

THE EMPLOYMENT INSTABILITY CRITERIA, PROBABILITY AND DEGREE BY REFERENCE TO THE RUSSIAN LABOR MARKET SPECIFIC FEATURES

This article discloses the issues of the global reach of precarization and substantiates the criteria of employment instability by reference to the specific nature of their manifestations in the Russian Federation. The urgency of the research is justified by the variability of approaches to the subject-matter of precarious employment and the necessity for its optimal criteria formulation in the light of the national labor market specific features. Both international and Russian research on the precarization issues and, most valuable — the results of the survey of the Russian experts in this field, conducted for the first time ever in the autumn of 2016, are involved in this paper. The experts considered the groups of criteria based on the labor contract term, the nature of labor relations and the precarious labor conditions. The experts were also proposed to evaluate those different forms of employment which exhibit the precarity properties. As a result of the conducted research, the generalized criteria were elaborated to identify the different forms of instability in the labor market. A hypothesis was put forward stating that the criteria of the International Labor Organization (ILO) need to be adapted to the Russian reality when identifying the instable employment, and the precarious employment phenomenon itself has to be defined from the point of view of the probabilistic nature of its various manifestations. According to the results of the research, the relevance of the ILO criteria in the Russian context was qualified. The probabilistic nature of precarious employment, as well as the set of the precarious employment criteria as applied to the Russian conditions by clarifying the accepted criteria, their complementation and the assessment of the precarization probability in the different forms of employment, were substantiated. And, finally, the structure of the criterial standards to identify the precarious employed population was presented. The fundamental issues and key findings of the paper can be used as the theoretical and methodological basis for scoping the precarious employment in Russia, as well as for the evaluation of a certain employee's precarious employment degree.

Keywords: precarization, precarious employment, criteria of precarious employment, informal employment, types of employment, work statuses, precarious employment degree, expert survey, labor contract terms, nature of labor relations, precarious labor conditions

1. Introduction

In the present-day conditions, for the disclosure of transformation of the economic area and regional dynamics, the studies of the problems of employment precarity (precarization of employment), or in the Russian authors' terms — instable employment — are taking on particular importance [1, 5, 8, 9, 11]. Essentially, precarious (instable) employment is the extension of the socioeconomic employment relations forced to an employee, under the terms and conditions of the fixed-term, independent contractor and other contracts or agreements, as well as in case of the informal employment in the formal economy, covert production, illegal activity and unemployment [2–8, 11, 15]. The phenomena of both instable employment and social precarization take place within the framework of the capitalist globalization process being observed all over the world [13].

In this study, an attempt is made to set the criterial standards for precarious employment, the probability of its occurrence and instability degree with allowances made for the Russian labor market specific features.

2. The Theory

Capitalist globalization is the reflection of chaos. The existing rules are dying away and the new challenges, contradictions, opportunities, limitations and restrictions are coming into being. Richard Sennett notes that the short-term liabilities are replacing the long-term relationship prevailing before [23]. Against this background, both the global elite and the global players in the capital markets have much less limitations and restrictions than most people who live, work and act within the framework of the traditional national institutions [21].

The asymmetrical relations arise between labor and capital. The globalized capital is becoming able to dictate terms to labor, which is still mostly localized within the territorial limits. This is the source of a huge uncertainty in today's society [24]. The uncertain relations are being established between the market participants, exercising the far-reaching influence upon the economic, cultural and other systems both at the national and local levels [17].

The attempts to find answers to the questions of the ways of improvement of the quality of social systems and their adaptation to the new conditions of development in the capitalist globalization development internal contradictions themselves and provide recommendations for the promotion of the corrective actions in accordance with the growth quality requirements, are widespread. The theoretical aspects of precarious employment have been developed by such foreign researchers as U. Beck, Z. Bauman, G. Standing, A. Kalleberg, L. Vosko, P. Herrmann and others; in the Russian science—P. Bizyukov, V. Bobkov, O. Veredyuk, R. Kolosova, T. Razumova, O. Shkaratan and others.

An alternative to capitalist globalization is also being developed, consisting in the evolutionary process of its overcoming and the creation of conditions for the formation of the spiritual, ecologic, noospheric socialism, which is based on the human development outrunning the increase in complexity of the present day technical-process and natural systems, the law of the human community cooperation in solving the global problems of modern age and the formation of the academic societies of the managed socio-natural evolution [3, 12, 19, 20].

To be sure, the continuous reformatting of labor markets is resulted from the new forms of global competition and growth of technology which contributes both to the growth of precarization and the elaboration of the ways of its overcoming [16, 18, 27].

Precarization can be illustrated in different conditions. The starting point of the analysis can be precarization that occurs at workplaces as an aspect of flexible work which assumes a negative impact on an employee [16, 22–25]. As M. Ricceri notes, 'the phenomenon of precarization' takes a more precise meaning when they start considering such subsequent transformations as professional precarization (related to the depletion of the storage of knowledge), economic precarization (related to extreme poverty), social precarization (related to the loss of social mobility, solidarity and involvement), existential precarization (related to the difficulties in formulating life plans)" [10].

The wider the precarization at workplaces (on which the precarization pyramid is based) spreads, the higher is the tension accumulated and the risks of loss of the poor balance experienced by the present-day societies. With this respect, an Italian scientist Remo Bodei notes that the private interest dominance leads to the impossibility of the common future imagination [22].

All these global prerequisites dictate the necessity for proceeding with the scientific study of precarious (instable) employment which would become an efficient instrument for the analysis of a plenty of phenomena falling within the scope of some or other precarization characteristics.

3. The Methods and Data

From the point of view of the study methodology, precarious employment is a complex socioeconomic phenomenon. Its understanding assumes not only the deductive (the theory), but also the inductive method of studying the experience and practice of deviation of the actual social and labor relations from the prevailing, standard ones, stipulated by the full-time-based unlimited-term working contracts with their subsequent synthesis [6].

It should be noted that an expert community on the issues of precarious employment has already been established in Russia and, for the purposes of justification of its criterial standards, the authors of the research, for the first time ever in Russia, arranged and held a questionnaire expert survey on the subject of "Precarious Employment in the Russian Federation", as well as generalized its results, in the autumn of 2016. A total of 35 experts involved in science and education, labor law, public administration, employment and labor market were polled. The experts represented such constituent entities of the Russian Federation as the cities of Moscow, Saint-Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, Novosibirsk, Ryazan, Sevastopol, the Republic of Bashkortostan, the Amur, Voronezh, Saratov, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk Regions and many others.

4. The Model

Precarious employment has the following two aspects—organizational and technical and socioeconomic. The first one characterizes such employment flexibility stipulated by the changes in the

technical and process basis of the present-day production of goods, services and information, and the second one — the forcibility of such relations to most employees due to globalization, which stipulates their ill-preparedness for competition in labor markets; the lack of funding of social expenditures by employers; the lack of an adequate national labor and social legislation. That is why, from the point of view of the authors of the research, a voluntary work at workplace with the signs of flexible employment is not related to precarious employment, even if it has such signs. Precarious employment may cover any fields of activity. However, it manifests itself wider, where the low employees' competitiveness can be observed. It better pertains to the professional activity with the routine types of labor. The creative types of professional labor are less vulnerable to it.

When identifying the precariously employed population, the authors are guided by such model which is the basis for the theory of PE — and that is the model of unreliability, ambiguity, instability of the labor relations existing with the flexible forms of employment. The precarious employment model building requires the following two study phases: first of all, the identification of its criteria at the theoretical level and, second, their verification with the help of an empirical study.

5. The Obtained Results

5.1. The Significance of the ILO Criteria of Precarious Employment and the New Criteria

An appeal to the criteria of precarization of employment proposed by the ILO is quite accepted¹ which is normal, taking into account the objectives of such organization, which forms the international standards for the policy in the social and labor relations. The ILO criteria were what have really formed the basis for the expert survey.

The conducted survey on PE allows for identifying the ILO criteria significance estimated by the experts (Table 1). Based on the number of those experts agreed with some or other criterion, the following estimation scale was determined: from 90 to 100 % — 'very high significance'; from 80 to 89 % — 'high significance'; from 40 to 79 % — 'medium significance'; and from 0 to 39 % — 'low significance'.

As may be believed according to the data provided, the experts mostly disagreed with referring 'fixed-term contract' and also 'multilateral employment relations' to the signs of precarious employment. These criteria are of the medium significance. Such precarious employment indicators as 'low wages' and 'short-term contract' are also close to the medium significance. We believe that such ILO criteria estimate results are stipulated by the Russian precarious employment specific features.

First, the specific features of fixed-term employment contracts as a criterion of precarious employment in Russia are connected with the fact that the Russian labor legislation (Section III of the Labor Code of the Russian Federation) protects quite well the employee's rights in case of concluding labor contracts for a fixed term (short- and fixed-term contracts in the context of the ILO criteria).

Second, the multilateral employment relationship specific features as a criterion of precarious employment may be connected with the fact that Russia became the first country ever in the world, having prohibited by law the so-called agency labor, the essence of which is really about multilateral employment relations, where a person enters into an agreement with a private employment agency, which, in its turn, loans out (leases out) his/her labor to an employer.

Third, the doubts of 'low wages' as a criterion of precarious employment may be stipulated by the fact that in Russia, during the whole period of market relations, low wages have been a kind of a standard for labor relations. The point at issue is about the extremely low minimum state guarantee on the remuneration of labor, i.e., the salary minimum lower than the one, which employers just have no right to pay their employees.

The new specific features which were proposed by the experts and which are not pointed by the ILO precarious employment definition are the criteria stipulated by the employment resulted from fraud both by an employer and an employee:

- Communication of any false information about themselves and (or) the terms of employment by an employee and/or an employer;
- Communication of any false employment information by both an employee and an employer to each other

¹ ILO. 2012. From precarious work to decent work: outcome document to the workers' symposium on policies and regulations to combat precarious employment. (2012). International Labor Office, Bureau for Workers' Activities. Geneva: ILO. Retrieved from: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_dialogue/---actrav/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_179787.pdf (date of access: 18 February 2017).

The Significance of the ILO Criteria of Precarious Employment Based on the Estimates by the Survey-Participating Experts

Criterion	Share of the Experts Agreed with the Criterion	Criteria Significance
<i>Contract terms, including the following elements:</i>		
Fixed-term contract	71.4	Medium
Short-term contract	82.9	High
Emergency labor	88.6	High
Seasonal labor	91.4	Very high
Day labor	88.6	High
Contingent labor	94.3	
<i>Nature of labor relations, including the following elements:</i>		
Multilateral employment relations	57.1	Medium
Off-the-books employment relations	91.4	Very high
Fictional self-employment	85.7	High
Subcontractor agreements	85.7	High
Agency contracts	85.7	High
<i>Instable labor conditions, including the following elements:</i>		
Low wages	80	High
Weak self-protection from employment termination	91.4	Very high
Lack of the access to the social protection mechanisms and the goods traditionally associated with the standard employment	97.1	Very high
Lack or restriction of the employees' access to exercise their rights at their workplaces	94.3	Very high

It should be noted that the diversity of the ways of fraud not covered by the ILO criteria is quite typical for Russia. Such 'alleged' forms of employment are:

1. An alleged 'probation period' by the results of which an employee does not get wages and the labor relations with him/her are terminated under a pretext of the probation period fail.

2. The receipt of an alleged test assignment (e.g., as far back as during the interview) the fulfillment of which may require a significant time spending from a candidate, and the results will be used but not paid by an employer.

3. The training which a candidate has to undergo at his/her own expense prior to starting work; however, after that, he/she may not be employed since the candidate would fail a test, for instance.

The specific nature of the above forms of employment is that a candidate may neither realize his/her precarious position, nor be sure in his/her successful employment and occupational outlook. This conveys the suggestion that all criteria of employment can be divided into the following two types:

Type One of the precarious employment criteria—the ones of which an employee is aware. Understanding them well—e.g., being aware of employment under a verbal agreement—the employee realizes that he/she is in the instable labor relations. Such signs can easily be identified based on employee surveys.

Type Two of the precarious employment criteria—the ones of which an employee is unaware, so the employee may have a pseudo sensation of his/her position stability.

Apart from the above forms of employment resulted from the employer's fraudulent actions the experts took notice of the employment with the risk to be fired of which an employee may not know.

In the whole, the ILO precarious employment criteria analysis results allow for making a conclusion that these criteria can only be the basis for the identification of the precarious employment criteria by reference to the national peculiarities. And here lies the essence of the ILO recommendations being traditionally adapted with an allowance for the specific nature of some or other country.

5.2. The Precarious Employment Criteria from the Perspective of the Forms of Employment with the Signs of Instability

In order to identify the precarious employment probability the authors used the expert survey results, having taken the following methodological assumption—the share of those experts who agreed and estimated the precarization probability in some or other form of employment (Table 2). When formalizing the precarious employment qualitative evaluation, the following rating scale was proposed: from 90 to 100 %—‘very high probability’; from 70 to 89 %—‘high probability’; from 40 to 69 %—‘medium probability’; from 20 to 39 %—‘low probability’; and from 0 to 19 %—‘very low probability’.

Table 2

The Expert Estimate of the Forms of Precarious Employment to the Extent of the Survey

Form of Precarious Employment	Share of the Experts Agreed with Referring the Form of Employment to Precarious Employment — Precarious Employment Probability Estimate, %	Precarious Employment Probability Qualitative Evaluation
Employment under the terms of fixed-term employment contracts	77.1	High
Employment under the terms of part-time (part-time employment)	77.1	High
Employment under the terms of civil contracts	80.0	High
Employment under a verbal agreement	97.1	Very high
Casual employment	94.3	Very high
Temporary employment	82.9	High
Distance employment	45.7	Medium
Agency employment	82.9	High
Informal employment	97.1	Very high
Self-employment	40.0	Medium
Private subsidiary farming employment	31.4	Low

Very high probability of precarious employment, according to the survey data, is typical for ‘employment under a verbal agreement’ (97.1 %), ‘informal employment’ (97.1 %), ‘casual employment’ (94.3 %), which is quite expected, since such forms of employment are not only almost always instable, but extremely negative by their socioeconomic consequences.

First of all, this concerns employment under a verbal agreement, as the absence of a labor contract makes an employee completely unprotected. The absence of hiring at will drawn up with an official labor contract “allows for considering a wide circle of the unfolding situations in the area which does not meet the standard employment criteria” [1]. The high probability of the informal employment instability is clear, since such labor relations completely broaden beyond the labor legislation. According to the data by the Russian Federal State Statistics Service (ROSSTAT), 14 827 thousand people were employed in the informal economy in 2015, amounting 20.5 % of the total number of the employed population².

Among the forms of employment with a high probability of precarization let us make notice of agency employment. The point is that, according to the expert estimate of the ILO precarious employment criteria, such criterion as ‘multilateral employment relations’ was defined by the experts as a criterion of medium significance. At the same time, agency employment is essentially the multilateral employment relations, since it is one of the types of temporary employment which is the companies’ use of the employment agencies’ outsources (providing companies) that hire employees to provide them to businesses under the terms of lease and (or) outstaffing. Here the experts demonstrated their contradictory estimates. This increases the significance of the multilateral employment relations as a criterion of precarious employment.

As for the forms of employment with the medium probability of precarization, the medium (but, in fact, so close to the low) estimate of the self-employment instability is obviously stipulated by the following. The self-employed the number of which, according to the data by ROSSTAT, was 4 012

² Federalnaya sluzhba gosudarstvennoy statistiki [Federal State Statistics Service]. Retrieved from: www.gks.ru. (date of access: 15 February 2017).

thousand people³ in 2015, fall under the category of those who ‘work not for hire’. Self-employment seemingly provides an employee with a better choice, as he/she is an employer for himself/herself. The value of the expert estimate of the degree of probability of precarization of such form of employment could also be affected by the abeyance of the ‘self-employment’ term itself in the Russian legislation.

The medium probability of the distance employment precarization can be stipulated by the abilities for its regulation provided by the Russian labor legislation, and on the other hand, by the multiple reasons for its unreliability and manifestation in informal labor relations.

When considering the forms of employment with the low probability of precarization, the low estimate of the probability of precarious employment in private subsidiary farming (PSF) comes under notice. According to the Russian scientists’ estimates, private subsidiary farms are a unique economic, social and cultural phenomenon, the direct analogs to which can hardly be found in the economic history of other countries [7].

The experts mentioned other forms of employment which, in their opinion, could be considered instable or precarious. The following different proposals stand apart from the common array:

- ‘Forced’ employment; the work solely for money (maintenance of family), but not by avocation;
- Those employees who formally work full time, but in the specialty, they have not trained in, especially in the positions which need a lower qualification than provided by their education (e.g., ‘academically trained cleaning women’);
- The middle-class precarization—the employees, still seemingly successful, often work with the constant risk of being fired and (or) their wage reduction, having no opportunity for improving their skills.

The question in these definitions is about the seemingly stable forms of employment which may be quite favorable to an employee from the point of view of his/her labor conditions and wages, but bringing no professional satisfaction and even leading to occupational burnout. Such types of employment can only be defined based on the employees’ estimates (mostly subjective) of their employment status.

It should also be noted that there are various options to an employee as for the ‘stay’ in some or other form of precarious employment. The corresponding labor relations may have the signs of either one form of precarious employment, or some of its forms. In the second case, the ‘probabilities of precarization’ superimpose on one another and get enhanced, sometimes multiply, which should be taken into account when determining the precarious employment degree.

5.3. The Generalized Criteria of Precarious Employment, the Determination of its Precarization Probability and Degree

In order to solve these problems, the authors were guided by the following principles:

1. The precarious employment criteria application in practice. These criteria must be easy-to-understand and small in numbers. The practitioners in public administration must be able, with the use of such criteria, to make a quantitative evaluation of precarious employment.
2. The necessity for determining the precarious employment probability degree. The same form of employment may in some circumstances be precarious and in the other ones—non-precarious. For this purpose, it is reasonable to assign a weight value to each criterion: the higher is the probability of the precarious employment occurrence when executing the criterion, the higher is the value of such criterion.
3. The necessity for taking into account their employment status assessment (stable or instable) by employees, when formulating the precarious employment criteria.
4. The reasonability for determining the degree of precarious employment which reflects the aggregation of its several properties.

In order to justify the generalized precarious employment criteria the authors used the following data: the ILO precarious employment criteria significance assessment, the assessment of the precarization instability in various forms of employment, the key criteria of PE justified in the Russian authors’ research and the new criteria and forms of precarious employment proposed by the experts. By reference to the set forth principles and the data available for application the authors performed some iterations on the ILO criteria simplification, a more complete accounting of other criteria, as well as on determination of the precarious employment probability and degree:

³ Ibid.

1. Such ILO criteria as ‘fixed-term contract’ and ‘short-term contract’ were combined into such criterion as ‘employment under the terms of fixed-term labor contracts’. This is a quite comprehensible criterion in the Russian context, with an allowance for the regulation of such form of employment by the labor legislation. Its averaged estimate by the experts is 77.4 % (averaged by the authors according to their estimates of such criteria as ‘fixed-term contract’, ‘short-term contract’ and ‘employment under the terms of fixed-term labor contracts’).

2. Such ILO criterion as ‘subcontractor agreements’ was replaced with ‘employment under the terms of civil contracts’, with an allowance for the similarity of the nature of corresponding relations of employment and comprehensibility in the Russian context to an employee. The estimate is 82.8 % (averaged according to the estimates of ‘subcontractor agreements’ and ‘employment under the terms of civil contracts’).

3. The new criteria most frequently mentioned by experts (‘probation period employment’ and ‘fraud-resulted employment’) and the ones chosen by us from the precarious employment definitions such as: ‘forced type of employment relationship’⁴, were added. We defined the estimate of such criteria as high – 90 %.

4. A potential coincidence of the ILO precarious employment criteria and the known forms of precarious employment was taken into consideration. In that case, an averaged estimate between a criterion and a related form of employment was determined. Thus, the average estimate of such criterion as ‘temporary employment’ equal to 85.75 % was derived from the addition of the average estimate of such criterion as ‘contingent work’ (88.6 %) to such form of employment as ‘temporary employment’ (82.9 %). The estimate for ‘casual employment’ was averaged in the same way.

5. Since ‘agency employment’ is a form of ‘multilateral employment relations’, such criterion as ‘agency employment’ was excluded to remain the ‘multilateral employment relations’ criterion only. The estimate is 70.7 % (averaged between ‘multilateral employment relations’, the ‘agency employment’ criterion and the ‘agency employment’ form of employment).

6. For the forms of employment with the low instability estimate, such as ‘distance employment’, ‘self-employment’ and ‘private subsidiary farming employment’, a zero probability of precarization was provided. However, for example, the distance employment can be precarious, if any other terms are fulfilled (including, if the distance employment is based on a verbal agreement). Similarly, the probability of precarization for self-employment and private subsidiary farming employment is determined.

7. The wages below the poverty line of the able-bodied population were taken for meeting such criterion as ‘low wages’, since this is the working population poverty threshold officially established in Russia.

As a result, Table 3 was formed the completion of which will allow every individual employee for determining the probability of precarization of his/her employment, and the summing-up of such probabilities will allow for determining the precarious employment degree.

Table 3

Precarious Employment Generalized Criteria and Degree

Precarious Employment Generalized Criteria	Quantitative Estimate of the Precarious Employment Probability	Qualitative Estimate of the Precarious Employment Probability	Criterion Definition Method
<i>Contract Terms</i>			
Casual labor	94.3	Very high	Under the contract
Seasonal labor	91.4	Very high	Under the contract
Day labor	88.6	High	Under the contract
Probation period employment	90.0	Very high	Under the contract
Temporary employment	85.75	High	Under the contract

⁴ Bobkov, V. N. (2014). Sotsialnaya politika, uroven i kachestvo zhizni. Slovar [Social policy, level and quality of life. Dictionary]. 2d revised ed. Moscow: VTsUZh Publ.; Rusaki Publ., 409.

Employment under the terms of fixed-term labor contracts	77.4	High	Under the contract
<i>Nature of Labor Relationship</i>			
Verbal agreement-based employment	97.1	Very high	Data by an employee
Informal employment	97.1	Very high	No registration as a legal entity
Forced-type labor relationship	90	Very high	Employee's estimate
Fraud-resulted employment	90	Very high	Employee's estimate
Employment under the terms of civil contracts	82.8	High	Under the contract
Multilateral employment relationship	70.7	High	Under the contract
Off-the-books employment relationship	91.4	Very high	Data by an employee
Fictional employment	85.7	High	Data by an employee
Distance employment	0		Data by an employee
Self-employment	0		Data by an employee
Private subsidiary farming employment	0		Data by an employee
<i>Instable Labor Conditions</i>			
Low wages	80.0	High	If the wages are lower than the minimum subsistence level for able-bodied population
Weak protection from employment termination	91.4	Very high	Employee's estimate
Lack of the access to the social protection mechanisms and the goods associated with standard employment	97.1	Very high	Employee's estimate
Lack or restriction of the access for employees to exercise their rights at workplace	94.3	Very high	Employee's estimate
<i>Total points — the precarious employment degree</i>			

This table can be used as the grounds for a questionnaire to apply for the identification of the employees' precarious employment, as well as the scale and content of precarious employment in the Russian Federation.

Furthermore, the authors of this research consider it necessary to form the agreed databases on the population's position in the Russian labor market based on the data by the Federal State Statistics Service, the Russian Monitoring of the Economic Status and Welfare of Population by the NRU HSE⁵ (RLMS-HSE) and such Internet platforms as 'Job in Russia', 'HeadHunter' and 'SuperJob'.

6. Conclusion

The present-day globalization is leading to the divorcement with long-term prospects and to the asymmetric relations between capital, which has become global, and labor, which has been mostly localized by the national and territorial frames.

The global uncertainty under the global competition generates the global instability and is the source of working, social and existential precarization.

Precairous (instable) employment was considered as a phenomenon that produces the unreliability, ambiguity, danger and instability of labor relationship, which has an adverse effect on employees, state and society.

⁵ 'Russian Monitoring of the Economic Status and Welfare of Population (or 'Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey') by NRU HSE (RLMS-HSE)' conducted by the National Research University Higher School of Economics and CJSC 'Demoskop', featuring Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and the Institute of Sociology of the RAS (<http://www.hse.ru/rlms>, <http://www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/rlms>).

By reference to both Russian and foreign research, as well as to the surveyed experts' opinions, the authors gave the estimates of the ILO precarious employment criteria significance and proposed the new precarious employment criteria, which would take the specific character of the Russian labor markets into consideration. Those forms of employment with the signs of instability were classified into the three groups by the degree of probability of the evidence of the signs of precarious employment.

The applied aspect of the conducted research results is that, with an allowance for the set forth principles and data available for application, the authors performed iterations on the ILO criteria simplification and the more complete accounting of other criteria, as well as on determination of the probability of employment to precarious and the degree of its precarization. The itemized table was proposed to allow for identifying the employees' precarious employment content and degree, generalizing the obtained data and scaling precarious employment in the Russian Federation.

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