Work-Related Security in the Post-Soviet Russia: Indicators, Trends and Factors

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This paper deals with measuring work-related security in Russia at different stages of reforms. The research is grounded upon multi-dimensional methodology for measuring and comparing people's security designed by ILO. With the help of micro level indices constructed and calculated with the data of two rounds of Russian People's Security Survey (2002 and 2007) trends in security/insecurity profiles for different categories of working population during the period of economic upturn reflecting distribution of working population among privileged and vulnerable zones are revealed. The paper points out five work-related security profiles characterized by different zones of vulnerability: three clusters represent reasonably well-to-do groups while the other two are outsiders. To conclude the possible impact of the recent financial crisis on the work-related socio-economic security of the Russian population is discussed.

1. Introduction

In the turbulent world of today the issues of socio-economic security gain vital importance. This is especially true for transition economies like Russia where people were faced with a sudden collapse of established economic order.

A couple of decades ago in the pre-reform Russia the problems of socio-economic security were among the least pressing. It was basically an egalitarian society grounded upon an implicit social contract between the state and the people and characterized by relatively high socio-economic security of all categories of population. Several factors contributed to such state of affairs. Paternalistic state always 'knew better' what was good for its citizens and took the responsibility for their well-being[1]. The niches for development of civil society were scarce and there was little room for bargaining of parties with diverse interests. But there was little room for economic hazards too. The prevalence of collectivistic norms and behavior patterns over values of individual success also strengthened the perception of being protected from economic risks.

Along with normative there was an economic basis for establishing socio-economic security. The wage level in Russia was traditionally low both in absolute and relative (as a GDP

[1] Standing (2002) characterizes this situation as 'dependent security'.

share) terms. But the meagre wage fund was distributed among a disproportionately large number of people. It reduced risks of unemployment almost to non-existence. At the same time the minimum wage level officially set by the state exceeded the so called minimum consumer budget at least 1.5 times (Rimashevskaya 1997: 120). Thus it provided a low but socially acceptable standard of living for the majority of working population. Poverty was usually limited to traditionally vulnerable categories – families with many children, lone mothers and separate households of elderly people (Ellman 1990).

But even for these categories the situation was not a 'poverty trap' since it was ameliorated by a very high level of labour decommodification. The social contract implied guaranteed access to education, healthcare, housing habitation, social security albeit in exchange to political loyalty and restrictions of individual freedom. There was a strong emphasis on promoting equality of opportunity in the key spheres of self-realization. The state sought after uniform standard of social goods provision (though in practice quality of healthcare and schooling was generally better in cities, especially big cities, than in rural areas) and not after satisfying the diversity of individual preferences. To sum up, although real incomes of the majority of population were low and economic opportunities very limited, their socio-economic situation was secure and predictable.

Market reforms were accompanied by a sharp growth of insecurity in all spheres of life. They were aimed at a dual goal of transition from a centrally planned to a market-based economic system and adaptation to competitive demands of the global economy. The task was both ambitious and associated with a wide array of grave risks. With the lift of the 'iron curtain' the standard neo-liberal approach to shaping reforms based upon the mainstream economic paradigm institutionalized in the Washington Consensus principles was adopted. Spontaneous liberation of market forces was accompanied neither by a coherent state policy aimed at correction of structural bias in the economy, efficient utilization of manpower and accumulation of human capital, nor by elaborating an adequate safety net for the population utterly unused to economic hazards. Social policy of the state was reduced to 'ramshackle' protection aimed at compensating (at least to some minimum extant) the costs of reform to the most vulnerable population groups in order to avoid social unrest[2]. The result was severe economic decline

[2] In the theoretical discourse at least three main viewpoints on the nature of social policy in Russia can be outlined. According to the first one, social policy is defined as incoherent, unreasoned and thus inefficient policy of "stopping holes" (Shevyakov 2007). The second one states that the reformers deliberately rejected the alternative of elaborating special policies to alleviate poverty and empower the vulnerable because of their firm belief in the omnipotence of the free market. It was argued that after a tough period of shock reforms the play of market forces will lead to increase in efficiency, growth rates and the personal incomes. Thus the inevitable social problems of transition will be naturally solved (Yasin 2002). According to the third viewpoint the social policy in Russia is indeed a coherent well-thought-out efficient policy pursued in the interests of the elitist groups in possession of economic and political power and able to lobby their interests (Tihonova and Shkaratan 2001).

accompanied by regressive changes in the structure of GDP and employment, rapidly growing inequality and shrinking socio-economic security of population.

The situation improved during the second decade of reforms. On the one hand, the period of economic upturn and growing oil prices offered better employment opportunities and made it possible to allocate more resources to support state social policies and programs aimed at the vulnerable. On the other hand people became used to new economic environment and elaborated their own adaptation strategies and informal safety nets (Avraamova&Loginov 2002). Still to this day in Russia flimsiness of available safety nets and lack of public commitment to basic social income strengthen the dependence of household socio-economic security on employment related characteristics of its members. Thus the socio-economic security aspects linked to employment are especially important.

It will be unfair to say that in Russia employment problems receive little attention in policy-making or in theoretical discourse. However the majority of research dealing with labour and employment situation in Russia (as well as the key policy measures elaborated by the government in this sphere) is focused upon the task of combating unemployment. Meanwhile the equally pressing problem of improving quality of jobs as regards such characteristics as fair remuneration, decent work conditions, stability and career prospects and other vital aspects constituting overall socio-economic security of working population remain in the backlight.

It is worth noting that unlike the developed western economies, in Russia there is no stable dependency between regular employment and sufficient earned income. During the first decade of reforms the official minimum wage in Russia constituted less than 15% of the official subsistence minimum. Later on regular minimum wage increases have been undertaken by the government but it still hardly reaches subsistence minimum in many Russian regions. The aspect of job security concerned with decent remuneration to this day remains one of the most acute. The problem of insufficient earned income is topical not only for Russia. Dusgupta (2001) stresses its importance for the developing economies. In the USA the working poor problem at one time has almost ousted unemployment from the spotlight of social policy debate. However the peculiarity of Russia is that it is not necessary the less educated or less skilled employees who fall into the working poor category. According to the Russian People's Security Survey (PSS), among employees, who earn wages below subsistence minimum, about 2/3 possess either university or tertiary non-university education.

This paper deals with measuring work-related security in Russia at different stages of reforms, trends in security/insecurity profiles for different categories of working population and factors affecting share of work-related security falling on individual worker and distribution of working population among privileged and vulnerable zones. The paper is structured as follows.

In the second part the concept of socio-economic security and existing approaches to its measuring are discussed. The third part is devoted to the methodology and the data base of the present research. In the forth part the changes in work-related security profiles during the period of economic upturn are presented and discussed. The last part contains conclusions and a brief discussion of possible impact of the recent financial crisis on the work-related socio-economic security of the Russian population.

2. Socio-economic security: concept and measuring

The concept of socio-economic security is relatively new. It was elaborated under the auspices of ILO in the late 1990s - early 2000s (Standing 1998 and 2002; Dasgupta 2002 and 2003: ILO 2004). Socio-economic security is an integral part of a more general notion of well-being. It encompasses such aspects as stability of individual socio-economic situation, confidence in future, and effectiveness of available mechanisms of risk cushioning.

It is worth noting that in spite of the fact that socio-economic insecurity frequently goes along with poverty, these notions are not at all the same. There are situations when low level of material well-being coexists with relatively high socio-economic security (the former Soviet Union being the most evident example). At the same time high incomes do not necessarily guarantee high security to their recipients (as is indeed the state of affairs in today Russia and many others economies of transition).

Some researchers limit socio-economic security issues either to the problems of vulnerable categories of population and effectiveness of state policies targeted at these groups (Van Ginneken 2009), or to the problems risk cushioning (Esping-Andersen 1999) thus mixing the concepts of social security and socio-economic security. Meanwhile, as stated by Dusgupta (2003, p. 5-6):

> *Socio-economic security is a broader concept than social security. Social security refers to the result achieved by a comprehensive and successful series of measures for protecting the public (or a large section of it) from the economic distress that, in the absence of such measures, would result from the stoppage of earnings in sickness, unemployment or old age…The term socio-economic security is more inclusive, and it refers to the security of not only having remunerative work, but also having possibilities of advancement in one's career, as well as access to benefits, and control over one's work. Defined in this way, socio-economic security differs from social security in not being only contingency based, but also work-based.*

Thus the concept of socio-economic security is not at all limited to the problems of the most vulnerable or exposed to risk.

According to the ILO approach socio-economic security is an integral concept encompassing basic security of population and security in the world of work. Basic security is associated with maintenance of key social rights such as access to basic income (subsistence minimum), medical care, education, decent retirement, etc. However the core part of socio-economic security of individuals and households is security in the world of work. For the majority of people it is paid employment or self employment that on the one hand provides the main source of income and on the other hand constitutes a vital sphere of self-realization. The position in the world of work to a large extent determines one's social status, self-appraisal, general well-being and satisfaction with life. Increasing insecurity of work situation negatively impacts motivation and productive activity and worsens human development prospects. Moreover employed population spends at work the largest share of overall active time fund.

In the theoretical discourse socio-economic security in the world of work is interpreted as a scarce resource unevenly distributed among labor market participants (Stock 2001). The 'security share' falling on each individual worker depends upon a complicated tangle of factors some of which fell outside individual control, while others could be to a certain extent influenced upon. Factors may also be internal to the person in question (e.g. demographic characteristics, educational attainment, health) or external, being a part of the environment, such as type of job, terms and conditions of contract, place of living.

It is generally believed that on the one hand rising insecurity in society may lead to erosion of social norms, growing intolerance and violence. It is not only harmful for health and general well-being of people but also exerts a negative impact on economic performance. On the other hand, however, excessive socio-economic security may result in lowering motivation for development and social apathy (as was the case of the former Soviet Union). In view of this the problem of measuring socio-economic security in different parts of the world gains vital importance and has been brought into research focus within ILO and other international bodies dealing with labour and social problems (Somavia 1999; Standing 1999, Cerami 2006).

Comprehensive approach to measuring socio-economic security envisages encompassing a wide array of indicators characterizing objective characteristics and subjective perceptions of position of people in the world of work. The ILO methodology refers the variety of indicators to seven key aspects forming socio-economic security profiles. They are as follows:

Labour market security - adequate employment opportunities, through state-guaranteed full employment

Employment security - protection against arbitrary dismissal, regulations on hiring and firing, employment stability

Job security - a niche designated as an occupation or 'career', the opportunity to develop a sense of occupation, barriers to skill dilution

Work security - protection against accidents and illness at work, through safety and health regulations, regulated limits on working time, unsociable hours

Skill reproduction security - widespread opportunities to gain and retain skills, through apprenticeships and employment training programs

Income security - ensuring regular and decent wage/salary income and work-related benefits

Representation security - protection of collective voice in the labour market, through independent trade unions and other bodies able to represent the interests of workers

Each aspect can be measured by different sets of indices on micro and macro level. The ILO project was aimed at comparing socio-economic security profiles of different countries. Therefore it put the main emphasis on macro-indices constructed upon objective indicators readily available from existing statistical and information sources. Those objective indicators are of three types characterizing input, process and outcomes relevant to socio-economic security .

Input indicators are normative and deal with the legal base for security encompassing ratified ILO conventions and national laws put in force to protect workers in a given country. They are regrouped assembling together principles, laws and other instruments relevant to each form of security. The examples of input indicators are Ratification of ILO Convention #122 on Employment Policy, existence of formal commitment to full employment, unemployment benefit scheme, legislation banning gender discrimination in recruitment and so force[3].

Process indicators characterize the mechanisms (like public employment service, labour inspectors, labour-related tripartite boards) or resources (expenditure on a particular form of security) through which the 'input' principles and rules are realized.

The most important however are outcome indicators since they reflect to what extent the input and process indicators have been effective in ensuring protection to working population. As stated by Ancor et al. (2002: 7), "decent work indicators generally should measure actual outcomes rather than *de jure* situations and ratifications of international conventions". In the ILO project many output indicators are gender-related: ratio of male to female unemployment, female share of informal employment, female share of wage employment etc.

The macro-indices approach was used in a comprehensive international project undertaken by ILO aimed at providing a comprehensive picture of emerging patterns of insecurity across the world. Under the project on the basis of newly formed global database

[3] For the dicussion of normative input indicators see Zarka-Martres and Guichard-Kelly (2005).

of national official social policy and labour market indicators relevant to socio-economic security, macro-indices measuring the seven key aspects of decent work were calculated for more than a hundred countries[4].

3. Methodology and data base

The research is based upon the ILO methodology elaborated in the framework of seven key aspects of work-related security. However our approach implies looking more closely at the micro-level which thus far received less attention. The preference of macro-level approach is understandable. Macro-indices are constructed from statistical and normative indicators generally available for a wide range of countries. Therefore they are well-suited for comparative studies. However when research is limited to the level of a particular country (or a group of countries with similar circumstances or background – say economies of transition), this advantage of macro-indices becomes not so important. At the same time at least two serious shortcomings step out.

First, even the 'outcome' group of macro-level indicators to a large extent describes context under which individual security/insecurity perceptions are formed but fails to reflect many important outcomes. Socio-economic security is only partly objective but to a larger extent a subjective phenomenon. It is about how people feel, how they perceive their current situation and their future in the world of work. For example, the overall perception of being protected from unemployment is determined, on the one hand, by the acuteness of job loss threat and, on the other hand, by the estimated chances of finding another employment in case of job loss. Meanwhile the standard statistical outcome indicator – unemployment rate, is albeit very important still contextual factor underlying those perceptions. In other words unemployment rate is not exactly an outcome as far as work-related security of an individual person is concerned. And work-related security of a group is a summary of individual situations of persons falling into the group.

Second, different groups of people within a country may experience different levels of socio-economic security. As observed by Anker and al. (2003: 150) it is the combinations and the patterns prevailing among demographic and socio-economic groups that are of special interest. As for macro-indices they are good for describing country socio-economic security profiles, but not individual profiles. Hence they tell us nothing either about distribution of work-related security among different categories of population, or of factors impacting this distribution. Therefore it is logical to have a closer look at micro level indices constructed on the basis of household survey data which allow grasping subjective perceptions of socio-economic security within different groups of working population.

[4] The project results are summarized in ILO 2004.

For the purpose of this research a set of micro level indices is constructed which allows grasping both objective base and subjective perceptions of socio-economic security among different groups of employed population. When constructing the indices the emphasis has been made upon subjective indicators reflecting how people perceive the extent of their security or insecurity at the workplace. Still some factual indicators describing individual work circumstances are also included.

Proposed micro-level indicators

Labour market security

- estimated chances of finding another employment in case of job loss

Employment security

- Type of contract
- Confidence in keeping job for next 12 months
- Protection against unfair dismissal

Job security

- Active usage of skills and competences
- Satisfaction with work contents
- Promotion/downgrading in the past 3 years
- Satisfaction with career prospects

Work security

- Overtime
- Access to regular leave
- Perception of work conditions as dangerous
- Existence of enterprise safety department or committee

Skill reproduction security

- Rate of devotion to one's profession/occupation
- Training/retraining in the past 3 years
- Access to training/retraining

Income security

- Regularity of wage-payment
- Satisfaction with wage/salary
- Satisfaction with social benefits provided by enterprise (social package)

Representation security

- TU membership
- Reliance on TU to protect workers interests

The empirical base is formed by two rounds of People's Security Survey (PSS) carried out in three Russian regions in 2002 and 2007. In 2002 the sample size was 2316 respondents of which 1299 in wage employment. PSS-2007 comprised 1800 respondents of which 1029 in wage employment.

Same as the macro-level indices designed for the ILO on the basis of normative and statistical indicators the proposed micro-level indices are normalized from zero to one. Thus it is possible to compare the micro and macro level work-related security profile for Russia for the year of 2002 – the year for which macro-level indices were calculated under international project.

Table 1. Micro and Macro Level Security Indices Value for Russia in 2002

	Labour market security (LM)	**Employment security (EMPL)**	**Job security (JOB)**	**Work security (WORK)**	**Skill reproduction security (SKILL)**	**Income security (INCOME)**	**Representation security (REPR)**
Micro-index	0.556	0.645	0.556	0.584	0.499	0.560	0.487
Macro-index	0.552	0.551	0.685	0.601	0.701	0.456	0.548
Macro-index rank *	49 (94)	34 (99)	18 (94)	38 (95)	24 (139)	60 (96)	34 (99)

* The figure in brackets is for the number of countries for which a given macro-index was calculated.

As can be seen from table 1, there is a pronounced discrepancy between the macro-level security profile based upon official social policy and labour market indicators obtained from Rosstat and government agencies, and the micro-level indices taking into account subjective perceptions of people in the first place. The most evident discrepancy is observed for the index of skill reproduction security. It is the strongest point of Russian security profile if looked from the macro-level angle and the most vulnerable spot if looked from the micro-level.

The explanation lies in the fact that the macro-level index is calculated from indicators of formal educational system (PPP adjusted educational spending, number of students per teacher, etc.) and on characteristics of previously accumulated human capital (educational attainment of the employed population, population share possessing tertiary education, etc.). As regards the mentioned characteristics, especially those of the second group describing the human capital stock, Russia to this day ranks very high by international standards. In contrast, micro-indices are based upon subjective perceptions of availability of professional education generally and training or retraining programs offered by enterprises in particular, and in many cases those perceptions are rather pessimistic.

4. Trends in work-related security profiles

The comparison of the two survey rounds demonstrated that during the period of economic stability the overall configuration of national socio-economic security profile remained rather stable (Fig. 1). At the same time a considerable strengthening in five out of seven aspects of work-related security was observed. It is worth noting however that the most prominent loss was in skill reproduction security reflecting opportunities to master one's profession, to gain and retain skills through professional education and training programs.

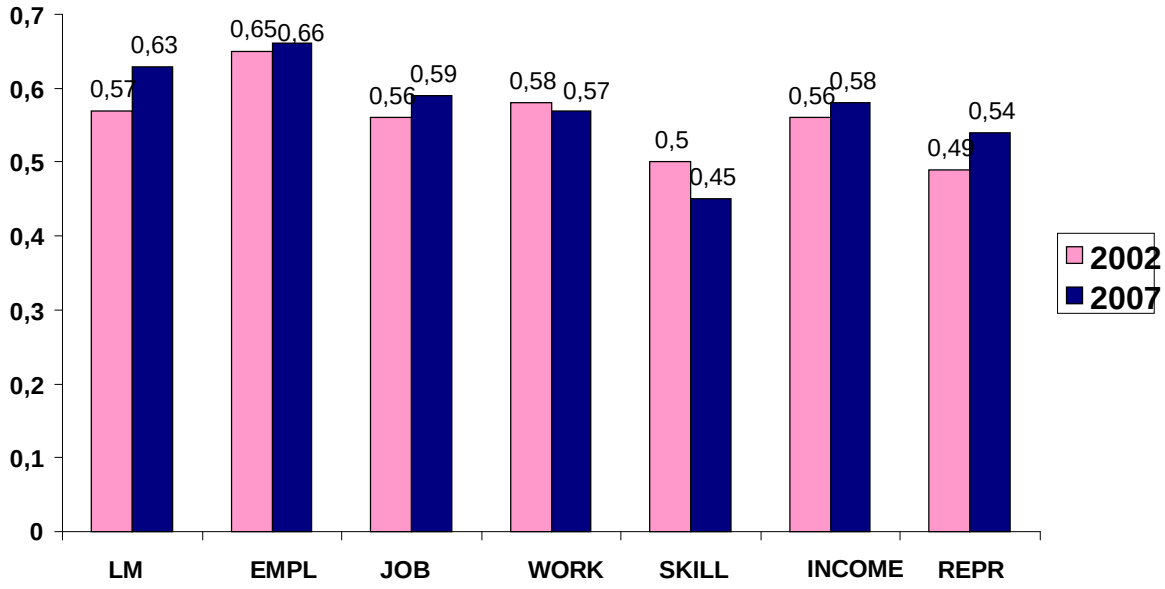

Figure 1. Dynamics of Work-Related Security Indices during Economic Upturn

Gender distinctions in security profiles also did not undergo significant changes between 2002 and 2007. In both rounds man proved to be more vulnerable than women as far as work and representation security were concerned while women lacked labour market security being less sure of finding another employment in case of job loss.

It is worth noting that in spite of a rather large and persistent gender wage gap (in Russia woman generally earn on average about 70% of men's wage) the gender-based difference in corresponding security index is small. This may be explained by the fact that women tend to be employed in the 'soft economy' mainly in such spheres as education, health, etc, where wages are though not too high but guaranteed and regularly paid. The situation is not unique for Russia but also common for many other countries (Esping-Andersen 2002 and 2004).

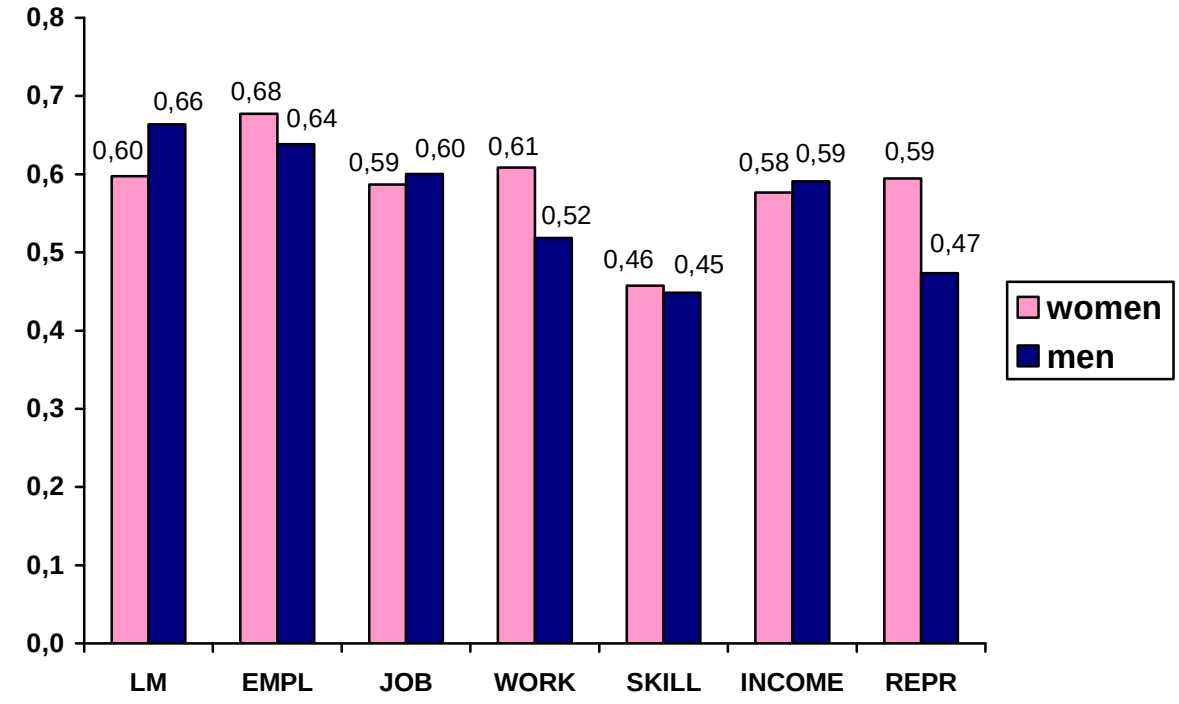

Figure 2. Work-Related Security Indices by Gender (2007)

As far as the age profiles are concerned it is the prime age group being at the peak of economic activity (30-49) who fair relatively better as could well be expected (Fig. 3).

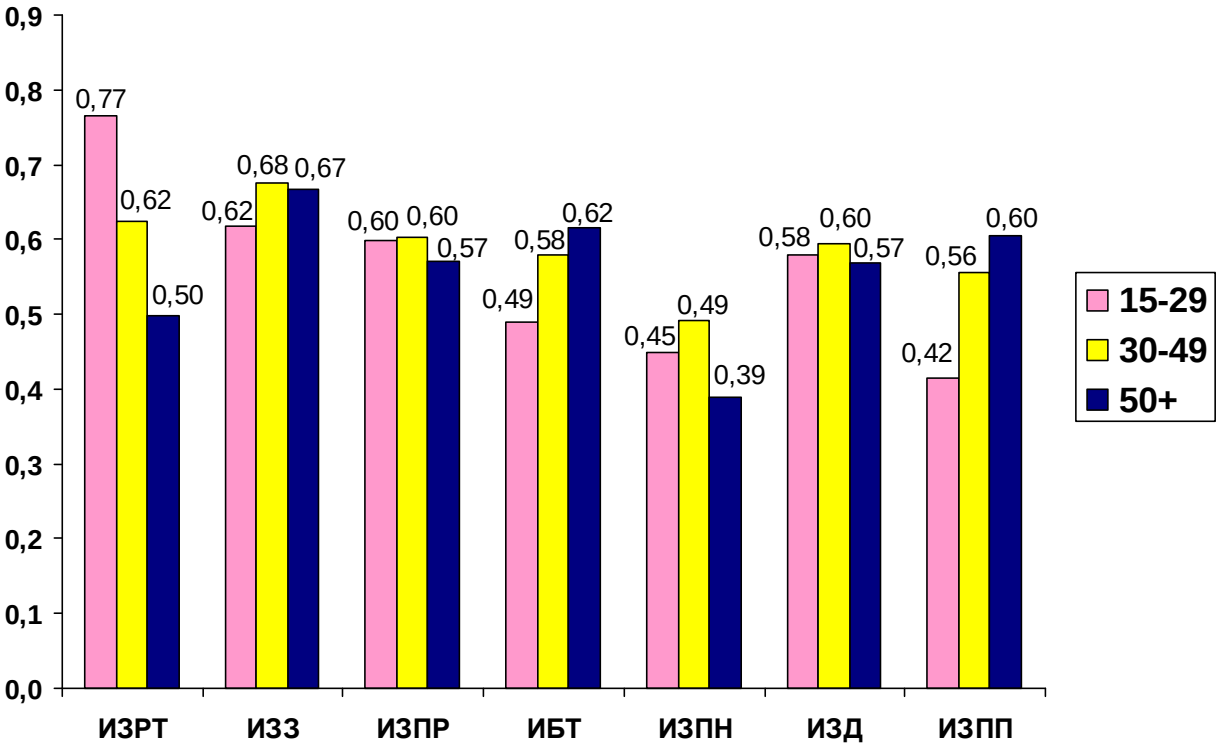

Figure 3. Work-Related Security Indices by Age (2007)

However by two aspects, namely work security and representation security – the index stably increases with age the highest values being achieved for workers above 50. This may be because the younger workers tend to be concentrated in the 'new' private sector enterprises with no trade unions and in white-collar jobs. White collar workers are often reluctant to join trade-unions, prefer individual contracts and are ready to rely on themselves in protection of their rights and interests before employer.

The adverse tendency is characteristic for the labour market security index: it goes down with age increase and the downward profile grew sharper in the second round. During the economic upturn characterized by booming demand for managerial and clerical staff equipped by a university diploma and basic computer skills the youngest generation experienced a considered improvement in their labour market position and enjoyed excessive labour market security.

Bad health has a pronounced negative impact on the work-related security (Fig. 4).

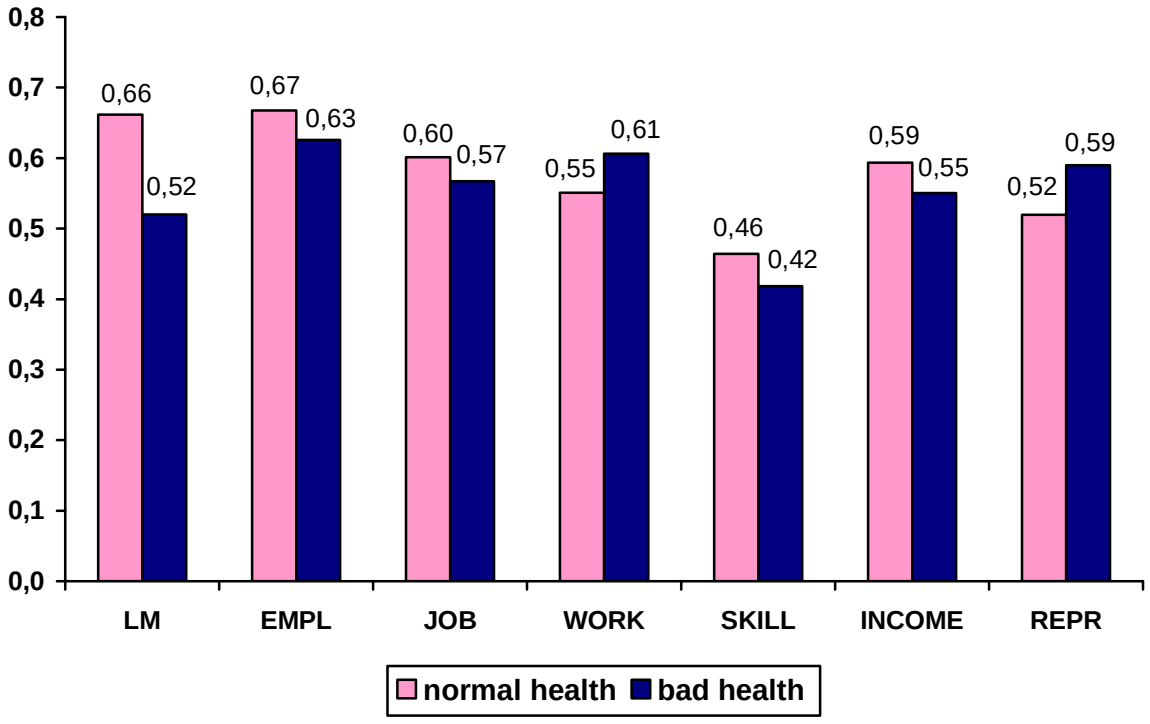

Figure 4. Work-Related Security Indices by Health Status (2007)

Respondents with health problems demonstrated scored considerably lower in all security aspects except work and representation security. Both cases are understandable. You need to have a good enough health to go in for a job where work conditions are dangerous, harmful or require lot of physical effort. A relatively high value of there presentation security index can be explained in two ways. First, people with health problems may prefer the 'soft economy' jobs

(same as women do). Second, enterprises with trade unions provide better protection from unfair dismissal while if there is no trade union and protection of the vulnerable is not there workers with health problems are the first candidates to be 'squeezed' into unemployment.

The trends in distribution of work related security by sector of economy are of most interest. After the first crisis decade of the Russian reforms the employees of the 'new' private sector demonstrated the highest security profile (fig. 5). In 2002 they surpassed the employees of the state and privatized sectors not only in labour market and income security (which could well be expected) but also in skill security. The latter meant private sector offered employees not only better income prospects but also a better perspective of training and skill development.

At the same time already the 2002 round revealed two important vulnerable zones of the 'new' private sector employees: work security and representation security. The only area of advantage of the public sector employees after the crisis decade was high employment security (institutional protection from unfair dismissal).

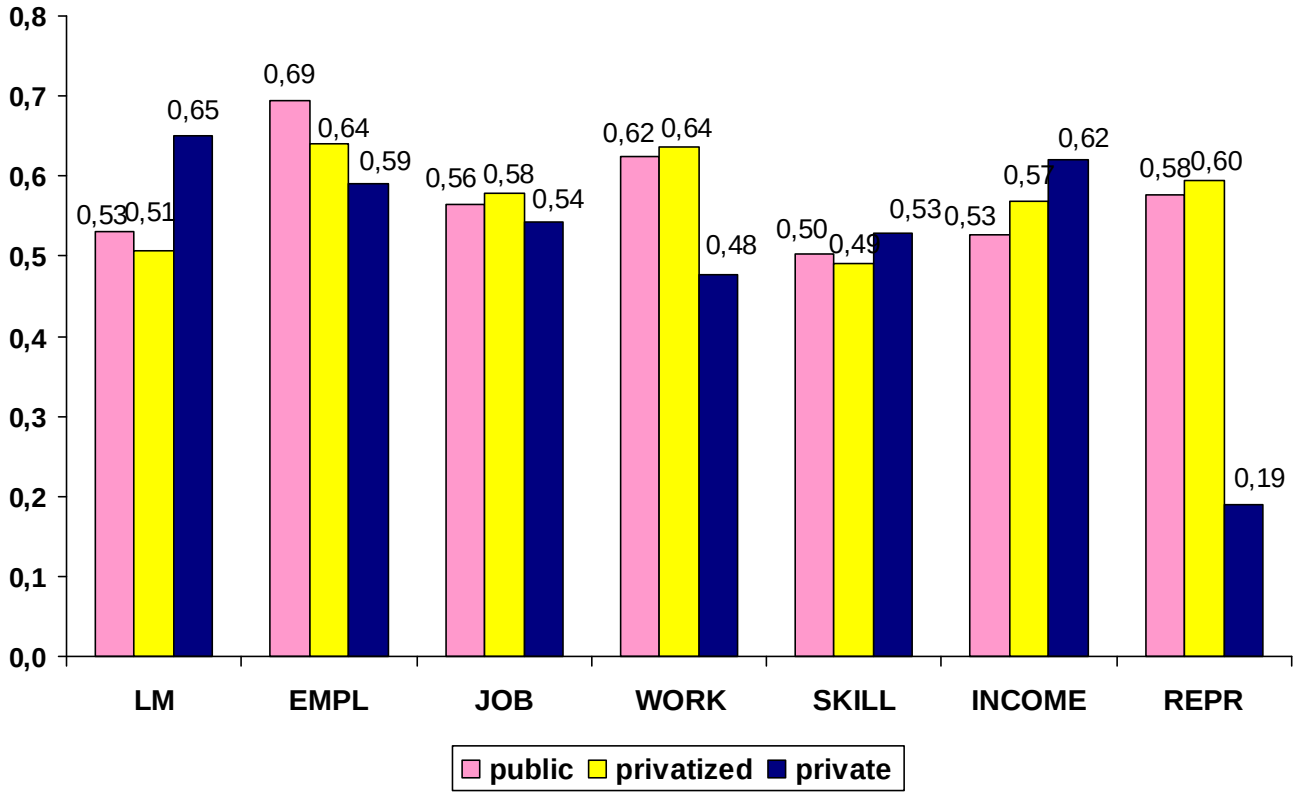

Figure 5. Work-Related Security Indices by Sector of Economy (2002)

Unlike gender, age or health work-related security profiles, which kept relatively stable during the period of economic upturn, the profiles of all three sectors have undergone significant changes (fig. 6).

The public sector employees experienced a significant improvement in each of the seven work related security aspects. The most prominent growth occurred in income, labour market and employment security. The pronounced improvement in labour market security (growing confidence in one's ability to find a job) may be to some extent attributed to the fact that only among this group a growth in skill reproduction security was observed.

The employees in privatized sector encompassing many oil-and-gas enterprises also fared considerably well. The only security aspect where the situation weakened for this group was skill reproduction. At the same time their labour market and job security improved a good deal.

The trend in the 'new' private sector was much more pessimistic. Its employees suffered a pronounced deterioration in all aspects except labour market and representation security. In contrast to the public sector employees, with this category the labour market security growth can not be attributed to improvement in skill development since the corresponding index worsened. Here another explanation is much more probable. The overall quality of jobs in this sector has become worse, and the worse a current job is the easier it is to find another one which is a bit better than the current.

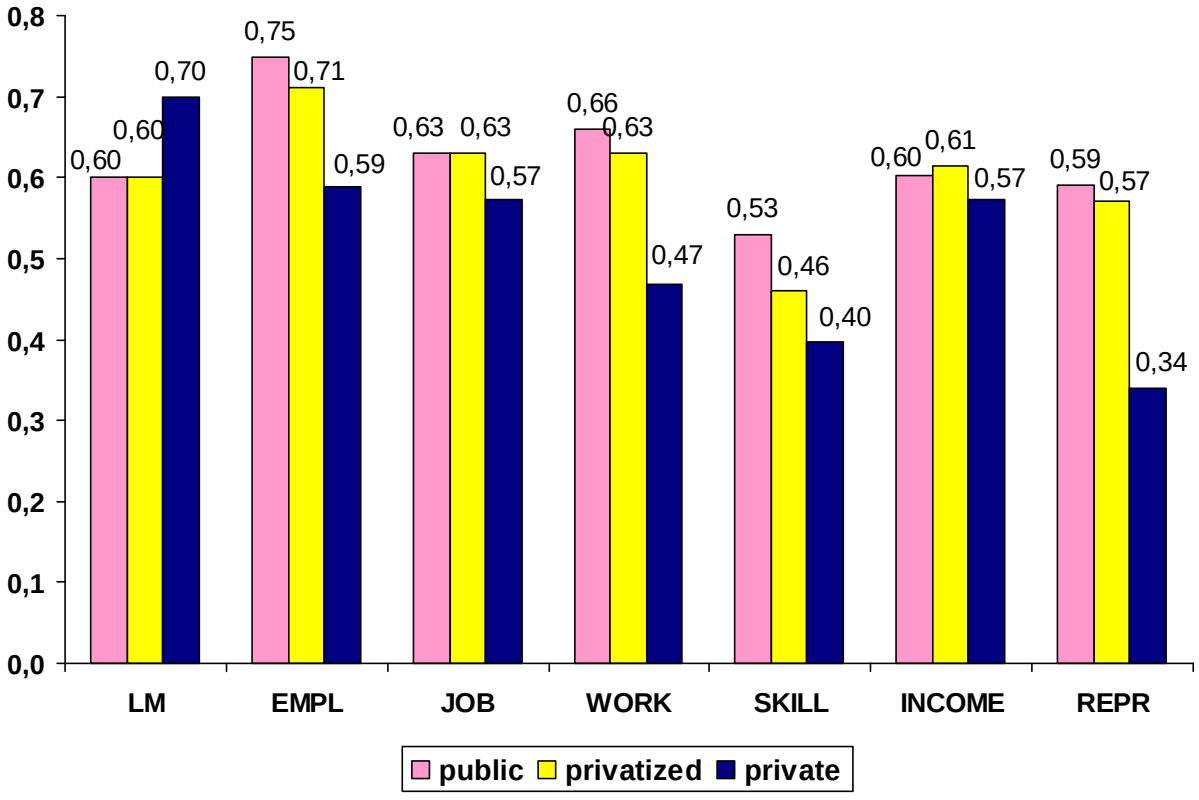

Figure 6. Work-Related Security Indices by Sector of Economy (2007)

The result of the changes described above was that the rating of three key sectors turned around. The public sector employees found themselves in the most favourable situation. The employees in privatized enterprises fall slightly behind while those employed in the 'new' private sector have the bottom ranking on the majority of security aspects.

Thus, socio-economic security is unevenly distributed among different groups of Russian population. With the help of cluster analysis five work-related security profiles characterized by different zones of vulnerability were distinguished: 1) steady successful; 2) conformists; 3) successful-vulnerable; 4) unsuccessful optimists; 5) unsuccessful pessimists (table 2). Representatives of those groups used different modes of adaptation to the realities of market economy and managed to solve the adaptation problem to a different extent. Three clusters represent reasonably well-to-do groups while the other two are outsiders. Comparing their specific characteristics and vulnerability zones allows referring the first three clusters to primary labour market and the rest two – to the secondary labour market.

Table 2. Typology of Working Population by Security Profile (2007)

Index	Index value for each cluster					Mean value
	1(N335)	2(N194)	3(N164)	4(N289)	5(N200)	
LM	0,84	0,83	0,14	0,85	0,15	0,63
EMPL	0,79	0,70	0,75	0,49	0,56	0,66
JOB	0,72	0,56	0,67	0,50	0,49	0,59
WORK	0,65	0,64	0,68	0,37	0,52	0,56
SKILL	0,70	0,22	0,63	0,37	0,22	0,45
INCOME	0,67	0,59	0,65	0,48	0,52	0,58
REPR	0,63	0,66	0,71	0,11	0,40	0,54

Cluster 1 (steady successful) demonstrates an evenly high security profile with maximum or close to maximum values of all seven indices. The representatives of this group are characterized by very tenable positions in the world of work from high labour market competitiveness to the faculty of articulation and defending their interests before employer.

Cluster 2 (conformists) resembles *Cluster 1* rather closely in the majority of aspects. Still it has an important vulnerability zone: skill reproduction security. Moreover representatives of this group fall far behind their Cluster1 counterparts as far as the indicators of work contents are concerned. These employees possess a pronounced instrumental work motivation ready to sacrifice self-realization values for material well-being.

Cluster 3 (successful-vulnerable) comes even closer to the leader's security profile than the conformist group. But it also has an important vulnerability zone. While the representatives of the Cluster 1 possess high labour market confidence their counterparts from Cluster 3 consider

their chances on external labour market as very poor which makes them highly dependant on their present employer which makes their situation potentially vulnerable.

The same sort of difference draws the line between clusters 4 and 5 forming the secondary labour market. Both *unsuccessful optimists (Cluster 4) and unsuccessful pessimists (Cluster 5)* occupy low quality places of work characterized by poor institutional guarantees, low pay and unsatisfactory work conditions.

It is not surprising that the representatives of cluster 4 are not very much afraid of loosing the job. They are pretty sure that another job of the same sort is relatively easy to find. However it is not so with cluster 5. The *unsuccessful pessimists* consider their chances to find another job even of poor quality as very low which augments their fear of job loss.

The clusters are inhabited with different sort of people. The probability of falling into the first most successful group is high for employees with university education and for those working in large enterprises (with employment size of 500 and more). Almost every second employee with either of those characteristics enters the cluster 1.

The chances of falling into the conformist group are distributed rather evenly among different sorts of people. They are a bit higher for employees with secondary professional education (tertiary non-university) and for manual workers.

The third group (successful-vulnerable) to a large extent is formed by representatives of depressed territories, by women, employees with health problems and older workers.

Falling into the unsuccessful pessimist cluster is highly probable for manual workers and employees with low educational attainment. The majority of this group is formed by young or prime-aged man with no health problems and is employed at small or middle—sized enterprises of the 'new' private sector.

Finally the risk of falling into the last most unsuccessful cluster increases with age and worsening state of health. It is higher for manual workers and mid-level professionals with tertiary non-university education, has no pronounced gender bias and is minimal non-capital urban localities.

Overall the key factors determining individual work-related security profiles are sector of employment, enterprise size, age, and health. The profiles are less dependent upon place of living, gender, family size and education and not dependent upon marital status and number of children.

5. Conclusion

In Russia market reforms were accompanied by a sharp growth of insecurity in all spheres of life and first of all in the world of work. While the problem was recognized both by researchers and policy-makers their attention was focused mainly on unemployment and its

consequences. Meanwhile the equally pressing problem of poor quality of jobs as regards such characteristics as fair remuneration, decent work conditions, stability and career prospects and other vital aspects constituting overall socio-economic security of working population was largely overlooked.

The multi-dimensional socio-economic security concept designed by ILO allows exploring the security in the world of work from different angles. A set of micro level indices constructed along the lines of this concept allows grasping subjective perceptions of socio-economic security within different groups of working population. It turns out that the security is unevenly distributed among workers, and though security/insecurity profiles formed as a result of the first decade of reforms accompanied by transformation crisis have undergone changes during the period of economic upturn, some of them are more stable than others.

In between the two survey rounds a considerable strengthening in five out of seven aspects of work-related security was observed. The most prominent loss however was in skill reproduction security reflecting opportunities to master one's profession, to gain and retain skills through professional education and training programs. In both rounds man proved to be more vulnerable than women as far as work and representation security were concerned while women lacked labour market security being less sure of finding another employment in case of job loss. Public sector employees experienced the largest gains in work-related security with those employed by privatized enterprises falling slightly behind and employees in the new private sector being the main losers.

With the help of cluster analysis five work-related security profiles characterized by different zones of vulnerability were distinguished: three clusters represent reasonably well-to-do groups while the other two are outsiders. It turned out that, on the one hand, well-paid jobs not necessarily guarantee high level of socio-economic security. In many cases they provide poor opportunities for skill-development or for strengthening labor market competitiveness. On the other hand employment in poorly paid jobs in most cases leads to deskilling, worsening of health and eventually to being trapped in unattractive and insecure labor market segments.

The key factors determining individual work-related security profiles are sector of employment, enterprise size, age, and health. The profiles are less dependent upon place of living, gender, family size and education and not dependent upon marital status and number of children.

Since the available PSS data is limited to the period of economic stability and booming labour market it is hardly possible to give a comprehensive picture of the changes in work-related security profiles brought by the recent financial crises. Still available information from

official and expert sources and some results of a regular labour-relations survey[5] conducted at several large and stable industrial enterprises allow suggesting some points.

Comparing the indicators of work-related security available from the labour-relations survey obtained in summer 2008 (before crisis) and summer 2009 when the crisis was in full swing demonstrated that such indicators of work-related security as safety at work and work conditions, regularity of wage payment and reliance on trade-unions to protect workers interests even showed a slight improvement. At the same time the indicators of skill security went down while labour market and employment security suffered most of all (which was indeed well predictable).

The labour-relations survey results also reveal that the negative impact of crisis on individual socio-economic security increases with age with the first index – labour market security being affected most. However there is also evidence of a pronounced negative impact of crisis on the labour market competitiveness of the young. With the beginning of crisis the unemployment rate jumped more sharply as compared to economic average followed by a very slight fall with the revival of labour demand during 2010. According to a survey undertaken by the Ministry of Education and Science in spring of 2010 the labour market situation of new university graduates got worse as compared to 2009.

The gender-related impact of crisis on work-related security is also controversial. On the one hand in both rounds of our survey men demonstrated a substantially higher value of the labour market security index as compared to women. Since women feel less sure of themselves in the external labour market it could be suggested that the decline in labour demand should affect them relatively worse. However, on the other hand, it is well documented that with the beginning of crisis male unemployment increases sharper as compared to female. Such tendency was observed both during the crisis years of the1990s and during the recent crisis. This may signify that women possess better adaptation potential and use it more effectively during hard times.

Thus, the anticipations concerning possible impact of the recent crisis on work-related security profiles in Russia remain ambiguous and in order to provide more definite answers another PSS round is needed.

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[5] Since the survey was not designed specifically for measuring socio-economic security only some of indicators are available.

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