perspective on the problem. In order to understand its scale, it is necessary to refer to the figures of Rosstat (Fig. 1).

As indicated in the Figure, the number of orphans and children left without parental care up to 18 years of age increased 1.6 times in 2019 compared to 2011. At the same time, a significant jump took place in 2016, and the total number continued to grow, slightly decreasing in 2019 compared to 2018.

Data on the number of adopted children show that there is a positive trend in Russia when orphans are accepted into families. Compared to 2012, in 2019 the growth in the number of adopted children was 89.5% (+ 9.1%). The growth rate of adoption of children exceeds 100%. At the same time, the number of children in specialized institutions is decreasing (Fig. 2).

**Figure 1** The number of orphans and children left without parental care, under the age of 18, who have the right to receive social support measures at the expense of the budget of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation [41]

**Figure 2** The number of orphans and children left without parental care, under the age of 18, who are in social institutions [41]
Consideration of the growth rate of the number of families wishing to adopt a child by region, helps to single out the Northwestern Federal District as a leader and within its limits the Kaliningrad Region. The lowest growth rates are in the Volga Federal District and within it the Republic of Bashkortostan.

Dry figures indicate that the problem exists. It is typical for the age range up to 18 years old. However, the figures do not indicate that orphans and children left without parental care are a potential problem, both for society and for themselves, due to the psychological trauma received.

It is explained by the problems of socialization: in order to familiarize children with social norms and values, a change in lifestyle, attitudes towards oneself, past, present, future, close environment and society is required. At present, it is impossible due to the limited social ties in children and the inability to realize the learned norms and experience. In the future, it leads to the devaluation of own life and antisocial behavior [1].

The problem is especially acute with teenagers who are going through a critical period of growing up. As a whole, this age is quite difficult due to the lagging of personal development from intellectual one. It is accompanied by such crisis moments as a feeling of loss of the meaning of life and the meaninglessness of existence with the risk of suicide. An existential crisis occurs at a time when stress is a trigger for associative connections between cognitive processes, suicidal experiences, and mental health problems [42].

It is noteworthy that scientists have long known a way out of such situations: semantic content and purposefulness of the life of a teenager is required. At the same time, it is important to weaken competition, individualism and consumerism and develop empathy, collectivism, self-efficacy and mutual assistance [42].

In shelters, everything happens the other way: a child with pain and resentment, emotions that must be hidden, since it is censured, tries to find a way out, as a rule, through the formation of addictions and often not innocent ones.

Another feature that should be paid attention to is verbal aggression, that develops in the period of 14-15 years, especially in persons with high excitability and a demonstrative type of character. For boys, it is complemented by physical aggression and negativism. Despite the direct dependence of self-esteem and verbal aggression, the discrepancy between self-esteem and the external environment results in a manifestation of resentment, irritability and physical aggression [28].

Along with these features, teenagers develop a new level of consciousness of the self-concept, in which there are various contradictions. They consist in the fact that the assimilated norms, the attitudes and beliefs that are being formed, collide with the harsh reality of the adult world. The huge flow of information does not form the ability to critically evaluate it. Popular culture does not lead to the satisfaction of spiritual needs [3].

Contradictions are also noted while children from families compare themselves with others in terms of social status, orphans compare themselves with children from families. This situation does not contribute to the formation of life meanings. Although attempts are being made to overcome it, they are insufficient. But it is exactly the age when a teenager seeks to demonstrate his own capabilities, to join society, to satisfy the need for self-determination and self-realization [16].

This point of view is inherent in the Russian scientific community. Turning to the studies of foreign scientists who are focused on the study of teenagers from different countries, helps to identify various aspects of this problem.
One study examines Ugandan teenagers aged 13–14 for negative life experiences, adjustment problems, coping, social support, self-esteem and hope. The study revealed a positive relationship with the internalization of problems and a negative one with social support and self-esteem. Coping strategies (focusing on the problem, positive reframing, avoidance, and seeking support) were positively associated with hope. Problem-focused coping was negatively associated with the externalization of problems. In addition, social support is positively associated with coping strategies, self-esteem and hope, and negatively associated with adaptation problems [14].

The study traces the idea that teenagers need support, knowledge of strategies that can be used to overcome negative situations and skills that will allow this knowledge to be applied. This research can be carried over to the inhabitants of the shelters. Along with the adaptation problems that children have, other difficulties may arise. At the same time, social support can be rather limited, fueled by psychological assistance, which is not necessarily regarded by teenagers as something positive. Due to age, these problems accumulate and can result in negative self-esteem and loss of hope. As a result, already at the stage of growing up, children lose the meaning of life, and coping strategies are replaced by socially unacceptable types of behavior.

This study also carries ideas about social support, as well as the fact that psychological assistance is not perceived as an absolute good.

In the context of these reflections, a comparative study of young people from Tanzania (street children, former street children and schoolchildren) aged 12-18 becomes noticeable. The author of the study believes that not only personal free will, but also the stability of the life context (street, housing, house) form hope. Based on this, it has been found that young people in volatile environments avoid the hope of getting around failure and instead attribute success to luck and other external factors. Young people in more stable environments rely on internal resources, seeing themselves as critical agents of hope [36].

It suggests that the unstable environment that is created in specialized institutions forms a person who perceives life as something independent of him. Therefore, it is necessary to create a stable environment.

This idea, albeit with a negative sign, can be found in a study of homeless teenagers in Toronto, Canada. It found that most of them spent significant amounts of time without adequate housing, food or income. Many of them became criminals, went to jail, or displayed suicidal behavior. The most consistent predictors of hunger, crime, and incarceration were the conditions of street life itself, such as the lack of safe housing and life expectancy on the street [32]. Accordingly, a stable environment with a positive sign will create conditions for the formation of a developed personality.

Turning to the work related to antisocial behavior, helps to note the study of Hispanic teenagers exposed to the influence of HIV. It has shown that storytelling is the most effective method to reduce the risk of infection, both in family communication and within the framework of special propaganda programs [37]. This study makes it possible to follow the path of filling the specified stories and programs with content. Their selection should be carried out in such a way that a semantic component is present.

The same idea can be traced in the study of street children in Mumbai, aged 12-24, regarding their use of gambling. It was revealed that for them gambling is a kind of group and street subculture. Against the background of lack of money and the inability to use other activities, gambling is spreading as a way to spend time [43]. It once again confirms the idea of the need to fill the life of teenagers with meaning.
Another study makes it possible to understand in which direction the semantic content can be developed.

One study examined teenager political socialization and identity development [57]. It was found that the development of political commitment during teen age was identified as a key aspect of identity formation. As a rule, the involvement of youth in political activities is influenced by family and peers, as well as social activities.

Social responsibility and understanding the complexity of political issues are important dimensions of political commitment. It was concluded that the socio-historical context embodied in social relations and actions plays a key role in the process and form of political socialization and identity formation [57].

The above allows looking at the problem of filling a teenager's life with meaning in a new way. It is a much higher level when it comes to educating a citizen.

Speaking about the problem of orphanhood, it can be noted that the possibilities of solving it through adoption are aggravated by possible deviations in the mental development of young people.

An example would be children with autism spectrum disorder (ASD) who face significant challenges in their transition to adulthood. It is natural that the presence of such children in child care facilities complicates their adaptation to adult life.

Because it is difficult to conduct studies on a sample of ASD sufferers, American researchers used the qualitative Photovoice methodology to understand the views of young Missouri people aged 18–25 about the issue of growing up.

Subjects talked about their growing up experiences through pictures, attending group, individual and discussion photo-sharing sessions, and public exhibitions of their work. This approach made it possible to facilitate dialogue and collect a sufficient amount of data [10].

The thematic analysis revealed important themes and patterns. Among them there are the difficulties of transition into adulthood, desires and problems with building relationships, a sense of difference from peers and family, animals as a mechanism for overcoming negative feelings and a source of communication. The fact that animals turned out to be a source of support and socialization turned out to be paradoxical [10]. This study provides an opportunity to revise approaches to psychological work with children with similar disabilities.

Returning to teenagers held in specialized institutions, it is worth paying attention to the fact that, in addition to psychological crises within the framework of age characteristics, one can note that they have a kind of consumer attitude towards things that are provided by the state and charitable organizations. Devaluation occurs because the benefits provided are seen by children as a ransom for their suffering.

In the future, the luggage accumulated in a specialized institution is transferred to adulthood, in which a young person in most cases cannot survive. As a result, the end is dubious: in some cases, criminal liability or death. To understand what changes should be made in the system of preventing orphanhood, it is necessary to take a closer look at its functioning.

General structure of the system for the prevention of orphanhood in Russia is as follows (Fig. 3).

In this context, it is important to understand the problem of primary, social and secondary orphanhood.

Social orphanhood covers the socio-demographic group of children from birth to 18 years old who have lost their parents for various reasons. They can be medical, psychological, socioeconomic, or moral. In any case, such children are called ‘orphans with living parents’ [34], since they were either abandoned by their parents or deprived of parental rights. As a result, the state took care of them [38].
Cases of social orphanhood include situations in which parents died, they are absent for some unknown reason, they were declared incapacitated. There are parents who have not been deprived of their parental rights, but they do not take care of their children [12; 15].

The definition of ‘social’ implies that parents do not have sufficient social and material conditions to fulfill their obligations. Among the psychological ones, there is a lack of feelings of love, responsibility, mercy and compassion [31].

The most deplorable is the problem of hidden ‘home’ orphans. They include children who live with their parents, but do not receive the necessary care, because the parents are indifferent to them and they have no interest in their children. It is the most difficult because the state cannot provide assistance. As a result, the number of cases of family conflicts, antisocial behavior and homelessness is increasing.

Many scientists attribute the crisis of the institution of the family to the main reason for the emergence of orphanhood. At the same time, one can compare what are the factors that provoke family trouble, in Russia and abroad (Fig. 4).

The most dangerous in terms of creating the problem of social orphanhood are families with an open form of trouble, such as immoral-asocial and immoral-criminal. Moreover, the cases of pedagogically dependent and conflict families are also no less dangerous.

Accordingly, social orphanhood is the impetus for the development of primary orphanhood, when the state takes appropriate children under its care. At the same time, there are cases when a child taken from a shelter to a new family can be returned back. At this moment, the problem of secondary orphanhood appears.

Primary prevention is carried out under the leadership of social protection bodies, including such structural units as subordinate social rehabilitation centers and shelters for minors as temporary hospitals for children with family difficulties. There are also complex centers of this type, where help is provided to both children and families in difficult life situations.
Primary prevention bodies also include juvenile commissions and guardianship bodies. The latter are obliged to protect the rights and interests of orphans through the performance of various functions [51]. The structure of these bodies is established by the constituent entities of the Russian Federation. Such bodies can function within a department or separately.

Secondary prevention is carried out by the education and health authorities and their subordinate institutions. Their differentiation is carried out based on the age of the children, the state of health and the nature of the services.

The system of special institutions for orphans is represented by children’s homes, orphanages, boarding schools, including correctional ones. Each body in the system of preventing orphanhood performs its own functions (Table 1).

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social rehabilitation center</td>
<td>In a difficult life situation</td>
<td>Temporary stay until returning to the family or receiving orphan status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile Commission</td>
<td>In a difficult life situation</td>
<td>Preventing children from entering the system of specialized institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child’s home</td>
<td>0–3 years old</td>
<td>24-hour service for orphans and children left without parental care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child’s home</td>
<td>0-4 years old with defects in physical and mental development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orphanage</td>
<td>3–18 years old</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding school</td>
<td>6-18 years old</td>
<td>Round-the-clock stay of children for 5-7 days, as well as their education</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
In addition to these types of services, a wide range of others is provided, such as legal assistance, psychological support, parenting education and others.

In the system of preventing orphanhood, it is also worth noting the activities of the Ombudsman under the President of the Russian Federation for the rights of the child, that is regulated by the Public Chamber of the Russian Federation [11]. At the same time, a vertical of authorized representatives in the regions has developed, that makes it possible to transfer data to the center. The Ombudsman organizes the process of upholding the rights and interests of children, working comprehensively on each specific case.

Activities to ensure the protection of the rights and interests of orphans are regulated by the following documents (Fig. 5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>Constitution of the Russian Federation (provision 38 on the protection of motherhood, childhood and family)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Family Code of the Russian Federation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civil Code of the Russian Federation (Articles 29-41)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Federal Law No. 48-FZ of April 24, 2008 'On guardianship and trusteeship'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Law No. 44-FZ of April 16, 2004 'On the State Data Bank of Children Left Without Parental Care'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Law No. 159-FZ of December 21, 1996 'On Additional Guarantees for Social Support of Orphans and Children Left Without Parental Care'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of 28.12.2012 No. 1638 'On some measures to implement state policy in the field of protecting orphans and children left without parental care'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolutions of the Government and the Plenum of the Supreme Court</td>
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**Figure 5** Documents regulating activities to protect the rights of orphans

Earlier, the National Action Strategy for Children for 2012–2017 was adopted, approved by the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of June 1, 2012 No. 761.

Upon first consideration, these data demonstrate an integrated approach. However, taking closer look, helps to find problems such as:

- Diversity of institutions.
- Lack of a single center that would form a policy in relation to orphanhood.
- The negative point is that, while studying and living in the same institution, orphans
are limited in communication with children from families and ordinary schools. It is an obstacle to their socialization.

- Attempts to change the system run up against fears of ‘harming children’, and the situation continues to worsen [39].

Individual regions manage to centralize the tasks of work in the field of preventing orphanhood. A positive example is the State Budgetary Institution of the City of Moscow ‘Center for Assistance to Family Education’ No. 1 of the Department of Labor and Social Protection of the Population of the City of Moscow [49], to which all institutions of the system were subordinate. However, the situation is not improving in most regions.

Experts talk about the paradox of the situation. On the one hand, the state allocates significant resources to attract specialists, on the other hand, there is a low efficiency of efforts: the child is not adapted to life and is not protected, both in the institution and after leaving it [1].

Comparison of the variants of traditional discourse indicates that the positive intentions of the state run up against harsh reality, that is also reflected in the insufficient effectiveness of the system for preventing orphanhood (Table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse, definition</th>
<th>Interest of state</th>
<th>The shadow side of discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The child’s right to physical well-being (child safety, physical well-being, emotional well-being, prevention of physical punishment)</td>
<td>Returning children to traditional life, minimizing their participation in production</td>
<td>Minimizing the child’s right to state their position. Limited control over the family by harsh measures. Discrimination against mothers and, as a consequence, restriction of their right to choose the path of raising a child.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The child’s right to spiritual health (assimilation of correct social norms, involvement in public life, education, introduction to culture)</td>
<td>Empowering women with traditional childcare responsibilities</td>
<td>Violation of the right to privacy. Limiting the autonomy of parents and children. Violation of the entire spectrum of rights in catering establishments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The child’s right not to be a victim, not to suffer from violence, not to be a victim of abuse</td>
<td>Managing people through family control</td>
<td>Minimizing child crime, developing a system of controlled growing up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The child’s right to special treatment in the event of antisocial behavior. Softer justice.</td>
<td>Minimizing child crime, developing a system of controlled growing up</td>
<td>Segregation of pupils of public education institutions. Prioritization of some device forms over others. Limiting the right to autonomy by imposing standards of conduct.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The child’s right as a public good, to be independent (not to be a dependent), to be socially included and involved in socially approved activities</td>
<td>Reduce the cost of maintaining catering establishments and the burden on the social assistance system, universalize the service system (for better control over it)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In parallel with the problems of imbalance in the system of preventing orphanhood, there are problems that arise after a child leaves a specialized institution.

The most acute problem is the provision of housing for orphans. First, it is not completely resolved. Secondly, the provision varies by region. Thirdly, the housing provided is often of inadequate quality. And it despite the fact that the state allocates significant funds for the implementation of relevant programs (Fig. 6).
The Figure shows that the volatile dynamics was upward until 2014 and gradually decreased below the 2012 level. The best situation in this direction is in the Central Federal District and within it in the Moscow Region, the worst one is in the Siberian Federal District in the Republic of Tyva.

It should be noted that more than half of graduates from specialized institutions continue to receive vocational education. Some of them are going to work. However, recently there has been a trend towards a decrease in the number of those employed in labor activity or in training graduates of children's institutions. At the same time, in the first year of graduation, up to a hundred young people are brought to criminal or administrative responsibility [39].

The result of insufficiently effective adaptation of children after specialized institutions are financial losses, including those affecting GDP. Experts of the Analytical Center for the Government of the Russian Federation came to the conclusion that these losses are comparable to those incurred from the imposed Western sanctions, that is, 1% –2% of the GDP growth rate [39].

Despite the negative trends that are noted in the system of preventing orphanhood, there are also positive ones associated with successful practical experience in the implementation of preventive measures. They include social support of families from risk groups on an individual basis, work with women in maternity hospitals and antenatal clinics who want to abandon newborns, social living rooms designed to provide psychological and pedagogical support for children from risk groups in the educational space, social and household patronage of families for teaching parents the necessary skills [39].

There are also attempts to introduce the so-called foster families into Russian practice [50] to make the child feel like he is in the family. However, this approach cannot provide the stability that has been discussed in various studies. In addition, there is no certainty that foster parents will be able to create the emotional atmosphere that the child needs.

There is an ongoing debate around this topic [17]. Perhaps they have a foundation. The main message is the difference in Russian and Western traditions. It can be confirmed by the study of cultural measurements by G. Hofstede and, in particular, their comparative characteristics (Fig. 7).
The most important dimension in considering the topic of orphanhood is individualism. For Russia, it means that society is collectivist and the presence of specialized institutions for orphans is not something completely negative. Probably, the changes taking place at present time in the society require a revision of the existing system. Accordingly, this direction needs to be improved.

The data reviewed in this study provide some insight into how the existing system of orphanhood prevention can be changed to optimize the place of adolescents in it.

As mentioned above, the semantic content of the life of teenagers is required to create the necessary motivation. Here socially significant activities can be used along with the formation of the necessary skills to overcome negative situations. In addition, mechanisms such as special development programs and fairy tale therapy with an orientation towards individual meanings can be used.

The above is acceptable to implement, since Russia has accumulated a sufficient amount of knowledge and practical experience in the field of psychology and education. However, the problem is not with the methods of child development. Rather, it is in the training system for specialized agencies and their funding. The urgency of this problem is evidenced by numerous studies [1].

However, even at the stage of an imperfect training system, one can consider the possibility of using methods of working with teenagers within the framework of specialized institutions that have already proven themselves both in Russia and abroad. It is about the use of theater as a tool for all-round development and spiritual enrichment of the individual, as well as psychocorrection [8].

Play helps a child acquire the competencies necessary for life [20]. This approach is necessary due to significant changes in postmodern society, that requires the development of creativity, cooperation in group processes and obtaining the necessary information [44].

There are significant benefits to using theater for teenagers, the researchers say. In addition to the development of creative abilities [52], artistic and aesthetic views and taste [40], responsibility grows, a moral and behavioral position [52], value orientations [7], social competence, communication skills [45] and social adaptation skills [27] form. In addition, through the development of artistry there is an understanding of oneself [35], including...
through the living of relations in a reference group [19], self-awareness [4], an active life position [46], a sense of individual freedom [48] are formed.

It is noteworthy that theatrical activity provides not only these advantages, but also deepens knowledge. It is an integrative component of verbal and non-verbal aspects of communication, cognitive and emotional spheres. Together with the formation of meaning, it allows realizing the individual communicative needs of teenagers [30].

As a result, a child has the opportunity to facilitate the process of entering adulthood as a full-fledged developed personality with the help of theatrical activity [13]. For orphans, this method will allow to abstract from their own negative situation and switch to a new space through the game. It will let them form meanings. The main thing is to find the correct content.

Results discussion

The considered theoretical data emphasize the regularity of the fact that the prevention system cannot replace the family. It can be found in theoretical sources.

We agree with the authors of psychoanalytic theories that maternal-child relationships that develop at an early age determine the subsequent development of the child and his fate. Their deprivation leads to such negative consequences as aggression, self-doubt, lack of trust in adults, and others. All this leads to the development of personality with emotional, personality, behavioral disorders and socialization problems.

It is worth noting that this is a more specific consideration of the problem than from the point of view of the state: it is traditionally believed that a child should grow up in a family. But he is not always, being in a family, can have an adequate relationship with his mother. His family may just be dysfunctional. In this our opinion is similar to M. Astoyants [6] and A. Vasiliev [54]. This is a situation that can bring a child into the primary and secondary prevention system. And the technologies that allow replacing the mother in such conditions do not exist.

The process of socialization, which teenagers-orphans go through, takes place in accordance with classical ideas. We agree with the authors who emphasize that the learned values and norms that distinguish society define the boundaries of what is permitted [55]. However, in practice, it happens that many teenagers who received psychological trauma in childhood and ended up in the prevention system seek to violate these norms and values, thereby expressing their protest against injustice.

Injustice in the eyes of adolescents is expressed in the weak actions of the state, in which we agree with E.E. Andreeva and G.B. Morozov [5], as well as the phenomenon of divergence of the social environment, according to I. Dementyeva and T. Safonova [59]. This indicates the importance of psychocorrectional actions during the period of teenagers' stay in the system.

At present, the existing system for the prevention of orphanhood with its legislative framework, institutional structure, scientific approaches, economic and psychological support within the system is not able to effectively solve the problem of orphanhood in favor of the child himself. The accumulated knowledge related to the age characteristics of teenagers also cannot help in solving this problem. The reason is that children with initial injuries exacerbate them within the framework of the prevention system and go out into adulthood with them. Moreover, in most cases they are not ready for this life, since they
have been under care for a long time. It leads to negative consequences in their further destinies. What the state provides to children at the moment are measures to streamline the existing aspects of the problem.

It can be noted that the positive experience accumulated in Soviet times in solving a similar problem associated with the name of A.S. Makarenko [29] is difficult to implement in modern conditions, including due to the peculiarities of the legislation. The scientific community is developing rational proposals to overcome the situation. We agree that along with efforts to preserve the family, it is necessary to use the positive experience of foster families [9]. If a child enters the prevention system, provision of a “significant other” [58] is needed, since the teenager needs social support, knowledge and skills in overcoming difficult situations [14]. It also applies to the final stage, when children leave the prevention system and begin their professional activities. We agree with P. Nalkur [36] that it is necessary to form hope in children, and this is possible in a situation of stability of the life context.

As these data indicate, there is a range of developments that can be applied to address the problem of orphanhood. However, the scientific community, which is in search of answers to questions on various aspects of the problem, has not yet been able to offer an integrated approach to overcoming the current situation.

This indicates that the situation can be shifted by taking point actions on a permanent basis. And they should be aimed at psycho-correction of teenager orphans. Since an individual approach to each teenager on an ongoing basis is difficult, theatrical activity can be used as an integrated approach to achieving the child’s psychological health. In this we agree with the authors who defend the point of view of a positive impact on the personality of the child with the help of theatrical activities.

If we pay attention to the fact that teenagers experience enormous difficulties in the transition to adulthood, not mastering different communication strategies [10], the question of finding tools for learning arises. In addition, researches [43; 57] show that meaningful content is required for adolescents. In our opinion, theatrical activity can satisfy these two conditions.

However, in this case, there are also limitations. They are associated with a lack of resources. The volunteer movement supported by the state could be considered as additional human resources.

Studying the positive experience of using theater activities in the framework of the prevention system would help answer many questions, correct methodological aspects and increase the effectiveness of efforts to solve the problem of adolescent orphans.

**Conclusion**

Thus, in general, the system of preventing orphanhood existing in Russia requires changes in a rapidly changing world. In this dynamic period, there is an opportunity to overcome barriers that hinder the development of a harmonious personality in specialized institutions. Knowledge accumulated over a long period of time is important to realize this, but a change in approach is required. One of such approaches in terms of filling the life of adolescents-orphans with content can be theatrical activity, which will develop a harmonious personality in the face of progressive changes in the system of preventing orphanhood.
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