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IS REVISING THE HISTORY OF CHILD PROTECTION ESSENTIAL FOR REFORMS OF COUNTRIES IN TRANSITION?

Child protection is a vicious circle of social policy in transition. The socialist period by which all shortcomings are in the habit of explaining has been far in past, but issues remain. Their definition primarily is focused on limited number of indicators mostly regarding residential care. Child protection in transition countries is still alienated from the variety of research approaches, discussions related to interpretation of international standards, and the diversity of helping practices. Countries in transition need a normative model of child protection to be able to differentiate the approach for each country as well as to build them into the international context. It is reasonable to operate by the experience of developed countries for constructing such model because of following points:

1. Common forces driving the formation of child protection (industrialization, urbanization, participative society acquisition) in spite of different temporality in developed countries and countries in transition;
2. Stipulation of international standards determining modern child protection in majority of countries by the experience of developed ones;
3. Already embodied adoption from developed countries' experience which provides further problems for countries in transition.

The examination of child protection formation in developed countries is aimed at indicating common traits govern by common driving forces as well as the diversity of strategies regarding children's rights protection in different countries. The periodisation of child protection formation is based upon the integration of two mainstream approaches towards the recognition of childhood in the history Western civilization, constructivist (Ph. Ariès, L. de Mause, J. Clarke) and institutional political (H. Hendrich, Cr. Piper) . The juxtaposition of these approaches is targeted to investigate child protection formation through three stages: pre-industrial, industrial, and post-modern. This classification is constructed by yet existing criteria (e.g. the criterion of child's belonging by Il. Ostner) as well as the introduction by new ones (relation between child safety and family autonomy as key principles of child protection, composition of actors and legitimation of their power, etc...).

The periodisation is justified by the correlation between industrialization pace and the continuity regarding the formation of institutional and legal grounds of child protection in three countries (Great Britain, France, and Denmark) presenting diverse profiles of social policy and simultaneously high sustainable pace of socio-economic development. The formation of child protection in these countries is distinguished by significant similarities in terms of content (tasks, composition of actors, and continuity of changes) and temporality. The formation of child protection is evaluated by the method of discourse analysis unifying legal regulations, initiations and relevant ideologies into the continuity of three discourses of parent-child relationship relevant to periods of child protection formation. Discourses created on early periods were transformed during furthers, and currently, the diversity of discourses determines trajectories of child protection development on global and national levels. As the child protection had been forming, the specification of its' strategies has been increased in different developed countries under the influence of such contexts as local authority culture, the court system, proportion of familialisation and defamilialisation.

The contemporary state of child protection reflects its' formation and operates as the three-stage cycle *prevention – crisis intervention – after-crisis placement* of child focused on keeping the priority

of the first stage and the balance of child safety and family autonomy. The achievement of the balance maintains indicators for each of the stages and consistency among them.

The periodisation operates as the benchmark model identifying driving forces, transformation of their composition, and its' temporality – particular periods, duration, continuity, discreteness for the formation of relevant institutions and practices. The examination of child protection of countries in transition starts from the evaluation regarding the degree of deviation from the benchmark in terms of temporality and continuity of periods, the investigations of the sources stipulating the deviation, and the assessment of the current child protection operation as determined by the special way of formation, mixing diverse strategies adopted from developed countries' experience and lacks of actors' reflexivity.

The retrospective analysis of child protection in the Czech Republic and Russia has discovered significant differences between countries in the period of primary institutionalisation of public care, but the following establishment of crisis intervention in both countries was determined by the shortcomings of local authority and the court system operation typical for late socialist and transit periods. Current non-transparency of decision-making related to child removal, termination of parental rights, further child placement; the absence of regulation regarding services' responsibility for arbitrary or late intervention; limited range of measures for parental rights regulation are direct consequences of previous formation which aggravate the development of alternatives to residential care and preventive services.

The analysis of institutional and legal regulations in retrospective context has been supplemented by the survey among Czech and Russian actors of child protection in order to indicate their attitude towards various discourses and contemporary child protection. The sensitivity to the conflict of child safety and family autonomy as well as the consistent indication of own position among diverse discourses is viewed as the ground for applying the late-come winner model (A. Gerschenkron) to intensification of child protection transformation and overcoming current trend just to have off the models of developed countries according to the Rostovian take-off model. Czech respondents have presented more potentials than Russians, but professionals of both countries call for the revision of child protection formation as the ground for recognising options for child protection reforms.