Author(s): Svetlana N. Shcheglova

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Modern Russian children and adolescents meet with totally different prospects at the stage of receiving their first work experience as compared to their parents. In the past, the youths' coming to the labor market was strictly controlled. Adolescents used to obtain work skills in socially useful work; after completing their education, they were guaranteed a job. The youths' opportunities and choices were significantly limited; at the same time, however, they felt a prospect, relative stability, and opportunities of social integration in the working community. At the initial stage of entering a job, they were guaranteed some privileges, financial support, and help from official adult mentors.

In the new labor market, present simultaneously are new opportunities, new obstacles, new prospects, and new challenges. Precisely that creates serious difficulties for those taking their first steps along this road.

When children and adolescents work, they mainly do it voluntarily. One cannot say that work brings to naught their studies. Most of the adolescents who work are not forced to do so. Many live in well-to-do families and have loving parents but wish to have their pocket money.

Child labor may be divided into skilled and low-skill. Skilled labor includes repairs on automobiles and radio and electronic equipment, sale and resale of cartridges, and creation of software. Low-skill labor includes newspaper delivery, babysitting, car washing, newspaper sale, collection and sale of glass bottles, etc. We note an absolute prevalence of low-skill labor. The forms of child labor that are quite acceptable to children and develop their intellect and work skills are extremely limited.

Very widely spread among adolescents and children is work that often acquires traits of some profiting at the expense of complicated, problem situation in the life of other adolescents (lack of fashionable clothes, poor health, difficulties in studies, etc.).

The study gave rise to the assumption that the phenomenon of child labor is in part of seasonal nature. We could not directly observe many types of child labor (for example, agricultural labor). We also assumed that at the beginning of school year fewer adolescents work, because parents and school personnel control school attendance more strictly.

We disagree with the opinion of a number of researchers who believe that children do not rival with adults on the labor market. Those researchers argue that the "jobs that adolescents do, as a rule, are in the labor-market segment to which adults have no claim." One of the tendencies in the labor sphere consists in that women are replacing working adolescents. This has to do with the overall situation on the labor market: women are being crowded out from the official economy into the informal economy.

While the youths welcomed the survey in their midst with interest and enthusiasm, other categories of those surveyed were very hard to deal with. Parents would respond to our questions as succinctly as possible and would try to give us as little information about their private life and about their children as they could, in our opinion, intentionally misrepresenting, for example, information about the level of well-being in the family. Experts, on the other hand, would point out orally and in some cases in writing that they do not see any problem in the subject in question. The general tonality of what people say at meetings, especially in smaller towns, is well represented by these words: "Adult people today cannot use their right to work; all the more so, adolescents must not and may not work." At the same time, many types of child labor, such as work in the child community, use of children's special talents and abilities, agricultural labor, and housework in challenged families, remain outside of the field of vision of experts and specialists in work with children.

Efforts to counter this phenomenon produce no results in part because the focus is on calling to morality and ethics, i. e. values that cannot stand against cruel economic reality of commercial activity. Media and internet reports on child labor draw society's attention to the most horrifying stories, targeting people's emotions. Such presentation of the material is often associated with reports on the dark side of life and provokes disgust, not a desire to help or change something.

The scope of child labor in Russia may be reduced by combining legislation and its enforcement with other important economic, cultural, educational, and political factors.

- 1. Discontinuing dangerous child labor and exploitation of adolescents. Dangerous and exploiting forms of child labor, including slave labor, commercial-sex exploitation, and work that is in the way of child's physical, social, cognitive, emotional, or moral development, cannot be tolerated.
- 2. For that, Russia needs to develop a relevant regulatory base. It needs to introduce fines and other penalties for unlawful use of child labor in "invisible" spheres, for example, exploitation in a family business or exploitation of children's special talents and abilities. Legislation must encompass an overwhelming majority of cases when child labor is used in the informal sector of the economy, including work in the streets.

- 3. It is necessary to ensure social monitoring of child labor. Russia needs a program under which groups of social workers, police officers, workers of the procurator's office, NGOs, and the media would regularly study the conditions in which children work and remove from work those children who are threatened.
- 4. Ensuring free and mandatory education. The school's role in the organization of work must be increased. Laws concerning child labor and education must pursue the same objective and be applied in such a way so as to complement each other. School and child labor are closely interrelated. As we have seen, work may be an obstacle to school attendance. At the same time, poor education often makes children drop out of school and begin work at an early age. In spite of the fact that officially high-school education remains free in Russia, more than 15 percent of the children responded that their parents were paying money for school. Free schools have a poorer quality of education, and therefore the more prosperous layers of the population prefer paid education for their children. On the other hand, quality education may keep children away from work. The longer school education lasts and the higher its quality, the smaller is the chance that the child will be forced to engage in dangerous work.
- 5. It is necessary to publish specialized literature for parents and teachers, whose contribution to educating children about their rights needs to be significantly increased.
- 6. It is necessary to register the births of all children, including those of migrants. Some ethnic groups in Russia, for example, the Roma, cannot be registered, because no adequate laws exist, and society has long been turning a blind eye to the issue. At the same time, children in those ethnic groups as well as new groups from refugee families have to share their parents' way of life, which is vagrancy and begging.
- 7. Data on child labor are not numerous. To obtain them, it is necessary to carry out a number of modern sociological and pedagogical surveys, which must include questions on child and adolescent labor. The data must be regularly updated (every six months) due to unstable economic situation. Working children must take an active part in the assessment of their situation and development of suggestions to improve their living and working conditions.
- 8. The media must inform society about the problem of child labor as a social phenomenon that has its objective roots and contribute to a search for solutions to the problem and for technologies to solve it and report on positive results, not just state the fact.
- 9. Government structures do not show any interest in employment assistance to persons under 16. It is extremely difficult for adolescents to do serious business legally. Those who find a legal source of income on their own do not develop their

potential intellectual and creative abilities at the same time. In this connection, activities of special organizations supporting children, such as the Moscow Youth Labor and Employment Center Perspektiva, need to receive all possible support.