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Social mobility of Russians in terms of life chances and risks.

Studies on social mobility is a fundamental research field. Findings about this issue help to understand processes taking place in society and affecting stability of its structure. In context of growing income and wealth inequalities all over the world (and in Russia, in particular), this issue attracts attention of scientific community nowadays. The concept of social mobility, introduced by Sorokin P., is multidimensional and complex, which is why scientific literature contains various traditions of its analysis, a variety of research questions and subject fields. Since social mobility is interpreted primarily as movements between social statuses (Sorokin 1992; Goldthorpe, Jackson 2007), key studies have traditionally been carried out by experts in field of social structure and stratification. A distinctive feature of works related to this methodological tradition is that they analyze not particular social groups or processes, but the whole society as a set of social statuses. To identify cases of mobility in such studies, researchers use theoretical and methodological approach to stratification of society and criteria for determining the boundaries of large social strata. In such studies social mobility means movements from one social strata to another. There are relatively few scientific studies that follow this tradition of analysis and focus on Russian society. They usually focus on social mobility between strata in income stratification (studies by Bogomolova T. and Tapilina V., Lukiyanova A. and Oshchepkov A., Dang H. and colleagues, Jovanovic B.), or between strata in social structure, based on subjective perceptions (research of M. Ravallion and M. Lokshin, and A. Zudina). At the same time, as far as the author knows, there have been no studies on mobility of Russians between strata in a stratification hierarchy built on the basis of objectively measured non-monetary indicators, which served as an incentive to conduct a corresponding research[1]. The research was aimed to identify directions and rates of social mobility of Russians within the framework of a non-monetary stratification hierarchy.

This goal required a scientifically grounded position in relation to how population of modern Russia is stratified. For this purpose, author used Neo-Weberian methodology developed within research project "Behavior strategies of population in the post-crisis period: how will the new day-to-day realities in the lives of Russians affect the "corridor of opportunities" for the country's development?"[2]. It is based on Weber's concept "life chances" (*germ. - Lebenschancen* [Weber, 1978]). Methodology grounds on existance of life chances and life risks in four most significant spheres of life for Russians (economic conditions of their life, situation at work, possibilities of maintaining and building up human capital, and leisure activities) [3]. Methodology allows to distinguish upper, middle, and lower strata in Russian society.

Within the framework of this study, social mobility is understood as transition from one stratum to another. To record these transitions and visualize trajectories of mobility, author used method called Group-Based Trajectory Modeling (GBTM) [Nagin, 2005]. GBTM method allows to identify the most common trajectories of changes in analyzed indicator over time, visualize

them, and then group those people whose indicator changed in the way that is closest to the identified trend. GBTM method requires data that record characteristics of individuals at each time point. For this reason, we used RLMS HSE[4] data, which provides an opportunity to construct panel samples (for 2013, 2015, 2017, 2018).

The research shown that a quarter of Russians moved from stratum to stratum (i.e. ¾ of Russians were immobile). Mobility usually occurs over a short distance. Cases of significant life changes that would lead to transition between polar strata (lower and upper) are exceptions to the rule. Chances of getting into polar strata depend on quality of human potential and, as a result, on individuals' places in system of industrial relations. Only highly qualified Russians with good health, who also originate from high-educated families, have high chances of getting into positively privileged (upper) stratum. For these Russians, composite rents work (Sørensen, 2000). Risks of moving down to lower stratum are formed for low-educated russians with bad health and low-educated parents, mainly due to employment on bad job positions which violate employee's rights. Research also shown that social background continues to play significant role in shaping chances on social wellbeing and mobility. It also drew attention on fact that skills in use of information technologies form a new basis for inequality between people.

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[4] Russia Longitudinal Monitoring survey, RLMS-HSE», conducted by National Research University "Higher School of Economics" and OOO "Demoscope" together with Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and the Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. (RLMS-HSE web sites: https://rlms-hse.cpc.unc.edu, https://www.hse.ru/org/hse/rlms)