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**Reproduction of Gender Ideology in Russian Consumer Culture:
the Iconography of the 'Russian Mother'**

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REPRODUCTION OF GENDER
IDEOLOGY IN RUSSIAN
CONSUMER CULTURE: THE
ICONOGRAPHY OF THE 'RUSSIAN
MOTHER'

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Abstract

Mass-mediated marketplace images (for example, in advertisements) construct cultural norms through which we form our identities and ultimately, our consumption preferences. They produce and reproduce gender ideologies, ideas and ideals of motherhood practice that shape everyday lives. Nevertheless, the whole process of this ideological production and reproduction depends on cultural context and deeply enrooted cultural mechanisms. Exploring this relation, this thesis analyses Russian consumer culture in terms of the production and reproduction of gender and motherhood ideologies using the lenses of consumer culture theory and feminism.

To understand mass-mediated gendered motherhood ideologies, this research develops a contemporary iconography of motherhood using print media advertising in Russian magazines, using an innovative analytical methodology of visual content analysis. Based on the outcomes of this, the study adopts a photo-elicitation method, using this iconography in in-depth interviews, to understand Russian mothers' response to, conformity and resistance towards these portrayed ideals.

The theoretical background of the thesis comprises of consumer culture theory (2005), Bourdieu's *symbolic power* (1989; 1990) and Schroeder's *visual consumption* (2005; 2006) enabling the interpretation on the impact and the influence of archetypal representations on Russian mother's identity construction and corresponding consumption preferences and tastes. Based on this research the theoretical perspectives are extended, suggesting that gender ideology is not only class, gender and race conditioned, but also conditioned by socially stratified secondary elements (i.e. marital status, age, location) and can shift across the boundaries of these important categories as mothers struggle with the motherhood and gender ideals presented to them in the magazines they read.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgments	ix
Author's Declaration	xi
Abbreviations	xii
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Research Scope and Significance	1
1.2 Theoretical Positioning of the Research	3
1.3 Thesis Structure	6
Chapter 2 Symbolic History of Motherhood in Russia	8
2.0 Introduction	8
2.1 Ideology and Symbolic Power in Russia	10
2.1.1 Ideology of Moscow	11
2.1.2 Peter the Great and Catherine the Great	15
2.1.3 Gendered Ideology in Tsarist Russia	16
2.1.4 End of Aristocratic Prism	18
2.2 The Soviet Era	21
2.2.1 Gendered Ideology, Propaganda and Female Imagery in USSR	24
2.2.2 Perestroika and Collapse of the Soviet Union	32
2.3 New Russia	35
2.4 The Overview of Conceptualised and Vibrant Motherhood in Russia	40
2.5 Summary	47
Chapter 3 The Theoretical Background	49
3.0 Introduction	49
3.1 Consumer Culture Theory	50
3.2 Bourdieu's Symbolic Power and Consumer Research	55
3.2.1 Defining Ideology and Bourdieu's Approach	60
3.2.2 Bourdieu in Consumer Research	65
3.3 Visual Culture Theory: linking Bourdieusian theory to advertising practice	78
3.3.1 Icons, Iconography and Archetypes in Visual Consumption	83
3.4 Summary	88
Chapter 4 Literature Review	89

4.0. Introduction.....	89
4.1. Consumer Culture and Advertising.....	89
4.2. Women’s Magazine in Gender Studies.....	92
4.3. Gender Studies and Women in Advertising.....	96
4.4. Motherhood in Consumer Research.....	99
4.5. Summary	105
Chapter 5 Methodology.....	106
5.0 Introduction.....	106
5.1. Positioning Research and Reflecting on Interpretivist and Feminist Paradigms	107
5.2. Phase 1: Research Design.....	112
5.2.1. Visual Methods in Consumer Research.....	113
5.2.2. Critical Visual Approach in Consumer Research	115
5.2.3. Data Collection and Data Analysis Techniques.....	122
5.3. Phase 2: Research Design and Methods Applied	136
5.3.1. Interviews and Photo-Elicitation Methods.....	139
5.3.2. The Researcher’s Voice in the Interview Process.....	148
5.3.3. Interview Analysis	149
5.4. Summary	149
Chapter 6 Phase 1 Critical Visual and Content Analysis and Findings	151
6.0 Introduction.....	151
6.1. Critical Visual and Content Analysis of Mother Archetypes.....	152
6.1.1. CVA and <i>Formal Properties</i> of Advertisements	153
6.1.2. CVA and <i>Subject Matter</i> in Advertisements	155
6.1.3. CVA and the <i>Form</i> in Ads.....	158
6.1.4. CVA and <i>Style</i> in Advertisements.....	161
6.1.5. CVA and Genre in Advertisements	167
6.1.6. Summary of Stage 1 Critical Visual Observations.....	169
6.2. Decoding Motherhood Ideologies in Advertisements.....	172
6.3 Summary of Phase 1 Findings.....	174
Chapter 7 Findings Phase 2: The Reproduction of Motherhood Ideologies in Consumer Culture	178
7.0. Introduction.....	178
7.1. Family Structure Archetypal Mothering Ideologies	179
7.1.1 Background to Patriarchal and Contemporary Family Ideologies	180

7.1.2. VCA: Patriarchal and Contemporary Family Structure Archetypes	183
7.1.3 Reproduction of Mothering Ideology within the Symbolic Family Archetypes	186
7.1.4 Iconography of Modern Couples.....	199
7.1.5. Family Structure, Symbolic Power and CCT.....	202
7.2. Identity Structure Ideologies of Motherhood.....	206
7.2.1 Background to Independent and Dependent Archetypal Dispositions.....	206
7.2.2 Insights from the Visual Content Analysis Outcomes.....	209
7.2.3 Reproduction of Gender Ideology through the Mothering Self-Identity Consumption.....	212
7.2.3 Symbolic Power, Identity Construction and Consumption Choices	228
7.3. Mother-Infant and Mother-Daughter Archetypal Unities	232
7.3.1 The Reproduction of Mother-Infant Unity Archetype	232
7.3.2 Symbolic Meanings of Mother-Daughter Unity	243
7.3.3. Mature and Young Mother Symbolic Capital through Age Stratification	253
7.4 Summary.....	262
Chapter 8 Conclusion.....	263
8.1. Thesis Conclusions.....	263
8.2. Theoretical and Methodological Contributions.....	269
8.2.1 Theoretical Contribution.....	270
8.2.2 Methodological Contribution.....	271
8.3. Managerial Implications, Limitations and Further Research.....	273
8.3.1. Dissemination Plan	276
Appendix 1 Archetypal Advertisements	277
Appendix 2 “Modern Couple” Archetypal Advertisement.....	291
Appendix 3 The Samples of Transcripts	292
References.....	312

List of Tables

Table 1 The Soviet Union Leaders.....	21
---------------------------------------	----

Table 2 Mother Icons in Russia	41
Table 3 The Four Domains of Consumer Culture Theory	52
Table 4 Bourdieusian Concepts Defined	56
Table 5 Bourdieu’s Sociology in Consumption Research	68
Table 6 Bourdieu’s Sociology in Consumption Practice.....	71
Table 7 The Collective Universal Archetypes of Womanhood/Motherhood	87
Table 8 Mapping the motherhood ideologies in women’s magazines.	102
Table 9 Coding Frame: Categories and Variables for Image Analysis	129
Table 10 Systemised Visual Content Correlations	135
Table 11 Archetypal Advertisements.	138
Table 12 Participants’ characteristics according to location	142
Table 13 Group 1 “Russian Mothers in Moscow” Profile Characteristics	143
Table 14 Group 2 “Russian Mothers in London” Profile Characteristics	144
Table 15 Group 3 “English Mothers in London” Profile Characteristics.....	145
Table 16 Stage 1 Interview Questions.....	147
Table 17 Magazine Titles and Number of Advertisements Observed	153
Table 18 Intensity of Advertisements	155
Table 19 Figures (other than mother) Observed in the Advertisements	156
Table 20 The Gender of the Child in the Advertisements.....	157
Table 21 Image Background of the Advertisements.....	158
Table 22 Descriptive Traits of the Mother Figure	159
Table 23 Largest Ethnic Groups in Russia.	160
Table 24 Product Categories Observed in Advertisements.....	161
Table 25 Physical Position and Character Traits of Mother Figure.....	163
Table 26 Level of Distance Measured by Touch.....	164
Table 27 Smile Intensity in the Advertisements	165
Table 28 Passive and Active Gaze of Mother and Child	166
Table 29 Demographic Variables of Mother Figure.....	168
Table 30 Russian Mother Archetype	170
Table 31 UK Mother Archetype	171
Table 32 Patriarchal Family Archetype.....	183
Table 33 Contemporary Family Archetype.....	183
Table 34 Athletic and Independent Mother Archetype	210
Table 35 Delicate and Dependent Mother Archetype.....	210
Table 36 Mother-Infant Unity Archetypal Advertisements.....	235
Table 37 Mother-Daughter Unity Archetypal Advertisements	246
Table 38 Young and Mature Mother Archetypal Advertisement	255
Table 39 Archetypal Advertisements Descriptions and Meanings.....	265

List of figures

Figure 1 Theoretical Framework.....	49
Figure 2 Pierre Bourdieu’s Theories in JCR (1998-2015)	76
Figure 3 Mind Mapping and Analytical Model for Image Analysis	120
Figure 4 Sample Critical Visual and Content Analysis of Advertising.....	132
Figure 5 Capture from the Coding Book.	133
Figure 6 Transition from Phase 1 to Phase 2 Data Collection.	136
Figure 7 Analytical Model for Image Analysis Stage 1 Highlights	152
Figure 8 Dominant Colours in Russian Advertisements	154
Figure 9 Extended Analytical Model and Archetypal Advertisements.....	172

List of Images

Image 1 Russian Doll "Matryoshka" (Shabi, 2015).....	9
Image 2 “Double-headed Eagle” symbol. (Canopy, 1896)	13
Image 3 Collection of icons from the Museum of Russian Icon.....	14
Image 4 Rabotnitsa magazine 1923 (Rychkov, 2017)	20
Image 5 “Women Workers, Take Up Your Rifles!”	24
Image 6 “We Defeated the Enemy with Weapons...”.....	25
Image 7 “The Emancipated Woman is Building Socialism”	26
Image 8 “Lenin, Stalin”	27
Image 9 “Them...Us”	28
Image 10 “Don’t Chatter” (<i>right</i>)	
Image 11 “Superwoman”. (<i>right</i>) “Praise the mother-heroine!”	29
Image 12 Stalin era. “For the Motherland!”.....	30
Image 13 “Do not lie ever!”	31
Image 14 “We need peace...”	31
Image 15 Cover pages of Russian magazines “Rabotnitsa” and “Krest’janka”	34
Image 16 Image History of women’s magazine in Russia 1991-2013	36
Image 17 President Vladimir Putin.....	38
Image 18 Russian Magazine Covers from 2000-2017	39

List of Advertisements

Advertisement A “Patriarchal Family Archetype”	277
Advertisement B “Contemporary Family Archetype”	277
Advertisement C “Modern Couple Archetype”	278
Advertisement D “Independent/Athletic Mother Archetype”	278
Advertisement E “Mother-Infant Unity Archetype”	281
Advertisement F “Mother-daughter Unity Archetype”	285
Advertisement G “Mature Mother Archetype”	289

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I dedicate this work to the memory of my mother, Julietta Baghdasaryan.

“A part of me will always want to see you fight ...the other part will always strive to see you smile...” (Baghdasaryan, J., 2005).

I love you, mama!

Author's Declaration

“I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Westminster or any other institution.”

Name Lilit Baghdasaryan

Signature _____

Abbreviations

BA – Bachelor’s Degree (in Russia)

CCT – Consumer Culture Theory

CVA – Critical Visual Analysis

CR –Consumer Research

EMiM – English Mothers in London

H- High (or Upper) social class representative

L - Low social class representative

L-M – Low to middle social class representative

M (e) – Middle (educated) social class representative

M (w) – Middle (working) social class representative

M-H – Middle to High social class representative

MA – Master of Arts

PhD – Doctor of Philosophy

Prim – Primary school (education level)

RMiL – Russian Mothers in London

RMiM – Russian Mothers in Moscow

SEC – Secondary school (education level)

NW- not working

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.0 Introduction

This chapter positions the scene and scope of the thesis by introducing the main themes that this study covers. It briefs the reader on the research gap by first generalising and highlighting the practical need for answering the research questions and, secondly, by narrowing it down to the theoretical gap identified and stressing the significance of this research within the field of consumer research and consumer culture theory. Here I also inform the reader about the structure of the thesis.

1.1. Research Scope and Significance

This thesis examines the reproduction of gender ideology in Russian consumer culture, and attempts to emphasise this through the implications observed within the iconographies of motherhood in magazine advertisements and the reproduction of gendered ideologies by Russian mothers through distinct consumption patterns. In a broader sense this research signifies the role of gender ideology in the construction of identity and highlights why it matters for those who perform in the field of marketing. Gender in this respect is understood and interpreted as a central factor when shaping consciousness; it helps to explore the differences in perceiving and being perceived by others. The meanings given to images (e.g. motherhood) and the corresponding everyday actions (e.g. consumption) display our worldview that in its turn is conditioned with culturally enrooted mechanisms (e.g. norms, beliefs, gender roles).

As stated above, one of the central themes of this research is gender, and gender has been studied in marketing since the late 1960s, along with critical developments regarding gender inequalities (Bettany et al., 2010; Pilcher and

Whelehan, 2004; Cova, Maclaran and Bradshaw, 2013). The shifting methods and approaches to analysing gender stimulated the formation of 'gender studies' in the field of marketing and sociology (Meyers-Levy, 1988; Stevens and Maclaran, 2012; Bettany, 2006; Durante et al., 2011; Fan and Miao, 2012). Due to the complexities of understanding and interpreting gender roles in marketing communication scholars implement interdisciplinary methods for more in-depth analysis (Zotos and Tsihla, 2014; Luyt, 2011; Knoll, Eisend and Steinhagen, 2011) (this is addressed in more depth in Chapter 4 and 5). Likewise, feminist research (Bettany and Woodruffe-Burton, 2009; Catterall, Stevens and Maclaran, 2000) brought to light the broader scope of understanding the identity construction through body display (Butler, 2011; Butler and Scott, 2013) and acceptance of stereotypical conditioning of gender roles in a society (Goffman, 1976; 1979; Kang, 1997). While feminist research took considerable steps in researching the body and gender objectification along with the prescribed female agency in marketing practice (Borgerson, 2005; Bell and Milic, 2002), there is a lack of emphasises on cultural mechanisms (i.e. images, icons, symbols) that impact the practice of symbolic power and the construction of mothering identities (Neumann, 2015; McNay, 1999; Stevens, 2006).

Contemporary studies in consumer culture theory research significantly shifted attention towards gender identities and corresponding consumption choices that shape consumer culture (Epp and Price, 2008; Humphreys and Thompson, 2014; Dion, Sabri and Guillard, 2014; Cova, Maclaran and Bradshaw, 2013). Yet, less attention was given to ideological aspects in gender representations persisting in today's marketing practice and the practical implications associated with the lack of knowledge on this matter (Thompson and Üstüner, 2015; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli, 2007). Instead, the majority of studies in the field primarily focus on gender stereotyping and comparative studies of male and female role portrayals in TV or print advertisements (Berger, 2015; Schroeder and Zwick, 2004; Kroska and Elman, 2009). It is worth noting that while ideologies persist in every culture, the intensity or the level of their impact and interference on gender roles and consumption might differ from one context to another. For this purpose, this study

focused on the Russian context where the ideological dispositions and gender conceptions have persisted throughout its existence (more on this to follow in Chapter 2).

Russia is a country that passed through several sociohistorical transitions and political and cultural transformations that largely constructed contemporary Russian consumer culture (Roberts, 2014; Kaufmann, Vrontis and Manakova, 2012). In this sense Russian consumer culture is considered as a strong representation of symbolic capital that has sustained over centuries thanks to its ideological strategies (Carmichael, 1968; Kravets and Orge, 2010) and strong beliefs in national traditions and heritage (Bartlett, 2005; Simes, 1994). Literature evidences that one of the strongest and main sources of ideology propaganda was first promoted in Russia through icons and iconography (Agadjanian, 2001; Bondarenko, 2000; Brittlebank, 2009). The power of the dominant hierarchies was constructed through religious and political interference in the socialisation of the Empire (Carmichael, 1968), the Soviet era (Note: here the religious ideology was replaced with solely political icons) (Fitzpatrick, 1999; Fleron, 1996) and later the Federation (Oushakine, 2000; Racioppi and See, 1995a). The style of ideological propaganda was represented in the form of visual messages, posters and iconic representations that stood out with styles and symbolic meanings (Rusnock, 2007; Bonnell, 1999). Moreover, the changing iconic representations of women (such as '*woman-worker*', '*superwoman*' - mother and worker, '*traditional woman*' - mother-homemaker) in the Soviet Union has been documented to show diverse ideological empowerments and their acceptance by society (Racioppi and See, 1995; Miller et al., 2006; Fitzpatrick, 1999).

1.2. Theoretical Positioning of the Research

This study follows consumer culture theory (CCT) and, more specifically, Bourdieu's notion of symbolic power in the consumption field, as it allows the exploration of gender ideologies by acknowledging the constant changing patterns

of social settings and marketplace ideologies that are socially and culturally produced and reproduced (Arnould and Thompson, 2005; O'Guinn, Tanner and Maeng, 2015; Dion, Sabri and Guillard, 2014; Weinberger and Wallendorf, 2011; McQuarrie and Hinsbergen, 2013). Following CCT scholars, in this study I refer to the social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1979) and construction of identity and corresponding consumption patterns as a result of socio-historic and sociocultural changes that are evoked through meanings, icons and archetypes (Moisio, Arnould and Price, 2004; Arsel and Bean, 2012). Above all, this study interprets reproduced motherhood ideologies drawing on Bourdieu's symbolic power as a less developed aspect in the fourth domain of CCT tradition (mass-mediated marketplace ideologies). While the consumption field reproduces identity projects and agencies that are class and gender stratified, symbolic power imposes principles for constructing reality, where the classification is conditioned by power struggle and distinction (Bourdieu, 1994: 161).

The theoretical and conceptual conversation (see Chapter 3) around CCT and consumer research allows this study to address the gap by looking at the reproduction of gender ideology that generates iconographic images of motherhood in magazine advertisements and impacts the identity construction and consumption choices of mothers. Unlike other studies that look into gender roles and ideologies (Johnston and Swanson, 2003; Feasey, 2009), this study explores ideological dispositions through archetypical images of mothers in Russian consumer culture and proposes the nine archetypes of motherhood most frequently used in print media advertising. By implementing this body of theory in consumer research I suggest a novel theoretical framework that attempts to unpack the iconography of Russian motherhood, the hidden ideological meanings it conveys and its impact on the identity formation and consumption patterns of Russian mothers (more in Chapter 3). As discussed in Chapter 3, this thesis blends three theoretical assumptions, including: mass-mediated marketplace ideologies (Arnould and Thompson, 2005), symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1979; 1989; 1990b) in identity construction and consumption choices and, finally, visual consumption

(Schroeder, 2005) that visually produces the ideologies through the iconographic portrayal of motherhood.

Considering the above and following Schroeder's (2006) visual culture theory, I contemplate images as core components of advertising practice as they continuously circulate in everyday life by producing and reproducing sociocultural meanings (Borgerson and Schroeder, 2002), stimulating gender roles (Goffman, 1979), and circulating signs and symbols that contribute towards identity formation as well as lifestyle choices (Arnold and Thompson, 2005; Featherstone, 2006). I also argue that advertising is built on cultural codes (Schroeder, 2013), icons (Cian et al., 2015) universal archetypes (Jung, 1976; Thompson, 2004; Belk and Costa, 1998), symbols (Scott, 1994; Moisio, Arnould, and Gentry, 2013), and ideological images (Bourdieu, 1979; Shepherd, Chartrand and Fitzsimons, 2015; Humphreys and Thompson, 2014) persisting in Russian cultural capital.

Drawing on the research gap identified, with this thesis I address the following research questions.

1. What is the iconography of motherhood in contemporary Russia?
2. How do Russian mothers reproduce and/or resist motherhood ideologies to which they are visually exposed to?
3. How does the production and reproduction of dominant motherhood ideologies construct Russian mothers' consumption preferences and tastes?

In order to unpack the ideological aspect and reproduction of gender ideology in Russian consumption practice this project looks at marketing practice through critical visual consumption (Schroeder, 2005) by, firstly, decoding mass-media ideologies that visually produce archetypal advertisements portraying motherhood, secondly, by interpreting the verbally reproduced/resisted ideologies or meanings given to those advertisements by Russian mothers. By arranging the reproduced meanings around the theoretical themes, this thesis embraces the

possibilities and the levels of the mother's resistance and/or conformity to modern motherhood iconographies, and highlights the impact they have on the consumption preferences (including choices and taste) of Russian mothers.

1.3. Thesis Structure

The thesis consists of eight chapters. This introductory chapter is followed by Chapter 2, which provides contextual background to this thesis and signposts the ideology-driven gender developments in Russia. It signifies the changing patterns of gender identity construction depending on political propaganda in Russia. With this chapter clear grounds towards the existing symbolic structures and acceptance of dominant ideologies, and the legitimation of the subordinate position of Russian women are provided. It also sets out the applicability of the theoretical framework of this thesis that is introduced in Chapter 3. In Chapter 3, theoretical perspectives and interpretations are presented to show how the integration of those perspectives help to both answer the research questions as well as fulfil the theoretical research gap identified. A mapping technique is applied in this particular section to visually illustrate the gap, and signpost the theoretical positioning and prospective contribution of this study. Chapter 4 delivers the literature review on the role of advertisements as a means of producing and reproducing gender roles and corresponding ideologies. Additionally, a brief overview of the role of women's magazines with contemporary research on motherhood ideologies in consumer research is provided. This chapter also contributes towards the justification of the sample choice for the magazine advertisements. Chapter 5, unlike the previous chapters, evaluates how the research has been conducted, based on the research design, method and techniques used. It comprises of two research designs, one dedicated to the first tranche of primary data analysis (magazine advertisements), and secondly, the primary data (interviews) collection and analysis methods. The emphasis here is also given to the feminist research paradigm that was followed while interpreting the fieldwork findings. Chapters 6 and 7 present findings of this thesis. While

Chapter 6 presents the descriptive overview of the visual and content analysis of advertisements and renders the archetypal motherhood advertisements, Chapter 7 comprises the meta-analyses of visual correlations and the mothers' interpretations and reactions to the visual ideological dispositions. The findings are presented according to three major themes that are both theory and findings (of Chapter 6) tailored. The final Chapter 8 provides conclusions, contributions, limitations and suggestions on further research.

The motivation for conducting this research has also personal grounds. Being a mother of two and coming from a different background, my mothering identity was often questioned by those who did not know me in person. I was initially concerned about: What should mothers look like? What would be a true/ideal image of motherhood? What shapes societal thinking and builds beliefs in relation to who mothers are or how we should act, behave or look like? I came to a conclusion that the media has a great impact on how people think nowadays. As I progressed in researching these, more questions arose, such as: "Does the image pictured represent my own identity?". I used to receive comments from a close circle of friends on my hair ("this is such a nice mummy haircut!") or outfit ("you are dressed like a proper mummy!").

These and many other aspects have helped me to build this research, but most importantly I loved the outcome of the thesis. By listening to the stories of all the mothers I interviewed and interpreting them, I realised my own feminine and mothering identity struggles that I used to ignore or, as Bourdieu would word it, "unconsciously accept conditions" of exercising them. I believe I managed to exercise all the symbolic structures, capitals, powers and struggles of Bourdieu's theory in every field I performed throughout my life, which no doubt helped me deliver the outcomes of this research from a feminist and theoretically justified perspective.

Chapter 2 Symbolic History of Motherhood in Russia

2.0. Introduction

This chapter gives a brief historic overview of Russia by focusing on the ideas and ideals of Russian womanhood and motherhood that were mobilised by the state in various ways to various ends. It reflects on historic ideological developments and the use of iconography and imagery as central methods of producing and reproducing symbolic power around women and their role in the state. The historicisation and contextualisation of mothering ideologies enables this study to provide insights into mass-mediated marketplace ideologies and their impact on the construction of mothering identities. By understanding the historic background of Russia this research attempts to position historically how mothering ideologies are being produced and reproduced in contemporary Russian consumer culture.

Russia is an enormous country that stretches geographically across European and Asian borders (Trenin, 2002; Kisunko and Knack, 2014). The Russian Federation is the largest country by size (17,075,200 km²) and the 9th largest by population (144,096,817) (The World Bank, 2015). This research acknowledges the level of diversity and consequent difficulties when conceptualising Russia as a single entity; nonetheless, the core concept behind the positioning of this study is the shared ideas and beliefs of Russian mothers that remain relatively consistent across the regions (Stepanova, 2013; Kuleshova, 2015; Vasyagina and Kalimullin, 2015). The consistency is largely shaped by the strong symbolic power that did and still does persist in Russian culture (Riabov and Riabova, 2014), particularly when it comes to the ideals of the mother and motherhood. The conceptualisation of Russia as 'Mother' has long been attached to the history of Russian existence. Graham (1912: 15) says "Russia is a woman...she is the mother of nations, the

holy one who sits at home and prays...she is the mother earth". Hubbs (1993) looked into the depths of the feminine myth of Russian culture, and concluded that "the historical Mother Russia and mythological Mother Earth unite in the creative power still attributed to the whole land". Russian land was often referred to as Mother, the land who provides food and space for existence. As noted, nature (i.e. mountains, rivers) as a whole was referred to as feminine, but this was not limited to nature only; the term 'Mother Moscow' later emerged, being the city/capital who 'nourished Russia's growth'. Mother Russia also signifies fertility, which is not just limited to the land but also includes the creative arts, folklore, and literature. The Russian doll (Matryoshka, see Image 1) symbolises the whole idea of Mother Russia, who combines the wholeness of the nation within herself. She is the provider and protector of the whole nation (Haarmann, 2000). Throughout its existence, Russia has developed an image that combines a nation with strong faith (for the Motherland) and patriotism (Wasmuth, 2014) that has been built on robust ideas and beliefs embodied by the ruling authorities (Rozov, 2015).



Image 1 Russian Doll "Matryoshka" (Shabi, 2015)

Thus, this chapter provides background and insights on the embodied ideological character of Russia. It aims to conceptualise the context of symbolic Russian capital by reflecting on the archetypal meanings surrounding motherhood in

Russia. It focuses on the production and reproduction of motherhood ideologies through a historic viewpoint to underpin the cultural and social understandings gleaned from the empirical research that follows. This overview helps to build a strong background in order to understand and uncover the consumer culture and marketplace ideologies in contemporary Russia, a key aim of this thesis. Each subsection provides insights based on evidence gathered through assimilated chronological imperative.

Various authors take distinctive approaches when describing and conceptualising ideologies around gender and politics. This research being constructed around Bourdieu's theory of Symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1989;1990) and consumer culture theory (Arnould and Thompson, 2005), strong links are made with the existence of the symbolic capital, culture and power that largely construct the habitus, and marketplace structures. From this point on, this section will attempt to provide a contextual background to Russia by briefly reflecting on historical developments persisting throughout its existence. This method will help to map the gendered ideology of the country and condense political and societal conceptualisation of motherhood ideologies. The chronological overview of these discourses also contributes towards the better positioning of the contemporary marketplace ideologies and the effect of the nationalistic and folk/cultural thinking on the consumption patterns of the 'Russian consumer'.

2.1. Ideology and Symbolic Power in Russia

Literature suggests that ideology has persisted in Russia for centuries (Geraci, 2001; Rutland, 2009; Molyneux, 1990). Nonetheless, less academic attention was given to the ideology or ideological representations in Tsarist Russia (Kassow, 1989), where the realm of ideological events was tightly allied with icons and iconography (Cherniavsky, 1959; Bartlett, 2005). Most scholars focus primarily on the revolution, Soviet political ideology, and its effect on gender roles (Bonnell,

1999; Lapidus 1975). This study by no means attempts to give a detailed overview of Russian history; rather, it attempts to condense the most significant aspects that would imply the vibrant symbolism of gender roles as a result of ideological pressure by the ruling authorities and, most importantly, the ideologies consciously or unconsciously created around motherhood in Russia. The chapter is divided into multiple themes, which are discussed in chronological order.

- 9th – 14th centuries “Ideology of Muscovite”
- Peter the Great “Reforms in social differentiation”
- Catherine the Great “Gender reforms, Russian elite”
- End of Aristocratic prism “Feminist politics”
- Transition “Sexual revolution, objectification of women”
- ‘Putinism’

2.1.1. Ideology of Moscow

* *Knjaz Vladimir (AD 988) devoted Rus’ to Christianity. Religion started shaping the culture and iconography in the state (Bartlett, 2005).*

** *“Tsar- the Icon of God on Earth”; “Orthodox Realm- the Icon of Heaven”. Tsar’ Ivan adopted the symbol of double-headed eagle, symbolising his new title “gosudar” (the Lord) (Bondarenko, 2000; Lieven, 2002; Carmichael 1968).*

Ideological developments in Russia were observed from the establishment of the earliest state in the 9th and 10th centuries, centred in Kiev and Novgorod (Bartlett, 2005). Russian history before the 14th century was mostly based on tales and myths about the society and its rulers (Igor (862-882), Oleg (882- 912), Sviatoslav (913- 973, Vladimir (980 - 1015)). It still persists in the nature and character of the nation, in the passing down of old tales through the generations and the use of metaphors from mythical stories when bringing up children and in everyday communication (Salmon, 2017). Vladimir (AD 988) was the first ruler who devoted *Rus’* to Christianity (Bartlett, 2005) and the first Church of the Tithe was built in Kiev (991-6). The superiority of Eastern Orthodox Christianity over Roman Catholic Christianity in 1054 increased the tension between Russia and Western

societies. The orthodox liturgy and theology played an imperative role in the creation and development of Russian culture and national character and its unique world-view (Carlson, 2015; Danilevskii and Woodburn, 2013).

The establishment of Moscow played a dramatic role in Russian history (Bondarenko, 2000). It had predominant control over the whole state. In 1300-1550 under centralised power Moscow grew significantly from being a minor city into a place known as the seat of the Tsar of All *Rus'* (Lieven, 2002). Moscow also had a good geographical location in terms of trade, communication and security from external attacks. The symbolic integration of princely power and religious beliefs rooted one of the first ideological conceptualisations of power in Russian history. The tight connection between the Orthodox Church and princely power was a great advantage for Moscow's future positioning and authority; this was due to the Church having an influential authority over the whole country (Carmichael, 1968). It was during this period that an ideological myth-making of Moscow churchmen followed the emergence of new theory and practice that encouraged an absolute power of the Tsar, hence the foundation of an empire (Hedlund, 2006). The Muscovite Court represented autocracy and was greatly accepted by the whole society. Masculine power and gender domination was concurrent in the Muscovite Court (Kollmann, 2009). This study builds on the historic evidence of the significance of Moscow in Russia. Thus, this research centralises the focus on the capital city of Russia, due to historical and cultural dominance of symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1989) over the nation throughout centuries.

Families were renowned by their entitlement to the rank of Boyar, usually held by male members for life, the title passing within the clan according to seniority; Boyar entitlement could also be bestowed by the prince (Weickhardt, 1996; Kivelson 1996). During this period of Russian history, the Duma (Boyar's Council) was established. The Boyar Council (Duma) had restricted membership and access (Torbakov, 2014). The class-restricted power enabled the establishment of

autocratic prism within the society and class-conditioned legitimacy. The Muscovite prince adopted the Mongol doctrine that all land belonged to the ruler.

During the first Muscovite service revolution an organised and centralised service structure emerged. The duty of military service was extended. Lower ranks, including regional servitors known as '*deti boyarskie*', were obliged to fight for the Prince. Small estates were known as *Pomest'e* (Poe, 1998). Over the new century the new 'middle service class' of *pomest'e* holders differentiated themselves from the mass of the population and assumed an elite mentality: members of a privileged higher section of Muscovite society (Hertog, 2010).

The historic overview evidences the emergence of icons and iconography in Russian history and objectification of the power within iconic representations (Glazov 2015). Iconography has been persistent in the religious, political and cultural capital of Russia (Luehrmann, 2016; Kollmann, 2017).



Image 2 “Double-headed Eagle” symbol. (Canopy, 1896)

It is suggested that the two heads of the eagle (Image 2), which look to both West and East across the whole territory of the Russian Empire, are symbolic of the unity and absolute monarchy of the Tsar.

The roots of iconography were strongly linked with Ivan, the first Tsar of the Russian Empire, who adopted the symbol of the double-headed eagle and in 1493 established the title of 'Gosudar' (i.e. Lord) (Landry, 2012; Rowland, 1990). A centralised authority adopted this political ideology, which ultimately described the Tsar as the representation of God on earth, just as the whole of the Orthodox realm was believed to represent heaven. During these early stages of formulating the ideological approach to leading a nation, both the Orthodox Church and the ruler (i.e. Tsar) introduced the massive dissemination of iconography.



Image 3 Collection of icons from the Museum of Russian Icon. “Miracle of St. George and the Dragon” (Last quarter – end of the XIV century. The Lands of Rostov: source: Collection/Russian Icon Painting of the 14th –early 20th century, copyright © 2011-1

The icon was a rather natural way of demonstrating the idiosyncratic hierarchy of Russian society (Rusnock, 2007). The Orthodox Church strongly supported this stance. The church promoted a vision in which the Tsar represented a living icon of God and the Muscovite orthodox empire an icon of the heavenly kingdom. The Orthodox Church became a major landowner (Prodromou, 1996; Freeze, 1983), with the Church responsible for creating and imposing its own Christian vision of *Rus'* and its past. The Great Prince's authority in religious and quasi-historical terms projected an image of absolute majesty and unlimited power (Snow, 2012). The term *tsar* (emperor) was first introduced by Ivan IV (the Terrible) (Rowland, 1990).

2.1.2 Peter the Great and Catherine the Great

**Peter introduced social reforms. It marked the end of the boyar's power and the beginning of low-born people gaining high positions.*

*** Catherine was the first and the most successful **female emperor** in Russian history. Cultural values were built upon **religious morals** and the **ambitions of a cultivated elite**.*

In the elite consciousness the Tsar became hallowed and inviolate, his power unquestionable (Perrie, 1992). The Great Prince's authority in religious and quasi-historical terms was projected by the publicists and ideologues of Moscow as an image of absolute majesty and unlimited power. The absolute power of the prince became the guarantee of the stability and survival of the society. Princes could behave ruthlessly and brutally to those who opposed or displeased them (Freeze, 2002) historically described as 'autocratic despotism' (Carmichael, 1968). The following changes established a strong monopolistic legitimacy of symbolic power through symbolic violence in the state (Bourdieu, 1989: 22). According to Bourdieu's conceptualisation, the autocratic structure in this case produced the legitimate symbolic power through religious and Tsarist vision. It is evident that the divisions of social classification such as masculine/feminine, high/low, strong/weak in the early Russian state had unique social conditioning through symbolic violence and iconographic dispositions. As Bourdieu (1979: 77) suggests, the "symbolic system consists of symbolic forms that construct the reality", which in this instance was the model that sustained the empire.

Peter the Great introduced reforms that opened the window to Europe (Anisimov, 1993). With regard to female roles, he moved away from the Muscovite traditions whereby elite Muscovite women were severely isolated from public life (Kollmann, 1983). Kollmann (1983) suggested that women's seclusion was largely conditional with the disposition of them as being stupid (as cited in Kollmann, 1983: 170), and made changes to female status in the society. Female representatives of noble elite families had similar status to their elite female counterparts from Europe (Cracraft, 2004). The Petrine revolution suggested that parents should inherit the

lands for both male and female children (Cracraft, 2009). Noblewomen were able to attend balls and social events, which highlighted their social standing (Wood, 2000: 13). However, this reform was class-based, Petrine reforms did not affect the life of ordinary peasant women (Cracraft, 2004).

The reforms by Catherine the Great, on the other hand, changed the image of the country dramatically, by raising opportunities for its people and accepting the emergence of civil society (Neumann, 2008). Conversely, social and cultural changes in the country created contradictory situations for the existing rulers, who demanded to maintain the leadership of autocratic control (Volkov, 2010). Catherine the Great's reforms enabled women from the elite to gain the education that would help them to become better mothers and wives (Wood, 2000:13). On a broader level, the main focus of Catherine's reforms was on art, culture and architecture in the whole empire (De Madariaga, 1990).

2.1.3 Gendered Ideology in Tsarist Russia

Gender ideology persisted and shaped differently in many aspects of women's life in Tsarist Russia (Wagner and Wagner, 1994). As mentioned above, during Catherine II's reign, females had the right to education, but that education was strongly limited to learning the duties of becoming a good wife and mother and even this was limited to certain levels of society. Peasantry, as a rule, was disadvantaged (Clyman and Vowles, 1999: 240).

Another ideological breakthrough was acknowledged through the reinforcement of new marriage customs. The average marriageable age of brides increased from 15 to 18 years old (Engel, 2004; Johanson, 1987). However, the so-called rule was mainly practiced in the central and developed cities, while the countryside and rural areas were still practising the old customs (Czap, 1982). In the late 17th and

early 18th century a girl from the peasantry would marry by her 12th birthday. She was expected to learn or to know what was expected from her as a wife (Tian-Shanskaia and Ransel, 1993:4). In the same period, societal thinking was focused on the gender of the new-born baby, which would preferably be a male. Those newborns lucky enough to be boys would establish better positions and acceptance in the household (Pallot, Piacentini and Moran, 2012; Engel, 2004). The gendered ideology of having male children was core of the societal thinking which was linked to the family name continuation (Stephenson, 2001; Tian-Shanskaia and Ransel, 1993).

Significant shifts in terms of societal thinking began with the emergence of the feminist movement after the late 1850s (Stites, 1978; Lindenmeyr, 1993). The founders of the so-called 'triumvirate' were Anna Filosofova, Nadezhda Stasova and Maria Trubnikova (Chulos, 2010). Anna Filosofova was a well-known feminist leader with a fine education who was married to a high-ranked official. She was happily married until the day she was exposed to the contrast of peasant life to her own. Following this, in the 1860s she began closely working with Stasova and Trubnikova. Nadezhda Stasova was from a renowned family of Stasov and had been brought up in the educated atmosphere of Tsarskoe Selo (Stites, 1978: 67; Engel, 1985). She went through emotional journey when she was quite young; first her fiancé left her and married someone else, then her sister lost her only child and found herself ill with an incurable disease. She nursed her sister until she passed away. The tragic journey motivated her to start to help others. Her world view changed drastically when she made the acquaintance of Anna Filosofova (Stites, 1978: 67).

Trubnikova, for her part, was suffering a difficult married life. She was married to a despotic man whose mere presence affected the way the females in the family behaved: it was not permitted to wear any clothes in the house that would not be seen as feminine and it was hard to communicate needs or wants with him. He

was the one controlling all (Engel, 1985: 57; Liborakina, 1996). She later separated from him and started actively collaborating with Stasova and Filosofova. The trio had an important agenda, to work on the rights of women who were disadvantaged in both employment opportunities along with moral and material independent status (Noonan and Nechemias, 2001: 61). The initially-labelled feminist movement was focused on bringing together ‘educated women’ and raising female consciousness regardless of their social standing. The movement was driven with the idea of “uplifting the status of women in the eyes of the society” (Stites, 1978: 69; Ruthchild, 2010). One of Filosofova’s greatest achievements was the establishment of the Russian Women’s Mutual Philanthropic Society, which Stites (1978:195) refers to as “the most important feminist institution prior to 1905’ in Russia”.

With all the feminist activities, the attention was rather given to educational improvements for the women in the middle and upper classes, rather than more striking points such as equality of rights, access to public spaces and freedom of speech (Engel, 1992; 2004).

2.1.4 End of Aristocratic Prism

Soviet **political propaganda was increasingly relying on **the images of the Russian woman**. It is then that the Soviet regime rooted the symbolic power behind **Mother Russia** (Lovell, 2013; Bartlett, 2005; Shearer, 1998; Daniels, 1993).*

As the throne was passed from one ruler to another, the empire started to face social imbalance, significantly during the reign of Alexander I (1801-25). The gap increased between the aristocratic elite and the peasant classes (Lovell, 2013). The proliferation of secret societies was a response to a growing combination of strongly felt ideas and the repressiveness of the state structure. Before the French Revolution, Alexander made the critical step of converting to an ecumenical mystical evangelism (Lieven, 2006). This action by the Tsar had clear political

expression in the Holy Alliance (1815). The loosening of the power could have been re-established through tight alliance with the church, which was the main body of propaganda. Since 1825 (in the reign of Tsar Nicolas I), the civil servant had become a recognisable social type in the cultural society of that period (Simes, 1994). Industrialisation was not promoted by the authoritarian system. With the diminishing of the ideological stances and power over the population, Nicolas I restricted the social mobility of Russians towards European norms and new ideas (Verner, 1990). This move fundamentally conflicted with Catherine's reforms and propaganda. The Tsar represented the idea of 'orthodoxy, autocracy and nationality' (Kivelson, 1996). The country was divided into two classes: aristocracy and plebeians. The socio-economic imbalance and weakening of Tsarist power triggered the foundation of the Intelligentsia.

The ideological position of the Intelligentsia was the strong belief that the world should and must be changed and the only way was through the force of ideas (Raeff, 2012; Freeze, 2002). The representatives of this social group were utterly against the old order. The changing framework of public life along with the new civic activities continued its steady stream in spite of the conflicting position in the autocratic tradition of social control (Bartlett, 2005). The on-going separation between social classes was a weak link in the Russian society of the period (Bondarenko, 2000). The educated members of society were considered as alien and suspicious by both rural and urban workers. The clashes between management and workforce started to increase (Gessen, 1997; Read, 1979: 72). World War I utterly changed the political and domestic situation. It revealed Tsarist corruption and ineptitude; in contrast, it also demonstrated the strong nature of patriotism in the Russian army (Marshall, 2004).

The developments of this era had implications for the position of women in Russia. The rise of the intelligentsia and the growing numbers of the educated population in the late Russian Empire supported the non-homogenous emergence of the middle class in the society (Balzer, ed., 1996: 41; Lieven, 2002). In fact, this was

largely displayed with the appearance of the first Russian magazine, 'Rabotnitsa'. The magazine was founded in 1914 and especially designed for working middle-class women (Hoffmann, 2000; Romanenko, 2010). The magazine was created in Tsarist Russia and prior to the October Revolution (see Image 4); however, it played a significant role during the Soviet period. The magazine later was used as a tool to promote propaganda to the targeted audience (Tolstikova, 2004).



Image 4 *Rabotnitsa* magazine 1923 (Rychkov, 2017)

2.2. The Soviet Era

As a result of the October Revolution (1917) the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was founded under Lenin's leadership (Pipes, 1964). Throughout its existence (1922-1991) the Soviet Union had several leaders that contributed in a distinct style towards the regime of the communist state. The table below shows the list of the Soviet leaders in consecutive order (Hirsch, 2005; Volkogonov, 1998; Josephson, 1992).

Table 1 The Soviet Union Leaders

Vladimir Lenin	30 Dec 1922 – 21 Jan 1924
Joseph Stalin	21 Jan 1924 – 5 Mar 1953
Georgy Malenkov	5 Mar 1953- 8 Feb 1955
Nikita Khrushchev	8 Feb 1955 – 14 Oct 1964
Leonid Brezhnev	14 Oct 1964 – 10 Nov 1982
Yuri Andropov	10 Nov 1982 – 9 Feb 1984
Konstantin Cherenkov	13 Feb 1984 – 10 Mar 1985
Mikhail Gorbachev	11 Mar 1985 – 25 Dec 1991

The period of the Soviet Union's existence was full of political, cultural and economic events that consecutively had an impact on gender ideology and the role of women in the society (Katz, 2001; Buckley, 1981; Edmondson, ed., 1992). This part of the chapter attempts to extract the most significant ideological stances from the Soviet era that largely constructed the symbolic power toward the female position and her role as an icon of propaganda. The subsection below briefly reflects on the key changes according to the reinforced ideology by several Soviet rulers.

By the time the Soviet Union was founded under Lenin's leadership the country had begun to face dramatic cultural changes (Inglehart, 1997: 9). Based on Marxist theory, Lenin suggested the establishment of a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) with "an economy without markets and private property in terms of production" (Sakwa, 2005: xix). Lenin was convinced that western capitalism could be applied into the Russian context, with an emphasis on industrialisation and education (Bolsover, 1948; Althusser, 2006: 91; Stalin, 1943; Luxemburg, 1961). Lenin stressed the importance of scientific research and intellectuals (Grant, 2014; Bonnell, 1999).

This strategic step helped to narrow the gap between the Soviet Union and Europe. On one hand, these cultural changes improved social consistency within the country. On the other hand, Soviet culture was dominated by political power. Society turned upside down: taking over the ruling class and giving it to the formerly poor and weak. Revolution established the foundation of a new society (Evtuhov, 1991). Communist ideology played a vital role in safeguarding the Bolshevik Party at the very beginning of the Soviet era (Daniels, 1993: xxi), one of the greatest examples being Lenin's work (Liebman, 1970) emphasising the Bolshevik ideology of Marxism.

After Lenin a period of severe dogma began with Stalin's rule of the Soviet Union. The political culture established by Lenin completely disappeared. A positive event was the rapid industrialisation of the country after the revolution. It quickly turned from an agricultural society into an industrial society. Russian industrialisation was a challenge, drawing the country into place with the leading world nations (Fitzpatrick, 2000). Soviet military power remained a major world power. However, Stalin's reign imposed severe repression and despotism on the personal and cultural sphere (Shearer, 1998; Hoffmann, 2003: 2). The level of political interference and aggression had a huge impact on culture and it was described as a 'cultural self-isolation period and the period of spiritual emptiness'

(Patomäki and Pursiainen, 1999; Marsh, 2007). Stalin's ideology was mainly addressed to the field of philosophy. Intellectuals and scientists were isolated (Krementsov, 1996: 54).

During the Soviet era schools and more importantly mothers had a clear mission to bring up "true sons of the Motherland", who must be also dedicated ideological fighters for their Land (Wertsch, 2000; Knight, 2009: 790). In Stalin's terms all members of the Soviet Union should share mutual economic conditions, common language, same territory, and alike mind sets in regards with culture and national character (Noga, 2011; Rigby 1964).

Stalin's successor was Malenkov (1953-55) who led the Communist party for a very limited period. No significant changes were made (Pollock, 2001; Akturk, 2008). The next leader, Khrushchev, entirely repudiated Stalin's style of ruling and tyranny; instead he started aggressive reforms that eventually brought the ideology of internal chaos to the Soviet Union (Dallin and Larson, 1968). From a cultural aspect, many authors reflect on the conflicting character of the Soviet parties during that period and most importantly the influential image and personality of Stalin. Governmental suppression of popular culture was sporadic, bearing in mind the huge diversity within the whole territory (Evtuhov, 1991).

Unlike Khrushchev, Brezhnev (1964-1982) introduced a new concept of 'developed socialism' (Bacon and Sandle, 2002). He strongly suggested moving forward from the past ideological orthodoxy (Evans, 1977: 413) and the start of "opening up economic contacts with the West and reforms in the agricultural sector" (Bunce, 1983: 131). Brezhnev's, later Andropov's (1982-84) and Chernenko's (1984-85) eras are often referred as a period of 'stagnation' ('zastoi'). The planned economy was not very strong due to failure in the centralised power (Sandle, 2002; Bunce, 1983). Along with the major political, economic and social changes, the October Revolution and the Soviet Era brought significant changes to women's lives. To

elaborate more on this the next section provides insights into women's roles, gender ideology and propaganda through illustrative posters and imagery from the Soviet period.

2.2.1 Gendered Ideology, Propaganda and Female Imagery in USSR

The Soviet era was one of the strongest known for its political propaganda through posters and strong images of women and men (Engel, 2004; Woolston, 1932). The complex gendered ideologies were observed during the long lasting 70 years of the Soviet era. Women were the main target of the Bolshevik party. In 1917, women were granted the right to vote. They were carrying multiple roles, such as being mothers, wives, and workers along with being active agents of political and national propaganda (Chandler, 1987).

This section provides some reflection on the reproduction of the imagery of Soviet propaganda and women/mothers as the ultimate icons and representatives of Communist ideology.



Image 5 (left) “Women Workers, Take Up Your Rifles!” An early Civil War poster, artist unknown. Women newly recruited into the Red Army for the defense of Petrograd in the Civil War, 1918. (Revolution; Lenin era). As illustrated and described in King, 2009: 73. (right) “Long Live the

Proletarian Holiday-May 1st". Petrograd, 1921 poster by I. Simakov. Portrayal of life under the silver birches for peasant and worker was sadly misplaced; the bleak reality for millions of Russians at this time was famine (Revolution; Lenin era), as illustrated and described in King, 2009:129.

Soviet press is one of the best known for its use of political propaganda (Bonnell, 1999). During the years of the establishment of the Soviet Union, the leaders of the party took a considerable step in using propaganda via press as a key driver of socialisation (Brooks, 2000; Rutland, 2009). Based on historical evidence, Lapidus states (1978: 105) that “the role of women in Soviet Union was crucially significant”. However, the process of transition from communism had a number of negative (such as political and economic) and some positive impacts (such as opportunities for independent women’s organisations to challenge the feminist politics). The Bolshevik revolution of 1917 brought with it the great promise of women’s equality in Russia (Racioppi and See, 1995a; Buckley 1981; Attwood, 1990). According to Marxist-Leninist doctrine, when socialism was recognized, women would achieve equality with men. Unfortunately, the promise was not equal to reality and remained as a myth (Racioppi and See, 1995).



Image 6 (Left) “We Defeated the Enemy with Weapons-With Hard Work We Will Get Our Bread. Everyone to Work, Comrades”. Poster by Nikolai Kogout’s (1920) post-Civil War reconstruction (Lenin Era). As illustrated and described in King, 2009:138. (Right) “The Eternal Leader of October-Lenin-Has Shown Us the Path to Victory. Long Live Leninism” Poster (1924) Unknown author. On

the seventh anniversary of October Revolution). As illustrated and described in King, 2009: 158,159.

Gender roles during the 1920s were not much established, there was a high level of unemployment (female), an unknown future and confusion (Kukhterin, 2000). At that point the Bolsheviks were in great need of strong ideology that would support the revolution and change societal thinking. As a result, diverse images of Soviet women were created that persisted from its establishment until its collapse. Women were encouraged to get out of their traditional roles and start working (Clements, Engel and Worobec, eds., 1991; Waylen, 1994). These events imposed great cultural and social revolution through a major transition going from a patriarchal understanding of the loving, caring, selfless mother to a hardworking, encouraging woman leading the socialisation of the whole country. The images of the posters are brought up as an example showing the clear demonstration of the diverse roles of women (Bonnell, 1999).



Image 7 (left) “The Emancipated Woman is Building Socialism”. A poster by Adolf Strakhov (1926). Portrayal of the politicised woman factory worker as an integral part of the class struggle. Soviet communist policy, overwhelmingly decided by men, opposed the idea of an independent women’s liberation movement. As illustrated and described in King, 2009:164. (right) “Cooperatives are the Path to Socialism”. A calendar for 1927. Unknown author. The contrast between this hallucination of a lovingly-protected land of peace and plenty and Strakhov’s powerful “rabortnits” on the left. As illustrated and described in King, 2009:165.

The Soviet state became increasingly centralised and authoritarian under Stalin's rule and placed severe limitations on women (Reid, 1998). The typical wide-range discussions of women's rights and correspondingly their equity, once so popular in the early 1920s, were strictly prohibited. Stalin purposely designed and applied policies to ensure that women served the causes of national political consolidation, economic construction, and later the war effort (Lapidus, 1978: 76; Racioppi and See, 1995). The discussions about women's rights and their role in Russian society were brought to the next stage only during Gorbachev's leadership (Rivkin-Fish, 2010: 709). Central to the discussions within this topic was the level of manipulation of women and its effect on family tradition and reproduction in the post-Soviet era (Rivkin-Fish, 2010: 708; Waylen, 1994; Dawn Metcalfe and Afanassieva, 2005).



Image 8 (left) “Lenin, Stalin. A poster by M. Glik (1934) with a quotation from Vyacheslav Molotov: “The victorious development of socialism in the USSR will find its expression in the colossal development of national cultures on a socialism foundation Stalin era. As illustrated and described in King, 2009: 246-247. (right) Shura Kuvshinova- the glamorous face of a Soviet advertising campaign for “Saint” toothpaste, launched in 1938 by Polina Zhemchuzhina, People’s Commissar of the Food Industry USSR Perfume Directorate. The “Saint” poster was painted and designed by the Moscow artist, Izrael Bograd. He was arrested as an English spy and shot in June 1938, one month before his poster hit the hoardings. As illustrated and described in King, 2009:256-257.



Image 9 “Them...Us” The tragedy of Viktor Koretsky’s huge double-image poster. On the left is a scene of defiance and devastation echoing Guernica, bombed by the Germans in the Spanish Civil War. On the right is the Soviet Woman with her well-fed son, also looking to the skies, giving thanks to Comrade Stalin for the immeasurable riches that he has bestowed upon the Motherland. Within 6 months of its publication the German army invaded Russia. As illustrated and described in King, 2009: 288.

It is worth mentioning that after the creation of the Soviet Union the main concerns about women and the family were not dominant issues to most Bolsheviks. With the establishment of the *Zhenotdel* (women’s department) in the Communist party, the Bolshevik activists’ intentions were to artificially create a positive image in the eyes of Russian women and correspondingly gain support from the female part of the society (Hayden, 1976). Nevertheless, discussions shifted dramatically during the power of Stalin, and the feminist views were silenced entirely (Racioppi and See, 1995). Stalin completely eliminated *Zhenotdel* in 1930 (Schrand, 1999). Women’s position in Soviet society was re-examined in limited fashion only in the Khrushchev era (Reid, 2002). Under Khrushchev’s political leadership the *Zhensovet* (the Women’s Council) was established (Racioppi and See, 2000: 205; Lapidus, 1975; Schrand, 1999). The *Zhensovet* was under the direct supervision of the Soviet Women’s Committee, it enabled some active mobilisation of women rights, such as hosting women’s forums, talks and

discussion of education issues (Racioppi and See, 2000: 218-19). Nonetheless, the key issues such family, birth control, social violence etc., were left out of the discourse until *perestroika* (Gorbachev’s regime) (Molyneux, 1990: 23; Racioppi and See, 2000: 219; Rivkin-Fish, 2004).



Image 10 (left) “Don’t Chatter” Nina Vatolina’s famous 1941 poster on the subject of careless talk costing lives. The small text reads: “Be alert. In days like these, the walls have ears. It’s a small step from gossip to treason.” As illustrated and described in King, 2009: 294. Stalin Era. (right) “Fascism – The Most Evil Enemy of Women. Everyone to the Struggle Against Fascism.” By Nina Vatolina, 1941. Vatolina used her neighbour (whom she would often see queueing in her local bakery, always wearing the same red head scarf) as the model for this heroic poster. As illustrated and described in King, 2009: 294-295. Stalin Era.



Image 11 (left) “Superwoman”. Unknown author, poster published in 1931. The caption reads: “Network of crèches, kindergartens, canteens and laundries to ensure the participation of women in socialist construction”. Source (borrowed from © TopFoto 20 April 2017). Image (right) “Praise the mother-heroine!”, Poster by artist N. Vatolina, 1944

As seen in the images, this is a strong female figure, with a masculine power to protect all. The message is praising mothers that are ‘heroines’ of the period. As illustrated in Images of Women in Press Propaganda.



Image 12 (left) Stalin era. “For the Motherland!” Illustrated in *Images of Women in Press Propaganda* (Source: *SovietPosters.com*, accessed 20 April 2017). (right) Stalin era, “Motherland Is Calling!” author unknown. The colour red symbolises the Soviet flag and the blood of the workers. It also resonates with the Red Army. The message here is “the motherland needs help and it calls for help”. A mature woman with masculine features calls for the whole nation to stand for the land. Illustrated in *Images of Women in Press Propaganda* (Source: *SovietPosters.com*, accessed 20 April 2017).

The Stalinist era faced the greatest demographic, productive and reproductive crisis due to Stalinist excesses and the war. There was a scarcity of young adult males in the state (Shulman, 2008). Stalin’s strategy had a strong interest in “making it possible for women to be simultaneously engaged in both productive and reproductive labour, whether or not they were married” (McKinney, 2004: 39).



Image 13 Image 13 (left) “Do not lie ever!”1965. The mother figure with delicate features. She has a strong look on her face. The message here is “do not lie, ever”, one of the slogans of communism. The mother here carries the role of educator. Brezhnev era. Illustrated in Images of Women in Press Propaganda (Source: SovietPosters.com, accessed 20 April 2017). (right) “Wear it with honour!”, artist G. Shubina, 1956. A nurturing mother who dresses the child spotlessly, here she has a worried look. The message is “wear it with honour”. The role of the mother is to direct and teach what is the right thing, even if that is against her own motherly principles, however expected as ‘right’ from society at large. Khrushchev era. Illustrated in Images of Women in Press Propaganda



Image 14 “We need peace...” artist, N. Tereshchenko, 1955. An image of a Russian mother making a flag with her own hands. The message is “we need peace” and the mother figure was believed to be the strongest person to deliver this message. The colour red stands out. Khrushchev era. Illustrated in Images of Women in Press Propaganda (Source: SovietPosters.com, accessed 20 April 2017).

The women’s question was one of the core aspects of Khrushchev’s policy that promised normalcy in the public sphere and reconsideration of female roles (Reid,

2002; Wood, 2009). Abortion was legalised in 1955; meanwhile, the divorce process became more open (Heer, 1965). Social services were struggling to support single mums, especially with day care services for children. Alcoholism (in men) and domestic violence increased.

Yet, Khrushchev's legacy stated, "women are uniquely suited to taking care of domestic and maternal matters" (Kolchevska, 2005). The contrast between the party's promises and the actual stereotypical notion of gender inequality persisted throughout Khrushchev's era. The stereotypical perceptions of women's biological role as their primary responsibility reinforced perceptions of lower consciousness and rationality when it came to politics (Kolchevska, 2005; Reid, 1998; Gal and Kligman, 2012). The next subsection will cover the period of Perestroika, the end of the Soviet era and implications of women's position in the society.

2.2.2 Perestroika and Collapse of the Soviet Union

***Women's organisations started acting actively, discussing topics that were banned previously. The changes happening in the state triggered inequalities in gender, class and tightened the **patriarchal** societal image. The image and role of **women** was made through political discourse where they were thought to be **belonging to domestic sphere**. **Feminism** was perceived with **abhorrence** and linked with ugliness, **lesbianism** and hatred of men (Sperling, 2000; Bazylar, 1990; Marsh, 1996).*

The last ruler of the Soviet states was Gorbachev (1985-91). Gorbachev's main agenda was to strengthen the state through establishing bureaucracy in the communist party (McCauley, 2016:1; Teague, 1990). Gorbachev introduced new ideology through *Glasnost* ('openness') and *Perestroika* (Gibbs, 1999), which gave Russian people an opportunity to express their thoughts. The period is known by constant changes of policies and no significant reforms in the economy (Boettke, 2002: 39). One of the most actively discussed topics of the period was women and their position in the society (Sperling, 2000: 53). New organisations and groups started emerging, including LOTOS (The League for Society's Liberation from Stereotypes) formed by academic females who were alarmed by the social

stereotyping and fascinated by western feminism (Sperling, 2000, 54; Bazylar, 1990; Marsh, 1996: 288). The core message of Gorbachev was to urge women to return to their “purely womanly mission” (Sperling, 2000: 55), which is being a mother and a wife (LaFont, 2001). The political discourse of the period suggested that there was no need for equal roles for women and men, as they differ both biologically and by their capabilities (Barta, 2013: 313; Posadskaya, 1994). The suggested equality was taken from the negative perspective, which evoked demographic crisis in the state (Molyneux 1990; Attwood, 1990: ix). The sharp drop in the birth rate and reproduction urged the state to rethink some of the earlier imposed propaganda on sex roles. The traditional notion of the female was increasingly stressed; females would have to focus on their maternal orientation and give up on professional career aspects (Attwood, 1990: 12; Marsh, 1996: 168).

Gorbachev lost credibility amongst the party members and in the social arena too. The planned economy did not work. The Soviet era came to its end during Gorbachev’s reforms (Brown and Shevtsova, 2013). Its political power progressively declined and as a result, the disintegration of the Soviet Union was a peaceful transition (Cook, 1992).

As discussed in the previous sections, the meaning of the image of Russian women was constantly changing during the Soviet era. Firstly, in the Leninist state, the image of woman was predominantly linked to the “woman-worker”. This concept was soon replaced during the Stalinist regime, which had a clear intention to create a new “superwoman” image that combined woman as worker with woman as mother (Reid, 1998; Attwood, 2001). Because Stalin needed women to support the construction of the centralised economy, heavy industrialisation and collectivisation, the regime decided to cultivate pre-revolutionary family values and the traditional nuclear family (Miller et al., 2006).

The poster propaganda was replaced with other means of media propaganda, such as magazines. Popular magazines of the period were *Rabotnitsa* and *Krestyanka* which illustrated the images of women proposed by the ruling authority (Sirinyok-Dolgaryova, 2014). This gained popularity along with the reflections of *Glasnost* and *Perestroika* ideologies (Ilic, 2014). Some drastic changes were observed from the female portrayals on the posters in contrast to the previous decade and in the female representations in magazines since 1989 (Reiter and Luxton, 1991; Davidenko, 2016). Women shifted from ‘masculine’ traits, such as the industry worker, builder, strong leader, towards more feminine and maternal traits (Attwood, 2005). Below some examples from the magazines’ cover pages are illustrated.



Image 15 Cover pages of Russian magazines “*Rabotnitsa*” and “*Krest’janka*” published between 1989 and 1991 (Gorbachev period). The images have been borrowed from the archives of *Journal-club.ru* (accessed 27 April 2017 at 15:00).

The images above show radical changes in the portrayal of women since 1923. Here, women are seen as more fragile, in a different atmosphere, with sexualised and revealing body display. In contrast to the previous images, women have more objectified positions in these images.

As described above, during the Gorbachev era and in post-Soviet Russia, the image of woman as worker-mother was steadily replaced by an image of woman as wife, mother, and homemaker. Therefore, Russian women were asked to return to their traditional duties and position in the family (Oates-Indruchová, 2012; Waylen, 1994; Sperling, 2000). Gorbachev admitted that women's role as producers and reproducers had failed because of the previous propaganda of the state (LaFont, 2001: 207; Ashwin and Bowers, 1997). The life of women in the former Soviet Union has been documented and it clearly shows that in a society with an almost 90% female labour participation rate, but women also did all the housework, childcare, and family work (shopping) (Brainerd, 2000). The suggested new mission of Russian women was restricted in terms of their role and activism in civil life (Posadskaya, 1994).

2.3. New Russia

*Key figure -the president Putin also renowned as 'cult figure' and beholder of **biopower**. Significant changes and ideological realm was observed in **legitimizing gender roles**, i.e. strong high rank male domination in professional positions, females on the other hand facing institutionalized gender bias. "The regime replaced the idea of women's equality with the idea of the **state's protection of motherhood**" (Johnson, 2016: 644).*

The concept of the "New Russia" came along with president Boris Yeltsin. The 1990s was a period of rapid privatisation and the country was led by President Yeltsin (Smith 2002; Treisman, 2011). He successfully formed a small but authoritative group of magnates, also known as "*oligarchs*", dominant in the most popular and influential sectors, such as media and energy. According to the constitution, the president was granted extensive power over the country. The successors of the New Russia were businessmen, gangsters, and politicians. The

'perestroika' affect brought about a chaotic atmosphere in the country (Sperling, 2000). Some people became extremely rich while others were suffering in extreme poverty (Shevtsova, 2007: 105). Those rich families were sending their children to private English schools. They could also easily afford expensive clothes and even holidays in other countries. There was no middle class in the federation. There was a huge gap between very rich families and others living in poverty in other towns and the countryside of Russia. Poverty engulfed the largest segment of the society (Fleron, 1996; Weigle, 2002).



Image 16 History of women's magazine in Russia 1991-2013 (accessed through wiki.wildberries.ru, 29 Sep. 17).

The blend of new and old Russian societies created a new layer of cultural elite in Russia. Sperling (2014: 68) claims that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, “the cultural context enabling political use of gender norms, sexism, and homophobia in Russia was firmly in place”. Sexual objectification and commercialisation of women (especially their bodies) was the next drastic and open phase that was

promoted through beauty contests, which later in the 1990s started to shape the form of advertising (Sperling, 2000: 174; Marsh, 1996: 78).

The transition period created new images and identities of Russian women which was in most cases consumerist and pornographic (Bridger et al., 2005: 26; Sperling, 2000: 174; Penttinen, 2000). The spread of pornographic and erotic images in the media was declared to be a 'decline in morals' in post-soviet Russia (Кох, 1995:116). In conjunction with this, there was an overall rise of 'violence and cruelty' in the Federation. Feminism was perceived with abhorrence and linked with ugliness, lesbianism and hatred of men (Adlam, 2009; Sperling et al., 2001).

President Yeltsin's successor was Vladimir Putin (born in St Petersburg in 1952). Putin started the first stage of his career in the Soviet secret police, the KGB (Roxburgh, 2013; Baker and Glasser, 2005: 44). From 1990 he was located in the St Petersburg administration, after which he moved to Moscow in 1996. By August 1999 he had become the Prime Minister of the Russian Federation and in 2000 he was elected president. President Putin as a political figure has immensely contributed to Russia's success (Truscott, 2005; Judah, 2013). Since the collapse of the Soviet Union he has been widely recognised in Russia as a strong leader who has inspired and grown Russia from the difficult economic, social and political crises of the 1990s (Brown, 2001: 47). President Putin was subsequently elected for two presidential terms. After the second term Medvedev was elected, while Mr Putin was relocated to a Prime Ministerial position during those four years. In 2012 Mr Putin was once again elected as a president (Shevtsova, 2012; Gel'man, 2013).

From the national point of view, he considers himself as a defender against Western attempts to change cultural and political values in Russia. Many critical arguments arose against Vladimir Putin, referring to the modernisation of the country's industry and infrastructure.



Image 17 *President Vladimir Putin on horse-riding holidays in Southern Siberia's Tuva region in August 2009 (Source: Business insider, accessed 28 April 2017).*

The level of corruption has increased under his government. The Putin era is noted for biological and sexist ideology, where women's role is mainly reproductive (Sperling, 2014: 70). The gendered ideology is claimed to be tightly linked with the Russian Orthodox Church and its beliefs in women's destiny and the social conditioning of male and female roles in the cultural capital. This conceptualising is strongly promoted through stereotypical images in the media and other channels (Williams, 2001; Rutland, 2014). As can be seen in the images below, Russian women are primarily positioned within the patriarchal family settings. They are often portrayed within the domestic space, engaged in various activities, such as cooking, cleaning, gardening and looking after children.



Image 18 Russian Magazine covers from 2000-2017

The concept of glamour gradually invaded everyday life and significantly increased its influence since 2006, as it became one of the hottest topics of the period. The emergence of glamour is due to increased advertising coming from the West (Martínez, 2012: 107). Soviet symbolism has been replaced by paternal symbolism through the image of Putin, whose image was endorsed through various media channels (Foxall, 2013). The modern Russian legitimate power is embodied by Putin as being militarized, patriotic and strong. The focus is on the masculine image of Russia (Eichler, 2006: 498). Stereotyping and sexist gender ideology has significantly increased during Putin's presidency. Women have

become more vulnerable and less able to protect themselves from violence (Sperling, 2014: 69).

2.4 The Overview of Conceptualised and Vibrant Motherhood in Russia

The conceptualisation of motherhood in Russia faced transformation in line with the broader societal shifts, such as imperial rule followed by socialism and consumerist capitalism (Caiazza, 2002; Rivkin-Fish, 2012; Richter, 2002). In the previous sections the emphasis was on the explicit existence and impact of symbolic power on Russian culture and the acceptance of ideological power by the broader society. It summarised and illustrated how ideology was shaped around women in particular and the inconsistency of Russian women's identities and fluctuating agencies. In this section, I will be reflecting specifically on the ideologies and motherhood archetypes shaped as a result of historic transformations covered in the previous sections.

Motherhood as a separate topic has not been fully researched, while 'Women in Russia' is one of the most researched topic since the rise of feminism in Tsarist Russia (Stites, 1978; Sperling, 1999; Johnson, 2009). Alongside this, studies over the last few decades were mainly focused on Soviet and post-Soviet Russian female identities. Limited studies reflected on motherhood identities and parenting practices before Soviet times and the post-Soviet era (Ransel, 2014, 301; Grayzel, 2014; Caiazza, 2002). Only a shadowy reflection was observed after the changes of the Petrine reforms in 18th century, where women started having social recognition outside the box of '*mother and wife*' prescribed roles (Hughes, 2001). Nonetheless, in the role of mother they were obliged to be the moral and spiritual guides for the children (Green, 1999).

Russia has a rich cultural folk heritage that gives us some background information on the mythical and archetypal images of mothers that are still central in Russian cultural capital (Johnson, 2016). By looking back to Russian folk myth it is possible to observe ideological myth making that stimulated some grounds for iconographic representations of motherhood before and now (Kan, 1996; Perelmutter, 2014; Yandim, 2007; Farrell, 1991). As described in previous sections Russian women went through various ideological transitions and the image of women has changed constantly (Sperling, 2000; LaFont, 2001; Penttinen, 2000; Bridger, et al., 2005).

The construction of motherhood identity in the early Russia is thought to be composed of folk and Russian Orthodox Church beliefs (Smith-Peter, 2007; Ivanits, 1989). Significant links were observed with the conceptions of Mother Russia and the archetypes of Mother of God and Mother Earth (Ivanits, 1989; Hubbs, 1993; Farrell, 1991). The table below illustrates iconographic connotations of motherhood in Russia.

Table 2 Mother Icons in Russia (sources include: Smith, 2013; Pentcheva, 2010; Averintsev, 1994; Hall, 2004; Ivanits, 1989; Hubbs, 1993; Farrell, 1991).

Mother of God (<i>Bogoroditsa</i>)	The meaning around ‘ <i>mother</i> ’ when related to the Mother of God is more sacrificing; the focus is on emphasising the nativity and the passion expressed through the eyes of the sorrowing mother (Smith, 2013; Pentcheva, 2010; Averintsev 1994). It has deep meanings of protection linked with the image of Mary who attempted to protect her son and the day when Mary saved Constantinople from the Saracens (Pentcheva, 2000; Hall, 2004).
Mother Earth (<i>Mat’syra zemlia</i>)	Reproductive meaning around the mother icon is linked with fertility, birth and food. It is a provider of everything. (Ivanits, 1989; Hubbs, 1993; Farrell, 1991)

Ideological structures in Russia were observed since the early stages of Russian civil society formulation were linked to the active role of Russian masons (Bradley, 2002). Cultural values were built upon religious morals and ambitions mostly among the cultivated elite (McDaniel, 1996; Heretz, 2008). This refers to the

church as the only powerful body and an ideology creator and transmitter of the empire. This characteristics of the Russian nation remained core for centuries (Crews, 2003; Vernadsky 1969: 180). In the 18th century the majority of the Russian population and especially the clergy were uneducated, the main source of education were the folk tales and iconography suggested by the church (Schrooyen, 2004). Motherhood, as such, was mainly linked to the fertility and the archetype of “The Mother Earth” or “The Mother Damp Earth” (*Mat'syra zemlia*) which is fertile and gives everything a human needs (Ivanits, 1989; Hubbs, 1993; Farrell, 1991). In Tsarist Russia the worship of Mary as the icon of “The Mother of God” became central to the folk beliefs of the great mother goddess (Hubbs, 1993; Rubin, 2010). In Russian popular culture, the Divine Motherhood became very central (Ivanits, 1989; Thyret, 1994; Farrell, 1991).

Throughout the existence of Imperial Russia, motherhood was a primary role of women in the society (Clyman and Vowles, 1999). The Russian Orthodox Church had great influence and was the main body in the society ruling the morals and principles of good womanhood or motherhood. The social conditioning of female identities and its roles were continuously supported by the Tsar and representatives of higher social classes (Paert, 2003; Engel, 2004).

With the drastic transformations and changes of the October Revolution and the establishment of Soviet Union came new symbolic meanings around the concept of motherhood (Issoupova, 2000). Being a mother was no longer considered to be the main duty of women (Atkinson, Dallin, and Lapidus, 1977; Engel, 2004). Feminine and motherhood traits were replaced with the strong and masculine characters symbolized in the Soviet political propaganda (Attwood, 1990:136; Attwood, 2005). The Russian Orthodox Church lost the power of its own propaganda over the ideologies enforced by the political leaders of the period (Froese, 2005). A drastic shift came with the Soviet period, where a huge impact on societal thinking, perceived social security and predominant prioritisation of motherhood and childhood practices were thought to be the core in building strong

national image (Shpakovskaya, 2015: 1574). Soviet ideology had a set of gender responsibilities or so called roles that were inconsistent depending on the ruling authority or political situation of the state (Wood, 2000).

The great promise of the revolution was the equality of rights for women in the society (Lapidus, 1978). This triggered great hope for women who were eager to combine motherhood with work, thinking the state would provide the necessary conditions for childcare (Waters, 1992: 128). A new concept of “Motherland” emerged as the key iconic representation of the Mother Earth (land and nationalism) nurtured in the reproductive character of the mother icon (Hoffmann, 2003; Barrington, Herron and Silver, 2003). This is well illustrated in the Soviet posters presented here (see pages 24-31). The mother image shaped rather powerful and empowering meanings. Mother Russia (Hubbs, 1993) became an iconic tool used throughout the existence of the Soviet state (Stockdale, 2004). Images of Russian women were used to trigger greater patriotism during the war (Jahn, 1995; Shover, 1975; Yesil, 2004).

Stalin’s regime (1924-53) brought to light the new icon of the “Mother-heroine” (Mitsuyoshi, 2006; Bazyler, 1987) a woman who was able to give birth to many children and still able to contribute to the other aspects of the social and political life of the Soviet states (Vesela, 2003; Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov, 2009: 214). The drastic decrease of the birth rate stimulated by the war benefited from the emergence of the ideological stance of symbolising mothers (single or married) as being heroes of the period with their contribution to the motherland (Nakachi, 2006; Hoffmann, 2000; Yesil, 2004). Nevertheless, female images were largely intermingled with masculinity traits (see poster on page 24-31), as they were expected to combine multiple responsibilities that were originally more male-appropriate tasks along with being a mother (Ashwin, 2002).

As the tension (both in the communist party and societal) began to increase during the Gorbachev period (1985-91) the new ideology brought attention to changing

images of Russian women (Sperling, 2000). The concept of motherhood moved back to its traditional roots, where women were asked to return home and continue being “good wives and mothers” (Attwood, 1990; Marsh, 1996). It sought to show it to be natural for women to have a primary task of giving birth, bringing up the child (children), maintaining a good atmosphere in the house and being exceptional wives for their husbands (Waylen, 1994; Engel, 2004; Sperling, 2000). The events triggered greater stereotyping of male and female roles in the society (Zavyalova and Kosheleva, 2010). Women were asked to choose between work or being a mother (Engel, 2004: 254). Mothers had restricted resources for childcare which left them unable to carry on working and mothering at the same time (Engel, 2004: 258; Ispa, 2002).

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the establishment of the Russian Federation brought to light sexism in marketplace ideologies along with domestic violence in relation to women in Russian society (Caldwell et al., 1997; Horne, 1999). It is argued that during the Soviet era, sex as a topic of public discussion was illegal (Naiman, 1997:5; Goscilo, 1996; Ashwin, 2002), which enabled greater emphasis on women’s body and sexual embodiment after the collapse of the Union. The image of Russian women became synonymous with prostitution, which was largely portrayed in print media and TV (Jacobsen and Skilbrei, 2010; DeGroot, 2001). A new concept emerged of ‘Russian brides’, which comprised the idea of Russian women seeking foreign husbands and who were promoted as ideal wives, good at housework and mothering (Markee, 2000).

In the modern Russian Federation, the motherhood concept is one of the most discussed topics (Vasyagina and Kalimullin, 2015; Issoupova, 2000). Post-Soviet Russia had some elements of liberalism, at least it was presumed that family and personal life started shaping a more independent character both politically and through the public state (Auzan, 2006: 47). Public institutions weakened in terms of producing and transmitting ideologies of parenthood and gender roles (Nartova, 2015). New ways of defining, or more specifically reproducing,

motherhood/parenthood practices emerged (Gradskova, 2015). The new channels were mostly in the form of media such as glossy magazines, parental literature, advertisements and later the internet, along with the market trends and goods available to consumers (in this instance for children and mothers) (Shpakovskaya, 2015; Tiidenberg, 2015; Davidenko, 2016). With advancements in the new consumerist society where Western goods and services are easily accepted, motherhood acquired distinct attention. The Russian Orthodox Church regained its influence in this stance relating to good mothering practices (Knox, 2003; Payne, 2010; Rotkirch et al., 2007). The discourse of motherhood regained the meanings of self-sacrifice (in this instance losing women's identity and active practice in the public and social sphere) (Utrata, 2011). The masculine orientation of the state established the strong masculine character of the federation, where motherhood remained within the framework of heterosexuality and marriage (Chernova and Shpakovskaya, 2010).

During the first quarter of Putin's presidency, the primary responsibilities of mothers remained as childbearing, educating and ensuring a safe and clean home environment. The 'Russian mother' was expected to have sufficient education, including basic knowledge in the medical sphere, as an essential to bringing up a healthy child (Tamm et al., 2016; Saralieva, et al., 2015). Russian mothers were expected to have a knowledge base in such realms as medicine, child psychology, paediatrics, nutritional science. This type of thinking was primarily rigid for middle class mothers (Remennick, 2015; Bezrukova and Samoylova, 2015). Shpakovskaya (2015: 1573) argues that middle class mothers construct their identity by gaining knowledge through direct/indirect contacts with doctors and reading popular parenting handbooks and magazines.

It is also argued that the old Russian folk tales are still an influential part of Russian mothering practice (especially to those who live in rural areas) (Kovalchuk, 2015; Rouhier-Willoughby, 2015). Perelmutter (2014: 259) argues that the repeated discussions of folk beliefs through modern communication

channels reinforce constriction of gendered identity. One of the examples of folk beliefs is reflected in the meanings associated with *primeta* (a sign) (Семёнова 2016). Mother (or mothers to be) believe in the effect of ‘primeta’, such as it is ‘prohibited to cut hair while you are pregnant’, ‘not allowed to visit cemetery’ ‘keeping away from an evil eye’ (sglaz, porcha), and older female relatives are expected to educate new mothers-to be and protect them from the evil eye. Gilles (2008) suggests that working class mothers as a rule are portrayed as inconsiderate, conservative and controlling; while Lawler (2000: 39) contrasts this with a middle-class mother who is more sympathetic, independent and pursuing natural relations with her child. The identity construction is closely linked with the cultural background or cultural capital the person belongs to (Lamont and Lareau, 1988; Skeggs, 2004: 27). Beliefs and ideologies in women’s lives trigger the complexities of identity struggle in the lives of Russian women. (Perelmutter, 2014: 261).

Contemporary Russian mothering practice is class-specific as it reflects the ‘embodied knowledge, values, tastes and parenting cultural competences’ (Shpakovskaya, 2015: 1573). Motherhood practice is thought to be engaged with “complex social and political relations of power, control and knowledge production” (Shpakovskaya, 2015: 1573; Kuleshova, 2015). The boundaries of what is defined as ‘normal’ and ‘good’ mothering are produced and transmitted by a multitude of agents who participate in a symbolic struggle, but are often presented as a result of personal choice, competence and the wishes of women themselves (Shpakovskaya, 2015: 1573; Rodin, 2015; Boberiene and Yazykova, 2014).

Mothering practice in modern Russia is suffused with the history and traditions mentioned above, but now also conditioned by the media and availability of information from multiple traditional (e.g. print media) and non-traditional /emerging channels (e.g. social media, internet) (Djafarova and Trofimenko, 2017; Kim, 2016; Rodin, 2015). Access to distinct information and opportunities to conduct transactions for services became a contemporary resource for the social

differentiation of motherhood (Shpakovskaya, 2015: 1574; Golden and Erdreich, 2014). In contrast to Soviet mothers, who were all provided with universal goods and services, the post-Soviet mother had access to numerous types of goods and services in a rapidly growing market (Assonova, 2010: 81). The private sector rapidly grew by providing better quality with considerably more expensive prices in contrast to the public sector. Middle class mothers now have the opportunity to choose from the types of goods and services available in the market (Roberts, 2014; Vasyagina and Kalimullin, 2015). Marketplace ideologies and consumption practices in Russia created class-conditioned identities (Peshkova et al., 2016; Kuleshova, 2015).

2.5 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to provide insights on the historical development of ideologies of Russian womanhood and motherhood. Through a chronological synopsis it highlights shifts of religious and political propaganda that embraced the variety of roles in which Russian women were and are supposed to be engaged. Emphasis was also made on the symbolic structure of the context and acceptance of dominant ideologies and legitimisation of the subordination of the power of women. That power in its turn was both class conditioned and gendered. While the whole historic overview seems to be rich and exciting, there is a significant gap in the literature which left out of the discourse the gender ideology employed through the iconographic representations of motherhood in contemporary Russian advertising practice. This thesis explores the reproductive nature of motherhood ideologies promoted through Russian print media. The study refers to advertising as a new visual means of cultural propaganda for good mothering practice (Sussman, 2012) within an historical context replete with such cultural mechanisms. It aims to unpack the contemporary iconography of motherhood in Russia through in-depth critical visual analysis of mother and baby magazines and combined reactions of Russian mothers to the archetypal dispositions portrayed in print media. The next chapter introduces the theoretical background

of the thesis, positioning this research within a broader theoretical realm of consumer culture theory and signifying the theoretical contribution.

Chapter 3 The Theoretical Background

3.0. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the theoretical grounding of this thesis. It embraces a critical review of the relevant literature on three major fields in consumer research (CR): namely, the theoretical background of this research comprises multiple theoretical stances that contribute equally towards the theorisation and conceptualisation of the production and reproduction of motherhood ideologies in Russia through magazine advertising. The principal objective of this study is to interpret consumer culture in Russia, which is formed through archetypal images produced in advertising and reproduced or resisted by Russian mothers. With the aim of fulfilling these research objectives this study adopts the Consumer Culture Theory (Arnould and Thompson, 2005) tradition of interpreting mass-mediated ideologies in the marketplace. Interpretation of these ideologies is made possible through the sociological disposition of ‘symbolic power’ suggested by Bourdieu (1989) and, finally, further articulated by the Visual Culture Theory and Visual Consumption proposed by Schroeder (2005) (see Figure 1).

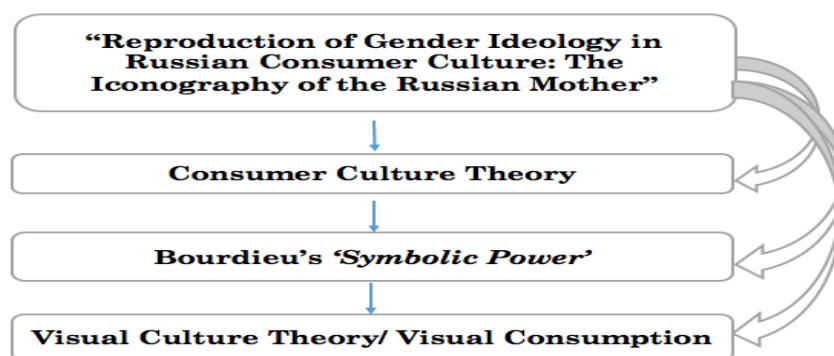


Figure 1 Theoretical Framework (Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Bourdieu, 1989; Schroeder, 2005).

The content below is divided into three accompanying theoretical sections. Each of the sections both contributes to this study and highlights the limitations of previous application to consumer research. It begins with Consumer Culture Theory (3.1) and strategically positions the theme of reproductive ideologies and consumption patterns within the domains of CCT. This is followed by a critical review and description of Bourdieu's contribution towards understanding *symbolic power* (3.2) as a whole (3.2.1) and more specifically to the fields of CR (3.2.2). The role of Visual Culture Theory is then presented (3.3) and linked with the previous theoretical dispositions, more specifically the role of images in visual consumption and use of universal archetypes for triggering hidden meanings in everyday consumption. The chapter is then summarised in section 3.4.

3.1. Consumer Culture Theory

The principle knowledge creation and theoretical contribution of this study is constructed around Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). CCT is a research tradition which explores consumption aspects through the sociocultural, experiential, symbolic and ideological point of view. It is a newly emerged body of theoretical knowledge about consumption and marketplace behaviours developed by number of scholars (Askegaard, 2015; Arnould and Thompson, 2007). Unlike other theoretical traditions in consumer research, CCT aims to look **within** the consumption context and uncover the most dominant and driving patterns of consumption, rather than examining consumption contexts in general (Belk, Price and Peñaloza, 2013; Bajde, 2013). The contextualisation and historicisation of the consumption field offered by the theoretical dispositions of CCT enables us to strategically address the set objective of this study.

CCT fundamentally suggests a multiplicity of research paradigms and diverse methodological stances when exploring the contextual patterns of consumption practice (Featherstone, 2007; Belk, Price and Peñaloza, eds., 2013). By asserting the plurality of methodological approaches, CCT aids in depth interpretation and

dynamic relationships between consumer actions, marketplace and cultural meanings (Bettany, 2007; Cova, Maclaran and Bradshaw, 2013). CCT studies cultural complexity through the exchange of behaviour and relationships with symbolic, embodied, experiential and sociocultural complexities (Joy and Li, 2012; Arnould, Price and Moisio, 2006; Bettany et al., 2010), which ultimately provides solid ground while looking at the reproduction of gender ideologies in consumption practice (Thompson, 2014; Thompson and Üstüner, 2015).

The theoretical framework of CCT is built primarily on Bourdieu's sociology which allows scholars to view consumer culture as a '*heterogeneous distribution of meanings and the multiplicity of overlapping cultural groupings that exists in a broader sociohistorical frame of globalisation and market capitalism*' (Arnould and Thompson, 2005: 869). By integrating Bourdieu's interpretation of culture, CCT offers a research stream where the conception of consumer culture is regarded as "a social procedure in which the relations between existing culture and social resources, between meaningful ways of life and the symbolic and material resources on which they depend, are mediated through markets" (Thyroff, Murray and Belk, 2015:14). The procedure is ongoing and depends on the system of commercially produced images, objects and texts or in other words it is conceptualised as a 'composition' of experience, meaning and action (not a causal force) (Xie, Bagozzi and Troye, 2008).

Arnould and Thompson (2005) highlight that CCT has developed advanced knowledge of consumer behaviour through sociocultural processes and structures linked with the four main research domains (see Table 3 below). Each domain represents distinct waves of research tradition and embraces diverse methodological dialogues for understanding the consumption patterns, whether it is through identity projects or understanding of the Bourdieusian *field* and its impact on consumer motivation factors, or looking at common cultural consumption modes, while exploring cultural and symbolic capital.

Table 3 The Four Domains of Consumer Culture Theory (Arnould and Thompson, 2005)

<p>Consumer identity projects</p>	<p>This domain looks at consumers as ‘identity seekers and makers’ (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). Consumer identity projects focuses on consumer motivation based on a specific goal. This is mostly applicable when exploring the use of brands and the self-representation of brands. There is strong relationship between consumer identity projects and the structure influence of the marketplace (Üstüner and Holt, 2007; Luedicke, Thompson and Giesler, 2010). Moreover, CCT scholars argue that market creates certain types of consumer positions where consumers can choose to inhabit (Thompson, 2014; Arsel, Z. and Thompson, 2011). Arsel and Thompson (2011) view the Consumption <i>Field</i> by referring back to Bourdieusian conceptual framework (Bourdieu, 1992), where he argues that the <i>field</i> is an equivalent to ‘a game’ and, as a matter of fact, it is structured by rules and regulatory bodies that lead players strategic actions in the <i>field</i>.</p>
<p>Marketplace culture</p>	<p>Marketplace culture is thought to be produced by consumers. CCT explores the cultural worlds that function through ‘pursuit’ of common consumption interests of consumers (Goulding et al., 2009; Joy and Li, 2012; Healy and McDonagh, 2013).</p>
<p>Sociohistoric Patterning of Consumption</p>	<p>Class, gender, community and ethnicity are social and institutional structures that systematically shape the consumption patterns. Consumer Culture Theory scholars question “<i>what consumer society is and how it is constituted and sustained</i>” (Arnould and Thompson; 2005:874). CCT observes correlations between consumers’ experiences, belief systems and practices and the institutional and social structures (Arnould, Price and Moisiso, 2006; Arnould and Thompson, 2007; Arnould, 2007).</p>
<p>Mass-Mediated Marketplace Ideologies and Consumers’ Interpretive Strategies</p>	<p>Consumer culture is interpreted as systems of meaning that reproduces the buyers’ thoughts and actions that help to identify the main preferences in a society (Hirschman and Thompson, 1997; Arnould and Thompson, 2005: 874). The forth domain of CCT underlines the ideologies and identities are influenced by economic and cultural globalisation and how cultural product systems orient consumers toward certain ideologies or identity projects (O’Reilly, 2006; Thompson, 2004).</p>

The domains and consequent factors described above enable scholars to observe consumption as ongoing exchanges within a dynamic socio-cultural context and further define consumer culture as: “*a social arrangement in which the relations between lived culture and social resources, and between meaningful ways of life and the symbolic and material resources on which they depend, are mediated through markets.*” (Arnould and Thompson, 2005: 869).

One of the strengths of the Consumer Culture Theory is the acknowledgement and contextualisation of socio-historical patterns, such as gender, class, ethnicity or community, within a broader scope of consumption experience. Cultural identity and the shaping of consumption is never detached from the system of established beliefs and practices. The last domain looks at how the system of meanings and ideologies is transmitted via mass media and how this constructs consumption choices by either orienting towards certain ideologies or identity projects, or both. It is evident (see Table 3) that CCT relies heavily on Bourdieu’s sociological contribution and reflects on consumption aspects through sociocultural, experiential, symbolic and ideological perspectives.

Marketplace ideology is one of the core subjects captured by CCT scholars, who refer to it as a system of meanings that circumscribes the consumer’s thoughts and actions which simultaneously represent the dominant preferences in a society (Arnould, 2007; Izberk-Bilgin, 2012). The Bourdieusian analytical stream enables the reproduction of social class distinction through the level of cultural capital in consumption. Arsel and Thompson (2010) state that *field consumption* with the Bourdieusian effect is the vital aspect to develop in ‘identity project’ evaluation which primarily builds on the (*field-dependent*) cultural and social capital. The whole theoretical tradition is claimed to be fundamentally based on Bourdieu’s theory; nonetheless, the fourth domain of CCT has the strongest link to Bourdieu’s symbolic capitals that construct marketplace cultures and derive consumption patterns. Scholars claim that symbolic power is persistent in less modernised

societies, which are more likely to be ideology and tradition-driven and represent the substantial regime features of upper middle-class consumers (Üstüner and Thompson, 2012; Üstüner and Holt, 2007). Arnould and Thompson (2005: 874) consider media tools as transmitters of ideology through normative messages to consumers. Consumers are the interpretive agents that either resist or resemble the market-mediated ideologies (Joy and Li, 2012). Popular media transmits the system of meanings through images, icons and symbols that trigger consumption behaviour (Schroeder, 2005). CCT scholars looked at the mass-mediated marketplace ideologies when exploring the transitions of communism to socialism in China, and strongly referred to ideological transition in advertising practice as a tool for introducing convincing ideologies for each period (Zhao and Belk, 2008: 231-32; Cova and Cova, 2014).

The success and the impact of advertising in consumer culture is tremendous (Schembri, Merrilees and Kristiansen, 2010; Zhao and Wang, 2009). The impact of strong visuals in advertising has been closely studied by Schroeder (2005), who offered a new concept of visual culture theory (de Burgh-Woodman and Brace-Govan, 2010; Schroeder, 2006). The Visual Culture Theory (this will be thoroughly discussed in section 3.3 of this chapter) complements the CCT perspective, both methodologically and theoretically (Schroeder, 2009; Schroeder and Borgerson, 1998). The next section first introduces a brief overview of Bourdieu's sociological input as a whole and more specifically to feminist enquiry; second, it features the different propositions of ideology, brings insights into Bourdieu's *symbolic power* and highlights the significance of his sociology in consumer research. It demonstrates the course of research activities in consumer research and highlights the gap identified within the CCT tradition with an emphasis on Bourdieu's disposition of symbolic power.

3.2. Bourdieu's Symbolic Power and Consumer Research

Bourdieu is a French sociologist and philosopher who is renowned for his enormous sociological and theoretical contribution into interdisciplinary knowledge (Santoro, 2011). His theory is widely used in various areas of knowledge and practice and many scholars continue to be inspired by his sociological study of culture (Bennett and Silva, 2011). With his *Distinction* he offers the following sub concepts: *Habitus*, *Capitals* (cultural, social, economic and symbolic), *field* and *symbolic power* (see the definitions of the concepts in Table 4). All of the above and below mentioned concepts are distinct and at the same time interlinked and dependant. Through his intellectual project he developed a body of social theory that has no limits, moreover, it opens a new perspective for studying every aspect of life. Lane (2000: 194), in *Pierre Bourdieu: critical introduction*, refers to Bourdieu's 'doxa' and 'habitus' and explains the implicit sense of what it is possible or not possible to achieve in culturally determined 'horizons of possibilities'.

In his classical work *Distinction*, Bourdieu argues that the class structure is reproduced through the accumulation of cultural capital, which can provide access to high-status occupations and social circles. Central to the argument is the assumption that what constitutes cultural capital is agreed upon by all segments of society, or else there would be alternative markets in which those lacking legitimate cultural capital could succeed (Kane, 2003; Bourdieu, 1992). Similarly, Bourdieu recognises that *habitus* are not fixed habits, but open to change depending on the amount and types of capital individuals acquire as they move through social space (Murdock, 2010).

Table 4 Bourdieusian Concepts Defined

DEFINITIONS OF BOURDIEUSIAN CONCEPTS

<i>HABITUS</i>	<p>“Cultural habitat which becomes internalised in the forms of dispositions to act, think, and feel in certain ways” (Bourdieu, 2005: 43). Within the frame of habitus individuals practice the norms of their ‘<i>social existence</i>’. Habitus is intuitive and it is embedded in every individual. Habitus according to Bourdieu comprises the cultural capital, as it combines the deeply rooted cultural conventions, skills and depositions that we acquire in everyday practice (Dumais, 2002).</p>
<i>CAPITAL</i>	<p>Bourdieu (1894) argues that capital moulds the base of social life and effects one’s standing within the social order. Although Bourdieu builds the concept of capital around Marx’s idea of economic capital, he extended the conceptualisation beyond the economic and more into the symbolic realm of culture. He believes that there are multiple capitals, including <i>economic, cultural, social</i>. These capitals together comprise the <i>symbolic capital</i> as a whole. Bourdieu agrees that economic capital has a great impact on the individual’s position within a society, however, the distinctions are not solely limited to economic status or capital one has acquired, it has much wider spectrum. He underpins the legitimacy of <i>cultural capital</i> that in its turn consists of multiple symbolic elements, such as: skills, tastes, pose and posture, clothing, gestures, material possessions, credentials, that one acquires through being part of a particular social class (Bourdieu, 2011; Edgerton and Roberts, 2014; Bourdieu, 1989). Rendering from Bourdieu’s sociology, <i>cultural capital</i> comes in three forms — ‘<i>embodied</i>’, ‘<i>objectified</i>’, and ‘<i>institutionalized</i>’. An example of <i>embodied cultural capital</i> - is an individual’s dialect. <i>Objectified cultural capital</i> can be distinguished through objectified possession of let’s say a luxury car or branded jewellery. Unlike the previous capitals, <i>institutionalized</i> form of cultural capital signifies the credentials and qualifications such as education degrees or titles that embody ‘cultural competence and authority’. Above all, <i>social capital</i> contributes to the distinction through the social relationship that enable an individual to access resources reserved by associates (Lin, 1999; Adler and Kwon, 2002; Walker, Kogut and Shan, 1997). For instance, one who has been part of Oxford University has established the membership and simultaneously social circle of associates that contribute towards access of resources that are not available to others. Symbolic capital, according to Bourdieu (1989), is the symbolic dispositions of all capitals that equally contribute towards the distinction (Fuller and Tian, 2006; Bourdieu and Farage, 1994).</p>
<i>FIELD</i>	<p>Bourdieu argues that the social world is divided into a range of distinctive ‘spaces’ or “fields” of practice, such as, scientific, art, education, religion, law, etc., each with their own unique set of rules, knowledges, and forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1983; 1996; 1998). Each ‘field’ has its own ‘<i>doxa</i>’ or rules where all the agents involved in the field are following. The <i>field</i> represents the bodily expression of cultural capital such as embedded skills, dispositions specific to the field the agent operates in (Bourdieu, 1969; McNay, 1999).</p>
<i>SYMBOLIC POWER</i>	<p>Bourdieu was first to introduce the concept and notion of <i>symbolic power</i> which is the unconscious mode of social domination as a result of social stratification. It is a power that occurs because “the person who submits to it believes that it exists...” (Bourdieu and Thompson 1991: 192). Gender, in this instance, is a secondary mode of social stratification (Topper, 2001). Symbolic domination and the exercise of the power is socially and culturally constructed. He also made an emphasis on the <i>Symbolic violence</i> that Skeggs (2004: 24) formulates as “disclosures of the temporal differences between types of femininity, the practice of femininity and the different values attached to different forms.”</p>

By acknowledging the symbolic realm of cultural capital and dispositions present in the *field*, it is possible to explore *habitus* and *distinctions* present in certain contexts. As Lizardo (2011) argues, there is no coherent account of Bourdieu's stance in relation to the concept of 'culture', moreover it can only be understood as a historic socio-analysis of the repression of a culture and a society. Bourdieu built his project based on both Marxist and Weberian cultural theory, with the one major difference of not considering financial criteria as the main obstacle for cultural and social production.

In his "*Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of taste*" Bourdieu (1992: 283) refers to cultural capital and its effect on the construction of lifestyle through aesthetic choices. He clearly draws a line between the whole relationship of knowledge and recognition and the influence of the *petit bourgeoisie* in the constitution of legitimate culture (Bourdieu, 1984; 1992: 319). He further explains that the "taste makers" (meaning *bourgeoisie*) are often (or always) regarded as '*guarantees of quality*' and are often surrounded by the signs of cultural authority (Bourdieu, 1984: 326). Cultural goods and services function as a reproductive form of distinction through consumption processes (Featherstone, 1987).

Binkley (2000) emphasised that in *Distinction* Bourdieu presents two opposing types of aesthetic valuation: a working-class taste, or *taste of necessity*, presupposing a practical, bodily correspondence between content and form, and in contrast to this there is the bourgeois or aristocratic taste, or the '*taste of reflection*', for which beauty comes from that which surpasses the narrow prescriptions of artistic convention (Lizardo, 2006; Atkinson, 2011; Trigg, 2001). Class-conditioned stratification or distinction underpins the symbolic hierarchies and taste formation resulting in conditions of existence. Bourdieu suggests that there is a distinction between class-conditioned cultural consumption which is reproduced through *necessity* and *liberty* consumption patterns (Bourdieu, 1984; Atkinson, 2011). The taste of *liberty* or *luxury* is constructed from the early years

of an individual's life. In light of this, he recognises that upper-class representatives have a deep-rooted taste for fine art, having been continuously exposed to it throughout their existence in the social space. Unlike the *taste of liberty*, the *taste of necessity* is embodied in working-class individuals' everyday practice. The working-class agents are disadvantaged by not having access to the 'high art', which limits the cultivation of habitus appropriate to the 'fine art game' (Bourdieu, 1984: 6). Bourdieu's theory of taste revolutionised the understanding of the social structural underpinnings of culture (Kane, 2003). More specifically the exploration of taste and class conditioned consumption evaluated new themes in marketing and consumer research (Holt, 1997; Arsel and Bean, 2012; Øygaard, 2000), and as such the construction of identity based on consumer taste and social reproduction (Elliott and Wattanasuwan, 1998; Moisio, Arnould and Price, 2004).

Within a broader context the symbolic capital of Bourdieu has been extensively researched from a feminist and gender perspective. Essentially, the emphasis on reflexivity and methodological positioning of Bourdieu's theory parallels with feminist epistemology (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) that opens up new possibilities of embracing social sciences and gender roles in feminist research. Bourdieu's habitus and cultural capital offer a unique approach for feminist research on visible inequalities embodied in everyday lived experience (Reay, 1997; Lovell, 2004; McCall, 1992). By embracing Bourdieu's sociology of symbolic capital scholars encounter the theorisation of social class as a fundamental element of gendered identity and the role of women within class and gender enquiry (Reay, 1998: 25).

Moi (1991) highlights Bourdieu's deposition against the fixed production of the category of 'woman', and suggests the flexibility and possibility of social change and variation by demonstrating gender relations as a socially constructed phenomenon. In light of this, researchers acknowledge the scope of socially produced power relations that consequently shape the power struggle between

sexes and perpetuates *symbolic violence* within the field where agents function (Wacquant, 1989; Adkins and Skeggs, eds., 2004). Bourdieu's conceptualisation of power, symbolic violence and power struggles has gained significant attention in recent studies (Swartz, 2013; Wacquant, 2013; Yamak, et al., 2016). Bourdieu (1990: 17) refers to social space and claims that "it is constructed in a way that agents who occupy similar conditions and are subjected to similar conditioning are more likely to have similar dispositions and interests". Likewise, this stimulates production and reproduction of similar practices. Reproduction of social and cultural structures, class and gender struggles and symbolic violence has been explained through the application of the concept of *symbolic power* by Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991).

This study focuses on Bourdieu's symbolic power and class/gender-conditioned consumption persisting in Russia cultural capital. It argues that the images, icons and symbols circulating in today's advertising practice largely produce the ideologically comprised *ideal images of motherhood*. I suggest that Russian mothers construct their mothering identity through the acceptance or resistance to the archetypal images which is expressed through their consumption choice and taste.

The term 'symbolic power' was first introduced by Bourdieu (1979), and in some essence became synonymous with the term 'ideology'. While there are a number of similarities in the definitions, there are also differences in the contextualisation and elaborations of these two concepts in social sciences (Swartz, 2013; Dębska, 2016; Fitchett, Patsiaouras and Davies, 2014). The next subsection focuses on the definition of 'ideology' and positions this research within the broader scope of consumer research.

3.2.1. Defining Ideology and Bourdieu's Approach

Ideology is a field in consumer research that has been interpreted differently by various academics (Hirschman, 1993; Belk, Ger and Askegaard, 2003; Thompson and Hirschman, 1995; Fischer and Arnould, 1994). In order to give more insights on the theoretical background a brief reflection on philosophical narratives of *ideology* is provided, which subsequently contributes towards the positioning of this study in a broader theoretical context.

The word "ideology" was first presented by group of materialist and philosophers during the French Revolution (Smith, 1992; Kennedy, 1984). Ideology as a concept was introduced by Marx and Engels in their work "*The German Ideology*" (1846), in order to explain how *dominant ideas of society* are constructed by the elite class and how those ideas are accepted by the working class (Marx and Engels, 1997). Since then, ideology became a dominant concept for discussions and interpretations by many scholars (Davis, 2005).

Williamson (1978: 13) defines ideology as "...*the meaning made necessary by the conditions of society. We feel a need to belong, to have a social space*". Williamson's (1978) thoughts were built on the Lacanian approach and interpretation of ideology as *a system of representations* (Glynos, 2001).

In his early works Lacan analysed the human psyche and suggested three existing orders within the system, which are the *Imaginary*; the *Symbolic* and the *Real* (Glynos, 2001; Aoki, 1996; Evans, 2006). Lacanian theory combines the thoughts of Lacan in three different stages: Early Lacan; Structuralist Lacan and finally Post-structuralist Lacan (Bannet, 1989). Lacan's theory is profoundly ingrained in Freudian philosophies of the *oedipal phase*, *infantile sexuality*, and the attempt to investigate "*unconscious processes*" through language (Julien, 1995; Althusser, 1969; Hall, 1985). In 1936, Lacan introduced the "*Mirror Stage as Formative of*

the I” that explains infant behaviour (6-18 months) and capability to recognise the reflected mirror images of themselves. Thus this work contributed to the conception of Lacanian *Imaginary*, which he claims to be the internalised image of the ideal self. Diversely, the Symbolic, according to structuralist Lacan “determines the order of the subject” (Van Haute, 2012). Moreover, “symbols in fact envelop the life of man” even before he is born (Leland, 1992; Jameson, 1977). The *real* is what cannot be symbolised, thus the reality gets lost once it is symbolised through language (Glynos, 2001; Ebert, 1988). Later Althusser (1970) reconceptualises the term *ideology* (Smith, 1992). His interpretation of ideology moves away from the Marxist approach as he claims that people build the *reality* around themselves only after they move into the so-called “symbolic order”. He further argues that it is the ideology that constructs the individual (Kiguwa, 2006). Unlike his predecessors he links imagination as a product of ideology and then argues that individuals are the victims of the imagination (Althusser, 1979: 234).

“Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence” (Althusser 1971: 109).

By this statement he asserts that ideology does not mirror reality; instead, it signifies the *“imaginary relationship of individuals”* to the real world (Althusser, 1971: 112; Hall, 1985). Alternatively, Althusser emphasises that *“Ideology has material existence”* (112, *Lenin*), meaning that the routine of our relation to others persistently represents us as subjects. He states that *“individuals are always - already subjects”* (119, *Lenin*), and gives an example of a new born child appointed as *subject* in ‘expected’ familial ideological arrangements even from the second the child has been conceived. He also brings an example of ideology in operation by referring to the period of the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Union as a *routine of unthinking behaviour* (Figes, 2017; Belsey, 1985).

Conversely, Eagleton (2007) radically neglects to connect ideology with cultural or social phenomena; instead he claims that ideology is a discourse that involves “*power struggles*” which are central to the *reproduction* of a social life as a whole (Eagleton, 2007: 223; 2014; 1988; Spillman, 2002). He then defines ideology as (Eagleton, 2007: 29):

“...*promotion and legitimation of the interests within social groups in opposition to the interest of others...conscious, well-articulated system of beliefs*” (Eagleton, 2007: 221).

Unlike all the above-mentioned philosophers, Bourdieu (1989; 1979) introduced a new sociological view on ideology or, as he names it, *symbolic power*. Bourdieu developed a theory of ideology (symbolic power), not just based on the historical evidence but also mirroring the traditions of empirical sociology (Garnham and Williams, 1980; Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu, 1994: 155). Bourdieu conceptualises *symbolic power* as “a power which the person submitting to grants to the person who exercises it, a credit with which he credits him, a *fides* (trust), *an auctoritas* (authority), with which he entrusts him by placing his trust in him”. It is a power which exists because the person who submits to it believes that it exists....” (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1994: 192; Bourdieu, 1994: 161; Swartz, 1996; Wacquant, 2013). In this research I looked onto the gendered ideology by relying on the interpretation of the symbolic power, that is produced and reproduced through the acceptance of the symbolically stratified order and ideals imposed by the dominant class.

In his sociology of symbolic power, Bourdieu (1990) addresses the interactions between culture, stratification, and power. He argues that one of the dominant elements in all social life is the constant struggle for social recognition (McCall, 1992). Drawing on the importance of cultural symbols and practices such as artistic tastes, style, religion, habits, language, represents concern and

willingness to advance social distinctions. One of the main focuses of Bourdieu's sociology is to reflect upon the social struggles that are diverted through symbolic classification (Swartz, 1996). He further tries to explore the ways that cultural practices situate individuals and groups into status hierarchies or classes, which in turn involves conflict among individuals (groups) for their interest, thus unwillingly reproducing the social stratification order (Anthias, 2001a). With this thesis I acknowledge the above mentioned elements and explore them in the consumption field, where agents are classified into status hierarchies. The social stratification order in this instance is reproduced through the consumption patterns and struggle for the social distinctions.

Bourdieu (1994: 72) suggests that culture is not free from political content but rather is an expression of it. Bourdieu's thoughts are fundamentally built on the works of Marx and sociology of Weber. While Bourdieu accepts the Marxist claim that religion is ideology, he is against the extraction of the symbolic dimension of social life, as he does not consider it as separate and derivative from the material components of social life (Swartz, 1996; 2012; Navarro, 2006; Swidler, 1986). The functionalism of symbolic power is expressed through symbolic production and reproduction which is inseparable from the interests of the dominant classes (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991: 167). Bourdieu further refers to *symbolic domination* in order to give more insights to the phenomenon (Bourdieu, 1990: 51):

“...all symbolic domination presupposes, on the part of those who submit to it, a form of complicity which is neither a passive complicity to external constraint nor a free adherence to values.”

The predisposition of the subordinate groups to be subjected to symbolic domination is conditioned through privileged social conditions, ideals and constraints that are accepted in a given context (Bourdieu, 1990, Üstüner and Thompson, 2012; Mottier, 2002). Bourdieu (1994:161) states that:

“... mental structures, a transfigured reproduction of the structures constituting a mode of production and a mode of biological and social reproduction, contribute at least as officiously as the provisions of custom toward defining and maintaining the delimitation of powers between sexes and generations, through the ethical dispositions they produce, such as the sense of honour or respect for elders and ancestors. The theory of knowledge is a dimension of political theory because of the specifically symbolic power to impose the principles of the construction of reality-in particular, social reality-is a major dimension of political power”.

Power relations and their communication are inseparable. Power relations that are presented in form and content depend on the material of symbolic power accumulated by the agents (or institutions) involved in these relations, which can enable symbolic power to be accumulated. He names it as the symbolic system (Bourdieu and Thompson 1994:167; Cronin, 1996). Bourdieu (1990) argues that the existence of symbolic power is possible when representatives of the subordinate class believe that their lifestyle practice is intrinsically inferior to those who behold the power of dominant functionality (Brown, 2006).

It is evident that Bourdieu did not just develop a theoretical model, but also constructed new methodological principles that seek to modify the ground from art to cultural production (Born, 2010). Now that the ideology and symbolic power have been defined, the following subsection will reflect on critical literature review on Bourdieu in consumer research, define the gap identified and propose the contribution of this study.

3.2.2. Bourdieu in Consumer Research

Bourdieu's theory has been widely applied not only in sociology, science and cultural studies but his theory has also been extensively employed in consumer research (Griller, 1996; Ahuvia, 2005; Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Fournier, 1998). In consumer research, Bourdieu's theory of judgment of taste brought to light some hidden aspects of the consumption process, specifically the consumer decision making process in status consumption (Born, 2010; Griller, 1996; Hoyer and Stokburger-Sauer, 2012).

Üstüner and Holt (2009) conducted research on 'Status Consumption in Less Industrialised Countries (LICs)', where they looked at the existing mechanisms and social consequences of consumption and attempted to theorise Bourdieu's notion of habitus, culture and social field in a non-Western context. This is one of the great examples of demonstrating the limits of the consumption models (in this case *global trickle-down*) and the relevance of Bourdieu's class-conditioning, which is expressed in various status consumption strategies along with the economic and cultural capital (Üstüner and Holt, 2009). The outcome of the study signified the emergence of class-conditioned consumption in Turkey and brought to light the unconscious tension and competition of classes that struggle to mobilise their economic and cultural capital and ensure a higher social standing through everyday consumption practices. The application of the theory introduced a new stream of research, where the consumption field embraced the importance of symbolic capital and the construction of class-functioned taste for better understanding of consumer behaviour (Born, 2010; Vigneron and Johnson, 1999; Hoyer and Stokburger-Sauer, 2012; Warde, 1997).

Similarly, Lury and Wakeford (2012) refer to Bourdieu's dynamics of taste as a key mechanism that distributes symbolic resources within the cultural capital and urges in its turn social reproduction. Lury and Wakeford (2012) agree that in the

field of consumption habitus functions below the level of a person's consciousness, thus that habitus forms individual taste in the way that person relates to the system of classification. Unlike the articles discussed above, Hammer (2016) focused on one of Bourdieu's less popular aspect of theory - ideology, where the implementation of theory helps to explain how ideas both produce and are being reproduced in practice and to what extent this shapes and legitimates symbolically structured consumption patterns.

Alongside this, CCT scholars Arsel and Bean (2012) had significant input into consumer research by developing the '*practice-based framework of taste*', fundamentally grounded in Bourdieu's theory of 'judgment of taste'. The focus of the study was on the construction of taste through the analysis of the popular home design blog. The results of the study refer to the taste regimes that formulate the preferences for objects and associates all the meanings related to the object and its doings (Arsel and Bean, 2012). One of the significant contributions of this article is the construction of the *taste regime* in consumption practice which reproduces a unique system that connects 'aesthetics to practice' (McQuarrie, Miller and Phillips, 2012; Warde, 2014). The term 'taste' is viewed as a *Bourdieuian* formulation of 'class-conditioned habitus' (Bourdieu, 1992) and according to Arsel and Bean (2012: 900) it is "*neither purely agentic nor completely unconscious and conditioned but rather it is a form of reflexivity bounded by socio-cultural constituted practice*" (Thompson, Arnould and Giesler, 2013).

Unlike Üstüner and Holt (2009), where they concentrate on the role of taste as distinction, Arsel and Bean focus on the means of '*taste patterns*' transformation into practices (Kravets and Sandikci, 2014). Based on Bourdieu's conceptual framework, Arsel and Bean (2012) extended the concept of 'taste' from a boundary-making mechanism (Bourdieu, 1992) to an expansively constituted and constantly performed practice (Warde, 2014). In *Bourdieuian* theory the practice knowledge is conceptualised as a 'socio-historically shaped and class-conditioned

phenomenon' (Bourdieu, 1984). In this study, scholars contrast with an approach that mass-mediated ideologies imitate the acquirement of practical knowledge beyond social class conditioning. Thus a taste regime suggests a framework of practice where consumers continually interact with objects and meanings and subsequently contribute towards the cultural capital of the individuals engaging with the practice daily.

Since the introduction of Bourdieu's *Distinction*, there have been numerous attempts for its application into consumption practice. From the previous sections it can be summarised that Bourdieu's *Distinction*, the judgments of taste theory, symbolic power, and additionally the capital, field and habitus present a plethora of possibilities that can be attached to consumer research and culture. The centrality of his sociology is the theorisation of everyday lived experiences and elaboration of the embodied and symbolically constructed cultural and social realities. To give better insights on the themes and the fields of interest tackled from Bourdieusian theory, I provide below a brief outline of some significant articles published within the scope of consumer research and marketing fields.

The outline is presented in a table format (see Table 5, p 73-74), where I first introduce the article with the full reference, the focus of the article and the elements of Bourdieu's theory mentioned or addressed in the article and, finally, the findings and outcomes of each article. The structured analysis of the articles help, first, to identify the most frequently addressed themes in consumer and marketing research and, second, to identify the gap in literature within the theorisation of reproduced gendered ideologies and the construction of mothering identities through consummation practice.

Table 5 Bourdieu's Sociology in Consumption Research (multiple academic journals)

Article and Authors	The Study Focus	The Findings
<p><i>Bourdieu and the sociology of music consumption: A critical assessment of recent developments.</i> Prior, N., 2013. Sociology Compass, 7(3), pp.181-193.</p>	<p>This work outlines Bourdieu's impact on the sociology of music taste, more specifically, his interpretation of musical preferences as reflection of inequality reproduction between different classes.</p>	<p>This paper takes stock of the impact of Bourdieu's ideas on the sociology of music; the debates sparked in their wake and the attempt at something like "a post-Bourdieuian" sociology more faithful to music's material properties. Their findings outline the high art impact on the construction of taste.</p>
<p><i>Family leisure consumption and youth sport socialization in post-communist Poland: A perspective based on Bourdieu's class theory.</i> Lenartowicz, M., 2016. International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 51(2), pp.219-237.</p>	<p>This study explores the class-related determinants of sport socialization and sport practices in Poland from the perspective of Bourdieu's class theory. The aim-to explore the parents consumption (sport related products) for children.</p>	<p>Results proved that the sports practices and the tastes are moderately distinct according to class. The qualitative results signpost the importance of the socialisation and legitimation of the practice in the field. The class-conditioning reported to be significant while the cultural capital was shaped through status related consumption patterns.</p>
<p><i>'Small, but Very Determined': A Novel Theorization of Children's Consumption of Clothing.</i> Pilcher, J., 2013. Cultural Sociology, 7(1), pp.86-100.</p>	<p>This paper investigates the sociological understanding of one aspect of children's consumption (their clothing) through reimagining the structure and agency problematic via a novel theorization centred on the concept of determinativity. Bourdieu's social distinction is looked as a social production of cultural capital.</p>	<p>The results indicate high integrity of social cultural and economic capitals with a parent child agreement in the consumption process. A further expression of family habitus relates to ways in which children's practices of clothing consumption were the outcome of negotiation with their parents, and especially their mothers, about which items got bought, and when and where items could be worn.</p>
<p><i>Bourdieu, the boom and cashed-up Bogans.</i> Pini, B. and Previte, J., 2013. Journal of sociology, 49(2-3), pp.256-271.</p>	<p>This article examines the figure of the CUB (cashed-up Bogan), by drawing on Bourdieu's notions of capital, distinction and taste in light of Skeggs'. Further, it claims that Bourdieu may not be as useful in the Australian context.</p>	<p>The results showed that the class involves more a 'display of money rather than the display of culture'. A key limitation of this analysis is that it does not include the voices and perspectives of those marked as CUBs and/or those who identify as CUBs.</p>

<i>Article and Authors</i>	<i>The Study Focus</i>	<i>The Findings</i>
<p><i>Children's use of brand symbolism: A consumer culture theory approach.</i> Nairn, A., Griffin, C. and Gaya Wicks, P., 2008. European Journal of Marketing, 42(5/6), pp.627-640.</p>	<p>The paper offers a critique of the Piagetian developmental cognitive psychology model which dominates research into children and brand symbolism, and to proposes the application of the consumer culture theory and Bourdieu's sociology to explore the brand symbolism with better insights.</p>	<p>The findings of the article focus on two aspects of children using brand symbols in their everyday lives. The study introduces a new framework for examining the children consumption pattern and the choice of brands. This is also the first study to apply consumer culture theory to children's consumption behaviour.</p>
<p><i>Consumption and theories of practice.</i> Warde, A., 2005. Journal of consumer culture, 5(2), pp.131-153.</p>	<p>This article considers the potential of a revival of interest in theories of practice for the study of consumption. The study view's Bourdieu and its contribution to the theory of practice. Warde argues that the notion of consumption is specifically constructive for the sociology of consumption. Following Bourdieu's approach, the author suggests that the consumption takes place within and for the sake of practices. The aim of the study is to show that the theory of practice is performing better in consumption practice than theories of culture, sub-culture and social worlds.</p>	<p>In the results indicate that Bourdiesian theory suits best for developing a new way of analysing consumption practice. It presents an abridged account of the basic precepts of a theory of practice and extracts some broad principles for its application to the analysis of final consumption.</p>
<p><i>Distinction worldwide?: Bourdieu's theory of taste in international context.</i> Kane, D., 2003. Poetics, 31(5-6), pp.403-421.</p>	<p>This paper applies an original approach to identify the cultural repertoires, the level of cultural participation, and the personal qualities used in symbolic boundary formation for an international sample of young elites by using Bourdieu's theory of taste in the global context. The study creates evidence for two domains of cultural stratification: arts activities and sports activities. Author argues that Bourdieu's conceptual framework hasn't been viewed from the international point of view and suggests that the dynamics of boundary formation may differ from across cultures and countries.</p>	<p>The study suggests that sports (for upper-class cultural repertoires) may be competing with arts as a leading culture on the global context. A key finding of this research is the disjuncture in findings among cultural repertoires, cultural participation, and symbolic boundaries, all of which have been assumed to be aspects of a single cultural stratification concept. Author also recommends a new research in racial differences in cultural consumption and class-cultural orientation worldwide.</p>

As can be understood from the tables above, Bourdieu's sociology has been employed from different angles and in a variety of consumption settings. The primary application is within class-conditioned consumption in both artistic consumption and more practical fashion consumption. It indicates significant class stratification and construction of taste through aesthetic choices (Prior, 2013; Lenartowicz, 2016). The symbolic capital has been proved to create accessibility of goods and resources through the acquirement of social capitals. The privileged social classes construct their taste through aesthetic consumption patterns, while the less privileged classes remain out of the discourse (Pilcher, 2013).

Another significant aspect covered is the accumulation of cultural capital by child's consumption patterns, that is primarily negotiated with the parents. The status goods consumption is thought to be imposed by parental influence which subsequently constructs the taste determinants in the child's self-identity construction and positioning in a symbolic capital (Lenartowicz, 2016; Pilcher, 2013). A similar thematic analysis of brand symbolism recruited the identity projects of CCT and Bourdieu's sociology of symbolic capital. It is certainly agreed that, like any cultural symbols and icons, branding has significant input in the construction of the identity project and symbolic capital through distinct taste dispositions (Nairn, et. al., 2008).

Bourdieu's theory of practice or the field acquires an equally significant space in consumer research (Warde, 2005; Kane, 2003). Taste has been looked at within the consumption field, where some scholars claim that within the sociology of consumption the process occurs inside the field and for the sake of the field. The exclusion of cultural and social capitals in this instance opens up a gap in literature that should be further acknowledged. Symbolic boundaries on the other hand, reshape the application of Bourdieu's theory of taste that is made possible through the cultural participation and integration of the personal qualities of the individual consumer. Following the same logic, the next table (6) focuses on some of the articles published in the Journal of Consumer Research that refer to Bourdieu's theories with more strategic and in-depth insights.

Table 6 Bourdieu's Sociology in Consumption Practice (source: Journal of Consumer Research)

<i>Article and Authors</i>	<i>The Study Focus</i>	<i>The Findings</i>
<p>Does Cultural Capital Structure American Consumption? <i>Holt, D.B., 1998. Journal of Consumer Research, Volume 25, Issue 1, 1 June 1998, Pages 1–25</i></p>	<p>The focus of this study is on the cultural sociology of Bourdieu in American context and to what extent the cultural capital shape the consumption patterns of American consumers. Holts argues that the cultural capital in consumption practice can be explored through multidimensional application of taste. The emphasis in this article is on the material vs formal aesthetics, referential vs critical interpretations, materialism vs idealism, local vs cosmopolitan taste, communal vs individualist forms of consumer subjectivity.</p>	<p>The outcomes of this article the consumption practice assessed through multidimensional taste outlines the reproduction of social class in everyday consumption of American consumer.</p>
<p>Moral Habitus and Status Negotiation in a Marginalised Working-Class Neighbourhood. <i>Saatcioglu, B., and Ozanne, J.L., 2013. Journal of Consumer Research, Volume 40, Issue 4, 1 December 2013, Pages 692–710</i></p>	<p>The accent of the article is on the identity construction through ethical and moral dimensions. The Bourdieu's social-class conditioning has been applied to analyse the low-income and working-class consumers' consumption practice and status negotiation. The focus of the study is the conceptualisation of habitus and cultural capital by emphasising the moral worldviews of consumers and its effect on the consumption process.</p>	<p>The study highlights five moral dimensions that consequently impact the status construction and negotiation in consumption practice. It signifies the multiplicity of social-class dispositions and suggests further micro-level investigation with the aim of better understanding the micro dynamics of habitus and cultural capital in consumer research.</p>
<p>How marketplace performances produce interdependent status games and contested forms of symbolic capital. <i>Üstüner, T. and Thompson, C.J., 2010. Journal of Consumer Research, 38(5), pp.796-814.</i></p>	<p>Üstüner and Thompson look at the field of Bourdieu's sociology in order to understand the marketplace routines by embracing the involvement of context-specific role playing, norms of reciprocity and co-creative associations. The impact of sociocultural differences is mediated in the experienced marketplace performances.</p>	<p>Authors build the findings upon Bourdieu's logic of the field analysis and suggests that structural relations and class based resources were mostly illuminated in the context, while the commercial friendship emerged as a result of class-stratified performances in the status games. As suggested by Bourdieu's field dispositions, the research concluded the power struggle and construction of symbolic capital through the status game marketplace performances.</p>
<p>The marketization of religion: Field, capital, and consumer identity. <i>McAlexander, J.H., Dufault, B.L., Martin, D.M. and Schouten, J.W., 2014. Journal of Consumer Research, 41(3), pp.858-875.</i></p>	<p>The article explores the consumer identity crisis in an unfamiliar marketplace. the aim of the article is to elaborate on the effects of weakening or loss of authority of certain institutions on construction of identity. The article profoundly relies on Bourdieu theories of field and capital and looks at the practices of estranged members of a religious institution and consumption field.</p>	<p>The field struggle primarily in socialisation impose inevitable to it by reserving space in field-specific capital. The identity crisis is conditioned by the social exclusion. The findings of this article signify the nature of ideology and consumption and the impact on field and capital in certain contexts.</p>

Article and Authors

The megaphone effect:
Taste and audience in
fashion blogging.

McQuarrie, E.F., Miller, J. and Phillips, B.J., 2012. Journal of Consumer Research, 40(1), pp.136-158.

Status, caste, and
market in a changing
Indian village.

Vikas, R.M., Varman, R. and Belk, R.W., 2015. Journal of Consumer Research, 42(3), pp.472-498.

Social class, market
situation, and
consumers' metaphors of
(dis) empowerment.

Henry, P.C., 2005. Journal of Consumer Research, 31(4), pp.766-778.

Refashioning a field?
Connected consumers
and institutional
dynamics in markets.

Dolbec, P.Y. and Fischer, E., 2015. Journal of Consumer Research, 41(6), pp.1447-1468.

Women skating on the
edge: Marketplace
performances as
ideological edgework.

Thompson, C.J. and Üstüner, T., 2015. Journal of Consumer Research, 42(2), pp.235-265.

The Study Focus

The article explores the impact of mass media, more specifically fashion blogging, that acquire large audience reach. The focus of the article is the aesthetic discrimination in the selection and combination of clothing displayed. The accumulation of the cultural capital has been theorised through Bourdieu's disputation of capitals and judgement of taste theory.

The study applies Bourdieu's symbolic power while exploring the marketization and privatisation in the context of North Indian village. The changes of symbolic power is conditioned by sociohistorical and economic changes that subsequently produce social obligations and competitions.

The article focuses on the social class distinction and the centrality of the (dis)empowerment in the construction of self-identity. Authors argue that this tremendously impacts the everyday consumption practice. They focus is on the economic and cultural capital and the social class conditioning, along with the power struggles and the habitus.

The core of the study is the application of the institutional theory and Bourdieu's field theory to elaborate on the marketplace dynamics, creation of new markets and changes happening in the existing fashion markets. Bourdieu's field comprises through the set of institutions and actors, administrated by institutional logics (or doxa).

Thompson and Üstüner look into the gendered habitus, marketplaces performances and the social reproduction of dominant gender ideologies. The authors attempt to draw a line and signify the differences and similarities between derby grrrls' demonstrating performances of femininity and the gender constraints that have been naturalised in their everyday lives.

The Findings

The results refer to the cultural and social capital that is formulated through the display and exercise of taste that subsequently produces economic rewards for the fashion bloggers.

The findings of the study bring to light the changes of symbolic power within the status hierarchies through the concept of sharing. This adequately creates new order within the market and consumption field. The desertion of old orders and existing symbolic power triggers new conditioning and consumption processes that can be generalised throughout India and other industrialising countries.

The construction of identity, self- acceptance and self-perception are understood to be the expression of personal values that shape the preferred ways pf "doing and being", this subsequently shapes the preferred ways of consuming and engaging in the marketplace.

Authors outline the integrated influence of consumers who can actively participate and form new categories of actors in the field. The article contributes with a new disposition of the consumer-focused institutional logics that can be expressed through a legitimate consumption practice.

The findings suggest that the market mediated ideologies enable the consumers to challenge the orthodox gender boundaries, without losing sociocultural legitimacy. This articles opens new perspective on the gender habitus, relationship between practices, resistance and marketplace ideologies.

A more subject specific approach in the application of Bourdieu's sociology in the consumption context was observed in the articles published by CCT scholars in JCR. The scope of the studies proposes different perspectives on the application of Bourdieusian concepts within consumption practice.

The arguments and suggestions were made around cultural capital and its impact on consumption patterns of individual consumers (Holt, 1998). The vigilant concept of taste patterns is accumulated through the achievement of social class, status and hierarchies in the field of consumption. Major attention was given to identity projects and identity construction through status negotiation within consumption practice. The significance of these studies in the field of consumer research is demonstrated through the integration of Bourdieu's sociological assumptions on social class stratification and the intermingling dynamics of habitus and cultural capital. It is argued that consumers both construct and project their self-identity in the practice of consumption (Saatcioglu and Ozanne, 2013; McAlexander et al., 2014).

The field of consumption on the other hand has been explored as a routine oriented marketplace, where role playing is conditioned by the context and doxa (legitimated norms). Symbolic capital in this context is acquired through the status games and marketplace performances of each agent (Üstüner and Thompson, 2012). Sociocultural differences both enforce power struggles and consumer identity crisis. The role of institutions (such as religious) in a broader sense imposes ideological dispositions that once weakened result in social exclusions of less advantaged consumer groups. The nature of the ideology imposed via mass media constructs ideals in the consumption field and is expressed in symbolic capital, where the structure is exercised (McQuarrie, Miller and Phillips, 2012; Henry, 2005). The distribution of ideology is made possible through mass media marketing techniques that have a large audience reach. Consumers both acquire and exhibit cultural and social capitals through their

consumption choices (Vikas, Varman and Belk, 2015). Choice, in other words, is the class conditioned taste that displays the economic and cultural capitals of consumers in that particular field (Dolbec and Fisher, 2015).

Of greater relevance to this study is the research conducted in the sphere of gendered habitus by Thompson and Üstüner (2015). Unlike previous studies, the emphasis on gender constraints and feminine performativity generates social reproduction of dominant gender ideologies in the marketplace. The authors argue that mass mediated ideologies empower consumers to oppose mainstream gender confines by affirming new constraints of gender norms and legitimacy. The relationships between practice, marketplace ideologies and resistance to old ideologies brought new insights on the interpretation of Bourdieu's symbolic power in the field of gendered consumption.

The literature readings, as briefly depicted above, followed the criteria of underlining where, how and from which angle Bourdieu's theorisation has been implemented in consumer research. Based on the previous readings I propose an academic mapping of subject matters referring to Bourdieu's theories within the *Journal of Consumer Research (JCR)*. This technique helps to visualise the previous research orientations and signpost the relevance to this identified study gap.

From the map (see Figure 2) it is clear that Bourdieu has been intensively researched in the *JCR* not just from one angle, but from different perspectives and in multiple contexts. The significance of his contribution was notably integrated into consumer culture theory, which in its turn brought up new initiatives in exploring consumption practice (Allen, 2002, Boghian, 2013).

The majority of studies ponder the cultural capital, symbolic capital, social capital and theorisation of habitus within consumption practice (Thompson and

Tambyah, 1999; Allen, 2002; Murray, 2002; Mathwick et al., 2008; Saatcioglu and Ozanne, 2013). Among the earliest scholars who demonstrated how symbolic capital and dominant ideologies construct the consumption field were Thompson (1996) and Holt (1998). Since then, research streams have acknowledged the ideologies present in consumption (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli, 2007) and its significance for the CR. The pins on the map indicate the approximate area of the significant focus or contribution by various scholars who published in JCR since 1998.

The pin (see the map Figure 2), with a dot within the circle of symbolic power, signposts the area of my focus and the theoretical contribution of my research. This is the area that received less attention by consumer research scholars. With this research I propose the theorisation of Bourdieu's symbolic power by focusing on the iconography of motherhood in advertising. I claim that cultural mechanisms are portrayed by means of archetypal imagery (that have distinct ideological dispositions), and consumption is conditioned by the symbolic power and order persisting in the Russian context. The rich socio-historical and cultural background of Russian iconography of womanhood and motherhood discussed in Chapter 2 supports the assumption of the momentous function of images, signs and symbols in the construction of the symbolic capital of Russian women. The consumption of dominant ideologies through imposed political or Tsarist propaganda has been a significant element throughout the existence of Russia as an Empire, the Soviet Union and later the Federation.

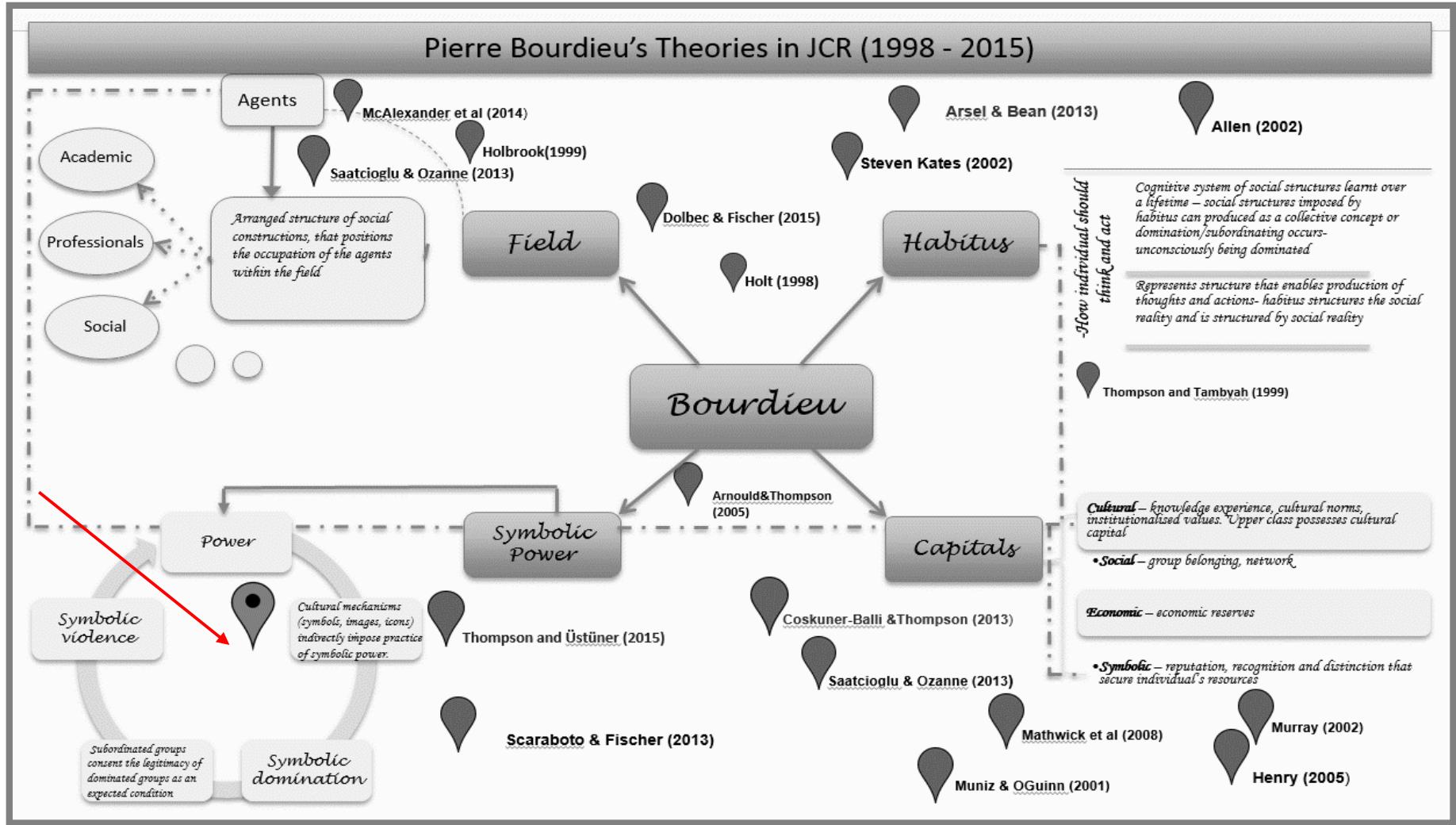


Figure 2 Pierre Bourdieu's Theories in JCR (1998-2015)

As discussed throughout this chapter, Bourdieu's insights on the reproduction of dominant ideologies and its function within the symbolic capital enables us to explore the field of consumption and opens up new perspectives for feminist studies. The symbolic power according to Bourdieu (1989; 1990) is class, race and gender conditioned. The stratification within cultural capital has an immediate impact on the process and patterns of consumption. The symbolic structures and dominant ideals of motherhood continuously circulate within the cultural capital by producing and reproducing meanings that in turn trigger the consumption process. CCT scholars suggest that consumers are exposed to various images, cultural symbols and icons that produce and reproduce system of meanings (Humphreys and Thompson, 2014; Mikkonen, Vicdan and Markkula, 2014). By unpacking the unconscious aspects of the symbolic power it is possible to understand how consumers reproduce the dominant preferences in society through everyday consumption processes (Thompson, Arnould and Giesler, 2013).

The consumption field, on one hand, reproduces identity projects and agencies that are class and gender stratified. Symbolic power, on the other hand, according to Bourdieu (1994:161), imposes principles for constructing the reality where the classification is conditioned by power struggles, symbolic violence and distinction. The reproduction of gender roles and social class distinctions are accumulated through the implementation of the acquired level of cultural capital in consumption field (Arnould, 2007; Izberk-Bilgin, 2012). By taking all the above discussed theoretical perspectives and concepts on board, this study attempts to fill the theoretical gap identified by extending the focus of the CCT's fourth domain on mass-mediated ideologies. This study articulates the insights from the critical visual consumption into the Russian context and suggests that the icons and archetypal dispositions accumulated into the cultural capital trigger greater embodiment of symbolic power, even symbolic violence, which, subsequently, constructs distinct patterns of consumption. The following subsection provides more insights on visual culture theory and signifies the function of visual

consumption in line with the channels of communicating mass-mediated marketplace ideologies.

3.3. Visual Culture Theory: linking Bourdieusian theory to advertising practice

The central notion in visual culture theory is the understanding of how or what images communicate and how consumers decode those images and reproduce meanings (Schroeder, 1998). Ideological discourse in consumer culture theory, predominantly in the field of advertising and media research studies, focuses on the interpretation of cultural codes and its impact on consumer perceptions and consumption behaviour (Schroeder, 2005; Hirschman and Thompson, 1997). The theorisation of visual consumption, which was developed by Jonathan Schroeder (2005), co-links with the CCT perspective of contextualising and historicising the consumption process. The core aspects of visual consumption (VC) are the images that circulate in everyday life and are part of cultural systems. Images, signs, icons and symbols are an inseparable part of cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1989). They produce and reproduce meanings and contribute towards the construction of identity in the field of consumption (Schroeder and Zwick, 2004).

In this respect, aspects of mass-mediated ideologies have been viewed through the branding processes and meanings created using cultural codes (Brown and Patterson, 2003). Research into visual consumption shows that contextualisation of both branding and advertising depends on the perceived value of the cultural codes implied (Schroeder, 2009; Schroeder, Salzer-Mörling and Askegaard, 2006).

While visual consumption attempts to theorise visual culture, its major contribution to consumer research are the new methodological perspectives and development of profound elements for critical visual analysis (Rose, 2016). Visual research methods are considered to be the most effective way of analysing the use

of icons, identities and cultural codes produced and reproduced in advertising processes (Spencer, 2010). Based on the historic overview of Russian culture and the communication of symbolic power (see Chapter 2), this research acknowledges that the visual element has a greater impact on a consumer's self-identity construction and the reproduction of dominant ideologies.

Over decades, advertising has been researched as a powerful tool used to construct consumer identities and create a vision of the good life (Schroeder and Borgerson, 1998: 161).

“Advertising and mass media are the visual landscape that construct the reality...it particularly shapes the gender identities” (Schroeder and Borgerson, 1998: 162).

Schroeder argues that in traditional advertising research the focus is mostly concentrated on managerial implications rather than hidden cultural meanings, advertising imagery and the construction of identity (Schroeder and Borgerson, 1998: 163; Piller, 2001; Katz, 2003). In this sense, gender studies have been limited to the application of film theory, qualitative content analysis, photography and literary criticism on the use of female bodies in advertising (Castelnuovo and Guthrie, 1998; Bryman, 2015). This approach triggered profound criticism from feminist researchers due to it being limited and lacking critical discourse on female bodies in the marketing field (Bordo, 1993; Evans, Renaud and Kamerow, 2006).

In his *Critical Visual Analysis* (VCA) Schroeder (2006) concedes that images are the key components of the marketing field, thus those images need to be analysed in an appropriate manner (Campelo, Aitken and Gnoth, 2011). He is convinced

that images produced in contemporary advertising represent the strong power of cultural codes with “visual, historical and rhetorical presence” (Schroeder, 2006: 303). He reflects upon the identity differences in advertising and its representation of diverse sociocultural context, and pays particular attention to gender portrayal (Borgerson and Schroeder, 2002; Reichert and Lambiase, eds., 2013). Unlike previous gender studies, Schroeder does not limit the research to gender stereotyping. Moreover, one of the fundamental arguments of Schroeder is that advertisements are constantly “circulating information about the social world”, (Schroeder and McDonagh, 2005; Borgerson and Schroeder, 2008). He suggests that gender and hidden meanings around it can be explored through the application of the following key variables in critical visual analysis: *description, subject matter, form, medium, style, genre and comparison*.

The basic stage of critical visual analysis is to describe the image in terms of the “formal properties of the composition”: colour, tone, contrast and the positioning of the images within a certain context (Bell, 2001; McQuarrie and Mick, 1999). The theory suggests that in order to have a complete understanding of the portrayed image, it is essential to recognise the design that is represented through the lifestyle and physical appearance, which ultimately is historicised through the hidden ideological or cultural meanings associated with certain settings and representations (Schroeder and Borgerson, 1998; Scott, 1994; Kang, 1997). This is also linked to the service and products being advertised, which supposedly should be linked to the whole design of the advertisement (Schroeder and Zwick, 2004). This perspective of critical visual analysis enables scholars to extend the content analysis of the visual imagery by incorporating interpretivist paradigms to bring more insights on visual consumption (Bell, 2001).

The main point with which Schroeder is constantly concerned is how the meaning is “visually constructed in ads”. Schroeder seeks to explore how identities are presented and performed in consumer culture and why it matters. Reproduction

of identity in cultural discourse is tightly correlated with advertising practice and image representation of female agency (Schroeder and Zwick, 2004; Schroeder and Borgerson, 1998; Stern and Schroeder, 1994; Borgerson, et. al., 2006; Valtonen, 2013).

Critical visual analysis in feminist research is concurrent with the broader scope of understanding the constitution of identity through representation of body (Butler, 2011; Butler and Scott, eds., 2013; Butler, 2004) and the effect of gender stereotyping on the construction of gender roles in a society (Goffman, 1976; 1979; Kang, 1997; Bell and Milic, 2002). In this vein, according to Judith Butler's philosophy, the body is objectified as performative iterations that refer to the natural or prescribed female agency in a society (Borgerson, 2005). Consumer culture theorists, on one side, argue for the iteration (or process of) 'recombinant culture' as a key component of reconstructing and preserving the illusion of 'natural' categories of identity (Hirschman and Thompson, 1997). While Schroeder and Borgerson (2015: 1926), on the other side, suggest that those categories in advertising practice are "reconfiguring concepts of an ideal identity category" and consumers are acquiring the subject (image, icon, symbol) that narrates to the ideal world.

Additionally, Schroeder (2006) proposes the concept of '*consuming difference*' that signifies the codes of identity such as ethnicity, gender, race, social class and how they create visual contrast (Schroeder, 2017). This construct brings us to Goffman's sociological understanding of gender relations as being visual conventions within the domain of marketing communications (Borgerson and Schroeder, 2005; Butler, 1988; Bell and Milic, 2002; Bell, 2001). It subsequently reproduces the power relations that are typical in mass-mediated marketplace ideologies (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). Schroeder and Borgerson (2015) oppose Goffman's gender disposition by stating that:

“Gender is much more than a demographic, personality, or ‘individual differences’ variable – it is a basic cognitive construct, cultural category and political concept that intersects with the entire realm of consumer behaviour.”

Goffman has revolutionised the whole methodological aspect of analysing gendered relations through images by introducing a structured coding framework for analysing images in marketing context (Goffman, 1979; 1976). Through the frequency of the categories illustrated in the image, the researcher is able to come to a conclusion on gender roles and gender portrayals in advertising (Belknap and Leonard, 1991; Kang, 1997).

Many academics have been and are still inspired by Goffman’s framework, mostly when the research is related to sexuality (Elliott and Wattanasuwan, 1998; Stern, 1999; Stern, 1999a; Baker, 2005), gender roles (Coltrane and Messineo, 2000; Masse and Rosenblum, 1988) and inequality (Bell and Milic, 2002; Smith, 1996). As such, the majority of previous studies are focused on gender stereotyping and linked to comparative analysis of male and female contrasts observed in advertisements (Browne, 1998; Coltrane and Adams, 1997; Stern, 1999). Critical visual theory, in this instance, extends Goffman’s perspective and proposes to move towards a much more in-depth interpretive approach of not just looking at the content illustrated in the image, but trying to contextualise and historicise it (Schroeder, 2006; Borgerson and Schroeder, 2005; Schroeder and Borgerson, 2015). It moves towards not just placing within the historical context, but also attempting to interpret the universal elements of the image and its coded meanings (Schroeder, 2005).

While visual culture theory acknowledges icons as one of the key components in visual consumption, there is a significant gap in research when it comes to analysing the use of archetypes (iconographic representations) from a critical

visual perspective (Davison, 2009; Schroeder and Zwick, 2004; Müller, 2011; Freathy and Thomas, 2015). In my research I argue that images of motherhood are presented through the hidden implementation of iconographic dispositions. These iconographic ideologies construct mothers' consumption taste and reproduce symbolic power and distinction of mothering identity. Mother icons portrayed in advertising produce ideologies of motherhood which have symbolic archetypal meanings and structures attached to them. The next subsection will refer to iconography (as visual reflection) and archetypes (as coded meanings) in the advertising context and interpret the research approach on this matter.

3.3.1 Icons, Iconography and Archetypes in Visual Consumption

As previously discussed, icons and symbols are part of visual consumption attributed through advertising practice (Schroeder, 2009). Due to the gap identified in consumer research in relation to the production and reproduction of ideology in consumer culture (Hirschman and Thompson, 1997; Hall, 1985; Zhao, and Belk, 2008) that is embedded in advertising practice (Luedicke, et.al., 2010; Evertsson, 2014; de Waal Malefyt and McCabe, 2016; Minowa, Maclaran and Stevens, 2014), this study further looks at the iconography (Schroeder, Borgerson and Wu, 2014: 77) or visual imagery (Schroeder and Borgerson, 2015) that condenses coded meanings (via archetypes) (Jung, 2014; Mirzaee and George, 2016; Bazikyan, 2013; Kim, Lloyd and Cervellon, 2016) which circulate in Russian cultural capital.

There are numerous amounts of multidisciplinary studies conducted on icons, iconography and archetypes (Panofsky, 1939; Gilman, 1985; Gill, 2008). However, this research will focus on the ideological aspect of the imagery (referred to in this research as iconography) in advertising practice (Williamson, 1978), and the hidden meanings (here referred to as archetypes) (Schroeder, 2005; Jung, 2014) that are rooted in consumer minds (Zaltman, 2003).

By reflecting on Schroeder's argument (2005) that the system of meanings is represented in consumption through images, icons and symbols, this research further extends the argument that the *icon* is a primary substance in advertising (Davison, 2009) and *iconography* is a secondary level of coded meaning (Hasenmueller, 1978; Williamson, 1978) frequently used in contemporary marketing communications strategies (Schroeder, 2008; 2009; Puntoni et al., 2010; Stern and Schroeder 1994). Iconography has been described as the "symbolic content of images in artworks" (Panofsky, 1939; Sandywell, 2016). Iconography is also described as a study of subject matter in art that requires knowledge of symbolic imagery to decode the images.

This study attempts to focus on iconography as a method of qualitative visual analysis (Müller, 2011). This type of approach attempts to identify the meanings of the described subjects and themes and to conceptualise the image (Müller, Özcan and Seizov, 2009). Müller (2011) extended the concept of iconographic analysis towards mass mediated images and considers both the historical and political context, which is in line with the objectives of this study. By acknowledging the strengths of the method this study also considers the implementation of a Jungian interpretation of archetypes to fulfil a more in-depth understanding of coded gendered meanings in advertisements. To characterise archetype, I refer to Jung (2014: 42-43) who defines the concept of archetype as:

"an indispensable correlate of the idea of the collective unconscious, indicates the existence of definite forms of psyche which seem to be present always and everywhere...this collective unconscious does not develop individually but is inherited. It consists of pre-existing forms, the archetypes, which can only become conscious secondarily and which give definite form to certain psychic contents."

Jung (2014: 44) adds that “archetypes are unconscious images of the instincts themselves, or in other words the patterns of instinctual behaviour”. It is not surprising that many academics refer to the use of archetypes in advertising (Lloyd and Woodside, 2013; Goodman, Duke and Sutherland, 2002; Maso-Fleischman, 1997), and its effectiveness and implications (Bazikyan, 2013). The unconscious nature of the archetypes enables conscious manipulation based on the collective beliefs dominating a society (Caldwell, Henry and Alman, 2010; Lingard, 1993; Wright, 2003).

Jungian philosophy suggested four main archetypes, including the archetype of The Great Mother (Jung, 2014; 1938), to which this study would refer. According to Jung (1936), the archetype has three different forms, including the good, the terrible and the good-bad mother (Neumann, 2015: 2). The Good Mother archetype combines the good feminine and masculine traits, the Terrible Mother represents negative elements, and, finally, the good-bad mother combines both positive and negative variants. Zaltman (2003: 213, 219) states that:

“Archetypes help us make sense of life’s challenges, behave properly, and understand who we are...they are deeply embedded in every culture’s social memory.”

Nevertheless, the ideological concept behind ‘a proper behaviour’ or believing in ‘who we are’ is not less than artificially embedded (McNay, 1999). These dispositions are argued to be key elements of identity construction (Tsai, 2006). This study argues that the iconography of archetypes in advertising subsequently produces gender ideology that is either reproduced or resisted through consumption behaviour.

Jungian archetypes are universal, thus applicable to any context (Knox, 2003; Stevens, 2006); however, in order to decode the ideological meanings behind the archetypal dispositions, I extended the reading on the use of archetypes in consumer research with more attention to the advertising field (Enns, 1994; Stevens and Maclaran, 2007). As a result, a number of generic archetypal categories have been identified as significant in describing motherhood ideologies (Neumann, 2015; Birkhäuser-Oeri, 1988; Davis, 1983). Generic archetypal meanings (see Table 7, p. 87) have been linked with previous studies that refer to historical developments in parenting and motherhood ideologies (see Table 8, p. 102), which are discussed in the next chapter.

Table 7 (below) outlines the key archetypes, and gives a description of the meanings given to each archetype. This table will be referred to in the findings section where ideological natures and agencies are linked with archetypal dispositions and mothering ideologies.

Table 7 The Collective Universal Archetypes of Womanhood/Motherhood (based on readings of Jung, 1936; 2014; Neumann, 2015; Birkhäuser-Oeri, 1988; Jacobson, 1993; Stearney, 1994; Goldenberg, 1976; Davis, 1983).

The Queen	The main characteristic is being a leader both in the life of the child and in family. She is the type of person who takes responsibility, secures the safety and wellbeing of the family and children. She holds the power of making decisions, she is independent and strong.
The Angel	The archetype represents a person with strong connection to the angelic realm, which can be an influence or transition of religion beliefs. The type usually comprises loving and nurturing qualities embodied in a character. What is very true to this type is serving and sacrificing without any expectations in return.
The Innocent or Divine	The archetype is strongly linked with concepts and collective understanding of innocence, purity, God-like qualities. It is mostly referred to as the inner spirit within the personality. It may also have negative traits such as inability to protect herself from negative forces. It also refers to the type that questions whether the life is portrayed via the benevolent Goddess or fear of being a victim.
The Artist or Innovator	The archetype symbolises the passion to express a dimension of life that is “just beyond the five senses” ... the inspiration to manifest the extraordinary. What is typical for the character is the emotional state and ability to inspire others. Sense of innovation and being different is the key point to highlight. The need to inspire others.
The Athlete	The strength of human essence and its expression through the bodily active lifestyle. This is not just having a perfect body but rather it is the character specific traits that follow a healthy and active lifestyle. Representatives of this archetypal figure are inspiring and act as role models for their children and other mums. It aligns with the ‘Warrior’.
The Jester	This archetype is wearing a mask to hide her own identity, emotions and feelings. Making fake impressions. Unlike the clown archetype, it is not about making people laugh, it is more about hiding your female identity under a cover that is not true to the reality. It is more about social acceptance and presenting your image in a way that would not be criticised but instead accepted. Unlike other archetypes that can be linked to Jester (Clown, Fool).
The Damsel or Princess	This is typical for a character that is beautiful, vulnerable and needs to be rescued by someone who holds more power and bodily strength. This is close to the patriarchal understanding of womanhood that is portrayed as weak, helpless and in need of protection.
The Goddess The Creator Wise Woman	Goddess is the archetype of woman that is the source of all life and fertility. This archetype is a goddess, she has the ability to create (the world) and give (female ability to give birth to a child). On the other hand, the creator is also a builder that is shaping things and making them work. This archetype embodies the role of the teacher.

3.4. Summary

To summarise the above, this chapter provides an insightful overview over three major theoretical perspectives, including: *CCT* (Arnould and Thompson, 2005) *symbolic power* (Bourdieu, 1989; 1990) and *visual culture theory* (Schroeder, 2005; 2006), that are utilised in a novel combination to advance the objectives of this research. By interpreting and decoding the symbolic power persisting in Russian cultural capital, this study aims to understand how the iconography of motherhood in Russia imposes dominant taste and cultural ideals on society and more specifically, mothers, through the circulation of archetypal dispositions in magazine advertisements.

The study highlights the theoretical gap identified in consumer research in relation to the exploration of cultural mechanisms (icons, symbols and images) that impose the practice of symbolic power; how this impacts on the construction of the identity and consumption preferences of Russian mothers. By unpacking these aspects this study offers new perspectives on exploring the role of mass-mediated ideologies in the consumption patterns of Russian mothers.

Chapter 4 Literature Review

“Ads are one of the most important cultural factors moulding and reflecting our life today...” (Williamson 1978: 12).

4.0. Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed the theoretical grounding of this research and positioned the intended theoretical contribution within consumer research and the CCT domains. Building on the objectives of this study, in this chapter I aim to highlight the importance of the advertising field in the production and reproduction of motherhood ideologies and signify the gap that I aspire to fulfil within feminist research. This chapter reviews literature on the role of advertising in consumer research by focusing on three main aspects, namely: the role of women’s magazine in gender studies (4.2); gender studies and women in advertising (4.3); and finally, motherhood ideologies in consumer research (4.4).

4.1. Consumer Culture and Advertising

For the past few decades researchers generated a stream of discussions over advertising and influence of culture on advertising design and delivery to the public (Üstüner and Holt, 2007; Borgerson and Schroeder, 2002; Kravets and Sadikci, 2014). Some argue that advertising is a tool used to create meanings, attitudes, and culture (Williamson, 1978), while others (Lin, 2001; Cheng and Schweitzer, 1996) contrast that culture and cultural values shape advertisements according to social needs and expectations. One way or another, advertising and culture continuously interact, create and employ cultural symbols to produce familiar concepts with the intention of selling products and services (Stern and Schroeder, 1994; Schroeder, 2005).

Advertising itself represents a world that is constructed through social processes. One concern of consumer research is to examine the production of advertising in

order to understand socially accepted meanings (Jhally, 2014: 4; Malefyt and Moeran, 2003) and the designs, codes and symbols employed to produce those meanings (Hackley, 2002; Schroeder 2005; Sherry, 1987). Advertising generates knowledge but this knowledge is continuously produced from something previously recognised (Grier and Deshpandé, 2001). Williamson (1978: 99) adds that only if *the new* is already recognised as *known* can guarantee that what is newly *created* is **truthful**. In fact, Williamson refers this statement to the function of ideology, which he describes as:

“...constant re-production of ideas which are denied a historical beginning or end, which are used or referred to 'because' they 'already' exist in society, and continue to exist in society 'because' they are used and referred to.” (Williamson, 1978: 99)

It is also argued that advertising depends on the property of memory which in its turn creates so called “nostalgia” by implying cultural symbols, icons, images to push consumers’ intention to purchase (Kravets, 2012; Doane and Hodges, 2012; Kessous, 2014; Visconti et al., 2013). Williamson (1978) suggests that scholars should be concerned not only with ‘what ads mean’ but also ‘how they mean it’. In this sense, Campelo et al (2011) argue that advertisements cannot be just a delivery of direct information to consumers, they act as a tool to create new needs for consumers, and therefore advertising creates meanings around those needs as a choice justification. Similarly, Borgerson and Schroeder (2002: 574) suggest, *“...ads are a representational system that produces meaning outside the realm of advertised product.”* Furthermore, by looking back at Bourdieu’s *symbolic power* that is indirectly imposed through cultural mechanisms (e.g. images, icons, symbols) it is claimed that historically shaped icons, images or symbols are used in contemporary advertising practice to deliver hidden meanings (Schroeder, 2006).

In consumer culture, advertising and culture continuously interact, they produce and circulate cultural symbols as demonstrations of largely recognizable concepts

in order to sell products and services (Sherry, 1987; Hackley, 2002). Cultural symbols in advertising can be presented in different forms, such as logos, social stereotypes etc., and often can evoke the atmosphere of the past (Berger, 2015). Scholars in the past tended to focus on the textual meanings and associations, such as the use of *symbolic language* that is implied to indicate shared experiences or feelings through circulation of ideas and information (Karo, 1975: 60). It is debated that the study stream in consumer research lacks in-depth exploration of the reproduction of meanings by consumers themselves and its impact on consumption behaviour (Hirschman and Thompson, 1997; Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Scott, 1994). In conjunction with this, the CCT perspective offers thorough investigation of the “relationship of consumers’ experiences, the system of beliefs, practices that construct social reality and structures” (Arnould and Thompson, 2005: 876). The construction of social reality depends on media communication channels that convey the system of meanings in such a way to preserve dominant interests in a society (Hirschman, 1993). The ideological structures, or system of meanings are translated to consumers through the identities and lifestyle ideals portrayed in mass media and advertising (Üstüner and Holt, 2007).

While research on the role of media in the construction of consumer culture and identity is an established topic in marketing and consumer research, there is significant gap in innovative approaches towards the research design and analytical methods implemented (Kjeldgaard, 2002; Woodside, Sood and Miller 2008). Traditional methods in this realm explicate how media images (online, print ads) disseminate a plethora of meanings, signs and symbols amongst people and how such visual means contribute to people’s sense of identity and lifestyle choices (Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Featherstone, 2006; Slater, 1997; Thompson, Arnould and Giesler, 2013). The nature for some of these studies is exploring the impact of advertisements on consumer attitudes and purchase intentions through quantitative research approach (Goffman, 1979; Chae and Hoegg 2013; Bush and Furnham 2013). The main emphasis of other studies is the production of advertising, design and codes which can be studied in places by

looking at the visual rhetoric in marketing communications (Campelo et al., 2011; Rampley, 2005; Bulmer and Buchanan-Oliver, 2006).

Above all, images represent not just visual graphics, but represent culture, values and beliefs, so it is important to consider the context behind the image (Wu and Memon, 1997). Upon the discussions related to the methods used in analysing advertising in cultural studies, semiotics stands upfront, which enables researchers to understand relationships of meaning within the text (Bell, 2001). In his early studies Goffman (1979) saw advertisements as an exclusive segment of the real world and stimulating the individual's perceptions of a good life, gender roles and understanding of what is *right* and *good* in social reality (Belknap and Leonard, 1991).

The next subsection provides brief overview on the role of the women's magazine in gender studies and signifies the role of print media in the process of transmitting gendered ideologies.

4.2. Women's Magazine in Gender Studies

As discussed, this study is analysing the iconography of motherhood in Russian consumer culture. The design of this research is primarily focused on mass-mediated ideologies that both construct meanings around gender and motherhood and impact the consumption patterns of consumers. Parenting magazines, primarily targeted at mothers, are the focus of this study as they are considered to be a powerful tool for transmitting, producing and reproducing ideologies in relation to gender roles and motherhood.

'Women's magazines' is a genre or category within the broader print media market, which is primarily designed for women (Berns, 2017: 57; Holm, 1997; Endres and Luek, 1995). The topics and themes covered in the magazines vary from housekeeping, parenting, leisure, fashion and many other. They function as a mean of communication with consumers, and more often transmitting

perspectives on social problems and reflect on changing roles and responsibilities of women (Berns, 2017: 57).

Wolf (2013: 64) states that women's magazines reflect changes in relation to historic shifts in women's status and roles within society and culture. Historically, they play a dramatic role as powerful agents for transmitting ideologies and politically imposed structures. In contemporary globalisation women's magazines represent women's mass culture (Schug, et al., 2017; Shevelow, 2015). As consumers, women are influenced by the content conveyed to them through these print media channels and it impacts their identity construction and consumption behaviour (O'Brien, Myles and Pritchard, 2016).

Martens (2016) believes that women's magazine embody a persuasive mechanism of social change. Unlike the majority of other mediums, historically they play a significant role popularising popular feminist ideas to a larger and broader audience but they produce both beauty myths and feminist content. Women's magazines are an effective tool for reaching working class, rural and less educated women with ideological messages. It is claimed that the content of the magazines covers aspects and fields where women function and want to be seen. The target audience consumes magazines not only as a leisure (or pleasure) activity but predominantly as a source of valuable information and instructions. They help to construct identities and contribute towards the development of prevailing 'femininities' that are often class and gender conditioned (McRobbie, 2007).

Magazines build and contextualise women's roles, gender aspirations and consumption needs. Bourdieu (1984) suggests that consumers seek to acquire legitimate power and social position by consuming certain goods. The imagery, display of consumer goods and information provided by media channels help to construct these lifestyle choices. Significant attention is paid to gender stereotyping in print media. Lindsey (2015: 415), for example, suggests that magazines portray and project enrooted cultural beliefs and norms that are often preserved as stereotypes. Betty Friedan (1983; 2010) historicised the concept of

gender stereotyping with her study “feminine mystique” which focused on imagery around women. This is a great example of changes observed since 1930-1980, where women were portrayed as happy housewives and worshiped as great mothers. Researchers since then started to focus more on the gender stereotypes as the image of the ideal housewife with one or more children started shifting toward more independent and working mother image (Anderson, Johnson and Reckers, 1994). Unlike traditional images of women, the working women were often portrayed, hence perceived as unfeminine and dangerous for those who were in happy marriages (Horowitz, 2000; Meyerowitz, 1993).

The focus of gender stereotyping in magazines as suggested by Ferguson *et al.* (1990) moved towards more victimised and passive, submissive features. The idea of masculine domination and female submissiveness as gender ideals suggested the emergence of advertisements in magazines that aim to objectify women (Nelson and Paek, 2005). As Ballaster (1991) argues, the imposed beauty myths as part of women’s magazine ideology aimed to enslave women by portraying them as pleasure objects. Women’s magazines played a significant role in imposing these ideals of womanhood (Wolf, 1999; 2013). Women’s magazines are part of mass media, the primary function and ideology of media is to transmit collective beliefs, shape identities, consumer’s worldview and desirable objects/services that would trigger effective consumption patterns (McRobbie, 2004). Catterall, Maclaran and Stevens (2013) view women’s magazine as a means of articulating prescribed gender roles (womanhood, motherhood) that impact on consumer behaviour. It is suggested that the practice imposed by mass media help to legitimise politically, historically and culturally developed norms and women’s rights/roles (Stevens, Maclaran and Brown, 2003: 35). Thus, it can be argued that, women’s magazines are an inseparable part of consumer culture, where dominant ideologies of femininity, sexuality, womanhood and motherhood are circulated and promoted.

A good example of the above would be the Russian magazine *Rabotnitsa*, which was established in 1914 (Imperial Russia) and sustained until the present day

(Tolstikova, 2004). The magazine both delivered a political content as well as such aspects of women's life as family, childcare and homemaking. Prior to the October Revolution the magazine editors were inspired with Lenin's promise of the equality of rights and greater opportunities for females. Nonetheless, the magazine served the Soviet Union for greater socioeconomic and political purposes. As Wood (1994) claims, historically, the portrayal of women in this magazine was shaped according to the political needs and agendas set by the leaders (Tolstikova, 2001). In Chapter 2 I illustrate this by providing a brief overview of the strategic role of women's magazines on the edge of Soviet regime's collapse (see section 2.2.2). The changing role and shifting images of Russian women has gained significant space in print media (Davidenko, 2016; Oates-Indruchová, 2012; Waylen, 1994; Sperling, 2000). The Russian population has been drastically exposed to and influenced by Western media (Vartanova, 2012; Beumers, Hutchings and Rulyova, eds., 2013; Davidenko, 2016). Increasing availability of new products advertised through media channels imposed radical moves in consumer taste and consumption behaviour (Davidenko, 2017; Goscolo and Strukov, eds., 2010).

The striving need of acquiring aesthetic capital for upper social-class Russian women (Ratilainen, 2012) has been conditioned mostly by the Westernised images of celebrity lifestyles delivered through popular women's magazines (Klingseis, 2011; Schimpfoss, 2014). As Anderson et al (1994) suggests, aesthetic capital is gained through the acquirement of beauty traits that later become assets to symbolic capital and the hierarchical order within society. Along with the Bourdieusian evaluation of cultural, social and symbolic capitals, aesthetic capital contributes with the integration of psychological traits such as greater self-esteem, better health to the possession of greater power (Bourdieu, 1984; 2010; Porteous, 2013). The media analysis thus contributes in better understanding of social terms of producing femininity and constructing aesthetic taste within the consumption practice (Porteous, 2013; 2014).

The next subsection will provide a brief review of literature on gender portrayals and the female body in advertising practice, which aims to give further elaboration on the choices and methods that this research has taken into account for the image analysis.

4.3. Gender Studies and Women in Advertising

Gender as a subject in marketing has gained noticeable attention in recent years (Bettany, et al., 2010; Luyt, 2011; Eisend et al., 2014). One of the most popular subjects of exploration in consumer research is ‘the body’, its objectification, representation and conception as *normalised* or *imaginative* ideals in the social field (Wang, Liaukonyte and Kaiser, 2015; Cortese, 2015; Featherstone, Hepworth and Turner, 1991). A significant input in these studies were made through positioning the body in academic literature and marketing field (Featherstone, 1982).

In feminist research the bodily norms and representations that communicate femininity is one of the central topics that received significant attention (Brook, 2014; Rakow, ed., 2015). Woodward (2008: 84) claims that embodiment incorporates the notion: “...*our bodies are who we are and are inextricable linked to an understanding of the self*”. In terms of the purpose of this study, appropriate understanding of body representation in media is crucial to interpret female representations, and there is a significant amount of literature that investigates the bodily expressions and the projection on the gender norms in a society (Freixas, Luque and Reina, 2012).

One of the theoretical giants in this field is Michel Foucault (1979) who feminist have employed to inform work on bodily discipline and discourses on women’s bodies (Walshaw, 2001; McNay, 2013). However, Foucault’s contribution has received significant feminist criticism for the rejection of particular gendered aspects of bodily expression (Heyes, 2007) and the female agency and contextual impact on the female body portrayals (McNay, 2004). Drawing on Foucault, Judith

Butler (1988) focuses on femininity and masculinity as social constructs. She explains how biologically sexed bodies and gender are understood claiming that gendered identities are performative (Butler, 1990).

Judith Butler undoubtedly contributed towards the understanding of (Butler, 2010; Bell 1999; Borgerson 2005; Butler, 2014) the body in a broader sense of “reproduction, differences of sex, labour wage, mothering, spectacle or even being invisible” (Butler, 2014: 124). Bourdieu (1989), on the other hand, refers to body as a combination of dispositions of class, gender and race that are reproduced in everyday life (Bell, 1999: 119; Skeggs, 1997: 84). Bourdieu signifies that the difference of class is illustrated through physical manifestation, which is material and visible in this case through bodily dimensions, shape, forms (Bourdieu, 1984; McNay, 1999). The body in process, such as movement and gestures, contributes towards the construction of social capital and aesthetic division of perceived reality (Bourdieu, 1984). The social construction of reality in its turn formulates consumer taste that is, as Bourdieu suggests, class conditioned and tightly linked with the symbolic power of the habitus (Bourdieu, 1979; Wacquant, 1993). Symbolic power in this sense is the effect of the bodily representations (which in its turn is argued to be shaped by dominant ideas of the society) and the effect of those body portrayals on the reproduction of the symbolic power by consumers’ themselves.

Gender topic in marketing are quite diverse (Catterall, Maclaran and Stevens eds., 2013). Bettany *et al* (2010) map the substantive and theoretical developments within the marketing discipline by reflecting on the themes and topics covered in enduring conference series devoted to Gender, Marketing and Consumer Research from 1991 to 2008. First research was focused on ‘sex-difference research’, introducing surface investigations of gender responses to stimuli. This was later developed towards masculinist ideology in consumer research (Bristor and Fisher, 1993), later themes fostered interest towards body ideals in consumer research (Joy and Venkatesh, 1994; Bloch and Richins, 1992). Additionally, this review emphasises that in the mid-1990s gender topics shifted towards images of women

in advertising (Scott, 1994). In the same vein, Frith, Shaw and Cheng, (2005) identified a significant gap in the field of advertising and suggested looking at the concept in a cross-cultural context. Later CCT scholars who focus on gender research shifted their attention towards masculinities (Gentry, Commuri, and Jun, 2003; Schroeder and Zwick, 2004; Schroeder, et al., 2006).

As observed above, portrayals of gendered bodies in mass media has triggered greater attention of consumer culture theorists (Holt, 2002; Thompson and Hirschman, 1995). The arguments around body display in advertising, the way it conveys cultural and symbolic meanings and triggers desire in consumer's mind are at the forefront of this (Joy and Venkatesh, 1994). Nonetheless, when positioned in a cultural context, advertising content reveals much more complex ideological structures, distributed through the production of identities and images (Grier and Deshpandé, 2001; Schroeder and Zwick, 2004). This research examines the body display considering the cultural and historic complexities in Russia. Unlike the previous studies, the focus of this thesis is on the image of motherhood that positions the maternal body and considers all the secondary elements (i.e. image background, level of body nudity) that surround the body and comprise hidden ideological and archetypal meanings.

Feminist inspired research has brought new insights on the evolution of female roles in society (Thompson, 1996; Thompson and Üstüner, 2015). Early studies highlighted the predominance of the archetypal categories of women as housewives, women reliant on a man or objects of sexual representations portrayed in advertising (Zotos and Tsihla, 2014; Lin and Yeh, 2013). These depositions were often explained with religious beliefs and visual symbolism of gender ideology (Lin and Yeh, 2013; Rossolatos and Hogg, 2012). The feminist movement also raised the issue of women not being portrayed in variety of roles that they are actually involved in real life (Catterall, Maclaran and Stevens, 2013; Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976). Which again suggests how advertising portrays a particular vision of the ideal and promotes ideologically driven identities and portrayals (Gill, 2008). Female roles in advertising and the portrayal of sex roles

has been extensively researched from various perspectives (Stevens and Maclaran, 2012; Minowa, Maclaran and Stevens, 2014). This research focuses on motherhood as a construct and its production in mass media advertising context. While the research acknowledges different female roles explored in literature, it also argues that less attention is given to the female as a mother icon and meanings hidden behind the production of those constructs in advertising (O'Donohoe, et. al., 2013; Schau, et al., 2012). The following section is looking at the literature on motherhood in consumer research and positions this study's conceptual and theoretical contribution in relation to the gap identified.

4.4. Motherhood in Consumer Research

Motherhood as a topic of discussion in consumer research has long been linked with the behavioural aspects of consumption, such as, the reflections on child influence on consumption experience, family life, market and cultural capital (Kerrane and Bettany, 2016; Epp and Velagaleti, 2014); self-image formation (McNeil and Graham, 2014; Bettany et al., 2010); or collective and social identity expression (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2012; Coleman and Williams, 2013). Only a limited number of studies reflect on females' representations as *mothers* in contemporary advertising practice (Atkinson, 2014; Minowa, Maclaran and Stevens, 2014; De Laat and Baumann, 2014; Lin and Yeh, 2013; Zotos and Tsihla, 2014).

The mother figure has not always been central in research (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012; O'Donohoe, 2006) but more as an additional part of the female identity structure. It is suggested that advertising models representing the mother figure are carefully groomed to emphasise and visually represent self-sacrificing behaviour, as suited to their mothering role (Glenn, 1994). In contrast, Atkinson (2014) gives more emphasis on motherhood as a form of identity rather than an expression of self and suggests that beliefs impose mothering ideologies in today's consumer culture. In addition, Atkinson (2014) claims that consumption practice of mothers-to-be creates the pathway towards the new role of 'mothers'.

There are number of different perspectives on conceptualising motherhood. Considering the primary aims of this study, the following review of literature will be limited to motherhood concepts used in consumption practice, particularly addressing the gap in relation to advertising practice. This approach highlights the gap in consumer research concerning positioning and exploring the mother figure in marketing communications and mass-mediated media.

In *Motherhoods, Markets and Consumption* (O'Donohoe, 2006) a series of articles discuss motherhood in the consumer research context. Motherhood is defined as “*a social construct which is continuously produced in consumer culture through images. Maternal identity is expressed through the services and goods provided and its consumption by mother agents.*” While marketplace ideologies produce and reproduce motherhood identities, it is also argued that others are developing their own identities through the consumption choices they make in everyday life (Urwin 2007; Cairns, Johnston and MacKendrick, 2013; Atkinson, 2014). But the question remains as to what extent those choices are made outside the realm of social norms and cultural propositions. Motherhood is a complex cultural phenomenon (Hays, 1994; Sellers, et al., 2005). Today, women – mothers often combine traditional responsibilities of child caring with wage earning, being social activists and office holders (Hirschmann, 2013:17; Nichols, Gringle and Pulliam, 2015). In the Western context along with these changes, demographic transformation is observed with regard to the average age when women become a mother. Nowadays, the average age has increased (mostly in developed countries) to late 20s and early 30s which was almost unacceptable a century before (Gram and Pedersen, 2014). This also implies changes in accepted and expected ideals and social norms in relation to construction of normative motherhood identity (Cappellini and Yen, 2016; Herland and Helgeland, 2017).

Although there is limited literature on the role of media in constructing motherhood ideologies (Johnston and Swanson, 2003), this study attempts to map the motherhood ideologies produced and reproduced in consumer culture with particular focus on print media. Mass media has a long history of promoting the

mother archetype (Feasey, 2009). The suggested archetype has predominantly been linked with what has historically and culturally seen as ‘good mothering’ practice over time. With the economic and sociocultural shifts in any society the ideologies around motherhood develop liquidity (Lupton, Pedersen and Thomas, 2016; Glenn, Chang and Forcey, eds., 2016). One of the significant studies in this field, Keller (1994), combines historical analysis of women’s magazines with thematic coding to reveals dominant ideologies of motherhood from the 1960s to 1980s (see Table 8). In addition to this, Kaplan (1990) argued that there are primarily two types of motherhood images portrayed in print media; one represents mother who is in the domestic sphere and another that is career-oriented (Johnston and Swanson, 2003: 23). This proposition was further considered by Johnston and Swanson (2003a: 244) where they analyse mother identities as being a “double-bind”. The socially conditioned struggle of identity construction developed into the so-called ‘mother war’ (Shizuko and Sylvain, 1994), where females face the ideological construct of ‘superwoman’ or ‘supermom’, that can combine professional spheres of life, and the traditional identity of the Mother Earth archetype (Jung, 1971; 2014), that is selfless, child and family oriented, ready to sacrifice her own needs.

The dominant ideologies compress these categories into *ideal* mother and *negative* mothering agents (Kaplan, 1990), where the latest represent females that are more active in the private sphere. Ex and Janssens (2000: 867) suggest that there are *traditional* and *modern* models of motherhood ideologies presented through media channels. The traditional mother icon is fully dedicated to her family and childrearing, while the modern mother represents the supermom icon, who successfully manages the household, childcare and at the same time develops her own career (Hays, 1994). Douglas and Michaels (2005:4) claim that the ideologies of motherhood are part of the so called ‘maternal instinct’ ideology, that triggers natural acceptance of dedicating the self to mothering, loosing independence and tolerating a subordinate position as a result.

Table 8 Mapping the motherhood ideologies in women’s magazines. Based on reading (Keller, 1994; Douglas and Michaels 2005; Johnston and Swanson, 2003; Glenn, Chang and Forcey, eds., 2016; Murray-Swank, Mahoney and Pargament, 2006).

1960s	Traditional Ideology	The paradigm signifies the domestic responsibilities of the mother figure in relation to childcare, homemaking and maternal sacrifice (Keller, 1994). The gendered hierarchical persistence is significant. The male and female identities here are constructed through the control factor, where the male is expected to be seen as the representative of the authoritarian father model, who sets the rules (Lakoff, 1996: 109). In addition, mother constructs her identity through maintaining the household and childbearing activities. She is often described as “White, educated, married, middle-class, not working outside home” (as cited in Johnston and Swanson, 2003: 23).
1970s	Feminist Ideology	The feminist ideology aligns the shared ideas of childcare and domestic responsibilities as core of mothering identity (Collins, 1994). The mother figure is active both in domestic and public spheres. The child-centred culture in which motherhood and children are valued and supported by the community is promoted (Johnston and Swanson, 2003). The identity is not just constructed around the child and self-sacrifice, but self-efficacy, self-interests and empowerment through the work engagement (Glenn, Chang and Forcey, eds., 2016).
1980s	Neo-traditionalist and Economic Nurturer Ideology	The ideology features mothers who make a choice of resigning from work so they can fulfil their personal and maternal desire. The identity structure is bounced back to being child-centred, however, rationalised as an empowered choice rather than a binding action (Chae, 2015). Child raising activity is rather taken seriously and intellectually stimulating. Mother constructs her identity through extended reading and closely monitors the child development, designs activities to reproduce best mothering agency (Johnston and Swanson, 2003; Dawn Metcalfe and Afanassieva, 2005).
2000s	Liberalism and Neoliberalist ideologies	Both men and women are possessive personalities, nonetheless the ideology of gender equality in terms of labour is predominantly private choice of the parents (Douglas and Michaels, 2005: 5). The decision is made based on personal interests. Parents divide the caring duties for children and household (Murray-Swank, Mahoney and Pargament, 2006).

The construction of motherhood identity has been historically observed considering three different stages: mother-to-be; early motherhood and late motherhood (Sevón, 2005; Bettany, Kerrane and Hogg, 2014; VOICE group, 2010;

Connell and Schau, 2012). It is argued that when it comes to motherhood identity construction, first time mothers rely more on magazines to help them to imagine (and consume) their way into motherhood (Kehily, 2013:31).

There are a range of symbols attached to mothers in media, particularly in the Western context. On one hand, construction of motherhood identity has been linked with the symbol of '*domestic engineer*', where mothers are conceptualized as the experts in home and responsible for producing family, time and budget. On the other hand, there are '*libidinal mothers*' that are guided by the needs of a 'permissive child' (Kehily, 2013: 32; Sceats, 2000). Among them there are also mothers as 'organic experts and intellectuals', their experience is grounded in an understanding of local conditions that make change possible (Kehily, 2013: 37; Antone Ramsey, 2015; Hughner et al., 2007). They continuously try to extend the knowledge gained from their own mothers by researching and reading relevant materials, including magazines aimed at mothers and motherhood (Mokyr, 2000; Carrigan and Szmigin, 2006). While all these themes and elements seem crucial, there is still a lack of cultural contextualisation of mothering agency and exploration of socially-conditioned consumption patterns. In one of his early publications Thompson (1996: 388) referred to working mothers as 'jugglers' that have many responsibilities, goals and duties that make them emotionally suffer and juggle. Unlike the previous authors, Craig Thompson (1996) looks at the construction of motherhood through the lenses of social construction of consumer culture, lifestyle ideals and consumption context by not ignoring the sociohistorical patterns of identity struggles (Thompson, 1996). Following the same consumer culture theory stream, Clarke (2013) examines social class consumption based on motherhood taste construction. She refers to the emerging concepts of 'yummy-mummy' and 'slummy mummy' that represent material culture based on class conditioning. 'Yummy mummy' in this instance has a strong reference to well-off mothers who experience mothering as an extension to leisure and luxury-based consumption (O'Donohoe, 2006). In contrast, 'slummy-mummy' is portrayed as a less caring figure towards both her appearance and her mothering practice (Clarke, 2013: 43; Jermyn, 2008). Terminology emerges for

working class mothers, such as ‘Essex girl’, ‘teenage mother’, ‘chav’, that are culturally unskilled (Gillies, 2006: 26). As argued, the ‘Chav mum’ or the ‘slummy mummy’, is portrayed as not capable and not willing to provide a stable, nuclear family environment for the children (Allen and Osgood, 2009). Social norms impact the construction and experience of ‘good’ mothering (Goodwin and Huppertz, 2010; Thompson, 1996). Emergence of the *glamour* mother reshaped/pushed female identity struggles towards more femme fatale, desirous, empowered, sexualized appearances that denies the traditional archetype of the self-sacrificing image of the mother (Douglas and Michaels, 2005; Tropp, 2006; Kuleshova, 2015; Lynch, 2010).

The argument around glamour and mothering practice conflicts with the pre-established discourse of class-conditioned consumption and initiates destabilized hierarchical consumption patterns, for example, luxury brands are no longer considered to be belonging to the elite-class makers (Douglas and Michaels, 2005). The links with the discourse is made with the celebrity influence on mass population and the empowerment of females through aesthetic consumption. The consumption of must-have brands has become one of the popular themes in reproduction of modern motherhood through construction of taste and consumption choices. The meaning of ‘good mothering’ is changing, with the shifts within the symbolic order and responsibilities adding to (rather than shifting from) the already existing ones (O’Donohoe, 2006). Motherhood moves beyond merely having children, towards how good you are at mothering, juggling and ‘self-fashioning’ through consumption choices (Paxson, 2004: 88) which signals socially and morally appropriate ways of being a mother (as cited in Clarke, 2013:46; Guendouzi, 2005). ‘Achieved-motherhood’ represents a woman that can “juggle things, styles, temporalities, corporalities of their offspring captured in the temporality of things and styles.” (Clarke, 2013:49)

4.5. Summary

In summary, in this section several significant aspects were covered, including the role of advertising in culture and the production of gender ideology, gender ideologies in advertising practice, and finally the range of motherhood ideologies in the print media advertising context. All of the above-mentioned sections highlight the significance of images and body portrayals in the construction of women's identity and consumption choices. There are relatively less studies conducted that are particularly analysing *motherhood* images, their archetypal meanings and the current ideologies they produce and reproduce. Moreover, most of the above-mentioned studies lacked historicisation and cultural contextualisation of mothering ideologies. Thus, this study addresses this gap in the literature by analysing the images of motherhood and the responses to those images by Russian mothers. The next, Chapter 5 provides insights on the research choices, design and analytical model developed for this study.

Chapter 5 Methodology

5.0 Introduction

In the previous chapters, I presented the contextual background of the thesis, exploring the historic development of ideas and ideals of motherhood in Russia and demonstrating multiple ways of how those ideals were communicated to society. Next, I introduced a theoretical background that was composed of Bourdieu's *symbolic power* within the context of Consumer Culture Theory and emphasised the impact of visual consumption on the distribution of mass-mediated ideologies. This was followed by a literature review of women's magazines, gender portrayals and advertising as a means of communicating ideologies. Particular devotion was given to motherhood ideologies in consumer research and the gap in understudied archetypal dispositions within the cultural and historic context (in the advertising field) was highlighted. This chapter aims to provide details of how these theoretical and methodological gaps were filled and signpost the significance of the research designs and unique data analysis techniques used in this study.

The chapter comprises four main sections that elaborate on the research design, the implied methods of data collection, the development of the analytical framework for data analysis and the limitations. Sections are organised according to the research objectives (see Ch. 1, p.2), which were achieved through a multi-method approach. As a result, this study developed two research designs that are reliant and interdependent. Prior to introducing the research designs, I present the philosophical (5.1) standing of this study, which is coherent with the theoretical assumptions of this thesis. Here I discuss interpretivist research assumptions along with the feminist research paradigm that positions the approach of this study within a broader methodological framework. Being positioned within a feminist research paradigm and approach I acknowledge a variety of possible methods to study gender and a social phenomenon.

This is followed by Phase 1 (5.2) and Phase 2 (5.3), the research designs and data analysis techniques implemented. I imply a multi-method approach that helps to both expand the horizons of my findings, and validate the reliability and transferability of the data collected and analysed (Bryman, 2015).

The aim of the Phase 1 research design is to understand how the ideologies of motherhood are produced in magazine advertisements. It refers to critical visual and qualitative content analysis used for interpreting images of motherhood in magazine advertisements. Phase 2 builds up on the Phase 1 outcomes and develops deeper insights into how those ideologies are reproduced in consumer culture and to what extent they shape and impact the consumption patterns of Russian mothers. It gives an overview of the methods and techniques implied for conducting in-depth interviews. Full descriptions of the participant characteristics, duration and choices of themes and images are discussed. The chapter then concludes with Section 5.4.

5.1. Positioning Research and Reflecting on Interpretivist and Feminist Paradigms

Every researcher comes to a phase when it is necessary to decide on or develop appropriate research methods by reflecting on existing research philosophies and methodologies. I believe this is the stage where the researcher struggles the most, but I also acknowledge that this is the phase where one consciously writes and reflects on personal philosophical assumptions that were unconsciously dominant in one's daily life, the way one interacts and shares knowledge with others.

The philosophical positioning of the research and the choices made by the researcher create a project that is not only part of their world view, in respect to the subject, but also suggests the best pathways of answering the research questions (Holden and Lynch, 2004). No doubt, an extensive reading of existing social research theories helps to construct an idea of one's own beliefs about the

complexity of existence and the things that we know about it (Zikmund et al., 2013). In fact, the central subject in methodology is the perception of reality around us and the knowledge that helps us to interpret those realities (Creswell, 2009).

This project refers to multiple realities and how these realities are subsequently constructed by individuals (agents). Lincoln, Lynham and Guba (2011) suggest that realities are constructed; thus, having the knowledge that constructions are multiple suggests that realities are too. Nonetheless, a number of questions are raised by epistemological assumptions, such as what should be considered as acceptable knowledge in a discipline and how knowledge about something is gained and validated (Bryman and Bell, 2015). What is central to this project is the understanding of: how a phenomenon (motherhood) is constituted and transmitted through the media; how the concept is perceived and interpreted by the social actors (mothers); and, finally, how the visual reproduction of the phenomenon impacts the consumption behaviour of consumers. To address these objectives, the study adopts the feminist interpretivist approach.

Interpretivist assumptions refer to a social phenomenon and their meanings as being continually fulfilled by social actors and represented in the form of signs and symbols (Creswell, 2009; Bryman and Bell, 2015). Additionally, this study refutes the objectivist assumption that the world operates in a systematic manner and that reality is single and distinct from human meaning-making (Creswell, 2009).

There are multiple criteria for evaluating qualitative research, and what I, as a researcher, contemplate is that there is no single truth, but there are multiple interpretive agencies, and each of those agencies has its own criteria for creating or evaluating interpretation (Creswell, 2009). The central motivation of interpretivist researchers is to understand and interpret the world in which they live and work. Unlike other research movements, social constructivists usually develop subjective meanings based on experiences and address them towards specific objects (Keaton and Bodie, 2011). As these meanings become multiple, a

researcher explores the diversity of views rather than constricting it to certain categories and ideas (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988; Holbrook and O'Shaughnessy, 1988). The key is to centralise attention towards the situational view of the participants. As a rule, subjective meanings are negotiated socially and historically, meaning that the researcher has stored knowledge based on previous research and historical facts (Goulding, 1999; Holt, 2002). This is one of the aspects that I acknowledged through the historic overview of gender roles and ideological depositions in Russian culture.

The social constructivist approach is often used in phenomenological studies that seek to interpret common meanings for multiple individuals who experience the same phenomenon in their lives (Marton, 1988; Creswell, 2009). It provides a deep understanding of a phenomenon as experienced by multiple participants. The approach emphasises how people make sense of practice and transform experience into consciousness and it is one of the most used approaches when exploring consumption behaviour (Thompson, Locander and Pollio, 1989).

Steve Smith (1997) classifies five divergent 'post-positivist' methods: constructivism, postmodernism, feminism, critical theory, historical sociology. The feminist research approach grasps many of the beliefs of postmodern and poststructuralist critiques as a challenge to the inequalities of current society (Bristor and Fischer, 1993). The goal for feminists is to verify collaborative and non-exploitative relationships, and to place the researcher within the studies so as to avoid objectification (Joy and Venkatesh, 1994).

Feminist researchers refer to gender as a basic organising principle that shapes the conditions of their lives (Fox-Keller, 1985; Catterall, Maclaran and Stevens, 2005). The questions feminists pose relate to the centrality of gender in the shaping of consciousness. It helps the researcher to explore and describe the shared patterns of values, beliefs, behaviours and language of a culture-sharing group, which is true to the main objective of my thesis. Unlike other approaches and paradigms, there is a high level of involvement that allows extended

observations of the group (Smith, 2015). The challenge for conducting such a study is that the researcher needs to have a deep understanding of cultural anthropology, the meaning of sociocultural systems (Creswell, 2009; Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2015).

Yet there are exploratory studies that are frequently employed by feminist researchers who seek to develop a concept, advance operational definitions and improve the research design. Unlike other approaches, exploratory studies are usually used for the purpose of supporting investigations that are new or very broad, thus the researcher explores (Shepherd and Light, 2016). Techniques used in feminist research are primarily qualitative and can be conducted in the form of in-depth interviews, participant observation, photography, projective techniques and psychological testing, case studies, and so on (Bryman, 2015; Sanoff, 2016).

Bhaskar (2014) adds that in research there is a necessity for a structure of mediated concepts that interlinks both aspects of the 'dual of praxis' into which lively characters or subjects must fit in order to reproduce it. In other words, it is a reflection of the system of sociological concepts that defines the point of contact with human agency and social structures (Hays, 1994; Bhaskar, 2014; Schwandt, 2014). Additionally, Feminist Standpoint Theory (FST) (Crasnow, 2014) suggests that there is epistemic privilege over gender relations and parity due to sexist assumptions in different socio-cultural and political contexts (146). The theory has different waves. One primarily focuses on Marxist theory, where women are central to the system of reproduction; there are also the power relations that are culturally, politically and economically reinforced.

Feminist standpoint theorist Sandra Harding (2004: 31) states that the main goal of FST is "to map the practice of power, the ways the dominant institutions and their conceptual frameworks create and maintain oppressive social relations". These shared ideas intermingle with the sociological perspective suggested by Bourdieu's (1979) notion of *habitus*. Bourdieu interprets the production of social

practices through and within the demands and constrictions of the sociocultural field (including agents positioned within the field and habitus) additional to the motion of the habitus and its dispositions (Bandura, 2002; Griller, 1996).

Another wave of feminists refer to gender complexities and parity by looking into male dominance as a result of sexual objectification and the battle of collective self-consciousness (MacKinnon, 1999). Males ascribe to themselves a dominant position and project their desire onto the subordinate group (women) and ascribe to them the roles in which they want to see them (Gill, 2008). Central to the argument is that the idea of erotic desire and female nature being sexually subordinate to men has dominated collective thinking (Stankiewicz and Rosselli, 2008). The feminist praxis is the action of refusal to act as sexual objects or to believe this to be necessary or natural to female identity. Feminist empiricists suggest legitimate ways of informing empirical inquiry through the improved methods that demonstrate sex bias through social practices (Campbell, 1998). The subjects of feminist inquiry remain central to gender roles, norms, behaviour, traits, identity and symbolism.

By situating this research within the feminist paradigm I aim to address research concerns of how ideologies of motherhood are produced in print media and how the imposed knowledge transfer is reproduced by mother agents in certain sociocultural settings. I refer to knowledge as being shaped as a result of symbolic power imposed by the dominant classes in Russian society. This consequently triggers the taste and self-perception of social actors who are keen to consume goods and services in accordance with the ideals portrayed, or resist those portrayals. The feminist inquiry of this study aims to explore mass-mediated motherhood ideologies constructed through advertising that targets mothers. The ideology as discussed in Ch. 3 and Ch. 4 is produced and reproduced through archetypal imagery, which consequently indicates dominant gendered ideologies of motherhood (i.e. what it should mean to be a mother) in consumers' minds.

The rich contextual background (see Ch. 2) of this research suggests turbulent and inconsistent images of womanhood and motherhood in Russian history. The historic background also highlights persisting ideologies of gender inequality imposed by the political propaganda that shaped collective thinking, perception of entailed reality and gender roles. This signals that in Russia, most specifically, imagery of the mother is central to the historical and political ideologies of the country as a whole.

This study considers the visual element as central to gender ideology and emphasises the role of print media when transmitting gender norms and beliefs that fit into a history of the country where such gendered and gendering transmission has been embedded into the national psyche and performed a key role in its development, history and current status. The next section demonstrates Phase 1 research design and the methods applied for data collection and analysis.

5.2. Phase 1: Research Design

The objective of the Phase 1 research design is to apply the most appropriate methods that would contribute towards the understanding of how motherhood ideologies are produced through imagery in advertising, and decode iconographic dispositions portrayed and group archetypal advertisements for the Phase 2 fieldwork. The Phase 1 research design is arranged around the use of critical visual and qualitative content analysis methods. Through the development of coding categories (see Table 9, p. 129) and measurable variables, this study offers a novel exploratory and practical model of image analysis (see Figure 3, p.120).

The primary goal of this phase is to interpret the production of a series of archetypal motherhood images used in Russian magazines. It aids the research objective of analysing images of motherhood and decoding the hidden ideological meaning they impose. The outcomes of Phase 1 complement the conducting of the second phase in-depth interviews with mothers encountering these images

through the use of photo-elicitation methods. Thus, the second phase is built on respondents' response to and interpretation of the archetypal advertisements rendered from the first phase. The use of this particular technique enabled elaboration of how mothers reproduce ideological meanings based on their perception of shown images and their lived experiences of motherhood and consumption. The following subsection refers to the visual analytical methods frequently applied in consumer research and clarifies the particular techniques utilised in this study.

5.2.1. Visual Methods in Consumer Research

“Images are designed to be seen by and to have an impact upon a wide public.”
(Hobsbawm, 1978: Ch. 7)

In this subsection I offer a brief overview of visual methods used in consumer research and build the narrative around choices made for the design and development of the analytical model of this study. Two of the popular visual methods in consumer research are photography and video, which have several purposes, including analysing different environments, determining behaviour in situational context and illustrating reflections of situational behaviour (Belk and Kozinets, 2005; Schroeder, 1998 b). It is claimed that the nature of these methods is to enrich the interpretation of consumer behaviour with visuals and to expose insights that can hardly be expressed without the intervention of the visual senses of participants (Harper, 2002; Duncum, 2004).

Photographic or video observation is considered to be a means of gaining visual information of a certain subject, object, service or action (Basil, 2011). What is interesting in the field of consumer research is that the verbal aspects of observation and interpretation have dominated the visual ones (Brooks and Poudrier, 2014; Hockey and Collinson, 2006). Photography, as a visual aid of observation, has been used in marketing and consumer research in both the philosophical camps of objectivist “positivism” and humanistic relativism. Visualisation techniques were initially developed for “empirical science and

quantitative analytics” (Drucker, 2010). There are different perspectives on applying photography as a method. According to objectivists, photography records reality “written by light”, meaning that “images reflect an omniscient recording of reality as it occurred and the camera acts simply as a mnemonic device that requires no special knowledge to interpret.” (Barthes, 1981: 88). Conversely, the subjectivists argue that photography is “an intentionally constructed reality akin to the artistic “auteur” theory in film, where construction and interpretation of the image is necessary” (as cited in Basil, 2011: 247; Barthes, 1981).

At the beginning of the 1970s visual anthropology started to grow and expand, especially in qualitative methods (Collier and Collier, 1981). It gained particular popularity in the fields of medicine, history and marketing, more specifically within the camps of anthropology and sociology (Basil, 2011). Similarly, sociology expanded on visual interpretivism, considering images as a significant part of sociological research (Prosser, 2007; Spencer, 2010). This, of course, is related mainly to qualitative research (Basil, 2011). Photography and visual methods in marketing was mainly applied to the investigation of consumption practices and aspects of social life (Spencer, 2010; Banks and Zeitlyn, 2015).

Similarly, Spencer (2010: 24) argues that visual methods and images are the most effective way of exploring gender and power relations in media studies. For example, leading film theorist Laura Mulvey (2003: 44) studied the objectification of females in cinema narratives by referring to the psychoanalytical theories of Freud and Lacan, illustrating the dominance of male characters and the visualisation of the gaze on women as sexualised, subordinate and passive objects designed to be looked at. Naomi Wolf (1997), on the other hand, has been cited by Jones (2003: 415) when referring to the press and the visualisation of female body in press propaganda.

It is claimed that through the use of visual methods it is possible to highlight the objectification of female bodies that are particularly designed for the male gaze

and pleasure (Harper and Tiggemann, 2008; Patterson and Elliott, 2002). No doubt, when it comes to feminist studies, the application of visual methods enables greater illustration and exploration of gender implications in consumer culture that might seem blurry and full of hidden ideological meanings (Schroeder, 1989; Schroeder and Borgerson, 1998; Gill, 2008). In the gendered consumption context, critical visual methods and content analysis of images are among the most frequently applied methods. The next subsection focuses on the critical visual analysis advocated by Jonathan Schroeder (2006) and suggests a combination of qualitative content analysis (Schreier, 2014) to explore images of mothers in magazine advertising. It aims to give insights on the application of critical visual methods in consumer research and image analysis through an integrated coding framework.

5.2.2. Critical Visual Approach in Consumer Research

“We consume with our eyes...” (Willis, 1991: 31)

One of the core aspects in marketing is consumer behaviour, and it is argued that buyer behaviour and consumption process rely mostly on images, including brand images, corporate images, artistic images, and digital images (Schroeder, 2006). In his canonical study *Visual Consumption* Jonathan Schroeder (2005) explains how visual images function within a cultural system of meaning that is influenced by advertising, consumption, and marketing. Schroeder opens new insights into the visual aspects of consumption from an interpretive perspective (Balmer, 2008; Belk, ed., 2007).

In his *Critical Visual Analysis*, Schroeder (2006) guides the reader through the stages and key aspects to consider while conducting critical visual analysis. He is convinced that images produced in contemporary advertising represent the strong power of cultural codes through a “visual, historical and rhetorical presence” (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2010; Schroeder, 2005; Campelo, Aitken and Gnoth, 2011). He reflects upon the identity differences in advertising and its

representation of a diverse sociocultural context (Borgerson and Schroeder, 2002). One of Schroeder's fundamental arguments is that advertisements are constantly "circulating information about the social world" (Schroeder, 2006: 303).

As part of essential critical visual analysis he offers the following key variables: *description*, *subject matter*, *form*, *medium*, *style*, *genre* and *historical comparison* (Schroeder, 2006: 304). The basic stage of critical visual analysis is the descriptive element of image in terms of "formal properties of the composition": colour, tone, contrast and then positioning the images within a certain context. The interpretation of the represented identity's image, lifestyle and physical appearance should be completed in accordance with the visual design, style of the advertising and finally the product/service advertised (Hartmann and Apaolaza-Ibáñez, 2009; Schroeder, 2004). The main aspect of visual consumption is to expose and understand how the meaning is visually composed in advertising (McQuarrie and Mick, 1999). With the application of critical visual analysis, I seek to position, historicise and contextualise the images produced in consumer culture and understand how that impacts on the consumption patterns (Schroeder and Zwick, 2004).

Subject matter follows the first phase of analysis. This phase is primarily concerned with the detailed description of the characters, objects, places and events in the advertising (Barrett, 2007). The *Form* is how the subject matter is represented; it interprets whether there is an element of stereotyping, sexuality or other positioning. The *Medium* is related to the material that the images are made from (which is more relevant to the art). The *Style* 'indicates a resemblance among diverse art objects from an artist, movement, time period, or geographic location and is recognised by a characteristic handling of subject matter and formal elements' (Barrett, 2005: 35–6). The *Genre* indicates a *type* or *category* that is signified by subject matter and style, which requires more research related to the field.

The phases of analysis suggested by Schroeder were later extended, as they lacked

generalisation, in-depth contextual and historic positioning that would help understanding of the actual patterns of consumption and the use of icons and symbols in representing hidden meanings (Wang, 2014; Borgerson, et al., 2006; Joy and Li, 2012).

In 2004 Schroeder and Zwick further extended the understanding of the visual genealogy of contemporary images that aids in contextualising and historicising images in modern visual consumption. By genealogy the authors signify the meaning beyond the realm of the advertised product and refer to more cultural codes, symbols and icons that generate meaning (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2010; Schroeder and Zwick, 2004). Following this, I focus on the meanings beyond the advertised product and aim to uncover the ideological realm of motherhood portrayals in the Russian context.

From a methodological perspective, visual culture combines elements of visual sociology, social semiotics and film theory (Dikovitskaya, 2005; Prosser, 2007). The main objective of this research tradition is to demystify, historicise and visualise the image (Schroeder, 2005; Schroeder, 2009). By using the image-based approach it is possible to understand consumer behaviour and image culture, hence, how people understand and decode images, and how those images circulate in culture (Schroeder, 2005). Critical visual methods are well integrated in consumer culture theory, which is well demonstrated with research questions, such as: *“how do images strategically communicate? How do images circulate in consumer culture? How do consumers understand advertising? How do images relate to brand meaning? What are some ethical and social implications for the reliance on images in marketing communications?”* (Schroeder, 2006: 304).

Notably, Schroeder (2006) and visual culture researchers are not simply interested in objects within the image and the meaning around those objects, rather they seek to explore how identities are presented and performed in consumer culture and why it matters. Visual culture theory also explores representations of identity in cultural discourses, including advertising; the role visual artists play in

understanding identity and difference in consumer culture (Schroeder and Zwick, 2004; Mitchell, 2002; Schroeder and Borgerson, 2015). As an example in one of his articles on ‘*consuming difference*’ Schroeder (2006) highlighted the codes of identity that emphasise “difference”- ethnicity, gender, race, social class and how they create visual contrast and concluded that differences often function as branding techniques purported to represent “authentic subculture” or “diversity” (Schroeder, 2013).

Thus, the positioning of the critical visual analysis method within the CCT enables me to explore the visual aspect of consumption, identity and meaning production. I agree that advertising continuously circulates meanings and shapes the visual consumption patterns in consumers’ minds. This simultaneously constructs consumer culture and reproduction of accompanying gender and motherhood ideologies. This research also argues that gender and class are social and political constructs that require thorough investigation. For this purpose, I have looked at the literature on visual methods and techniques employed for analysing gender portrayals in advertising.

One of the most significant and renowned studies in this field is “*Gender Advertisements*” by Erving Goffman (1979). As a sociologist, Goffman looked at gender and its reproduction in advertisements to show the level of stereotyping. He addressed the issue of the subordinate position of women and highlighted the contrast of male figures in dominant positions by developing categories to interpret these stereotypical reflections. He examined advertisements as illustrations that propose the *glimpses of real life*. While he claimed that advertisements are *intentionally choreographed*, their main aim remains the reproduction of social situations (Goffman, 1979: 27; Smith, 1996).

Goffman focused on gender roles and observed the portrayal of the female position through the socially constructed ideas of the *feminine task*, which is subordination (Coltrane and Adams, 1997). He developed a detailed coding framework to

examine such aspects as appearance (hair style, make-up, clothing), touch (body, hand), scene (background), smile, gaze, or body position (sitting, standing, on the bed or even the bending of the knee). He claims that all the above-mentioned categories construct an identity that is later interpreted through a relationship of domination and subordination (Bell and Milic, 2002; Lambiase, 2003; Kang, 1997; Belknap and Leonard, 1991).

In this thesis, the elements of Goffman's coding scheme have been adopted and integrated in the visual content analysis that contributes towards a detailed interpretation of the portrayal of the mother figure. Nonetheless, in contrast to Goffman's study, the principle concern of my thesis is not domination versus subordination or gender stereotyping, rather it takes the image analysis towards contextualisation and historicisation. It links all descriptive elements with the motherhood ideologies and categorises archetypal advertisements according to the symbolic meanings they convey.

The coding framework that will be illustrated later (see Table 9, p. 129) has a combination of variables according to which all the advertisements have been analysed. Those codes and variables have been grouped according to the archetypal images discussed in the theory section (see Tables 7, 8 and 11). To achieve maximum clarity on ideology and its interpretation in outcomes, the coding framework has also adopted elements from Judith Williamson's (1978; 2002) remarkable cultural and structural analysis and interpretation of ideology through signs, signified and signifier, *Decoding Advertisements* (more description to follow later in this section). The image analysis process has been arranged around these three perspectives, namely visual consumption, gender roles and ideologies in advertising (Schroeder, 2005; 2006; Goffman, 1979; Williamson, 2002). The figure below presents the developed analytical model, which was initially designed as a mind map for a consistent and logical structuring of the findings.

Analytical Model for Image Analysis

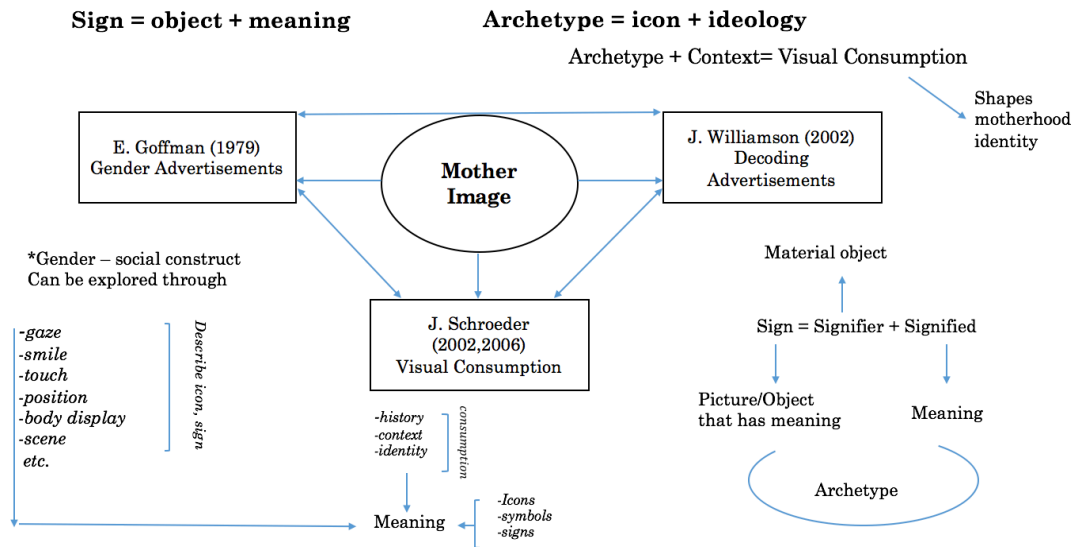


Figure 3 Mind Mapping and Analytical Model for Image Analysis

As can be seen from the figure, there is the central ‘*mother image*’ that is the subject of the analysis, and there are three theoretical giants in the visual analysis of advertisements, namely, Erving Goffman (1979), Jonathan Schroeder (2005; 2006) and Judith Williamson (1978; 2002), who equally construct the critical visual and content analysis of the image. Aligned with the objectives of Phase 1, at this stage this study is concerned with **what** are the archetypes of motherhood produced in advertisements, and **how** these archetypal meanings (ideologies) are transmitted to consumers.

Here I offer elaboration on the relationship between the three analytical perspectives included in the model above (see Figure 3). First, there is the ideology (i.e. the hidden meaning) that is produced by the use of the *signs* (which I will later refer to as the *archetype*), that, as argued by Williamson (2002: 17), consists of *signifier* (the material object) and the *signified* (the meaning). In this research I rename the *signifier* as the *icon* and the *signified* is the *ideology*.

According to Williamson the image is the sign that consists of the object and the

meaning around it. The meaning is either shaped around a person or a group of people (Williamson, 2002: 19). There are number of possible ways of analysing/interpreting the signifier (icon) and the signified (ideology); it can be a combination of textual and visual elements. In this study I adapt Goffman's (1979) analytical framework to first categorise the elements of the signifier (icon) and secondly to employ Williamson's (1978; 2002) style of translating the distinct signified(s) (meanings or ideologies).

Goffman's scheme helps to analyse gender representation, thus the categories and codes suggested (i.e. scene, position, touch, gaze, smile etc.), are in line with the critical visual analysis extended by Schroeder's suggested contextual variables (subject matter, form, style etc.). While Goffman's scheme offers more practical application and possible quantification of the categories identified, Williamson's and Schroeder's propositions help to elaborate on meaning and its contextualisation as part of the consumption process in consumer culture.

The methods described above help to form the coding framework that demonstrates the key variables of historicising, contextualising and highlighting the difference which will later be discussed. The adaptation of critical visual methods goes in line with the theoretical framework of this study and research questions posed. The focus of this project is to highlight the coded cultural meanings or ideologies that are produced in contemporary Russian advertising practice. As previously discussed, the meanings are produced through the use of symbols, icons that have hidden meanings and that aim to shape consumers' ideals and identities.

This study argues that the iconography of motherhood in contemporary advertising practice creates ideological meanings; it produces and reproduces gender norms and idealised motherhood archetypes. In accordance with Bourdieu's symbolic power and consumer culture theory, this thesis refers to advertising as a mean of producing privileged social conditions, ideals and constraints that are accepted in a given context (Bourdieu, 1990; Üstüner and

Thompson, 2012). I refer to ideology as part of a symbolic system that reproduces power relations and gender ideology that is consequently communicated to the social agents (mothers) through magazine advertising. Mothers, in their turn, reproduce (and often resist) the meanings presented to them and construct their identity through engagement with them and corresponding consumption choices.

Now that the analytical model has been introduced, the next subsection describes the data collection and analysis techniques applied.

5.2.3. Data Collection and Data Analysis Techniques

“Visual content analysis is a systematic, observational method used for testing hypothesis about the way in which the media represent people, events, situations, and so on. It allows the quantification of samples of observable content classified into distinct categories” (Bell, 2001: 14).

For the interpretation of the ideological meanings portrayed in contemporary magazine advertising practice this study relies on visual content analysis techniques. Based on the analytical model presented in the previous section, images are understood through the interpretation and description of details and content that compose the whole image (Williamson, 2002; Goffman, 1979). This subsection refers to qualitative content analysis techniques and provides a step by step information on data collection and analysis.

Qualitative content analysis method is usually employed when studying written, verbal or visual communication messages (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005; Neuendorf, 2011). By employing the visual content analysis I explored the visual data and grouped together similar types of meanings and ideas (Patton, 2005), and identifies the *key issues or differences* in data (Krippendorff, 2004; White, and Marsh, 2006). One of the challenges when conducting qualitative content analysis of images is to decide on the representable sample unit and conduct systematic analysis. I started by acquiring a coding book which comprised initial observations and themes. I followed the ‘scientific’ criteria of validity, reliability and objectivity

of the data (Knieper, 2011; Kirk and Miller, 1986) using structured “counting based” content analysis, but within an overall research design of qualitative-interpretive. It is worth noting that this type of research enabled me to investigate the developments in content produced in media broadly rather than gain an insightful knowledge of a single message produced in one advertisement.

5.2.3.1 Choices of Magazine Advertisements

This research uses three titles from the contemporary Russian family, mother and baby magazine market and three UK mother and baby magazines. While the primary focus of this study is to explore motherhood archetypes and ideologies dominating the Russian market, it also extends the analysis by considering comparator group of the Western origin magazines to highlight both the universality and contextual dependability of the archetypal portrayal. This enables me to highlight and decode the ideological meanings specific to the Russian context.

The sample of magazines were all targeted at capital city demographics, which contributed towards systemised analysis. Moreover, the choice of the sample has been validated by recognition of capital cities as major force for producing, reproducing and distributing ideologies across countries (Campbell, 2000; Bell, 1999). Along with Bourdieu’s (1984) research on symbolic capital and symbolic power that fundamentally supports this stance, the theme has been further researched in a number of studies. Scholars looked into national identity shaped by political elites which were predominantly positioned “on the symbolic landscape of capital...” (Forest and Johnson, 2002: 525). While this study acknowledges that Russia cannot be exemplified by Moscow any more than the UK can be represented by London, I argue that capital cities have tremendous role and influence on the rest of the country. As discussed in the background chapter on Russia, Moscow centralised power across the whole country following the rise of the Muscovite period (AD 988) (Bartlett, 2005; Bondarenko, 2000), throughout the Soviet period (McFarland, Ageyev and Abalakina-Paap, 1992; Kennan, 1946; Roberts, 1994) and

in the contemporary Russian Federation (Forest and Johnson, 2002: 529; Alexseev, ed., 1999; Cosgrove, 1998).

The sample consisted of issues of three Russian magazine titles, '*Schastlivye Roditeli*', '*Moi Rebenok*' and '*Dobrye soveti*' which circulate in Moscow, and three Western magazines, '*Prima Baby and Pregnancy*', '*Mother and Baby*' and '*Baby London*', which are widely distributed in London. The selected samples were regularly published on a monthly basis between January 2013 and December 2015. All the above-mentioned magazines were also selected in accordance with the demographics, circulation and readership rates obtained both from NRS (2014-15) as well as the local rating data for the Russian magazines. I systemised the choice of magazines between two countries in order to have balanced approach in examining magazines within the same category in terms of geographic and psychographic segmentations. Below I offer a brief overview on each magazine.

"Lisa. Dobrye Sovety" "Лиза: Добрые Советы" (direct translation: "Lisa. Good Advice") is a monthly magazine particularly targeted at women, produced by Burda publishing house in Moscow. It is printed in the Russian language and has national/semi-national geographic coverage. The editorial content of the magazine is designed specifically for parents and mothers in particular (BCN-Burda, 2015). The sales circulation of the magazine is 70,000 and reaches 138,580 consumers. Market share (which is 30.8%) is another factor that was taken as an indicator of the popularity of the magazine. The content of the magazine promotes the secrets of a good, healthy lifestyle, comfortable atmosphere at home and harmony in relationships. Each issue contains a special interview with a female celebrity who shares her story about her personal professional and family life. The editorial emphasis is on covering all aspects of life that are of interest to a modern woman; more specifically, they provide information on stylish ideas, fashion, cosmetics and beauty, and food recipes. The main topics include children and parenting, and how to maintain a family budget and career. The magazines also claim to promote stories of modern and independent women (Burda.ru, 2015).

"Lisa. Мой ребенок" - "Лиза. Мой ребенок" (direct translation: "Lisa. My baby") magazine offers information for parents and covers the whole spectrum of the interests of young parents. The magazine is targeted at young parents, both male and female. It has a circulation of 67,000 and reaches up to 113,520 consumers with a market share of approximately 30%. Like the previous magazine, it is produced and published by the publishing house Burda in Moscow (Burda.ru, 2015). The content of the magazine provides some answers for parental questions, pregnant women and recommendations for mothers-to-be. The unique selling point of this magazine is the content offered as a step by step guide to parenthood.

"Schastlivye Roditeli" - "Счастливые родители" (direct translation: 'Happy Parents') is designed for new mothers. The content includes articles on conception, pregnancy, advice on bringing up a baby from birth to the child's 3rd birthday. It is the second largest publication with a market share of 22.9%, targeted at young Russian women, and produced and published by Heartst Shkulev Media OOO in Moscow. Editorial content covers themes for parents and families and it has national/semi-national geographic coverage (Pressa.ru, 2015). The editorial emphasis of the magazine is on "the sense and sensations" of motherhood.

"Mother and Baby" is cited as the most popular parenting magazine in the UK (Ponsford, 2016). It provides information for couples who are trying to conceive, offers advice on issues around pregnancy, and tips on caring for babies and toddlers. It covers all stages of motherhood (Bauermedia, 2017). It also includes reviews and advice from mums on shopping for baby products. Fashion and beauty is another topic that the magazine uses to interest the reader. It is published by Bauer Consumer Media Ltd. The unique selling point is the friendly advice provided to parents by experts. It has a website that has more than 1.2m page views on a monthly basis. The circulation on a yearly basis reaches 50,653 with a readership rate of 518,000. The target audience of this magazine is mainly females between 25-34 and 35-44 years old (Getmemedia, 2017).

‘Prima Baby and Pregnancy’ magazine is run by journalist mums, whose aim is to provide a friendly atmosphere for parents seeking advice on parenting and shopping, and to encourage parents to make confident choices. The magazine also has a digital version and a website that has 3.2 million monthly users. The average age of the consumer is 35. This brand is managed and published by Immediate Media Co (Madedformums, 2017; Immediate, 2017).

Unlike the above-mentioned magazines, ‘Baby London’ is particularly designed for and distributed to London mums. The main audience are mums who are interested in expert advice on a number of topics such as health, sleep, fitness, education and travel, the latest baby and mother products and market trends. Its audience covers mostly high-end consumers who regard the opinions of Harley Street doctors, nutritionists, baby clothing designers, etc. (Chelsea Magazines, 2017). The magazine is published and distributed by the Chelsea Magazine Company Ltd. It has both print and digital versions. The readership rates reach up to 2,000 with monthly webpage visitors of 41,000 (Babylondon, 2017).

5.2.3.2 Data Collection Techniques

The issues from each year were randomly selected, and a total of 45 issues for Russia and 45 issues of the UK magazines were analysed.

The first stage of the data collection was followed according to critical visual analysis strategy. I identified correct samples according to the gender of the figure and the presence of the child in the advertisements. There were exceptional cases where the child was not present; however, the female figure was still considered to be a ‘mother’ due to the products advertised (e.g. there was an advertisement where a mother is pushing a baby stroller and although we cannot see the child in the stroller, we consider the female figure as a mother due to the product being specifically designed for parents to buy). Each advertisement that contained ‘mother figure’ was systematically collected, which resulted in total 271

advertisements (of which 137 from Russian and 134 from UK magazines). The gathered images went through the second stage of the analysis which subsequently contributed towards the drafting of the coding book.

This research followed inductive visual content analysis techniques (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008) that helped to organise the data first by open coding, where notes are written on the printed images during the selection of advertisements from selected samples. Next was the organisation of categories and abstractions. The process itself required a structured approach in terms of determining the sample unit according to the alterations in the 'visual content'. Another obstacle faced during the process was the difficulty in operationalisation, which largely depends on the suitability of the coding system and categories. For this particular reason, I relied on the transmission of theoretical concepts into variables, which were later quantified. At the stage of classification, I considered the categories to be 'exhaustive', covering all the aspects vital for the given research and avoiding overlapping. For the purpose of systemising the coding categories, I designed the coding book.

The initial coding book contained first the 'formal' categories, including the date (of publication of the image), picture size, dominant colours in the advertisement, the scene, background of the picture, followed by 'objective' categories, such as the figure portrayed, its demographic characteristics (ethnicity, age range, social class), the presence of other figures in the image, that would highlight the position of the mother figure in relation to this. The next categorisation was mostly descriptive of the main figure, such as the appearance (make-up, hairstyle, clothes), and finally, the 'intersubjective' or 'behavioural' categories, such as gaze, facial expression, touch, physical traits etc.

The initial phase of the analysis was mainly focused on the observations and the interpretation of the observed material. While the coding book helped to structure and organise categories according to critical visual analysis, it was essential to

further systemise the categories that would contribute towards content analysis and the links with existing archetypal dispositions. The quantifiable categories were grouped in accordance with the suggested gender analyses by Goffman (1979), Williamson (2002) and Schroeder (2006). This strategy was designed to compose the feminist interpretation of gender representations and its ideological stances. Those categories were later combined and integrated with the overall contextualisation and positioning of the images in a broader context of archetypes (see Table 7, p. 87).

To effectively choose the categories that would later be quantified were decided by links with the theoretical background of this study. Such categories included social class (Bourdieu, 1984; 1992); taste, ideals and dominant class, age (Bourdieu, 1990; 1994); socially accepted and expected forms of representations, ethnicity (Bourdieu, 1984; Schroeder, 2006) symbolic domination of one ethnic background over others (Russia is a large country with residents of multiple ethnical backgrounds); motherhood ideals through 'intersubjective' and 'behavioural' categories (Bourdieu, 1984; 1992; 1994), CCT (2005) physical appearance, mother-child engagement through gaze, smile, touch. As described, most of the categories are tightly correlated with gender norms such as the physical position of the mother figure or the presence of the male figure in the image. The scene or the background of the image is also essential (Goffman, 1979) for interpreting stereotypical positioning of mothers in the domestic sphere.

Thus, as described above, the coding frame for the content analysis was based on application of some categories from Goffman's Scheme (i.e. *feminine touch*; *licensed withdrawal etc.*), an additional category (*body display*) suggested by Kang (1997), *location* (Umiker-Sebeok, 1996; Babicheva, 2011), *facial categories*, as supported by studies on facial recognition characteristics, where scholars agree on the interlinked effect of the eye gaze and facial expressions such as a smile directly reflecting the emotional.

Table 9 Coding Frame: Categories and Variables for Image Analysis

Categories	Variables	Description	Coding Scheme
The feminine touch (Goffman, 1979)	*Skin-to-skin contact (with child) *One hand touch (child) *Both hand touch (child) *Touching other objects (stroller, product etc.) *Touching self	Goffman's category adopted for this study with minor extensions in variables and description. This is a category of behavioural groupings that Goffman applied to illustrate that women more than men are pictured in ads using their hand or figures touching, tracing objects. For this research I apply the same category with more detailed variables that would illustrate the level of distance displayed between mother and child in ads.	Yes=1 No=0
Licensed withdrawal (Goffman, 1979) through facial expression	*Expansive smile (1) mouth wide open **moderate smile (2) mouth open ** gentle smile (3) mouth lightly open or closed *Eye gaze direction (mother) *Eye gaze direction (child)	This is behaviour grouping designed by Goffman that illustrates behaviours which withdraw one (mentally or physically) from a particular situation. This category has several variables. Here I extended the subcategories by adding more features of facial expression in addition to those suggested by Goffman (*extensive smile and eye gaze).	Yes=1 No=0 'M' Eye gaze active=1 'M' Eye gaze passive = 0 'C' Eye gaze active = 1 'C' Eye gaze passive = 0
Body display (Kang, 1997)	*Smart outfit *Evening outfit *Casual outfit *Underwear *No-clothes visible on ad	The body display category is adopted from Kang's coding schemes and variables extended in order to give better illustration of body display of mothers through different outfits/clothes.	Yes=1 No=0
Physical position (Goffman, 1979)	*standing *sitting *lying down	According to Goffman the higher physical position indicates superiority or dominance, while the lower physical positions are linked to submissiveness. Thus he relates the lying down and bending forward	Yes=1 No=0

	*bending forward *walking	positions to sexual viability. The purpose of this category is to identify if the female as mother is portrayed as sexually dominant or submissive. This also shows to what extent the mother is active and shows the level of engagement or distance from a child.	
Character traits (Baker, 2005)	*Delicate/soft *Athletic *Independent *Dependent	The category demonstrates the variety of types that exist within the female character traits and it will help to identify how mothers are portrayed as a character. Apart from highlighting the social standing of the mother, it has direct links with both stereotypical portrayal or archetypal representation typical for a certain cultural context.	Yes=1 No=0
Physical and demographic traits (Baker, 2005)	*Ethnicity **Social class *White **High *Black **Middle *Asian **Middle-low *Other **Low	***Age ***young (<25) ***middle (<33) ***above middle (34<)	Yes=1 No=0
**Descriptive traits of image (inductive category emerged from Critical visual analysis)	**Make-up **Hair colour **Hair style(d)	These are descriptive variables that contribute towards summarising the most frequently appeared image of mother. These variables are also supportive variables in the above section for **social class category. The more is the look representative the higher is the social class.	Yes=1 No=0 Blonde=1 Dark=1 Styled=0 Not/styled=1
Location*	**home space **public space (café, restaurant, park)	The category is adopted from Umiker-Sebeok scheme and further developed on Linder's recommendations and finally subcategories divided based on Babicheva's coding scheme. It is important to have detailed	Yes=1 No=0

(Umiker-Sebeok, 1996; Linder, 2004; Babicheva, 2011)	**open air (field, forest, mountain) **not visible/abstract	coding subcategories in order to identify stereotypical locations where females are portrayed. Such as traditional domestic settings (home environment Linder, 2004), or as Babicheva suggests, private space that has symbolic meaning; or the social space that suggests greater mobility and independence.	
-Product/service (essential counting category)	Food Body care Medical Technology Home essentials (i.e. cleaning products) Toys Baby equipment Fashion clothes	-Country of Origin (COO) was also looked at to see the propensity of advertising foreign origin products in Russian context. This was categorised as: Domestic and Non-domestic	Yes=1 No=0
Other figure present in the ad (excluded mother and child) (Goffman, 1979)	Male other	This is to look at whether the scene of mother and child is frequently exposed with male character within the ad or not. Borrowed from Goffman category and adapted to the current study.	Yes=1 No=0
Dominant colours	White Green Red Blue	This category is relevant due to the intense use of colours in ads, where I want to explore if advertising agencies are employing those colours that have symbolic meanings in the given culture or not?	Yes=1 No=0

Some subcategories (e.g. facial expression, position, and gaze) have been revisited, reformulated and redesigned with reference to existing literature (Bell and Milic, 2002; Agres, Edell and Dubitsky, eds., 1990; Kang, 1997; Kim, 1992; Schroeder, 1998). The collaborative results (colour effect, background and location of the actor, aesthetic representation in terms of make-up, hair style, or body display in terms of clothing) from critical visual analysis enabled this project to connect some aspects of visual appearance and elements that have hidden values and meanings and that determine and refer to the archetypal dispositions.

state of the character (Fridlund, 2014; Ekman, 1993; Valstar, et al., 2011). Some categories were also aligned with the social constructivist view of identity that constructed emergent categories such as **descriptive traits of the images or the extended coding of facial expression that aim to give more descriptive and interpretive reflection on identities and correlated archetypes examined (Altheide and Schneider, 2013). Below is the descriptive illustration of the coding categories and subcategories applied.

Below is a sample of an image rendered from Russian magazine "Lisa. Moy rebenok". This shows how the categories described above have been applied to the image analysis.

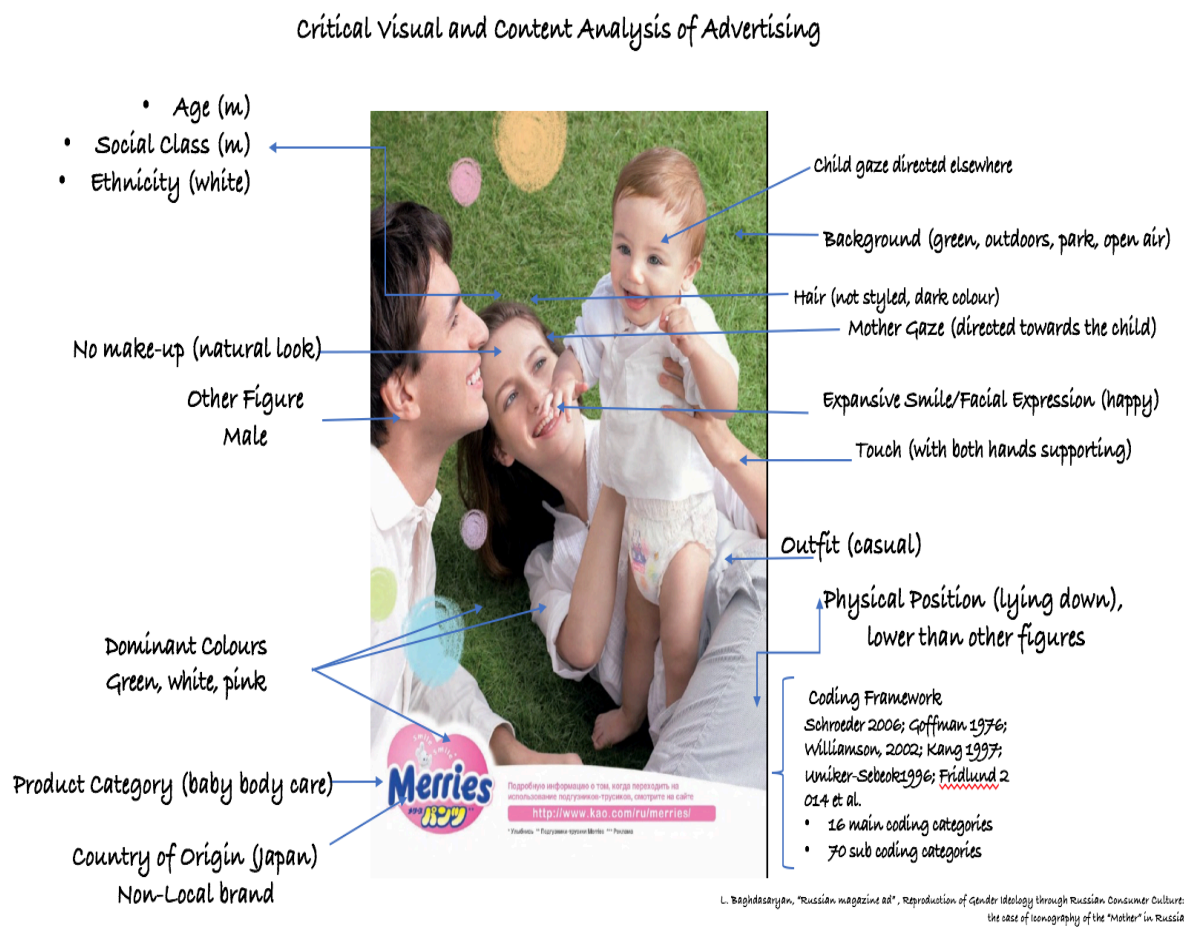


Figure 4 Sample Critical Visual and Content Analysis of Advertising (image source: "Lisa. Moy rebenok", May, 2015, page 62).

For the reliability of the coding categories and validity of data analysis, member checks were conducted and double coding procedures produced. In addition to the coding of the researcher, three independent coders were trained to use the coding frame and analyse images that were collected. In order to avoid subjectivity and prejudice, the coders were not briefed about the research objectives or the aims of each category description. All images were manually selected and photocopied/scanned for further reference. Later, images were systematically analysed and as a result some of them were found to be invalid due to being either duplicates or being characterised as non-advertisements (these cases were rare and represented mostly mother characters within a magazine article).

The inter-coder agreement was computed by dividing the number of agreements by the number of advertisements analysed (271). For this research the average inter-coder agreement was (96%). Below is the example captured from the final version of the coding.

ID	magazine	yearissue	Monthissue	pagenb	Country	Touch	Smile	MotherGaze	ChildGaze	PhysicPosition	PhysicTraits	Outfit	HairColour	Hairstyled	Makeup	imagebackgr	otherfigures	Productcategory	age	socialclass	Ethnicity
77701	777	2013	12	5	1	12	3	2	2	3	1	3	2	3	3	1	3	2	2	3	1
77702	777	2013	12	50	1	3	1	2	2	4	1	3	1	1	1	1	3	6	3	1	1
77703	777	2013	12	57	1	4	2	2	1	3	3	3	1	1	1	2	3	7	2	1	1
77704	777	2013	12	73	1	3	2	2	2	3	14	3	1	1	1	3	1	7	1	1	1
77705	777	2013	10	68	1	1	1	2	2	1	12	3	2	1	1	4	3	7	3	1	1
77706	777	2013	10	90	1	2	2	2	2	1	3	13	2	1	1	2	1	7	2	1	1
77707	777	2013	10	121	1	3	1	2	2	2	3	1	2	1	1	2	2	7	3	1	1
77708	777	2013	7	19	1	2	1	1	1	3	2	3	1	2	1	4	3	1	2	2	1
77709	777	2013	17	22	1	2	3	2	2	5	1	3	2	1	3	1	3	6	2	1	1
77710	777	2013	7	73	1	3	1	2	2	5	2	3	1	1	1	4	3	7	2	1	1
77711	777	2013	7	77	1	1	1	2	2	4	13	3	1	2	3	1	1	7	2	2	1
77712	777	2013	7	148	1	12	1	2	2	3	1	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	1
77713	777	2013	4	96	1	2	2	2	1	1	12	5	2	1	1	4	3	2	1	2	1
77714	777	2014	10	26	1	2	4	2	2	3	1	3	2	3	3	1	3	4	1	1	1
77715	777	2014	10	59	1	1	1	2	1	99	1	6	1	3	1	4	3	2	2	2	1
77716	777	2014	10	60	1	1	4	2	2	4	99	5	1	3	3	1	3	2	1	1	1
77717	777	2014	11	59	1	3	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	7	99	2	1
77718	777	2014	56	16	1	3	1	2	2	1	13	1	2	1	1	4	3	7	2	1	1
77719	777	2014	56	88	1	12	1	2	2	3	1	99	2	2	3	1	3	37	2	1	1
77720	777	2014	56	108	1	1	99	2	0	4	1	4	1	3	3	1	3	7	99	2	1
77721	777	2014	56	141	1	4	4	1	99	1	1	4	2	1	1	1	3	8	1	1	1
77722	777	2014	203	76077	1	23	1	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	2	1	1
77723	777	2015	12	16	1	2	4	2	2	3	1	3	2	2	1	2	3	7	1	1	1
77724	777	2015	10011	24	1	3	2	2	2	1	23	3	2	1	2	3	3	7	2	1	1
77725	777	2015	11012	27	1	2	2	2	2	6	1	3	2	1	1	1	3	2	2	2	1
77726	777	2015	901	126	1	4	3	1	99	1	1	4	2	1	1	4	3	8	2	1	1
77727	777	2015	405	28	1	23	2	2	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	3	7	1	1	1
77728	777	2015	203	125	1	23	4	1	1	2	2	3	1	2	3	3	3	8	2	2	1
77729	777	2015	203	33	1	12	4	2	2	4	1	6	1	3	3	1	3	2	1	1	1
88801	888	2013	2	29	1	12	2	2	2	1	1	3	1	2	3	1	3	2	1	2	1
88802	888	2013	2	42	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	3	1	1	1	3	3	2	3	2	1
88803	888	2013	2	51	1	2	2	2	1	5	2	3	2	2	3	3	3	4	2	2	1
88804	888	2013	2	59	1	1	3	2	2	1	1	3	1	1	1	4	3	2	3	1	1
88805	888	2013	2	93	1	13	4	2	1	1	4	1	2	3	1	4	1	4	2	2	1
88806	888	2013	2	103	1	3	3	2	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	7	3	1	1
88807	888	2013	3	39	1	1	4	2	2	3	1	3	1	1	3	1	3	7	2	1	1
88808	888	2013	3	52	1	1	4	2	2	1	2	3	2	3	1	4	3	2	3	2	1
88809	888	2013	3	88	1	3	1	1	2	1	4	3	2	1	1	3	3	7	3	1	1
88810	888	2013	3	131	1	3	3	2	2	3	1	3	2	1	1	1	3	6	2	2	1
88811	888	2013	6	23	1	2	4	2	2	1	3	3	2	1	1	2	3	8	3	1	1
88812	888	2013	6	62	1	3	3	2	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	3	3	7	2	1	1
88813	888	2013	6	65	1	1	4	2	2	3	1	3	1	1	3	1	3	7	3	2	1
88814	888	2013	6	71	1	3	2	2	2	6	2	3	2	1	1	4	3	7	2	2	1
88815	888	2013	6	75	1	3	3	2	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	3	7	2	3	1

Figure 5 Capture from the final draft of coding book.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, this research has been carried out from the feminist perspective. It is often argued that at some point the line between the researcher and the researched becomes blurry due to the in-depth involvement of the researcher with the data (Peterson, 2003; Bettany, 2006). While the approach is often questioned with regards to the level of objectivity as it naturally rejects the traditional values and norms of objectivity, which in some sense are considered to be central when detaching a researcher's assumptions and values in the process of knowledge production (Bettany and Woodruffe-Burton, 2006). However, the feminist approach is all about researching women's issues from a woman's point of view and drawing balanced reflexivity as a resource towards objectivity (Finlay and Gough, 2008; Clancy, 2013). I further discuss the strengths and reflect on the researcher involvement in the interview data collection process (see page 147-148).

Following Bettany and Woodruffe-Burton's (2009: 667) classification of reflexivity, this research follows the *Perspectival* type, where different interpretations and multiple theoretical stances are brought together to explore the same data or phenomenon. The researcher can show different perspectives in order to compare and contrast multiple realities and to enable silent voices to be heard. The mobilisation of reflexivity has been produced via the application of multiple theoretical perspectives for observing motherhood ideologies and archetypes portrayed in print media (i.e. Williamson, 2002; Goffman, 1979; Schroeder, 2005; 2006).

As illustrated in the Table 10 below, previously interpreted codes and categories have been simultaneously correlated with the analytical model (see Figure 7, page 151) to meet the initial criteria of composing the mother archetype (which combines the icon and the meaning (ideology) suppressed in the advertising).

Table 10 Systemised Visual Content Correlations

Formal properties	Description
Size, colour	Category colour was taken as dominant colours used in the ad. Societal understanding of the colour can be interesting to link with propaganda poster and colours that carried ideological meanings.
Context	Background of the image, in which contexts mothers are portrayed
Characters	Presence of the male character would help to examine the level of dominance portrayed. This will be done according to Goffman's categorisation of physical position of the figure in the ad. The higher or above is the position of the character the higher is the dominance.
Identity	Interpretation of lifestyle imaged based on physical appearance (Schroeder), external factors, such as make-up, hair style, outfit (lifestyle choices CCT and Bourdieu). Identity also can be interpreted through visual design of the whole image and the product advertised.
Form/signifier	This is to relate forms, signs, icons that can have stereotypical meaning (persisting sexuality), vulnerable images
Content/signifies	The meaning beyond the sign and the product advertised. This is in depth content that revises the cultural codes, symbols that generate meanings in a cultural context.

The quantified data gathered from image analysis has been processed through STATA and RSTUDIO software to provide the summary of findings (more details in Chapter 6. These coding correlations helped to both visualise and categorise certain advertisements into the groups of archetypes (see section 5.3.2 page 147) that are discussed and evaluated further in Chapter 7's findings. This is one of the strategic outcomes of Phase 1 data analysis that concurrently aided the fieldwork data collection and analysis processes.

As mentioned earlier, the aim of the Phase 1 analysis had dual purposes. First, to render archetypal images of motherhood produced in print media, decode meanings attached to them, find similarities and differences across the population of ads, and second, to use these diverse archetypal advertisements during the interviews with mothers. The next section provides details on the Phase 2 research design, data collection and analysis.

5.3. Phase 2: Research Design and Methods Applied

The objectives of the Phase 2 are to explore the reproduction of dominant motherhood ideologies based on transmitted stories and perceptions of Russian mothers of such motherhood portrayals. By understanding and interpreting the meanings reproduced, the second aim of the Phase 2 research design is to highlight how archetypal advertisements shape mothering identities and construct their consumption patterns. While the first phase of the research was concerned with generating motherhood archetypes in Russian magazine advertising, the second phase is mostly concerned with the reproduction of those ideological dispositions. The principal objective of the methods applied is to understand how dominant market mediated ideologies function in consumer culture. The focus is to understand consumers and how they construct their identity, taste and consumption behaviour as a result of visual ideologies produced in print media.

As described before, the fieldwork of this study was formed through application of the advertisements that were previously analysed in phase 1. For this particular study, the content analysis of the images was considered an essential but not exhaustive means of understanding consumer culture. Critical visual analysis of the large population of advertisements contributed towards the creation of a small poll of images that were later used to conduct in-depth interviews. The map below demonstrates the relationship of the stages and processes undertaken as a result. The process is illustrated in the Figure 6 below.

Reasoning and Relationship of Phase 1 and Phase 2.

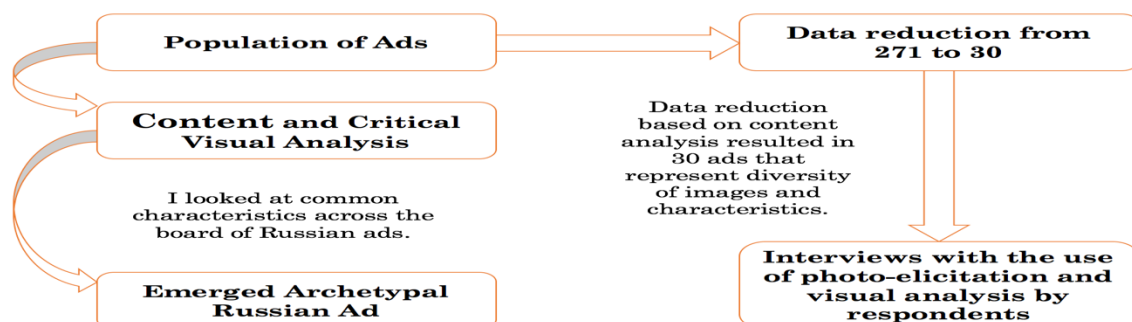




Figure 6 Transition from Phase 1 to Phase 2 Data Collection.

The interview design was based on data reduction techniques that resulted in 30 images that correspond diversity and multiple archetypal characteristics. The emergence of the archetypal advertisements was made possible through the systemised approach of condensing certain descriptive codes (see Table 9, p. 129) that correlate both with motherhood ideologies (see Table 8, p. 102) and generic archetypal dispositions (see Table 7, p. 87). The table below shows a sample of archetypal advertisements with some brief discretions.

As discussed in section 5.2, the two phases are interconnected and interdependent. Hence, the outcomes of the image analysis resulted in seven archetypal advertisements that aided the Phase 2 data collection processes. This section aims to provide details on the Phase 2 research design, including: the use of photo-elicitation methods, participant characteristics and data analysis techniques. Below I reflect on the design of qualitative interviews and the use of photo-elicitation techniques for in-depth exploration of the above mentioned objectives.

Table 11 Archetypal Ads according to categories contemplated as generators of themes for the interviews.

Archetypal Advertisement	Description	Archetypal Advertisement	Description
<p><i>Patriarchal Family</i></p> 	<p>Figure of mother within ‘conservative’, ‘nuclear’ or ‘patriarchal’ family settings (the image usually contains male figure, two or more children in casual everyday life settings) (Goffman, 1979: 37).</p>	<p><i>Young/Modern Couples</i></p> 	<p>Mother and male figures seen as couples with one child (the child was not the central figure in the ads). This type of ads were counted as significant for the research as great contrast was observed in the way they are symbolised in UK and Russian magazines.</p>
<p><i>Contemporary Family</i></p> 	<p>‘Modern’ family, where figure of mother and family are presented in more formal settings (male figure one or more children in more formal settings (often with abstract background, or at a restaurant and wearing smart outfits) and representing higher social class).</p>	<p><i>Mother and Infant</i></p> 	<p>Mother and child (infant) where the figure of mother is more a background symbolising protective shield for a child (the image mostly did not involve any male figures), the ads were also linked to purity, innocence and angelic features of the figures. This is one of the common types of ads that can be directly linked with a few archetypes such as ‘the angel’, ‘the innocent’.</p>
<p><i>Mother and Daughter</i></p> 	<p>Mother and daughter connection - mother and daughter figures were more often observed to be seen together engaged in various activities (here no male figures observed).</p> <p><i>Young/Mature Mother</i></p> <p>Mother figure and the age, where there was a significant contrast observed in models age (either very young (more common) or above middle age (rare)).</p>	<p><i>Athletic/Independent Mother</i></p> 	<p>Affirmative and independent mother figure (this archetype moves towards Western stereotypes of motherhood where mothers are more often seen in social spaces, more active and engaged). Significant contrast was observed from content analysis between Russian and Western ads.</p>

5.3.1. Interviews and Photo-Elicitation Methods

As part of qualitative research, the interview is the key method for collecting and interpreting data in consumer research (King and Horrocks, 2010; DeVault, 1990). The direct interaction with participants enables me to gain an in-depth understanding of the questions proposed in the study (Maxwell, 2008; Thompson, 1992). The informal atmosphere of the interview triggered a much better story flow that conveyed emotional exposure to the subject and honest answers to the questions proposed (Creswell and Poth, 2017). The positioning of this study within the feminist research paradigm also constituted the overall aim of enabling women's voices to be heard, while evolving participants into an active process of knowledge creation and transition (Galletta, 2013; Del Busso and Reavey, 2007).

The aim of this study is to understand how ideologies are visually produced (through advertising), verbally reproduced (participants' reactions to the imagery and associated stories) in Russian consumer culture, and, finally, how these impact the consumption preferences. In order to achieve those objectives, this research adopted a photo-elicitation method that visually nurtured the interview process with archetypal advertisements. The use of images is a common technique used during interviews which both stimulates and guides the discussion around the topic (Prosser, 2007). Besides, it would be difficult to understand the process and implications of visual consumption without direct use of visuals in the fieldwork (Cappello, 2005; Hurworth, 2004).

The photo-elicitation technique is commonly used in visual sociology (Harper, 2002) and visual anthropology (Hurworth, 2004) as a method that evokes feelings and derives various information based on memory and diverse representations of one particular theme (Harper, 2002). In the same vein, this study looked at the emotional response, rejection or acceptance of the identity portrayal, and evoked stories of participants (past experience and consumption patterns). As stated above, images are considered as key components for generating interview themes and encouraging discussion and free flow of conversation between the researcher

and the interviewee (Schouten, 1991). This type of tool also enables the researcher to purify identity claims and implications evoked through ideological dispositions (Croghan, et al., 2008).

5.3.1.1. Participants' Characteristics

Following the research design, I conducted participant selection. Prior to the main data collection, a pilot study was conducted with five Russian mothers in Spring 2014. The pilot study facilitated better structuring and organisation of the future interviews. This also helped to enhance data collection techniques and approaches that I later implemented in order to gain the trust of participants and a rich quality data with veracity and authenticity that reflected their lived experiences. Each pilot interview lasted up to two hours, and interviewees shared their experience on mothering in Russia and expressed their opinions about the advertisements (a sample of images were shown). After the interview, participants also reflected and provided feedback on the interview experience, including how the order of the displayed images helped them to cover various aspects of their everyday mothering experience. The feedback given was taken into consideration during the fieldwork.

The choice of participants was initially planned to be constructed around the demographic segmentation of magazine readers described as average representatives of 25-35 year-old middle class (A, B and C1 social grade) mothers. However, soon after the preliminary observations of models depicted in the Russian and UK magazine advertisements (which ranged from early 20s to over mid 40s) along with the pilot interview outcomes (age and marital status were conferred as a major construct of mothering identity) the demographic characteristics were reconsidered. The principal focus was around having a diversity of profile characteristics, including age (i.e. early 20s to early 50s), marital status (i.e. married, divorced and single), education (i.e. secondary, university degree or other) and social class (i.e. low, middle and high). I have also included the occupation, where interviewees were free to describe it and write it

in the pre-interview demographic form. The sexual orientation of participants remained within the frame of 'heterosexual mothers', due to cultural, national and political rejection of homosexuality in the Russian context (see more on pp. 49-50; Tarusina, 2015; Gulevich, et al., 2017; Herek, 2014). The Tables 13, 14 and 15 (pp 153-145) provide details on the characteristics.

All the above mentioned profile characteristics were only gathered during the actual interviews. When snowballing from one participant to another, the primary criteria was the age of the youngest child in the family, who should not be above 8 years old. The logic behind this classification was to provide an equal and ethical opportunity to diverse groups of participants to reflect on their own representations in the advertising. In addition to this, preliminary examination of advertisements revealed that the products/services advertised were primarily designed for children of up to 8 years old. There were also regular illustrations child figures (that were around the age of 0 to 8) positioned next to the mother character. Likewise, the pilot interview outcomes showed that mothers who had children above this age category had difficulties in associating with the models portrayed.

5.3.1.2 Grouping Participants According to Location

Along with the above criteria, participants were divided into three groups according to location (see Table 12). Moscow was the source of the largest data gathering point due to the fact that magazines were chosen according to their popularity and presence in Moscow. The theoretical reasoning for the choice of city brings us back to Bourdieu (1989; 1990) and the generation of symbolic power and cultural capital, which it is most appropriate to observe from the main city where political power and legitimate culture is most likely to be formed and transferred across the country. As discussed in section 5.2.3.1, capital cities are recognised as a major force for producing, reproducing and distributing ideologies across the whole country (Campbell, 2000; Bell, 1999).

In the same vein, the theoretical elaboration of symbolic power and construction of symbolic capital is dependent on the centralised national, economic and political powers. This power is concentrated in capital cities and legitimated by all subordinate locations within the state (Bourdieu, 1984; Forest and Johnson, 2002). The historic overview (see Chapter 2) of Russia showed a consistent pattern of the above-mentioned centralised ‘capital power’ and success of propaganda, not only in Russia but across all Soviet countries (Bartlett, 2005; Bondarenko, 2000; Kennan, 1946; Roberts, 1994). Nonetheless, in order to have better understanding of wider population thought and maximise the generalisability of outcomes, especially when it comes to gender ideology, participants were clustered into three key groups, which are described in the table below.

Table 12 Participants’ characteristics according to location

Group 1	Russian Mothers in Moscow (RMiM)	This group of mothers are of Russian origin living in the capital of the Federation.
Group 2	Russian Mothers in London (RMiL)	Representatives of RMiL group are of Russian origin established/living in London. They are from different parts of Russia (i.e. Tver, St. Petersburg, Murmansk, Voronezh, Rostov, Omsk, Krasnodar etc.).
Group 3	English Mothers in London (EMiL)	In this thesis English mothers acted as a comparator group to highlight cultural and contextual differences and dispel the areas of universality in this study. The group aided the thematic analysis and selection of themes based on the responses that signify the cultural and contextual belongingness.

The period of data collection for the interviews commenced in January 2016 and finished in September 2016. As previously mentioned, the pilot study was conducted during Spring 2014.

The first group represents Russian mothers living in Moscow (RMiM). It can be seen from the table 13 below that the participants’ characteristics show a good diversity in all the desired categories, including age, education, marital status and social class (see Table 13). These particular profile characteristics are later referred to in the findings section (see Chapter 7).

It is worth mentioning that all participants were described as belonging to the heterosexual category. This is one of the limitations of this study, as the sexual orientation of mothers was left out of the discourse due to Russian cultural complexities and rejection of LGBT communities in this context (Riabov and Riabova, 2014; Stella and Nartova, 2015). The so-called ‘gay propaganda’ has significantly increased since the rise of Putin to power. LGBT communities are a minority in Russia and have been constantly criticised as showing anti-national and immoral behaviour (Renzetti and Miley, 2014; Soboleva and Bakhmetjev, 2015). The majority of LGBT community members are forced to hide their true identities to avoid domestic violence and prominent rejection from society and ruling authorities (Johnson, 2014). While societal thinking in the UK drastically differs from Russian (Hicks, 2005; Goldberg and Allen, eds., 2012), the descriptive and personal characteristics (including sexual orientation) of participants remain paralleled with the Russian samples. This is a very interesting aspect that can be further researched under a different scope of construction of mothering identities by socially rejected minorities.

Table 13 Group 1 “Russian Mothers in Moscow” Profile Characteristics

Pseudonym	Age	Education	Occupation	Age of Child	Marital Status	Social Class
Alla	32	MA	Accountant	6m	Married	L-M
Alisa	34	BA	Designer	3y	Married	M-H
Vera	28	BA	Not working	3y	Married	M (e)
Dasha	33	BA	Manager	6y	Divorced	M (e)
Dina	35	Sec	Business woman	3,10,14y	D/Married	M-H
Ekaterina	44	Sec	Housewife	7,12,21y	Divorced	L
Evgenia	25	BA	Dentist	7m	Married	M (e)
Zhanna	23	BA	Marketing	8m	Married	L
Inga	32	BA	Finance	3y	Married	M (e)
Inna	34	BA	Blogging	6y	Single	M-H
Innesa	27	BA	Photographer	5y	Married	M (e)
Ksenya	28	MA	Media Supervisor	8m	Married	M-H
Kristina	27	MA	Housewife	10m	Married	M(e)
Larisa	37	BA	Mentor	2y	Single	M-L
Ljuba	29	BA	Finance	1y	Married	M-H
Marina	38	Sec	Housewife	4,14y	Divorced	M-L
Nadezhda	40	BA	Artist	5,7y	Divorced	M-L
Nonna	29	BA	Not working	4,1y	Married	M-H
Olesia	26	BA	Advertising	8m	Married	M-L
Raisa	40	BA	Psychology	2y	Single	L
Sofia	28	BA	Marketing	9m	Married	M (e)
Tamara	32	BA	Dentist	2,4y	Divorced	M (e)
Emma	33	BA	Not working	11m	Married	M (e)
Emilia	32	Prim	Waiter	2y	Single	L
Nastya	32	BA	IT specialist	1y	Married	M (e)

Zinaida	34	Prim	Waiter	10m	Married	L
Laura	25	BA	Housewife	10m	Married	L

**Sec: Secondary Education; *Prim: Primary Education **NW: not working
L-M: low to medium ***M (w): medium working classM-H: medium to high ***L: low; M: medium; H: high
y-years; m-months*

The second largest group of participants embodies Russian mothers who travelled from different parts of Russia and settled in London (RMiL). This group generated a reproduction of gendered motherhood ideologies and demonstrated the change or persistence of mothering ideals based on cultural capital acquired as a result of relocation. The symbolic space has a significant impact on the construction of mothering identity and legitimisation of symbolic power (Massey, 2013; Sussman, 2000). As discussed in Chapter 2, the symbolic capital comprises and is part of the social, cultural and economic capitals; it is more likely to change as a result of transition from one cultural context to another (Bourdieu, 1985; 2011; Swidler, 1986; Hall, 1992). To highlight these aspects and signify the contextual impact on acceptance/rejection of mothering ideologies through consumption choices, this group was formed.

The RMiL group enabled this study to signify the impact of symbolic power on identity construction and to highlight the identity struggle as a result of relocation and integration from one cultural context to another. From the methodological perspective, this group (RMiL) also helped to enhance the level of transferability of the findings (Ali and Yusof, 2011; Robinson, 2014).

The Table 14 gives details on the characteristics of participants for this group; all details described are later used in the findings section (see Chapter 7).

Table 14 Group 2 “Russian Mothers in London” Profile Characteristics

Pseudonym	Age	Education	Occupation	Child’s Age	Marital Status	Social Class
Lera	36	BA	Dentist	6y	Divorced	H
Alina	34	BA	Finance	3y	Married	M(e)
Susanna	41	SEC	Cashier	3,16,18,23y	Married	L-M (w)
Katya	35	BA	Artist	7y	Divorced	M-H
Oksana	33	BA	Artist	2y	Married	H
Diana	35	MA	Finance	10m	Married	M-H
Masha	23	MA	Blogging	2,14y	Married	M-H
Lyudmila	20	SEC	Not working	6m	Married	M (w)

Zhasmina	34	SEC	Not working	12m,3y	D/Married	M (w)
Veronika	27	BA	Photographer	9m	Married	M (e)
Jana	22	SEC	Photographer	1y	Married	M (w)
Julia`	25	BA	Accountant	11m	Married	M (e)
Anastasija	35	BA	Social Worker	1, 7y	Divorced	M (e)
Olga	40	BA	Nutritionist	8y	Married	H

*Sec: Secondary Education; ***L-M: low to medium ***M (w): medium working class***M-H: medium to high; H: high

Finally, the last group has been categorised as English mothers from London (EMiL) (see Table 15). The integration of a comparator group technique helped to highlight cultural and contextual differences and emphasise the universalities in the production and reproduction of mothering ideologies in Russia. Considering the location, the access to this group did not cause any difficulties.

While the focus of this study remains on Russian mothers, the English mother group supplemented the conformity of the contextual and cultural nature of the findings. This method was very helpful especially when signposting the cultural differences that impacted the perception and interpretation of ideologies by Russian mothers who migrated to London when conducting the thematic analysis.

Table 15 Group 3 “English Mothers in London” Profile Characteristics

Pseudonym	Age	Education	Occupation	Age of Child	Marital Status	Social Class
Sophia	49	PhD	Academic	8y	Married	M (e)
Emily	55	PhD	Academic	8,20y	Married	M (e)
Lily	38	MA	Lecturer	4y	Married	M (e)
Olivia	36	PhD	Lecturer	2y	Married	M (e)
Amelia	45	BA	Teacher	2,8,9,12,14y	Married	M (e)
Isabella	35	BA	Manager	2y	Divorced	M-H
Chloe	32	BA	Banking	3y,8m	Married	H
Mia	35	SEC	Housewife	2,1y	Married	M (w)
Jessica	39	SEC	Service Worker	8,14y	Married	M (w)
Charlotte	43	MA	Academic	8,16y	Married	M (e)
Alice	45	BA	Entrepreneur	3y	Single	M (e)
Molly	33	MA	Admin	11m	Married	M (e)

*Sec: Secondary Education; *Prim: Primary Education**NW: not working

L-M: low to medium ***M (w): medium working class; M (e): medium educatedM-H: medium to high ***L: low; M: medium; H: high y-years; m-months

5.3.1.3 Accessing Participants

A snowballing technique was the main strategy for finding participants, which helped to reduce the bias of participant selection and have diversity within the

participants' profile characteristics (Noy, 2008). A mind-mapping technique was incorporated in order to keep a record of participants and have greater control over the emergence of new sources and potential contributors (Wheeldon and Faubert, 2009; O'Dwyer, 2004).

Participants were accessed through personal contact details (i.e. telephone, email) or through social networking channels and groups, such as Facebook (a group 'Russian mums in London'; 'Marylebone Mums'), Odnoklassniki and Vkontakte (Russian social media platforms). Most of the participants were passed through the contacts of other mums who agreed and were willing to take part in the research. Detailed diary notes were taken in order to keep track of progress and arranging new interviews at convenient days and times for participants. It was especially useful as time conversion was necessary due to the time differences between London and Moscow.

Interviews with participants in London were conducted face-to-face (in most cases in home settings, which stimulated a relaxed atmosphere for the participant and easy-going conversation). Interviews with Russian Mums in Moscow were conducted via Skype calls. Prior to each interview all participants were provided with the Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form that reduced the introductory time to five minutes before the start of each interview. Most of the interviews were audio recorded with only a few cases where participants did not consent to be recorded due to personal reasons. Detailed written notes were taken for each interview.

5.3.1.4 Organisation of Interviews

The interview consisted of two main stages. In **Stage 1** a small set of questions was asked in order to acquire the profile characteristics of the participant and also some questions to stimulate thinking around the topic that would follow. The Table 16 below contains examples of questions and themes involved.

Table 16 Stage 1 Interview Questions

- Age; Education; Occupation; Number of Children; Age of Child (ren); Marital status; Where is she originally from (*for RMiL group only).
- Social class (this is one of exceptional questions which was not asked directly, instead throughout the images provided each participant directly or indirectly was referring to her own belongingness of one or another social class).
- Participants were also asked to clarify whether they are reading, following or simply interested in any parenting or mother and baby magazines.
- The next questions were linked to their attitude towards the advertisements in general and how often they pay attention to ads that are designed specifically for mothering and baby care.
- Next I referred to motherhood topic itself. Participants were asked to describe the feelings, words, associations or images that come first to their mind when they hear the word “mother” or “motherhood”. This particular question was again rendered from the comments received from pilot study participants as well as confirmed by control group to be a good starting point that provided a boost in thinking reminding themselves of their own image as well as the image of their own mothers sometimes.

In **Stage 2** images were passed to mothers for exploration and evaluation of their perspectives on them. Observations of emotional reaction, non-verbal communication, body language and facial expression were taken into consideration for the contextualisation of data gathered. Each image was treated as a singular case (no repetitive or similar images were used). There was always an emotional and non-verbal reaction to each photo before any verbal expression of their feelings, what they liked or disliked about the figure portrayed and whether they associated with the model. Mothers often tried to justify (based on their beliefs and experience) whether or not the models were a realistic reflection of motherhood. The whole focus of the discussion was never considered to be the image, rather the themes emerging formed the story of a participant and their unique approach of perceiving media messages. This helped to understand how ideologies of motherhood are reproduced by actually characterising social reality and socially accepted symbolic power (see Chapter 7 for more details).

5.3.2. The Researcher's Voice in the Interview Process.

In this subsection I want to reflect on my own role as a researcher and how being a mother contributed towards gaining participants' 'trust' and 'willingness' to openly share their stories and motherhood experiences with me. We (junior researchers) often find ourselves puzzled after reading numerous methodology textbooks and often struggle in identifying the best ways of constructing interview themes, arranging and running interviews and most importantly trying to find a way of 'distancing' ourselves from our participants. What we often 'fear' (i.e. influencing interviewees' answers, stories etc.) can actually turn into a strength, which I experienced as a positive outcome of my study.

When it comes to social research, Oakley (1981: 31) describes interviewing as a "marriage: everybody knows what it is, an awful lot of people do it, and yet behind each closed front door there is a world of secrets". I want to emphasise my 'secret' was me being a mother and perhaps understanding my participants better. As I was observing the interview process and re-listening to the audio recordings of my pilot interviews I could clearly sense the difference and change in conversation as soon as my participants learned that I was a mother of two. It is incredible how the legitimacy and the sense of belongingness to the 'mums' club' significantly shifted towards open conversations and relaxed atmosphere, where the person sitting opposite to you 'trusts' you enough simply because you are one of them. There was an element of supreme empowerment as well. My target audience in this instance were wonderful mothers who are almost always busy with everything and for whom it is not always possible to spare time for extra activity (i.e. participating in a long interview conducted by an overseas researcher). What I found fascinating and very empowering is my participants' comments on how they were more sympathetic to participation based on both my topic, their interest and knowing that I am a mother who is working on a PhD research. This increased the snowballing effect and allowed me to have a wonderful experience with numerous mothers and most certainly boosted my confidence.

5.3.3. Interview Analysis

The data gathered was first transcribed and then, where necessary, translated from Russian to English (this was applicable to RMiM and RMiL groups). The responses were then organised and grouped first by images and then regrouped according to the archetypal category and theme they belonged to (such as ‘patriarchal family’, ‘mother-daughter unity’, more on this in Chapter 7).

The inductive approach helped to organise the findings according to the thematic analysis. Themes initially emerged based on the category of archetypal advertisements, then the content shared by participants was linked with the theoretical background and the research questions. In order to elaborate on the meanings and ideologies reproduced by Russian mothers, the sections first refer to the advertisements and critical visual content analysis outcomes, then integrate the responses of the mothers and link the content with the theoretical assumptions (see Chapter 7).

The narratives of the Russian mothers were subsequently linked with the theory and observed patterns to enable me to highlight both findings and implications. To optimise and rationalise the presentation of findings, I clustered the results into three overarching themes (i.e. family structure mothering ideology; physical traits based mothering ideology; mother-child unity ideology), with integrated sub-themes that provide clear links with the theoretical framework of the study and systematically build answers to the research questions. This is presented in detail in chapter 7.

5.4. Summary

This chapter provides an overall image and details of the research philosophy, design and methods applied for both data collection and analysis. It signifies the multi-method approach used to meet the research objectives. As a result, the study

adopts Phase 1 to understand the production of motherhood ideology through print media advertising, and Phase 2 research designs to elaborate on the reproduction of motherhood ideology by Russian mothers and its impact on their consumption preferences.

Section 5.2 introduces the data collection approach and techniques implemented for conducting critical visual and content analysis of magazine advertisements. It gives a step by step evaluation and use of an analytical model that serves not only to understand the iconography of motherhood in print media, but also helps to categorise multiple archetypal advertisements that were later adopted in the fieldwork interviews.

This chapter also highlighted how Phase 1 aids Phase 2 and evaluates the transition from one phase into another (see Figure 6). It demonstrated the process of data reduction and the use of images as part of the photo-elicitation method for interviews. Here I brought to light the participant selection methods and introduce the three groups of participants based on their location. I also provide insights on the techniques and procedures carried out during the data collection and analysis.

The next chapters focus on the findings and outcomes of the analysis conducted. The findings are divided into two separate chapters, whereby Chapter 6 focuses on exhibiting the descriptive outcomes of the Phase 1 visual content analysis of images; and Chapter 7 presents the outcomes of the meta-analysis (i.e. visual content analysis of the archetypal advertisements and the photo-elicitation interview findings).

Chapter 6 Phase 1 Critical Visual and Content Analysis and Findings

6.0 Introduction

In the Methodology chapter I discussed the philosophical positioning of this study, provided details on the research design, data collection processes and methods implemented to analyse the data. The previous chapter also highlighted that the study consists of two interconnected phases that contribute towards the understanding of reproduced gendered ideologies in contemporary Russian consumer culture. This chapter refers to the findings from the Phase 1 image analysis. It attempts to interpret how the ideologies of motherhood are produced in media and what meanings they convey in relation to archetypal connotations.

The fundamental purpose of this section is to reveal how consumer culture functions are based on visual culture, gendered archetypal portrayals and reproduction of mothering identities, and how the ideological stances can be decoded. Additionally, this chapter introduces unique methodological possibilities through a combination of theoretical perspectives to build '*Perspectival reflexivity*' (Bettany and Woodruffe-Burton, 2009) on this research. The originality of this attempt is in the combination of three distinct theoretical inspirations when analysing images, namely Goffman's (1979) 'gender advertisements', 'critical visual consumption' and 'critical visual analysis' by Schroeder (2005; 2006) and, finally, 'decoding advertisements' by Williamson (2002). This helps both in understanding and to interpreting ideological meanings hidden in the images or archetypal disposition promoted in contemporary print media. To unfold the findings and complexities of contextualisation of the data gathered, the chapter has been structured according to two main stages.

The stages correspond the Analytical Model (see Figure 7) of image analysis previously discussed in the Methodology chapter (see section 5.2.3.2). The

analytical model changes its initial shape as the outline of the findings progresses. The model guides the reader throughout the whole section. The chapter first covers the results from Step 1 critical visual analysis (CVA) of advertisements (see section 6.1), then moves on to Step 2 of ‘decoding motherhood ideologies produced in magazine advertisements’ (see section 6.2). The findings and observations of this chapter play a significant role for the Phase 2 data analysis and findings. The archetypal advertisements rendered from the findings of this chapter are employed through photo-elicitation methods to interpret the reproduction of mothering ideologies in Chapter 7.

6.1. Critical Visual and Content Analysis of Mother Archetypes

In order to understand the most frequently portrayed images of motherhood, the previously mentioned coding categories (see Table 9, p. 129-131) and variables have been applied to all images gathered. The Analytical Model that was introduced in the previous chapter helps to structure findings in a systematic manner. In order to generate the archetypal images of motherhood based on the combined characteristics in the image, each advertisement’s content was analysed based on Goffman (1979) and Schroeder (2005, 2006) schemes. These categories and characteristics were later combined in accordance with Williamson’s (2002) style of decoding advertisements and meanings. The findings are presented stage by stage with reference to the analytical and theoretical frameworks of this study.

Analytical Model for Image Analysis

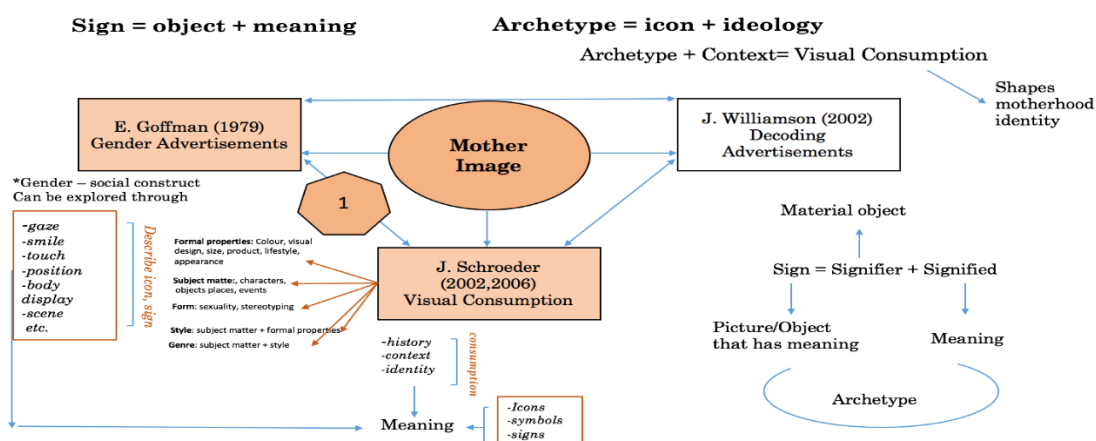


Figure 7 Analytical Model for Image Analysis Stage 1 Highlights

The model above highlights the first stage of the analysis which refers to the descriptive characteristics of the advertisement and critical visual analysis consisting of four main elements, namely *formal properties*, *subject matter*, *form*, *style* and *genre*. The Stage 1 findings focus on the description of the *icons* portrayed in the advertisements, possible through the systemised analysis of the variables that define the *material objects* and *context* embodied in the advertisements. The findings of the image analysis refer first to the overall observations, such as the number of reflections made, the intensity of the advertisements throughout the three-year period, the size of the advertisements and so on. As the analysis advances, more complex links are made with both the universal archetypal meanings and ideological dispositions in line with the theoretical positioning of this study.

6.1.1. CVA and *Formal Properties* of Advertisements

In order to have better understanding and control over the data, a summing-up of observations was generated through the use of STATA and RSTUDIO software. The summary statistics provided below refer to the frequency of the categories and variables observed for all magazines from 2013-2015. These notes provide a macro level visual analysis (Stern and Schroeder, 1994). General observations set out the scene for the micro level analysis that follows (Schroeder, 2005).

Table 17 Magazine Titles and Number of Advertisements Observed

1. Magazine Titles and Number of Ads Observed			
	All Magazines (271 ads)	UK Magazines (134 ads)	Russia Magazines (137 ads)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
<i>Magazines</i>			
Prima Baby	10.70%	21.64%	
Mother&Baby	21.40%	43.28%	
Baby London	17.34%	35.07%	
Schastlivye Roditeli	14.39%		28.47%
Moy Rebenok	22.14%		43.80%
Dobrye Sovety	14.02%		27.74%

The Table 17 above summarises the total number of advertisements which is 271, including 134 advertisements from UK magazines and 137 advertisements from Russian magazines. Magazines are divided according to their titles. The next descriptive formal property of the advertisement that was taken into account was the dominant colours in the image.

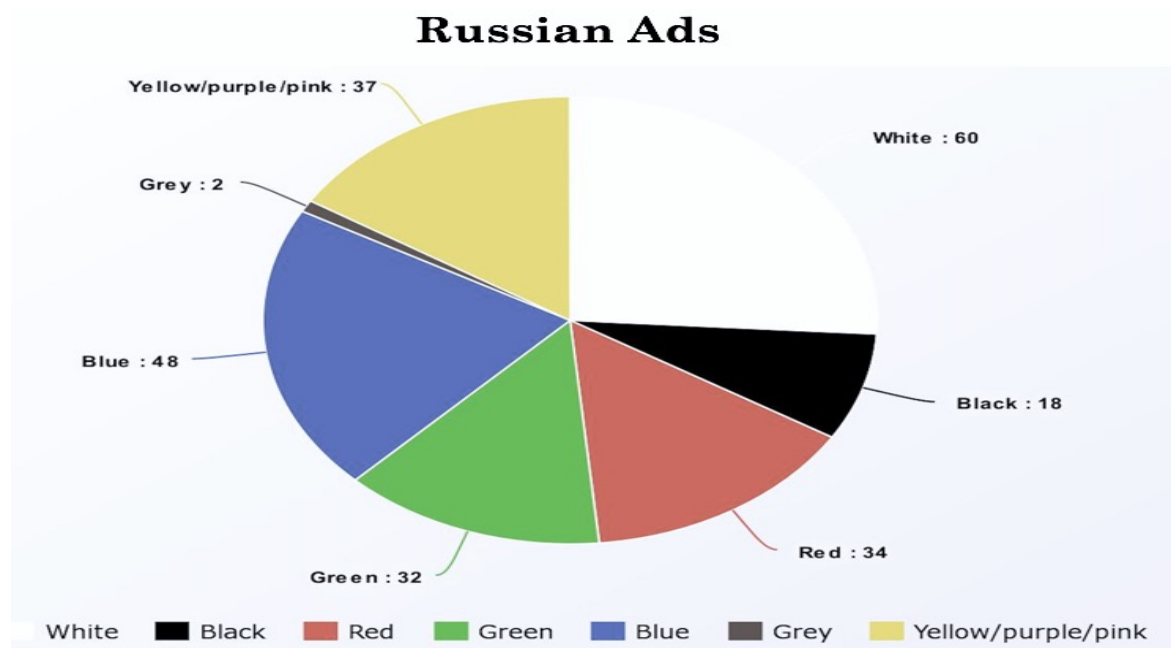


Figure 8 Dominant Colours in Russian Advertisements

There were clear hints on stereotypical usage of colours for distinguishing gendered products in the Russian market, such as the use of blue and green for a baby boy and pink, purple or yellow for baby girl advertisements. There was a significant presence of the colour *red* in Russian advertisements. This leaves an impression of a post-Soviet effect on designing media messages with the use of bright colours to attract the reader (Finkel and Brudny, 2012; Raev, 2013; Aslam, 2006).

Table 18 Intensity of Advertisements Occurred During the Period of 2013-2015

2. Intensity of Advertisements 2013-2015			
	All Magazines (271 ads)	UK Magazines (134 ads)	Russia Magazines (137 ads)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
<i>Year</i>			
2013	42.07%	36.57%	47.45%
2014	30.26%	29.10%	31.39%
2015	27.68%	34.33%	21.17%

The intensity of advertisements, as can be seen in the table above, decreased throughout the period. This indicates a drastic lack of investments in magazine advertisements, especially in Russia.

6.1.2. CVA and *Subject Matter* in Advertisements

The next level of analysis refers to the *subject matter* in critical visual analysis whereby the characters, objects, places and events which form the content of the advertisement are carefully analysed. This particular element of CVA enables us to identify surrounding components that help to contextualise and historicise the content produced. This study looks at gender as a social construct. Schroeder (2005) suggests that structural features comprise and form the gender and race convictions and discourse across time (Belk, ed., 2007). There is no chronological order to describe the objects, places or the events, rather than the physical settings, and characters comprising the family structure and identity development that help to construct the discourse and analytical issues (Schroeder and Borgerson, 1998; Demos, 1970).

In this study the *mother* figure is the main element of the analysis. The identification of the figure as a mother is made through the composition of other figures present (in this case, the presence of a child/children was the main criterion of mothering identity definition). The observations also included the analysis of all figures present, such as male, other (which could be other female characters that were coded as other figures), child (where gender of the child was also taken

into account). The presence or absence of the male character is a significant descriptive element as it later contributes towards the formation of most typical arrangements within the archetypal ideologies of motherhood. This will be further explained in section 6.2.

The male figure also contributed towards the elaboration on *character traits* and level of gender stereotyping in media (see Table 24). The background of the image is another factor in subject matter analysis that contributes to historicising and positioning mothering identities within certain contexts. It was argued in previous studies that mothers are usually portrayed in a domestic sphere which predominantly shapes their stereotypical belongingness to home and family (Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976; Kang, 1997; Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971).

Table 19 Figures (other than mother) Observed in the Advertisements

3. Other Figures Observed in the Ads			
	All Magazines (271 ads)	UK Magazines (134 ads)	Russia Magazines (137 ads)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
<i>Other Figures</i>			
Male	16.97%	17.91%	16.06%
Other	3.32%	5.22%	1.46%
Not applicable	79.70%	76.87%	82.48%

The table above illustrates how frequently male or other figures are seen with the mother icon. Additionally, this category further supports the *character traits* (see section 6.1.4) and their correlation and relationships when the male figure persists in the image. From a gender analysis perspective (Goffman, 1979; Williamson, 2002), male figures are primarily viewed as the dominant and females as the dominated dispositions of the symbolic structure (Bourdieu, 1979). Moreover, as discussed in previous chapters, the family units (family structure as father, the head of the family, mother and child or children; or this can be extended with the presence of grandparents and other family members) are relevant to the cultural understanding and interpretations of gender roles in family settings (Goldman, 2003; Nash, 1981; Kulmala, et al., 2014; Alesina and Giuliano, 2010).

The summary shows that in Russian advertisements the mother figure is mostly (82%) portrayed without any additional figures present (other than the child). These indications are close to the UK magazine data, which has almost the same outcomes with only a 6% difference. This suggests that there is a propensity of moving from a traditional (patriarchal) family structure portrayal to a more mother-child unity depiction.

The presence of the child is a means of expressing mothering identity. But to what extent does the gender of the child changes the identity forms? In previous studies significant attention was given to the mother and daughter connectivity (Butler, 1990; Butler and Scott, eds., 2013; Crouter et al., 1988). For this particular reason, the gender of the child was counted, which will later be analysed through the relationship and correlation observations (see section 6.2). From Table 20 below it can be seen that the mother figure was principally portrayed next to an infant child (68.66% UK and 60.58% Russia) (where gender of the child is not identifiable), and a significant number with a female child next to her (22% Russia and 15% UK).

Table 20 The Gender of the Child in the Advertisements

The Child Gender			
	All Magazines (271 ads)	UK Magazines (134 ads)	Russia Magazines (137 ads)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
Child Gender			
Infant	64.58%	68.66%	60.58%
Girl	18.45%	14.93%	21.90%
Boy	10.33%	7.46%	13.14%
Combination	6.64%	8.96%	4.38%

The image background, on the other hand, sets out the scenes where the figures are located. According to Goffman (1979), this category reproduces stereotypical locations linked to female identity depiction and women roles promoted and accepted in a society. In previous studies (Hollway and Featherstone, eds., 1997; Johnston and Swanson, 2003), stereotypical locations with the mother image were mostly associated with traditional domestic settings such as the home

environment. From the figures included in Table 21 it is seen that the stereotypical *domesticity* of the location is high in the Russian context (65%).

The scene was different if we look at the comparator group (UK) of advertisements, where greater mobility was shown through the public and social space engagement.

Table 21 Image Background of the Advertisements

4. Image Background of the Ads			
	All Magazines (271 ads)	UK Magazines (134 ads)	Russia Magazines (137 ads)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
<i>Image Background</i>			
Home Space	45.39%	25.37%	64.96%
Public Space	17.71%	33.58%	2.19%
Open Air	19.19%	15.67%	22.63%
Abstract	17.71%	25.37%	10.22%

The last variables of the subject matter looked at the ‘*abstract*’ or ‘*not clear*’ backgrounds. Previously, abstract backgrounds were looked at as a means of displaying or portraying a ‘*private space*’ (Babicheva, 2011) that comprised symbolic meanings depending on the signifier [icon] and what it signified [ideology] behind the sign [archetype] portrayed (Williamson, 1978). It appears that private space or abstract location is increasingly portrayed in UK magazines (25.37%) while only a little (10.22%) is observed in Russian settings.

6.1.3. CVA and the *Form* in Ads

The ‘*form*’ of Critical Visual Analysis looks at the level of sexuality, body display and stereotypical portrayal of the icons in the advertisements. The exploration of this theme has been conducted through the use of multiple categories and codes, namely the *descriptive traits* of the mother figure, including the clothing and level of body display and aesthetic appearance (hair style, colour, make-up). The descriptive element of the category enables us to make direct links with the

prototypical interpretation of Jungian archetypes (Jung, 2014; Baranovich, no date; Booth, 1999; Knapp, 1997; Wehr, 1985), such as purity or innocence that is displayed through nudity (see Table 7, p. 87).

Previous studies also refer to the stereotypical understanding of how mothers should be dressed (Kang, 1997; Collett, 2005). The aesthetic appearance was also touched upon as a significant element raised by participants during the pilot interviews. Participants' responses correlate with identity formation through outfit and make-up integration into mothering practice and ideology. The data illustrated below (Table 22) signifies similar rates in mothers being portrayed in casual outfits (58% UK; 53% Russian) for both contexts.

Some minor differences were observed in the level of nudity or body display in Russian advertisements (see Table 22). While the percentage (*underwear* - 7.30%; *no clothes visible* - 7.30%) is marginal it still refers to a sexualised portrayal of mothers. This is often referred to as an indication of the level of sexual vulnerability reproduced through the display of the body parts (Goffman, 1979; Borgerson, 2005). This can also be linked to the stereotypical images of women as sexual objects (McNay, 2013).

Table 22 Descriptive Traits of the Mother Figure

5. Descriptive Traits of the Mother Figure			
	All Magazines (271 ads)	UK Magazines (134 ads)	Russia Magazines (137 ads)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
Outfit			
Smart	18.08%	21.64%	14.60%
Evening	4.06%	5.22%	2.92%
Casual	54.98%	57.46%	52.55%
Underwear	5.90%	4.48%	7.30%
No Clothing Visible	6.27%	5.22%	7.30%
N/A	7.01%	3.73%	10.22%
Missing	3.69%	2.24%	5.11%
Hair Colour			
Blonde	51.66%	51.49%	51.82%
Dark	47.23%	47.76%	46.72%
N/A	1.11%	0.75%	1.46%
Hair Styled			
Yes	65.68%	73.88%	57.66%
No	27.31%	16.42%	37.96%
N/A	7.01%	9.70%	4.38%
Makeup			
Light	51.66%	64.93%	38.69%
Dark	5.17%	4.48%	5.84%
No Makeup	43.17%	30.60%	55.47%

Hair colour was also linked to the Russianness of the female portrayed in advertisements. Previous studies refer to the stereotypical understanding of Russian women as being blonde (Russyi – this is a term used to refer to type of blonde shade typical for Slavs) with pale skin (Kay, 1997; Azhgikhina and Goscilo, 1996: 101); however, the typical heritage features of Russians have significantly transformed since the Soviet era, where a number of ethnicities were mixed together (Persky and Birman, 2005). Russia acquired an enormous territory that included people from multiple ethnic backgrounds. According to the World Atlas (2017), 81% of the whole population are ethnic Russians, followed by Tatars 3.9%, Ukrainians (1.4%), Bashkir (1.2%) (see Table 23). All the below-mentioned ethnic groups differ in their physical appearances, such as facial features, (eye, chin and cheek shape), skin and hair colour (Farkas, Katic and Forrest, 2005; Semenenko, 2015). For this research, hair and skin colour are the significant elements of ethnic differentiation considered (this will further be discussed in the demographic analysis, see Section 6.1.5, Table 29).

Table 23 Largest Ethnic Groups in Russia (WorldAtlas.com).

Rank	Ethnic Group	Share of Russian Population
1	Russian	80.9%
2	Tatar	3.9%
3	Ukrainian	1.4%
4	Bashkir	1.2%
5	Chuvash	1.1%
6	Chechen	1.0%
7	Armenian	0.9%

This category analysis (see Table 22) indicates that the Russian mother is generally portrayed as a woman with either blonde (russyi) (58%) or dark hair

(47%), that is often styled (58%), depending on the situation she is in; in casual outfits (53%) and with no make-up (56%). These features correspond to the *Angel* archetype that represents purity, a natural look and the angelic realm (Allenby, 1964; Rosa, 2015).

These four elements contributed firstly when rendering and designing the archetypal prototypes based on the external features of Russian mothers and, secondly, they supported the principles in corresponding *character traits* of the ‘signified forms’. In other words, features contributing towards the interpretation of *character traits* shape the ideological deceptions of mothering through body display. These ideological meanings attached to archetypes will be discussed in the next stage of visual content correlation analysis (see Section 6.2).

6.1.4. CVA and *Style* in Advertisements

The *style* in Critical Visual Analysis refers to the combined features of the *subject matter* and the *formal properties* of the image. In 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 a discussion of some categories (including colour, size, intensity of the ads, the background and male figures) was presented. In addition to these, several other categories, such as *product category* advertised, *physical position* and *character traits* of mother figure, level of distance between mother and child; *smile intensity*, were applied to highlight the combination, *style* and meaning-making of the icon produced in advertising. The relevance and statistical overview of each category is described below.

Table 24 *Product Categories Observed in Advertisements*

6. Product Categories Advertised			
	All Magazines (271 ads)	UK Magazines (134 ads)	Russia Magazines (137 ads)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
Product Category			
Food	10.33%	2.99%	17.52%
Body Care	23.99%	11.94%	35.77%
Medical	16.24%	5.97%	26.28%
Technology	2.58%	3.73%	1.46%
Cleaning household	2.95%	0%	5.84%
Toys	4.43%	2.99%	5.84%
Baby equipment	31.00%	56.72%	5.84%
Fashion, clothing	7.01%	12.69%	1.46%
Missing	1.48%	2.99%	0%

The Table 24 above illustrates the product categories observed in each advertisement. In previous studies, this particular category was indicated the gender role portrayal through product or service advertisements (Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976; Baker, 2005). As such, males were involved in advertising products that required 'high-involvement decision-making' (such as purchase of a house, flat, cars, technology (TV), large equipment etc.); and females mostly portrayed in 'low-involvement' product advertisements (i.e. beauty products, homecare (washing, cleaning, food), medicine, baby products, clothing etc.), which triggers stereotypical positioning of male and female figures (Mosher, 1976; Patterson, O'Malley and Story, 2009). The aim of this statistical overview is to detect the stereotypical classifications that are often linked to the gender roles in a society. This also combines the background properties of the advertisement that positions the mother figure in *domestic* or *public* spaces.

From the results (Table 24) it is evident that two categories including body care (36%) and medical products (26%) are dominant in Russian advertisements. The background of such advertisements represent domesticity and the home environment. The majority of the comparator sample advertisements (57%) were focused on baby equipment such as stroller and car seats, and the mother figure was portrayed in public space. Equally, in the Russian market mothers are often seen promoting food products (18%) in contrast to UK mums who are often seen promoting fashion clothing (13%) and body care (12%).

The *physical position* analysis (Table 25) helps to decode the dominance or submissiveness of the mother figure (stereotypes or sexualisation) and evaluate the *character traits*. According to Goffman's (1979) classification, a higher physical position indicates superiority or dominance, while the lower physical positions are linked to submissiveness and sexual vulnerability.

Table 25 Physical Position and Character Traits of Mother Figure

7. Physical Position and Character/Physical Traits of the Mother Figure			
	All Magazines (271 <i>ads</i>)	UK Magazines (134 <i>ads</i>)	Russia Magazines (137 <i>ads</i>)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
<i>Physical Position</i>			
Standing	35.42%	41.04%	29.93%
Walking	9.23%	16.42%	2.19%
Sitting	27.31%	22.39%	32.12%
Lying Down	13.28%	9.70%	16.79%
Bending Forward	7.75%	5.97%	9.49%
On her knees	6.64%	3.73%	9.49%
Missing	0.37%	0.75%	0%
<i>Physical Traits</i>			
Delicate/Soft	38.01%	41.04%	35.04%
Dependent	20.30%	2.99%	37.23%
Athletic	14.39%	2.09%	37.23%
Independent	26.94%	34.33%	19.71%
Missing	0.37%	0.75%	0%

When linked to archetypal interpretation, the lower physical position is aligned with the *Innocent* or *Divine* archetype that is interpreted as an ‘inability to protect herself or others and having a fear of being a victim’; or the *Princess (Damsel)* archetype traits - beautiful but vulnerable - that moves towards the patriarchal ideologies of womanhood being weak, helpless and in need of protection by someone who holds more power and bodily strength (Bazikyan, 2013; Mezzatesta, 2013; Stover, 2013) (see Table 7, p. 93). Unlike the comparator advertisements, there is a small tendency to see Russian mothers in lower positions (sitting 32%, lying down 17%) and not involved in any activity (walking 2%), whereas English mothers had significantly higher indicators of having an active lifestyle (17%) (i.e. jogging). Russian magazines also include female figures in submissive and sexualised positions (lying down 17%, on her knees 10%, bent forward 10%).

With regards to the *physical traits*, the category demonstrates a variety of categories that exist within the female personality. The combined features of the *formal properties* of the advertisements and descriptive traits of the figure portrayed design a corresponding image of an archetype based on the physical

traits observed. The relationship with the archetypal icons can be made through the correlation of archetypal descriptions described below. Athletic traits can be linked with the *Warrior* archetype, which corresponds physical strengths and ability to protect (Goodman, Duke and Sutherland, 2002). The *Queen* archetype that refers to the independent character traits (Salyer, 2012) and represents power and authority that can also be portrayed via the physical position of the figure in advertisements. On the other hand, the *Queen* archetype corresponds with a material abundance that is projected in *style* (according to critical visual analysis), such as joy in or possessions of food, clothing and home. The results (Table 25) indicate that mothers in Russian context are mostly portrayed as delicate and dependent (35% and 37%) with some small numbers moving towards independent traits (19%). The majority of English mothers were presented as delicate (41%) and independent figures (34%).

Table 26 Level of Distance Measured by Touch

8. Level of Distance Measured by 'Touch'			
	All Magazines (271 ads)	UK Magazines (134 ads)	Russia Magazines (137 ads)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
<i>Touch</i>			
Skin-to-skin	39.11%	28.36%	49.64%
Hand-to-hand	28.04%	28.36%	27.74%
Touching other objects	22.88%	31.34%	14.60%
Touching Self	4.80%	8.96%	0.73%
N/A	4.43%	2.24%	6.57%
Missing	0.74%	0.75%	0.73%

Touch is one of the categories rendered from the coding frame that reflects on the level of the distance between the mother and the child. The archetypal deception can be interpreted through touch. For instance, *The Mother Earth* (Jungian *Good Mother* archetype) represents life, birth, warmth, nourishment and protection that can be portrayed through skin to skin or hand to hand touch. The more the level of distance is increased (such as touching other objects or touching self) the more

the representation moves towards the *Terrible Mother* archetype (Jung, 1919). As from the observations it is clear that there is a significant difference between the touch categories for Russian and UK magazine advertisements. Mothers in Russian magazines were mostly portrayed with skin to skin touch (50%) with the child or having hand to hand contact (28%), whereas in the comparator group of advertisements mothers were most likely to be touching other objects (31.34%) (i.e. pushing a stroller, holding a toy or something else).

Table 27 Smile Intensity in the Advertisements

8. Smile Intensity in the Ads			
	All Magazines (271 ads)	UK Magazines (134 ads)	Russia Magazines (137 ads)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
<i>Smile</i>			
Expansive	42.44%	37.31%	47.45%
Moderate	17.71%	21.64%	13.87%
Gentle	18.82%	16.42%	21.17%
No Smile	20.66%	23.88%	17.52%
Missing	0.37%	0.75%	0%

Smile is the category that reproduces the mental and physical state of the mother figure in the advertisements. The more expansive is the smile, the more it projects the happy and satisfied state of the figure (Döring and Pöschl, 2006). The summary above (Table 27) shows that in both cases mothers had expansive smiles (Russia 48%, UK 37%), however, in UK advertisements the second highest (24%) observed category was mothers with no smile. This can be linked to the other categories as well, where the intensity of smile could not be seen due to the direction of the face or the angle that the image was taken from.

Table 28 Passive and Active Gaze of Mother and Child in the Advertisements

9. Passive and Active Gaze of Mother and Child in the Ads			
	All Magazines (271 ads)	UK Magazines (134 ads)	Russia Magazines (137 ads)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
<i>Mother Gaze</i>			
Active	21.77%	17.16%	26.28%
Passive	78.23%	82.84%	73.72%
<i>Child Gaze</i>			
Active	36.53%	27.61%	45.26%
Passive	62.36%	70.15%	54.74%
Missing	1.11%	2.24%	0%

In previous studies the analysis of gaze direction suggests the femininity norms (Ratilainen, 2012), which can be expressed through the look and direction of the gaze. Most of the studies refer to stereotyping in advertisements and the sexualisation of the character through the gaze (Harper and Tiggemann, 2008; Patterson and Elliott, 2002). This study looks at the gaze from a different perspective. The gaze direction (both mother and child) in this instance was looked at to bring more insights into mother-child unity.

This coding refers to the extent to which the mother figure and child are engaged with the camera. The passive gaze triggers a less artificial sense of mothering practice. The look of the mother when passive refers to the gaze being focused mainly on the child, as the centre of the universe for the mother (O'Donohoe, 2006). Table 28 (above) illustrates the summary of findings of this category.

Like the previous category (smile intensity), the *mother gaze* reproduces the mental state of the main figure. Here the factor of passive and active gaze of mother and child is unpacked. The results indicate that the child figure was more actively (45%) engaged with the camera rather than the mother figure (26%). The centre of the mother's attention remained the child (74%), with the mother's

agency (as rendered by gaze) expressed only through the child (passive). This also suggests that mothers were not portrayed as the dominant agency in the advertisement and were usually passive.

This section presented a number of descriptive categorical analyses that were further gathered to both render the archetypal advertisements portrayed as well as to combine frequent features in order to design a prototype of the most typical archetypal image of the Russian mother (see Table 29). The next subsection looks at the last element of critical visual analysis.

6.1.5. CVA and Genre in Advertisements

The last category of critical visual analysis looks at the *genre*. The *genre*, in this instance, refers to the combined features of the *subject matter* and the *style* in advertisements (Schroeder, 2006). The interpretation of the *genre* combines the outcomes of the formal properties of the advertisements, the contextualisation, in terms of domestic or public space, product advertised and who exactly has been chosen for this specific role. For this particular reason, I have looked at the demographic characteristics of the mother figure has been looked at.

The three categories that are referred as the demographic characteristics of mother figure in the image include the *age*, *social class* and *ethnicity* of the mother figure in the advertisement. The purpose of these categories is again linked to the prototype of the motherhood icon that would be rendered as the most commonly produced ideology of motherhood in print media. This section also has a reference to the theoretical framework of the research and Bourdieu's reproduction of symbolic power that is highly correlated with social class and its influence on societal thinking (Bourdieu, 1979; 1989).

Table 29 Demographic Variables of Mother Figure

10. Demographic Variables of Mother Figure			
	All Magazines (271 ads)	UK Magazines (134 ads)	Russia Magazines (137 ads)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
Age			
Young (less than or equal to 25)	33.21%	12.69%	53.28%
Middle (between 25 and 33)	46.13%	57.46%	35.04%
Above Mid (34+)	19.93%	28.36%	11.68%
Missing	0.74%	1.49%	0%
Social Class			
High	36.90%	51.49%	22.63%
Middle	60.52%	46.27%	74.45%
Middle to Low	2.58%	2.24%	2.92%
Ethnicity			
White	99.63%	99.25%	100%
Black	0.37%	0.75%	0%
Other	0%	0%	0%
Missing	0%	0%	0%

The motherhood ideologies have been expressively classified by the age portrayed in both countries. As it can be seen from the Table 29 (above), there is a significant contrast, with ‘young’ models dominating in the Russian context (53%). Substantial variation was also observed in the portrayal of ‘above middle age’ mothers’ category in the UK (28%) and Russia (12%). The age category is further explored in Chapter 7 (see Section 7.3.3).

The social class of the mother figure was analysed according to the product advertised (i.e. luxury, affordable and cheap or essential); the descriptive traits of the mother, her clothing, accessories and background of the image also contributed towards the classification of the figure into certain social class categories. In addition to this, as discussed in the ‘choice of magazine advertising’ (see Chapter 4, Section 4.2.3.1) the magazines are targeted at middle and low-middle class mothers. The purposed sample of the advertising would correspond to the readers’ engagement and the affordability of the products and services advertised (Green, 1999; Chandra and Kaiser, 2014). The observations on the social class corresponded, with 75% of the mother figures represented by middle-class women in the Russian context and 52% of UK advertisements portraying a women of

higher social standing. The product categories advertised in the majority of the UK magazines promoted luxury goods, which stimulated the corresponding results.

The ethnicity is one of the descriptive categories that reflects on the diversity of ethnical backgrounds portrayed in the advertisements. The role of the Russian media in promoting Russian political nationalism has been criticised for a long time (Law, 2010: 168). In section 5.1.3 it was discussed that the Russian territory combines a population of different ethnical origins (see Table 22). Nonetheless, the results of image analysis revealed that not a single example of diverse ethnical representations was portrayed in the selection of the advertisements. Race as well as class are the means of social differentiation and stratification (Anthias, 2001; McCall, 1992). Ideologies and symbolic structure are transmitted to the mass population through different media communication channels (Zakharov, 2015: 65), of which print media advertising is one. The media representation signals the ideals (in this case the motherhood archetype) and socially accepted layers of the society. Law (2010: 168) claims that “racism, ethnic hostility and discrimination in Russia is systematic....it is the key feature of the history of both the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union”.

The results support the theoretical assumptions of this study, which looks into consumer culture and symbolic power shaped by the dominant ideas of the bourgeois and is correspondingly transmitted and communicated to a broader society via mass media (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). These categories are further discussed when interpreting the interview outcomes (see Chapter 7) with Russian mothers of diverse social standings.

6.1.6. Summary of Stage 1 Critical Visual Observations

From the Stage 1 observations, it could be summarised that the dominant ideologies of motherhood in Russia represent a young woman who is predominantly located in domestic settings without a male or other figures present

around her. Her character traits are dependent and delicate, she has a close connection with the child (which is expressed by touch and gaze) and expresses her own identity through the child. The statistical examination enabled me to comprise the prototypical image of the Russian Mother, which is presented in Table (30) below.

Table 30 Russian Mother Archetype

Russian Mother Archetype (highest frequency of observed variables)			
Variables	%	Variables	%
<i>Age</i>		<i>Physical Position</i>	
Young (less than or equal to 25)	53.28%	Sitting	32.12%
<i>Social Class</i>		<i>Physical Traits</i>	
Middle	74.45%	Dependent (4)	37.23%
<i>Ethnicity</i>		Delicate/Soft (1)	35.04%
White	100%	<i>Mother Gaze</i>	
<i>Image Background</i>		Passive	73.72%
Home Space	64.96%	<i>Child Gaze</i>	
<i>Other Figures</i>		Passive	54.74%
Mother alone with child/children	82.48%	<i>Smile</i>	
<i>Outfit</i>		Expansive	47.45%
Casual	52.55%	<i>Touch</i>	
<i>Hair Colour</i>		Skin-to-skin	49.64%
Blonde	51.82%	<i>Product Category</i>	
<i>Hair Styled</i>		Body Care	35.77%
Yes	57.66%	<i>Child Gender</i>	
<i>Makeup</i>		Infant	60.58%
No Makeup	55.47%		

Unlike the comparator group of archetypal advertisements (see results in Table 31 below), the Russian mother is seen to be less active (both physically and in terms of socialising in the public space). She is mostly seen at home with an infant child, that is in constant close (skin-to-skin) connection with her. She is portrayed to be happy (through an expansive smile) with her gaze being focused on the child. According to the results gathered from comparator sample of magazines, the mother figure scored high for being white, of ‘middle age’ and belonging to the higher social class. She is portrayed as independent but at the same time delicate, wearing light make-up, with hair nicely styled. She has an active lifestyle and spends her time in public spaces with her infant child. She has direct eye contact

with the child, however she is more distant when it comes to the ‘touch’. She is involved in advertising baby equipment. The physical position is high, which positions the figure in the centre of the reader’s attention.

Table 31 UK Mother Archetype

UK Mother Archetype (highest frequency of observed variables)			
Variables	%	Variables	%
<i>Age</i>		<i>Physical Position</i>	
Middle (between 25 and 33)	57.46%	Standing	41.04%
<i>Social Class</i>		<i>Physical Traits</i>	
High	51.49%	Independent (3)	34.33%
<i>Ethnicity</i>		Delicate/Soft (1)	41.04%
White	99.25%	<i>Mother Gaze</i>	
<i>Image Background</i>		Passive	82.84%
Public Space	33.58%	<i>Child Gaze</i>	
<i>Other Figures</i>		Passive	70.15%
Mother alone with child/children	76.87%	<i>Smile</i>	
<i>Outfit</i>		Expansive	37.31%
Casual	57.46%	<i>Touch</i>	
<i>Hair Colour</i>		Touching other objects	31.34%
Blonde	51.49%	<i>Product Category</i>	
<i>Hair Styled</i>		Baby equipment	56.72%
Yes	73.88%	<i>Child Gender</i>	
<i>Makeup</i>		Infant	68.66%
Light	64.93%		

The preliminary results presented above are statistically justified; however, this cannot be generalised to the whole population or concluded that the particular archetype represents the sole dominant ideology of motherhood in Russia. As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, the purpose of image analysis is to understand the dominant motherhood ideologies and the hidden meanings behind the archetypal portrayals. To fully address the objectives of the study, the next step attempts to decode the more generalised settings observed in all 271 advertisements.

6.2. Decoding Motherhood Ideologies in Advertisements

The Stage 1 of critical visual and content analysis supported the categorisation of advertisements to several ideological and archetypal settings. The multiplicity of the settings observed triggered the categorisation of archetypal advertisements.

Analytical Model for Image Analysis

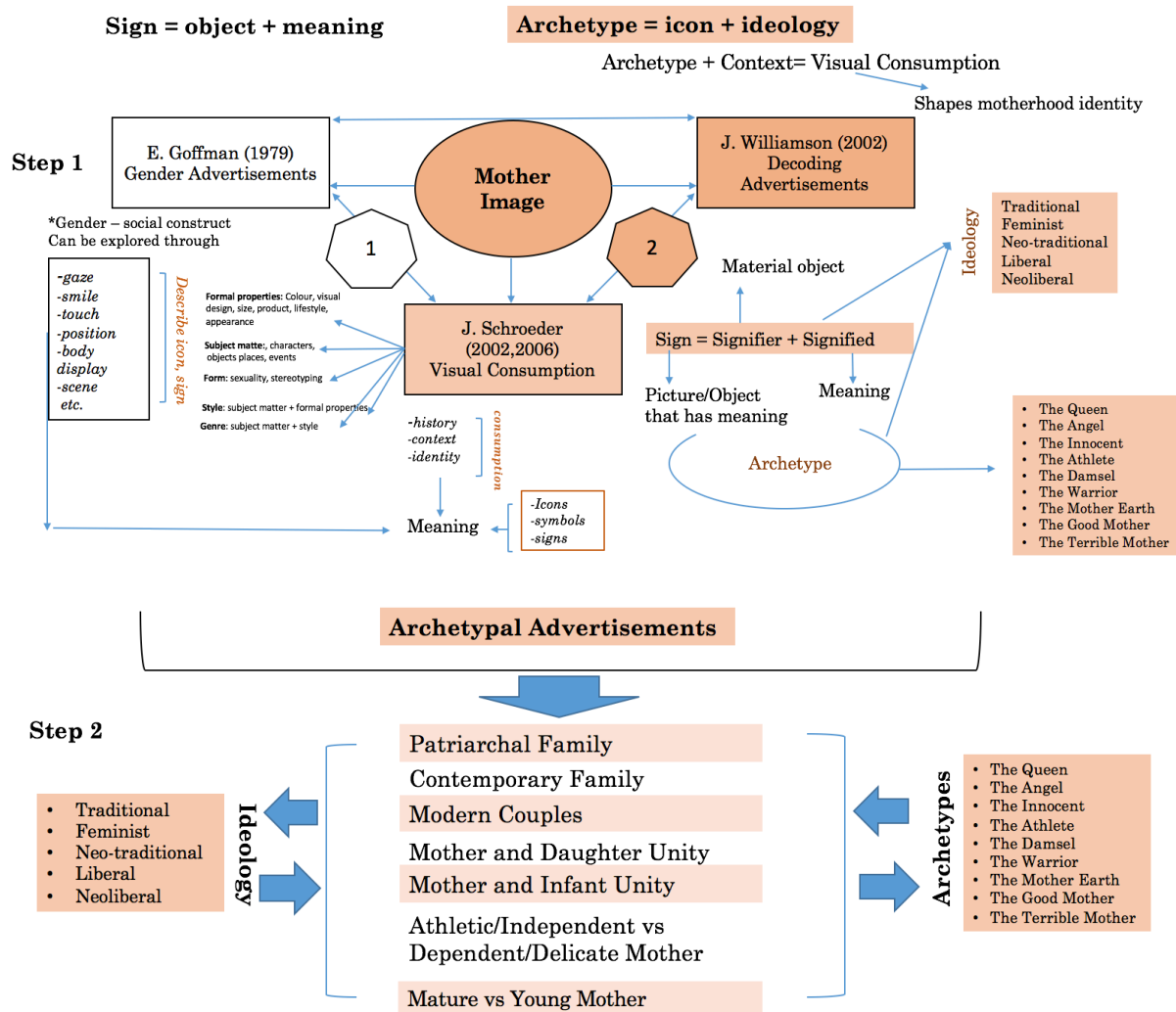


Figure 9 Extended Analytical Model and Archetypal Advertisements

In this section the findings of Stage 2 interpretation of motherhood ideologies are presented based on the analytical model shown above (Figure 9). The archetypal advertisements (see Table 7, p. 87 and Appendix 1), have been categorised according to Williamson's 'Decoding Advertisements' (2002) strategy with

integrated interpretations of motherhood ideologies (Table 8, page 102) and generic archetypal dispositions discussed (Table 7, page 87).

As previously discussed, the archetype consists of two interdependent elements: the icon (i.e. material representation) and ideologies (i.e. meanings). Hence, the classified archetypal categories have been systematically analysed through the correlation tests with corresponding decoding of ideologies produced in print media in both UK and Russian magazine advertisements to add more insights on the decoded ideologies (see visual content analysis in Chapter 7).

While the statistical overview suggested the mother figure being predominantly portrayed with an infant, the analysis further considers all the possible settings where images of mothers were advertised. The categorisation was set through the implementation of the Williamson's (2002) strategy of interpreting the 'signified' that comprises the 'sign' (see Figure 9 'extended analytical model'). The 'archetype' was explored through the combination of theoretical stances and literature corresponding with motherhood ideologies and universal archetypal dispositions (see Tables 7 and 8). This reflexive method also enabled a better understanding of the symbolic power persisting in Russian cultural and symbolic capitals while conducting the fieldwork.

According to preliminary observations, the analytical model applied has been expended with inclusive categorised archetypal advertisements which contributes towards the second step of analysing and decoding reproduced ideological meanings in advertisements. The archetypal advertisements rendered are as follows:

- **Patriarchal Family** (corresponds to the traditional family setting, the male figure persistent and dominant in the category. The advertisement is comprised in the domestic space. The mother figure is more submissive and presented as a delicate, soft and dependent figure).

- **Contemporary Family** (in contrast to the previous archetype, the settings move from domestic space to more public or abstract space. The mother figure is well-looked after and there are fewer variations of male dominant ideology).
- **Modern Couples** (this category was more prominent in the comparator sample of advertisements with young couples in public or abstract settings. Unlike in the previous categories, the child was not seen as the centre of the mother's attention. She has a more modern and independent and well looked after aesthetics).
- **Mother and Daughter Unity** (the mother figure was seen with daughter (female child). There were no additional figures present. The background settings were either home space or open air).
- **Mother and Infant Unity** (this type of archetype dominated in both Russian and UK data sets).
- **Athletic and Independent Mother vs Dependent and Delicate Mother** (contrast observed between Russia and UK)
- **Mature vs Young Mother** (singular cases of mature mother category were observed in the Russian context, young models dominating the advertisements).

These archetypal categories were employed as key components for the thematic analysis of interviews conducted with mothers. In the next chapter 7, the archetypal categories will be decoded and elaborated on further.

6.3 Summary of Phase 1 Findings

The aim of this section was to highlight the multiple motherhood archetypes portrayed in print media advertising and the diversity of ideological dispositions they suggest. This was illustrated through a two-stage Critical Visual and Content analysis. The section was structured according to systematic application of the analytical model of image analysis. The analytical model was built on a factor-theorisation of the archetype that consisted of icon and the corresponding

ideological meanings surrounding it. The Stage 1 focused on the findings of *Gender Advertising* (Goffman, 1979) and *Visual Consumption* (Schroeder, 2005; 2006) conducted based on two contexts (Russia and UK) data outcomes. The aim was to demonstrate and provide descriptive characteristics of the icon portrayed. The findings were constructed based on four categories of CVA (*formal properties, subject matter, style and genre*) in combination with content analysis grounded on the application of Coffman's coding scheme's application. STATA and RSTUDIO software was used to demonstrate the summary of statistical analysis. The outcomes of the Stage 1 can be summarised as follows:

- *Formal properties* – 271 macro and micro level observations were made for both Russian and UK magazine advertisements.
- *Subject matter* - observations of the figures present in the advertisement represent the dominant ideologies of family structure. The results indicate a high frequency of portraying the mothering agency with close connotations alongside an infant child. Fewer than 20% of Russian advertisements included the male figure and made reference to the family unity. From a historical perspective this type of promotion is similar to the propaganda posters produced during the Soviet era. The mother figure was mostly portrayed with a child or children (see Images 12; 16; 17; 29; 18) signifying her heroism for giving true sons to the motherland. The examination of the gender of the child portrayed next to the mother implies that 21% of images included a female child. This has been linked with mother-daughter unity, and a mother's task of being a role model for the daughter to learn and follow. In this subsection, the image contextualisation was made through the analysis of the background or scene wherein the mother is portrayed. The Russian mother figure exemplified high stereotypical connotations with domesticity.
- *Form* – the visual analysis of the aesthetic look of the mother showed that the majority of Russian mothers are portrayed in casual outfits with styled blonde hair. More than half of the images observed represent a natural look with no make-up on.

- *Style* – the combined features of the visual analysis projected a stereotypical implementation of the product category advertisements. In the Russian context mothers were mostly involved in body care and medicine advertisements. In contrast, comparator sample of advertisements presented the mother character in more high-involvement product category advertisements. Content analysis of the physical position of the mother figure and physical traits contributed towards the correlation decoding of the archetypal ideologies. The results denoted the submissive physical positioning of the mother figure in Russian advertisements, which correspond with delicate and dependent character traits. In contrast to this, mothers in the UK magazines were seen in physically high and active positions, that corresponds with athletic and independent character traits. The critical visual examination looked at the categories that correspond to the identity traits portrayed in the advertisements. The physical and mental state of the mother looked at the distance between the mother and child, the gaze and smile intensity. All these variables express attributes that combine critical features of mothering identity portrayal. The Russian mother was concluded to express her identity through close contact with the child, with her gaze centralised on the child and her mental state as happy.
- *Genre* – this aspect has been linked with the target audience of the magazines and the demographic variables of the mother figure used in the advertisements. The aim of this category analysis was to highlight the diversity of the dominant symbolic structures reproduced in print media. The outcomes specified lack of diversity portrayal when it comes to social class and ethnicity of the figure. The age category represented the ideals and beliefs connected with first time mother's specific to the Russian cultural context. The majority of Russian mothers were representatives of the young age mother subcategory.

The Stage 1 critical visual and content analysis was concluded with the archetypal image of the Russian mother according to the most frequently observed variables.

The Stage 2 analysis presented grounds for decoding motherhood ideologies based on the categorical analysis of the archetypal advertisements rendered from the Stage 1 analysis. The findings signified the multiplicity of the ideological dispositions produced in print media. The correlations were made with the theoretical framework of the study, motherhood ideologies and universal archetypal descriptions discussed in previous chapters. The archetypal advertisements (which resulted from a structured selection of images) were further examined in the fieldwork through photo-elicitation methods. This particular manoeuvre contributes towards the methodological possibilities available for both image analysis and its novel use in photo-elicitation interviews.

This chapter focused on the descriptive evaluation and exploration of motherhood portrayal. It aimed to provide a statistical overview of the categories that compose advertised images and reveal several archetypal advertisements that convey diverse ideological meanings and dispositions. The next chapter (7) provides a meta-analysis of the combined visual content analysis and integrated responses of Russian mothers. The findings of the fieldwork (see Chapter 7) will outline the insights on the reproduction of the ideologies by mother agents and how the acceptance, rejection or resistance of the symbolic power constructs the mothering identity and shapes the consumption patterns of Russian mothers.

Chapter 7 Findings Phase 2: The Reproduction of Motherhood Ideologies in Consumer Culture

7.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the fieldwork conducted with Russian mothers. It discusses the outcomes of the Phase 1 research findings (building on Chapter 6) and elaborates (by using tables to illustrate) on the scientific approach (i.e. visual content analysis) of selecting images as archetypes that were employed as stimulus advertisements for photo-elicitation interviews. Phase 1 provided insights on how motherhood ideologies are produced in contemporary advertising practice and developed multiple archetypal advertisements. The archetypal advertisements were employed in photo-elicitation interviews with the aim of understanding how the archetypal dispositions are perceived and interpreted by Russian mothers. While the primary objective of this research is to understand how motherhood ideologies are produced and reproduced in Russian consumer culture, interviews were also conducted with English mothers, who, in this instance, were acted as a comparator group. As described in the Methodology Chapter 5 (see Table 12, p. 142), the aim of this group was to highlight the unique cultural and contextual differences and dispel the areas of universality in the study. This is similar to the choice of magazines, where UK magazine advertisements were employed to highlight some universalities with mothering archetypal ideologies, as well as differences and uniqueness relevant to the Russian context.

The aim of this chapter is to signify the findings that address the objectives of this research, namely:

- Which types of motherhood archetypes are produced in magazine advertisements?

- How do mothers reproduce gendered motherhood ideologies in contemporary Russian consumer culture?
- To what extent do they resist or confirm to the imposed iconographies of motherhood portrayed in advertising?
- How do these issues construct their identity and consumption patterns?

To address the above-mentioned research questions and to highlight the insights of the fieldwork findings, this chapter builds the discussion around nine archetypal advertisements. It offers a structured interpretation of findings by first decoding the meanings of archetypal advertisements (i.e. application of visual content analysis and illustration of the content through the use of tables) and then reflecting on the interview findings with Russian mothers.

The archetypal advertisements are grouped into three thematic categories, including **Family** (section 7.1), **Identity** (section 7.2) and **Unity** (section 7.3) Structure Archetypal Mothering Ideologies. Here I synthesise the outcomes of visual content analyses of archetypal advertisements and the responses given to the images by Russian mothers. For each theme I first reflect on the decoded meanings of the archetypal advertisement's content and coded meanings, and then integrate participants' responses. Above all, building on the theoretical framework of this study, in this chapter I also historicise and merge the analysis with the previously discussed theoretical and historical contents.

7.1. Family Structure Archetypal Mothering Ideologies

Under this theme the three divergent archetypal images of motherhood in advertisements, including '*patriarchal*', '*contemporary*' and '*modern couples*' family settings, advertisements are brought together. To decode the ideological meanings in advertisements I refer to the analytical model developed in Chapter 6 (see Figure 9, p. 171), where generic mothering ideologies (see Table 8, p. 102) and Jungian archetypal meanings (see Table 7, p. 87) are combined and aligned with the coding categories and corresponding literature. Before moving on to the

visual content analysis outcomes, I provide a background to the family archetypal dispositions built on previous readings.

7.1.1 Background to Patriarchal and Contemporary Family Ideologies

The family structure is one of the significant social institutions that constructs symbolic capital which itself, as argued by Bourdieu (1984; 1989; 1990), is comprised of cultural, economic and social capitals. Ideological constraints and embedded cultural norms and behaviours construct the ideals around the symbolic family, parenting and mothering ideologies that, once legitimated, become part of the symbolic capital (Parcel and Menaghan, 1994; Furstenberg and Kaplan, 2004). The agents who function within the consumption field acquire symbolic capital that conditions them through socially accepted gender, race and social class stratifications (Bourdieu, 1989; Lizardo, 2006; Anthias, 2001).

The concept of patriarchy in the family structure has always been central to the ideology of reproduction since the Christianisation of the Rus' (Engel, 1996; Freeze, 1990) (see section 1.1.1). With the political and social shifts brought about by the Soviet structure and ideology, patriarchal beliefs were weakened (Khodyreva, 2014; Kizenko, 2013). Patriarchal family ideology regained its importance after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the re-establishment of the Russian Orthodox Church's power (Baud, 1997; Štulhofer, 2005). The historic evidence and examples discussed in the chapter devoted to Russia (see Chapter 2) are blended together in this chapter to construct the arguments and modern dispositions of motherhood reproduced in contemporary Russia.

As discussed in the section allotted to motherhood ideologies (see section 4.4), some scholars suggest that the patriarchal or traditional family archetype reproduces the traditional ideological meanings of motherhood (Rushing, 1989; Price and Evans, 2009). Principally, the paradigm signifies the domestic responsibilities assigned to mothers, including childcare and homemaking (McDonough and

Harrison, 2013). Family settings are constructed according to a hierarchical order where the male figure remains as dominant, representing an authoritarian father model (Gordon and Nair, 2002). The mother, on the other hand, expresses her self-identity through maternal sacrifice, childbearing and maintaining the household (Austin and Carpenter, 2008).

From a visual perspective, the mother figure is less active in the public sphere and is often positioned in domestic settings (Goldner, 1985). In consumer research Goffman (1979: 37) refers to advertisements of this category as representing a *nuclear* family that consists of mother, father and a child (or children). As a rule, the advertisement projects stereotypical gender positions, which can be expressed by physical position (standing, sitting, lying down), character traits (delicate, soft and dependent), background settings (home or open air), the mother figure being more in contact with the child (distance by touch, holding hands). Body display in this type of ads is more conservative and casual (Kim, et al., 2014). The descriptive traits exemplify minimal make-up, with and hair usually not styled; the mental state of the mother figure expressed through expansive or moderate smile, eye gaze of mother passive and directed towards the child (Stern, 1974; Lindsey, 2015; Baker, 2005; Boulton, 2009). The agency of the mother is rather transparent or even invisible; even if engaged in a certain activity (which would predominantly be childcare) the child and the aesthetic look of the house, with a satisfied husband, is the primary focus of the scene (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971; Ivey and Conoley, 1994; Price, 2010).

In contrast to the *patriarchal family* ideology, *contemporary family* images move towards a feminist ideology of mothering practice (see Table 8). In this instance, the dominant paradigm of feminist ideology is the idea of shared domestic responsibilities, including childcare and housework with the partner (Johnston and Swanson, 2003; Drakich, 1989). Unlike the nuclear family, the self-sufficiency and empowerment of the mother figure overshadows the idea of self-sacrifice (Green, 2004).

The mothering identity here is not predominantly child-centred, rather that she is active in both the domestic and public spheres, and dynamically engaged in the work environment (Cowdery and Knudson-Martin, 2005; Ribbens, 1994). The reproduction of this archetypal figure is made possible through the use of descriptive characteristics in advertisements. The mother figure is usually portrayed with a male figure that is sharing the same physical position with a background sense of either public or in some cases abstract space (Goffman, 1979; Kang, 1997).

According to observations of relevant archetypal advertising images, female empowerment is usually expressed by her outfit (smart, evening), nicely styled hair and make-up (Venkatesh et.al.,2010; Kelan, 2013; Ngwenya, 2002). The male figure is more engaged with children rather than the mother (distance measured by touch is often seen as touching other objects, touching self, or holding hands).

The equality of sharing parenting responsibilities has long been a key feminist concern (Blaisure and Allen, 1995; Cowdery and Knudson-Martin, 2005). Deutsch (2001) claims that in the majority of Western societies attitude have shifted towards ideas of equal parenting or an egalitarian ideology. The equality of the shared parenting responsibilities can be seen in images through the father's involvement and the mother's distance (not as close as in patriarchal style). Gaze is another element that could contribute towards the description of this archetype. For a modern family image, the mother's gaze can be more actively engaged with the camera, which makes her attention partially detached from the child. The mental state can be expressed by a moderate or mild smile, which signifies the comfort and normalcy of the practice she is involved in. Physical traits are more independent, which is coherent with the *Queen* archetype of holding power and authority (Nichols, 1980), that at the same time has features of protectiveness towards her own home and family. As with the *Queen* archetype, the mother is presented as passionate about fashion and food (Salyer, 2012).

7.1.2. VCA: Patriarchal and Contemporary Family Structure Archetypes

The blend of characteristics and meanings discussed in the section above were considered when decoding meanings through visual content analysis. The aim of this subsection is to interpret how family structure archetypal advertisements are produced and what ideological meanings they convey. The coding categories (see Table 9, p. 129; Table 10, p. 135, and Figure 9) were applied in order to decode the ideologies visually produced in print media (see Tables 32 and 33). I first reflect on patriarchal family advertisements and then elaborate on divergent ideological depositions portrayed in contemporary family archetypal advertisements.

The visual content analysis of magazine advertisements (see Table 31, 31) shows a limited portrayal of family structure archetypal scenes in the Russian context. The *patriarchal* and *contemporary* family advertisements were grouped considering the figures pictured in the advertisements, where clear reference to the nuclear family (based on Goffman's interpretation) and the modern family (with reference to a non-domestic background) was made in critical visual and content analysis.

Within this particular setting (see Table 31) the Russian mother figure is portrayed in a physically passive mode – sitting or lying down with close skin-to-skin or hand-to-hand contact with the child. Her mental state is expressed through an expansive and gentle smile, which signals her acceptance of the conditions and the settings where she is positioned. As proposed by the traditional family ideology, the dominant presence of the male figure in the advertisement depicts the woman as being a dependent figure who is mostly characterised as being delicate and soft (Baker, 2005; Dow, 1996). Here the women are symbolising the 'young' and 'middle age' mother category. The mother's aesthetic appearance in this instance is not sophisticated. Her hair is not styled and she is not portrayed with full or even any make-up at all. Her outfit is casual and suits the homely atmosphere.

Table 32 Patriarchal Family Archetypal Ads

Patriarchal Family Archetypal Advertisement			
Other Figure	<i>Male (1)</i>	Descriptive Traits	
Image Background	2	<i>Outfit</i>	<i>Casual (3)</i>
	<i>Open air (3)</i>	<i>Hair</i>	<i>Not styled (2)</i>
Physical Traits	<i>Delicate/soft (1)</i>	<i>Makeup</i>	<i>Light (1)</i>
	<i>Dependent (4)</i>		<i>No makeup (3)</i>

	All Magazines (4 ads)	UK Magazines (0 ads)	Russia Magazines (4 ads)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
Physical Position			
Standing	0%	0%	0%
Walking	0%	0%	0%
Sitting	50.00%	0%	50.00%
Lying Down	50.00%	0%	50.00%
Bending Forward	0%	0%	0%
On her knees	0%	0%	0%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Touch			
Skin-to-skin	25.00%	0%	25.00%
Hand-to-hand	75.00%	0%	75.00%
Touching objects	0%	0%	0%
Touching Self	0%	0%	0%
N/A	0%	0%	0%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Smile			
Expansive	50.00%	0%	50.00%
Moderate	0%	0%	0%
Gentle	50.00%	0%	50.00%
No Smile	0%	0%	0%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Mother Gaze			
Active	50.00%	0%	50.00%
Passive	50.00%	0%	50.00%
Product Category			
Food	0%	0%	0%
Body Care	50.00%	0%	50.00%
Medical	50.00%	0%	50.00%
Technology	0%	0%	0%
Cleaning household	0%	0%	0%
Toys	0%	0%	0%
Baby equipment	0%	0%	0%
Fashion, clothing	0%	0%	0%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Age			
Young	25.00%	0%	25.00%
Middle	75.00%	0%	75.00%
Above Mid	0%	0%	0%
Missing	0%	0%	0%

Table 33 Contemporary Family Archetypal Ads

Contemporary Family Archetypal Advertisement			
Other Figure	<i>Male (1)</i>	Descriptive Traits	
Image Background	<i>Home Space (1)</i>	<i>Outfit</i>	<i>Smart (1) Evening (2)</i>
	<i>Public Space (2)</i>	<i>Hair</i>	<i>Styled (1)</i>
Physical Traits	<i>Abstract (4)</i>	<i>Makeup</i>	<i>Light (1) Dark (2)</i>
	<i>Independent (3)</i>		

	All Magazines (7 ads)	UK Magazines (5 ads)	Russia Magazines (2 ads)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
Physical Position			
Standing	57%	60%	50%
Walking	0%	0%	0%
Sitting	43%	40%	50%
Lying Down	0%	0%	0%
Bending Forward	0%	0%	0%
On her knees	0%	0%	0%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Touch			
Skin-to-skin	0%	0%	0%
Hand-to-hand	57%	60%	50%
Touching objects	29%	20%	50%
Touching Self	0%	0%	0%
N/A	0%	0%	0%
Missing	14%	20%	0%
Smile			
Expansive	57%	40%	100%
Moderate	29%	40%	0%
Gentle	14%	20%	0%
No Smile	0%	0%	0%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Mother Gaze			
Active	14%	0%	50%
Passive	86%	100%	50%
Product Category			
Food	0%	0%	0%
Body Care	14%	0%	50%
Medical	14%	0%	50%
Technology	0%	0%	0%
Cleaning household	0%	0%	0%
Toys	0%	0%	0%
Baby equipment	72%	100%	0%
Fashion, clothing	0%	0%	0%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Age			
Young	0%	0%	0%
Middle	57%	80%	0%
Above Mid	43%	20%	100%
Missing	0%	0%	0%

All the above mentioned symbolic elements, such as posture, clothing and make-up, comprise the cultural capital of the mother figure. Bourdieu (1989; 1990) suggests that once a person accumulates the cultural capital through the symbolic elements and structure, she/he ultimately becomes part of one or another social class. The physical appearance and use of symbolic elements impact the way people perceive another person; this is later argued with more insights as I bring in the comments from Russian mothers. The mother's identity in these advertisements is expressed through centralised attention towards the child and the wellbeing of the family, which is also represented through the choice of the product category advertised (in this instance, either body care or medicine). As seen, the stereotypical tendencies of patriarchal dispositions in the Russian archetypal advertisements is high.

Table 32 demonstrates the outcomes of the visual content analysis for the contemporary family image. As discussed in section 7.1.1, the contemporary family archetype has been previously linked and discussed with the feminist mothering ideology. As discussed (see page 102), the feminist ideological perspective defines the independent character traits of the mother figure. The presence of the male figure in this instance does not trigger domination, rather equality. The physical position is primarily standing or in some cases sitting, which Goffman (1979) refers to as less submissive. The aesthetic taste of the woman (expressed through body display, styled hair and make-up) empowers her identity. She is more distant with the child as the touch is moving away from skin-to-skin contact to more hand-to-hand, or touching other objects. These are all secondary characteristics that contribute towards the interpretation of ideological meanings.

Unlike the predispositions characterised earlier (in section 7.1.1) the mother's gaze is still primarily directed towards the child in some advertisements and in some other ones towards the camera. This signals the agency of the mother still being centralised around the child in Russian advertisements. The product category advertised remained the same in the Russian context, while the

comparator group of advertisements were centralised around the baby equipment, which is categorised as a luxury and high-involvement product group.

The age category in this instance does not include any young women. This archetype presents an independent woman, who is seen with her family in public or private spaces. From a total of 137 Russian advertisements, only two advertisements met the criteria of contemporary family structure, which signals this archetype as being ‘marginal and emerging’ in the Russian context.

The aim of the visual content analysis was initially intended to build the understanding of how mothering ideologies are portrayed, and which structures, backgrounds and thematic settings that facilitated to the reading of meanings and subsequent dispositions. This method helped to decode ideologies and highlight their reproductive nature. Additionally, the method contributed towards a structured selection of images for the photo-elicitation interviews. The next section (7.1.3) elaborates on the family structure mothering ideology and evaluates the impact it has on the consumption patterns of Russian mothers. This study employs categorised images in qualitative photo-elicitation interviews to build better understanding of how the ideologies promoted by media are perceived by mothers, who actively perform in the field of consumption.

7.1.3 Reproduction of Mothering Ideology within the Symbolic Family Archetypes

As previously discussed (7.1.1), patriarchy as a concept is implemented to describe the dominance of men over women (Walby, 1990). Feminist sociologists argue that patriarchy refers to socially expected and accepted and not necessarily natural relations (Chodorow, 1995, 1999; Ingraham, 1994; Acker, 1989). In order to understand how this concept and the ideology functions within Russian cultural capital, images with diverse family settings were presented to Russian mums during the fieldwork study, where they were able to express their thoughts and feelings.

When Russian mothers were exposed to the images with diverse family settings, they expressed distinct responses either accepting or resisting the ideological dispositions portrayed in the advertisements. Notably, the presence of the male (father) in the image brought up some thoughts on supporting the symbolic patriarchal ideology as to how mothering practice or the family settings were lived in the real life.

For instance, when a picture of a family (male, female and two infants advertising bottle-feeding product, see Appendix 1 Advertisement A) was shown, Larisa (37, Moscow) seemed to be confused with the fact that the male figure is involved in the feeding process.

“...if there are two children the grandma can come and help...I don’t understand why the father is pictured here. Because fathers work hard and they get tired and are not involved in women’s things... the man is the head of the family, he supports the family financially and the woman is the spine of the family that keeps things together and keeps things going and everyone in the family happy.” (Larisa, 37, single, M-L, RMiM)

Larisa reproduces her identity through self-sacrifice, although that is not perceived by her as such. She accepts her primary reproductive responsibility as a woman, i.e. as in giving birth, staying the majority of time at home and doing the routine housework. She accepts and thinks it is natural for her to belong to the domestic space only. From the theoretical perspective on symbolic power and agency it is argued that the power is exercised by individuals, and it subsequently involves choices, agency and intention (Bourdieu, 1984; Swartz, 2012). Larisa’s response similarly triggers the practice of the power that is made through her choices in conducting a number of domestic activities that are intended to keep the family happy.

Bourdieu (1984) advocates that power, as a matter of fact, is exercised over other individuals and consequently may involve resistance and conflict. In Larisa’s case

there is no conflict. In her opinion, the masculine domination and her subordination is rather natural and logical. Hence, when the exercise of power is regarded by people as legitimate, it becomes authority (Carli, 1999).

In the essence of conceptualising the social phenomenon, Chodorow (1995) looked into patriarchy, family structure and the reproduction of mothering identity, and claimed that the patriarchy is essentially based on the household in which men dominate women, not just economically, but also sexually and culturally. This idea has initially been derived from the work of the French psychoanalyst and structuralist Lacan (1966), who argues that a society's culture is dominated by the *symbol of the phallus*. It clearly functions as an ideology and gender struggle within the given structure ultimately supports the symbolic violence.

In a similar manner Ljuba (29, Moscow), was fascinated to see the man helping the woman with the childcare:

“...wow this is interesting, but definitely not my case... my husband never helps me especially feeding or changing nappies...visually, to be honest this advertisement looks artificial, such situation is less typical in Russia, father is mostly at work. Maybe its weekend and the father is at home, but even though, he would be sitting on the sofa watching TV, having beer or outside with friends.” (Ljuba, 29, married, M-H, RMiM)

LB: Is this something that is thought to be an acceptable social setting in Russia?

“Yes. At least this is what I am used to and we are not like Western women who fights their rights or trying to go against the flow. We do accept our role and we, Russian mums, prioritise our families. Even if there are arguments or something we are not happy with, we try to overcome this in order to keep the family together. For me I acknowledge that my child's wellbeing depends on the completeness of the family”. (Ljuba, 29, married, M-H, RMiM)

Here Ljuba does accept that there are different ways in how mothering is undertaken in different contexts (here she refers to Western women). However, she also expresses her nationalistic values and her belongingness to the culture (“*we, Russian mums*”) and beliefs of how families should be run. In line with this thought, Kaminer cites Russian scholar Oleg Riabov, who asserts that unlike Western women, “*Russian women accumulate value within the ‘Russian cosmos’ predominantly in a maternal guise*” (Kaminer, 2014: 8; Sperling, 2014; Riabov, 2016). Nationalistic values on the other hand, are rooted in the Russian iconography of the nation as a female and its spiritual and moral identity paralleled with maternity (i.e. Mother Russia) (Goscilo, 1996: 32).

The symbolic power is expressed with her non-resistance to masculine dominance and tolerance of the symbolic violence, which is softly referred to as ‘arguments’. Ljuba prioritises the family unity over her own ideals or needs as a woman and a mother. Furthermore, Lovell’s (2004) argument in this case interlinks with the fact how mothers construct their identity through gender and class and family stratification. He refers to Bourdieu and suggests that the economic reliance of a woman on her husband is mitigated. It is constructed in accordance with the family rank and social class status in the society. In the patriarchal family structure, women participate in the labour market by performing the household work and bringing up children, which is considered to be the part of the family strategy. Symbolic masculine domination, in this instance, reproduces the power assigned to the male which is socially conditioned (Butler, 1990) and legitimated through its acceptance by the female agents in the symbolic structure (Bourdieu, 1990; 2001).

The dominant symbolic power and the conditioned understanding of the family unity or its social function triggered resistance in a variety of ways. The struggle to relate to the images brought up different acknowledgments. For instance, Nastya (32, Moscow) thought that this was not a typical Russian family and the father in the image did not represent Russianness.

“...the father does not have a Slavonic appearance, this might explain why he is sitting and helping the mother with the feeding...don't get me wrong, there are families where fathers are feeding, playing with kids, but in majority of cases fathers do nothing till the child starts talking and walking...it is us, mothers, who keep family in clean homely environment and well fed. Husband helps and supports financially, and he doesn't have time or energy to do other things, or helping me at home” (Nastya, 32, married, M, RMiM)

The most common ideas that Russian mothers I interviewed shared was the value of the family when planning or having a baby. The importance of the husband and his role as a father was signified in most of the cases. A majority of the Russian mothers from Moscow accepted that their role would not be possible without the dominance of the male figure in the family.

The financial stability provided by the male figure enables them to function and satisfy the needs of the whole family. Precisely speaking, women exchange their ‘unpaid domestic services’ in return for the capital brought home by husbands, which enables them to maintain the household and the ongoing expenses (Pahl, 1990; Bernardi, 1999). From this perspective, sociologists argue that the ‘marriage contract’ is a labour agreement whereby a husband manages and controls the labour of his wife (Bourdieu, 2001; Pyke, 1996; Gardiner, Himmelweit and Mackintosh, 1975).

As argued by Marxist feminists, patriarchal family settings are well integrated into the capitalist structure, and support the male dominance and female domestic labour as a mean of supporting males (Evans, 1982). This arguably has generated the gender, occupation and wage discrimination of women in general and mothers especially outside the domestic sphere. This thought proved to be relevant in the contemporary Russian culture: during the discussion, Laura (25, Moscow) brought up a contra argument on what was real for her.

“I think this a real picture. My husband is helping me when he is back from work and I really appreciate it. I know that he is tired after

working all day but he really wants to spend time with us. I, in my turn, try to keep the house clean with a dinner ready for him when he returns home. I also like how the woman looks here, she is not wearing anything super bright, this represents my character. I always try to look clean and nice. I do not use make-up and revealing clothing, like I saw in other images". (Laura, 25, married, L, RMiM)

Laura argues, that the picture is realistic and at the same time, she thinks that the act conducted by her husband is a great sacrifice, which she appreciates. She brings up her input as a compromise for him spending time and helping her with the childcare. In the light of this discussion, Delphy (1984) suggests two analogies with the production of sexuality and domestic labour by relating it to capitalism and family production. Women's sexuality and responsibility in this case are integrated with the category of *exploited labour*.

Delphy (1984) claims that the main enemy of women within the disadvantaged gender and class stratification is the patriarchy - a system where the male dominates with his power over the female. Capitalism, on the other hand, has an exploitative nature that assigns relations and family production which is conditioned by marriage and institutionalised compulsory heterosexuality. The practice of heterosexuality organises and creates the social distinction between men and women, particularly in the Russian context (Healey, 2001).

The socially stratified and conditioned actions conducted are thus perceived as natural. Laura's reference to the aesthetic look signifies the distinction that she assigns to her image as a mother. She also reproduces the ideology of the normative motherly look, that should not be 'revealing' or 'bright'. Likewise, Bourdieu suggests that the persistence and reproduction of gender power inequalities are perceived by actors as ostensibly natural (Bourdieu, 1977:164). Additionally, Adkins and Lury (1999) state that men are able to turn the use of feminine dispositions to their advantage in a way that women cannot because they are perceived to have those dispositions 'naturally'.

The idea of the extended family and its importance in Russian culture and mothering practice emerged as a result of the discussions. In literature, the modern families are more precisely labelled as converted extended families, where family members (father-in-law, mother-in-law, aunts and uncles) are not necessarily living in the same house but they are in constant touch with each other and help each other when needed (Allan, 1985). In Russia it is more common than in Western countries to see the grandmother (predominantly from the maternal side) helping the mother out with bringing up the children (Utrata, 2011; Tiaynen, 2013). Based on some readings on extended family in Russia, it is suggested that grandparents often share the same household with their children even after marriage (Muravyeva, 2014; Butovskaya and Rozenberg, 2017). The help and the grandparents' involvement was recalled by mothers on multiple occasions.

“Well...my first reaction is - this is not a typical Russian family. It is nice to see a father helping to feed the baby, but in reality this is never the case. It would most likely to be the grandmother helping the mum with the child, definitely not the father. The father would probably be at work...the mother has always more responsibilities for the housework and childcare”. (Kesnya, 28, married, M-H, RMiM)

“...if there are two children the grandma can come and help...I don't understand why the father is pictured here.” (Larisa, 37, single, M-L, RMiM)

Furthermore, it is claimed that specific feminine personalities and 'gender identity' is taught by older generations, which is legitimated through symbolic socialisation (Kerig, Alyoshina and Volovich, 1993; White, 2005).

Hence, parents play a significant role in how mothering identity is being shaped and practiced in the Russian context (Fitzpatrick, 1993; Barker ed., 1999). Bourdieu intensifies this aspect by asserting that “the power to impose upon other minds a vision, old or new, of social division depends on the social authority acquired in previous struggles” (Bourdieu, 1989: 23). In this instance, the previous struggle can be referred to as the generational experience and transmission of this

to the children, which impacts on their identity production. Symbolic capital syndicates those who acquired the necessary recognition to be in a position to enforce recognition. Bourdieu explains that “it is the power to make groups, to manipulate the objective structure of society” (Bourdieu, 1989: 23). It enables agents, in this case mothers, to reproduce similar practices (Bourdieu, 1990: 17).

All the above mentioned statements and arguments around family structure took a different route during the conversations with mothers who relocated to London from different parts of Russia. This can also be linked with the migration and its impact upon the reproduction of gender ideology along with the detachment from intergenerational influences (Hofmann, 2014; Rohde-Abuba, 2016). The same images imposed opposite perceptions and interpretations. The Russianness of mothers as a theme was raised on multiple occasions. The segregation from the culture was also another interesting aspect discovered as a result.

“... I did not have this in my family... I believe that the father should be involved in a child’s life and respect the woman next to him...I know many Russian families here and some of them resemble this image, and I admire this type of behaviour. Being a mother is a big responsibility, but I think that every woman is powerful in her own way can handle everything”. (Lera, 36, divorced, H, RMiL)

Lera detaches herself from the family image portrayed as she describes herself as a divorced mother. She mentioned in her conversation that one of the reasons for her separation from her Russian husband was due to imbalance of parenting responsibilities and her inability to self-actualise her mothering identity. She moved to London where her worldview is not restricted. She also claims that she has Russian friends who blended well with parenting ideals in the UK. The next participant’s quote complements this thought:

“This is how I see a family, happy parents and well fed babies, I love the idea that the father is part of the process...if we were back in Moscow, my husband would refuse helping me, it’s not a very manly thing to do, but here in London he can see how other fathers are

involved on childcare and he instinctively does it too... It is the way we Russians think, that women's place is in the kitchen and performing childcare and father's involvement sometimes is very disturbing. But I must admit that when you change your environment, that drastically changes your worldview. You automatically start following others" (Alina, 34, married, M-H, RMIL)

Alina thinks that the change of behaviour is due to the location and socially accepted ways of parenting. She believes that it is an automatic process, where you start acting like others around you. She also acknowledges that the current practice would not be carried out in the same manner if living in Russia. The gender placement into domestic and public spaces is apparent. She terms it "the manly thing to do" and thus segregates unconsciously the masculine and feminine roles in family making and parenting practice.

Conversely, Katya thinks that the equal participation in parenting practice is a trend rather than a natural disposition. She refers to the social class and labels a family as a 'business', where the agents perform their socially accepted duties in order to be accepted into the social circle in which they belong':

"I think this is becoming typical for young Russian families. Fathers are getting more involved ... I don't think my father was helping my mum, he was the bank of the family. But now you have to walk in line with new trends and socially accepted images. I think nowadays family is more like a business- and an image of a good family is very important, especially if you belong to the elite class." (Katya, 35, divorced, M-H, RMiL)

She (Katya) clearly resists the imposed ideology of an ideal or artificially made family image and adds:

"I feel better alone to be honest. I am free to do whatever I think is right and no one judges my behaviour here, while in Russia I would be bombarded with comments, criticism. – ideal family for me does

not necessarily involve father figure.” (Katya, 35, divorced, M-H, RMiL)

She acknowledges the lack of freedom of choices persisting in the Russian context and thinks that her way of thinking would be criticised by others. Unlike the Russian mums living in Moscow I interviewed, she believes that the ideal family is not necessarily conditioned with the presence of a male character. Veronika, on the other hand, still believes that the image of the father helping the mother is artificial. Her perceptions and actual lived experience of mothering suggests that childcare and housework is purely being feminine responsibilities. She thinks that women are better at performing these activities. She knows that all the activities she carries out are time consuming, which leaves her with a ‘messy hair’ or look, but she still feels this is how it should be.

“...this is Photoshopped, it’s so not real. Personally I cannot force my husband to feed my child. Sometimes he is willing to help me but still it is my responsibility. Mothers should be always with the baby, teach, feed etc. I know everything about my baby, when she rubs her eyes or does something else. I know how to comfort her, my husband would not understand all of these things...when you have a baby you forget about yourself, you just care about the baby and you end up with messy hair.” (Veronika, 27, married, M (e), RMiL)

The appearance of the model in the image, seemed to Veronika to be very artificially made. To her, the woman looks too good to be a real mum. Veronika prioritises the childcare over her own appearance and emphasises this as a normative element in Russian culture. Her response clearly annotates Bourdieu’s disposition on symbolic and social systems that are conditioned through hierarchies and power. In this instance, the symbolic structure is constructed around the power assigned to males and socially accepted ways of projecting female identity through body and appearance. Bourdieu (1977: 164) asserts that “hierarchies of status and power within a social system appear to be a natural result of, and are therefore justified by, arbitrary differences that do not in themselves intrinsically signify privilege or disadvantage...”

The comparator group, which included English mums from London, conversely looked at the portrayal differently.

“Look at that gaze, the man doesn’t care about the child, look how he stares at the mother’s breast. It is like “I want that boob” (laughing)...ok this is nice image but honestly speaking this is not my ideal. There is no family environment here, if you are sitting together at least there should be a chit chat or mutual gaze. The whole atmosphere is so clean and calm. This is a dead picture to me.”
(Sophia, 49, married, M (e), EMiL)

In contrast to the Russian mothers, the English mothers looked at the characters from a different angle. The male involvement in the childcare process did not trigger any astonishment, it was a natural state. The conversation was rather around the masculine gaze and sexualisation of the content. The advertising itself did not trigger any new emotions regarding the product. The brand was familiar; nonetheless, more lifelike settings were expected to represent a real-life family atmosphere.

The images with contemporary parenting style evoked the disadvantaged self-experience of Russian mothers and social class stratification expressed by consumption patterns. Significant attention was given to the physical and aesthetic appearance of the model portrayed. The existence of such a family was not completely rejected, rather referred as not typical for the majority. The majority were also classified as low to middle social class representatives.

“...it’s not a typical Russian family, but it’s nice. How to say... it woman’s dream to have something like this...all happy, the man is happy, the woman looks amazing, look at her dress, make-up, she must have had time to do all of it considering she has two kids. Probably she had someone who is helping her. Look how the husband admires her. ...personally I would not buy the product advertised here, but I am sure my friends would consider, if it is trendy then they would for sure.” (Nastya, 32, married, M (e), RMiM)

The image also corresponded to buying power and affordability of the product for mothers. Larisa predominantly rejected the advertisement both because it looked expensive and because the woman was too beautiful and looked after. Her inability (due to time and lack of help) to resemble the model that is far from the reality she experienced pushed her away from the ad instantly.

“She is beautiful, but not a real mother. Looking at the image and how they all look, I believe this is an expensive product, I wouldn’t consider buying it”. (Larisa 37, single, M-L, RMiM)

“I think it’s more realistic for Russian upper class culture. I grew up in Russia, and I think people in Russia like to show off, especially those who have money. Here (in London) people do not care how they look, they have more global vision.” (Masha, 23, married, M-H, RMiL)

Dasha, on the other hand unconsciously brought up the idea of the ideal family that is not conditioned within a Russian context or with a Russian man.

“This looks like an Italian man and a lucky girl that got married to an Italian and they are all happy, probably living in Italy. My life probably would be like this if I had an Italian man, they know how to praise a woman. I think this ad is like if you have this man next to you, you would be able to look perfect and have the most expensive fridge...” (Dasha, 33, divorced, M(e), RMiM)

The stereotypical associations with Russia have been discussed and aligned in literature with the concept of ‘Russian brides’. The concept is unpacked with Russian women’s desire to marry a rich foreigner, which is largely conditional with their poor lifestyle in Russia as well as gender imbalance (Osipovich, 2005; Patico, 2009; Piller, 2007). The Russian woman, in this sense, is described as being an ideal wife, who knows how to cook, take care of the house and be a good mother (as part of the reproductive cycle). Russian mothers who I talked to described the wellbeing of the child and house as the primary objective of their lives. When looking at the images advertised they mostly paid attention to how the child was

presented, such as what he or she was wearing. The appearance of the child was believed to express the achievement of good mothering practice.

“Everyone judges the appearance of the children and always comments on that. Well I will give you an example: I have been walking in the park with my child and saw a child who just with his own hands was trying get something out of the rubbish bin. I felt really disgusted, and his mum was very natural and just said “oh darling you look like a rubbish queen...?” What can I say about her, this is not normal...? She didn’t even clean her hands. if that was me I would have cleaned probably 1000 times. So I like this type and would look at the advertisement closely”. (Kristina, 27, married, M (w), RMiM)

“People judging appearance. In our case the nation has complexes. I have a boy and he is active. I bought a jumpsuit for him, and he got dirty all over in a puddle. And I didn’t say anything. And in that private kindergarten, all other mothers refused to let their children to do the same. Of course we then went home, but everybody was looking at me and thinking “Oh my God, look at that mother.” It was bad that we were walking in that appearance. It is not welcomed at all.” (Raisa, 40, single, M-L, RMiM)

While emphasising their good mothering practice, there is a strong element of judging other bad practices observed in the surroundings. They do distinguish themselves by othering those who do not follow the same criteria or morals of socially accepted ways of mothering.

It does not matter what the child wears, it matters that the clothing is clean, when the child is very little yet. And the brand does not matter, I personally don’t spend too much on expensive clothes, kids grow so fast. Here it looks like expensive. I would look at the style, but find something similar for less.” (Marina, 38, divorced, M-L, RMiM)

“It is more like exception, mother looking so chic. If the children are clean, and tidy, a person will think that they have a good mother who takes care of them.” (Nonna, 29, married, M-H, RMiM)

Good mothering practice from the Russian mums' perspective is conditioned with cleanness, and the desire to look good in the eyes of others could be achieved not necessarily through the purchase of luxury products. Class stratification in this sense is distinguished by affordability and the desire to reassemble others by purchasing similar but inexpensive items.

The comparator group's perspective signified the stereotypical presence of gender classification and the presumably ideal mothering and family structure that is not typical for what they see around in everyday life.

“Oh, interesting how the little girl is hugging the washing machine, the message is like ‘this is your future’. And the boy is like following dad's footsteps to become a banker. Look at the mother's lovely figure again, it is not my ideal but it looks like they are trying to sell it as the ideal family. And the washing machine will make sure you have that ideal family...” (Emily, 55, married, M(e), EMiL)

The next subsection builds on the contemporary (or illusionary) family archetype and extends the interpretation of its subcategory labelled as ‘modern couples’ archetype.

7.1.4 Iconography of Modern Couples

Another subcategory of family structure and ideology, examined through the interpretation of the modern couple archetype (see Appendix 2, Table A) portrayal in the magazine advertisements. This category portrays young couples (parents) usually seen with a child in public or private spaces. They distinguish themselves from other archetypes with a particularly non-standardised worldview, lifestyle and behaviour. This type has also been referred as *hipster* couples who are young (early 20s), artistic and have a special sense of style (see Appendix 1, Image C).

The representatives of this category largely reject the dominant ideas of society and culture. The consumption patterns stand out with sophisticated and peculiar

choices. In the advertised images the mother figure is independent, with a casual/stylish outfit, the child does not play a central role in the ad, the focus of the camera is usually on the couple and the child is often in the background or hidden. The mental state is expressed through the passive gaze of the mother, in this case less active engagement with the camera and a gaze directed towards other directions. The smile intensity is usually mild or no smile at all. While the background is predominantly in public space there are a great number of advertisements that use abstract background settings as well (see Appendix 2 for more details on visual content analysis results).

The neoliberal mothering ideology (see Table 8, 112) is closely linked with this category (Lavee, 2016). The central idea of good mothering is less society-dependent, rather it is self-driven and designed with self-inclusion and self-development. Both parents are involved in childbearing. The generic description can be associated with the *Artist* and *Innovator* archetype (see Table 7, p. 87). The core characteristics of this archetype are the manifestation of extraordinary, inspiration and the ability to inspire others with their creativity. The mother archetype in this case has a great sense of innovativeness (can be both fashion, food or games, activity related) and acts as a role model for others.

This type of mothering iconography was greeted with resistance and rejection.

“She doesn’t look like a mother at all. As if teenagers with pushchairs, they more look like a brother and sister who took their younger sister for a walk.” (Nastya, 32, married, M (e), RMiM)

“But I have to note that my first reaction was that they are too young to be parents.” (Oksana, 33, married, H, RMiL)

Nastya thought that the models did not correspond to the family image. The main concern to her was the age. They looked too young to be parents. A similar response came from Kristina, who could not associate with the image in the advertisement.

“This looks more like a Photoshop. Cannot associate this with me or my understanding of motherhood. They don’t look like parents to me at all.” (Kristina, 27, married, M (e), RMiM)

The otherness of the advertisement was once again associated with the Western ideals of the content and context of the advertisement. The attention smoothly transferred towards the appearance of the male figure and rejection of this type of imagery. Marina claimed that the ideals of ‘manhood’ in this type of styling disappeared.

“It’s a real British advertisement. They overdid with father. He more looks like Scottish. Well young couple, who says that maternity, family does not mean that you cannot be stylish, you cannot be modern, in shape. But it’s too much... I may say that parents of new generation are impersonal for me, especially fathers. They are dressed in specific way, and the image of manhood disappears. And for mother, she does not look like a mother. As if a person concerned only on herself. I think it’s too much in any case.” (Marina, 38, divorced, M-L, RMiM)

Ljuba and Sofia were straight to the point that this was not acceptable for them. The parents in the advertisement were promoting fashion clothing rather than representing family ideals.

“Such a modern couple! It is an artificial one, not in real life... maybe it’s good to be such parents. But it is not acceptable for me. It is more fashion advertisement than one representing family.” (Ljuba, 29, married, M-H, RMiM)

“I am shocked. I do not know what to say. As if they are just pushing the pushchair. I cannot perceive them as a family.” (Sofia, 28, married, M(e), RMiM)

“They definitely do not look like parents to me. It does not look like a family to me. I have different understanding of a family.” (Katya, 35, divorced, M-H, RMiL).

To explain her resistance to the imagery, Sofia made a reference to the outfit of the mother that did not correspond to her understanding of how mothers should be dressed.

“First of all, the mother should not be dressed like this. Of course current youth wears such clothes, but it’s different. Mother should be dressed jeans, t-shirt, or sport wearing, hair in ponytail.” (Emilia, 32, single, L, RMiM)

Dasha was the only Russian mother who did not emphasise any negative points. Moreover, she thought that this was what contemporary couples looked like in Moscow. She particularly highlighted that these couples would be representatives of a higher social class.

“Hipsters, such a good example. This is what a modern young couples look like. It’s like a free style. This is very popular in Moscow and mostly representatives of upper-middle class families.” (Dasha, 33, divorced, M (e), RMiM)

By looking at the pattern of responses coming from Russian mothers, it can be seen that the rejection of the iconography of the motherhood or family structure ideology was validated by the majority. The rigorous reaction to modern couple ideals was rejected based on the age display and the aesthetic look (physical and character traits) of the mother. These two dominant dispositions are later discussed in more depth (see Sections 7.2 and 7.3.3).

7.1.5. Family Structure, Symbolic Power and CCT

This section focused on three archetypal dispositions of family structure portrayed in print media advertisements, namely: patriarchal family, contemporary family and modern couple archetypes. The aim of this section was to first understand how the family images were portrayed and what ideological thoughts they proposed based on decoded ideological dispositions. The visual analysis emphasised a small number of family images produced in magazine advertisements. The patriarchy

as a style of parenting was largely missing in the UK context, while the contemporary family model signalled an emergence of new ideals being positioned and promoted to the Russian audience.

From the responses of Russian mothers located in Russia, it can be synthesised that there was an overarching disposition towards the acceptance of the patriarchal structure. The masculine domination was consumed as being a natural state of Russian family settings. The resistance towards the male involvement in childcare was constituted with the reference to the socially accepted ways of making a family.

The distinct gender segregation according to the labour assigned to each member of the household builds the ideals of how the symbolic capital is shaped in Russian culture. Mothers' acceptance of the assigned roles and symbolic stratification of gender roles imply the persistence of the symbolic power that is made possible when the dominated legitimates the symbolic structure and the authority of the dominant as being a compound element of their existence.

Motherhood identity is expressed through the self-sacrifice and management of the domestic sphere to which they are assigned. The wellbeing of the family comes as a priority over their own desires and aesthetic look. The images which women regarded as 'well looked after' did not represent the reality of the mothering expectations. The inability (at times *disregard*) to spend time on their physical appearance seemed to be a normal state. Moreover, the looks that seemed unnatural or artificial were criticised or 'othered'.

The social class distinction of this term was referred to by mothers who described themselves as not belonging to the circle of mums who can could afford to do certain things. Images that closely represented the feminist ideology of parenting were neglected due to the 'otherness' of the Western ideology or ideals of life. Strong nationalistic values were expressed through the constant reference to 'we, Russian mums'.

Russian mums who had relocated to London, on the other hand, brought new insights to this study. The reproduction of the ideologies fluctuated, which was conditional with the contextualisation of the socially accepted norms specific to the cultural capital acquired by the participants. The change of behaviour and exercise of the mothering practice as well as the father's involvement was consumed as a positive outcome of the relocation. Nonetheless, the idea of patriarchal family style was reproduced as something normative to the Russian culture and which would have been followed especially and enforced by males if living in Russia. This type of reproduction was considered by the mothers who categorised themselves as middle social class representatives.

Mothers who were classified as upper-class consumers, through the reflection on their consumption of luxury goods, described that the behaviour they experience in London would be similar to what they could have had in Russia. The ideals shared within the circle of mums who were representatives of the same social class category would enable them to function similarly. Some participants brought up the concept of the family as being a 'business', where spouses came to a mutual behavioural agreement to constitute the image of the family that would correspond to their social standing.

The contemporary family archetype was mostly perceived as illusory. It was seen as an emerging ideal for the Russian context and for some categories of mothers it suggested new consumption patterns. Representatives of middle to upper classes were keen to try and resemble the modern looks of the mother models in the advertisements. They were keen in being up to date with the modern trends and resembling the aesthetic looks of their Western counterparts.

The construction of mothering identity through the choices of goods and services was touched upon by mothers. Those who rejected the image as being a pure representation of motherhood were mostly not looking in depth at the advertisement. Some Russian mothers built a resistance towards the products

advertised by considering the item as not being designed for 'them'. This brings to light the class conditioned stratification and availability of the economic capital.

The consumption of product categories has also been the subject of gendered depositions. Russian mothers were more inclined to not considering themselves informed enough to make a purchase of high value goods, such as home equipment or expensive items. This was mostly thought to be a masculine task of conducting choice and transaction based on their ability and level of involvement in the consumption process.

The next section focuses on the reproduction of Independent and Dependent mother archetypes.

7.2. Identity Structure Ideologies of Motherhood

In the previous section I discussed archetypal dispositions and ideologies reproduced in relation to the **family structure** portrayed in magazine advertisements. Unlike the previous category of archetypes, the group in this section of archetypal advertisements was categorised based on the **physical traits of mother models** portrayed in Russian magazine advertisements. As discussed in the previous chapter (6), critical visual and content analysis of images resulted in two divergent dispositions of mothering archetype, namely, athletic/independent and delicate/dependent. The section below first reflects on the production of the distinct traits by building on the visual content analysis (see Tables 33 and 34) and aligning them with the generic archetypal dispositions through visual content analysis. This is later taken into the next level of decoding ideologies through the integration of participants' voice in respect to the character traits. The resistance or the legitimacy of the agent's dispositions is contemplated towards the elaboration of consumption patterns in the Russian context.

7.2.1 Background to Independent and Dependent Archetypal Dispositions

As discussed in Chapter 3 (see Table 7), the archetype '*Athlete*' represents the strength, active lifestyle and 'masculine' body traits (Walle, 1986). Previous studies focused on the reproduction of *Athlete* archetypal ideologies by repositioning the feminine with the masculine traits (Shugart, 2003; Young-Eisendrath, 1997). This study adopts the interpretation of the female *Athlete* archetype as a feminine physical trait that is expressed through an active and healthy lifestyle (Goodman, Duke and Sutherland, 2002).

In advertising, the portrayal of the particular figure is made through her engagement in various activities, mostly running, jogging or exercising (Shugart, 2003). The ideological disposition in this instance is the independent spirit and

confidence (Vincent, 2004). The Athlete also has the characteristics of the *Warrior* archetype, who has physical strength, and the ability to protect, defend her own grounds and set boundaries (Enns, 1994). She has the qualities of the true defender of the family and represents the woman's voice.

The female warrior archetype has also been a feminist icon, empowering the female voice and identity (Early and Kennedy, eds., 2003: 5). The construction of mothering agency follows the feminist paradigm that signifies understanding and nature of motherhood not being limited to homecare and childcare (Blaisure and Allen, 1995; Stevens and Maclaran, 2007).

This particular archetypal disposition contradicts the traditional stereotypical positioning of gender. In contrast to most observed female character traits, the symbolic power of feminine traits is exposed through lifestyle choices. The mother icon in this context is seen mostly without any male figures around her, she has a confident look (make-up, styled hair) in the public sphere (café, restaurants, parks, events, shopping centres) (Goffman, 1979; Baker, 2005). She is more distant with the child as she touches other objects such as pushing a stroller, or sitting and enjoying a drink (Briggs, 2003). The mother figure in the scene has eye contact with the child but at the same time she is confident and lets the child explore the world without any fear of danger. Unlike the patriarchal family structure and mothering ideology, the level of freedom in relation to child and mother is increased (Ribbens, 1994).

The female warrior archetype has been extensively portrayed in Soviet propaganda (see Chapter 2, 2.2.1). Within the Russian historical context, the mother warrior has been portrayed as strong, empowering, protective, heroic and representing the whole nation – the 'Mother Russia' archetype (Harris, 2008). In contrast to the above mentioned ideologies, the propaganda aimed to signify the multi-tasking abilities of the Russian mother. In this context, the mother archetype, seemingly representing the warrior(s), had responsibilities for bringing up true children for the motherland, working outside the home, but at the same

time managing the household and childcare (Bonnell, 1991; 1999; Corbesero, 2010). These strong images of the mother, which had significantly moved away from the feminine delicate traits, were used as empowering icons that motivated soldiers to fight for the motherland (see Images 5, 9, 10).

Along with the independent mother archetype, there were a number of advertisements where the mother figure was identified as delicate, soft and dependent in her character traits. From the critical visual analysis, the delicate and dependent physical traits of the model were built on the observation of her facial features and expressions, (smile, gaze), the physical position (lower- especially with the male figure present in the ad), and touch (skin to skin or hand to hand) (Goffman, 1979; Kang, 1997). The figure was portrayed either in the domestic space (predominately home with or without a male figure present), or in a public space with a male figure next to her (Alvesson, 1998).

The location in this instance is a representation of the symbolic structure (Bourdieu, 1990; 1994; McNay, 2004: 179) where the mother reproduces her agency by unconsciously submitting to the symbolic space to which she believes she belongs. This type of iconography is similar to the Damsel or Angel archetypes (see Table 7 for more details) that embody loving and nurturing qualities. The mother icon is beautiful but at the same time vulnerable and in need of protection (or rescue) by someone who beholds dominant power (Pinar, 2016).

The mothering agency is expressed through the beauty and utter connectivity with the child. The inner state of the mother is linked with the traditional ideology of patriarchal mothering and religious beliefs in relation to submissiveness of females and dominance of male characters (Jowett, 2005). This is a very typical state of conflict and tension discussed in previous feminist studies (Skeggs, 1997), where “working-class women position themselves and are positioned by dominant conceptions of femininity” (McNay, 2004: 186).

The mothering ideal is expressed through self-sacrifice, which is considered as an essential element of the wellbeing of the child and the whole family. The maternal archetype in this instance resembles vulnerability and helplessness (Griffin, 2006). This recalls Bourdieu's suggested symbolic power of dominance, where the mother figure accepts being dominated as it is considered to be a norm in the society (Bourdieu, 2001; 1990; McNay, 1999). Bourdieu asserts that the masculine domination is part of the cognitive and symbolic structures that construct deep-rooted mechanisms. These mechanisms contribute towards the legitimacy of the symbolic belongingness of "the order of intentional representation (i.e. ideology)" (Bourdieu, 2001: 9).

7.2.2 Insights from the Visual Content Analysis Outcomes

The Table 34 (below) presents the combination of illustrative categories and relationships according to the integrated coding categories (see Chapter 6, Table 9, p. 129) and description of the character traits and archetypal dispositions described in Section 7.2.1. The results outline the presence and contextualisation of the athlete and independent mother archetype. It can be noted that this particular archetype is marginalised in the Russian context with only three observations. The comparator group of magazines (UK magazines), on the other hand, showed a significant presence of the independent and athlete mother archetypes circulating in the cultural capital and mediating meanings of feminist parenting ideology. The active lifestyle, self-presence and empowering features of the model meets the criteria described above (see section 7.2.1).

The initial results of the critical visual analysis using the UK images as a comparator, suggest that motherhood ideologies in the Russian context have a specific cultural and context dependent focus.

Table 34 Athletic and Independent Mother Archetype

<i>Athletic and Independent Mother Archetypal Advertisement</i>			
Other Figure	<i>N/A (3)</i>	Physical Position	<i>Standing (1)</i>
Image Background	<i>Public Space (2)</i> <i>Open Air (3)</i>	Descriptive Traits	<i>Walking (2)</i>
Physical Traits	<i>Abstract (4)</i> <i>Athletic (2)</i> <i>Independent (3)</i>	Outfit	<i>Casual (3)</i>
Statistical overview			
	All Magazines (24 ads)	UK Magazines (21 ads)	Russia Magazines (3 ads)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
Other Figures			
Male	0%	0%	0%
Other	0%	0%	0%
Not applicable	100%	100%	100%
Touch			
Skin-to-skin	30%	33%	0%
Hand-to-hand	33%	24%	100%
Touching objects	33%	38%	0%
Touching Self	4%	5%	0%
N/A	0%	0%	0%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Smile			
Expansive	42%	33%	100%
Moderate	8%	10%	0%
Gentle	8%	10%	0%
No Smile	42%	0%	0%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Mother Gaze			
Active	29%	24%	67%
Passive	71%	76%	33%
Product Category			
Food	0%	0%	0%
Body Care	13%	10%	33%
Medical	8%	0%	67%
Technology	0%	0%	0%
Cleaning household	0%	0%	0%
Toys	0%	0%	0%
Baby equipment	46%	52%	0%
Fashion, clothing	29%	33%	0%
Missing	4%	5%	0%
Age			
Young	12%	9%	33%
Middle	46%	43%	67%
Above Mid	42%	48%	0%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Hair Colour			
Blonde	42%	43%	34%
Black	54%	57%	33%
N/A	4%	0%	33%
Hair Styled			
Yes	71%	71%	67%
No	25%	24%	33%
N/A	4%	5%	0%
Makeup			
Light	63%	62%	67%
Dark	8%	9%	0%
No Makeup	29%	29%	33%

Table 35 Delicate and Dependent Mother Archetype

<i>Delicate and Dependent Mother Archetypal Advertisement</i>			
Physical Traits	<i>Delicate/soft (1)</i>	<i>Dependent (4)</i>	
	All Magazines (158 ads)	UK Magazines (59 ads)	Russia Magazines (99 ads)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
Other Figures			
Male	14.56%	13.56%	15.15%
Other	2.53%	3.39%	2.02%
Not applicable	82.91%	83.05%	82.83%
Touch			
Skin-to-skin	51.90%	38.98%	59.60%
Hand-to-hand	23.42%	27.12%	21.21%
Touching objects	15.19%	20.34%	12.12%
Touching Self	3.80%	8.47%	1.01%
N/A	5.70%	5.08%	6.06%
Missing	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Smile			
Expansive	41.14%	37.29%	43.43%
Moderate	14.56%	16.95%	13.13%
Gentle	22.78%	22.03%	23.23%
No Smile	20.89%	22.03%	20.20%
Missing	0.63%	1.69%	0.00%
Mother Gaze			
Active	19.62%	16.95%	21.21%
Passive	80.38%	83.05%	78.79%
Child Gaze			
Active	37.34%	23.73%	45.45%
Passive	60.76%	71.19%	54.55%
Missing	0.02%	5.08%	0.00%
Product Category			
Food	14.56%	5.08%	20.20%
Body Care	30.38%	18.64%	37.37%
Medical	18.35%	11.86%	22.22%
Technology	3.80%	6.78%	2.02%
Cleaning household	3.80%	3.80%	6.06%
Toys	5.70%	5.08%	6.06%
Baby equipment	17.72%	38.98%	5.05%
Fashion, clothing	5.06%	11.86%	1.01%
Missing	0.63%	1.69%	0.00%
Age			
Young	39.87%	11.86%	56.57%
Middle	42.41%	55.93%	34.34%
Above Mid	16.46%	28.81%	9.09%
Missing	1.27%	3.39%	0.00%
Hair Colour			
Blonde	52.53%	50.85%	53.54%
Black	46.20%	47.46%	45.45%
N/A	1.27%	1.69%	1.01%
Hair Styled			
Yes	60.76%	69.49%	55.56%
No	30.38%	13.56%	40.40%
N/A	8.86%	16.95%	4.04%
Makeup			
Light	44.30%	64.41%	32.32%
Dark	3.16%	1.69%	4.04%
No Makeup	52.53%	33.90%	63.64%
Image Background			
Home Space	62.03%	50.85%	68.69%
Public Space	6.96%	13.56%	3.03%
Open Air	15.82%	13.56%	17.17%
Abstract	15.19%	22.03%	11.11%
Outfit			
Smart	13.29%	16.95%	11.11%
Evening	2.53%	1.69%	3.03%
Casual	58.23%	59.32%	57.58%
Underwear	4.43%	5.08%	4.04%
No Clothing Visible	4.43%	5.08%	4.04%
N/A	11.39%	6.78%	14.14%
Missing	5.70%	5.08%	6.06%
Physical Position			
Standing	32.91%	37.29%	30.30%
Walking	0.63%	1.69%	31.31%
Sitting	32.91%	35.59%	20.20%
Lying Down	18.99%	16.95%	9.09%
Bending Forward	6.96%	3.39%	9.09%
On her knees	6.96%	3.39%	0.00%
Missing	0.63%	1.69%	0.00%

Conversely, Table 35 illustrates a significant presence (total 99 observations) of the delicate and dependent mother figure in Russian magazines. When aligned with the meaning making of these archetypal advertisements (see 7.2.1), significant links are made with the mythical Angel and Damsel feminine archetypes. The mother figure is seen in close contact with the child, she is expressing her benevolence and nurturing features through her gaze and smile, which is child-centred (Andersen, 2009; Goodman, Duke and Sutherland, 2002). The angelic realm is centralised around the self-sacrifice and serving others (Horn, 2015). She is predominantly portrayed in home space, which is her comfort zone. This can also be interpreted as an insecurity about being exposed and exposing the child to the external environment (Neuhaus, 2013; Frith, 1995).

Andersen (2009: 220) claims that this type of imagery has ideological roots that are embodied in the *Mother Nature* archetype (Jung, 2014), the iconography of the helpless, and victimised woman who has ‘Madonna-like’ idealised angel features (Andersen, 2009; Neumann, 2015).

Good mothering practice is portrayed through feminine (delicate) traits, self-sacrificing identity projects and gender stratification of being dominated or being in need of someone who beholds greater power. These ideological depositions impose the dominant ideals mediated in Russian media and are further discussed in the next section where Russian mothers reproduce the meanings associated with these specific archetypes.

Only three observations of the athletic and independent archetype were made in Russian magazines, demonstrating marginality when seen against the comparator advertisements. The mother figure is actively engaged in the public space, where she demonstrates her athletic and independent character traits. The models are mostly representatives of middle or above middle-aged women. The figure is involved in luxury product advertisements. Dependent and delicate archetypal advertisements dominate the Russian context and signify

predispositions to accepted norms and beliefs in self-sacrificing and benevolent mother ideologies largely distributed through print media channels.

7.2.3 Reproduction of Gender Ideology through the Mothering Self-Identity Consumption

As described in the previous sections (7.2.1 & 7.2.2) the images of mothers produced in magazine advertising impose distinct characteristics that categorise mothering practice based on perceptions and hence the identity construction. The physical traits of the mother agents signify ideological dispositions of dependent and independent mothering identities. The sample of images from both archetypal advertising categories were shown to Russian mothers. This subsection aims to demonstrate how Russian women reproduce the ideologies of motherhood through the consumption of mass-mediated identities.

As discussed in Chapter 4, which is devoted to the literature review of gender and more specifically motherhood ideologies in consumer research, motherhood is perceived as a social construct that is contentiously being produced and reproduced in consumer culture (Stevens and Maclaran, 2012). While identity production is seen as a socially constructed phenomenon, here I also argue that mothers reproduce their agency and acquire distinction through the acceptance of symbolic order and the power dominating in the symbolic capital.

Social class and status consumption was rendered from the participant's responses, which made clear reference to the social class belongingness, social relationships constructs (i.e. marital status, age) and identity construction based on the status stratification. In addition to this, McNay's (1999: 95) adds "*A dynamic and non-dichotomous notion of embodiment is central to feminist understanding of gender identity as a durable but not immutable norm*".

Building on Bourdieu's '*Distinction*' the interpretation of the identity construction was explored as field dependent and categorised according to social class

belongingness. To imply this, the responses of participants were organised according to their social class statuses (see Tables 13, 14, 15, pp. 155-157).

7.2.2.1 Bourgeois Taste and Mothering Agency

Bourdieu (1990) suggests that consumers reproduce their identities (which are socially stratified) in the consumption field. He suggests that there are two different cultural depositions that emphasis high and low cultural consumption. Those who acquire a high cultural capital (this includes individuals who uphold higher social status, economic capital and have more access to resources that are acquired through the symbolic capital), construct their identity and reproduce agency through aesthetic taste. The second category of consumers are more driven by the 'taste of necessity' that again projects the level of cultural and symbolic capitals they acquired throughout their existence (this will be discussed in subsection 7.2.2.2).

The narrative and discourse based on the reactions of Russian mothers to the athletic and dependent archetypal advertisements were set around the identity projects (see Table 4, p. 56). They were asked whether they saw themselves or their maternal identities being mirrored in the advertisements (see Appendix 1, Images B). Dasha, who described herself as a middle class representative responded:

“This is a cool mum, well considering that I am also running in the mornings, I quite like the ad...I wish I had one (the stroller) ... 6 years ago it was not very popular and I was struggling to run in the city with my stroller. Besides, people would think that I am crazy mum running, instead of walking. This is just a mentality of Russians. Nowadays, things changed, it's much better. It is a trend. Now mums have free access to internet and technology and obviously want to fit in within the celebrity lifestyle. I see mums like her probably in my own circle. Well, all my friends that have children spend considerable time on active lifestyle...It is very trendy. I definitely like this advertisement and would want to see more of this type of promotions.

She looks great and I can see myself in her.” (Dasha, 33, divorced, M (e), RMiM)

As can be seen from Dasha’s answer, her self-identity construction was dependent on the social class, marital status and a circle of friends that corresponds to the same style of thinking. Dasha is divorced, with a six years old son, and she describes herself as a middle class representative who can afford to buy luxury goods. She refers to the circle of friends who think likewise. The trend is the main point she highlighted throughout the conversation. Following a celebrity lifestyle helps them (mothers like her) to construct their own identity that mirrors in a way the lifestyle of Western celebrities.

Bourdieu (1990: 17) claims that “social space is constructed in a way that agents who occupy similar conditions and subjected to similar conditioning are more likely to have similar dispositions and interests.” Dasha describes herself as belonging to the social space where individuals from her own circle have the same dispositions, interests, preferences and lifestyle patterns. By resembling these lifestyle patterns, her bodily strengths and aesthetic look builds her confidence and worldview.

Additionally, she refers to the Russian mentality and unconsciously separates herself from the category of people who would criticise her behaviour or lifestyle. By ‘othering’, she clearly builds her own cultural and symbolic capitals, where symbolic power represents the dominant ideals specific to individuals who belong to the class and power stratified space.

Marital status was also highlighted as a significant element when constructing the taste and making consumption choices. As Gatrell *et al.* (2004) and Veenstra (2007: 17) elaborate, marital status, education, age and gender are all “material circumstances and social relationships that construct agency and distinction”.

“I really like, accept and advise to everyone to be in shape always look after yourself, encourage sport activities. I myself used to go to gym

with my child. This image resembles me and many of my friends. This is largely popular in the UK and Europe, not really in Russia, don't think so. If the woman is healthy she could better look after her family and children. If I move back to Moscow, I would not change the way I think. I am a very confident women and I believe I can inspire others.” (Lera, 36, divorced, H, RMiL)

This style of agency acquirement and distinction was supported by many participants. For instance, Lera, like Dasha is divorced and represents the upper middle class. She lives in London. She believes that the athletic and independent mothering style is not typical for Russian mums. She mentions in her conversation that her lifestyle choices were not accepted by her partner which triggered her divorce. The cultural taste and consumption patterns in this instance are conditioned with transitions (both locating in different cultural capitals and social relationships) (Veenstra, 2007; Bihagen and Katz-Gerro, 2000). On the other hand, she segregates herself from popular Russian ideals and refers herself as belonging more to the popular lifestyle culture in the UK. She claims that the model pictured corresponds to her own identity and she would not change her lifestyle if moved back to Russia. She corresponds to the feminist ideology of enabling women's voices to be heard as she states that with her confidence she inspires others.

Sofia, on the other hand, a married and middle class representative, like Dasha refers to the trends, Instagram, Western mums, and she thinks that Russians are as good as them and this can be achieved through the same lifestyle choices and consumption patterns. The sense of competitiveness builds her identity and patterns of struggle for social recognition (Bourdieu, 1989).

“I would say it is a new trend. Like there are now many mothers who have an account on Instagram, they mainly follow foreign mothers, there is kind of an attitude that like “we can do this as well.”. and they start posting similar photos on their accounts. I have an account on Instagram and I follow the trendy mothers, usually these are celebrities, not necessarily Russian. But when you see others you well

want to be like them. You pick on the face, make-up, outfit..." (Sofia, 28, married, M (e) RMiM)

Unlike Lera, the cultural capital is conditioned with the trends, social status competition and desire to follow. Lera (RMiL) builds her distinction based on beliefs that are enrooted in the unique space that she acquires in discrete geographic and cultural settings. As suggested, dominant cultural capital is secured in social fields (i.e. consumption) where those belonging to the upper hierarchical standings in the socioeconomic sphere tend to compete for resources that endure or improve their social position (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2012; Lamont and Lareau, 1988). Thus, the aesthetic differentiation is exercised through the judgement of taste and consumption patterns of all those who belong to one or another social classes (McNay, 1999).

Notably, the symbolic capital acquired is not only conditioned with the social class, but also depends on whether the mother is single, married, young or mature. From the responses, the divorced or single mothers, who correspond to the middle or upper-middle class find themselves closer to the athlete and independent mother archetypes, where their actions and agency are not conditioned with the male dominance or involvement. Married mothers, on the other hand, developed soft resistance, by rejecting the idea that the Russian mum, in her late 30s, can be sports active (with a child) in the public sphere.

As an example, Nonna (29, RMiM), married and representing the upper middle class, thinks that the athletic lifestyle in Russia does not necessarily involve children and mums together. It is not typical. She would rather prefer to go to the gym (reference to the economic capital that enables her to spend money on fitness clubs and personal trainers). She rejects the advertisement, as she also does not think that the woman can be Russian. She is in her late 30s which is not a common concept for mothering in Russia. She is not interested in the advertisement, the stroller is too big for her, she would prefer something trendy but delicate.

Nonna does not reject the practice or active lifestyle; however, her judgment of taste is conditioned with the cultural capital that does not accept the common practice of mother-child public exercising. She is confident that a Russian mother in late 30s would not be represented the model portrayed in the advertisements. As she rejects the advertisement, she makes a reference to her own physical traits (delicate) and her choice of product would correspond to her own identity.

This is not a very typical scene in Russia, well you may see some in Moscow. It is getting popular, I believe. I think you would see mums running in the big parks, but I can't remember if I saw them with kids. I would prefer to go to gym. I don't think she would represent typical Russian mom image. She looks in her mid 30s I would say, and I don't think Russian mum in her mid 30s would do so. Well, at least I haven't seen. I would not buy this particular stroller; it is a bit too big for me. (Nonna, 29, married, M-H, RMiM)

As Bourdieu (1990: 17) claims, “agents classify themselves, expose themselves to classification by choosing, in conformity with their taste different attributes (clothes, food, etc.) that go well together and go well with them, or more precisely suit their position”. In this sense, Ljuba, who is married and represents the upper middle class, implies the othering concept by stating that she would express her sole opinion, which means it doesn't correspond with the opinion of the larger population in Russia. She wants to be like the model in the ad, and this can partially be achieved through the consumption of the stroller, which would enable her to be active in public space.

“I would express my personal opinion here. I wanted to buy such pushchair, but the image of an active mother can rarely be seen in Moscow. This image is inspiring I think, and would definitely want to be like her. You see mobility in the advertisement, mother is active, interesting. She is fit and takes care of her appearance.” (Ljuba, 29, married, M-H, RMiM)

One of the principal arguments of Bourdieu's on symbolic space is that the image of a 'space' that each individual has depends on their status and position in that particular space. “They construct their vision of the world, but that construction

is carried out under structural constraints” (Bourdieu, 1990: 17-18). Thus, the gendered habitus projects the system of arrangements, enrooted view and appreciation of practices. The additional quotes below support the predisposition of the aesthetic consumption, that determines the judgement of taste based on the cultural and social capitals acquired and demonstrated through the status consumption processes.

“When you enjoy your baby with everything that you do it is very good for them too. They can see that you’re trying to be perfect and when they are exposed to the lifestyle since young age they do try to follow you. We are being a good example for the child. This image resembles me. She looks strong and independent. This lifestyle is very common now and I like it. And that somehow influences how you feel about yourself and that encourages others to join to such healthy lifestyle. You would definitely not feel alone here.” (Alina, 34, married, M-H, RMiL)

“I quite like it! It, sort of, shows a lifestyle of a mother and also indicates that we can multitask, run and be with the child at the same time. This appeals to me the most.” (Oksana, 33, married, H, RMiL)

Bourdieu suggests that social reproduction is achieved when consumers tend to systematise their day-to-day practices and thus make identity investments to enhance existence in the social fields. These are all fundamentally harmonious with their ‘socialised predispositions’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). High cultural capital, as described in this section, is disclosed through ‘social spaces and habituated tastes’ (Wacquant, 1998). As Coskuner-Balli and Thompson (2012: 21) reformulate Bourdieu’s field description: “Homologous forms of field-dependent capital would also likely provide status value across these status congruent fields (consumers knowledge about the latest natural food trends) ...”. In the same vein, Bourdieu’s notion of symbolic reproduction is conditioned with the fact that individuals compete for status in social fields, which was rendered as significant outcome of the discussions with the participants. Through the assimilation of the required capitals they impose their identity projects and mothering ideals.

In relation to the physical traits, the Russian mothers expressed a symbolic power of domination if compared to those who were only able to build lower cultural capital in life. In addition to the above mentioned symbolic dispositions on identity construction, the reactions to other images (see Appendix 1, Images B) that corresponded with the independent mother archetype, brought to light some different aspects of the agency construction and reproduction. As Dasha expresses her thoughts, she puts a significant emphasis on the mother's look and the overall style, which she admires. She also admits that these type of images are solely designed for upper class mothers, who care about their appearance.

*“In this ad what I really like about the mother character is how she is dressed, her make-up, hair style, the way she is dressed. Here what I think they are trying to promote the whole style, that kind of corresponds the pushchair. She looks like a mum, but the pushchair is empty, that is not realistic. Here in Russia if we talk about social class, you may know that we have huge amount very low social class representatives, small number of middle class and again more representatives of the high class. I do not think this would somehow attract low social class mother representatives. I don't even think **they would fit in this kind of dress** and of course don't think they could look any way closer to this model. Well if it is middle class, then they would most likely try to copy or try to look like this model over here. Well for the middle class, nowadays we have these hippies that are very popular and they quite often buy second hand branded products, whether it is a cloth or a stroller it does not matter. The idea is they do not mind buying second hand stuff as long as it is stylish or would look more valuable on the eyes of others. If we talk about mothers, or women of same age group as me, they are very brand oriented, so this definitely exists.”* (Dasha, 33, divorced, M (e) RMiM)

The sense of sarcasm was apparent in the way some participants expressed their opinion about mothers who did not belong to the same circle (status) as themselves. As an example could be the 'body shame' expressed during the conversation. The reference to the 'unrealistic' body shape for lower class consumers, appears to be another aspect of stratifications and predispositions on dominating both socially and by aesthetic appearance. Likewise, Kristina makes

a judgment on the mother's taste by remarking that they (Russian mums) are either very well groomed (high social class representatives) or some (or majority) completely ignore their look (lower class representatives) (see Appendix 1, Images B).

“She definitely far from being a Russian mum.... She is dark. Her outfit and style is not very Russian.”

LB: How do Russian mums look then?

Oh that is easy- they are either extremely well styled/ looking after themselves or simply they are extremely ignoring their appearance. They don't have the golden middle.” (Kristina, 27, married, M (e) RMiM)

Inga on the other hand, did not completely reject the existence of the category of mother portrayed in the advertisements. However, she thinks that this is something that mothers fake. They create an ideal image that is being exposed through the social media channels (Barnard, 2016; Ahuvia, 2005). They shape the reality around them and pose pictures or identities they want to be seen by the public, friends or social networks (Clemmens, 2003). She terms this category of mothers as “*Instagram mums*”, who often publish pictures that are ideal but far from reality. She believes that this look is achievable if the mother has an extra support (nanny) and great amount of capital to be able to afford the luxury (yacht, evening outfit, heels, sophisticated make-up and a clutch bag instead of a massive bag with the child's essentials).

“Ohhhhhhh, well I would say that there are types of mums that want to look like her and act like her, be a superwoman, posing and taking this type of cool pics. I don't buy it like seriously...let's be honest, there are bunch of Instagram mums who want to look like that, but in my opinion to look like that you should have some support, like a baby sitter, well if you have some money you can afford it. This is more for premium families that have a lot of income. AND those mums can look cool.” (Inga, 32, married, M (e), RMiM)

Outfits that emphasises the feminine body, where characterised by participants as revealing and sexualised associations were made (Hatfield and Sprecher, 1986; Warin, et al., 2008). Such a look and identity portrayal did not appeal to them as they did not think it is appropriate to wear high heels and a short dress or skirt if you are going out with one's child. The reproduction of cultural norms and legitimacy of the accepted way of presenting themselves emphasises the dominant ideologies of mother aesthetics in Russia. As they claim, this (by referring to the model) is not a normalised way of mothering, the appearance of the mother especially in public is vital.

Some of the participants mentioned that it makes them feel uncomfortable especially if it is a birthday party and they are with their husbands, and that this kind of revealing outfits grabs all the men's attention. While some made a reference that it is not comfortable to run after a child on heels, others expressed the discomfort and emotional state associated with their husbands' redirecting their attention towards another woman.

Goodwin and Huppatz (2010: 71) emphasised the aesthetics of mothering and its portrayal in the magazines and categorises the mothering images and identities into the "*yummy mummy*" (who is glamorous) and "*slummy mummy*" (who pays less attention to her look). These terms were introduced earlier in Chapter 4 (see page 99), and here it matches perfectly with the perceptions of the Russian mothers of the look and identity construction. The "glamorous" mother concept has been linked with the "hot" mother images that fundamentally contradict traditional ideologies of mothering agency (Taylor, 1998).

Social distinction based on the maternal style with an emphasis on the aesthetic look builds "associations with glamour, sexiness and objects" (Goodwin and Huppatz, 2010: 72; Ussher, 2006). Women in magazines become "the object of the gaze and desire", not necessarily just for the opposite gender, but also for the mothers who desire to resemble the models and build confidence in their mothering identity that it is still attractive (Goodwin and Huppatz, 2010; Nash,

2012; Lynch, 2010). However, in the Russian context this has been consumed negatively, as it can be seen from the majority of the responses and stories mentioned during the fieldwork.

“Mother in heels, in this pose is strange. In heels, skirt, you may sit straight. But on the contrary, I like the structure of the pushchair, so I am interested in the pictures, the size, how it folds.” (Nastya, 32, married, M (e), RMiM,).

To sum up the above, it is worth mentioning that the symbolic status struggle in the Russian context was determined through the social class, marital status and geographic location which triggered consequent aesthetic choices in the consumption field by Russian mothers. As seen, the gendered habitus is formed within the field where the agents practise the aesthetic taste (McNay, 1999). McNay (1999: 96) suggests that “the field of consumption permits conceptualisation of differentiation within the construction of gender identity.” Consumers’ respective levels of cultural capital systematically influence their aesthetic tastes, consumption choices and lifestyle patterns (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2012; Arsel and Bean, 2012). Now that the aesthetic taste reproduction has been introduced, the following subsection projects on the taste of necessity.

7.2.2.2 Taste of Necessity and Mothering Agency

Unlike the ‘bourgeois taste’, the ‘taste of necessity’ as suggested in Bourdieu’s *Distinction* (1979; 1984), signifies that the lower level of acquired cultural and social capitals is conditioned with the insufficient economic capital available to individuals of lower social classes. This consequently impacts the construction of identities are contextualised with symbolic power and tailored consumption of goods and services. Thus, here I consider and explore the habitus and the symbolic capital of those who lack economic and cultural capitals, and interpret how they exercise the judgment of taste through the ‘taste of necessity’ (Wacquant, 1998; Ochs, Pontecorvo and Fasulo, 1996).

The responses provided by middle to lower class representatives brought different perspectives on the athletic representation of the model pictured. As such, Zhanna started with stereotypical gender aspects in relation to the colours portrayed. It was evident that the gender stereotyping was not just conditioned by her own worldview but also influenced by the male figure in the family. She unconsciously competes for his approval, he holds the dominant power and is perceived as a provider of the economic capital for the family. When making her consumption choices, she considers aspects that would potentially be 'liked' by the dominant figure in the family. Being afraid to do something extra outside with the child, she is trying to protect the child and avoid being in a tiring situation. Furthermore, she thinks it would be an unpleasant experience for her too, she would 'sweat'. This highly corresponds to the angel and damsel archetypal disposition as described in the first section of this subchapter (see section 7.2).

"This is not a typical Russian mum I would say. We have busy streets and in the park I would not run around, but just sit and enjoy some nice time with my child. I think it is exhausting, then you would sweat and it's not very pleasant. Sports can be done, but definitely without a child. It is not very convenient. Maybe I would only consider buying a stroller like this (if not too expensive) just because of the colour would go perfectly, as I have a baby boy. My husband would love it too. But I don't think I would be running or jogging with it." (Zhanna, 23, married, L, RMiM)

She does not link her identity with an independent woman, she seeks protection and expresses her fear of exposing the infant to the outer world. She rejects this as a common practice in Russia and does not see the projection of her own mothering identity.

Building upon feminist revisions of Bourdieusian theory Thompson (2011) clarified how women's practises and consumption of fashion are organised by a convergence within 'class position, gender socialisation, and habituated emotion predispositions'. In this sense, Zhanna expresses her own gender socialisation that follows the symbolic order and male dominant cultural capital. Her identity

shapes around the habituated emotions that are a result of symbolic power and accepted ways of parenting. Upon this, Thompson (2011: 142) adds that “these familiar forms of capital play in social reproduction also intertwined with the emotional capital that women invest in their social relationships and family ties, and conversely that they acquire from their social networks.”

Similarly, Laura links her mothering agency with the popular view or the symbolic power, where there are number of norms or ‘doxa’ that she, as a mother, believes need to be followed. She expresses her perceptions of the good mothering practice that is child centred, and running with a stroller as a hobby, does not look safe or acceptable to her at all.

“RUSSIAN MUMS (surprised), who run with pushchairs? Never. This is not a common practice in Moscow. I once met a mother who was roller skating with pushchairs. It looked crazy to me. I don’t think it is safe. As a mother you should be standing firm on the ground to protect your child. Maybe this is what others do in Europe or UK...in Russia, people would start discussing them. You know, in Russia it is quite popular to discuss others, maybe gossip, if they know in person. It can be jealousy as well. Honestly, it looks nice to see, but I don’t think it is appropriate for me to follow. Besides my husband would not like the idea.” (Laura, 25, married, L, RMiM)

The socially accepted norms of mothering is the main theme that was signposted by participants who were recognised as holders of lower economic capital. They refer to the inappropriateness of the look of the mother, mainly looking at the outfit and general look in public space.

“It’s not typical for us. I have lately met a mother who was wearing sport outfit, but it’s not a common situation. Usually jeans with tops. Something nice but flexible. The sports outfit like this is very tight and also I think it revealing your body structure.” (Raisa, 40, single, L, RMiM)

In conjunction with this, the research conducted by Thompson and Üstüner (2015) highlights the ‘interrelationships’ that are evoked between ‘gender resignification’,

that correspond to symbolic structure in the society and impact on the symbolic reproduction of order and norms. Moreover, Butler's (1990) thoughts on gender reproduction that is commenced through "marketplace performances represent the broader matrix of cultural conventions, norms, symbolic distinctions, and expectancies that regulate consumers' gender practices and that also shape social perceptions of legitimate ways of showing femininity and masculinity" (as cited in Thompson and Üstüner, 2015: 236).

"To see such mothers... not really, may be wearing sport clothing, but not doing sports. I don't think with a small child you would have time to think about extra activities that you would benefit too. The primary focus is the wellbeing of the child, feeding, keeping warm. When I think of myself, I am single mum and I had to handle all the things by myself. My mum was helping me because I had to work to earn money. Even now my child is two and I don't have enough time to spend with her. When I am home I am mostly cooking or cleaning. I definitely don't have time for myself." (Emilia, 32, single, L, RMiM)

The reference to the struggle to acquire sufficient economic capital for existence, emphasises the lack of exercise in social capital. The agency of the single mother in this case is expressed in consuming and spending based on the 'taste of necessity' that limits the practice of mothering only to the domestic sphere. Aesthetic choices are not considered, as she classifies herself as not belonging to the upper class who can afford luxury of both consuming and experiencing mothering, considering time and resources available to them. The primary focus is on providing food and protection to the child. This disposition cannot be entirely linked to the *damsel* or *angel* archetype, although her identity is centralised around the child and nurturing qualities, she has more dispositions of the *warrior* archetype that strives to defend her rights for existence and her role involves multitasking and protecting the child.

Similar views, in a way, were expressed by the Russian mothers, who live in London. Unlike Emilia, here Susanna reproduces her mothering agency through the practice of self-sacrifice, which seems to her as the only logical way of

existence. She categorises and prioritises the needs of her children and husband above her own needs and desires.

“Oh this one is pure beauty. I really envy people who can have the energy and willingness to do sports and at the same time be a mum, I admire that. I don’t have the strengths to do the same. I also think that if it is something extra that I need to do for my children then I will have this strength and motivation to do all. But when it comes to my personal wellbeing I don’t have the same carriage. I am kind of a person probably who doesn’t like herself. For me my family always comes first. The first are always my children and my husband.” (Susanna, 41, married, L-M, RMiL)

As in the previous sections, the sense of othering the identity was a technique of rejecting the type of identity. Some Russian mothers could not associate with the ideals portrayed and considered the model as a Western mother, designed for those who have enough capital to afford buying it. This type of reproduced ideology is dependent on the forms of capital that are subsequently produced, circulated and utilised in the consumption field (Kates, 2002). By making certain consumption choices, mothers reproduce socioeconomically grounded status distinctions (Holt, 1998; Üstüner and Holt, 2007). Consumer culture theory suggests that consumers invest in their identity construction by consuming field-dependent capitals (Arsel and Bean, 2012; Arsel and Thompson, 2010). Inversely, subordinate forms of cultural capital (that are made through the choice of necessity) are acquired by those who hold lower status in the socioeconomic hierarchy.

“She more looks like a Western mom. Very tempered. Like she has just had a day of spa. Wearing this nice fancy dress. Maybe this pushchair is a very high-class one, they’re trying to appeal the women who are of upper class. For an ordinary mother in Russia, I think it will only make them feel bad for not being able to look as nice, as slim, because weight is a big problem for women. The same for fashion magazines as well. All those skinny with Photoshopped perfect skin, they make all women feel bad about themselves.” (Ksenya, 28, married, M (e), RMiM)

The reference to the 'necessary capital' for conducting the consumption of goods advertised was phenomenal. The background and the overall image impression made by the sophisticated look of the mother model was off-putting to respondents and triggered some negative associations.

“Of course there are, who can afford it, who has nurses. But we cook, clean, go shopping, do everything, and we do not have time for ourselves, of course you want to look cared, you would like to go to hairdresser’s, you have money for it, but you do not have time for it.” (Zinaida, 34, married, L, RMiM)

CCT scholars stress the ways consumption allows people to exercise their own agendas and personalities. The agency of the mother is often considered to be a responsibility. The aspects of consumption and its performance may result in a compromise between conflicting identities (Ahuvia, 2005). For example, the day-to-day spending habits can both affect their identity as a mother and personal preferences. Nevertheless, gender meanings and categories that serve to disempower and marginalise women, such as fragile, weak or passive objects of the male gaze suggest a greater identity struggle for women.

“I do not think that mothers should dress in such a vulgar way... the mothers I know in my surrounding nobody wears such clothes. Too short. Maybe men like this, but these are not clothes for mothers. Besides, the mothers cannot allow themselves to wear such clothes. Mother should look like a mother.” (Emilia, 32, single, L, RMiM)

“Positive I guess. It’s always pleasant to see a well-groomed mother. But it’s unreal. Mother is a separate “layer” in the population. They walk with big bags, shorts, t-shirts, with ponytail hair at best.” (Larisa, 37, single, M-L, RMiM)

Identity politics and social movements suggest a special form of agency, a self-conscious 'collective agency', the mechanics by which the collective creates distinction, establishes hierarchies, and renegotiates rules of inclusion. Closely linked with Bourdieu's theories of distinction, Michele [Lamont](#) and Fournier

(1992) address the role of symbolic boundaries in the construction of valued identities.

“I think no, and if I see anyone like her, I would be like wow, it is like a dinosaur walking in the crowd. This will grab everyone’s attention. And it seems very strange too. It is not normal.” (Alina, 34, married, M (e), RMiL)

On one hand, there are conditions under which moral, socioeconomic and cultural boundaries successfully create objective conditions of socioeconomic inequality. On the other hand, it is argued that when the consumer is not satisfied with their present identity, the symbolic consumption comes in hand for facilitating and reducing the gap between the real and ideal self (Schouten, 1991; VOICE group, 2010). Thus, the desired self-identity can be attained through the consumption of aesthetic goods (i.e. fashion apparel, cosmetics, accessories). By acquiring the necessary goods, they deconstruct their self-identity and seek approval from those who gaze upon them (Solomon, 1993).

7.2.3 Symbolic Power, Identity Construction and Consumption Choices

In this section (7.2) I discussed independent and dependent motherhood identities that are socially constructed and class and gender stratified. The character traits portrayed in the images of motherhood help to understand how the stratification is conducted in different contexts and to what extent it builds the class-conditioned taste of consumers.

According to the findings presented above, the aesthetic taste of the Russian mothers reproduces agency through appealing consumption choices. Nonetheless, the elements of the symbolic capital fluctuated between those who had different marital statuses. Those who were divorced or single had a greater propensity to following and accepting the symbolic ideologies of the independent mothering agency. They describe the freedom of choices and the identical practice with a

small circle of people who have similar awareness and function in the same field in the same manner. The emphasis here was on the symbolic struggle as agents compete for social recognition. Through their lifestyle choices, mothers reproduce specific agencies and ideals of mothering.

The aesthetic taste of mothers (upper-class) who were married projected a soft resistance to the athletic mothering iconography. While the aesthetic look of the mother was greeted positively, the child-mother outdoor activities (jogging, running) were not considered to be appropriate.

The symbolic domination and hierarchical accumulation of distinction brought to light othering techniques. The perfect look of the mother was thought to be achievable for those who acquire higher social and cultural capitals. By segregating their taste from those who lack of symbolic capital, reference was made to appearance and even body shaming. It was believed that mothers who represented lower status did not care about their appearance and even if they wanted to dress like the model in the advert they would never be able to fit in. According to Bourdieu (1992:167) “large-scale social inequalities are established not at the level of direct institutional discrimination but through the subtle inculcation of power relations upon the bodies and dispositions of individuals.” Thus the symbolic violence is persistent, not just through domination by the opposite sex and symbolic power relations, but within the same gender and class stratified contexts.

The role of social media in identity construction was touched upon on multiple occasions. While some were inspired and projected status competition and a likeness of the Western celebrity lifestyle, some mothers looked at it differently. The idea of the ‘Instagram-mum’ was interpreted as a projection of a fake self that poses an unrealistic identity with the aim of being perceived as such by those who gaze upon her social media profile. The collective ideals of good mothering practice and its display in the public sphere projects the consumption practice as being

predominantly shaped around the culturally and socially accepted norms and beliefs.

The sexualised appearance of the mother figure was rejected as it triggered a greater identity struggle in those who felt detached from the character. The fear of being replaced in the eyes of their husbands or partners build strong resistance to the iconography of the independent mother. The so-called self-fashioning and the practice of liberty (Foucault, 1985) had greater presence in the agency and identity delivery of mothers who were either single or divorced. They were more motivated to not just purchase the product advertised by those mothers, but also to fashion and style themselves in accordance with the image.

The taste of necessity, on the other hand, signified a greater presence of symbolic order and male dominant ideologies within the field of consumption. Those who hold the power are most likely to shape the needs and wants of subordinates, as was clearly specified by some of the participants. Being financially and emotionally dependent on the male figure asserts the reproduction of dependent or *damsel* and *angel* archetypes. The consumption practice was a field where mothers could not make independent decisions unless the choice was approved by the partner. This response was typical for those mums that were married or living with a male partner.

Gender socialisation was seen to be constructed according to the symbolic order, where the symbolic structure proposes distinct norms that should be followed. This was embodied in the reproduction of mothering identity through self-sacrifice and devotion to the family and childcare. The stories of the Russian mothers project a clear presence of symbolic boundaries that makes them believe that the way they experience mothering is the only logical and natural way.

Due to limited acquirement of symbolic capital mothers build their perceptions of legitimate femininity and the affordability of certain goods and activities on those who acquire a better position than themselves. As observed form this section, the symbolic boundaries in relation to the exercise of the symbolic power, order and

structure in the Russian context are segregated by gender roles, social status and economic capital, along with subordinate sociodemographic aspects such as age and marital status.

The next subchapter looks into **mother-infant and mother-daughter archetypal unities** and aims to identify good mothering practice through the historicisation of meanings reproduced by mother agents.

7.3. Mother-Infant and Mother-Daughter Archetypal Unities

In the previous sections (7.1 and 7.2), I introduced archetypes representing, firstly, **family structure** ideologies and, secondly, the **mothering identity** constituting physical traits. I have drawn on the theoretical dispositions of symbolic power and feminist critique on the mothering ideologies and compiled social stratification categories to highlight the contrast and consumption patterns of Russian mothers.

In this section I would like to reflect on the two archetypal dispositions that were most frequently observed in Russian magazine advertisements. The two archetypes were categorised as “**mother-infant**” and “**mother-daughter**” unities. Each unity has been observed and decoded based on the analytical model that comprised Goffman’s (1979), Schroeder’s (2005, 2006) and Williamson’s (2002) combined schemes (see page 151). In this subchapter I first present the descriptive elements of the ideology composition produced in print media by linking the depositions with Jungian archetypes (see Table 7 p. 87). And second, by positioning the portrayal within a broader ideological conception, I project on the reproduction of the mothering unity ideologies reported by Russian mothers.

Based on the previous findings presented and discussed in sections 7.1 and 7.2 I will merge the symbolic conception of the age stratification in the consumption of mothering identities in Russian context. This will be discussed in more detail in 7.3.3. The aim of this subchapter is to bridge the concluding points on the reproduction of mothering ideologies, identity construction and its impact on the everyday consumption behaviour in Russian consumer culture.

7.3.1 The Reproduction of Mother-Infant Unity Archetype

Most women’s identity transformation into the maternal state is claimed to begin at pregnancy and it passes through different stages as the child is born and grows up (Mercer, 2004; Letherby, 1994; Bailey, 1999). The media exposes diverse

images of ideal mothering, including the infant and mother images that portray both the unity and symbolic perceptions of how mothering is done or 'should be' done (Lin and Yeh, 2013; Nicolson, 1993; Baker, 2005).

Ogden (2014: 125) claims that "the mother exists only in the form of the invisible holding environment in which there is a meeting of the infant's needs ...". The mother and infant unity can be interpreted in various ways depending on the legitimacy of one or another ideology. As discussed in Chapter 3 the emergence and feminist evolution of mothering ideologies brings insights on different symbolic structures that evaluate the perception of reality and identity construction.

As mentioned at the beginning of this subchapter, significant space in Russian advertising is taken up by the portrayal of mother and infant unity. If referenced with popular mothering ideologies (see Table 8, p. 102) the icon of the mother in these advertisements can combine both traditional and neo-traditional ideologies. The central narrative in both cases is child-centred motherhood (Johnston and Swanson, 2003). While the traditional motherhood concept signifies self-sacrifice as a common sense or a 'must' duty, neo-traditional ideology suggests that the choice of child-centred motherhood identity is rather a personal choice of fulfilling maternal desire (Chae, 2015; Josephson and Burack, 1998). Neo-traditional motherhood ideology supports intellectually stimulating mothering practice, where the mother is not only willing to reproduce the human capital, but also invests in bringing up intellectually advanced children (Josephson and Burack, 1998; Jarvis and Bonnett, 2013). The representatives of this type are usually involved in active processes, new activities with the infant or toddler, purchasing (or promoting) the latest technologies, and closely monitoring the progress and health of the infant (Wall, 2010).

The Table 36 presents the findings of the correlations of the visual content analysis through descriptive codes in both Russian and UK magazines. As it can be seen, the unity of the mother is represented through benevolence and delicacy.

The positioning of the mother and infant significantly differs in Russian magazines. The 80% of images were taken in the home space which symbolically positions and limits the mother and infant functions within a domestic sphere, which again links with the traditional parenting ideology and the archetypal proposition of a mother's fear of being a victim or in need of protection.

By looking at the descriptive elements of the character traits, the physical weakness of the mother figure demonstrates a limited mothering practice that is expressed through serving and self-sacrifice (see *angel* archetype page 87). The positioning and the physical traits of the mother figures (delicate and dependent 82%) correspond with the traditional motherhood ideology, which has been described in detail in Section 7.1 (see Table 8, p. 102). Additionally, the passive state of the mother (either standing, lying down or sitting) and the close contact with the child interconnects with the previous dispositions of the *damsel*, *princess* or *angel* archetypes.

These elements are illustrated and portrayed as delicate character traits and express the female figure's need for protection by someone who holds greater power. When it comes to the product advertisements there are no significant changes in the Russian context. Women are predominantly involved in body care related products, which again possess stereotypical perspectives. In divergence to all the above the images of mother and infant unity there was a significant contrast in outcomes for the comparator group magazines. Whereas, although there are elements of delicacy and benevolence in UK advertisements, the contextualisation and symbolic location of the mother figure is not limited to the domestic sphere.

Table 36 Mother-Infant Unity Archetypal Advertisements

Mother and Infant Unity Archetypal Advertisement			
<i>Other Figures</i>	<i>N/A (3)</i>	<i>Child Gender</i>	<i>Infant (1)</i>
Variables	All Magazines (147 ads)	UK Magazines (78 ads)	Russia Magazines (69 ads)
	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
Physical Position			
Standing	36.73%	46.15%	26.09%
Walking	6.80%	11.54%	1.45%
Sitting	21.77%	19.23%	24.64%
Lying Down	15.65%	10.26%	21.74%
Bending Forward	9.52%	6.41%	13.04%
On her knees	8.84%	5.13%	13.04%
Missing	0.68%	1.28%	
Smile			
Expansive	40.14%	34.62%	46.38%
Moderate	13.61%	16.67%	10.14%
Gentle	20.41%	21.79%	18.84%
No Smile	25.17%	25.64%	24.64%
Missing	0.68%	1.28%	0.00%
Child Gaze			
Active	35.37%	29.49%	42.03%
Passive	62.59%	66.67%	57.97%
Missing	2.04%	3.85%	0.00%
Product Category			
Food	10.88%	5.13%	17.39%
Body Care	29.25%	16.67%	43.48%
Medical	11.56%	5.13%	18.84%
Technology	2.04%	3.85%	0.00%
Cleaning household	2.72%	0.00%	5.80%
Toys	4.76%	3.85%	5.80%
Baby equipment	31.29%	53.85%	5.80%
Fashion, clothing	7.48%	11.54%	2.90%
Missing	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Age			
Young (less than or equal to 25)	34.69%	16.67%	55.07%
Middle (between 25 and 33)	46.94%	55.13%	37.68%
Above Mid (34+)	17.01%	25.64%	7.25%
Missing	1.36%	2.56%	0.00%
Outfit			
Smart	10.20%	12.82%	7.25%
Evening	2.04%	3.85%	0.00%
Casual	59.18%	62.82%	55.07%
Underwear	7.48%	6.41%	8.70%
No Clothing Visible	5.44%	6.41%	4.35%
N/A	10.20%	3.85%	17.39%
Missing	5.44%	3.85%	7.25%
Image Background			
Home Space	54.42%	32.05%	79.71%
Public Space	11.56%	21.79%	0.00%
Open Air	12.24%	14.10%	10.14%
Abstract	21.77%	32.05%	10.14%
Touch			
Skin-to-skin	48.98%	34.62%	65.22%
Hand-to-hand	19.73%	21.79%	17.39%
Touching other objects	23.81%	33.33%	13.04%
Touching Self	4.76%	7.69%	1.45%
N/A	2.72%	2.56%	2.90%
Missing	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Physical Traits			
Delicate/Soft	45.58%	48.72%	42.03%
Dependent	19.73%	1.28%	40.58%
Athletic	12.93%	21.79%	2.90%
Independent	21.09%	26.92%	14.49%
Missing	0.68%	1.28%	0.00%

The advertisements are almost equally spread around the domestic, public and private (abstract) spaces. The dispositions are distinct, especially when it comes to the promotion of the equipment and technology, which dominated in the comparator context and signalled the presence of neo-traditional and feminist mothering ideologies (Glenn, et al., eds., 2016; O'Reilly, ed., 2008).

Coming back to the Russian advertisements, the mothering identity is expressed through the child and his/her wellbeing. The description above can be linked to the archetypal dispositions of the *angel*, *divine* or *damsel* archetypes (see Table 7, p. 87). These archetypes reproduce purity and innocence (Kaftandjiev, 2016). The mother is seen as a model comprising loving and nurturing qualities. The portrayal of the benevolent goddess reflects the inner spirit and maternal world. Nonetheless the archetypes can be seen from negative perspectives as well. The negative traits are associated with the mother's inability to protect the child and herself from negative forces (Bolen, 2011).

In this sense, the symbolic capital signifies the role of the mother in an affective relationship, (Reay, 2004: 60) that generates 'devotion, generosity and solidarity' (Bourdieu, 1994; 2001). This interpretation has been further extended by Nowoty (1981) who referred the conception to emotional capital. When looking at the archetypal ideologies of infant-mother unity it can be related to the assigned role of mothering that accumulates the specific emotional capitals. Allatt (1993: 143) defines emotional capital as:

"...emotionally valued assets and skills, love and affection, expenditure of time, attention, care and concern; mothers devote their skills gained from their formal education to the advancement of their children."

To historicise the learned conceptions of the emotional capital it is worth looking back at the historic gender developments in Russia. Noteworthy historical changes observed in the position of women in imperial Russia occurred through

Catherine the Great's reforms (1762-1796) and the introduction of the education system for women (Neumann, 2008; Wood, 2000:13). The focus of the education was on how to become a good mother and wife. The hidden ideological disposition in this instance was the transference of the knowledge that is ideology-driven on how to be an ideal mother and wife (Clyman and Vowles, 1999).

From the fieldwork conducted, it was evident that the emotional capital had a stronger impact on the identity construction of Russian mothers. The learned ideals were clearly reflected in their perceptions of ideal mothering and the visualisation of the practice. The very first response almost every single Russian mother had towards the representation of mother-infant unity was the unconscious acceptance of the image and how the naturally women were portrayed. Reference was made to the look as being that of a "proper mother". The use of the words (i.e. should, must, need to, etc.) while describing their own deposition signalled the ideals or ideologies that were deeply enrooted in the culture and societal thinking (Jowett and O'Donnell, 2014).

*"This is very popular here, I mean the product. But I don't use it. And the image of the **mother is very pleasant**, she is very **gentle, soft** and **the child looks perfect**. She looks like you know **proper mother, soft delicate, angelic and loving**. To me mother should look natural and also looking good. It's not very natural to see working mother every single day in evening outfit and make-up. The role of the mother is **care**, this includes **self-sacrifice**, like putting your needs as secondary. I don't know I have a boy and in his eye mother is something holy and first person in his life. As a mother I am trying my best to develop his self-confidence. This is the most important- to be confident in life."* (Dasha, 33, divorced, M (e), RMiM)

Dasha reproduces the popular ideals of a motherhood that is centralised around care, self-sacrifice and devotion (Singh, 2004). She states that she is perceived by her child as someone holy (Suspitsina, 1999, 2000). If we look at the mother archetype 'Madonna', the self-actualisation of mothering is the acknowledgment that you are valued and perceived as something above subjective or objective realms (Welldon, 1992). She believes that mothering is achieved if the mother puts

her needs as secondary and focuses on bringing up a child that is smart and self-confident. In line with the neo-traditional ideology of motherhood, the belief is a personal choice to devote the majority of her time to the child's development (Jarvis and Bonnett, 2013).

The choice, on the other hand, was referred as a 'role', which corresponds with responsibility, obligations and symbolic structure (Nuttbrock and Freudiger, 1991).

"The role of mother includes the features which helps the child to develop, grow up." (Raisa, 40, single, L, RMiM)

The 'role' is a play or performance that agents conduct by applying emotional capital (Reay, 2004; Holbrook, et al., 1984). These emotions are distinctly portrayed through facial features (Jhally, 2003; Campelo, Aitken and Gnoth, 2011). The gaze of the mother was viewed by participants as a way of expressing not only love or care but also their own identity. The identity is the self-expression of the maternal state and emotional capital.

"Nice advertisement. I like the way she looks at the baby, it is an expression of feelings." (Zhanna, 23, married, M (e) RMiM)

It is claimed that the symbolic space that the mothers choose to acquire enables better expression of the emotional capital (Reay, 2004; Adkins and Skeggs, eds., 2004; Martens, 2016). Nevertheless, the choice of mother is symbolically conditioned by political ideology and field appropriate laws (Rivkin-Fish, 2010; Caiazza, 2002). Mothers in Russia are entitled for to up to three years' paid maternity leave, which suggests strong support from the government for the mothering ideology and the expected devotion of mothers to childcare (Novikova, 2011; Teplova, 2007; Ashwin, 2002).

"Here I can see a more complete image, mother is calm, she may be dressed more casual during the weekend, and be in harmony with her"

child. I see such image. She looks like a real mother. I would have a look at the advertisement more closely.” (Sofia, 28, married, M (e), RMiM)

A ‘complete image’ of motherhood, this is how some reproduced the ideal and natural image of motherhood. The harmony between the child and mother is something that brings a positive atmosphere when looking at the advertisement (Stern, 1999). The more realistic the image is to the eyes of the consumer, the more likely that they will pay it significant attention to it (Whipple and Courtney, 1985; Richins, 1991). Some critiques contrast with this argument that it is usually the desired, or the unreal and sophisticated that should grab attention (Harrison and Lynch, 2005; Goldsmith, Lafferty and Newell, 2000). While this case can be true for appealing to the buyers, however to what extent consumers would then be keen to purchase the goods is yet undetermined (Harper and Tiggemann, 2008; Tiggemann and McGill, 2004). From the responses it could be seen that the closer the image is to reality, the more a mother would be inclined to purchase the product.

“I haven’t read the text, maybe without text it would have been better. Mother is very nice. And I guess I would buy the product, as the picture reminds me of my child and myself. I like the idea that it is a Russian brand, I prefer products of our own production.” (Raisa, 40, single, M-L, RMiM)

Positive connotations were made both with the image of a child that resembled their own child as well as the origin of the product advertised (Balabanis, et al., 2001). The inclination to purchase products of Russian origin is linked with the trust and nationalistic values of the local vs global or Western productions (Caldwell, 2002). Although this was a common response from mothers representing middle to lower social class, some mums paralleled different judgements. They mentioned that although the origin may have been a big concern ten years ago, now it doesn’t really matter. Societal shifts trigger different attitudes and actions.

“A little cold child, a carefree mother. I think if I buy “Solnishko”, I think that it is useful for the child, the name is nice. I don’t really pay attention about the origin of the product. If I was asked this question 10 years ago, I would answer that I prefer Johnson, or something else, but now I use anything that is good for the skin of my child.” (Marina, 38, divorced, M-L, RMiM)

If compared with the opinions of Russian mothers who no longer lived in Russia, it can be seen that the general idea remained child-centred mothering. It was largely perceived as a core concept of mothering identity construction. The images were welcomed and recognised as a ‘natural’ way of mothering. The fact that the mothering is responsibility was highlighted and also that responsibility is not just raising a child but bringing up someone who can make a good contribution to the society at large (Silva, ed., 1996). This can be linked with the ideals of the Soviet ideology which endorsed in its propaganda the role of the mother as bringing up ‘true sons for the motherland’ (Wertsch, 2000; Knight 2009: 790).

“This is a very bright and sunny image. I like it. I can see mother with a child holding on her hands. I think she is very happy. You can tell from her facial expression and you can see that the child as well feels calm and happy in mother's arms. He is loved and you can see the care the excitement in mother’s eyes. I think this is how it should be. It is very important that woman when becomes a mom, she should realise the fact and take it very seriously. It is a big responsibility and it largely depends on mother how the child develops, grows up. And through the stages mother should be always next to child to look after, to guide and protect, educate, give as much love as she can. And try to make the child happy so he grows educated, nice and kind person and useful for the society.” (Lera, 36, divorced, M-H, RMiL)

The outfit was again addressed as a key component of identity illustration. As Katya mentions, the robe is much more realistic than the evening dress. The positioning of the model and the child in the home space made it more realistic and welcoming to mums (Radford and Hester, 2006), creating an atmosphere that brought peace, quiet and comfort. By legitimating the domesticity of the number of responsibilities and actions they undertake, they reproduce the dominant ideals of the cultural and social capitals (Martens, 2016; Lapierre, 2008). In the

acceptance of the belongingness or, as they state, “natural conditions”. They reproduce the symbolic ideals of motherhood (Lapierre, 2009; Rose, 2005; Issoupova, 2000).

When it comes to consumption, feminist theorise it as “women’s work” which displays the harsh and challenging day-to-day female experience and form of existence (Parker and Harford, 1992; Thompson and Walker, 1989). Consumption is often referred as a work rather than “mere experience” (Martens, 2016: 2). By neglecting aesthetic consumption (i.e. the evening dress), or symbolic space and consumption of goods in the public sphere signifies mothering practice and the development of the ‘taste of necessity’ that is ‘responsibility’ conditioned (Warde, 1997; Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998).

“This is quite cute, that looks like a model but she still wears a robe as opposed to the evening dress with a stroller. The home environment makes the difference, though it would have been more real if her or child’s hair were wet, but overall it looks motherly homely and comfy, soft, quite nice.” (Katya, 35, divorced, M (e), RMiL)

There was no significant difference in the way Russian mothers described the symbolic space and the symbolic meanings of their identity display. However, the images were not always thought to be realistic. As Oksana reflects on her own experience, she claims that when her child was the same age, she didn’t look this beautiful. The idealised images of motherhood in magazine advertisements can either trigger positive cognition (striving to look similar) or negative self-recognition (Lindner, 2004). In this example, Oksana dismisses her own beauty and disregards her body and aesthetic look as not being similar to the model’s. She thinks that the ad is attractive (to look at), though not very realistic. She also admitted that she would bypass the ad and would not go and read the descriptive text. The rejection of the advertisement or the product in this instance was related to the lack of legitimated symbolic presence (Kitch, 2001; Lin and Yeh, 2013; Kang, 1997).

“I definitely did not look like her when my child was that age (laughing)...but it does definitely look attractive and she looks happy. It would grab my attention image wise but the ad I don’t think I would read it. To be honest even if it is an online ad in Russian I rarely read it (the Russian text).” (Oksana, 33, married, M-H, RMiL)

Similar, if not profoundly ‘othered’ responses were shaped by the comparator group mothers representing English principles of mothering practice. As previously noticed, significant attention was given to the aesthetic look of the mother. Both Sophia and Emily thought she had just perfect eyebrows and even make-up although being pictured in the bathroom. The fact that she looked so well-groomed while in a robe and attempting to bathe the child was confusing to them. Here what I try to highlight is the culture specific perception of an image, whereas I attempt to highlight the unique perspective of Russian mothers.

“Oh look at that perfect eyebrows. That's the thing is the marketing, it depends who you want to reach, perhaps you want to reach those perfect people you think they need those products who look like this? Well if you look of course at the baby he needs to be pure and lovely and beautiful special effects had been done to it. Also you need to have a look at the skin colour of the people, she has this soft and lovely skin, just like the baby, maybe she is using the same product.” (Sophia, 49, married, M (e), EMiL)

To reflect on the above, the reproduction of the mother-infant unity ideology was expressed with a strong acceptance of the mother portrayal as the look was described as a “proper mother”. Symbolic power and dominant ideals were conveyed through the use of the words such as should, must, need to, etc., while describing their own mothering disposition. These clearly signal the ideals or ideologies that are deeply enrooted in the culture and societal thinking. It is believed that mothering is achieved if you put your needs as secondary and focus on bringing up a child that is smart and self-confident. Interestingly, the choice of such practice was as a ‘role’, which corresponds with responsibility, obligations and symbolic structure.

The reproduction of meanings around mothering was primarily linked with a responsibility and natural reproductive role being assigned to women. The political and cultural ideologies in this sense are cloaked within the mothering ‘responsibility’ that comprises not just the raising of a child but bringing up someone who can make a good contribution to the society at large (Silva, ed., 1996). To historicise this disposition, a reference can be made to Soviet ideology which was endorsed in its propaganda the role of the mother as the one who should bring up ‘true sons for the motherland’.

When it comes to consumption choices, mothers were more inclined to pay attention to the product if the portrayal and identity presented was emotionally conceived as ‘realistic’. The positioning of the model and the child in the home space made it more realistic and welcoming to mothers. Positive associations were made with an atmosphere that brought peace, quiet and comfort. By legitimating the domesticity of the number of responsibilities and actions mothers undertaken by mothers, they reproduce the dominant ideals of the cultural and social capitals. Their acceptance of the belongingness or as they state “natural conditions” reproduces the symbolic ideals of motherhood.

As previously discussed in this section and in Chapter 2, the gender of the child had a predominant role and imposed distinct gendered ideologies in Russian societal thinking. The next section presents finding on the mother and daughter unity portrayed and reproduced through advertising practice.

7.3.2 Symbolic Meanings of Mother-Daughter Unity

The preliminary observations and statistical overview showed a great number of advertisements where a mother was portrayed with her daughter. By reflecting on the literature upon mother and daughter unity, links were made with the reproductive nature of mothering practice, where the mothering ideology is to transmit the values and ideals to the next generation (Stevens and Maclaran, 2007; Lipman-Blumen, 1972; Gavish, Shoham and Ruvio, 2010; Higginson, 2010).

The Great Mother archetype (Jung, 1919) has a reproductive function that is best presented in advertising practice with the mother daughter mirroring and unity images (Goscilo, 1996; Chaudhuri, 2001; Sheingorn, 1993). The principal ideal in the reproduction of the *Great Mother Archetype* is the symbolic realm of ideology expressed by femininity and gender roles in the society (Harrison and Lynch, 2005).

In Tsarist Russia the feminine characteristics were expressed by mothers, wives and daughters; these were considered as the *roles* that women could acquire. The females in the family were the reproductive element that ensured the continuity of the family name (Wagner and Wagner, 1994; Kukhtherin, 2000). The gender ideals and struggle to acquire distinction was a major concern in women's lives. Women during that period could secure distinction by producing a male child (see Chapter 2).

To add to this point, Ashwin (2002: 91) believes that the notion of the 'male breadwinner' is deeply enrooted in Russian culture. If we look back at the peasant culture in imperial Russia, a son was perceived as a prosperous provider for the household, while a daughter as a rule would marry and leave to join another family. This shaped the upbringing and different attitudes to boys and girls; girls as a rule were disadvantaged and unwelcome, while boys were valued and praised (Pushkareva, 1997; Pushkareva and Levin, 2016). After Catherine the Great's reign females gained some attention in terms of obtaining education and learning how to be good mothers and wives (Neumann, 2008). Revolutionary ideals, on the other hand, pursued the demolition patriarchal traditions by investing in the ideology of the independent woman who could work and gain support from the state (Ashwin, 2002). Some examples of Soviet mother-daughter unities could be found in the propaganda posters (see Images 14)

In contemporary advertising practice mother-daughter unity has been explored as a means of promoting beauty, nurturing, and the angelic realm (Gentina, Decoopman and Ruvio, 2013; Hirsch, 1989; Kilbourne, 1994). To understand how

mother and daughter unity is expressed visually in Russian magazines, the descriptive codes were correlated and tested. The Table 35 below demonstrates the summary of the findings.

From the 37 observations in Russian magazines all images were portrayed either in the home space or in open air (park, field, etc.). The mother figure is both a teacher and a role model for her daughter (Moore-Shay and Lutz, 1988). The archetypal features move towards the *angel* archetype that is pure and at the same time selfless, serving and sacrificing without any expectations in return. The other archetype that can be interconnected with this ideological realm is the *wise woman*, which embodies the role of a teacher. The background of the image is usually a home space (i.e. kitchen, teaching how to cook), or open air (i.e. field and nature). Examples of these ads can be seen in the Appendix 1.

From the product categories they were promoting (body care, food, household cleaning), it can be seen as a supporting factor towards the predisposition of the symbolic space and gender role stratification. Feminine ideals as expressed by delicate touch or passive state reproduce the symbolic power of feminine subordination and limited public space engagement. In advertising research Rapp (1999: 185) argues that females are exposed to stereotypical ideologies which circumscribe them as “weak and emotionally dependent on men”. Signalling symbolic power and gendered positions, women are often referred to as bridging figures that constitute and enable the legitimacy of the household’s resources and support the family’s position in the society (Rapp, 1999; Erikson, 1984; Eisenstein, 1977). Men, on the other hand, symbolically sustain the autonomy of the family and its status (Ochs, 1993; Lapidus, 1978).

Dissimilar results were observed in the UK advertisements. The mother has more empowering features, expressed by the physical traits which move towards an independent and athletic character. The level of engagement with the daughter is expressed with eye contact and less skin-to-skin touch.

Table 37 Mother-Daughter Unity Archetypal Advertisements

Mother and Daughter Unity Archetypal Advertisement			
Other Figure	<i>N/A (3)</i>	Child Gender	<i>Girl (2)</i>
Image Background	<i>Home Space (1) Open Air (3)</i>		
Variables	All Magazines (56 ads) Percentages	UK Magazines (23 ads) Percentages	Russia Magazines (33 ads) Percentages
Physical Position			
Standing	19.64%	17.39%	21.21%
Walking	1.79%	4.35%	0.00%
Sitting	37.50%	47.83%	30.30%
Lying Down	14.29%	13.04%	15.15%
Bending Forward	16.07%	8.70%	21.21%
On her knees	10.71%	8.70%	12.12%
Missing	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Touch			
Skin-to-skin	57.14%	39.13%	69.70%
Hand-to-hand	21.43%	30.43%	15.15%
Touching other objects	17.86%	21.74%	15.15%
Touching Self	1.79%	4.35%	0.00%
N/A	1.79%	4.35%	0.00%
Missing	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Smile/			
Expansive	44.64%	39.13%	48.48%
Moderate	14.29%	13.04%	15.15%
Gentle	21.43%	26.09%	18.18%
No Smile	19.64%	21.74%	18.18%
Missing	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Mother Gaze			
Active	21.43%	17.39%	24.24%
Passive	78.57%	82.61%	75.76%
Product Category			
Food	14.29%	13.04%	15.15%
Body Care	39.29%	13.04%	57.58%
Medical	16.07%	17.39%	15.15%
Technology	1.79%	4.35%	0.00%
Cleaning household	7.14%	0.00%	12.12%
Toys	3.57%	8.70%	0.00%
Baby equipment	12.50%	30.43%	0.00%
Fashion, clothing	5.36%	13.04%	0.00%
Missing	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Age			
Young (less than or equal to 25)	0%	0%	0%
Middle (between 25 and 33)	100%	100%	100%
Above Mid (34+)	0%	0%	0%
Missing	0%	0%	0%

The compelling thoughts expressed during the interviews made straightforward links with mother-daughter relationships and experiences.

“It looks very good to me. It is realistic. I like that it is very natural, something that you could actually see yourself in.” (Oksana, 33, married, M-H, RMiM)

“I think this is how motherhood can be expressed. This so natural I have a daughter and this image really attracts me. I feel very emotional, I have been trying to have a child for the past four years and now that I have my daughter feel the highest level of joy. It is a true happiness and I want to bring her up and enjoy every second. The gender of the child does not matter, although my husband always dreamed of having a baby boy. To me what is important that I have a healthy child” (Alla, 32, married, L-M, RMiM)

The majority of the participants felt connected with the images and could relate to the characters portrayed. Alla reproduces her emotional connection with the child and mentions that the gender of the child does not matter to her. However, she also states that a male child was preferred by her husband. She makes a reference to the popular cultural ideals of a preference for having male children. In this sense, Skeggs (2004: 24) reflecting on Bourdieu’s symbolic domination, states that gender becomes “a form of a cultural capital only if it is symbolically legitimated (historically, for instance via class, as a particular version of middle-class moral femininity)”. In this case, even though the understanding has been historically legitimated, Alla does not share the ideology as she believes that gender does not matter. By resisting the dominant ideals she builds her cultural capital and expresses her identity through love, care and self-devotion.

In some cultures, the birth of a male child is welcomed with a greater enthusiasm if contrasted with the birth of a girl (Hank and Kohler, 2000; Andersson, et al., 2006). Russians have a proverb “when a son is born, even the coals rejoice”. This emphasises the cultural preferences due to a belief that a son belongs to your family, while a daughter sooner or later would depart to another family (Ransel, 2014: 130).

When Russian mothers were asked whether they had any child gender preferences the following outcome was observed.

“You start thinking about having a child when you are quite young. I mean I was planning that I would wish to have two boys and a girl. And would prefer one of the boys to be older than the girl, so that when they grow he could protect his sister. This would be ideal, but when you have a child this all does not matter. You become a mother and gender loses its importance. I cannot imagine my life without my daughter.” (Dina, 35, divorced, M-H, RMiM)

Bourdieu interprets and approaches the family as a social artefact, a rational deception as it produces and reproduces “with the guarantee of the state and operates as a central site of normalisation and naturalisation” (Skeggs, 2004: 21; McNay, 1999). Family in this instance is the field where the normalcy or doxa institutes identity structures and cultural and symbolic capitals (Reay, 2004). Dina refers to the fact that it would be ideal to have male children, as she reproduces the ideology that males are more privileged and behold better power in their lives. The unconscious acceptance results in the legitimization of accumulated privileged gendered roles in the field that constructs the symbolic capital (Connolly, 2002; McCall, 1992). The same ideals were projected by Evgenia:

“I have a baby girl, and I would want to have a boy too. Although we spent more time with our daughters they don’t really belong to us. They will eventually marry and leave. I remember how my mother was struggling letting me go. My brother on the other side is always next to them.” (Evgenia, 25, married, M (e), RMiM)

Coming back to Skeggs (2004) constructive thoughts on Bourdieu sociology, the above quote can be linked with the normalcy of gendered reproduction which in fact functions inversely for boys and girls. Zinaida states that she had limited opportunities being a girl, and that her brother was much advantaged. Thus the ideology that is expressed by the symbolic order limits female access to the forms of capital and requires conformity to gender normalcy. In contrast, boys have

assigned masculine power, an institutionalised form of symbolic capital within the family field. Unlike girls, boys represent accumulated privilege in other fields too. In a similar vein, as noted earlier, Bourdieu (1984, 1990a) links social identity to sexual identity; both identity forms are shaped through early experience in the family. As can be seen below, Zinaida builds her identity by expressing her struggle since her own childhood and the unfair distribution of ‘power’ between her brother and herself. She believes that she can resist the ideology through her own practice of good mothering.

“I always dreamed of having a baby girl, so can do all sorts of things with her. Mostly because I was neglected in my own family being a female I was not allowed to do so many things (i.e. going to parties, traveling, or as simple as being as advantaged as my brother). I would not do the same with my daughter.” (Zinaida, 34, married, L, RMiM)

A mother’s role in relation to her daughter was often referred to as being a role model or a teacher. To historicise this conception, I looked back to the significant developments in relation to mother-daughter relationships and ideologies.

In the Russian imperial capital, the mother (especially in the intelligentsia) was a “positive role model for her daughters”. Unlike the Western middle class mothers who were actively involved in their husband’s business while also controlling the domestic sphere, household and childcare, it was not same for a Russian noblewoman’s life (Chodorow, 1995; see also Chapter 2). Although motherhood was an important social role in Russia, upper class representatives did not have a central focus on childrearing. There was always someone (babysitter, nanny, nurse) who did it for them. And they were there to be as role models for their daughters to resemble them in the future (Engel, 1985:11).

What was central in the observations was that the mother-daughter relationship builds on the ideal that a daughter should take her mother as an example to shape her own womanly and motherly identities. I particularly reflect on the ideals of

imperial Russia as the stories of Russian mothers I interviewed are centralised around the same values.

“This is such a lovely image. The connection between mother and daughter is very important. I can see it here how they look at each other. I think when you have a baby girl you have the major role of being a good example to her. They learn from your every single move. With boys its different you want them to be manly.” (Vera, 28, married, M (e) RMiM)

Vera reproduces the ideology of a mother being a role model for her daughter. She mentions that the connection between mother and daughter is important as she learns from her, while with boys it is different. They should be treated differently and have to develop masculine power and have ‘manly’ identity. The proposed ideological disposition of mother-daughter unity has been linked to ‘intergenerational bonds’. Bianchi (2006: 812) states that “Intergenerational bonds - those between a mother, her daughter, and her daughter’s children- seem rather impervious to deconstruction.” Meaning that those bonds are profound and enrooted in a cultural context of mothering and are not easy to abolish. He (Bianchi, 2006: 812) further extends that “maternal grandmothers support their daughters and grandchildren and provide a ‘safe haven’.”

The above statement was one of the major points to which all the Russian mothers primarily referred to. Grandmothers (from the maternal side), are always there to help with the childcare, especially if the mother is working or divorced or single. Unsurprisingly, mothers who did not have a female child (but were exposed to these advertisements) were immediately made associations with their experience with their own mothers.

“Nice I like the colours, yellow i like it. They have a good eye contact and you can see endless love and care in mother’s eyes. I think they have matching outfit as well, which is very nice and you can do that when you have baby girl. I cannot do that as mine is big, but i try to buy matching clothes for my son and husband.” (Alina, 34, married, M (e), RMiL)

LB: Do you think that there is a different connection between daughter and mother and son and mother?

“Well of course and I always wanted to have a daughter, first just to see little me...then the connection. I don't know why I think having a daughter and the emotional connection is so hard because when they grow up they have more drama than the boys. I think every woman need to have a baby girl. I always think about myself and my mother and I would definitely want to pass my experience to my own daughter” (Alina, 34, married, M (e), RMiL)

The images containing and portraying mother-daughter unity undoubtedly brought up some positive vibes towards the consumption of the goods advertised. Seeing it as a projection of reality rather than the idealised evoked affirmative emotional attachment:

“This images are more real, I like it. It is probably a real person as opposed to a model used in the majority of the ads. It shows the connection between the mum and the child. The way she is dressed is more kind of motherly. I like the advertisement” (Katya, 35, divorced, M (e), RMiM)

As Oksana looks at the advertisement it not only evokes pleasant emotions but also makes her want to be in the same place as the figures in the advertisement. The countryside is associated with the Mother Earth archetype. Dynamic and close contact with nature helps mothers to express their maternal symbolic capital.

“They look like they are enjoying themselves, the mother and child. It looks lovely to me. This even makes me wanna go to a country side. I like the colours of the picture, it stands out, I can clearly see the connection here.” (Oksana, 33, married, M-H, RMiM)

As discussed at the beginning of Section 7.3.1, mother and daughter unity has been extensively researched in academic literature. As seen from the stories associated with the unity, the projected mother-daughter relationship is mostly developed along with the course of constructing emotional capital. It is highly

likely for mothers to build warmer relations with daughters than with sons (Chodorow, 1995; Butler and Shalit-Naggar, 2008).

To summarise the above reflection on the production of mother-daughter unity, the central discussion was around the *Mother* archetype that has a reproductive function and is best presented in advertising practice with the mother-daughter mirrored unity. The principal ideal in the reproduction of the *Great Mother* archetype in advertisements is the visualisation of the symbolic realm and ideology that is expressed by femininity and gender roles in the society.

From the stories shared by Russian mothers, it was notable that there is a strong presence of popular cultural ideals and preference for having male children. The justification of this type of symbolic realm is that males are more privileged and behold better power over their lives. The unconscious acceptance results in the legitimation of accumulated privileged gendered roles in the field that constructs the symbolic capital. A mother's role in relation to her daughter was often referred to as being a role model or a teacher. The mother-daughter relationship is built on the ideal that a daughter should take her mother as an example to accept the gender prescribed normalcy, and shape her own womanly and motherly identities. Family in this instance is the field where the normalcy or doxa institutes identity structures and cultural and symbolic capitals.

The mothering practice was distinguished based on the gender of the child. As some mothers express it, "with boys it is different. They should be treated differently and they have to develop masculine power and have 'manly' identity". The normalcy of gendered identities is segregated with masculine and feminine idealised expectations. While the majority of Russian mothers consume this cultural thinking as natural, there were also signs of resistance and a struggle to reject the popular gender ideals. The past experience and rejection of self-expression and conditioned feminine identity construction built new ideals of mothering practice.

The next subsection refers to the last archetypal disposition observed in magazine advertising. This particular archetypal category refers to the stratification of mothering identity based on age. The gender ideology and consumption patterns in CCT has been looked at from different perspectives (gender, class and context), which have been addressed throughout this chapter. What was thought to be misinterpreted and left out of the discourse by CCT scholars are the age stratified ideals that trigger great emphasis on the feminist understanding of equality and divergence of mothering practices. The social conditioning of the symbolic mothering practice is brought to light in the next subsection.

7.3.3. Mature and Young Mother Symbolic Capital through Age Stratification

As discussed in previous chapters, the theoretical assumptions of symbolic power and reproduced gendered ideologies are mostly class, gender and race conditioned. Nonetheless, there are the secondary layers of stratification, such as marital status, age, education etc. (McCormack, 2005). In the previous subchapters I briefly discussed marital status and its implications for the reproduction of gender ideologies and diversity of consumption patterns as a result. In this section the focus is on the age stratification through the decoded meanings attached to mature and young mother archetypes.

Age, as a reproductive type of stratification, signals norms attached to cultural backgrounds and on 'motherhood' meaning making (Gustafsson, 2001; Bourdieu, 1979). The advertising field produces good motherhood models that are restrictive: it marks boundaries that outline what is accepted and what is not (Rotkirch, Tkach and Zdravomyslova, 2012).

The portrayal of the age categories in the advertisement in this case was observed as the projection of existing norms on 'normalised age' in motherhood practice. The outcomes of Chapter 6 signified two archetypal categories of mothers that were grouped as young (up to 25) and mature (above 34). Following the same tactic as in previous sections, meta-analysis was conducted and correlated with the rest

of the coding categories. The aim of this exercise was to understand whether the age limits the mothering practice and produces distinct ideologies.

The archetypal advertisements of young mother were mostly typical for Russian magazine advertisements, whereas in the UK context the 'middle aged' and mature mothers dominated. While it is evident that there is a gap in age representation for both countries, it is yet not clear in which settings these categories are represented and what ideological meanings they suggest.

Reproductive age among the Russian female population has been described as highly intensive in the ages between 18-24 (Regushevskaya, et al, 2009). As previously mentioned, nowadays, the average normative age in Western countries has been increased to late 20s. According to the World Factbook (accessed Sep 2017) the General Intelligence Agency suggests that the age of women when becoming first time mothers is on average 28.5 years old in the UK (estimated in 2014). The data for Russia (reported in 2009) suggests the average age is 24.6 (World Factbook, 2017).

It is argued that the age of the mother projects the normative construction of motherhood identity in a certain society (Cappellini and Yen, 2016). Novikova (2011) in her recent article refers to the common age range of first time mothers in Russia as between 20-23 years old. Mothers who fail to have their first child before the age of 25, fall into the "older mother" category (Kippen, 2006; Hardy, et al., 1998).

As it can be seen from Table 38 the majority (73) of the Russian advertisements portray young (<25) mothers, predominantly in domestic settings (66%), advertising body care or medicine. Physical traits are seen as delicate and soft. The mothering ideology is child-centred, where the distance is minimal (skin-to-skin 55%) and the gaze of the mother is focused on the child (passive 75%).

Table 38 Young and Mature Mother Archetypal Advertisement

Young Mother Archetypal Advertisement			
Age	Young (1)		
	All Magazines (90 ads)	UK Magazines (17 ads)	Russia Magazines (73 ads)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
Other Figures			
Male	10%	18%	8%
Other	2%	0%	3%
Not applicable	88%	82%	89%
Touch			
Skin-to-skin	51%	35%	55%
Hand-to-hand	24%	24%	23%
Touching objects	13%	24%	11%
Touching Self	3%	12%	1%
N/A	9%	5%	10%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Smile			
Expansive	40%	18%	45%
Moderate	16%	23%	12%
Gentle	23%	12%	26%
No Smile	21%	41%	17%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Mother Gaze			
Active	24%	24%	25%
Passive	76%	76%	75%
Product Category			
Food	11%	0%	14%
Body Care	35%	23%	37%
Medical	25%	0%	30%
Technology	3%	6%	3%
Cleaning household	1%	0%	1%
Toys	3%	0%	4%
Baby equipment	18%	10%	10%
Fashion, clothing	4%	1%	1%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Age			
Young	100%	100%	100%
Middle	0%	0%	0%
Above Mid	0%	0%	0%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Hair Colour			
Blonde	55%	65%	52%
Black	43%	35%	45%
N/A	2%	0%	3%
Hair Styled			
Yes	68%	65%	69%
No	28%	18%	30%
N/A	4%	17%	1%
Makeup			
Light	43%	65%	38%
Dark	7%	0%	8%
No Makeup	50%	35%	54%
Image Background			
Home Space	61%	41%	66%
Public Space	9%	35%	3%
Open Air	17%	12%	18%
Abstract	13%	13%	13%
Outfit			
Smart	14%	12%	15%
Evening	1%	0%	1%
Casual	52%	59%	51%
Underwear	10%	10%	10%
No Clothing Visible	8%	12%	7%
N/A	9%	9%	9%
Missing	6%	0%	7%
Physical Position			
Standing	37%	53%	33%
Walking	4%	12%	3%
Sitting	24%	23%	25%
Lying Down	19%	12%	20%
Bending Forward	7%	0%	8%
On her knees	0%	0%	11%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Physical Traits			
Delicate/Soft	42%	35%	44%
Dependent	28%	6%	33%
Athletic	8%	5%	5%
Independent	21%	35%	18%
Missing	7%	6%	0%
Touch			
Skin-to-skin	51%	36%	55%
Hand-to-hand	24%	23%	23%
Touching other objects	13%	23%	11%
Touching Self	3%	12%	1%
N/A	9%	5%	10%

Mature Mother Archetypal Advertisement			
Age	Above mid (3)		
	All Magazines (54 ads)	UK Magazines (38 ads)	Russia Magazines (16 ads)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
Other Figures			
Male	20%	18%	25%
Other	6%	8%	0%
Not applicable	74%	74%	75%
Touch			
Skin-to-skin	26%	34%	6%
Hand-to-hand	33%	29%	44%
Touching objects	30%	29%	32%
Touching Self	4%	5%	0%
N/A	5%	3%	12%
Missing	2%	0%	6%
Smile			
Expansive	52%	50%	56%
Moderate	15%	13%	19%
Gentle	7%	11%	0%
No Smile	26%	26%	25%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Mother Gaze			
Active	20%	13%	38%
Passive	80%	87%	62%
Image Background			
Home Space	35%	18%	75%
Public Space	26%	37%	0%
Open Air	20%	21%	19%
Abstract	19%	24%	6%
Outfit			
Smart	17%	8%	37%
Evening	7%	1%	0%
Casual	65%	68%	56%
Underwear	4%	5%	0%
No Clothing Visible	0%	0%	0%
N/A	7%	8%	7%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Physical Position			
Standing	43%	45%	38%
Walking	16%	24%	0%
Sitting	22%	10%	50%
Lying Down	13%	16%	6%
Bending Forward	5%	4%	0%
On her knees	2%	0%	6%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Physical Traits			
Delicate/Soft	37%	39%	32%
Dependent	11%	5%	25%
Athletic	24%	32%	6%
Independent	28%	24%	37%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Touch			
Skin-to-skin	26%	34%	7%
Hand-to-hand	33%	29%	44%
Touching other objects	30%	29%	31%
Touching Self	4%	5%	0%
N/A	5%	3%	12%
Missing	2%	0%	6%
Product Category			
Food	5%	0%	19%
Body Care	15%	16%	13%
Medical	11%	8%	19%
Technology	4%	5%	0%
Cleaning household	1%	0%	12%
Toys	9%	3%	25%
Baby equipment	41%	55%	6%
Fashion, clothing	7%	8%	6%
Missing	4%	5%	0%
Age			
Young	0%	0%	0%
Middle	0%	0%	0%
Above Mid	100%	100%	100%
Missing	0%	0%	0%
Hair Colour			
Blonde	41%	42%	38%
Black	57%	55%	62%
N/A	2%	3%	0%
Hair Styled			
Yes	76%	79%	69%
No	17%	11%	31%
N/A	7%	10%	0%
Makeup			
Light	63%	69%	50%
Dark	4%	5%	0%
No Makeup	33%	26%	50%

The results correspond to the ideological dispositions of portraying the dominant beliefs of the symbolic structure in the Russian context.

This also reflects the traditional ideological dispositions of motherhood, where the practice of the mother is limited to childbearing and homecare (Glenn, 1994; Wall, 2013). Another interesting element in the table (38) is the limited presence of the male figure in Russian advertisements. This signals the role display that suggests that childbearing is solely a female responsibility (Teplova, 2007). The male, who is considered to be in a dominant position, controls the process of power legitimacy process, which is 'the power to be heard, believed and obeyed, along with the ability to silence others or allow them to speak' (Bourdieu 1991; 2001). Bourdieu claims that by acquiring the cultural capital, dominant agents preserve their power to reproduce the symbolic power. The absence of the male figure in the advertisement ratifies the symbolic structure and its legitimation. In the same vein, Crossley (2001: 99) argues that within a patriarchal system the social gender relations are paralleled with the symbolic power that imposes the practice of embodied actions and unquestioned beliefs

Unlike the young mother archetype, the mature mother archetype has a limited presence in Russian magazine advertisements (only 16 observations). These characters are predominantly located in the domestic sphere.

In contrast to the young mother archetype, here the model is more distant with the child (skin-to-skin 6%); the gaze is however directed towards the child and her mental state is expressed with an intense smile. Dissimilar to the previous archetype, the character traits have moved towards the independent (37%) and confident mode. An interesting move was observed within the category of products being advertised. Mothers were promoting toys, fashion clothing and household products. The aesthetic look was expressed with styled hair and light make-up. If compared with the UK magazines, there was a lack of active movement (i.e. walking) and acquirement of various symbolic spaces (i.e. public space).

To understand how Russian mothers reproduce the age stratified symbolic order, a number of images (see Appendix 1) were employed during the interviews. The pattern of reproduced meanings demonstrated resistance to the mature mother archetype and the legitimacy of a young mother presence in Russia. The images were introduced to mothers in random order along with other archetypal advertisements. What was interesting was that none of the Russian mothers commented on the age when the model represented a young age category. Images with above middle aged mothers were hailed differently.

“I think she is in her late 30s; she is definitely not a twenty years old mom. She is a mature mom. Typically, in Russia we have younger mums, it is accepted to get married young. On the other hand, I like the toy, it’s nice. I love the dancing puppy. I definitely see playing in something like that with my child, rather just sticking an iPad into her hands and doing my jobs.” (Ksenya, 28, married, M-H, RMiM)

As Ksenya looks at the image the first striking point for her is the age of the mother. She claims that in Russia they have younger mothers and this is not very typical. Notably, the conversation was more around the age, while in previous archetypes the attention was focused on aesthetic look of the model, her gaze, emotional state, clothing, the presence of a male figure or the background of the image.

The same response came from Dasha, who did not think that the model was Russian (although the text was in Russian and the advertisement came from a Russian magazine). She states that it is not a common practice to have a child after 36. In line with this disposition, Kesseli (2008:46) highlights that the Soviet institutional structures encouraged early marriage and childbearing. The Soviet government was supporting mothers by granting long maternal leaves (early 1980s) and child benefits. In contemporary Russia, the state grants mothers up to three years of maternity leave (Slonimczyk and Yurko, 2014).

“We had such toy, this is more a western mother though. She doesn’t look like a Russian mum...her age about late 30s, where here in

Russia I would say if you have child of this age you may probably be in your mid-late 20s. She looks more like the grandma. You would rarely see Russian mum that had her first child in the age of 36, though of course there are some rare cases.” (Dasha, 33, divorced, M (e), RMiM)

Inna, justifies her resistance to the advertisement by categorising Russian mums into *glamour*, who have aesthetic taste, *business women* who also have a representative look, and ‘young mums at home’ who do not work. She thinks that the model in the advertisement does not represent any of those. Due to her age she looks more like a babysitter. Recent, research suggests a dramatic increase in interest in the use of social media (Facebook, Instagram, Odnoklassniki) amongst Russian mothers, that are particularly those on maternity leave (Ramakrishnan, Sambuco and Jagsi, 2014; Livingstone, 2015). The Western glamour images of motherhood consequently impact the self-presentation and self-esteem in the identity construction of Russian mothers (Djafarova and Trofimenko, 2017).

“This looks artificial and it seems to me that she is just posing for a shot. Here in Russia we have two types of mothers: one is the glamour mum, that looks amazing, looks after her appearance, there are business women who also look great and the second type is ‘mums at home’- they largely don’t care about their appearance. In this case this image is more of a representative of a babysitter, as she looks older but not old enough to be a grandmother.” (Inna, 34, single, M-L, RMiM)

“Ok, I was interested in this advertisement... But I would say she looks older than any of my friends who have the same age kids.” (Zhanna, 23, married, L, RMiM)

There was also an expression of a strong emotional response in terms of rejecting someone ‘like her’ to be representative of Russian motherhood/womanhood. Nationalistic values in Russia have increased especially in the last decade with the Putin’s political regime (Stella and Nartova, 2015).

Nastya thinks that her look is too simple and she criticises the advertising agencies for using such figure in magazines. This can be linked with Nastya's social standing. Along with 'gender doing', the symbolic power and symbolic order within the hierarchies suggests a strong dominance of upper social class representatives in the construction of cultural capital in the social context and legitimacy of authentic norms (Sperling, 2014: 11, 187).

"...ok, well, to me she doesn't look like Russian mum. And I do not like her. She is unreal. She is made too simple and artificial, don't represent Russian mum in Moscow. This is ad I don't think they should put someone like that, may be more pretty, I don't know, but definitely not this top...and the boy has kind of artificial facial expression." (Nastya, 32, married, M (e), RMiM)

Unlike Nastya, Larisa thinks that the model corresponds with Russian motherhood. She believes that she symbolises the nature of motherhood, which is expressed through care and maternal protection. Being characterised as a middle to low social class representative, Inna believes that the mothering identity construction is enrooted in the Mother Nature archetype. The mythical legacy within this category of mothers dominates and impacts consumption patterns (Norwood, 2014). Those mothers who found their identity projection in the advertisements were keen to purchase the item marketed (Coates, 2014).

"She does look like a Russian mum. She has a protective look, caring. We, as mothers, need to protect our children from everything. How we do it? we "control" the child, even when we are walking together, the mother is not walking, but watching the child. This is natural instinct. If I compare before (10-20 years ago), it was the same, only the products have changed for children, pushchairs, diapers, devices. All these we didn't have earlier. But the method of education, I do not think so. To add, there are several categories of mothers, ones who study everything and want to have the best for their children, the best way of living, best food, etc. Others educate their children as they feel it's correct, based on the experience of their mothers and grandmothers. But now yes, each mother wants to give the best to her child, she will look for the advice from other mothers." (Larisa, 37, single, M-L, RMiM)

Russian mothers who lived in London had a different perspective on the age of the mother. Alina thinks that it is better to have children when you are mature enough to bring them up. The transition from one cultural value to another significantly impacts the identity construction and mothering practice (Rossi, 2017). In this instance, Alina reproduces the popular cultural capital of Western mothering ideals and legitimates the ideology that having children at a certain age does not necessarily support good mothering practice (Mansvelt, Breheny and Stephens, 2015; Glenn, 1994).

In this image she definitely is not in her 20s. But you know sometimes you see girls who became a mother at very early ages of their life, and they don't have the experience, they don't have the same caring attitude, feelings that women usually have after 25. It is not same for everybody but if the mother is a 'child' herself (like 18) how can she be a good mother? This is when grandmothers come into child's life and replace the mother.” (Alina, 34, married, M (e), RMiL)

Katya (see quotes below) believes that this is a very actual and realistic image. She believes that motherhood is not just about cleaning and feeding, but also interacting with the child, playing, not always controlling, but more exploring together. Oksana, on the other hand, thinks that it is good but the father too should be involved. The feminist ideals in mothering practice promote active male integration in everyday activities both in homecare and childcare (Glenn, Chang and Forcey, eds., 2016; DiQuinzio, 2013).

“It is definitely an image of a mother. Real and all of us went through it. That is the most realistic image I guess.” (Katya, 35, divorced, M-H, RMiL)

“I think it is good picture. I think fathers too should be engaged like mums are.” (Oksana, 33, married, H, RMiL)

The quote (below) from Masha's story signifies the age-stratified mothering struggle that occurred as a result of cultural transition. In her story, Masha particularly highlighted that she faced multiple rejection of her mothering agency

due to her being very young. She had her first child when she was 20 and often received comments from the public that disregarded her being a mother. The first experience she had, was during the healthcare nurse's home visit, who she greeted at the door and who asked her "so where is the mother?". She mentioned how shocked the nurse was when she learnt that she (Masha) was the mother.

"...The model looks like in her late 30s, something like that. I don't think this is typical in Russia. For Russians to become a parent is likely to happen in early 20s till late 20s. But here it's early 30s till late 30s. I am 23, and quite young for English people to perceive me as a mother. Here nobody believes that Igor is my son...." (Masha, 23, married, M-H, RMiL)

Veronika had positive vibes about the image as she reflects on the mother-child interaction and happy mood. Nonetheless she does not see herself in that image due to the model being older than her.

"...the child seems to enjoy. ... I think it's a nice image... If I look at the women, my appearance probably would not match, I think she does not look like a young mom to me. I guess 40s." (Veronika, 27, married, M- L, RMiL)

The acceptance of the conditions and the symbolic space acquired by the model is perceived as rather natural, but the age restricts the acceptance of the women being considered as the mother of an infant or a toddler. Nonetheless, the resistance is soft from this (RMiL) category of mothers if compared with Russian mothers from Moscow.

Age, as a reproductive type of stratification, signals norms attached to cultural backgrounds and on 'motherhood' meaning-making. As discussed, age marks boundaries that outline what is accepted and what is not. It was a topic that was touched upon by mothers throughout the interviews. There was no singular case observed where age as a theme was left out of the discourse. Contrast in age-conditioned distinction was evident for all the three groups of mothers. Russian mothers from Moscow greeted the mature mother archetype with rejection and in

some cases with neglecting and dislike. The reasoning behind such perceptions varied; firstly, it was justified that it was not common to have a child after the mid 30s, that it was something very strange to for their society. Some Russian mothers claimed that there were different categories of mothers in Russia, but the images with the mature mother did not fit with any of the known categories. Representatives of higher social standing expressed quite strong rejection and 'shame', criticising advertising agencies for using such images as a motherhood ideal.

The perception of the mature mother category was different among Russian mothers who had relocated to London. It was thought to be beneficial and more logical to have children when a woman was mature enough to bring them up. The shift with in the approved age range of first time mothers had both a positive and negative effect on Russian mothers in London. While a mature age is more natural in the UK context, Russian mothers of the young age category might face rejection by the society. As suggested by Bourdieu (1994: 161), mental structures are part of symbolic power and they support the reproduction of the symbolic structures constituting the mode of production and the mode of gendered and social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1994: 161).

7.4 Summary

This chapter presented combined findings on the critical visual analysis of motherhood images and interview outcomes with Russian mothers. It aimed to provide a structured overview and condense theoretical implications in relation to the reproduced motherhood ideologies and their impact on consumption practice. It synthesised the results based on a thematic analysis of symbolic family structure, independent vs dependent mothering identities, mother-infant and mother-daughter unities. It articulated historic observations and theorised the contemporary symbolic structures that function in Russian consumer culture. The final chapter will present the conclusion of the thesis and highlight the answers to the research questions.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

This chapter aims to summarise the key concluding aspects of the thesis. I first provide the answers to the research questions by reminding the reader of the outcomes of the findings. I highlight the theoretical and methodological contributions of this research and suggest managerial implications that can benefit marketers. The chapter is then concluded with a reflection on limitations and suggestions for further research.

8.1. Thesis Conclusions

This research has been centred on the reproduction of gender ideology in Russian consumer culture. To illustrate this, I looked into the ideology of motherhood visually produced through print media advertising and reproduced by mothers through identity construction and consumption choices. The research first explored how advertising in contemporary parenting magazines suggests gender roles through iconographic imagery of motherhood, and secondly, the research interpreted the reproduction of symbolic power based on Russian mothers' resistance or conformity to ideological dispositions. By its positioning in the field of consumer research this thesis was centred around the critique that mass-mediated marketplace ideologies impact the consumption patterns of Russian mothers. To address the above, I first carried out critical visual analysis of advertisements resulting in multiple archetypal motherhood categories. The archetypal categories later aided the interview process with Russian mothers through photo elicitation techniques, and helped to interpret, compare and contrast the shared meanings and dispositions according to theory-centred themes.

I argue that the historic background of Russia underpins the presence of gender ideologies that not only formulate the present day cultural and national identity of the state, but also evaluate and embody the symbolic gender ideals within

contemporary Russian consumer culture. From the historical point of view gender roles, more specifically female identity construction, is dependent on symbolic power imposing the preferences of the ruling authorities. The theoretical grounding of this study offers explorations of consumption patterns impacted and historicised by ideological dispositions and sociocultural change.

Following CCT, I propose that consumption in Russia is produced and reproduced by gendered marketplace ideologies and cultural meanings within commercially produced images. Print media channels transmit ideology and I approach consumers as interpretive agents that either resist or resemble these market mediated ideologies.

I argue that the iconography of motherhood in contemporary advertising practice creates ideological meanings. It produces and reproduces gender norms and idealised motherhood archetypes. I suggest that advertising produces privileged social conditions, ideals and constraints that are accepted in a given context. I refer to ideology as part of the symbolic system that reproduces power relations and gender ideology that is consequently communicated to social agents through magazine advertisements. Thus, my first research question was centred around the interpretation of the production of motherhood ideologies in magazine advertisements. To address the question, critical visual and content analysis were conducted. The mother figure was interpreted as an archetype that consists of an icon (i.e. symbolic visual representation) and ideological dispositions or meanings. A two stage analysis was conducted, where the first stage revealed the most frequently portrayed motherhood archetype, and the second stage categorised seven archetypal advertisements that convey distinct ideological dispositions. These archetypal advertisements were analysed to construct three major themes that helped to explore the reproduction of gender ideology based on mothers' responses to the images.

Table 39 below provides details on the outcomes and defines the archetypal meanings of the advertisements.

RQ 1 What is the iconography of motherhood in Russia?

CH 6 Stage 1 – most frequently portrayed – **Mother-Infant Unity Archetype**

CH 6 Stage 2 – multiple archetypal ideologies (see below).

Archetypes	Themes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Patriarchal family • Contemporary family • Modern couples 	} Family Structure Ideologies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dependent mother • Independent mother 	} Identity Structure Ideologies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mother-infant unity • Mother-daughter unity 	} Unity Structure Ideologies

Table 39 Archetypal advertisements descriptions and meanings

Patriarchal family archetype	signifies the domestic responsibilities assigned to mothers, including childcare and homemaking. Family settings are constructed according to a hierarchical order where the male figure remains as dominant, representing authoritarian father model. The mother expresses her self-identity through maternal sacrifice, childbearing and maintaining the household.
Contemporary family archetype	signifies shared domestic responsibilities, including childcare and housework with the partner. The mothering identity is not predominantly child centred, rather she is active both in domestic and public spheres. The mother has independent character traits.
Modern couples archetype	distinguish from other archetypes with particularly non-standardised worldview, lifestyle and behaviour. The representatives of this category largely reject the dominant ideas of the society and culture. The consumption patterns stand out with sophisticated and peculiar choices. The central idea of good mothering is less society dependent rather it is self-driven and designed with self-inclusion.
Dependent mother archetype	highlights the mothering ideal expressed through self-sacrifices that is considered as an essential element for the wellbeing of the child and the whole family. Maternal archetype resembles vulnerability and helplessness.
Independent mother archetype	emphasises an ideological disposition featuring independent spirit and confidence expressed through aesthetic look. The nature of motherhood not being limited to homecare and childcare. Mother follows active lifestyle, has self-presence and empowering features. The level of freedom is increased as she positions herself in the public space.
Mother-infant unity archetype	the icon of the mother in these advertisements can combine both traditional and neo-traditional ideologies. The central narrative in both cases is the child-centred motherhood. The traditional motherhood conception signifies self-sacrifices as a common sense or a 'must' duty, neo-traditional ideology suggests that the choice of child centred motherhood identity is rather personal choice of fulfilling maternal desire.
Mother-daughter unity archetype	mothering ideology is to transmit the values and ideals to the next generation. The symbolic realm of ideology is expressed by femininity and gender roles in the society. The mother figure is both a teacher and a role model for her daughter. The archetypal features pure at the same time selfless, serving and sacrificing.

Following the theoretical framework (see Chapter 3), I agree that the symbolic structures and dominant ideals of motherhood continuously circulate within the cultural capital by producing and reproducing meanings that trigger consumption processes. Consumers are exposed to images, cultural symbols and icons that produce systems of meanings. The symbolic power implied here suggests principles for constructing the mothers' reality where the classification is mediated by power struggles and distinction (Bourdieu, 1994: 161). I suggest that icons and archetypal dispositions accumulated into the cultural capital trigger greater embodiment of symbolic power and this constructs distinct patterns of consumption. Advertising provides a visual landscape of imposed reality in relation to gender roles (Schroeder and Borgerson, 1998: 162). It circulates information about the social world (Schroeder and McDonagh, 2005), and Visual Culture theory suggests that images produce and reproduce meanings and construct identities in the field of consumption (Schroeder and Zwick, 2004). With my first research question I identified what kind of meanings motherhood images convey. Additionally, I focused on visual consumption, posed the second and third research questions, and interpreted how motherhood ideologies are reproduced by mothers and to what extent those ideologies construct consumers' consumption taste and choices.

Below I highlight the thematic outcomes and answers to the following research question.

RQ 2 How do Russian mothers reproduce ideologies and how does this construct their consumption patterns?

Within the family structure ideology, I was able to bring to light the broader scope of socially accepted ways of mothering. The findings indicated that Russian mothers reproduced the dominant ideals of mothering that are constructed within a patriarchal ideological frame. With enrooted mechanisms that consisted of social structures, beliefs and symbolic order, mothers demonstrated their symbolic capital (i.e. as "good mothers") through acceptance of male domination as a

condition for exercising their mothering practice. Consumption was described as gendered, i.e. a clear distinction was made between the masculine task of making purchase decisions for high-involvement goods, and the feminine task that comprised the consumption of essential (low-involvement) goods. Male involvement in the childcare or homecare was downplayed as part of the lived parenting practice in Russia. Nonetheless, this type of reproduction was not typical for Russian mothers who lived in London. The transition from one symbolic cultural context to another one evidenced limited acceptance of symbolic male domination and inclination towards the acceptance of contemporary family ideology. Additionally, the latter was also described to be rather illusory when it referred to families who acquired higher social standing. The consumption patterns in this instance were class and status conditioned.

Status-driven consumption practice was more evident when exploring the reproduction of identity structure ideologies. The accumulated class-conditioned taste occurred among those mothers who classified themselves as holders of higher cultural, social and symbolic capitals. In the majority of cases this resulted in acceptance of independent character traits; however, unlike the evidence gathered from the literature, the research found marital status was a major force for stratified consumption choices. Those mothers who described themselves as single or divorced projected more freedom of lifestyle choices and ability to acquire the symbolic space to which they believed they belonged. This was illustrated through consumption choices and construction of desired identity as a result of competition and acceptance by those who belonged to the specific social circles. Images that corresponded with the independent identity structure mirrored their ideals. Conversely, resistance to independent mothering identity was apparent with some mothers who acquired higher economic capital but were in a marriage. Their choice and taste was projected through the acceptance of the dominance of the male figure in the family. The mothering practice demonstrated in public space (i.e. jogging with an infant in a stroller) was not seen as natural or acceptable for someone who acquired higher social standing.

Additionally, 'othering' techniques (i.e. emphasising the kind of mother the respondent did not deem a "good mother") were expressed as a way of achieving distinction. Mothers who emphasised aesthetic taste believed they were able to resemble the 'perfect look' promoted in the images. Nonetheless, the reference here was not primarily made to the cultural or social capitals, rather to the symbolic order and their superiority over that category of mothers whose consumption was driven by necessity. Symbolic violence was conveyed through the 'body shaming' for those who had lower cultural capital and no interest in keeping themselves in a good shape and having a corresponding aesthetics. While the literature has addressed the symbolic violence from the opposite sex perspective, here I argue that symbolic violence can occur within the same sex category where symbolic power is exercised by mothers who dominate with their social status and achieve aesthetic taste.

As Bourdieu (1990, 1994) suggests, symbolic power occurs only when the dominated accepts and legitimates the domination by those who have greater power. This, in fact, was clearly demonstrated in the answers provided by mothers who described their consumption patterns to be constructed based on necessity. They reported that they believe in symbolic boundaries that restrict their mothering practice and limit consumption choices. While they partially accept the dominance, they also struggle over what counts as a 'good mother'. They build the resistance of a 'good mothering' through the legitimation of 'natural' and 'better' practice that involves self-sacrifice and devotion to family desires.

Above all, gender ideology was also reproduced through the iconography and meaning-making of the maternal reproductive nature. In this sense, the Unity Structured Ideology came to the fore. Femininity and accepted gender roles in a society were described to be a taught practice that is passed generation to generation. A mother's responsibility, in this sense, is to build awareness and acceptance of the dominant gendered prescribed normalcy. The mother becomes the teacher and the role model, especially for female children who are expected to mirror similar mothering practice as they become mothers. The accumulation of

gender normalcy in the Russian context is projected through the legitimation of privileged power ascribed to male children. The family becomes the field where normalcy or doxa institute identity structures through the symbolic order. This statement was clearly projected in the majority of responses where mothers believed that male children should be brought up differently. The emphasis was on developing masculine traits to construct a 'manly' identity.

The most positive reaction and acceptance was revealed in the reproduction of the mother-infant concept. Images that corresponded to a delicate maternal figure with centralised attention towards the infant were described as a 'proper mother'. Mothers reproduced their core beliefs on mothering, that is an achievable condition only if you put the child's needs above your own. The choice of such practice was defined by mothers as a 'role' that is assigned only to mothers and which corresponds to responsibility, obligations and symbolic structure.

Within the unity structure ideology, the age of the mother was looked upon as a stratifying category of 'normalised age' accepted within sociocultural settings. The age, as a reproductive type of stratification, signalled norms attached to the Russian cultural background and on 'motherhood' meaning making. Age marked the reproduction of boundaries that neglected the agency of the mature mother (above mid 30s) and her presence in the Russian context. Those who belonged to this category faced symbolic struggle and judgment by others. Notably, this aspect was left out of the discourse in consumer culture and feminist literature.

8.2. Theoretical and Methodological Contributions

Positioned in a broader consumer research scope and more specifically within the consumer culture theory tradition, this thesis contributes both theoretically and methodologically.

8.2.1 Theoretical Contribution

As previously discussed, the CCT theoretical perspective is centred around Bourdieu's sociology of *habitus*, *field*, *capitals* and *symbolic power* (see Figure 3, page 120). I looked into the fourth domain of consumer culture theory, which is '*mass mediated marketplace ideologies and consumers' interpretive strategies*', and analysed mass-mediated motherhood ideologies, claiming that cultural mechanisms (i.e. images, icons) impose practices of symbolic power and these practices impact the everyday consumption patterns of consumers. Additionally, I argue that there is a lack of a feminist perspective on the above-mentioned theoretical dispositions. To address the gap identified I extend the theoretical perspective by integrating elements of visual consumption (Schroeder, 2005; 2006) and archetypal dispositions (Jung, 1936; 2014; Williamson, 2002) to interpret and decode hidden ideological meanings of motherhood images in magazine advertisements. I emphasise critical visual theory in the reproduction of meanings and their impact on motherhood identity construction and consumption choices. I offer a contextualised and historicised perspective on motherhood identity construction through the symbolic system and feminist lenses.

The theoretical grounding of this study helped to analyse production and reproduction of symbolic power as a projection of the interests of dominant classes. Symbolic power is transmitted through a symbolic system (communications) where subordinate groups are subjected to symbolic domination. As suggested by Bourdieu (1989; 1990; 1992), representatives of a subordinate class believe that their lifestyle practice is intrinsically inferior to those who hold the power to dominate. The stratification within cultural capitals has immediate impact on the process and patterns of consumption. The reproduction of gender roles and social class distinctions are accumulated through implementation of the acquired level of cultural capital in the consumption field (Arnould, 2007).

My research underpins Thompson and Üstüner's (2015) insights on symbolic power and gendered consumptions. In contrast to Thompson and Üstüner's

findings, where mass-mediated ideologies empower women to resist traditional norms and emerge new constraints of gender norms, my thesis emphasises contextual and historical complexities that build both conformity and resistance to ideological depositions by Russian mothers. My work goes beyond Üstüner and Holt's (2007) as well as Arsel and Bean's (2012) elaboration of taste in consumption, where the first looked at taste as a unique aspect of acquiring distinction and the latter argued that developed the understanding of *taste regimes* that are class-conditioned and practice dependent. With my research I bring light to the practice of symbolic power through visual consumption of archetypal images, hence ideologies of motherhood that construct identity, taste and consumption preferences.

I extend the perspectives of the theoretical framework and, based on my findings, suggest that the reproduction of gendered ideology is not only conditioned with symbolic stratification of class, gender and race, but also conditioned by the socially stratified secondary elements such as marital status and age. Consequently, these contribute towards feminist research and constitution of identity through representation of body; unconscious acceptance of symbolic power and male dominance as a principal part of the prescribed mothering agency; and the symbolically stratified idea of "normalised age" that limits the mothering practice to certain stage of a female's life. As summarised in 8.1, all these elements accumulate symbolic structure and systems that trigger consumers' taste and identity-conditioned consumption.

8.2.2 Methodological Contribution

Following the inductive method of emerging knowledge this study developed an analytical model that offers new insights on, and advanced techniques for, visual analysis of advertisements (see figure 7, p. 151). To develop the model, I condensed three analytical perspectives, namely: the '*critical visual analysis*' designed by Jonathan Schroeder (2005, 2006); the coding scheme designed for '*gender*

advertisements' by Erving Goffman (1979); and 'decoding advertisements' by Judith Williamson (1978).

Analytical Model for Image Analysis

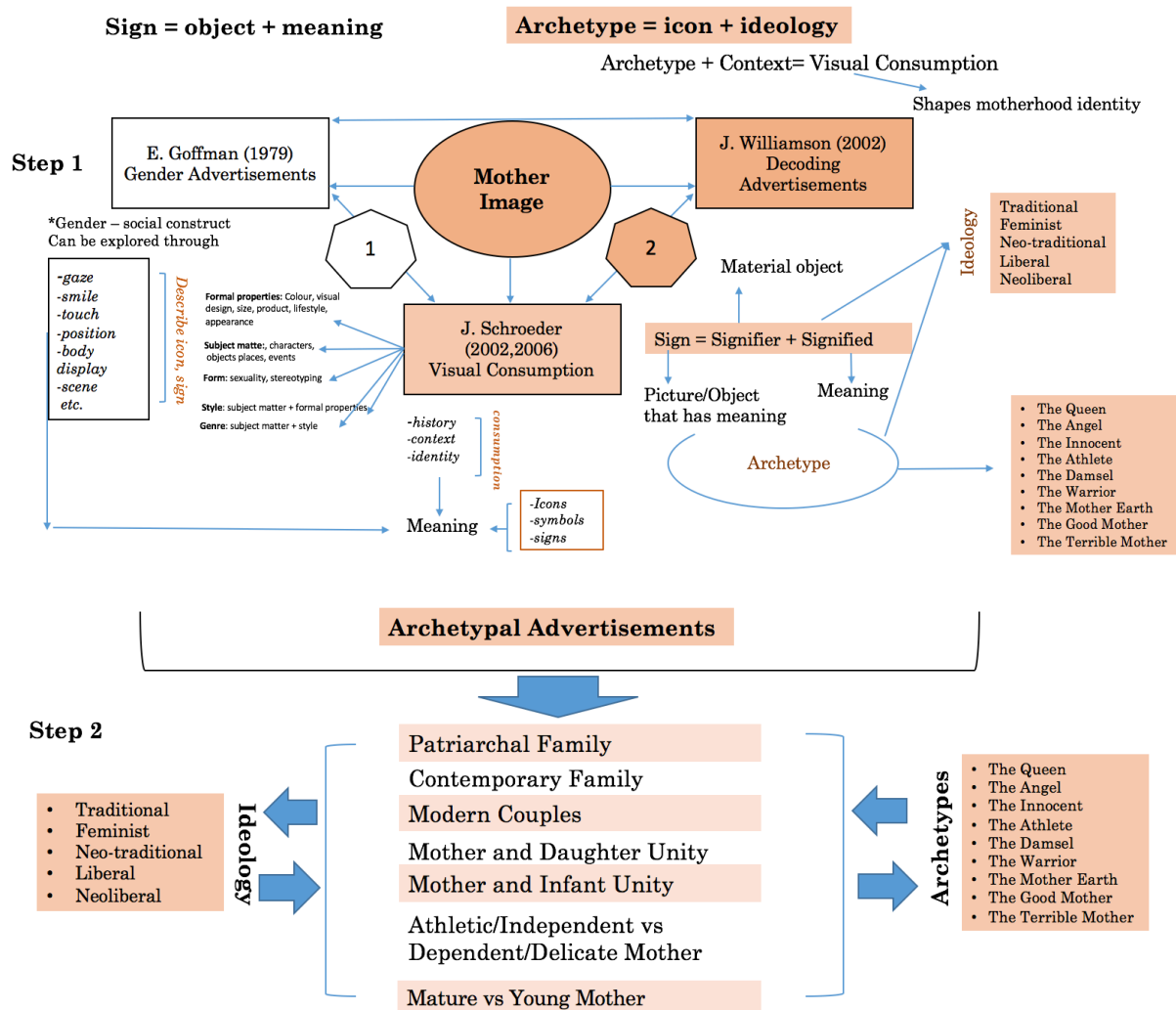


Figure 10 Extended Analytical Model and Archetypal Advertisements

This combination enabled me to qualitatively elaborate on the quantified data and group archetypal advertisements that comprise distinct ideological meanings about motherhood (see figure 10 above). I suggest a new method of interpreting meanings behind the visually portrayed archetypes that comprise of a physical figure (or icon) and ideology (hidden meanings). With this thesis, I demonstrate

that icons representing mothers (or motherhood) produce ideologies which have socio-historical and archetypal meanings attached to them. Iconography is the visual representation and archetypes are the coded meanings. with this thesis I build novel combination and interpretive approach of image analysis while emphasising the ideological meanings hidden behind every archetypal imagery in magazine advertisements. This methodological twist contributes towards new ways of conceptualising motherhood by taking into account the archetypal dispositions, the iconographic visualisation and interpretations given by mothers themselves.

This thesis also contributes towards photo-elicitation methods by offering a structured methodology for the selection of images to be presented to respondents in photo-elicitation interviews. The grouping of the archetypal advertisements into three thematic categories (i.e. *family*, *identity* and *unity* archetypal mothering ideologies offers a new approach in combining and synthesising the outcomes of visual content analyses of archetypal advertisements and the responses given to the images by Russian mothers. The above mentioned method initially built on the theoretical framework of this study, contributed to the historicising and merging the analysis from two separate data sets. Above all, this research developed a theory-based data reduction technique that helped to reduce a large population of images to a theme-based poll of a small number of images which advanced the interview experience and process.

8.3. Managerial Implications, Limitations and Further Research

In addition to the above-mentioned theoretical and methodological contributions, this thesis fosters knowledge that can benefit practitioners who perform in the field of marketing, more specifically who design and deliver advertising strategies.

The insights gathered from the data indicate that there is a limited visualisation of feminist and neo-liberal mothering ideologies in Russian parenting magazines.

From a theoretical perspective, the complex relationships of Bourdieu's symbolic capitals formulate taste and class-conditioned consumption that may drive perceptions, judgement and consequent actions in the field of consumption. By limiting such portrayals to patriarchal ideology, mothers as consumers have restricted access to other legitimate ways of mothering and hence constrained consumption practice.

As argued throughout this thesis, the media produces and reproduces ideals and shapes identities, which were thoroughly integrated and explored in the fieldwork interviews with Russian mothers. From the stories and responses clear resistance was observed towards those images that had only a marginal presence in Russian advertisements and more significant use in the UK context. I argued that images, symbols and icons in today's advertising practice produce ideologically comprised ideal images of motherhood that are both historicised and contextualised with hidden meanings. Symbolic power is shaped based on the interactions between culture, stratification and power: this underpins the struggle for social recognition. As discussed in the literature, symbolic power occurs through social stratification of class, gender and race. However, it is exercised only when it is believed to exist and be accepted by the ones who are dominated.

Marketers can adopt the insights from this thesis, firstly, to understand how mothers reproduce already existing visual ideologies and how this can be integrated into more tailored market research and enhancement of marketing communications strategies. Secondly, this thesis suggests new insights on segmentation strategies which can be built on the stratification of taste-conditioned consumption and identity consumption that focuses on the visual dispositions consumers are most likely to acquire. The contemporary strategies display very a strong ideological element where the mothering identity primarily portrays gender inequalities topped up with male dominance, restricted practice of mothers outside the domestic sphere and performance of mothering (first time) limited to certain 'normalised age' categories. In addition to this, the spectrum of

product category advertisements should be extended and not limited to body care and medical categories.

Along with the insights and contributions to knowledge that this research delivers, it has some limitations that build a narrative for conducting further research that could enhance the generalisability of the knowledge gained. Although a group of Russian mothers from different parts of Russia and living in London were initially employed to address the transferability of the findings, their responses contributed towards the identification of a transitional impact and the construction of motherhood identities as a result of relocation. The choice of participants was based on the theoretical disposition that the power is principally centralised in the capital cities and is transmitted and legitimated across the country. Nonetheless, it should be acknowledged that in the contemporary world the culture and exercise of power can undergo change and different levels of acceptance/resistance, conditioned by the level of the development of the regions within the same country. With this in mind, I suggest further research on motherhood ideologies with a focus on less developed cities or regions in Russia.

This research focused on parenting magazines circulating both in the UK and Russia. As described in Chapter 5, the employment of UK magazine advertisements was in order to adhere to universal and diverse mothering ideologies portrayed in magazines. The choice of magazines in the Russian context were limited to the ones of Russian origin; a further research on the parenting magazines of international origin would enlarge the spectrum of findings in relation to the Westernisation of motherhood in the Russian context. On a practical note, it would also help to explore the level of adaptation of Western origin magazine content (i.e. advertising) into local norms.

Bourdieu (1984) suggests that consumers seek to acquire legitimate power and social position by consuming certain goods, and CCT theorists emphasise how imagery helps to construct lifestyle choices. On one hand, practice imposed by mass media helps to legitimate politically, historically and culturally developed

norms and women's rights/roles (Stevens, Maclaran and Brown, 2003). On the other hand, the body is objectified and referred to as a performative iteration that displays the natural or prescribed female agency in a society (Borgerson, 2005). Iteration is the component of reconstructing and preserving the illusion of 'natural' categories of identity (Hirschman and Thompson, 1997). Following the feminist standpoint theory, this study was able to map the practice of power and show the gender relations and parity due to sexist assumptions in Russian sociocultural settings (Crasnow, 2014). Sex bias was demonstrated not only through acceptance of the prescribed feminine task and role, but also through consumption choices. Among all these, this study suggests further research on the *symbolic power* and the exercise of *symbolic violence* within the same gender category, but with dissimilar levels of acquired cultural or symbolic capitals. While the power struggle between opposite sexes has been extensively tackled in literature, I suggest looking further into the symbolic violence and legitimation of power from the same sex perspective.

8.3.1. Dissemination Plan

As discussed, this thesis has multiple methodological and theoretical contributions that opens up potential perspectives in future publications. I have taken further steps of arranging it into three points of prospective academic impact.

1. Looking into producing a monograph based on the images of Russian women and propaganda. This could also be a potential article for history-specialised academic journals.
2. Publishing an article based on the methodological contribution of image based analysis, particularly marketing and research methods journals.
3. Another article focusing on the theoretical contribution and the findings rendered from photo-elicitation interviews in the Journal of Consumer Research.

Appendix 1 Archetypal Advertisements

Advertisement A “Patriarchal Family Archetype”



Advertisement B “Contemporary Family Archetype”



Advertisement C “Modern Couple Archetype”

New Year Savings!

outnabout

enjoy the journey

IGO
SMART
STYLISH
LIGHT

mutsy
simple human magic

www.outnabout.com

mutsy.com

Twitter: @mutsyworld
Facebook: mutsyworld
Facebook: mutsyusa
YouTube: com/mutsyusa

Advertisement D “Independent/Athletic Mother Archetype”

R U N F R E E

INTRODUCING BUGABOO RUNNER

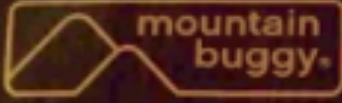
bugaboo

The Jogging Extension

One base fits all!

THE NEW iCoo STYLE

PHONE 01978 664 362



life without

MB mini



ultra light and ultra tailored for the

The lightest and slimmest Mountain Buggy yet, MB mini is the ultimate city adventurer. With its world class manoeuvrability, MB mini delivers punctureless aerotech tyres which provide a smooth ride for your child, an easy single hand fold and ultra adaptability from newborn to toddler.

MB mini accessories



back carrycot

car seat adaptor

freerider



style your own

additional buggy and carrycot sunhood colours

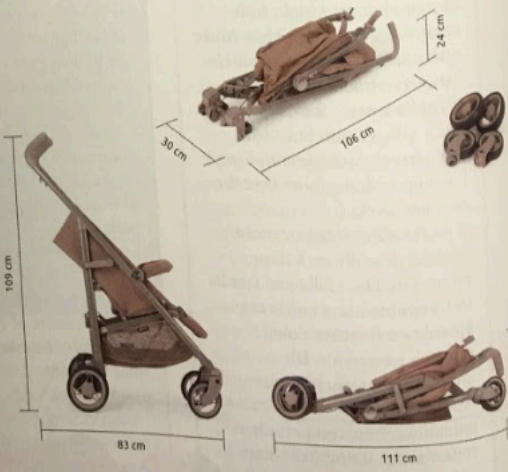
spot a shining light in 'umbrella folding'



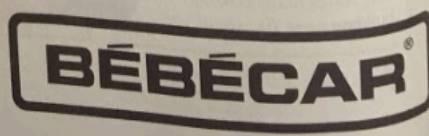
12/2014 - BDO/OLIVIERO

The brand new SPOT pushchair main features are:

- Lie-flat horizontal position suitable from birth;
- All-round suspension, adjustable on rear wheels;
- Compact 'umbrella folding';
- Unique locking mechanism for more rigidity;
- Patented folding mechanism prevents the risk of little fingers getting trapped;
- All-round detachable wheels with ball bearings;
- Easy lock swivel wheel system operated from one touch of a button without the need to touch the wheel;
- Extra-padded seat with removable rigid bumper bar;
- Adjustable/removable hood with zip-off rear section that turns it into sun canopy;
- Folds with bumper-bar attached;
- Lightweight aluminium chassis;
- Clean look structure;
- Optional cup-holder that attaches to chassis is available.



made in europe
 to request a catalogue, please contact
 01692 408801 or visit www.bebecar.co.uk
 (Part of the East Coast Group)



HOROS ALEX DAVIES PHOTOGRAPHY GETTY SHUTTERSTOCK

3



Как сделать ежедневное купание новорожденного не только приятным, но полезным и безопасным?

Пенка с чередой, пенка-шампунь «С головы до пят» и шампунь с ромашкой серии «Мое Солнышко» идеально подходит для самых маленьких.

- Сбалансированная pH-формула не вызывает сухости и раздражает кожу
- Средства с рождения не образуют чрезмерной пены, что очень важно для купания малышек первых дней жизни
- Мягкая формула средства не щиплет глаза
- Крем под подгузник и присыпка-крем помогут обеспечить дополнительный уход за кожей после купания
- Гипоаллергенный состав без отдушек и красителей не вызывает аллергию



ООО «Мамин Бренд», тел. +7 (495) 968 38 35/34

www.msbaby.ru

Johnson's baby

НОВЫЙ СТАНДАРТ КАЧЕСТВА



«Нашим мамам важно, чтобы их дети были здоровы и счастливы. Мы знаем, что мамы ищут лучшие средства для ухода за своим ребенком, поэтому мы создали новую линейку средств для ухода за кожей малыша. Это средства, которые помогут маме заботиться о ребенке с любовью и заботой».

ЭФФЕКТИВНОСТЬ

Эффективные формулы, которые помогают бороться с кожными проблемами малыша.

МЯГКОСТЬ

Мягкие формулы, которые бережно ухаживают за кожей малыша.

БЕЗОПАСНОСТЬ

Безопасные формулы, которые не содержат вредных веществ.

Мама должна доверять своим инстинктам. Только так можно обеспечить своему ребенку лучшее будущее.

www.johnsonsbaby.ru

41 4611 E

BABYBJÖRN

33



SMALL AND GREAT
ADVENTURES

WIP TRAVEL COLLECTION

The product names and descriptions of Babybjörn products are subject to change without notice.



Детские средства защиты от комаров «Мое Солнышко»:

- Безопасны для здоровья малыша!
- Эффективная защита от укусов насекомых до 2х часов
- Отпугивают разных насекомых: комаров, мух, ос и слепней
- Не проникают через кожу ребенка, не повреждают ее
- Гипоаллергенны и не токсичны
- Направленное действие только на насекомых, без вреда для ребенка!

Для ребенка уже с 1 года

Средства от комаров «Мое Солнышко» не содержат вредного для детей ДЭТА!

В основе – новое защитное вещество IR 3535!



Мое СОЛНЫШКО
И ПИВОЛЮ К МЕЛКОМ

ЭКОЛОГИЧНО
МЕНЬШЕ
АЛКОГОЛЯ

ООО «АвантаТрейдИнк», тел. +7 (495) 968 38 35/54

www.msbaby.ru



Specials
collection

shown in the Snow White fabric
Stylo Class chrome-black ch

01692 408801

Designed using high quality leatherette, this beautiful fabric from the Bébécár 2014 "Specials" collection incorporates quilted and plain details to give it the distinctive and luxurious look that this collection is best known for. This other fabrics in the stunning "Specials" range are also available on our award winning Ip-Op Evolution ch

Visit your local Bébécár stockist for a demonstration and to see other products in the Bébécár

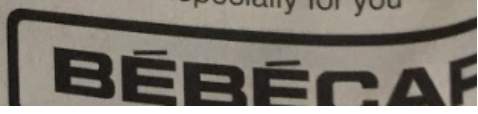


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01692 408801 or visit www.bebecar.co.uk
(Part of the East Coast Group)



...specially for you





Формируем
здоровую
флору
с детства



Бифидоформ Бифидум, с.п.о.о. (ООО) 77 0943 1004 | 007 000 0512
Бифидоформ Малыш, с.п.о.о. (ООО) 77 0943 1004 | 007 000 0512
Бифидоформ Малыш, с.п.о.о. (ООО) 77 0943 1004 | 007 000 0512
Бифидоформ Малыш, с.п.о.о. (ООО) 77 0943 1004 | 007 000 0512



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Качественно изученные пробиотические культуры Бифидоформ Бифидум и Бифидоформ Малыш являются биологически активными добавками к пище.

В уходе за здоровьем детей и взрослых важно использовать:





- ✓ **качественно изученные пробиотики** — содержат натуральную живую микрофлору (Lactobacillus acidophilus, Bifidobacterium infantis)
- ✓ **качественно изученные пребиотики** — содержат ферменты здоровой пищеварительной системы (Lactobacillus acidophilus, Bifidobacterium infantis)
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Следует помнить, что в уходе за здоровьем сада, можно помочь формированию здоровой кишечной микрофлоры ребенка.

Ferr@san

www.BIFIFORM.RU

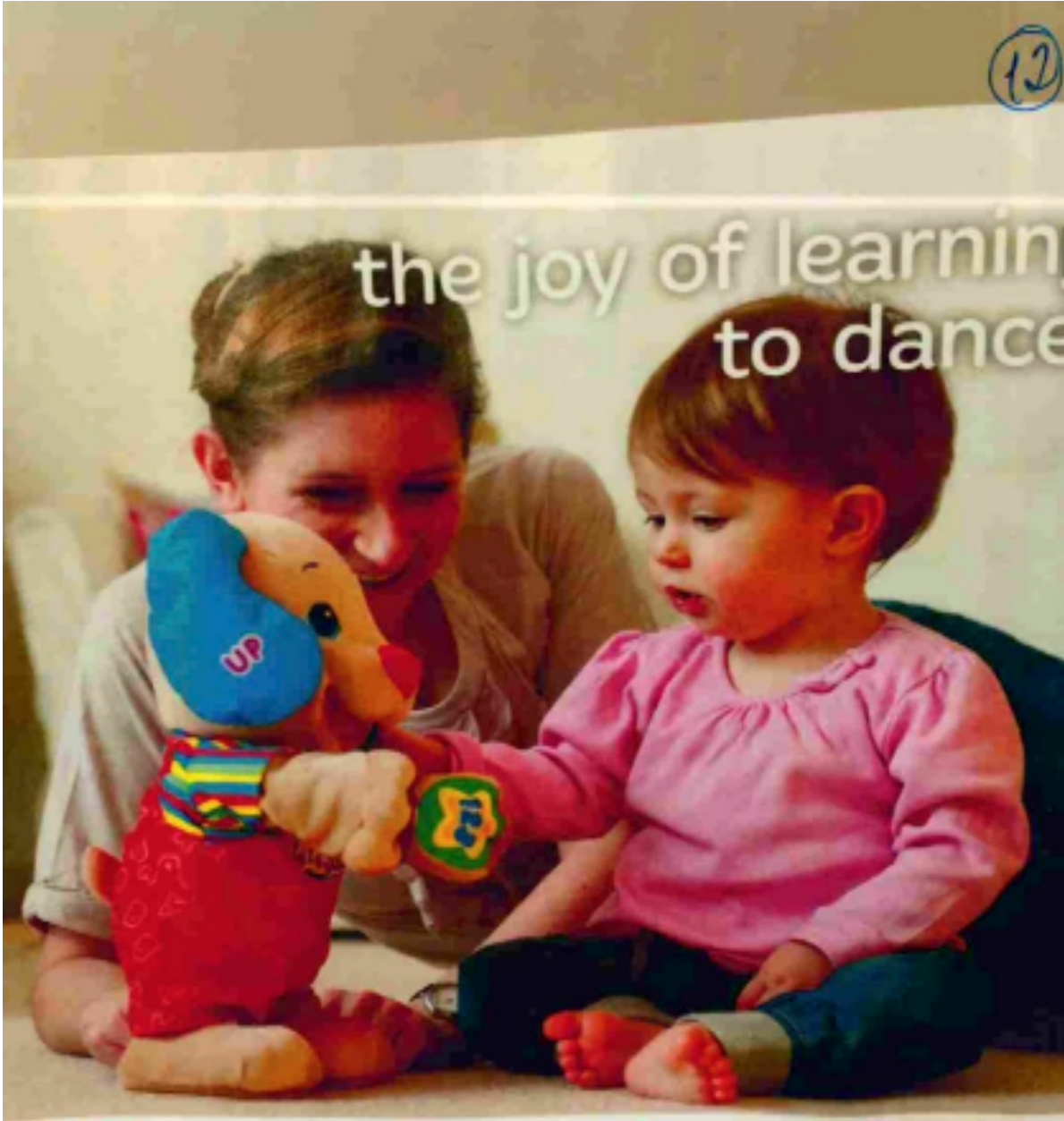


-  **усиления** готовится сразу на весь курс применения при открытии флакона
-  **липелки-фосафор** с отметкой
-  **саше/порошки** с апельсиново-мандариновым вкусом для детей от 1 года
-  **жевательные таблетки** с апельсиново-мандариновым вкусом для детей от 2 лет

*Бифидум 400 исследован по влиянию на иммунитет (ИИ) (Лактобактерии ДНК ДНК).
Дж. Аригерард, Р.М. Аалли, 2004. 4 раздлинногеномных функции стресса глюкозо-индуцируемая индукция на Bifidobacterium lactis (Bifidobacterium lactis). М. Латинская с.п.о.о., 2010

ПЕРЕД ПРИМЕНЕНИЕМ НЕОБХОДИМО ПРОКОНСУЛЬТИРОВАТЬСЯ СО СПЕЦИАЛИСТОМ И ОЗНАКОМИТЬСЯ С ЭТИКЕТОЧНОЙ НАДПИСЬЮ. БИОЛОГИЧЕСКИ АКТИВНАЯ ДОБАВКА К ПИЩЕ, НЕ ЯВЛЯЕТСЯ ЛЕКАРСТВЕННЫМ СРЕДСТВОМ


Advertisement G "Mature Mother Archetype"



12

the joy of learning
to dance

Laugh & Learn
Laugh & Learn™ Dance n' Play Puppy
Suitable from 9 Months+
*RRP £44.99



Fisher-Price
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*RRP may vary, please check in-store for details.

Win £250 worth of Fisher-Price® product!
To enter for a chance to win visit www.Fisher-Price.co.uk and use this code **FPJOV6**

Вопрос можно задать
 от Анастасии Балакиной из г. Душанбе

Обнимемся?

У моего пятилетнего сыночка Димы недавно появились проблемы. Он плохо спит, не хочет учиться, часто капризничает и плачет. Больше всего беспокоит его дискомфорт и нежелание учиться. Это было для него большим стрессом, ведь до сих пор он любил учиться и даже с удовольствием читал. Но сейчас ситуация изменилась. Дима рассказывает, что в садике его не хотят принимать, что родители не хотят, чтобы он ходил туда. Он очень переживает по этому поводу, ведь у него много друзей. И родители тоже переживают. Недавно он видел в Интернете статью о синдроме Дрей-Сингера. В ней даны рекомендации, которые мне очень понравились, чтобы быть более близким к сыночку. Мы сделали все, что было написано, и ситуация изменилась. Дима стал спокойнее, собрался, внимательнее, вчера принес пятерку по русскому!



ТЕНОТЕН
 ДЕТСКИЙ

Совсем недавно не могла усадить его заниматься!

Это мой сорванчолов. Раньше из-за неусидчивости у него были проблемы с учебой. Стал спокойный, собранный, внимательный, вчера принес пятерку по-русскому!

Маленький сорванец?



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 +7(495) 681 09 30

Маленький гений!



ИМЕЮТСЯ ПРОТИВОПОКАЗАНИЯ
 ОЗНАКОМЬТЕСЬ С ИНСТРУКЦИЕЙ

Appendix 2 “Modern Couple” Archetypal Advertisement

Table A

<i>Modern Couple Archetypal Advertisement</i>			
Other Figure	<i>Male (1)</i>	Demographics	
		<i>Age</i>	<i>Young (1) Mid (2)</i>
	All Magazines (35 ads)	UK Magazines (17 ads)	Russia Magazines (18 ads)
Variables	Percentages	Percentages	Percentages
<i>Physical Position</i>			
Standing	28.57%	35.29%	22.22%
Walking	14.29%	23.53%	5.56%
Sitting	40.00%	35.29%	44.44%
Lying Down	11.43%	5.88%	16.67%
Bending Forward	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
On her knees	5.71%	0.00%	11.11%
Missing	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
<i>Physical Traits</i>			
Delicate/Soft	17.14%	17.65%	16.67%
Dependent	20.00%	17.65%	22.22%
Athletic	25.71%	52.94%	0.00%
Independent	37.14%	11.76%	61.11%
Missing	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
<i>Smile</i>			
Expansive	40.00%	35.29%	44.44%
Moderate	22.86%	29.41%	16.67%
Gentle	14.29%	0.00%	27.78%
No Smile	22.86%	35.29%	11.11%
Missing	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
<i>Product Category</i>			
Food	17.14%	0.00%	33.33%
Body Care	11.43%	0.00%	22.22%
Medical	20.00%	0.00%	38.89%
Technology	2.86%	5.88%	0.00%
Cleaning household	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Toys	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Baby equipment	45.71%	88.24%	5.56%
Fashion, clothing	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Missing	2.86%	5.88%	0.00%
<i>Touch</i>			
Skin-to-skin	22.86%	17.65%	27.78%
Hand-to-hand	48.57%	41.18%	55.56%
Touching other objects	14.29%	23.53%	5.56%
Touching Self	2.86%	5.88%	0.00%
N/A	8.57%	5.88%	11.11%
Missing	2.86%	0.00%	0.00%
<i>Outfit</i>			
Smart	31.43%	52.94%	11.11%
Evening	8.57%	0.00%	16.67%
Casual	42.86%	47.06%	38.89%
Underwear	8.57%	0.00%	16.67%
No Clothing Visible	2.86%	0.00%	5.56%
N/A	5.71%	0.00%	11.11%
Missing	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
<i>Hair Styled</i>			
Yes	62.86%	82.35%	44.44%
No	31.43%	11.76%	50.00%

Appendix 3 The Samples of Transcripts

INGA/32/BA/NW/1/MARRIED

IMG 1
How do you feel about this image?

I don't like the crossed hands. I try not to use so much supplements for my child and this ad does not grab attention. We have traditional methods let's say child is not so calm, and always this type of herbal methods are passed by generation from mum/grandma to daughter.

Here even though she is smiling and looks happy, but she has crossed hands, which actually gives me negative image – like I don't wanna talk to you.

Is this typical image of a Russian mum?

As I can see from an image, the child is pretty old and she could have spent more time fixing her hair and overall look. There is nothing special about her.

The boy looks like acting in the image as well. This not very real to be honest.

All mums sign maternity leave paper for 3 years, but if you wanna return earlier, you can.

EMILIA/32/PRIMARY/WAITER/1/SINGLE/LOW

IMG 2
No, looks like a German mother.

What do you think how should the Russian mother look like? Inner and appearance.

All mothers are different, I do not know.

Ok, in that case why do you think that she doesn't look like a Russian mother?

Maybe because of the appearance.

And did you like the advertisement? Colors, product.

In general, I do not trust the advertisements, but if I just look at the picture, everything is nice.

Why do you not like the advertisements? Do you think it's better to read the text or to watch the video?

Well, when I see my child, it is in the advertisement, it is so much better than when I see it as a good product, that's why it's better to go and read the content.

IMG 3
I never imagine I was in a white fluffy gown with my child at the same time. I think it gives an image of somebody who is at home who isn't working outside home who does not have any other responsibilities it is obviously something to do with shampoo even though the child's hair is not wet. And she is quite young and she is looking good. She doesn't look like she needs rest, look her eyebrow are perfect. And I think she has lipstick on. I don't think I ever looked like that. I was a bit like hair everywhere and child probably screaming and I would not be able stand their in a fluffy gown and all that.

IMG 4
This looks like advertising a stroller, this looks a little bit more realistic. You are out of the home by this stage, so probable would have out some clothes on and you may probably have some makeup on it is nice to see the husband in the air, there is something positive about the because often children are portrayed it is always being mothers who look after them.

So what do you think about responsibilities in relation to mother-child father-child?

Well I think it is dual responsibility. It doesn't matter whether there are just two mothers or two fathers, or Mather and a father, you tend to have two parents and I think they have dual responsibilities. However there are lots of people who are single who have children and that is fine as well. But I think we should be encouraging men to be nurturing fathers and this sort of is

Anything you would like to specify in her?

She looks quite confident, fashionable, up to date, modern. I think yes. But her skirt is a little bit too revealing, how she is kneeling to the pushchair, is distracting, you more focus on her thighs, it should have been a little bit long.

What about the stroller? Do you like it? And did you decide on your own stroller?

I like it. Does not batter me. Baby feels comfortable in there. It's good photo, good presentation of the pushchair.

Who was the decision maker when you were buying a stroller for your baby?

It was me.

Was it comfortable for the baby, not for me?

Yes, it was comfortable for the baby, not for me.

When you look of course at the baby he needs to be pure and lovely and beautiful special effects had been gone to it. Also you need to have a look at the skin colour of the people, she has this soft and lovely skin, just like the baby, may be she is using the same product.

AD4
Now different settings more characters in the ad, your opinion?

Are they by the theatre? Oh look at her hands they are carefully placed on the family both on a child and the husband, she is keeping the whole thing together there, while looking sexy. Showing a bit of breast. And very young. You are mother and you can have it all.

How do you react to this type of character representation- positive, negative?

Could I associate with her? Well yeah if you have only one child and the child is good, you can easily go to places and you can be quite happy. And I suppose you can associate the fact that sometimes there is mother you are trying to keep all together, having fun I can imagine father feels the same the interesting thing that I would not relate to is that has fun and looks and she is kind of looking with admiring gaze like I have my family and everything is complete, as mother you should have more than wanting that you should not be pushed into this like here you have your man, everything is perfect, that is two sides of the story.

SAMPLE OF INTERVIEW AUDIO AND DOCUMENT STORING, ORGANISING AND ANALYSING

20160726 083131.m4a	me	Aug 28, 2016	me	Alena Moscow.doc	me	Feb 16, 2017	me	38 KB
20160818 213354.m4a	me	Aug 28, 2016	me	Anjelika Moscow.doc	me	Feb 16, 2017	me	23 KB
20160823 123921.m4a	me	Aug 28, 2016	me	Ann M Moscow.doc	me	Feb 16, 2017	me	33 KB
20160823 155533.m4a	me	Aug 28, 2016	me	Anna Moscow.doc	me	Feb 16, 2017	me	30 KB
20160823 173420.m4a	me	Aug 28, 2016	me	Ekatierian Moscow.doc	me	Feb 16, 2017	me	31 KB
20160823 201207.m4a	me	Aug 28, 2016	me	Julija moscow.doc	me	Feb 16, 2017	me	32 KB
				Katja Moscow.doc	me	Feb 16, 2017	me	25 KB
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1

Sample interview transcripts for three groups: RMiM, RMiL and EMiL

Group RMiM

IMG 1: The ad has too much text, no keywords. It is not really clear, what are they advertising? This does not catch my eye at all. This looks artificial and it seems to me that she is just posing for a shot.

LB: Do you think this image represents a Russian mother?

Here in Russia we have two types of mothers: one is the glamour mum, that looks amazing, looks after her appearance, there are business women who also look great. In this case this image is more representative of a babysitter.

IMG 7: Instagram photo...(laughing). This is actually nowadays part of the culture. I would look at the stroller but it's just I do not understand the advertisement, there is no child, there is a yacht, is this what they are advertising?

LB: In your opinion, from people (mothers) you know, how often do they use Instagram and how do they often portray themselves on social media?

I think housewife mums (that are not working), I think they really like Instagram also mothers who have nothing else to do, they love Instagram as well.

LB: So are you using Instagram and if yes what kind of photos do you usually publish there?

I really like posting my child's photo, and if you have access you can notice that all my page is covered with his photos. But I also have my own photos as well, where I am alone.

In this ad what I really like about the mother character is how she is dressed, her make-up, hair style, the way she is dressed. Here what I think they are trying to promote is the whole style, that kind of corresponds to the pushchair. She looks like a mum, but the pushchair is empty, that is not realistic.

LB: What do you think, is this ad designed for a particular class of people, and whether it somehow could influence the way mothers would wish to look like?

Here in Russia if we talk about social class, you may know that we have a huge amount of very low social class representatives, a small number of middle class and again more representatives of the high class. I do not think this would somehow attract low social class mother representatives, first they would not spend money on magazines and if they see this kind of ad they would completely ignore it...I don't even think they would fit in this kind of dress and of course don't think they could look any way close to this model. Well, if it is middle class, then they would most likely try to copy or try to look like this model over here. Like what kind of dress is she wearing or what is the brand of the stroller advertised?

LB: What do you think, are Russian mums, including you, brand oriented? Are there any particular tendencies of buying foreign brands or luxury, high end branded products?

Well, for the middle class, nowadays we have these hipsters that are very popular and they quite often buy secondhand branded products, whether it is clothes or a stroller it does not matter. The idea is they do not mind buying secondhand stuff as long as it is stylish or would look more valuable in the eyes of others. If we talk about mothers, or women of same age group as me, they are very brand-oriented, so this definitely exists. In terms of country of origin, if I prefer to buy Russian or foreign brands I would say...I prefer buying spaghetti that is from Italy. If I look at the hipsters that are very popular nowadays, they spend a lot of money on good quality food rather than the clothing. Food addicted.

LB: How about if the product is for baby care, it can be cream, body wash, shampoo?

Well in my case I would describe myself as 'mother psychopath' I have huge amount of body care for my child and it is mainly of foreign origin, probably I have only one cream that is of Russian origin (it has bears on the packaging), i have products of German, Austrian, French origin I would say.

IMG 12: We had such a toy, this is more a Western representative of a mother, she doesn't look like a Russian mum, as you can see her age about late 30s, where here in Russia I would say if you have child of this age you may probably be in your mid-late 20s. You would rarely see Russian mum that had her first child in the age of 36, though of course there are some rare cases.

LB: IMG 8: Here you can see an image of a family that are advertising a washing machine. Do you think this image represents a realistic image of Russian family?

Here, yes I definitely notice the product they are advertising, however I could never understand why you should put the whole family next to it and dressed up like this? It looks like they are about to go out.

LB: What do you think about the whole image of a family, what is the main character of the Russian family?

This looks like an Italian man and a lucky girl that got married to an Italian and they are all happy, probably living in Italy.

LB: Do you think the way the children are dressed or the way they look reflects how good the mothering is done?

Yes, of course I agree.

LB: How often do you spend your time with your child in more sociable public places, like playgrounds, café, restaurants, theatres, cinemas, museums?

Yes, I do spend a lot of time in public places, we just came back from a cinema. He is with me all the time, wherever I go.

LB: Is this typical for Russian culture? For example, if you compare with the past they (mothers) spent more time outside the house walls?

Of course I can notice the difference now, more young mums spend time outside the house with the child. But when I look back when my child was small (3 yo) and I was going out with him, to a café, restaurant or evening gathering, everyone had

this judgemental look, like what are you doing here with the child. He was feeling perfectly fine there and he liked being with me and others.

LB: Did you hear any comments from others that reflected their judgement?

No, you know it was more like, oh you will not be able to relax or have fun, or have drinks with us...

IMG 10: Hipsters, such a good example. This is what modern young couples look like. It's like free style. This is very popular in Moscow and mostly representative of upper-middle class families.

LB: What do you think is the perfect age to become a mother? Are there any societal norms or beliefs of when a woman should become a mother?

To be honest, lately I did not come across very young mums. It depends on a person. I have a friend who was thinking and wanted to have a child since she was 19. I would also say it also depends in which part of the country you are living, let's say in Petersburg people are completely different, they are more positive, while here in Moscow they are more pragmatic.

LB: IMG 6: what do you think about this image of motherhood, does this portray you as a mother? Is there anything that you like or dislike in her image?

Well I don't think I'm wearing these high heels when I am out and about with my child. I don't know about others but my child is very active and if I wear these kind of shoes then I would definitely trip over. Generally speaking, yes you would be able to see mums like her in the centre of Moscow, they are mostly working mums. Like here, running to the office, probably dropping the child at the nursery, childcare. And here the buggy looks quite mobile. This attracted my attention and I wanted to know more about the stroller.

LB: IMG 30: Let's talk about Russian family and who you typically call the head of the family?

Well, normally it should be the man, but in reality the woman. In most of the cases I think the woman is the leader in the family, now there is a high level of unemployment and there are many women out there working and men are sitting at home with kids. It's a normal situation...but if we talk about the upper class the situation is slightly different. As the husband is the main source of the income, hence he is the leader in the family.

IMG33: So sweet...I love it, the mother is very cute the child is sweet. This is a very creative way of portraying motherhood or selling a product.

LB: Who is the head of Russian families in your opinion – woman or man?

Man, should be. But in reality, a woman. I think in the majority of cases women are the head of the family, because of the unemployment of the country, more women work and men sit at home with children.

LB: Only sit with children? Or do the housework as well? Walk with children?

Those as well. I know many people, who sit with children, walk with them, clean, cook etc. And the women work. Of course, they may cook something as well, if the husband didn't manage to.

LB: Is it a normal phenomenon?

Well, whoever works, he/she is the head.

LB: So, let's have a look at the image. There are two children. Maximum how many children do the families have?

On average – two children. And the last one. First impression: I like the child's room. Mother is very cool. Creative approach. Everything is for a child.

IMG20: This is a cool mum, well considering that I am also running in the mornings, I quite like the ad.

LB: Were you running before, when your son was really small?

Yes I was, and I actually bought a similar kind of stroller that would fit my lifestyle, but it was not quite a good one, as you can imagine 6 years ago it was not very popular and I was struggling to run in the city with my stroller. Nowadays it's much better.

LB: Do you think that mothers nowadays are having an active lifestyle and did you observe mums jogging and at the same time pushing the buggy?

All my friends that have children, they are very sport oriented and spend considerable time on active lifestyle, some of them together with their husbands and children.

IMG 3: This is very popular here, I mean the product. But I don't use it. And the image of the mother is very pleasant, she is very gentle, soft and the child looks perfect. She looks like, you know, a proper mother, soft delicate, angelic love.

LB: How do you think mothers should look in everyday life? What is the main image in your mind that you would associate with motherhood?

Natural and also looking good in my opinion. I think you would rarely see mother, especially working mum (I don't know may be I am judging as a single mum), but its not very natural to see working mother every single day in evening outfit and make-up. And I don't think there any need for that, if you have an active lifestyle.

LB: What do you think is involved in the role of the mother?

Care, I don't know, this includes self-sacrifice, like putting your needs as secondary. I don't know, I have a boy and in his eye mother is something holy and the 1st person in his life. As a mother I am trying my best to develop his self-assurance, so he is confident in himself. This is the most important, to be confident for the future.

LB: IMG: OK, the last questions. What do you think about modern motherhood? What do you like or dislike about modern mothers?

That they follow the fashion. I like that they educate children in one way then pass to another. Always a new way of education of children. And mothers follow them.

LB: And you were talking about Instagram. Social networks. How do they influence – positively or negatively on motherhood?

Many mothers dress their children like models for Instagram. Not like dolls, like our mothers did with us. So you see that the clothing is not practical. In jeans and suits, when they walk with their children, e.g. like Kim Kardashian, when she walks with her children. But our mothers are not Kim Kardashian. And it is not very good, I think. But in general, positive is that they become more informed, and they have options in everything, e.g. I can easily find a massager, for my child via social network. Or I can ask my friends about some clinics, get any help.

LB: OK, can you describe the brightest features of Russian mother?

Caring, she will do anything for her child, as long as she can. It is not acceptable that the mother will say to the child “you are already adult. Go out from the house and do what you want.”

LB: Is there anything that if you are a mother you cannot do something, you cannot go here or there.

Yes, drinking and smoking. Especially near the child. If you have a day out or night out, well, you may do anything you want. But with the child, you cannot do such things as they have a fantasy and they would like to do anything they haven't tried before. Once my child saw me drinking wine. And he said, “I want to try it as well. You drank it, right?” Because I am an example for my child. Anything he sees, he would like to try.”

Thank you.

Group RMiL

LB: Let's start with No 11. What do you like, what do you dislike? Do you think this is a realistic image?

It's not a realistic image. But I like it that the whole family is together, they are happy, they pretend they are very happy, they enjoy their parenthood, that's what first comes to my mind.

LB: Do you think fathers are more engaged in terms of helping?

Yes, much more, even than 10 years ago, or 20 years ago, because, I compare and would see a difference with my brother, when my brother was born, (he is 10 years younger than me), my father was more engaged than when I was born, because I do not remember that my father was engaged in my education. He was always busy, and now my husband has a son, from his first marriage, and he was working all that time, he didn't remember at all his childhood, what he did, and now when it comes to his older son, he is more engaged with him, and he really helps me a lot and supports me with our little one.

LB: Do you think fathers in Russia are engaged as well? Have you seen such engagement in them? Do you think the level of engagement is different here and in Russia? How is the family structured?

I think in London you can see more fathers being involved in helping their wives, supporting them. I think and I believe this is due to the number of courses, not only for mothers but also for fathers, in the UK. The government (UK) involves fathers to participate, while in Russia they do not have such courses, classes or support.

LB: Do you think it is somehow connected with the way they think?

Yes, mentality.

The next image, I cannot say pretty much about this one if I compare with the first image....

Family is together, they are happy, they enjoy their baby.

IMG 8: A family scene. Happy family.

LB: Is it a realistic image?

Sort of...Realistic for here or for the Russian? I think it's more realistic for Russian culture. I grew up in Russia, and I think people in Russia like to show off, while here it's not the same.

LB: Do you think that Russian mothers look like her, with such hair, make-up?

Yes.

LB: Do they have anybody to help them with children or not? Or it's only their responsibility to take care of the children?

It depends on the situation, because not everyone can have childcare. But most of the families try to have support.

LB: Even if they do not have support, do you think appearance matters for Russian mums?

Their look for them is more important for them, than here. Here people do not care how they look, they have more global vision.

LB: Do you think the way the child is dressed, not necessarily in this picture, whether he is tidy, neat, it represents how good the mother is?

Of course the child should be looking good and well dressed, clean, here they look amazing, as if it's a very special day for them, their hair, dress, shoes.

LB: Again comparing from your own personal experience, do you think Russian mums are different from English mums?

Of course these are two different cultures, but they have one common thing, because I think all mothers care about children, they want the best for their children, and they try to do their best for them. And it's up to the person, you cannot say in whole, but I think it depends on the person.

LB: Next ad, I'll try to mix English and Russian, so that we can see the contrast. Next one is from British advertisement. Choose whichever you want.

IMG 4. More realistic. Mother doesn't wear high heels, no make-up, e.g. compared with this one, IMG 8. It's more real for me, it does not look artificial.

LB: Do you like the colours? Would you stop and look at this ad?

Yes.

LB: IMG13. Your opinion about the character. Does she look like a mother?

I see her as a mother, she looks at her children, looks like she's thinking about them, she looks very pretty, nice, tidy. Less realistic than No 4 but still....

LB: Do you think that a mother can express her love and care through her look, gaze?

Yes, you can see it in the mother's eyes.

LB: Is it OK that she's walking a little bit far and children are with father?

Yes, that's normal. It's like in our family. Any time we go for a walk, the children go with their father, because during the day most of the time they are with me, and that's fine for me.

Next one is very posh for a mother, for a person who has a baby, even two babies.

LB: Do you meet people like her, mums like her?

Never saw.

LB: Do you think this is kind of an inspiring picture?

No, it doesn't look safe for me. I wanted to try like this. It's a hard work, you need to push, to run, to breath, it's like a combination of these all.

LB: Do you think that safety is the main priority for the child?

Yes, when you are not at home especially. Because at home you know everything. And outside you should be more careful, and you don't know what could happen.

LB: Do you think there are mums like this in Russia?

I do not know. After giving birth I have been in Russia only two times, and for just a week, and I do not know, I was without my son, and I was visiting my friends, to restaurants, just came to have fun there, and so I didn't pay attention to it.

Next one is very posh, just amazing. You cannot enjoy your motherhood and be like a model, of course if you do not have three nannies. You can look like that but it's not real, a bit artificial.

LB: Do you think that a woman when becoming a mother should stop being fit, being nice, does it somehow change?

Yes. I know examples. It changes a lot. Again, it's up to a person. There are 5 mothers (my best friends), and they look very nice, look after their hair, because for us it's important to look nice for our children and husbands. But I know that e.g. in Russia they look only after their babies, how to feed them, to take care of them, and that's all. And in London as well, when I go to some classes with my son, I am a bit shocked how they look, because it's not difficult. You do not need to go to hairdressers, you just need to have another 20 minutes to look after yourself, and it's not much.

IMG 7: It's really unrealistic for me. And even strange. There is a lady, nice view, yacht, but there is no baby at all. I would not have a look at this ad.

The next one is good. I like this ad. The mother is happy, there is a child. She is not so skinny as other mothers in the ad, as if they haven't given a birth to the child. She is happy, she is smiley, comfortable with what is in her mind. She is very confident.

LB: When it comes to make a decision to buy tablets or anything else, who makes a decision in your family?

My husband, he works a lot. I have a friend, a doctor, I know him for 4 years, I trust him and I always advise with him. But when it comes to giving some tablets to my son, I always discuss it with my husband, but we almost always have the same opinion, if a doctor said so, we trust him.

LB: When it comes to buying things for the child, who is the decision maker?

When I was pregnant, we did everything together, but after giving birth, I do it on my own.

IMG10: This one looks more like a fashion ad. I do not see family here. I do not feel they are together. What I see is their outfit, nothing else.

LB: How should mothers look? In ads or in everyday life?

Without tons of make-up, natural, without that nice dress which you will wear during a wedding. Just jeans and t-shirt or something like that.

LB: Do you think they are trying to promote new style of parenting?

Maybe, they try to say that you can look stylish after giving birth. But for me it's very artificial. It's more about fashion, not about having a baby.

In the next one the family looks really nice. Like a fairy-tale. The baby looks happy, a very nice shoot.

LB: Do you think that a mother has a creative, imaginative role, and why it is important and good for the child?

Yes, when the mother has fantasy and a good imagination, it's easy for her to deal with the child, because she can always find some new activities, she can create something new all the time and not think about like when the baby is going to sleep at last. I think it's really very important.

LB: Do you think mums in Russia represent the mum in this image, being innovative, creative?

I do not think so, because in Russia, it's old-fashioned for me, because they don't create new books on how to be a good mother, parenting, they listen to their mothers, grandmothers, it's so old, the information. In Armenia it's similar, when you get pregnant, everybody gives advice. While here they try to be more modern, be up to date.

IMG 6: I do not like those high heels, it's like she is not walking in the park, maybe she is doing some shopping, does not look like something a child would do.

LB: Do you go shopping with your child?

I do everything with my child. Go to buy clothing, food, etc.

LB: Do you think that women in Russia follow it too, like going shopping with their children?

No. E.g. my sister, she is Armenian, but she lives in Moscow now, for 22 years. I ask her do you go with your child to Aleknadrevskiy park, or somewhere else. And the answer is no, I do not take him with me. It's too noisy there. E.g. I took my premature baby, when he was 6 days old, to the tube, and there was no problem. She says "Oh, no, just imagine, if somebody is ill, and for going somewhere my husband comes to take us somewhere, because it's not safe." So for her it's better to stay at home.

LB: Do you think that there is that mentality of being overprotective?

Yes.

LB: And do you think this is typical for most of the Russian mums?

Yes.

LB: Do you like the colours?

No. lol

IMG 12: Yes, it looks really good. It looks real. Real scene. They are playing. Baby is discovering a new toy. Mommy is happy. Very nice shoot.

LB: What do you think about the age of the woman?

Late 30s, something like that.

LB: Do you feel that there are more young or mature mothers in Russia compared with England? Do you know many mums having their children when they are very young?

In Russia, yes. It's typical for Russia. Early 20s till late 20s. But here it's early 30s till late 30s. And here nobody believes that Leo is my son. I remember when Leo was born, and healthcare came to our place, they asked, where his mum is. And I was surprised. Sometimes when walking with him, people think that I am his nanny, just for earning money I take care of them. Or they think he is my brother, as we look like the same.

LB: IMG 3. Do you like it?

Not really. But 22 and 2 look really good to me. I would stop and have a look if I saw this ad. No 3 is artificial. And the other one, bright and sunny.

LB: When you need to buy cream, or food or something else, and you see an ad, what is the first thing that comes to your mind? What is the priority?

I do research. I would ask some of my friends.

Happy family. Happy faces. Many children. I do not think I would use this product. But for just the picture, it's a good one, happy family.

LB: What is the ideal number of children, that you and your husband are aiming to have?

We have 2, because my husband has a son, who is living with his mother. But we have a very good relationship with him. I would like to have one more. I wish I had a girl. When Leo is 4 or 5, at that time, if my health allows to. Because my first pregnancy was a very difficult one.

LB: Is there a typical number of children Russian mothers have?

2. While for British mothers it's 3 or even 4.

LB: When buying products do you have some special categories you try to follow?

No, I am very open minded. I want to try new brands always.

LB: And taking your sister as an example. Does she prefer buying foreign products or national products?

She likes Russian brands. I do not have preferences, I like quality.

LB: Have you ever asked your mother or sister to bring something from home which you couldn't find?

Yes. There is a "Kruk" for swimming in bathroom. I couldn't find it here. And my mother-in-law was coming to see her grandchild, and I asked her to bring it with her. But when travelling to Russia, I take with me some products that I cannot buy there. Or for example milk, I took with me milk from here when travelling to Russia, for not giving him another milk.

LB: How would you describe the characteristic features of mother?

I wouldn't say they are open minded, stubborn. If they decided to do like this, they will do.

LB: Do you agree with the statement that there are some norms of what the mother should look like?

In Russia yes. Here – not.

Group EMiL sample transcript

IMG 3: *"I never imagine I was in a white fluffy gown with my child at the same time. I think it gives an image of somebody who is at home who isn't working outside home who does not have any other responsibilities. It is obviously something to do with shampoo even though the child's hair is not wet. And she is quite young and she is looking good. She doesn't look like she needs rest, look her eyebrows are perfect. And I think she has lipstick on. I don't think I ever looked like that. I was a bit like hair every way and child probably screaming and I would not be able stand there in a fluffy gown and all that."*

IMG 4: *"This looks like it's advertising a stroller, this looks a little bit more realistic. You are out of the home by this stage, so probably would have put some clothes on and you may probably have some makeup on. It is nice to see the husband in there, there is something positive about this because often when children are portrayed it is always being mothers who look after them."*

LB: So what do you think about responsibilities in relation to mother-child father-child?

“Well, I think it is dual responsibility. It doesn’t matter whether there are just two mothers or two fathers, or a mother and a father, you tend to have two parents and I think they have dual responsibilities. However, there are many people who are single who have children and that is fine as well. But I think we should be encouraging men to be nurturing fathers and this sort of is demonstrating it.” “And this is a little girl and she is obviously sitting there, she looks like she is on mum’s mobile phone.”

IMG 5: *“Well, she is a little bit of a hotty totty, isn’t she? So this is a very glamorous mother. She almost looks like she is a bit photoshopped. She has got a very short dress on and high heels. That does not represent motherhood to me, I would never wear high heels like that or a short skirt. It is lovely that there is a sibling there and she seems to be playing to the other child. But the mother herself she does not resonate with me in the same way I was a mum, maybe this is what yummy mummies are but I never was a yummy mummy, well it is again an advertising of a pushchair again and I would sort of think if you have that toddler you probably would advertise something suitable for the toddler, like something you could put him on or, I don’t know. She looks a bit too glamorous she has a necklace on that a small child would obviously would pull on and break; you know it is not realistic.”*

LB: So do you think that this is an artificially made image of motherhood, or have you ever met anyone looking like this?

“I think they are probably the exceptions, but I don’t think that’s commonly what mothers look like. And I think this gives unrealistic expectations to a mother that’s what they should look like. If you are juggling lots of things then you cannot possibly be doing all of these I don’t think. Well, I mean I was always working and being a mother. So time that I had available was minimal for myself and I, you know, would come last in the order of things so therefore I would not have make up on.”

LB: Do you think that this is a kind of a sacrifice that mothers usually go through for the children, and they do not have enough time to spend on themselves, their appearance, like make-up?

“I think that is probably true. But I do not think there is anything wrong with that. And I do see if somebody was too well-presented and I would probably think that they are not spending enough attention on their children. It could be the wrong thing to assume because everybody’s levels of resilience can cope with different levels of sleep and deprivation and every child is different, some children are very easy and some children are very very difficult to parent. And if you are a parent of a child who doesn’t eat, sleep well, runs

around all the time, you don't look like the mother in this ad. You look like a forest. These images are not helping anyway, because it makes you feel that you are not the best."

IMG 7: *"Oh she is a real glam, she doesn't even have a baby, just go out at night with your high heels on, black lovely handbag and your beautiful dress, totally skinny figure, and you have got the pram but you don't have to worry about the baby. To me that is a very unrealistic and it may put pressure on some people. Well majority of mothers work and ,,,?"*

LB: What kind of pressure you mean?

"The pressure to be like them in the same way as skinny models in the magazines obviously have an effect on women and it gives an image of how things should be and you should be having this glamorous lifestyle, mind you if you have this glamour lifestyle this big boat and whatever you probably don't have to worry about your children too much, but I don't know why they are even bothered to hold on the pram. This is not a realistic picture of everyday life. Unless this brand's style is gold or whatever totally unaffordable, maybe this is aspiring to mothers that are much different from who I am."

LB: OK, how different?

"They would be people who are exceedingly wealthy, so this looks young, so probably relying on wealthy family, that they are married into this wealth, in which case the amount of resources they have to them would be different, where mother could afford to have additional carers looking after children, people to do things for you, clean your house, to cook, to do all sorts of things that often are on the mother's shoulders so therefore you could possibly look as glamorous as her. You would have time to go to the gym, get your figure back, you could afford all these sorts of things."

LB: Do you think that this is something that people should aim for?

"Personally, NO. I don't believe in ... I have more social conscience, and this does not resonate with me, this is nothing that I would ever aspire to. I imagine there would be people who would aspire to that but it would not be me."

IMG 8: *"We have got a washing machine, we have presumably partnered up, a pair male and female, 2 children, they are very well dressed they have 2 very neat looking children, they are obviously advertising the washing machine. They could say that if you are as wealthy as we are you could afford this washing machine. But it is only LG, they are not that expensive. But they look very well turned out. She has beautiful hair. I don't know, my*

children would have pulled my hair out, my jewellery off, she also appears to have high heels on.”

LB: Do you think that this is an image of a happy family?

“They do appear to be very happy and they are looking at each other rather than at their children, but they do have protective arms around the children. They sort of seem to have it all. They have got their love of their children and they have love of themselves. So this is portraying a loving family.”

LB: You mentioned about children looking neat? Do you think this somehow represents how good the mother is?

“Well, they all look neat and this is probably something about the ad, and they have a neat house too. I think that mothers do feel that their children’s appearance does reflect on them and their ability to cope. I would resonate with this and particularly me having a son with disability, I always felt very conscious about the fact that he was very well turned out. Because his behaviour actually appeared in a way when he was younger, as if it was very bad parenting, so therefore I wanted to demonstrate to others that I did actually look after him and one of the ways I could do that externally was by people glancing over, they would see that he is neat and tidy (the outfit).”

IMG 12: *“So this is a mother and a child, she is playing with her (presumably girl as she wears pink). She seems more realistic to me, because she is not done up to a degree. She has a t-shirt material top on, she is on the ground playing with her child next to them, not away from them, not standing above them and holding an empty pram, she is actually in the room with them so that looks like a much more engaged parent. I would have hoped I had some moments of that in my children’s childhood. I think it is a more realistic image of motherhood with a bit messy background and somebody being on the floor playing with the child rather than being a luxury. This resonates more with me.”*

LB: Question related to the connection/feeling that a mother can express. So you think it is possible to express through the touch, hug, distance, gaze, how the mother's feelings can be expressed?

“Well I think in this image the mother is not looking the child, so it is not actually adoringly looking at the child, she considered the child’s playing with a toy and she is looking at the toy, so this demonstrates she is not just sitting there and thinking isn’t my child wonderful,

but is actually interacting with the child. I think it is a good image and she is quite close, she is not sitting further away.”

IMG 10: *“Oh well look at these two! (Laughing) Well he looks a little bit more engaged than she does, he is at least pushing the pram, she probably had a very bad night, she just pulled on an outfit, I would assume that outfit is more spectacular than a supermarket purchase, she is looking stylish and whatever they don't look very engaged. They are on an empty street, they don't look like are going to a park. The guy is actually above the pram and she is away from it. If you take out the pram you would think they are advertising something completely different.”*

LB: Do you think this is kind of new generation parenting? Or motherhood?

“I don't even know if it is the new generation, I think there have always been mothers who put themselves much more first and the child second, and I think it is true in everything , if you put yourself first this is the kind of outcome, and if you put others first you probably are down on the floor playing with a child, not out in the street, I don't know these people, don't like the ad, it is meant to be an ad for a pram, they meant to be displaying something.”

LB: Do you think you've met people like these one in the ads in real life?

“I think I have seen people like them . they are not certainly something I would aspire to. Or my daughter would aspire to. This is a very weird ad.”

IMG17: *“Well they look more engaged, they are sitting together having a meal, they all have a protective hand over each other, there is a lot of eye contact going on. Kids are really well dressed and tidy and they represent typical happy family with 2 children, a boy and a girl, the ultimate aim of all parents. They don't look like they are desperately young. They look quite mature and thoughtful, not too done up. The shirt is a bit tricky, I could probably relate to them than the others. And there is the greenery in the background that actually gives an indication that they are outside, they have had some fun with their children.”*

IMG28: *“So she is a bit of a lovely dovely, isn't she? So these are bras, I think this looks fairly practical and pretty. This is something nice. She didn't have the child yet obviously. I don't know, may be she had the child but she looks pretty slim.”*

IMG 11: *“So she has 2 children and it seems to be a heterosexual couple who have got two children, in one is being bottle fed, one is being breastfed. So you get the feeling that the bottle-feeding is as good as breast. This is what they are trying to portray I assume. But they look fairly happy.”*

LB: Do you think that fathers nowadays are more engaged with parenting, helping mothers?

“Oh yes I think that is very true. And I think to a certain extent, and men are being the same as women, are allowed to take time off from work. In this case, he is engaged in the only way he can, by bottle-feeding. However I don't know why one is being bottle fed and the other one breast, may be mother has made that decision. It's like bottle feeding is good as your husband can do it. , they look like a nice couple.”

IMG: “Indicating that baby just had a bath and mother can lie down and have a bit of a snooze too. Never happened in my life. It is a nice image. You get the idea that if you could get baby to sleep with this lovely product then you can have a little sleep too. It is a bit unrealistic but she is trying to give this idea that you could have a lovely sleepy baby and you could have a sleep and how wonderful it is. It is very idealised, it is not a real thing.”

IMG: “Oh here she is, she can do it all. This is sort of saying that, yes, you could have a baby and you could do it all, and you should be getting fit and you should be keeping healthy. You can take your baby with you if you want to exercise. And that is okay. But I think you should not be imposing this on everybody, because some people just want to have a little lie down. Again this is an ideal image, that you need to get back in shape, you need to get out there, and you need to be doing this. You know, there are lots of cultures where they say don't go anywhere for the first 3 months, just stay home with the baby. To me it is not a better thing to do.”

IMG 23: “This is about hygiene presumably. It is like the mother has to instruct the child how to be clean. And it is the mother's responsibility. Hygiene is a good thing and that is something that women are responsible for. I don't think that is only women's responsibility, parents, grandparents, and all the rest of it. I think all these things put a bit of pressure on women.”

IMG: “Here is the mother with kids on holidays and she is sort of protecting the child, looking after the child and she is responsible for this sort of thing. And I think that is how it feels in most of the families, that women should go and look after, this is how it is required and men are more relaxed about it. But I think if you realise that skin cancer would do bad to your child, you would probably go and do something about it. This kind of ad reinforces for men that this is the women's role and at the same time puts more work on women's plates and even feel guilty that they maybe didn't put enough protection on their child.”

Ideal motherhood. IMG family as my husband was always engaged. And the mother that is on the floor playing with the child. Mother provides, satisfies both physical and psychological needs of the child. It is not just feeding, dressing up, walking but also, protecting, healing, listening, loving and all sorts of things.

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- King, D., (2009: 164 & 165) Image 7 "*The Emancipated Woman is Building Socialism*". A poster by Adolf Strakhov (1926). And "*Cooperatives are the Path to Socialism*". Unknown author. As illustrated in "*Red Star Over Russia: A Visual History of the Soviet Union from the Revolution to the Death of Stalin*". Abrams Books.
- King, D., (2009: 288) Image 9 "*Them...Us*" As illustrated in "*Red Star Over Russia: A Visual History of the Soviet Union from the Revolution to the Death of Stalin*". Abrams Books.
- King, D., (2009: 294 & 295) Image 10 (left) "*Don't Chatter*" and "*Fascism – The Most Evil Enemy of Women. Everyone to the Struggle Against Fascism.*" By Nina

Vatolina, 1941. As illustrated in “*Red Star Over Russia: A Visual History of the Soviet Union from the Revolution to the Death of Stalin*. Abrams Books.

King, D., (2009: 73 & 129) Image 5 “*Women Workers, Take Up Your Rifles!*” and “*Long Live the Proletarian Holiday-May 1st*”. poster by I. Simakov. Illustrated in “*Red Star Over Russia: A Visual History of the Soviet Union from the Revolution to the Death of Stalin*. Abrams Books.

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