

**IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS
OF THE SITUATION OF WORKING STREET CHILDREN
IN MOSCOW
2001**

**ILO/IPEC WORKING PAPER
INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMME ON THE
ELIMINATION OF CHILD LABOUR**

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE MOSCOW

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ILO

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INTRODUCTION

In today's Russia street children are becoming a prominent social problem. Over the last ten years, as the country struggled with sweeping economic decline and a shift in values, it has also had to cope with a side effect of this massive transformation: homeless and neglected children. Away from home, deprived of shelter and parental care, these children are becoming a new cheap workforce and easy prey for the rampant criminal world. Today, both the state and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are striving to respond adequately to the problem. Yet it is evident that there is not enough capacity to tackle it. The community remains largely ignorant of and passive towards it. This report reflects one of the few initial attempts at in-depth analysis of the street children situation in Moscow, the capital and industrial centre of the country.

The street children survey used a purposive sample of convenience of 1,500 persons to ensure that the maximum expected statistical error of one-dimensional distributions did not exceed 3% and that the confidence level of 95.4% was obtained. The sampling population included three target clusters. The first cluster consisted of children under 14 engaging in non-criminal economic activities, the second of children under 18 engaging in prostitution, and the third of children under 14 engaging in criminal activities.

The respondents were selected at random in several stages, based on their actual place of work or residence. First, key locations with daytime or nighttime concentrations of street children were identified. After the children there were contacted and interviewed, new potential respondents were identified and it was decided how they could be involved. As a rule, two techniques were used to expand the sample: the snowball technique and the key informant technique. The only criteria for a child's inclusion in the sample were age and involvement in street work.

The chief reason why these methods were used in the design of the sample was the lack of verifiable data and expertise concerning the street children population by sex, age, activity, etc. In such cases sociologists normally favor a random sampling of respondents because, according to the law of averages, random sampling ensures maximum representation of a heterogeneous or diverse population.

The analytical part of the study used a battery of in-depth one-to-one interviews of working street children and their employers. A wealth of materials was obtained through a series of surveys among experts working in this field. In

total, the survey questioned 1,500 street children, some of whom were involved in prostitution and illegal business practices such as dealing in drugs and stolen property, 81 employers from various industries, 95 experts from governmental and NGOs whose mission is to provide assistance to street children, state officials at various levels, and law enforcement officers, etc.

Preparation of this report was supported by the International Labour Organization (ILO) under the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC). The aim of the study underlying it was to provide a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the problem, trace its roots, identify the common types of child labour and articulate the hazards it poses for the physical and mental health of children and their morals. It has revealed a number of social and economic factors affecting the situation of working street children. The result of the study is a set of recommendations that, if implemented, could help to improve the situation.

The project team was led by researchers and professors of the Department of Sociology at St. Petersburg State University. They were joined by the Leontief Centre for Social and Economic Research, the Regional Economies Institution of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the North-Western branch of the Russian Public and Municipal Administration Research Centre and the sociological research agency “Marko”.

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1. BASIC TERMS AND CONCEPTS

The standards and approaches of the International Labour Organization (ILO) were used to prepare and carry out the survey (particularly its classification and structure, and the selection of the sample). In particular, the classification criteria for groups of children used by the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) were adopted. Definitions of the basic terms and concepts used by the authors of the present report are provided below.

This section highlights the most important aspects of child labour as a phenomenon new to Russia, examines community attitudes and standards relating to unprotected working children, and reveals individual points of conflict between Russian national legislation and the ILO core Conventions relating to child labour.

CHILD LABOUR

Publications and documents of the International Labour Office define child labour as “both paid and unpaid work and activities that are mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children. It is work that deprives them of opportunities for schooling or that requires them to assume the multiple burdens of schooling and work at home and in other workplaces; and work that enslaves them and separates them from their family. This is meant by child labour - work carried out to the detriment and endangerment of the child, in violation of international law and national legislation.”¹

Accordingly, child labour is to be viewed: a) as a grave social problem with severe social, economic and medical implications, and b) as an illegal activity that comes under a statutory prohibition. Therefore, this report lays special emphasis, first, on the moral, social and political implications of child labour, and second, on its legal implications. Child labour should be denounced by the nation as an intolerable social phenomenon and should evoke adequate responses on the part of the authorities and public groups resulting in nationwide and regional programmes that eradicate child labour.

¹ For further details, see Action Against Child Labour, ILO Geneva 2000

MINIMUM AGE²

Article 2 (3) of the ILO Minimum Age Convention stipulates that the minimum age for admission to employment shall not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling. The Soviet Union ratified the Convention in 1979³ by establishing the minimum age at 16 years, and this norm was reflected in the previous Labour Code. In Russia, as a successor state to the Soviet Union, employment of children in industry and agriculture before they reach the age of completion of compulsory schooling was prohibited by law and, importantly, denounced by the general public. In 1995, however, Russia reviewed the minimum age norm, reducing it to 15 years.⁴ This contravened Article 2(2) of Convention 138, which only permits a Member state to specify a minimum age higher than that previously specified. Moreover, Article 173 of the Labour Code of the Russian Federation permits the employment of children aged 14 in light jobs on the conditions they continue to attend educational establishments and perform their work duties outside their lesson time.⁵ In general this provision agrees with Convention 138 (Article 7 (1)). In reality, however, expert surveys and analyses of official departmental documents suggest that the age of 14 years is widely viewed as the minimum age of admission to employment.

In the absence of a consistent official position on child labour, early employment is increasingly perceived as an acceptable, and even desirable, solution to the problem of socially unprotected children. The community is beginning to see early employment as an answer rather than a problem, and is becoming less and less sensitive to the exploitation of children.

² Please note the references to the Labour Code of the Russian Federation are to the provisions of the Labour Code in force at the time of writing. This Labour Code was replaced in February 2002 (Labour Code of the Russian Federation, No. 197-FZ of December 30, 2001, adopted December 21, 2001, approved December 26, 2001, in force February 1, 2002). However, references to sections in the Labour Code at the time of writing are accompanied by references to the new Labour Code

³ Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Decree no. 8955-IX “On the Ratification of ILO Conventions”, 5 March 1979.

⁴ Law of the Russian Federation no. FZ 182 “On the Amendments and Addenda to the Code of Laws on Labour of the Russian Federation”, 24 November 1995. But see the new Labour Code, Art. 63, which permits employment of children aged 15 only if the child has completed secondary education or has left school legally.

⁵ See the new Labour Code, Art. 63, this provision is not changed.

This emerging attitude ignores and condones violations of the immutable constitutional right of the child to general basic education. It should be borne in mind that in Russia the age of completion of compulsory schooling is established at 15 years. Children who start working at the age of 14 have slim chances of completing their general basic education. This slight and seldom noticed loophole in the legislation may amount to mass violations of the right to education.

Nearly all experts acknowledge the fact that family and school are the child’s main support systems and, more broadly, the defenders of his/her rights. When families are weakened by protracted unemployment, discord or parental alcoholism, it is the duty of the school to support their children. Pushed into early employment, children can no longer use this support system, which has disastrous implications for their situation and their rights.

WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR

In the ILO Convention concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (no.182), the worst forms of child labour are defined in Article 3 as:

- all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
- work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

Russia has not yet ratified the Convention. Nevertheless, it has an elaborate legal framework that may serve as a basis for such ratification. In particular, Russian legislation bars children from being involved in hazardous forms of labour (the fourth category in the Convention).⁶

⁶ Criminal Code of the Russian Federation (as amended 30 April 1999), Art 175

Analysis of the literature and legal documents relating to children reveals a serious discrepancy between what is known about social security and protection of the rights of the child, and what is being done by the public and legal professionals to avert egregious violations of these rights. Involvement of children in prostitution, criminal activities and dangerous work remains an area of uppermost concern. Notably, there are no effective sanctions against persons using the labour of children in prostitution and pornography⁷. The current legislation defines as criminal offences only carnal connection, other acts of a sexual nature and immoral actions toward **persons who are known to be under the age of 14**. Here, in the same way as with the minimum age of employment, the legislation reduces the age of protected persons⁸. This largely stems from the prevailing public attitude towards child prostitution, according to which social stigma falls upon adolescent girls compelled to engage in sex trade under trying circumstances, but not upon their respectable adult clients. Instead of declaring a war on pimps and clients of child prostitution the public lashes out at the children, labelling them prostitutes.

The worst forms of child labour remain new and little-known phenomena in Russia. This has both positive and negative implications. On the positive side, the worst forms of child labour have not yet developed into a chronic social malady and the early but acute symptoms can still be nipped in the bud. On the negative side these new problems have emerged in the middle of a full-blown economic crisis and caught the public off-guard. As a result, the public is not fully aware of the extent to which children are involved in prostitution, begging, drug-dealing and hazardous jobs, nor has it dealt adequately with the problem.

WORKING STREET CHILDREN

Russian social workers use several terms to describe the most common categories of children whose rights are violated. These are: 'children without care' (*beznadzornye deti*), 'neglected children' (*besprizornye deti*) and 'children in difficult situations' (*deti v trudnoi zhiznnoi situatsii*). Though reflecting

⁷ Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, Art 134, 135,

⁸ Article 134 of the Criminal Code revised 1 January 1997 established the maximum age of the victim at 16 years. The Law of the Russian Federation of 15 June 1998 reduced it to 14 years.

the existing state of affairs, these terms neither characterise specific concerns associated with child labour, nor name the specific categories of employed children. Illegal labour relations involving children and the worst forms of child labour are now a reality in Russia. As this and other studies illustrate,⁹ the problem is growing fast in scope.

The problem also goes far beyond the domain of educational science and family sociology, and resists all known remedies such as improving recreational activities for children or registering young offenders in the police departments. It has been mentioned already that child labour should be viewed in the wide context of an illegal market environment where child labour is welcomed both by employers and clients, and meets with no statutory prohibitions or adverse factors. Contributing to this is the state of the public consciousness. In fact, society tolerates exploitation of children in the street. Neither the media nor public leaders advocate or endorse obvious actions such as boycotting trading areas, filling stations or hotels that use child labour

Given the gravity of the new problem, there is a need for an entirely new term that adequately reflects the position of working children in Russia. Children in this category are mainly involved in the worst forms of child labour. They are, therefore, even more vulnerable than children in difficult situations, such as children without care and neglected children. The terms 'children without care' and 'neglected children' do not reflect the entire range of specific problems associated with child labour and connote few if any of its distinctive features. Besides, there is no clear dividing line between these terms. For instance, it is not evident when a 'child without care' becomes a 'neglected child', and what criteria (hours spent in the street, caloric count of food, etc.) should be applied to each category.

To eradicate child labour, especially in its worst forms, one should be equipped with a set of classification criteria, and precise qualitative and quantitative indicators of unacceptable child labour, that are defined by legislation. This legislation should also define the acceptable conditions, number of hours, acceptable risks, and job functions of child labour.

The experience of social work in Russia has not yet furnished plausible definitions of children predominantly involved in the worst forms of labour. A

⁹ IPEC study of working street children in St. Petersburg; Child prostitution in the North-West of Russia (a study by the Institute of Sociology supported by the Council of Ministers of Nordic Countries).

new term is therefore needed to give an exhaustive description of this new phenomenon and to sensitise the public to the problem so that concerted actions can be taken to eradicate child labour in the streets of the Russian cities. In this regard, ‘**working street children**’ seems to be an appropriate term. It is widely used by the IPEC programmes in Russia. It explicitly names the new problem and retains the social overtones of the terms ‘children without care’ and ‘neglected children’¹⁰. The term ‘working street children’ points to the very core of the problem, i.e. child labour, and indicates the street, informal nature of the children’s work.

Researchers as well as the authors of this report believe that the new concept of ‘working street children’ should be matched by a set of quantitative and qualitative standards and criteria to describe the kinds of work that can under no circumstances be performed by children. Naturally, at the core of this concept should be the worst forms of child labour. This has particular relevance to the task of elaborating a nation-wide action plan to implement the ILO Convention concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour.

2. SURVEY METHODOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION

The analytical part of the Moscow survey uses data obtained through interviews of three categories of respondents, namely:

- working street children;
- persons acting as employers of street children;
- experts working for governmental and non-governmental organizations that provide assistance to street children and children at risk.

In accordance with the target group composition and the study objectives, three types of questionnaires were prepared for in-depth semi-standard interviews of each group. Initially, the study assumed that the term ‘child’ was applied to persons aged between 5 and 14 years. Later, it was taken into account that the age of 18 is recognized as the upper limit by a body of international documents dealing with protection of children against certain hazardous forms of labour. Accordingly, the sample was extended to cover children over the age of 14 engaged in prostitution and other illicit activities.

The main criterion used in the selection of children was their involvement in economic activities in exchange for remuneration, such as money, food or other items.

The survey of children used a purposive sample of convenience. The sample consisted of three target clusters: children under 14 engaged in non-criminal activities in the street, children under 18 engaged in prostitution, and children under 14 engaged in other illicit activities. Selection of the children was carried out in stages, in their actual places of work or residence. The sample covered both working children who live with their parents and those who live in the street (‘neglected children’). The survey used multi-stage sampling. Initial data identifying the key locations of daytime or nighttime concentrations of children were received from the experts and informants.

The sampling method was based on the assumption that most street children concentrate around large trading areas, marketplaces, railway and underground stations and bus terminals. Wherever possible, these areas were selected also for interviewing persons acting as employers of street children.

The task of the researchers was to study in-depth the characteristics of working street children in Moscow. In order to select the sample, the territory of Moscow was divided among several teams of interviewers in an attempt to reach all major known places of work for street children. In the major locations of working street children there was a greater likelihood the children were

¹⁰ Report on Street Children, RF Ministry of Education, 2001, p.10. The authors propose that ‘street children’ be used to include both ‘children without care’ and ‘neglected children’.

engaged in the same activity; in such cases the interviewers selected every fifth child. No more than five interviews were conducted on the same site.

After the children in these locations were contacted and interviewed, new potential respondents were identified and it was decided how they could be reached. Two techniques were typically used to expand the sample: the snowball technique and the key informant technique. The essential criteria for inclusion of a child in the sample were age and engagement in street work. The lower age limit in the sample was determined by the actual age of children encountered by the interviewers.

A group of qualified interviewers was selected and specially trained for working with street children. Interviewing work was often very difficult. To facilitate establishing contacts with children and win their trust, interviewers gave them gifts and food.

The interviewers used a 28-item questionnaire based on the following themes:

- *Structure of the population of working street children*
- *Living and working arrangements*
- *Causes of child labour*
- *Behavior attitudes*
- *Preferred lifestyles*

Working street children were described using the following criteria:

- *sex*
- *age*
- *education*
- *place of residence*
- *place of birth*
- *place of parents' residence (Moscow or other)*
- *parents' occupation*

The following factors were given primary importance in the analysis of the living and working conditions of working street children:

- *housing, living arrangements*
- *health conditions*
- *life threats and risks*
- *molestation*
- *relations with the law enforcement agencies*
- *schooling*
- *sources of income*

- *forms of remuneration*
- *size of remuneration*
- *duration and intensity of work*

A different technique was used to establish contact with children engaged in prostitution. At night, they are commonly seen. They are easily recognisable in central thoroughfares of the city and at the Garden Ring exits. The Garden Ring area is known to have about 20 pick-up points. First, information provided by the police and local residents was used to prepare a map showing the places where street prostitutes frequently congregate. Specially trained male interviewers, disguised as potential 'clients', drove to these locations in expensive cars and picked up underage girls engaged in prostitution. The interviewer then drove away from the site and suggested that the girls be interviewed, on the conditions that their time was paid and anonymity guaranteed. Those girls who agreed to be interviewed (refusals were rare) were asked questions following a specially prepared questionnaire. The interviewer also recorded information provided by the respondent outside the questionnaire. Some interviews were, with consent, recorded on a tape recorder. It appeared to be quite impossible to interview boys engaged in prostitution although the researchers knew their pick-up places.

The survey of persons acting as employers of street children also used a purposive sample of convenience. The major problem here was that hiring of persons under the age of 14 is illegal and therefore is never formally documented. 'Employers' are secretive about the use of child labour and reluctant to be interviewed. Initial data on employers of children was obtained from working children themselves, as well as from the police and social workers. Later, these employers were contacted and, if willing, interviewed.

The employers' questionnaire consisted of 20 items covering the main indicators and conditions of work of street children. They were grouped as follows:

- *Employers' perceptions of the working street children problem*
- *Type of business*
- *Who initiates child employment*
- *Type and nature of street children's work*
- *Forms of remuneration*
- *Size of remuneration*
- *Normal duration of work*
- *Intensity and gravity of work*
- *Employers' opinion concerning possible solutions*

The survey of experts used a purposive sample of convenience. First, a list of organizations dealing with street children was made. Second, a sample was taken which included a proportionate number of experts from governmental organizations and NGOs, law enforcement agencies and local self-governments. Then, interviewers made initial contacts with these organizations and visited them. Interviews were administered at each expert's workplace, in the form of an informal conversation lasting 1-1.5 hours. In many instances, and with consent, interviews were recorded on a tape recorder. Some experts declined to give interviews personally; they answered questions by telephone.

The expert interviews were based on a 31-item script exploring the following themes:

- *Approximate number of working street children in Moscow*
- *Structure of the population of working street children*
- *Living and working arrangements*
- *Optimal arrangements for working street children*
- *Legal framework required to tackle the problem*
- *Problems encountered in coordinating response to the problem*
- *Recommended steps to solve the problem*

Most of the experts gave straightforward opinions concerning the nature of the problem, provided recommendations on possible solutions, and showed that they were prepared to co-operate in the future. In addition, experts were an important source of information for interviewers in finding, contacting, and arranging interviews with street children. However, several experts objected to any interview, referring to orders "from the top" not to disclose information.

3. RELEVANCE OF THE CHILD LABOUR PROBLEM IN MOSCOW

The social and economic transformations of the past decade have brought about a number of long-forgotten social phenomena, such as child vagrancy, begging, and homelessness. In major cities and especially in Moscow, the growing number of street children is increasingly perceived as a social problem. A high standard of living and the availability of legal and illegal jobs make the capital an attractive place for the needy and destitute. At present, the latter category includes children who, for various reasons, are forced to earn their living, and they have become the cheapest and least protected labour force available on the market. A good number of street children engage in illegal practices (dealing in drugs and stolen goods, pornography, prostitution, etc.).

Although prohibited by law, child labour has become widespread in recent years. Russian labour legislation forbids the employment of children under the age of 15. Children aged 14 may work only with consent of their birth parents, adoptive parents or legal guardians.¹¹ Minors can only be employed for light work, which is not harmful to their health and does not prejudice their attendance at school.

The current legislation provides children with considerable protection against hazardous and heavy work. The Labour Code restricts heavy and dangerous forms of child labour as well as work in dangerous and harmful conditions. This applies to all types of underground work and work likely to jeopardise the morals of children (gambling, night clubs, alcohol production, alcohol, tobacco, and toxic substances transportation and trade)¹². These types of work can only be performed by persons who have reached 18 years of age.

Russian legislation treats as felonies the involvement of children in prostitution, and pimping, pandering of minors, and unlawful distribution of pornographic materials. According to the new Criminal Code, however, only children under 14 are protected against being involved in prostitution. Non-violent lewd actions toward a person over the age of 14 do not constitute a criminal offence¹³. This, undoubtedly, makes it possible to use children as prostitutes or involve them in pornography. Moreover, evidence suggests that

¹¹ Labour Code of the Russian Federation, Art. 173, new Labour Code, Art. 63.

¹² Labour Code of the Russian Federation, Art.175, new Labour Code, Art. 265.

¹³ Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, Art. 134, 135

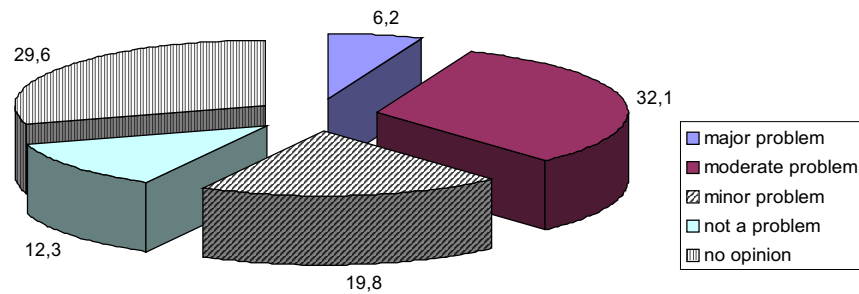
legislation banning child labour is not always a sufficient deterrent to the growth of this market.

The social and economic challenges of the past years have contributed to the escalation of child labour in Russia, particularly in Moscow. Experts believe that today's problems include not only neglected children but also children subjected to exploitation. This opinion was shared by 76% of the respondents whose professional interests lie in the area of children and their rights.

The majority of employers who hire children agree with these experts. This confirms that the problem should not be taken lightly. Of the 81 employers surveyed, 6% expressed full agreement and 32% expressed partial agreement with the statement that child labour is a problem. About two fifths of Moscow experts (38%) working in direct contact with child labourers also appeared to acknowledge the problem (see Diagram 3.1).

Diagram 3.1

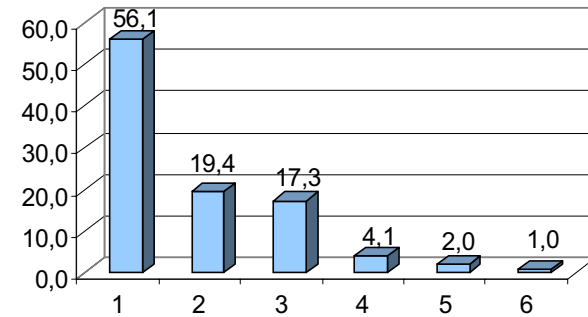
Experts' survey: Is child labour a problem for the city? (%)



At the same time, the experts believe Moscow residents do not see child labour as an acute problem. More than half the respondents think the population is poorly informed about or not sensitive enough to the problem of working street children. Less than one-fifth of the respondents (19.4%) think the public is sufficiently aware of the situation (see Diagram 3.2).

Diagram 3.2

Experts on public sensitivity to child exploitation in Moscow, %



- 1 Population is poorly informed about the problem
- 2 In general population is fairly well informed about the problem
- 3 No information is available, the problem gets very little attention
- 4 The problem gets too much attention unlike other equally important problems
- 5 No opinion
- 6 No such problem exists, the situation is over-exaggerated

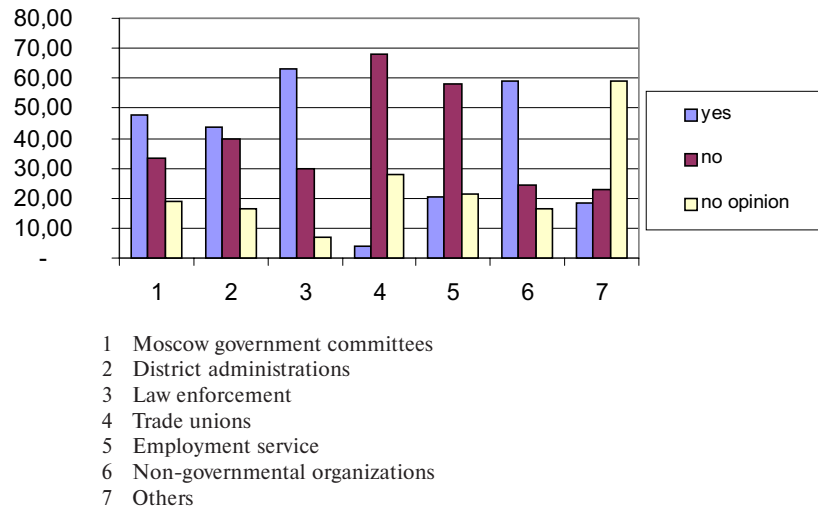
The experts criticised the response of some official institutions to the problem of working street children. Specifically, they mentioned trade unions (68%) and the employment service (58%) (see Diagram 3.3).

Less than half of the respondents believed that the government committees and district administrations are giving enough attention to the problem (48% and 45% respectively). The capacity of district administrations to deal with the problem increased sufficiently after their mandate started to include ward- and custody-related decisions. They now have enough policy-making powers towards street children. At the same time, the majority of respondents gave a positive evaluation of NGOs (59%) and law enforcement agencies (63%).

The trade unions have lost much of their influence and can hardly protect children's rights on the labour market. In contrast, the city and district employment services appear to have greater legal, administrative, financial and information resources and therefore greater potential for tackling the problem. For example, by introducing specialised employment assistance

Diagram 3.3

Experts' survey: do the following relevant institutions respond adequately to the problem of working street children? (%)



services for children under 15, they could help meet the legal demand for jobs and partly fill jobs unwanted by adults. Greater commitment by these government institutions would bring about an improvement in the situation.

4. WORKING STREET CHILDREN IN MOSCOW

4.1. ESTIMATED QUANTITY AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

There are no accurate statistics regarding the number of street children in Moscow. An IPEC survey of experts in June-July 2001 revealed widely varying estimates, with most experts agreeing that the figure ranges between 30 and 50 thousand.

The experts also made a number of suggestions regarding the possible classification of street children:

- Children aged under 13 years of age comprise about 50-60% of the total number of street children.
- Nearly all of those children can be classified as working street children, given that occupations such as begging and collecting empty bottles and waste should be treated as work.
- Between 10% and 30% of those children are involved in criminal activities (such as theft, dealing in stolen property, selling drugs).
- Between 20% and 30% of all the working street children under the age of 18 are involved in prostitution or production of pornographic materials.

Experts estimate that most working street children (between 60% and 80%) are boys. The same is true of children involved in criminal activities. Underage prostitution, on the other hand, is dominated by girls. Most of the working street children have migrated from Byelorussia, Ukraine, Tadjikistan or the area around Moscow. Experts believe that the share of Moscow residents is between 10% and 35%. These are mostly children from socially disadvantaged and high-risk families.

In total, the Moscow survey examined 1500 working children. Most of them worked as vendors, guards and cleaners at trading zones and kiosks, as loaders, car-washers, etc. The majority of the respondents were within the 3-14 years age bracket. All of them worked illegally, according to the Russian legislation, which prohibits the employment of citizens under the age of 14. 109 of the children were involved in criminal activities such as theft and dealing in stolen property. The sample also included 113 girls aged 13-18, involved both in prostitution and theft/drug dealing.

The following shows the age structure of the sample. Over two thirds of the sample (71.1%) consisted of adolescents aged 11-13.

Table 4.1

Age, yrs	All respondents	Children involved in prostitution	Children involved in other criminal activities
6	0.8	–	–
7	0.8	–	–
8	1.7	–	–
9	3.0	–	–
10	7.6	0.9	4.6
11	14.5	–	10.1
12	27.7	5.3	29.4
13	28.9	0.9	37.6
14	7.7	7.1	14.7
15	1.1	10.6	1.8
16	2.5	31.9	0.9
17	3.7	49.6	0.9

It was found that most of the respondents typically started work at the age of 10-11 years. Such was the case with about half of the sample (44.3%). Almost 10% began to work at the age of 5-7. Still, some children were forced to earn a living from the age of 3-5, mainly by begging and petty theft. Prostitution and dealing in drugs and stolen property typically start at an older age.

Children become engaged in prostitution generally at the age to 14 to 16 (84.1%). At the same time, 11.5% percent of girls first became involved in prostitution at the age of 12-13, and 4.5% at the age of 5-7 (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2

Age, yrs	All respondents	Children involved in prostitution	Children involved in other criminal activities
under 5	0.6	–	–
5-7	9.0	4.5	14.0
8-9	21.9	–	25.2
10-11	44.3	–	38.3
12-13	16.9	11.5	19.7
14	1.7	15.0	0.9
15	2.9	37.2	1.9
16	1.9	23.9	–
17	0.6	8.0	–

The survey found that 80% of working street children are boys. The share of boys was even higher (84.4%) among children involved in criminal activities. Only girls involved in prostitution could be questioned, despite the wide sex market for young boys. Criminal gangs closely guard this area of the sex business, so interviewing was not safe.

Two out of three (64.2%) respondents were born in Moscow, while 23.3% came from other cities and regions and only one out of nine respondents came from the Moscow Region (12.5%). Among children engaged in prostitution, however, the share of non-residents was significantly higher (77%).

Table 4.3

Place of birth	All respondents	Children involved in prostitution	Children involved in other criminal activities
Moscow	64.2	23.0	27.5
Moscow region	12.5	19.5	25.7
Other region/city of Russia	15.5	40.7	38.5
CIS	6.9	16.8	6.4
Baltic states	0.4	–	0.9
Other	0.5	–	0.9

A significant proportion of working street children gradually or completely dropped out of school, and received no secondary education. Only 61.6% attended school on a regular basis, the others had dropped out, temporarily or permanently. 22.9% of the respondents reported that they had not been to school for 1-3 years.

Regular school attendance by children involved in prostitution and criminal activities was much lower. Only 13.4% of children engaged in prostitution attended school regularly, and 80.4% had not been to school for over 1 year.

Table 4.4

Recent school attendance, %

Answer options	All respondents	Children involved in prostitution	Children involved in other criminal activities
Attended school every day/nearly every day	61.6	13.4	17.4
Quit school in recent months	10.9	5.4	14.7
Quit school: 1 year ago	8.7	13.4	21.1
more than 1 year ago	7.2	38.4	16.5
2–3 years ago	7.0	28.6	22.9
Never attended school	4.6	0.9	7.3

The impact of street work on the condition of children can be illustrated by comparing the age and education characteristics of the sample. As it was mentioned above, the largest age group in the sample was children aged 11-13 (71.1%). With normal schooling, they would have finished 5-7 grades at that age, but only 60.9% of them had done so.

Table 4.5

**Educational attainment
(number of grades completed by the time of survey), %**

Education, grades	All respondents	Children involved in prostitution	Children involved in other criminal activities
0	4.3	0.9	6.5
1	1.9	–	2.8
2	4.7	0.9	9.3
3	8.7	–	13.9
4	8.9	0.9	12.8
5	19.8	4.5	20.4
6	21.0	1.8	9.3
7	19.3	32.1	17.6
8	6.8	9.8	5.6
9	3.4	33.0	1.9
10	0.4	5.4	–
11	0.8	10.7	–

4.2. FAMILY AND HOUSING

The profiles of respondents demonstrate that family is the main factor that drives children into the street. Slightly over half of them (52.3%) had two-parent families. One child out of ten had two parents, one of whom is a stepmother/stepfather (10.9%). One out of three (30.3%) came from a single-parent family.

The respondents involved in prostitution or criminal activities had much worse family situations. 29.2% of children involved in prostitution and 33.9% of those involved in criminal activities came from single-parent families. In general, this category of street children is characterised by a higher proportion of orphans and children brought up by relatives (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.6

Family composition, %

Family composition	All respondents	Children involved in prostitution	Children involved in other criminal activities
Mother and father	52.3	29.2	33.9
Single mother	27.4	30.1	28.4
Single father	2.9	2.7	5.5
Mother + stepfather	10.1	16.8	13.8
Father + stepmother	0.8	3.5	0.9
No parents, brought up by relatives	3.2	8.0	6.4
Orphan	2.2	8.8	5.5
Other	1.0	0.9	5.5

The assumption that low family income is a major cause of child labour was verified by the data on family incomes. Only slightly over one third (36.4%) of the respondents had two working parents. Family incomes were even lower for children involved in prostitution and criminalised children. Only 13.4% and 13.9% of the latter two categories came from two-income families. Neither parent worked in the case of one tenth of all respondents, and of one fourth of those involved in criminal activities (see Table 4.7).

Table 4.7

Employment of family members of working street children, %

Answers	All respondents	Children involved in prostitution	Children involved in other criminal activities
Two-earner family (incl. step-mother/father)	36.4	13.4	13.9
One-earner family (mother/stepmother)	25.7	22.3	19.4
One-earner family (father/stepfather)	14.4	16.1	10.2
No earners (incl. step-mother/father)	10.9	8.0	26.9
Other	12.7	40.2	29.6

The parents of most respondents had a place to live such as a separate flat or room(s) in a shared flat. However, many respondents reported they did not want to go home because their parents were alcoholics and their homes had been turned into underworld hangouts. In general, only 8.9% said they were homeless. The share of homeless was drastically higher among children involved in prostitution and criminal activities. Specifically, one out of five children (20.2%) involved in criminal activities said that neither he/she nor his/her parents had a place to live; one tenth (10.7%) of girls involved in prostitution lived in a dormitory (see Table 4.8).

Table 4.8

Family housing situation, %

Housing	All respondents	Children involved in prostitution	Children involved in other criminal activities
Separate flat	68.5	47.3	39.4
Shared flat	6.6	4.5	4.6
Dormitory	3.3	10.7	3.7
Homeless	8.9	3.6	20.2
Other	12.7	33.9	32.1

Most of the respondents had not fully severed ties with their homes and still had a chance to return to their families. Only one out of five (20.7%) lived outside the home permanently. At the same time, the housing situation appeared much worse among children involved in prostitution and criminal activities: 46.0% of children engaged in the sex trade and 53.2% of young offenders had left home.

Table 4.9

Replies to question: how often do you stay or spend a night outside your home? (%)

Answers	All respondents	Children involved in prostitution	Children involved in other criminal activities
Live at home permanently	57.8	16.8	7.3
Lie out 2–3 days/week	12.1	30.1	14.7
Lie out for weeks (up to 1 month)	5.8	1.8	12.8
Live outside home permanently (over 1 month)	20.7	46.0	53.2
Live outside home seasonally (in summer)	2.5	3.5	8.3
No answer	1.1	1.8	3.7

On leaving home, street children usually stay with friends. This arrangement is more popular with children involved in prostitution and criminal activities. Interviewing also revealed a group of children who had had to leave home and lived or spent nights in basements, attics or simply in the street.

To some extent living at home is seasonal: more children tend to stay in family or with relatives in wintertime. In summertime the proportion of children living in basements and in the street is higher. At the same time, such seasonal variations are not very high: as rule most street children, excluding those involved in criminal activities, live with their family or relatives.

4.3 SCHOOL IN THE LIFE OF STREET CHILDREN

The educational system has a role to play in diverting street children from the street. By utilising the potential of qualified educators, psychologists and social workers, educational establishments can be very effective in dealing with

the problem. Most street children are prepared and willing to study. However, the degree of intervention on the part of the educational system should be different for different categories of street children.

Nearly all the street children who participated in the survey shared the same negative attitude towards general secondary school education. Only 17.0% said they were willing to go back to the 'ordinary school'. This share was even lower among respondents involved in prostitution (2.7%) and criminal activities (2.8%), due to their older age and relatively high and stable earnings. The latter category appeared more prepared to obtain vocational qualifications without general academic subjects. The rest preferred a combination of general school education and vocational training (see Table 4.10).

Table 4.10

Replies to question: Would you like to combine school with vocational training (in driving, cooking, etc.) if you could? (%)

Answers	All respondents	Children involved in prostitution	Children involved in other criminal activities
I do not want to study at all	8.6	33.0	23.9
I want to go to school only	17.0	2.7	2.8
I am ready to go to school and obtain vocational qualifications	53.3	3.6	35.8
I do not want to go to school but I would like to obtain vocational qualifications	12.4	25.9	22.0
Hard to say	8.6	34.8	15.6

4.4. RISKS FACED BY STREET CHILDREN

Homeless life without parental care is detrimental to the psychological and also physical health of children. On average, only two out of five (39.7%) respondents rated their health as 'very good'. Among children involved in prostitution and criminal activities this share was even lower. Only 14.3% of children engaged in prostitution were in good health. Only one out of five (25.0%) respondents involved in criminal activities considered themselves healthy (see Table 4.11).

Table 4.11

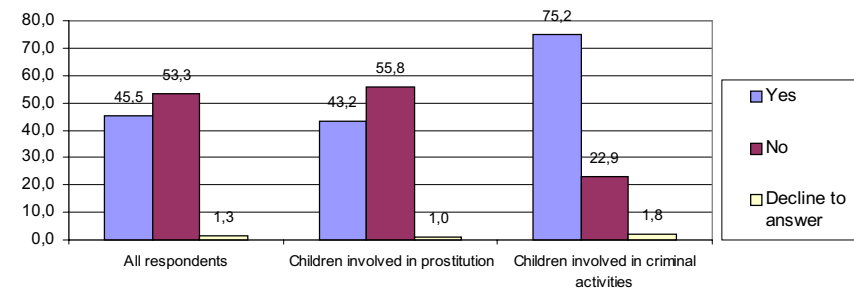
Perceptions of personal health, %

Answers	All respondents	Children involved in prostitution	Children involved in other criminal activities
Very good health, do not remember latest disease	39.7	14.3	25.0
Sometimes fall ill, but not more than others	49.5	73.2	58.3
My health is not good, more prone to diseases than others	9.7	12.5	14.8
Bad health, serious disease(s)	1.1	—	1.9

Diseases and accidents are not the only hazards encountered by street children. Their illegal status renders them defenceless against employers and criminal gangs. During their work, many children become victims of physical violence, coercion, intimidation and even attempts upon their life. The most vulnerable are children involved in criminal activities, more than two out of three (75.2%) of whom reported having been in situations where health and/or life was at risk. In other categories of street children this proportion was lower, but still quite high in number (45.5%) (see Diagram 4.1).

Diagram 4.1

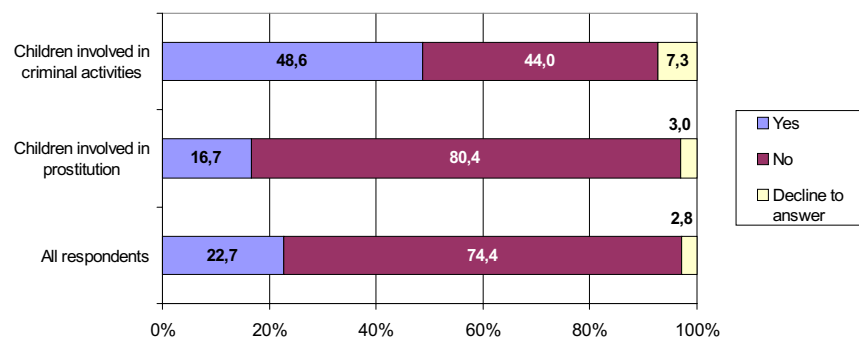
Replies to the question: Have you ever been in a situation at work when your life/health was in danger (You were beaten or your life was seriously threatened)? (%)



In addition to the common hazards affecting their life and health, street children often become objects of sexual harassment. Due to their illegal status and vulnerability street children are easy prey to physical and psychological abuse. On average, one out of five (22.7%) respondents admitted having been sexually harassed by adults. Sexual harassment occurs more often against children involved in criminal activities: over half of the respondents (48.6%) had encountered such situations (see Diagram 4.2).

Diagram 4.2

Replies to the question: Have you ever been sexually harassed by adults or adolescents? (%)



5. DESCRIPTION OF STREET CHILD LABOUR

5.1. CHILDREN'S MOTIVES FOR SEEKING WORK IN THE STREET

Most working street children are not confronted with the work-or-die dilemma and undertake casual jobs to earn a little pocket money. The survey found that such underage workers amount to over half of all young street workers (57.0%). Of those, half are saving money to purchase something that would otherwise be unaffordable. Still, for some children, street work is a major, if not the only, source of living. This was the case with about one third of the sample. Some children work to afford more and better food (31.5%), others rely entirely on street work to survive (27.2%). This is predominantly the case among children who happen to be involved in prostitution (77.9%) and criminal activities (56.9%).

Child labourers working under pressure are some of the most vulnerable. ILO Convention 182 classifies forced or compulsory labour as one of the worst forms of child labour demanding immediate intervention. In Moscow, the number of such children turned out to be very small: 0.5% of the sample. In certain categories, however, it may be 3-5 times as high, especially among children involved in prostitution and criminal activities. For example, about 2.7% of the children engaged in prostitution surveyed stated they worked under threat (Table 5.1).

Many children work to assist their families (parents and siblings). On average, one child out of six named this as the main reason for working in the street (assistance to parents 14.6%, assistance to siblings 2.1%).

Both the respondents and their employers had similar perceptions of the causes of child labour. According to the employers, nearly half (43.7%) of them work because they want to have more pocket money and not to earn a living. One child out of six (16.3%) works to assist parents or other family members, employers said. At the same time, only about one fourth (25%) of children work to survive. About one third (35%) of working street children are classified by employers as belonging to a relatively wealthy category, working because they want to spend money on an expensive item or recreation.

Some employers also said there are children who engage in street labour to become independent from their parents, acquire work experience or buy a travel ticket to return home (in the case of migrants).

Table 5.1

Replies to the question: Why do you work? (Name 2-3 reasons)¹⁴

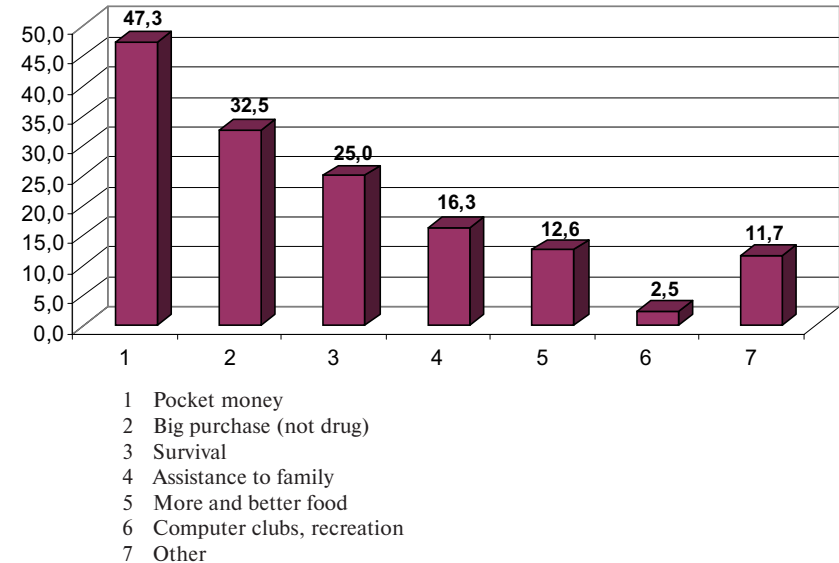
Answer options	All respondents	Children involved in prostitution	Children involved in other criminal activities
I need money to buy a thing I need (not drugs)	28.3	24.8	16.5
I want to have more pocket money to feel independent	57.0	40.7	17.4
I need money to eat more (most of my earnings I spend on food)	31.5	5.3	58.7
I need money to buy drugs	0.7	–	0.9
I work to survive	27.2	77.9	56.9
I need money to support my parents	14.6	10.6	3.7
I need money to support my brother/sister	2.1	2.7	2.8
I am forced to work under threat	0.5	2.7	1.8
Other	17.9	9.7	35.8

Analysis of the root causes of child labour indicates that in most cases the problem can be partially alleviated by launching relief programmes to aid street children and their families financially. For certain categories of children, above all for children who work to buy drugs, a different kind of response is needed. Despite their small share in the sample, it is the latter category which requires immediate intervention.

How do children find jobs? Who helps them? In trying circumstances, most children find work on their own (37.0%) or through peers (39.0%). Adults do not generally play a major role in attracting children to street employment, except, perhaps in the case of child prostitution. About 50% of children involved in prostitution reported that it had been adults – often strangers (47.3%) and seldom their own parents or relatives (1.8%) – who involved them in sex work. On average, one child out of ten (9.7%) was ‘employed’ through parents or

¹⁴ Respondents could choose more than one answer option, so the total percentage is above 100%.

Diagram 5.1
Employers’ perceptions of the causes of child labour¹⁵



adult relatives; the employment of another 6.7% was brokered by adult strangers. Criminalisation of children occurs mainly through peers, many unmistakably led by adult criminals (see Table 5.2).

The employer survey also revealed that in most cases children initiated contact. Two out of three (65.4%) employers gave this answer. One out of five children (19.7%) obtained work through parents or relatives. As a rule, employers do not seek child labourers. Only 8.7% of the employers surveyed stated that they looked specifically for children (see Diagram 5.2). But when asked about their attitude towards child labour, most employers were generally in favour of it. Only one out of ten (11.1%) employers was strictly against any form of child exploitation. The others said that there was nothing bad about it and furnished various supporting arguments (see Diagram 5.3).

¹⁵ Respondents could choose more than one answer option, so the total percentage is above 100%.

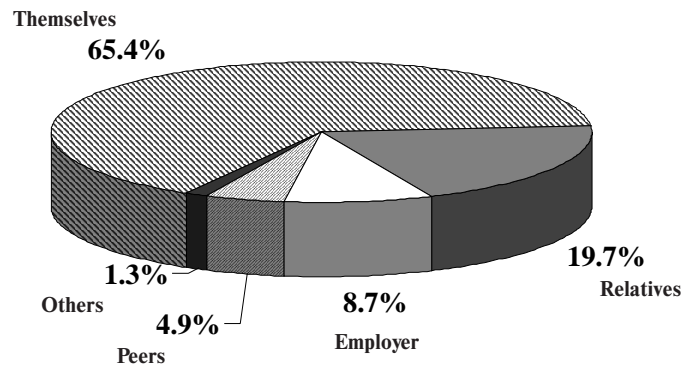
Table 5.2

Answers to questions: how did you find this job?
Who helped you to find this full/part-time job? (%)

Answer options	All respondents	Children involved in prostitution	Children involved in other criminal activities
I applied for this job on my own. Nobody helped me.	37.0	30.4	39.4
Through parents	4.4	—	—
Through my parents' [adult] relatives, friends	9.7	1.8	4.6
Through other casual [adult] acquaintance	7.6	47.3	3.7
Through peers [not my relatives]	39.0	17.0	52.3
Through peers from among my relatives [sibling, cousin, etc.]	4.7	0.9	1.8
Through advertisements in newspapers, magazines	0.1	1.8	—
Through street advertisements	0.1	—	—
Other	0.7	0.9	1.8

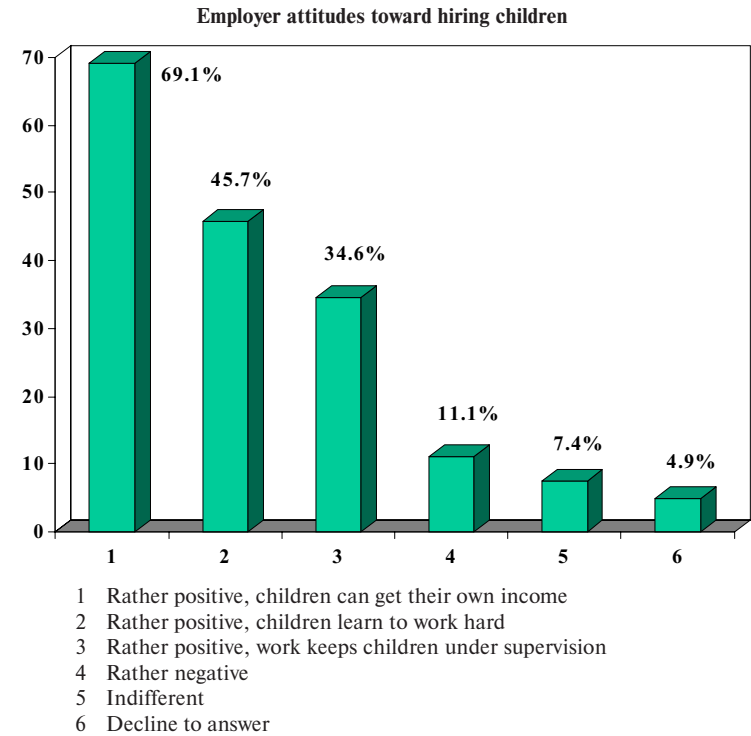
Diagram 5.2

Employers' survey: How do children find a job in the street?



The most frequent argument provided by the employers in favour of street child labour was that through work, children recognise the value of money. Most importantly, employers said, the children build up their own honest income and do not beg or steal. 68.1% of the employers surveyed shared this opinion. 45.7% also emphasised that work helps children embrace the value of industry as opposed to idleness. Nearly one third (34.6%) favoured work as it keeps children under the constant supervision of adults (see Diagram 5.3).

Diagram 5.3



In view of this, one of the root causes of child labour can be described as the concurrence of interests between employers and children. Children get the means to support themselves and the employers get a cheap workforce and moral satisfaction from the belief they are putting needy children on the right track.

5.2. FORMS AND SPHERES OF CHILD LABOUR

Child labour occurs most frequently in the informal sector of the workforce. Children are not officially employed, primarily because Russian labour legislation prohibits entering into a contract with children under the age of 14 (Article 173 of the Russian Labour Code, Article 63 of the new Labour Code).¹⁶ Also, in a number of sectors, workers are frequently hired informally, without due registration. This is often the case with temporary jobs in the trade or service sectors where all payments to workers are made in cash either daily or at the end of work.

Experts identified about 30 jobs in which most child labour is used. During the survey, Moscow street children mentioned about 40 jobs. Non-criminal jobs can be divided into the following categories:

- **retail** (packing goods, selling newspapers/flowers, assisting street vendors, delivering, loading/unloading of boxes and containers, cleaning trading areas, street advertising, etc.);
- **car services** (wind-shield cleaning, car washing, odd jobs at filling stations and vehicle repair shops, guarding cars, wall painting, etc.);
- **apprenticeship in small workshops and assistance to self-employed workers** (shoe repair, furniture-making, porcelain-making, small printing houses, computer clubs, etc.);
- **courier services** (delivery and placement of ads, catalogues, leaflets, etc.);
- **collection of salvage** (waste paper, bottles, jars, cardboard boxes, scrap metal, etc.);
- **casual street services** (delivery of food bags/trolleys from supermarket to car, delivery of firewood, window cleaning, baby-sitting, etc.).

Children often engage in semi-legal or overtly criminal operations while performing illegal but non-criminal jobs. During the survey, some respondents confessed they would occasionally pick the pockets of a drunk pedestrian or seize money from their own peers. Some also buy and resell stolen goods. Two out of five children surveyed said they practised begging. The criminal world uses street children mainly for dealing in drugs and stolen property, prostitution and production of pornography.

Non-criminal employers said that children are most often hired to clean trading and production areas (35.5%), assist street vendors (38.3%), transport

and handle goods (30.9%), guard (6.2%), wash cars (6.2%), perform casual garage services (4.9%), etc. Typically, these children are hired at trading areas and warehouses, usually located in the vicinity of crowded underground or railway stations and container depots. Young car-washers hang around filling stations, vehicle repair shops and parking areas (near railway and underground stations, major cross-roads, city exits and garage complexes).

The majority of children practice more than one odd job. They may sell or handle goods in the marketplace during daytime and guard the stock at night. As a side job, they may also collect empty bottles and other recyclable waste. Children engaged in prostitution often combine sex services with day work in cafes, filling stations or roadside shops.

Table 5.3

Replies to the question: What kind of work do you do?, %¹⁷

Answer options	All respondents	Children involved in prostitution	Children involved in other criminal activities
Beg	42.6	1.8	81.7
Collect empty bottles, waste paper, scrap metals	38.5	0.9	11.9
Wash cars	27.8	—	18.3
Handle and transport of goods	20.1	—	22.0
Clean production and trading areas	12.5	—	2.8
Assist in kiosks, at marketplaces	8.0	0.9	1.8
Work as prostitute	7.8	100.0	6.4
Steal, mug pedestrians	7.4	5.3	100.0
Help to fuel cars at filling stations	5.5	—	2.8
Guard goods, property	4.3	—	2.8
Distribute ads, wear «sandwich» ads	2.6	—	—
Sell of flowers	1.8	—	—
Do cleaning jobs	1.1	—	—
Wash dishes, empty bottles, clean floors, etc.	0.2	—	—
Sell drugs	0.1	0.9	—

¹⁶ See the discussion *infra*, in section 1 “Basic Terms and Concepts”.

¹⁷ Respondents could choose more than one answer option, so the total percentage is above 100%.

In the city centre, street children tend to congregate near and in railway stations, in areas with high passenger traffic, where non-Moscow residents are concentrated, in big stores (*Arbat*, *Novy Arbat*, *Tverskoy* and *Strastnoy* boulevards, *Kuznetsky Most* and other locations), and in underground stations surrounded by large trading areas. Also popular are shopping malls with rows of shops, cafes and restaurants (*McDonald's*, *Manezhnaya ploshad*, the *Okhotny Ryad* underground mall and others). On the city's periphery, working street children loiter in underground stations with big retail outlets, marketplaces, fast-food restaurants, and near clusters of street kiosks.

At railway stations children mainly beg or work as porters, and sometimes even steal. Most of them are from the Moscow region, a small proportion are Muscovites. Their daily earnings range from 70 to 250 roubles. Nearly all are substance abusers ('glue-sniffers'). The money earned is spent mostly on food and very rarely on clothes.

Underground station *Tushino* neighbours the big Tushino Market, inhabited by about 60 street children. Most of their earnings come from assisting the street vendors, begging and engaging in petty theft. Their traditional meeting point is near the local McDonald's.

The area adjoining the stations *Botanichesky Sad* and *Sviblovo* are the workplace of young Muscovites from normal, well-off families. They have formed a close working community in order to 'have some pocket money and not to sponge off their parents'. Their typical occupations are: fuelling and washing cars and collecting scrap metal. Many of them say they are proud to earn money, because this makes them feel mature and independent.

Underground station *Izmailovsky Park* is located in the vicinity of a hotel complex, a large shopping mall, a McDonald's and an amusement park. The area is serviced by children from Moscow and other cities, mainly Yaroslavl. Many of them have no place to live and sleep in basements and attics or at friends' homes. The children try to stick together because 'you cannot survive here alone'. Most of them work as loaders, side-show assistants or touts for the nearby hotels. To make a living, they rely entirely on street work: the parents of most of them live outside Moscow and have lost contacts with them. Nearly every child has an alcoholic parent.

Near underground station *Shchelkovskaya* most street children work at a nearby railway station. They carry luggage for or beg from the passengers. Some pick up forgotten half-used phone cards at the telephone booths and sell talking time to passers-by.

Most of the children working around underground stations *Perovo* and *Shosse Entusiastov* come from normal families. They collect empty bottles, scrap metal and casually handle goods such as fruit, watermelons, furniture, etc. Some are bold enough to beg. Most money earned is spent on sweets, chewing gum, etc., and occasionally is given to parents.

At the entrance to the *VDNH* (the Exhibition of Economic Achievements) park one sees girls offering pony rides. Earning money in an enjoyable way, they spend it 'on practical things' or give some to their parents. On special events and holidays their daily profit may amount to 1,000 roubles.

The area around underground station *Sokolniki* has a McDonald's, food market, and long row of kiosks and park. The children working in this area usually gather near the McDonald's. They are typically engaged in 'hustling'. The money is spent on food. Some of the children engage in glue sniffing: they are recognisable by dirty, sloppy dress and blistered nostrils, because of which they have to inhale glue through the mouth. In late May – early June they actively sell lilies-of-the-valley at 8-10 roubles for bunch (by comparison, at underground station *Pushkinskaya* a bunch of lilies-of-the-valley costs around 50 roubles).

Around underground station *Serpukhovskaya* and near the McDonald's at *Dobryninskaya* one usually sees a group of 4-6 children washing cars parked at the restaurant parking lot or begging. Most of their money goes toward food.

5.3 CHILDREN ENGAGED IN PROSTITUTION

In present-day Moscow, adult and teenage prostitution is a smoothly organised and highly lucrative business. Experts estimate that it involves over 100 thousand people, 20-25% of whom are minors.

The different forms of prostitution are:

- street prostitution;
- call-girl prostitution (advertised in tabloids, specialised publications and the Internet);
- parlour prostitution (salons, massage parlours, sauna baths, etc.);
- prostitution in bars, clubs, discos, etc.

Street prostitution

Streetwalkers are easily found in the streets of Moscow, especially in the evening. They are easily recognisable in central thoroughfares of the city and

at the Garden Ring exits (*Leningradsky prospekt, prospekt Mira, Leninsky prospekt, Krasnoprudnaya ulitsa, shosse Entusiastov, Volgogradsky prospekt, Olimpiysky prospekt, Dmitrovskoye shosse, Kashirskoye shosse, Ryazanskoye shosse, Varshavskoye shosse, Schelkovskoye shosse*, etc.). The Garden Ring area is known to have about 20 pick-up points. The prices vary depending on the pick-up point: from 1,000 roubles up per hour at central upscale points at *Lenigradskoye shosse, prospekt Mira* and *Kutuzovsky prospekt*, to 200-300 roubles per hour in *Khimky* (near the Moscow Ring-road) and at the far end of *Ryazanskoye shosse*.

On average, children engaged in street prostitution earn between 500 and 1500 roubles daily: half of what the client pays. The rest goes to the pimp who covers the cost of protection, drivers and other overhead expenses.

Children are recruited through a complex system of informers. Informers work in dormitories of vocational schools, colleges and college preparation courses and in tabloids publishing job ads for positions in clubs, restaurants, beauty parlours, massage parlours, saunas, etc. There is also a regional network of informers who recruit girls from all over Russia and the CIS by offering them highly-paid jobs in Moscow and forcing them into prostitution afterwards.

There are various reasons why underage girls become engaged in prostitution. Even Moscow girls with financially secure parents sometimes enter the sex trade because they want to live 'in style'. They work 2-3 times a week, changing points frequently and appearing in posh night clubs, bars and trendy discos.

Another category consists of migrants supporting impoverished families outside the capital. Groups of 3-5 such girls share 1-2 bedroom flats or dormitory rooms at vocational schools, technical schools, colleges or construction companies where they work or study. They are dependent on pimps for appointments and security.

'Renegade prostitutes' represent the bottom of the profession. Earning less than 200-300 roubles a day, they have a less 'glamorous' look and bear the burden of overhead expenses, including protection fees, driver and housing. As a rule they have been thrown out of a more prestigious pimp-controlled establishment for using alcohol or drugs.

Children are actively exploited at various criminal 'hook-up' points offering girls with the sole purpose of 'skinning' the client (putting him to sleep with drugs and then robbing him, tipping off his house to burglars, extorting his

money or car with the help of other criminals). Points usually operate for no longer than 1-2 days in various parts of the city and offer children only. Their most popular areas are *Izmailovo, ulitsa Galyanova, shosse Entusiastov, Ryazanskoye shosse* and *Kaluzhskoye shosse*.

Call girl prostitution

Wide ranging erotic tabloids sold in Moscow contain classifieds advertising call services in indirect but unambiguous wording. A quick scan over *Dosug, Otdyh, Otdyhai* and other magazines, free classifieds newspapers such as *Dvoye, On i Ona, Zhurnal Znakomstv, Ne spat, Nochnaya Moskva* and others reveals a whole range of offers, including those of girls under 13.

The Russian part of the Internet contains many easy-to-find sites advertising home services or visits to private house-brothels. They offer girls 'from 12 years old and up'.

Prostitution in clubs, bars and discos

Pimp-controlled prostitution is not frequent in hangout places. They are popular among 13-14-year olds, Muscovites and migrants, who go there to make a little money to 'chill out' afterwards. This type of prostitution mostly attracts young girls from the peripheral districts of Moscow. The most popular joints are *Metelitsa, Bunker, 66 Road*, etc.

Prostitution through advertisements and catalogues

Experts estimate that about 100 firms in Moscow specialise in procurement, i.e. veiled prostitution. They use a simple, reliable and legally impeccable mechanism, not punishable under the Criminal and Administrative codes. A firm maintains a database of young boys and girls aged 13 and up 'for any taste'. It welcomes personal descriptions with search criteria from anyone. These descriptions typically look like: "two 16 y. o. attractive girls, good time w/young handsome businessman" plus the phone number. A set of 10-15 such ads complete with photos can be obtained for 80-200 roubles. Potential clients contact girls on their own. Both the firms and the law enforcement authorities admit that to launch a case against a client, person involved in prostitution or procurement firm would be near to impossible. Even if a client does use the service, payment will not likely be proved in court.

Child pornography

Pornographic child videos are easily obtainable at nearly every radio market in Moscow. At least 4 kiosks at Kursky railway terminal offer such videos at night-time. Each tape costs between 70 and 200 roubles.

Ethnic prostitution

Moscow has a well-developed sex market for non-Russian prostitutes of various ethnic groups and races. One hotbed of ethnic prostitution is Patrice Lumumba People’s Friendship University. According to some sources, there one can find girls of any ethnic group, aged 12 and up. They mainly come from third-world countries (China, Vietnam, Afghanistan, the Arab world). This type of prostitution, however, thrives in rather closed circles, and therefore could not be studied in this survey.

5.4. WORKING CONDITIONS AND WORK LOAD

Most street children take up casual or seasonal jobs. Only one employer out of seven (14.8%) reported hiring children long-term and all year round. About one third (35.8%) said they hired children from time to time. Seasonal hiring is also popular for such jobs as unloading of watermelons and vegetables, sorting of fruit, assistance at street shows, etc. Nearly half (49.4%) of the employers surveyed said they hired children seasonally.

72.9% of the employers have 1-3 children working for them. Teams of 5-7 children work at filling stations, garages, in brothels, etc.

As a rule children work short hours. The survey found their average workday was about 5 hours. Some children work longer, especially if their employment is ‘organised’ and ‘permanent’. For these categories of children, a normal workday lasts about 5.3 hours. One employer out of five (19.8%)¹⁸ admitted having employed children at night, which qualifies as engaging children in the worst forms of child labour.

Among children involved in prostitution and certain criminal activities the incidence of workdays longer than 4 hours is much higher (see Table 5.4.).

¹⁸ 1.2% employers declined to answer the question concerning night work of children. 79% claimed they did not employ children for night work at all.

Diagram 5.4

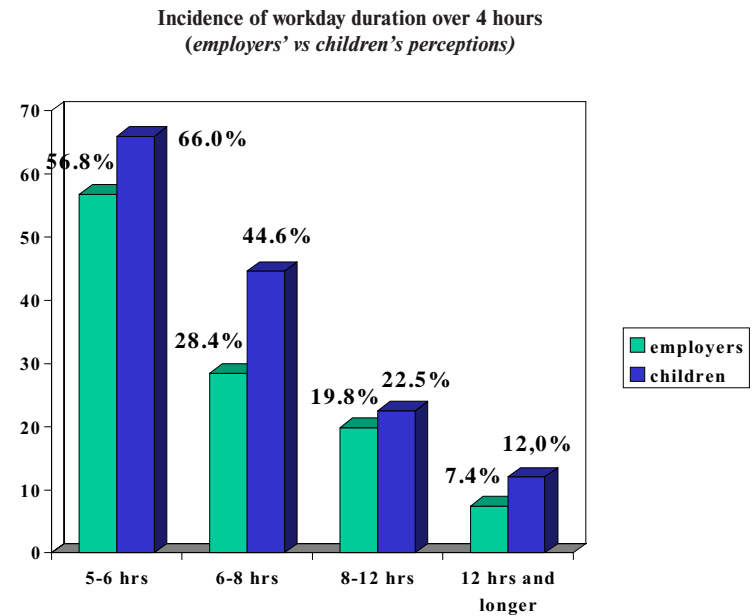


Table 5.4

Replies to the question: Have you ever worked for more than 4 hours a day? (%)

Hours of work	Children involved in prostitution	Children involved in other criminal activities
5–6 hours	99.1	88.1
6–8 hours	94.7	74.3
8–12 hours	70.3	50.5
12 hours and longer	37.3	34.3

Even the employers themselves did not hide the fact they employed children for more than 4 hours a day. Over half of them (56.8%) recognised that sometimes their underage employees had worked 5-6 hours a day. Another 28.4% reported cases where children worked for 6-8 hours a day. About one out of five (19.8%) employers remembered keeping children at work for 8 to 12 hours, egregiously ignoring their rights. Situations with children working for more than 12 hours on end are not unheard of: they were reported by 7.4% of the employers surveyed.

Long hours of work are not the only hazard to the health of street children. Among other hazards are the risk of injuries and diseases originating from lifting of weights, lack of individual means of protection, and abuse by employers and other persons. Children involved in prostitution and criminal activities suffer not only physically, but also psychologically, when they perform jobs destructive to their morals.

Experts estimate that about 70% of working street children engage in health-hazardous jobs. One employer out of five (18.5%) admitted having physically punished children for faults and omissions during work and 3.7% said they did that regularly.

5.5. REMUNERATION

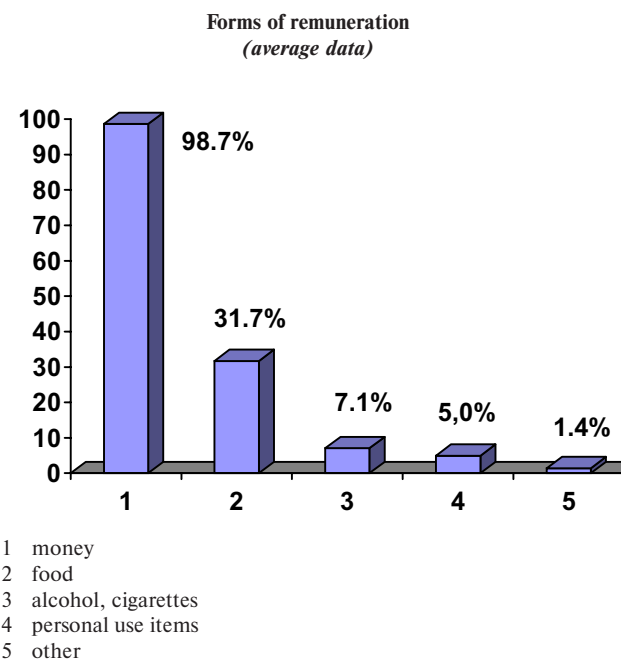
All but a few children surveyed said that the main form of remuneration they received was money. In some cases, though, children also receive bonuses in the form of items of personal use, food, alcohol and cigarettes (see Diagram 5.5). In-kind remuneration is especially widespread among children engaged in prostitution who receive this form of payment from clients. Children working at marketplaces, shopping malls and around underground stations often get paid in the form of food. For beggars, petty thieves and pickpockets, food is sometimes the only form of remuneration. In overtly criminal jobs, children are often paid in alcohol and cigarettes.

Table 5.5

Forms of remuneration by job type (%)¹⁹

Remuneration	Handing of weights	Trade	Guarding	Car washing	Prostitution
Money	98.7	100.0	95.4	99.3	100.0
Food	39.9	34.2	41.5	31.1	2.6
Alcohol, cigarettes	10.1	3.4	10.8	9.9	6.1
Personal use items	2.0	6.8	4.6	1.9	27.2
Other	0.3	0.9	1.5	0.2	4.4

¹⁹ Respondents could choose more than one answer option, so the total percentage is above 100%.

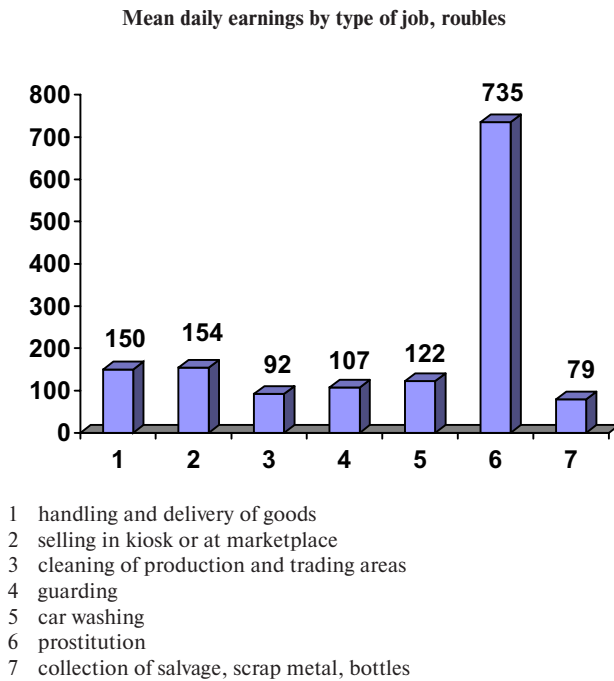


The level of pay for street children varies considerably, depending on the type of job, functions (legal or illegal) and other factors. Prostitution appears to be the most lucrative occupation, with average daily earnings being about 735 roubles and maximum earnings about 1,000 roubles. Very few of the children engaged in prostitution (3.6%) said they made only 200-300 roubles each night.

Other jobs are far less profitable. Nearly all of the children surveyed earned 100-150 roubles a day on average, which is less than the low-end prostitutes (see Diagram 5.6).

The employers' evaluations of the rates of pay were different from those of the children themselves. Their evaluations were slightly lower in legal businesses and much higher in criminal ones. Thus, most of the employers working in retail said that the typical daily earnings of children were 50-100 roubles (88 roubles on average). Children working in fast-food kiosks earn slightly more:

Diagram 5.6



approximately 95 roubles a day. In organised child prostitution, employers' (pimps') estimates were twice as high as those given by the children. The employers estimated the average daily wages of a girl to be about 1,500 roubles.

5.6. ROLE OF ADULTS IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF STREET CHILDREN

Today, there is no reason to suggest that child labour is generally highly criminalised, at least in the core jobs and occupations. There is little congruity between the motives of street children and the interests of the criminal world, since child labour emerged in response to the economic crisis. Experts and children themselves admit that their work is only partially controlled by criminal gangs, mostly in the area of illegal activities, such as drug dealing, brothels, dealing in stolen property, etc.

70.7% of the children surveyed were 'self-employed'. They acted as independent entrepreneurs, without the backing of an adult 'manager'. This was not the case with such businesses as child prostitution where even children working on their own tend to have an adult 'master' helping them start a business. Such was the case with two thirds (75.3%) of the children engaged in prostitution surveyed (see Table 5.6).

Table 5.6

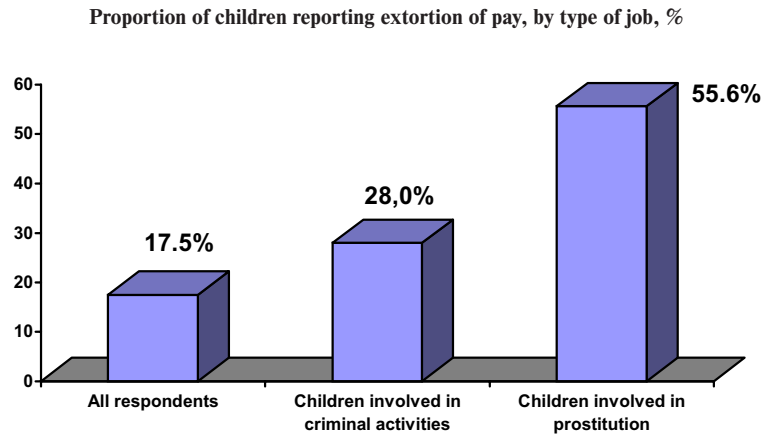
Replies to the questions: Do you work for an adult manager? Who organises and oversees your work and gives you directions?

Answer options	All respondents	Children involved in prostitution	Children involved in other criminal activities
I work my own, without anybody's supervision	26.3	6.2	19.4
I work on my own, but I have a manager (protecting gang)	12.4	55.8	4.6
We work as a group, without a manager	44.4	18.6	56.5
We work as a group with a manager	14.5	19.5	18.5
Other	1.5	—	—
Declined to answer	0.8	—	0.9

Regardless whether their activities were controlled by an adult manager or not, children preferred to work in groups. Group work made it easier to find jobs and resist threats. In some jobs, group work was indispensable. The greatest proportion of independent workers who paid protection fees to adults was found among children engaged in prostitution (55.8%) and kiosk workers (36.0%). In other occupations, the incidence of group work was much lower: 8.8% for loaders, 4.0% for car washers and 2.3% for trade area cleaners.

Not only do adults organise the work of street children; they also act as their protection agencies, especially in child prostitution and other criminal activities. Over half of the surveyed children who engaged in the sex trade said they had to pay a part of their earnings to 'patrons' (Diagram 5.7).

Diagram 5.7



Even in the area of child prostitution, experts are divided over the degree of criminalisation. Most of them are convinced that only criminal gangs, the mafia, organise and control the business, in view of such bulky investments as the rent of flats, security, and preparation of large-scale burglaries. Still, many experts believe that prostitution as such is a violation of many unwritten rules of the criminal community and its cost-effectiveness is much lower than other types of organised crime in Russia, which puts child prostitution outside the 'black investment' portfolio.²⁰

Experts, as well as children involved in prostitution and drug dealing, speak of the many forms in which law enforcement officers participate in their business. The most widespread form of participation is to cover up the facts of child prostitution.

5.7. WORKING STREET CHILDREN IN MOSCOW: GENDER ASPECTS

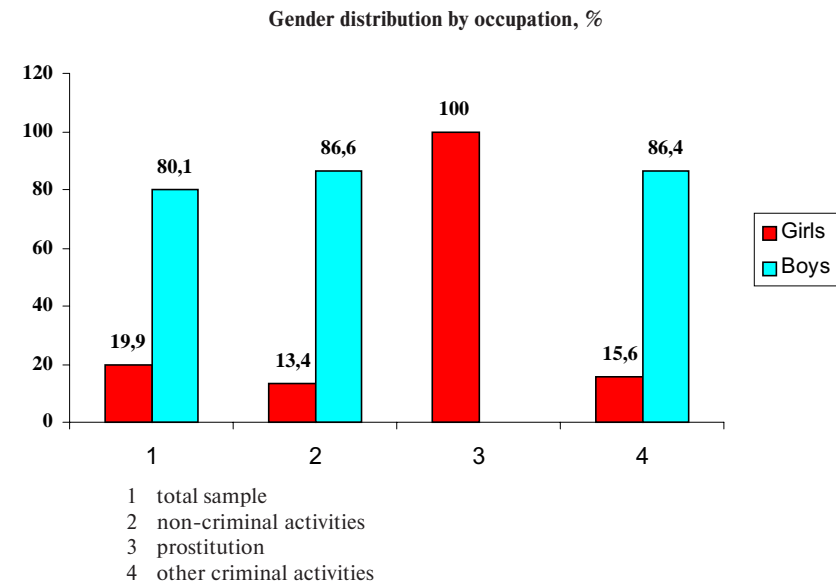
At present, there are no statistics available about the gender distribution of children working in the streets of Moscow. Therefore, the sample of the present survey was put together using the recommendations of experts. The share of

²⁰ Foreign Child Prostitution in North-West of Russia. Report published by Saint-Petersburg Branch of Institute of Sociology: Saint-Petersburg, 2000, 72 p. [in Russian]

girls among Moscow street children was estimated to be around 20%, boys 80%. Based on these estimations, the sample included 300 girls and 1,200 boys. Given that, it is only the male segment of the sample that can be considered representative, due to its random selection and relatively large size. It is with much caution that the female segment can be assumed to be representative.

In occupation-based groups within the sample, the ratio between boys and girls was generally characterised by a vast predominance of boys and a low number of girls engaged in both non-criminal occupations and criminal activities (86.4% against 13.4% and 84.4% against 15.6% respectively). At the same time, only females engaged in prostitution were surveyed (see Diagram 5.8).

Diagram 5.8



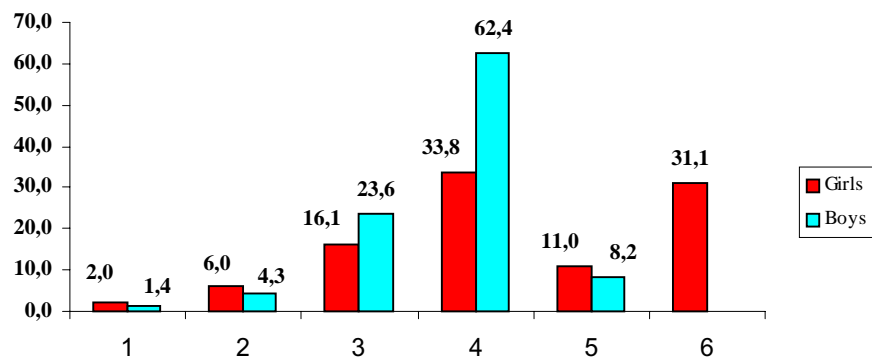
Because it was necessary to carry out a representative study of children involved in prostitution and pornography, the senior age groups of the sample have a higher proportion of girls. The upper age limit in the sample varied from 18 years old for children engaged in prostitution to 14 years old for children involved in other criminal activities to 13 years old for other occupations.

Consequently, the sample segment above 13 years old is mostly dominated by the occupational criterion, which explains the predominance of girls in it. For these reasons, cross-gender comparisons in this chapter are only relative and gender distributions are established by using a limited set of criteria.

Diagram 5.9 shows the overall gender distribution of the sample. The largest age group for both boys and girls is 12 -13 years. It accounts for the majority of all boys in the sample (62.4%) and the minority of girls, since the age limit for girls was extended to 18 years to analyse more carefully the children involved in prostitution. Nearly all the respondents above 16 years old were involved in prostitution and pornography.

Diagram 5.9

Sample composition by age and sex, %



- 1 8 years
- 2 8-9 years
- 3 10-11 years
- 4 12-13 years
- 5 14-15 years
- 6 16+

Table 5.7

Gender distribution in age groups, %

Sex	Age group					
	under 8	8-9	10-11	12-13	14-15	16+
Girls	26.1	25.7	14.5	11.9	25.0	100.0
Boys	73.9	74.3	85.5	88.1	75.0	-

Gender appears to determine the age when a child gets his or her first street job. In general, boys tend to take jobs earlier than girls. Nearly one out of four (24.0%) boys reported having begun work at the age of 8-9 while among girls this proportion was nearly twice as low (13.5%). About half of the boys took their first job at the age of 10-11 (48.8%) against 26.7% of the girls. At the same time, nearly equal proportions of boys and girls had begun work at an early age (6-7 years old). On average, they amounted to one tenth within each gender group.

Table 5.8

Age of first job, %

Answer options (age)	Gender distribution, %	
	Girls	Boys
under 8	9.5	9.7
8-9	13.5	24.0
10-11	26.7	48.8
12-13	17.2	16.8
14-15	20.6	0.7
16+	12.5	-

Gender is also a key factor in the choice of job. Boys were more frequently engaged in hard manual labour: about one fourth of the boys in the sample (24.7%) worked as loaders and carriers; one third (33.6%) washed cars; one out of five (42.7%) collected empty bottles, salvage, etc. Girls were mostly employed as vendors or vendor's assistants at marketplaces, in kiosks, etc.

Begging was a frequent occupation in each gender group: it involved 29.8% of the girls and 45.9% of the boys. Only a small number of street children – less than 1 percent – confessed to being involved in drug dealing. At the same time, 7.8% of boys and 5.7% of girls admitted having stolen, or participated in stealing, some property.

Table 5.9

Replies to question: What kind of work do you do? (%)

Answer options	Gender distribution, %	
	Girls	Boys
Handling and transportation of goods	1.7	24.7
Assistance in kiosks, at marketplaces	9.0	7.7
Cleaning production and trading areas	8.7	13.5
Guarding goods, property	2.0	4.9
Washing cars	4.7	33.6
Working as prostitute	38.8	0.0
Selling drugs	0.3	0.0
Collecting empty bottles, salvage	21.7	42.7
Begging	29.8	45.9
Stealing, mugging pedestrians	5.7	7.8
Other	16.4	24.3

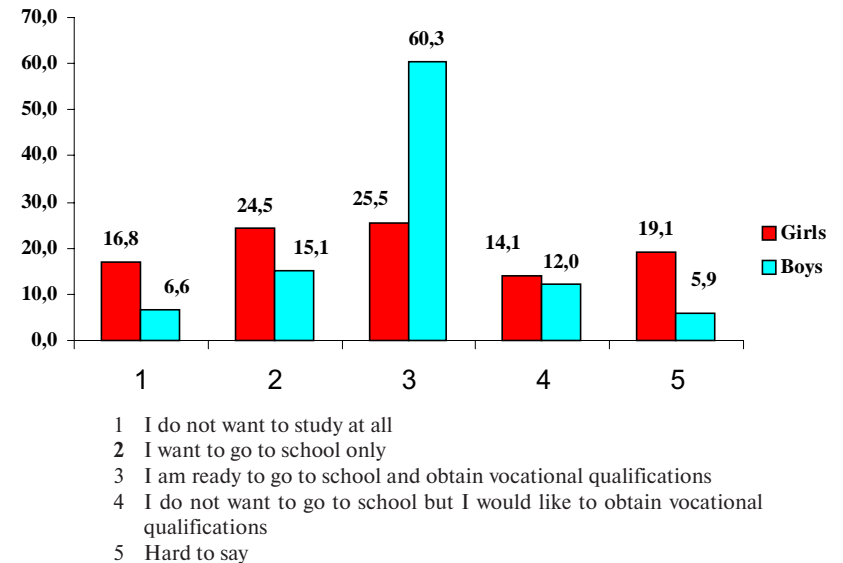
Girls often had to work longer hours than boys. Over one third of the girls (33.8%) surveyed stated they had to work 8-12 hours daily. This figure was much lower for boys (19.8%). The respondents' hours of work appeared to correlate with their ages and types of job. 10-13 year-old boys involved in hard manual labour are physically unable to work for 8-10 hours and longer. With a few exceptions, the average workday for boys lasted between 3 and 6 hours.

Also, boys and girls had different attitudes towards school. In general, girls were much less interested in continuing either general education or any specific vocational training. The share of girls not interested in any kind of education was three times higher than that of boys (16.8% against 6.6% respectively). Simultaneously, three out of five (60.3%) boys were not only willing to continue their education but also showed interest in obtaining vocational qualifications. Boys appeared more concerned about their future and the possibility of having a good job in an interesting field. Only one fourth of the girls (25.5%) wanted to obtain vocational qualifications in combination with a general school education. One out of five (19.1%) found it hard to answer the question.

A comparison of responses to the question about reasons for work also revealed a noticeable difference between girls and boys. Girls twice as often (43.6%) as boys (23.1%) said they worked to survive. The answer 'I am forced to work under threat' was received four times as often from girls as from boys. The majority of children who said that they worked to assist their parents were girls. By contrast, reasons such as the desire to have pocket money, food or an expensive item were more common among boys than among girls.

Diagram 5.10

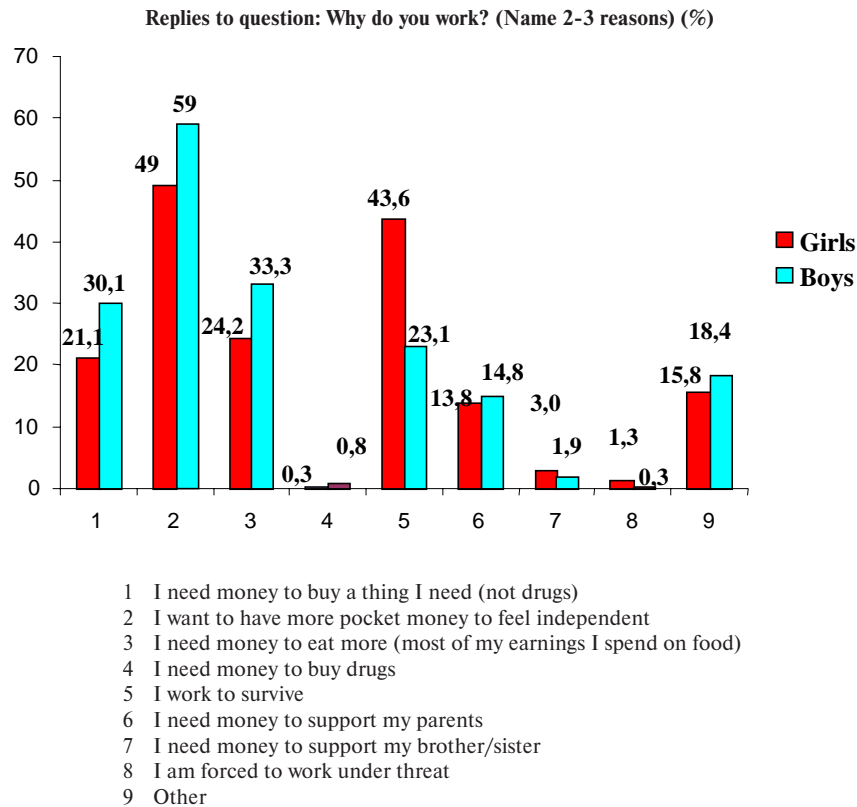
Answers to question about plans to continue education, %



Many street children, especially young girls involved in prostitution, worked under an adult 'master'. About 47.6% of the girls and one fifth (21.8%) of the boys worked under the patronage or paid protection of adults. Despite the fact that only two girls out of five (38.8%) stated that prostitution was their source of income, over half of the girls (55.9%) admitted having been sexually harassed by adults or older children. This situation was far less common among the boys surveyed: only 14.5% of them reported such facts.

The overwhelming majority of boys (84.0%) were content with the obligation to share earnings with adults. Only 69.4% of the girls said so. Approximately one girl out of four (28.3%) confessed she had been in a situation in which she had to give away some of her earnings under threat. This was predominantly the case among girls involved in prostitution. Nearly all of the children engaged in prostitution were frank about that fact. Only a few of them (2.4%) were afraid to furnish any information.

Diagram 5.11



At the same time, about one half of all the girls and boys (46.5% and 45.2%) reported having been in a situation at work in which their life or health was in serious danger. Furthermore, a considerable part of the sample indicated having health problems: 12.4% of the girls and 9% of the boys said they had a serious disease and 57% of the girls and 47.7% of the boys admitted they fell ill quite often. 42.3% of the boys and 29.5% of the girls considered themselves healthy.

6. GOVERNMENT AND NGO RESPONSE TO THE PROBLEM OF STREET CHILDREN

6.1. FEDERAL POLICY TOWARDS SAFEGUARDING THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF CHILDREN

From its past, Russia inherited a complex multidivisional system of agencies responsible for the enforcement of the rights of the child. This system consists of specialised departments for education, healthcare, etc. and cross-departmental bodies such as prosecution offices, committees for minors and ombudsmen's offices. Separate laws and other regulatory instruments lay down the responsibilities of the latter groups of agencies concerning minors.

By establishing protection of human rights as the uppermost priority of the state, the Constitution of the Russian Federation grants its citizens a wide scope of possibilities for defending their individual rights and liberties. By ratifying many international human rights instruments Russia has enabled its citizens to use them to defend their rights. Both governmental organizations and NGOs see enforcement of the rights of the child as a part of their mission.

Enforcement of the rights of the child and detection of violations is an extremely pressing concern, especially today, when very few children have access to the effective use of procedures intended for the protection of their rights. The obstacles arising in the application of such procedures are both objective, i.e. stipulated by legislation, and subjective. For example, in many instances their limited legal capacity prevents children from seeking help from state bodies (including courts), requiring them to act through formal representatives. A situation in which a child's rights are violated by his/her formal representatives is not covered by legislation. Moreover, as a rule children are not competent or knowledgeable enough to defend their rights.

The federal policy for protection of the rights and interests of the child is primarily targeted at the least protected social groups of children, in the first place orphans and children without parental care, as well as children from low-income families. To assist these groups, the following measures are being implemented:

- strengthened control of federal institutions over execution of federal laws and programmes aimed at protection of the rights and social welfare of orphans and children without parental care;

- preparation and implementation of a series of organizational and legal measures aimed at strengthening co-ordination between departments in the placement of children abandoned by parents;
- continued prevention of ‘social orphan-hood’ under the Orphaned Children programme;
- elaboration of a plan to improve the procedure of child adoption.

Protection of the interests and rights of the child is regulated by the following documents:

- Law of the Russian Federation no. 120 “On the System for the Prevention of Child Neglect and Juvenile Delinquency”, 24 June 1999;
- Resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation no. 1207 “On Federal Programmes for Amelioration of the Condition of Children in the Russian Federation for 1998-2000”, 19 September 1997;
- Resolution of the Ministry Labour and Social Development of the Russian Federation no. 7 “On the Establishment of Maximum Permissible Norms for Manual Lifting and Handling of Weights by Persons under the Age of 18”, 7 April 1999;
- Resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation no. 163 “On the Establishment of a Register of Hazardous and Labour-Intensive Occupations where Employment of Persons under the Age of 18 Is Prohibited”, 25 February 2000;
- Federal Law no. 124 “On the Basic Guarantees of the Rights of the Child in the Russian Federation”, 24 July 1998;
- Resolution of the Ministry of Labour no. 5 “On the Approval of Working Regulations for Local Employment Agencies of the Ministry of Labour and Social Development of the Russian Federation in Servicing Orphans, Children without Parental Care and Adults Previously Orphaned or Left without Parental Care”, 10 February 1998;
- Resolution of the State Duma of the Federation Council № 453-III “On the Commission for the Prevention of Child Neglect, Abandonment and Juvenile Substance Abuse”, 2 June 2000;
- Decree of the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation no. 619 “On the Policy Framework for the Prevention of Psychoactive Substance Abuse in Schools”, 28 February 2000;
- Instructive letter of the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation no. 1 “On the Organization of Foster Placement of Children”, 12 January 2000;

- Federal Law of the Russian Federation no. 44 “On the Public Databank of Children without Parental Care”, 16 April 2001;
- Resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation no. 896 “On the Adoption of Model Regulations for Institutions Specialising in Social Rehabilitation of Minors”, 17 November 2000;
- Federal Law “On the Amendments to Article 15 of the Federal Law “On the System for the Prevention of Child Neglect and Juvenile Delinquency”, 13 January 2001;
- Resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation no. 839 “On the Establishment of Procedures for the Preparation and Circulation of the State Report on the Condition of Children in the Russian Federation”, 2 November 2000.

6.2. EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

At the beginning of the academic year 1999/2000, Russia had 66.9 thousand institutions of general education, 42.7 thousand of them in rural areas. While the number of primary and secondary schools in the cities is growing, other types of educational establishments are disappearing. Despite the fact that the primary purpose of the country’s education system is to secure the access of each child to comprehensive general education, the problem of children ‘outside education’ remains a cross-cutting concern.

There are contradictory estimates regarding the number of children not attending schools in Russia.

An ad hoc survey using the standard government statistical inquiry form no. 1 “Children, Aged 7-15, Outside Educational Institutions, Deprived of Permanent Place of Residence as of September 1, 1999” (approved by Goskomstat on 26 July 1999) was conducted in September-October 1999. It found that 68,159 children and adolescents aged 7-15 were not attending school. They amount to 0.3% of the total number of children of that age group.

However, according to the Internal Affairs Ministry and the Prosecutor General’s Office the rate of permanent non-attendance among school-age children was as high as 10%, i.e. around 2 million. According to the same source, these children commit about 40% of all juvenile offences.

In order to secure the right of children to education, the Ministry of Education is updating the National Curriculum to bring it into compliance with the “Provisional Requirements for the Compulsory Minimum Curriculum

of Basic General Education and the Compulsory Minimum Curriculum of Secondary (Comprehensive) General Education”. In 1999, model syllabuses were developed for the Basic General Education and Secondary (Comprehensive) General Education. These will serve to preserve common performance targets across the entire education system.

In addition, Russia has 16 thousand institutions of after-school education that contribute to the overall development of children’s abilities.

The most popular forms of after-school education are various courses in the arts, attracting over 54% of school students. The most popular extra-curricular activities are:

- Athletic clubs for children and adolescents,
- Biological/ecological societies,
- Societies for activities in tourism/local history and culture,
- ‘Military and patriotic’ (cadet) clubs,
- Research and technology clubs.

6.3. APPLICATION OF LEGISLATIVE WORK AND OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY STANDARDS TO UNDERAGE EMPLOYEES

The federal Labour Inspection routinely inspects enterprises and organizations with the aim to determine their observance of labour and occupational safety standards for minors. The following administrative policies and practices are examined:

- The use of employment quotas for under-age employees;
- Respect for the statutory prohibition against entry testing for under-age candidates;
- Approval of layoffs by committees for minors and government labour inspections in case of under-age employees;
- Presence of written labour agreements between all under-age employees and the enterprise administration as defined by the current labour legislation;
- Policy towards assigning workers under 18 years old to hazardous and heavy jobs listed in the Register of Hazardous and Labour-Intensive Occupations where Employment of Persons under the Age of 18 Is Prohibited,
- Respect for maximum norms of manual handling and lifting of weights by workers under the age of 18;
- Policy towards assigning under-age employees to jobs that may be destructive to good morals (gambling joints, night-clubs, production,

transportation and marketing of alcohol, tobacco, drugs or toxic substances);

- Respect for the short-hours restriction for minors as defined by the law;
- Use of appropriate output norms for workers under the age of 18, proportionately reduced with respect to the shorter duration of work required for minors against such norms for adults. Payment of appropriate allowances to under-age employees;
- Respect for the prohibition of night, overtime and after-hours work for employees under the age of 18. Coverage of medical examinations by employer for employees under 21 years old;
- Organization of entry medical examination of adolescents under the age of 18 in accordance with the law. Organization of regular medical examinations for adolescents;
- Annual leave policy: the law requires that leaves be granted in summertime or whenever requested by an under-age worker. Correctness of leave duration calculation;
- Initial and workplace safety instruction of under-age workers;
- Respect for workplace requirements as to working space, illumination, electromagnetic emissions, air circulation, ionisation and microbiological purity, etc. in accordance with standard specifications. Respect for work organization requirements for under-age employees using computers.

Current labour inspections reveal that, despite visible improvements, the rate of violations of labour rights and the legitimate interests of under-age employees by employers is still high.

Although today the national economy employs a relatively small number of minors, protection of their rights remains on the agenda, primarily because employers, for various reasons, tend to disregard the legal rights of employees under eighteen.

Young people are often at a disadvantage in the job market: they lack entrepreneurial spirit and professional knowledge, qualifications and skills, and demonstrate immature vision and passivity. Employers are reluctant to hire minors also because of the bulky benefits package required by law. In some regions of Russia minors do not participate in the labour market at all.

Violations of labour and safety legislation at work are often the cause of severe and even lethal injuries among minors. On-going statistical surveys conducted by the federal Labour Inspection indicate that in the year 2000, accidents at work took the life of 32 under-age workers, 19 of them in the

agricultural sector. The deaths occurred in Karelia, Sakha (Yakutia), Tatarstan, Kabardino-Balkaria, Udmurtia, Chuvashia, Krasnoyarsk krai, Krasnodar krai, Vologda, Kaluga, Kursk, Nizniy Novgorod, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk, Smolensk and Yaroslavl regions and in Moscow.

The common causes of deaths were:

1. Failure to administer proper training and work safety instructions prior to work, non-assignment of foremen to under-age employees;
2. Use of faulty equipment, violations of process standards, ineffective workplace and process organization;
3. Assignment of under-age employees to hazardous and heavy jobs.

Wherever violations were detected, the State Inspection applied statutory sanctions against the enterprise management in order to prevent or eliminate violations of labour and occupational safety legislation with respect to minors. The sanctions included administrative instructions, administrative and disciplinary court actions, and even suspensions of work at some individual production areas and units.

6.4. REGIONAL POLICY TOWARDS THE PROTECTION OF RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF THE CHILD

Through its social policy, the Moscow government aims to provide assistance to families with children. At present there are no payment arrears for children's allowances in Moscow. Relief to the most vulnerable low-income groups is provided in accordance with federal legislation, namely:

- Federal Law no. 171 "On the Amendments to Article 16 of the Federal Law "On Public Assistance Benefits for Citizens with Children", 17 July 1999;
- Resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation no. 201 "On the Minimal Set of Consumer Goods across the Russian Federation", 29 September 1999;
- Federal Law no. 134 "On the Amendments and Addenda to the Federal Law "On Public Assistance Benefits for Citizens with Children" 19 July 1998;
- Federal Law no. 178 "On Public Social Assistance", 17 July 1999.

In addition, the Moscow government has designed and put in place a number of targeted programmes to ameliorate the condition of city children. These are:

- "Orphaned Children";
- "Chernobyl Children";
- "Family Planning";
- "Safe Maternity";
- "Development of Child Catering";
- "Gifted Children";
- "Children of Forced Migrants and Refugees";
- "Development of Social Services for Families and Children";
- "Prevention of Child Neglect and Juvenile Delinquency".

The city policy toward securing the rights and interests of children is closely bound with the application of international, federal and regional legal instruments essential to the protection of the rights of the child.

The most important documents issued by the Moscow government to ameliorate the condition of children are:

- Moscow Government Resolution no. 229 "On the Procedure for Workplace Allocation in Institutions of the City of Moscow", 24 March, 1998;
- City of Moscow Law no. 16 "On Prevention of Child Neglect and Juvenile Delinquency in the City of Moscow", 7 April 1999;
- Mayor of Moscow Decree no. 373 "On District Board Commissions in the City of Moscow", 15 April 1998;
- Moscow Government Resolution no. 126 "On the Schedule of Measures for 2001-2002 towards the Amelioration of the Condition of Children in Moscow", 6 February 2001;
- Mayor of Moscow Decree no. 1223 "On the Development of a Network of Shelters and Other Institutions for the Prevention of Child Neglect and Juvenile Delinquency in 2001-2003", 22 November 2000;
- Moscow Government Resolution no. 797 "On Measures to Provide Social Assistance and Advocacy to Orphans, Children without Parental Care and Children Leaving Orphanages and Boarding Schools", 31 August 1999;
- Moscow Government Resolution no. 282 "On the 1998 Programme for Employment Stimulation among the Moscow Population and the 1998-2000 Integrated Municipal Occupational Safety Programme", 7 April 1998;
- Moscow Government Resolution no. 306 "On 1998-2000 Municipal Programmes for the Amelioration of the Condition of Children in Moscow", 14 April 1998;
- Moscow Government Resolution no. 38 "On the Year 2000 Integrated Action Plan of Social Protection of Moscow Citizens", 18 January 2000;

- Moscow Government Resolution no. 662, “On Measures to Prevent the Spread of Substance Abuse among Minors”, 11 August 1998;
- Order of the Ministry of Health no. 39 “On Co-ordination between Healthcare Departments and Police Departments of the City of Moscow in the Prevention of Substance and Alcohol Abuse and Drug/Alcohol-related Violations of Law”, 1 February 1999.

Moscow Government committees responsible for social assistance to children and young people

The following departments within the Moscow Government are responsible for prevention of child neglect and protection of children’s rights:

- Committee on Family and Youth;
- Education Committee;
- Health Committee;
- Committee on Social Protection of the Population;
- Culture Committee;
- Physical Education and Sports Committee.

The specialised committees of the Moscow government provide relief to children in crisis in close co-operation with the Moscow Interdepartmental Commission for minors and the protection of their rights. The Moscow Police Department is actively helping the government departments to prevent child neglect and juvenile delinquency.

Field Agencies of the Moscow Government Committees

The above-listed government committees operate a variety of field agencies, namely:

Committee on Family and Youth: Street Children Municipal Centre (prevention of child neglect, juvenile delinquency, crime, alcoholism, drug addiction and AIDS) and a network of cross-district Street Children centres, municipal institutions for children’s affairs. This Committee also maintains the Slava Centre, a rehabilitation facility for 120 children aged 2-17.

Education Committee: 20 counselling, medical and social assistance centres servicing children with severe learning disabilities. Incoming children are examined by a board of counsellors, medical workers and educators, who compile the children’s medical profiles and issue recommendations to the centre’s specialists. Each centre offers a 4-level course in work skills and social integration for chronically ill and mentally retarded patients:

1. Elementary labour skills,
2. Primary labour skills,

3. Pre-vocational training,
4. Basic vocational training.

This Committee also operates 41 residential institutions for orphans (25 orphanages and 16 boarding schools) and 5 specialised institutions with orphan groups attached. At the beginning of 2001 they housed 3,226 children.

The Committee for Social Protection operates a network of specialised social protection agencies and two shelters:

- Maryino Social Shelter (30 beds for children aged 3-16), and
- a social shelter for children and adolescents without parental care (60 beds, for children aged 3-16).

The Health Committee operates a system of local Family Planning and Reproduction Centres, out-patient clinics for substance abuse and psychoneurologic disorders, the State Sanitary Epidemiological Inspection centre and the public children’s shelter “*Doroga k domu*” (“Way Home”) under Out-patient Clinic for Substance Abuse no. 12.

The Moscow Police Department maintains a juvenile temporary detention centre and a system of local juvenile units. Each year, the detention centre admits up to 6,000 children, 95% of whom are not permanent Moscow residents.

6.5. MUNICIPAL INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMISSIONS FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF CHILDREN

Prevention of child neglect and juvenile delinquency and protection of the rights of minors in the city of Moscow are the functions of the Interdepartmental Commission for Minors and the Protection of Their Rights.

The Commission has a mandate to:

- supervise circuit- and district-level Commissions for minors;
- promote and safeguard the constitutional rights of children, assist children in restoring their rights, and advocate every aspect of their rights and lawful interests;
- investigate, at the recommendation of the Head of City Board, the most complex and disputed cases requiring collective decisions concerning the rights and lawful interests of children;
- support families and consult families in matters concerning protection of the rights and lawful interests of children;
- aid non-governmental organizations and associations whose mission is to safeguard the rights of children and adolescents;

- detect cases of child abuse;
- provide social assistance and advocacy to children in crisis.

Disputes over orphans' housing are settled by the Interdepartmental Housing Commission for Orphans and Children without Parental Care. The Commission consists of representatives of every municipal agency involved in the procedure of housing allocation for persons graduating from orphanages: the Department of Municipal Housing and Housing Policy, Education Committee, Social Protection Committee, Health Committee, Main Department of Justice and the State Unitary Enterprise "Moscow Social Guarantee".

At the level of prefectures and district boards, the rights and interests of children are protected by 10 circuit-level and 126 district-level Commissions for Minors and Protection of Their Rights. Their mandate is formulated in the model Regulations no. 373 "On District Board Commissions in the City of Moscow" effective 15 April 1998.

Today, the Commissions increasingly focus on advocacy, co-ordination and supervision. Their primary task is to safeguard and, if necessary, restore the rights and interests of children and adolescents. The Commissions exercise administrative jurisdiction over adolescents under the age of criminal discretion and consider cases involving socially dangerous acts and antisocial behaviour of juveniles.

The documents governing the Commissions' activities are: the Constitution of the Russian Federation, federal and Moscow laws, presidential decrees, resolutions of the Russian and Moscow government, decrees of the Mayor and Vice-Mayor of Moscow, District Council decisions, the Board Chairman directions and the Regulations concerning District Board Commission in the City of Moscow.

A Commission consists of the Board representatives, representatives of departments of education, health, social protection and housing, the local law enforcement, child-care authorities, other institutions and organizations and representatives of local government and other public bodies.

At the circuit level, alongside of the detention centres, preventive work is carried out by the district Street Children centres that provide co-ordination between governmental and non-governmental organizations dealing with children.

An organizational chart representing relations between various agencies and departments involved in prevention of child neglect and juvenile delinquency across Moscow is provided as Appendix II.

6.6. EMPLOYMENT OF ADOLESCENTS OVER 14 YEARS OF AGE IN MOSCOW

The Moscow Perspektiva ("Perspective") Centre provides temporary jobs for students aged 14-18 who are attending secondary, pre-vocational or vocational schools as well as for adolescents not attending school for some reason (at the moment of application to local employment agencies in Moscow).

The main objectives of the centre are:

- to introduce young people to work, and to provide career guidance and social adaptation services to young people aged 14-18;
- to create opportunities for their permanent or temporary employment and acquisition of employable skills;
- to aid young people in crisis;
- to promote creation of new jobs;
- to collaborate with the Moscow government in overcoming issues and policy implementation.

The ongoing activities of the Centre include job market monitoring, quantitative and qualitative analysis of employer capacities for employing young people, a vacancy databank, job fairs and awareness campaigns among young people.

Temporary employment of minors is governed by the following principles:

- Employment should meet the criteria laid down by the Labour Code of the Russian Federation, the Law on Education and Russian and Moscow regulatory documents.
- Young people can be employed outside their lesson time during the study year and during vacations.
- The nature of their work should not be destructive to health, normal development, good morals or disruptive to the study process.
- They can be employed by any type of organization or corporate entity.

To fulfil its objectives, the Centre actively collaborates with the local authorities in each administrative circuit of Moscow, as well as with employers, trade unions, public organizations for young people and children, associations and foundations.

The following groups are given priority in job placement:

- orphaned and abandoned children;
- adolescent children with jobless parents, children with single-parent families, families with many children, dysfunctional families, children of refugees and forced migrants;

- adolescents registered by Commissions for Minors, released from correctional institutions or graduating from correctional schools;
- children who have dropped out of school.

Young people are sent to jobs either directly from the Centre or through so-called youth labour exchanges, temporary job agencies and other companies and associations. They are recruited on the basis of temporary service agreements and special agreements governing the employment of minors.

6.7 ROLE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN COUNTERING CHILD LABOUR

By January 1, 2001 Moscow had 3,930 various educational establishments attended by 1,624,907 students.

Table 6.1

Educational establishments in Moscow

Type of educational establishment	Number	Number of students
Secondary schools	1489	991807
Private schools	73	8123
Nursery schools	1774	197328
Boarding schools	63	12829
Evening secondary schools	32	15741
Children's homes	35	1517
Primary vocational training schools	165	73701
Secondary vocational training schools	35	25332
Institutions for further training	138	290126
Higher education	3	8403

An important function of early education is to prepare the child for a social role that will shape his or her way in life. Therefore, early education can be considered the first step towards living in society.

Unfortunately, following a hike in nursery school fees, early education is becoming less and less affordable for many families, despite government subsidies and target benefits, and despite the fact that the fees actually remain at less than 20% of the total estimated cost of child subsistence.

Therefore, for many families, leaving children at home remains the only option. Recognising this, the government has decided to pay cash benefits to such families and to take measures aimed at creating a supportive environment for home education.

The shrinking number of nursery school places nation-wide is a dangerous tendency since it leaves 3-7 year-olds without opportunity for peer interaction and the intellectual and emotional benefits offered by it. For children born into problem and low-income families, home education may add to the likelihood they end up in the street.

Also, the continuing reduction in number of nursery school places leaves the community without a tool that was used to keep an eye on children left in pockets of severe deprivation. It was for their disadvantaged families that pre-school educational establishments such as nursery schools often worked as vehicles of social security.

One of the tasks of school education is to ensure the development of a mature individual, and the efficiency of the methods it uses depends mainly on how the school process is organised.

In today's schools, the learning process leaves no room for independent decisions. Application of cut-and-dried teaching methods to differently-abled students results in dissipation of interest and low performance. Going to school is perceived as an unpleasant but inevitable duty.

Conflicts and disillusionment experienced by parents, students and teachers alike, result in student truancy, transfers to 'compensation classes', and expulsions. This breeds low self-esteem, fosters inappropriate behaviours and may eventually cause children to run away from home and drop out of school.

According to the Prosecutor-General's Office of the Russian Federation, the number of 14-15 year-olds who drop out of secondary and vocational schools, never to work, amounts to 2 million every year. Until 1995, the youngest age of expulsion from school was generally 10 to 13 years. In 1997, expulsions of first-graders aged 7-8 were registered for the first time.

Between 500 thousand and 1.5 million 14-18 year-olds are denied further education each year due to enrolment restrictions and the shrinking capacity of vocational schools. Being unable to compete on the job market at such a young age and lacking qualifications they find themselves outside the education system. Forced to earn their living, they either join the low-skilled manual workforce or become involved in criminal activities or even beg.

One out of three young offenders on permanent police supervision has only primary education. For some of them the lag in educational attainment causes them to appear to be mentally retarded.

Furthermore, the education system now tends to provide services of increasingly inferior quality. Nearly half of the Moscow teachers have left their schools in the recent years, leaving them with the total shortage of some 3.5

thousand teachers, an unrealistic target for the local teacher-training colleges to meet, especially since most of their graduates go to private, rather than public, schools.

For many years, the country had a public primary vocational education system that provided social adaptation and vocational training to children with learning and behaviour problems, as well as children from low-income and dysfunctional families. These days, the situation of primary vocational schools is critical.

Special attention should be given to the fact that many neglected street children come from public educational establishments of the boarding-school type. They simply walk out of these overcrowded institutions because of beatings and violence. The most congested are homes for orphans with disabilities. Sparse funding and payment arrears make them operate on the brink of crisis. The only budget items covered by the state are the utilities, personnel salaries and meals for the children, the latter fast deteriorating in quality and increasingly consisting of carbohydrates only. A slowdown in the construction of new institutions is accompanied by dilapidation of the existing ones. Provision of clothes, shoes, bed-sheets and stationery to orphanages is also becoming a problem.

Inspections by the Prosecutor's Office reveal that all child institutions are overcrowded and the construction of new ones is required in nearly every region of the country.

An important ingredient of the prevention of child neglect is special residential institutions for deviant children and adolescents. They offer a comprehensive set of services including counselling and medical treatment, social rehabilitation and vocational training for children with behavioural disorders. Yet, a secondary school project of this type was mothballed many years ago and no provision has been made for a similar vocational school.

6.8. ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN COUNTERING STREET CHILD LABOUR

In addition to government institutions Moscow has a number of NGOs exercising independent control over the condition of children and promoting respect for their rights. In total there are over 2,000 public organizations and associations dealing with children in Moscow.

Independent third sector control is especially vital in case of such groups as children with disabilities, abandoned children, children without parental care

and children with low-income families. It is precisely these groups whose rights are most frequently violated. This category also includes institutionalised children, among them children with disabilities, orphans and children from dysfunctional families. Independent external monitoring often helps to detect issues that may be ignored by government departments and to settle conflicts between children and their respective child-care institutions.

An example of a programme designed to help children at risk is the Assistance to Russian Orphans (ARO) programme, financed by the U.S. Agency for International Development and implemented by Holt International Children's Services and the Charities Aid Foundation office in Moscow. The goals of the programme are:

- Decreasing the number of abandoned children and promoting family-based services for orphans, as well as children without parental care;
- Strengthening the capability of NGOs and groups who provide assistance to children who are at risk of being abandoned, including children with disabilities;
- Developing non-governmental support systems for abandoned children, and
- Developing and strengthening networks among organizations and community-based groups working in the area of alternative care for targeted children in order to share their experiences.

The ARO grants intend to support:

- Networking among various groups and organizations within a region, as well as cross-regional co-operation. Various forms of co-operation should create and develop regional mechanisms that will curb the tendency of growing numbers of abandoned children in Russia;
- Projects stating problems and proposing to resolve them in co-operation and collaboration with local/regional state structures and services providing social services to the targeted groups;
- Projects that demonstrate results of long-term, systematic and effective partnership relations among two or more organizations and groups that provide social and psychological assistance to children.

One of the programme's priorities is to develop family-based living arrangements for orphans and children left without parental care. Funding is allocated to projects aimed at development of and dissemination of information about family placement models.

Examples of potential projects to be funded under grant competitions are:

- The development of support measures and services for families;
- Transition programs to prepare children for a new type of living arrangement;
- The development of medical-psychological, social-pedagogical patronage (support) services for receiving families;
- The development of services supporting creation of conditions for adequate personal development of a child in receiving families;
- Programs focused on support for receiving families in crisis situations;
- Programs preventing repeated abandonment of children, including programs that provide consulting services to families who have adopted children;
- Community-based programs in shaping/changing public opinion and promotion of a receiving family concept.

EMERGENCY CRISIS SHELTERS FOR CHILDREN AT RISK

Shelters are an effective model of assisting street children. In Moscow shelters are created by both the authorities and NGOs, including churches. The new shelters have proved to be an indispensable element in the overall support system for children without parental care.

The functioning of child shelters demands a solid legislative base. Today, the legal status of shelters is badly affected by numerous loopholes in the active legislation. Each legal matter has to be passed from department to department for interpretation, approval or resolution, while new problems keep piling up. So much legal controversy concerning shelters is only natural, in view of their 'frontline' position in society: they are the first to cope with any social problems and challenges arising in the country.

Regardless of their status, shelters are typically welcomed and helped by the local authorities; heads of administrations undertake to personally assist them because shelters provide an efficient tool to improve the condition of children in a region.

The function of shelters is to care for the socially disadvantaged children. As social service institutions, shelters are supposed to operate on a licensed basis. To receive a license, a shelter should be examined by the fire inspection, sanitary epidemiological inspection and other supervisory bodies, and its personnel should be accredited for employment at a child-care institution. However, because government child-care standards for shelters have not been

enacted so far, the licensing procedure for shelters remains uncertain. Meanwhile, their functioning is governed by the Law "On the Prevention of Child Neglect" and related bylaws.

Shelter personnel typically maintain links with local child care departments supervising all children in the area, since their common task is to successfully resolve the problems of every minor in crisis. Shelter residents are also supervised by the local prosecution office that enforces the law "On the System for the Prevention of Child Neglect and Juvenile Delinquency" and related bylaws.

Public shelters often complement the functions of government residential establishments and serve as vehicles for change in the social security system.

A good example of a public shelter is the Children's Shelter Doroga k Domu ("Way Home") run by NAN (No to Alcohol and Drugs), a Russian charitable foundation. The shelter opened its doors in 1992 as a crisis centre, housing children while their mothers were in substance abuse treatment. Over time the shelter expanded its mission and in 1995 it was registered as a common shelter for children. Some time later a part of the activities of the shelter were subordinated to the municipal health department and a division of medical/social services for incoming children was opened. Most residents attend a nearby school, children with learning disabilities begin studies from an adaptation course in the shelter administered by experienced learning specialists. The age range of the children is 4-12 and there are 35 beds.

The Russian Society of the Red Cross, the largest humanitarian organization, has a long history of organising shelters.

In 1992 the society opened a 15-bed shelter in the south of Moscow, officially called a "rehabilitation centre for children in crisis". Since that time the number of beds in the shelter has doubled, largely because the Red Cross shelter is one of the very few establishments to accept children from outside Moscow. Since its foundation, the shelter has housed over 1000 children who afterwards returned to their families or were placed in children's homes or receiving families by the decision of a board of experts and child care authorities.

The St. Martha and St. Mary Convent Shelter for girls was founded 5 years ago. It has 30 beds. The residents attend a nearby school; two high school students also attend preparation courses for the teacher training college because they plan to work in the shelter. Each girl has a dramatic past, many of them have no parents or have been abandoned by them.

Parishes of the Roman Catholic Church often establish day-care facilities for social rehabilitation of children with dysfunctional families. One residential

shelter founded by Catholics is run by the Oratorium Foundation of the Virgin Mary's Immaculate Conception Church. Initially the Foundation only provided meals and clothing for children. Five years ago it opened a 10-bed shelter. The shelter is also called "the Salesian Refuge" after its patron, the Salesian Order from Italy. The idea is to recreate a family atmosphere and involve the children in daily household chores. The usual duration of stay in the shelter is 1 year, followed by return to a government residential establishment or family. While in the shelter they attend nearby schools.

Moscow has other church shelters, such as the permanent shelter run by the Resurrection Church around Serpukhov Gate and the "Pavlin" ("Peacock") shelter run by the Church of St. Mitrofanii of Voronezh.

For most of these establishments the word 'shelter' is only a metaphor: such church/monastery-based facilities for children can be anything from a 'children's home'-type permanent asylum to a 'patronage family'.

The existing Moscow shelters cannot meet the current demand for residential establishments. On November 27, 2000, the Russian government issued Resolution no. 896 "On the Adoption of Model Regulations for Specialised Institutions of Social Rehabilitation for Minors" to provide a regulatory framework for and encourage the establishment of more shelters.

7. EVALUATION OF STRATEGIES AGAINST CHILD LABOUR

7.1. EXTERNAL CAUSES OF CHILD LABOUR

According to the experts involved in the study, the main reasons for the emergence of street children and subsequently child labour in Moscow were unhealthy family life and economic deprivation. Families strained by financial difficulties cannot cope with the increasing demands of their children and sometimes even fail to provide them with adequate nutrition. This appears to be the main reason children look for their own sources of income.

In socially disadvantaged, alcoholic or morally bankrupt families, pecuniary challenges are often coupled with destructive dynamics in the relationships. These factors combine to spur children into the street, temporarily or permanently, leading them to a vagrant existence, required too early to make independent decisions.

Economic hardships and family dysfunction can therefore be named as the main causes of child labour.

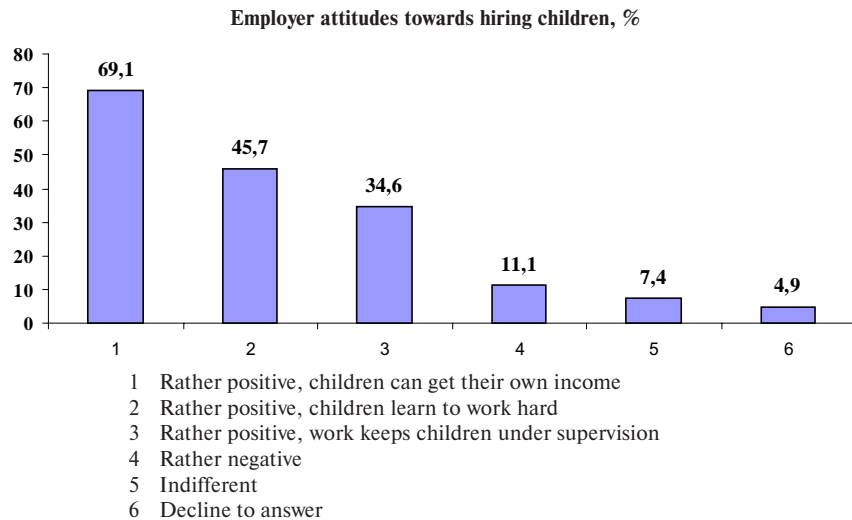
Another important cause mentioned by the experts is the overall social and economic situation in the country in the last decade. The crisis of 1990s has led to general community degradation, manifested by rising inequality, decline in the standard of living, insecurity, sweeping criminalisation of life and the resultant disintegration of community values, decline of social cohesion and the usual social standards, weakening of public regulation, and a decrease in solidarity. This weakens and distorts the primary socialisation of children. Today's street children are in many ways a by-product of this transition period.

The last in the hierarchy of causes of child labour named by the experts were the effects of the media and education providers. The positive (or negative) impact of these institutions on child labour in Moscow is believed to be minimal.

Employers hiring children say that most of the time they are voluntarily contacted by teenagers asking for a job. Such was the case with 65% of the employers surveyed. Many fewer children (17%) are put in contact with the employer by their parents. Very few employers recruited children themselves (2.5%).

Most employers viewed child labour positively. About 69% of them said it gave children the opportunity to earn money, which, in their opinion, was good. Employers believed that labour "keeps children busy", "teaches them to work" (46%) and even "keeps them under watch" (35%) (see Diagram 7.1). Only one employer out of nine thought that child labour was a negative phenomenon.

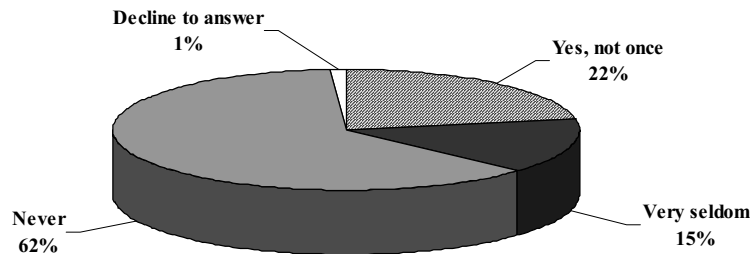
Diagram 7.1



The survey also showed that the prevailing position of the community towards both working street children and their employers was that of indifference. Only 22% of the employers had had problems or conflicts with the police or other authorities as a result of hiring children. The overwhelming majority of them (62%) had had no such problems (Diagram 7.2)

Diagram 7.2

Replies to the question: Have you had problems with the police or other authorities because of hiring children?



To sum up, children who seek independent sources of income do so under the pressure of financial and psychological problems in the family, against a background of general social insecurity. They mainly look for jobs independently and initiate contact with potential employers. The employers' complacency toward child labour and the lack of proper government and community controls are further factors contributing to the emergence of child labour in Russia today.

7.2 CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF ALTERNATIVES TO STREET LIFE

As the IPEC survey in Moscow demonstrates, the problem of child exploitation cannot be easily resolved - not only because this category of labour is in demand among employers, but also because children are quick to adopt 'street-smart' skills. Finding themselves in the street, they very soon embrace an alternative value system and become accustomed to regarding street work as indispensable even if it had not been so viewed before. As a result, not every child is prepared to abandon street work in favour of a different, even more decent, alternative. This attitude is shared by 72% of the respondents; only one fourth of respondents considered other options. At the same time, many more children involved in prostitution (40%) and even a greater proportion of those involved in criminal activities (70%) expressed a desire to change their current lifestyle.

In the children's opinion, how could their lives be improved?

First, one of the most common responses to a question about ways in which they could be helped was that children wanted a permanent place to sleep at night. In all other respects, they 'enjoyed' independent living and did not intend to change it. This opinion came from 8.3% of all the children surveyed and from 22% of the children involved in criminal activities. Permanent shelters are the main types of external help these children are prepared to accept. Having that, they would continue to live and earn money in the same way. Although permanent shelters would create more comfortable and safe conditions for children who have lived in the street long enough and are not willing to go back to their family or be institutionalised, they will not solve the problem.

Second, a small minority of boys (2.1%, and 5.5% among those involved in criminal activities) wanted to live and receive education as cadets at an army base or military school. Another 2% did not have a family or were not willing to return to it, and wanted to be adopted by foster parents. Notably, the share of such children among those involved in criminal activities was twice as high (4.6%).

Living among peers in a ‘commune’ (a camp or traditional public boarding-school) was an acceptable option for an even smaller proportion of children (1.3% and 1.1% respectively). Other alternatives to institutionalisation, such as privately run shelters or rural family-type houses with a ‘mother’, were even less attractive (under 1%). Practically no one wanted to live in a church or monastery home and receive religious education (0.1%).

Analysis of the children’s opinions about their living arrangements demonstrates that while leaving home and living in the street may be easy, withdrawing from the street is a much greater challenge. Re-entry is the most difficult for children with substantial experience of street life. In view of this, special attention should be given to preventive measures aimed at high-risk families and their children and to creating conditions whereby they will not become working street children in the first place.

Importantly, the survey found that there exists a small group of street children who would appreciate an opportunity to change their lives. These children are in need of careful, individualised intervention. Because every child counts in the struggle against exploitation, each of them deserves a personalised, needs-based approach, with thorough examination of the causes of their labour, their aspirations and plans.

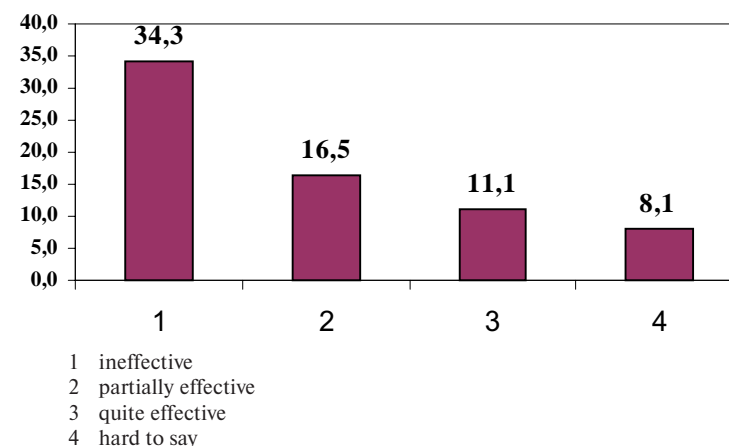
7.3 EXPERTS ON EFFICIENT SUPPORT MODELS FOR STREET CHILDREN

Despite a gradual and welcome regulatory, institutional and administrative response to the problems of street children, it leaves much to be desired in the way of measurable improvements. This was noted by most of the experts involved in the survey. Thus, only one out of three experts acknowledged that current employment programmes for young people (seasonal work programs, temporary placement, etc.) are instrumental, at least partially, in improving the situation of working street children (see Diagram 7.3).

Most of the experts (60%) said that public and charity organizations have an important role to play in providing an adequate response to the problem. They named a dozen Moscow-based groups, among them the Street Children Centres and NAN Foundation.

About 20% of the experts felt that the police, including the juvenile boards, were doing a good job helping to solve the problem. One expert out of ten gave a positive rating to the shelters as a method of solving the problem. Similarly, positive ratings were given to the Youth and Family Committees, the social security services of the prefectures and the municipal social centres. Only a

Experts’ replies to the question: “How effective are current employment programmes for young people in improving the situation of working street children?”



small number of experts (3-5%) were satisfied with the activities of the Red Cross, the church parishes, the Committee for the Protection of the Rights of the Child, the employment services and the departments for foster care and guardianship.

Notably, only one expert included schools in the list of organizations providing adequate response to the problem. The experts were divided concerning the role of the education system. About 12% of the experts said that public schools were not prepared to address the problem, first, because most street children do not attend schools, second, some said, because combating street child labour should not be a major concern of the education system and third, because the education system had insufficient institutional capacity and personnel.

Most of the experts said that the primary task of schools today is to give more attention to vocational qualifications and that vocational skills should become an indispensable part of the curriculum up to grade nine. Also it is necessary to refocus the vocational training system on ‘marketable’ occupations, innovative training methods and techniques. Special vocational training centres should be created for students who choose to leave school before grade nine.

Some experts said that schools could undertake to provide job placement services for those of their students who had turned 15 years of age and were willing to work. This could be achieved by creating paid jobs at school-based workshops and by negotiating agreements with enterprises, employment services and municipal authorities. The aim would be to do everything possible to find appropriate job placements for needy children aged 15 and above.

Schools should also place greater emphasis on providing their students with adequate recreational opportunities. Without them, children will sooner or later find themselves in the street. Today's schools have very little to offer in terms of free-of-charge specialists or sports activities, and children from low-income families cannot afford paid facilities. Extra-curricular activities in science and technology, arts and humanities can make valuable contributions to the development of healthy individuals, strengthen their bonds with school, and help them to make good occupational choices in the future.

Maintaining liaisons with the families of school students, experts said, is critical to the success of school education. This may involve 'social patronage' services on the part of the school staff for dysfunctional and risk group families. Problem families need to be monitored and helped with counselling, guidance and employment. Most experts believed that the school has a vital role to play in solving the problem of street children, especially through prevention.

After analysing the situation and studying the possibilities for improvement, the experts developed a list of priorities that should be established to solve the problems of street children:

- Comprehensive, holistic approach to the problem, involving support services to families, relatives of the children – 94%;
- Adequate legal framework – 84%;
- Greater input from local administrations – 79%;
- Mass media campaign – 72%;
- Establishment of a city-wide co-ordination centre – 72%;
- Increased funding – 64%;
- A special city programme on the elimination of child labour – 59%;
- More international projects in this field – 53%.

A substantial number of experts (36%) believe that the family should be the main area of action. This will help to eradicate the root causes, rather than effects, of child vagrancy. According to the experts it was equally important to place greater emphasis on the improvement of recreational opportunities for children such as clubs, societies, circles in schools, social work centres, municipalities, etc. (33%).

One expert out of five (21%) said that the most support should be given to specialised institutions catering for children living separate from their families (temporary homes, children's homes, shelters, rehabilitation centres). These experts also stressed the importance of an individualised approach and personalised 'street-leaving' strategies.

The experts felt that job placements for children aged 15 seeking independent income should be improved. Legal employment at enterprises, apprentice workshops, summer camps can effective alternatives to street work.

Nearly one expert out of ten thinks that it is important to strengthen the capacity of schools and other educational establishments with more social workers, including special street counsellors. To enhance the potential for dealing with the problem, co-ordination of efforts between social workers, educators and local administrations is needed.

In contrast to the experts, a larger proportion of employers (36%) saw finding legal employers for teenagers as a solution to the problem. Some believed that the root of the evil is the economic situation in the country; therefore street child labour would be easier to avert once the economic situation improved (10%). Compared with the experts, a smaller proportion of the employers (5%) saw a link between family dynamics and child labour.

To conclude the overview of experts' and employers' opinions, it seems the country needs a proactive public policy towards the eradication of child labour. This can be achieved through co-ordination of activities and mutual strengthening of all stakeholders in the process, including government structures at various levels, and public and religious organizations. To this end, a special comprehensive programme should be put in place in the following areas:

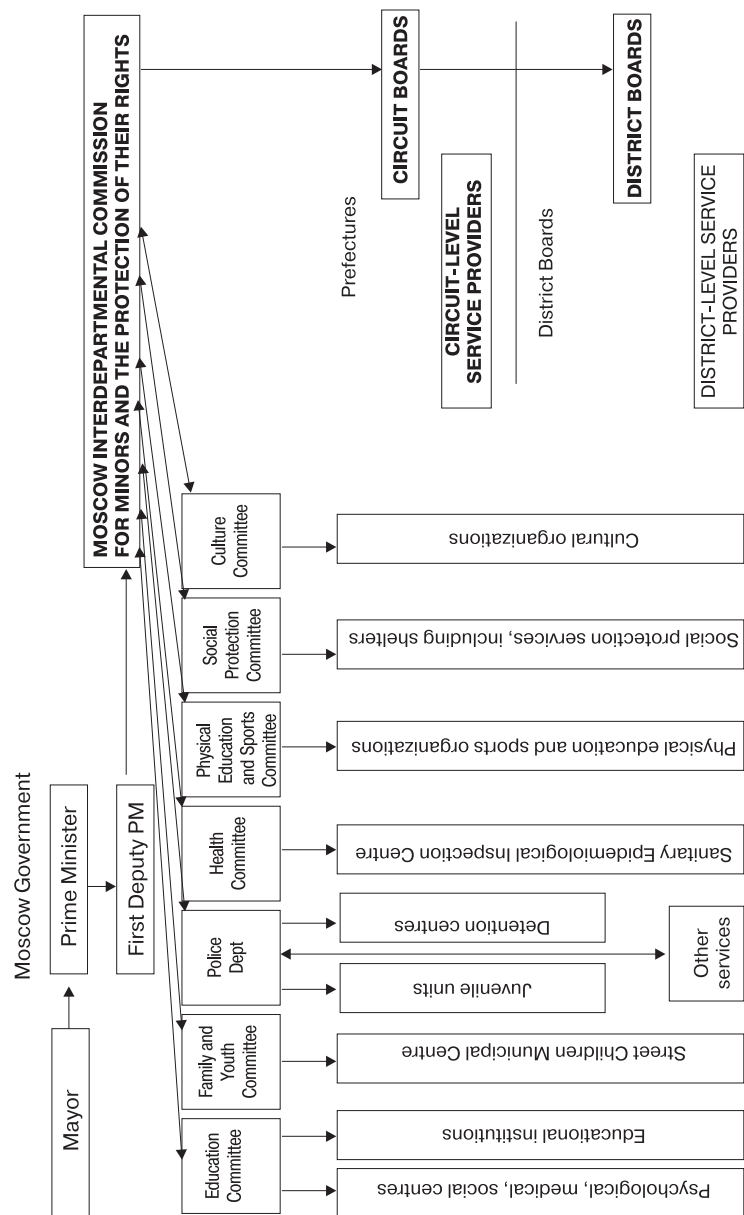
- Effective strategies for resolution of family problems, strengthening the foundations of family as a social institution;
- Creation of jobs and provision of job placement services to children and adolescents aged 16 years and up;
- High-quality situational analysis of the problem, continuous monitoring of the number and social backgrounds of families and children, identification of risk groups, provision of a databank of case studies, etc.;
- Introduction of a system of juvenile justice;
- Provision of recreational activities for children, the revival of children's organizations;
- Sensitising the public to the problem of street children and the need to find effective intervention strategies.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I. BASIC LEGAL DOCUMENTS AND TECHNICAL STANDARDS RELATING TO THE EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY OF UNDERAGE WORKERS IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

1. Code of Labour Laws of the Russian Federation;
2. Federal Law no. 181 “On the Basic Principles of Occupational Safety in the Russian Federation”, 19 July 1999;
3. Resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation no. 839 “On the Establishment of Procedures for the Preparation and Circulation of the State Report on the Condition of Children in the Russian Federation”, 2 November 2000.
4. Resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation no. 163 “On the Establishment of a Register of Hazardous and Labour-Intensive Occupations where Employment of Persons under the Age of 18 Is Prohibited”, 25 February 2000;
5. Resolution of the Ministry Labour and Social Development of the Russian Federation no. 7 “On the Establishment of Maximum Permissible Norms for Manual Lifting and Handling of Weights by Persons under the Age of 18”, 7 April 1999;
6. Resolution of the Ministry of Labour of Russia no. 51 “On the Establishment of Procedures for the Provision of Special Clothes, Footwear and Means of Individual Protection at Work”, 18 December 1998;
7. Resolution of the Ministry of Labour of Russia no. 69 “On the Establishment of Model Standards for the Distribution of Special Clothes, Footwear and Other Means of Individual Protection among Workers Occupying Inter-sectoral Jobs and Positions in All Sectors of Economy”, 30 December 1997;
8. GOST 12.0.004-90 “Occupational Safety Standards System. Organization of Occupational Safety Training: General Principles” ;
9. GOST 12.3.002-75 “Occupational Safety Standards System: General Standards”;
10. GOST 12.0.003-74 “Occupational Safety Standards System: Classification of Basic Safety Hazards”;
11. GOST 12.1.005-88 “Occupational Safety Standards System: General Sanitary Air Standards for Production Areas”;
12. GOST 12.2.032-78 “Occupational Safety Standards System: Sedentary workplace. General Economic Requirements”;
13. GOST 12.2.061-81 “Occupational Safety Standards System: Production Equipment. General Workplace Safety Requirements”;
14. GOST 12.1.003-83 “Occupational Safety Standards System: Noise. General Safety Requirements”;
15. SNIP 23-05-95 “Natural and Artificial Lighting”;
16. SNIP 2.09.04-87 “Administrative and Accessory Buildings”;
17. SNIP 2.04.05-91 “Heating, Ventilation and Air-Conditioning”;
18. SanPiN (Sanitary Rules and Norms) 2.2.4.548-96 “Microclimatic Standards for Production Areas”;
19. SanPiN (Sanitary Rules and Norms) 2.2.2.542-96 “Video Display Terminals, Personal Computers”;
20. “Criteria of Hygienic Evaluation of Work Conditions Using Nuisance Values, Production Environment Hazard Indices and Production Process Intensity”, Guide P 2.2.013-94;
21. Standard Occupational Safety Specifications for Operators and Users of Personal Computers and Personnel Involved in the Servicing of Personal Computers and Video Display Terminals — TOI P 01-00-01-96;
22. Order of the Ministry of Health of Russia no. 90 “On the Procedure of Initial and Regular Medical Examination of Employees and the Issuance of Occupational Permits”, 14 March 1996;
23. Order of the Ministry of Health of Russia no. 405 “On Initial and Regular Medical Examination of Employees”, 10 December 1996.

APPENDIX II. PREVENTION OF CHILD NEGLECT AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN MOSCOW. ORGANIZATIONAL CHART



APPENDIX III. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE AND EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES FOR ADOLESCENTS

No.	Name	Address	Director	Telephone
1	Moscow Labour and Employment Centre for Young People «Perspektiva»	3, Yushunskaya ul.	Alexander Potapov	190-1605 190-6856 754-9118
2	Northern Social/Labour Adaptation Centre for Young People	3, 2-Baltiyskiy per	Boris Krasnoslobodts	151-0494
3	Eastern Social/Labour Adaptation Centre for Young People	12, 1-Parkovaya ul, office 304	Leonid Sharov	164-9446
4	South Eastern Social/Labour Adaptation Centre for Young People	10, Novoostapovskaya ul.	Victoria Prokopenko	274-4144
5	Southern Social/Labour Adaptation Centre for Young People	67, Varshavskoye shosse	Inna Brusikova	110-4991
6	North Western Social/Labour Adaptation Centre for Young People	4, 1-Pekhotniy per	Alexander Galkin	190-4881
7	Zelenograd Social/Labour Adaptation Centre for Young People	korp. 1140, Zelenograd	Vladimir Dulenin	530-9055
8	Western Social/Labour Adaptation Centre for Young People	40, Michurinskiy pr.	Fedor Kuzmin	932-3000
9	South Western Social/Labour Adaptation Centre for Young People	5, ul. Gubkina	Olga Kucherenko	134-8323
10	South Western State Centre for Career Guidance and Psychological Support for Unemployed Citizens	30, ul. Obrucheva	Antonina Lyashchenko	424-0433 424-0500
11	Social Rehabilitation Centre for Minors "Naltox" (Substance Abuse Out-Patient Clinic no. 5)	26, Kastanayevskaya	Igor Rubchenko	144-5878 144-1782 145-0044
12	Advisory Centre "Mozhayka"	4, Mozhayskoye shosse	Eliso Kvelidze	443-9855
13	Centre for Labour Adaptation and Career Guidance of Young People and Adolescents North Eastern Administrative circuit, Altufyevskoye	14a, Kostromskaya ul.	Vera Shpartko	901-6133

No.	Name	Address	Director	Telephone
14	Family Support Centre, North Eastern Administrative circuit, Sviblovo	5, Vereskovaya ul.	Olga Chistyakova	189-6785
15	School 2006 pilot project "School as a part of the family and child social protection system" North Eastern Administrative circuit, Lianozovo	12, Pskovskaya ul, apt. 3	Marina Zhurkova	908-1509 908-1571

APPENDIX IV. LIST OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR ABANDONED CHILDREN AND CHILDREN WITHOUT PARENTAL CARE

Civil Rights Committee

Protection of rights and liberties of minors, legal advocacy, 'orphan search inspections', individual consultations for orphans, roundtables, publishing of articles, reports, books.

Address: 61/1, Proezd Shokalskogo, Moscow

Telephone: +7 095 478-95-15

E-mail: komitet@citiline.ru

Pravo Rebenka ("Right of the Child") regional public organization

Social and legal advocacy for children, co-operation with public agencies and administrations. Humanitarian aid and legal services to families and child-care institutions.

Address: 11, ul. Noviy Arbat, office 1918, Moscow

Telephone: +7 095 291-58-72

E-mail: right_child@mtu.net.ru

Nash Dom ("Our House") youth centre

Social integration camps for risk group children, links with Yanush Korchak camps world-wide.

Address: 24/3, Sokolnichesky proezd, apt. 15, Moscow

Telephone: +7 095 269-85-01

Caritas Catholic charity centre

Aid to children abandoned by HIV-positive parents. Humanitarian aid to adolescent parents.

Address: 5/1, Dmitrovskoye shosse, apt. 134, Moscow

Telephone: +7 095 976-35-54, 956-05-84

Creative Temporary Detention Centre for Adolescents, pilot relief programme

Counselling for children in crisis. Integrated art therapy for social and psychological rehabilitation.

Address: 13/4, Altufyevskoye shosse, Moscow

Telephone: +7 095 401-98-07

Solnechniy Krug (“Sun Disk”) public relief organization for orphaned children

Social adaptation through work for residents of Moscow boarding-houses. Creative enrichment classes for orphans, charity auctions, festivals, exhibitions, recreation activities. Development of a “new model of orphanage”.

Address: 12, Elektrichesky proezd, Moscow
Telephone: +7 095 213-38-98

Russian Orphan Opportunity Fund (ROOF) non-profit organization
Social adaptation of orphans. Support for orphans in receiving proper education, developing self-confidence.

Address: 8/5, Voznesensky per. office. 46, Moscow
Telephone: +7 095 229-51-17
<http://www.roofnet.org/about/about-ru.html>

V Zashchitu Detstva (“Childhood Protection”) Movement
Advocacy services for orphans, preparation of new legislation. Emergency aid to abandoned children and children without parental care.

Address: 26, Planetnaya ul. office 70, Moscow
Telephone: +7 095 291-58-72

Assistance to Charities Foundation
International festivals and concerts to promote creative development of orphans.

Address: 14, Bumazhniy proezd, office 402-405, Moscow
Telephone: +7 095 257-31-31
E-mail: info@koordinator.ru www.koordinator.ru

Goodwill Without Borders, international outreach movement

Defending the right of orphans to life in family, legal, psychological, information and cultural support for receiving families. Aid to children-victims of the Chechen hostilities.

Telephone: +7 095 465-01-89, 253-80-42, 918-84-60
E-mail: dauber_prcc@mail.cnt.ru

The Miramed Institute Social Adaptation Residential Centre
Social and psychological adaptation, humanitarian aid to children
Address: 6/3 Pyatnitskoye shosse, 123310, Moscow
Telephone: +7 095 753-30-10
E-mail: ericmira@online.ru

Pedagogichesky Poisk (“Educational Innovation”) regional public organization

Social rehabilitation and adaptation of institutionalised children, legal and psychological support for guardians, summer vacations for orphans.

Address: 68, Flotskaya ul, apt 83, Moscow
Telephone: +7 095 453-92-86.

SOS Children’s Village Russian Committee

Alternative family-type orphanages headed by SOS mothers. Co-operation with child-care departments, development of training and information materials.

Address: 12, Pestovsky per. apt 20, 109004, Moscow
Telephone: +7 095 915-34-67

Children’s Home no. 19

Selection of patronage families. Services for receiving families. Medical, psychological and legal support for children without parental care.

Address: Family Service, 10/3, Spartakovskaya pl., Moscow
Telephone: +7 095 267-74-19.
E-mail: m_vechenskaya@mail.ru

Deti Marii (“Maria’s Children”), regional public organization for the artistic development of orphans

Social and psychological rehabilitation of children with developmental disabilities through art.

Address: 2/10, stroeniye 1, Dmitrovskiy per, 103031, Moscow
Telephone/fax: +7 095 292-48-70.
E-mail: mariaschildren@mail.ru

Souchastiye v sudbe (“Common life”) charity centre

Comprehensive range of services for children leaving orphanages, legal advocacy and consultations, job placement, career guidance, community patronage.

Address: 19, ul. Noviy Arbat, office 1803, Moscow

Telephone: +7 095 203-40-60, 203-83-56.

Russian Children’s Fund

Charity work, services to hearing-impaired children and orphans.

Address: 11/2, Armyanskiy per, 101963, Moscow

Telephone: +7 095 925-82-00, 923-00-09.

E-mail: madf@online.ru

Nadezhda po vsemu miru (“Hope World-wide”) charitable foundation

Humanitarian aid to institutionalised children, training and post-institution education.

Address: 41/7, Botanicheskaya ul, Moscow

Telephone: +7 095 955-71-06

E-mail: e_varfolomeev@mail.ru

Post-Institution Adaptation Centre for Children in Residential Establishments

Social and psychological support for orphans, legal advocacy, post-institution education.

Address: 19a, Bolshaya Spasskaya ul, Moscow

24/2, 1-Kaptelny per, Moscow

Telephones: +7 095 280-08-88; 280-06-83

**IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS
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2001**

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