

МЕТОДИЧЕСКИЕ ПОДХОДЫ К ОЦЕНКЕ ЭКСКЛЮЗИИ СИРОТ НА РЫНКЕ ТРУДА

Явление эксклюзии сирот рассматривается как процесс исключения сирот из полноценной жизни общества. В статье данное явление описывается на этапах первичной и вторичной социализации, и приводятся объективные и субъективные факторы социальной эксклюзии сирот в сфере занятости. Описаны проблемы экономического характера, с которыми сталкиваются сироты на рынке труда, что подтверждается результатами федерального мониторинга социальной адаптации выпускников интернатных учреждений. Выделены условия успешности детей-сирот в будущей трудовой деятельности. Проанализированы различные методики измерения социальной эксклюзии сирот, выявлены проблемы их применения в качестве измерителей на эмпирическом уровне, и обоснована необходимость их верификации в связи с тем, что они имеют лишь косвенное отношение к оценке социальной эксклюзии сирот на рынке труда. Обоснована необходимость разработки методики, включающей систему конкретных, эмпирически измеряемых индикаторов социальной включенности/исключенности сирот в трудовой сфере. Предложены индикаторы оценки социальной эксклюзии сирот на рынке труда, отражающие как объективные, так и субъективные ее проявления.

Ключевые слова: сироты, социальная эксклюзия, индикаторы эксклюзии, социальная инклюзия, рынок труда

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METHODICAL APPROACHES TO THE ASSESSMENT OF ORPHANS' EXCLUSION IN EMPLOYMENT

The phenomenon of orphans' social exclusion is considered as a process of excluding orphans from productive social life. The article considers objective and subjective factors of orphans' exclusion in the sphere of employment, describes economic problems facing orphans on the labour market. The authors analyze various methods of measuring orphans' social exclusion; determine problems of implementing these methods at the empirical level and, thus, prove the necessity of their verification due to their oblique relation to the subject at issue; substantiate the necessity of working out a new method that would include a system of certain empirically measured indicators of orphans' social inclusion/exclusion in labour sphere, and propose indicators of orphans' social exclusion on labour market that reflect its both objective and subjective manifestations.

Keywords: orphans, social exclusion, indicators of exclusion, labour market, system of empirically measured indicators of orphans' social inclusion/exclusion.

Orphans are still one of the social groups in the situations of high risk of social exclusion. In the «National Strategy for Action for Children 2012–2017» the problem of children – orphans exclusion was identified as one of the main problems in childhood [3, p. 3].

The current policy in our society is to establish as a priority a substitute family; a growing number of children are placed under guardianship. Despite the undoubted advantages of foster families in comparison with residential institutions, socialization problems remain very serious after leaving the orphanage.

Studies of orphans in the United States show that for several years after leaving foster care, slightly more than half the orphans left school, 25 % experienced a period of homelessness, and 60 % were not busy throughout the year. Less than one fifth of people can provide for themselves, one of four men and one in ten women spent time in prison; at the age of 19, about 50 % of the women were pregnant [8, p. 28]. Unfortunately, such large-scale monitoring studies in the Russian Federation have not been conducted.

Exclusion has various manifestations and is a complex phenomenon. Many former foster care orphans experience difficulty in obtaining the same rights, basic needs, and access to a variety of resources that are available to the rest of the population. Exclusion can manifest itself in economic, social, cultural, and political spheres.

Social exclusion of orphans can be seen as a process that occurs throughout their lives; and at each step of the process, orphans are deprived of the significant resources required for proper socialization.

The long term effects of orphanhood are not well understood, particularly in terms of employment and social success in adult life.

The problem of orphan exclusion in employment is determined by objective and subjective factors. Factors that increase the probability of orphan exclusion include limited choice of professions (usually orphans are trained in those educational institutions that provide accommodation), lack of post-orphanage adaptation infrastructure, limited social network, and a biased attitude towards orphans.

A significant barrier to orphans leading a successful adult life is that they were deprived of having a mother. In adult life, orphans, as a rule, don't have strong labor motivation, cannot hold a job, cannot take care of their families, lose housing, etc.

Studies show that employers face with problems that have no direct relation to the orphans' professional skills: the inability the orphans have to building relationships with colleagues, their unwillingness to take on responsibility, low motivation to work, passivity, and manipulation [4].

Among the factors that increase the likelihood of orphans' inclusion in the labor market of the Russian Federation are provided by the legislation benefits (pensions, additional guarantees, and the right to work, access to education benefits, free training

courses, and preparation for entry). Unfortunately, the implementation level of these benefits is insufficient.

Conditions needed for orphans to have better chances in the labor market are: vocational education relevant for the labor market, job applicants must have social and labor competency, and they must be adaptable. For inclusion of orphans in the employment market, it is necessary:

1. To develop a system of measurement for reduced risks of exclusion;
2. To identify groups of orphans with the greatest depth of exclusion; and
3. To overcome interdepartmental barriers in solving the problems of exclusion.

The authorities should develop policies that prevent orphan exclusion. It is important to determine the width and the depth of the exclusion in various fields on the basis of valid (relevant) techniques. In current studies of domestic practices in hiring employees, orphan exclusion is very seldom included [1; 2; 6].

One of the empirically tested techniques for studying orphan exclusion was developed by A. M. Sergienko. The author identifies the following forms of exclusion in the labor market: «1) unemployment as exclusion from state guaranteed employment, 2) poverty as exclusion from the means of subsistence in a situation of unemployment and employment, 3) non-legal labor practices, large scale of the informal labor market in which workers' rights are not respected and cannot be protected by the state and public institutions, and 4) exclusion from the information that leads to violations of fundamental rights and freedoms in the social and labor issues, and 5) exclusion from social safety nets, social security» [5, p. 56].

There is a lack of comprehensive and valid methods of analysis that take into account the needs of orphans. This stresses the importance of developing such methods, including a system of empirically measurable indicators to assess the social exclusion of orphans in the labor market.

The need to develop such methods is also hampered by the fact that now there is no uniform system of orphan adaptation data in our country. Systems of accounting are carried out mainly at the municipal level. Regional databases of orphans exist only in some regions.

With regard to the employment problems of orphans, in most cases only the initial employment is monitored by the government. Only in some regions (Nenyingri, Nizhny Novgorod, Omsk region, etc.) do employment centers keep records of employed and unemployed orphans, and also carry out assistance in obtaining employment and many other issues.

Currently our country has been implementing a concept of post-orphanage adaptation of orphans and children left without parental care, which involves the development of social patronage orphans aged 18 to 23 years. The problems of orphans over the age of 23 is the subject of study in only a very few cases.

In our opinion, in addition to the measurement of objective indicators of exclusion, it is also necessary to study the subjective perception, which is caused by cultural differences and values, well-established social standards of living, micro- and macro-environment, cultural expectations, and goals.

Therefore, as indicators of orphan exclusion, objective data can be obtained with analysis of such documents as analytical reports, statistical information, data center employment, recruitment agencies, personnel departments, etc. Subjective indicators can be obtained by analysis of the results of qualitative and quantitative sociological research (questionnaires, non-standardized interviews, focus groups, and expert interviews).

The method we propose includes using both objective and subjective indicators of a high level inclusion (as the ideal model of success for orphans in employment) and exclusion. Various combinations of exclusion and inclusion indicators reflect different types (levels) of exclusion, which we are planning to define in our empirical research. Fragment of this method is presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Evaluation indicators of orphans' social exclusion in employment

№	Indicators	Inclusion	Exclusion	Sources of information
Objective indicators				
1	Employment	Availability of work	Lack of work (unemployment) for more than one year	Analysis of documents
2	Type of employment	Permanent work (full-time, part-time)	Seasonal, episodic work	Analysis of documents
3	Social guarantees of employment	Availability of social guarantees employment	Non-legal labor practices	Analysis of documents
4	Per capita income	High and Middle-income	Income below the poverty level, at a subsistence level, less than half the average in the region	Questionnaire Survey
5	Arrears of payments	No debt, the debt is small (episodic)	High levels of debt, chronic indebtedness	Questionnaire Survey
Subjective indicators				
6	Habits of work	Availability of skills organizing own activities. Industriousness	Lack of basic skills in organizing personal life, an inability to plan and allocate budget	Expert Survey of employers
7	Social and labor activity	Work motivation, social mobility, commitment to improve the social status	Passivity, lack of motivation, dependent position	Expert Survey of employers
8	Social network, social ties	Involvement in a stable social network, activity in establishing new social ties	Limited social network (or unstable involvement in a social network), passivity in establishing new social ties	Questionnaire Survey interviews Focus – group
9	Involvement in labor relations	High level of adaptability to the labor collective, employment, social norms, a sense of comfort and satisfaction	Inadaptability, rejection of conventional norms, discomfort, dissatisfaction	Questionnaire Survey interviews Focus – group

We define the depth of exclusion as «exclusion across more than one domain or dimension of disadvantage, resulting in severe negative consequences for quality of life, well-being, and future life chances» [7, p. 9].

So to overcome the exclusion of orphans in employment, first of all it is necessary to determine its scope, shape, and depth on the basis of methodology that analyzes both objective and subjective manifestations of exclusion.

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