

Young and Aged Employees in the Russian Labour Market: Confrontation or Complementarity?

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Abstract: This article presents an analysis of research results on two categories of workers and job candidates - the youngest (under 25 years old) and the oldest (retired and pre-retirement). These age group cohorts are under the greatest pressure in the Russian labour market: the greatest difficulties in getting a job, age discrimination, etc. Paradoxically, these groups show not a difference but rather a similarity in their value orientations. They often experience latent and obvious discrimination from HR managers. As a result, in many respects these groups tend to have similar views about the labour market and their "life chances" to build a career and maintain income stability. The younger and older age groups are ready to interact with each other, but stereotypes about old age (prevalent in the country) make this process difficult. State policies that support certain age groups in the labour market often intensify intergenerational conflicts rather than hinder them. The Corona Virus pandemic has significantly affected the position of the youngest and oldest people in the labour market, putting them in a situation where they cannot apply for good jobs and have to accept any work.

Keywords: *intergenerational conflicts; labour market; employment; generations; retired persons; professional training; retraining; active ageing; young employees; ageing employees.*

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Introduction

In the postmodern society, the labour market is undergoing significant transformations. The global and Russian labour markets are under pressure from two divergent macro trends. On the one hand, the population ageing in the context of a decline in the countries' ability to finance pension programs and the increase in the retirement age pose the task of forming a policy to involve and retain older people in the labour market. On the other hand, the growing youth unemployment (especially for young people without work experience) requires the creation of institutions for young people to successfully enter the labour market. As a result, there are serious risks of intergenerational conflicts. Competition between generations for jobs and opportunities for professional realization arises and intensifies during periods of crises.

The pandemic Covid 19 has significantly exacerbated the existing employment problems of these socio-demographic groups. First, the pandemic severely limited the ability of organizations in the Russian Federation to create new jobs (with the exception of sectors related to digital services, which, due to the specifics of their activities, create only low-skilled jobs). In many regions of the country, unemployment has risen than before the pandemic. Second, the lockdown contributed to the jobs' transformation, the widespread transition to remote employment: 52% of employed adults worldwide and 44% in Russia were forced to work from home, and 15% globally and 16% in Russia left their jobs due to the inability to work remotely (Ipsos, 2020:4, 8).

The digitalization of labour has become an obvious challenge of postmodernity. Evidently, the older generation faces the greatest difficulties in mastering modern information technologies. This disadvantage could be compensated by the experience and developed competencies in the professional field. But this is not the case. The situation is exactly the opposite for the youngest job candidates: they have a good command of computer technology, but lack experience. As a result, both age groups face serious difficulties in the employment process. This situation is typical for a global society, but in each country it can manifest itself in different ways.

In the context of telecommuting, there is a specific source of conflict among employees – the division into offline and online workers. The conditions for an unequal assessment of them by the management are created: « a kind of 'elite' of task-setting employees in the office and over-busy remote workers, who will constantly be tested for strength and

organization by the most stringent deadlines» (Aimaletdinov et al., 2020:15). Since older employees were sent to the remote format first of all, such a division can have a clear age character and increase tension between older and younger employees.

Intergenerational conflicts may become a serious threat to sustainability of economy in the future. In the era of modernity and now, society is actively overcoming gender asymmetry in the labour market. At the same time, a new problem arises – age asymmetry and age discrimination. It affects both the youngest and the oldest generation. The gradual increase in life expectancy inevitably leads to an increase in people's working lives. This new situation creates the basis for mutual claims of different generations regarding the occupation of high-wage and management positions, promotion, risks of being fired, etc.

It should be noted that along with objective conditions determining age discrimination, there are no less important subjective factors. Postmodern society is a world of images. The images of different generations were created by history, and many of them are now outdated. Many ideas about intergenerational conflicts do not correspond to modern realities either. Therefore, the task of postmodern sociology is to collect and analyze new data on life and professional strategies of different generations, as well as to form a positive attitude to the age diversification of employees in organizations.

In this article the attention will be focused on studying the current situation in the Russian labour market in relation to two extreme groups – the youngest workers (under 25) and working pensioners.

The prerequisites for the emergence or actualization of conflicts in the labour sphere between representatives of these age groups will be analyzed based on the data of wave representative surveys of the Russian Public Opinion Research Center (1992-2020), the results of research by Russian and international companies (Ipsos, Deloitte, HeadHunter, Nafi), official statistics, and expert opinions. The choice of age groups for the analysis is determined by several factors. For the first, it is caused by the existing features of the Russian labour market and government employment management programs. These age cohorts are in the most disadvantaged position in terms of employment and career advancement in Russian organizations. They have the highest risk of displacement to the precarious employment area (with the lowest social and labour guarantees, lack of decent (fair) wages). This leads to the emergence of "unhealthy" forms of competition between the representatives of these generations.

Secondly, many theoretical works (Howe & Strauss, 1997; Shamis & Nikonov, 2017; Stillman & Stillman, 2017) and applied research develop the idea of supposedly existing radical differences in labour orientations between representatives of these age cohorts. This leads to an aggravation of work conflicts. In some cases, experts even point out that it is impossible to effectively interact for the representatives of these generations in working processes.

However, as will be shown below, the impact of these differences is greatly exaggerated. Like the American generation I (Twenge, 2017), young Russians show similar attitudes towards working with their grandparents (baby boomers) and parents (generation X). Thus, the younger generation is more interested in stable employment and expanded social guarantees, rather than being concerned with finding interesting work tasks and working for themselves (freelancing).

Third, the applied research systematization suggests that the existing stereotypes of HR-community in relation to representatives of these age groups contribute to discrimination and reduce the chances of getting a job (primarily, a prestigious one), are the main factor of conflict between the youngest and the oldest employees in Russian organizations.

The eternal problem of the generation gap acquires new features in postmodernity. The clear opposition between the values of the young and the values of the old is becoming a thing of the past. Today we are dealing with a specific mix of values, orientations and life strategies of different generations. The young and the old often can have the same social and professional priorities. And this serves as a good basis for their positive interaction both in labour activity and in everyday life.

The postmodern society has a real demand for the cooperation between generations, avoiding their alienation and conflicts. The obstacles to this cooperation have paradoxically postmodern nature. They are the images and stereotypes that exist in the mind of managers and governmental officials. It's their hidebound and largely incorrect managerial logic (with its focus on short-term efficiency), that creates the numerous problems associated with age asymmetry and age discrimination.

Paradoxes of value orientations of young and older generations in modern Russia

The radical transformation of the demographic structure in developed countries due to population aging in the XX- XXI centuries, according to experts (Barsukov, 2016; Bengtson&Achenbaum, 1993;

Vishnevskii, 2014; Sorokin& Gavrilyuk, 2017), not only led to an increase in intergenerational conflicts, but also contributed to the identification of new bases for their emergence. The theoretical traditions of the intergenerational conflicts study have not only defined the conceptual framework of their research, but also formed managerial approaches to coordinate the interests of older and younger generations in the context of the postulated provisions on the significance of these conflicts in social development.

The conflict of generations in the mid-twentieth century was considered as a universal motive of human history (Marcuse, 1969), as a leading factor of social development and an opportunity for radical social transformations (Mendel, 1974; Feuer, 1969). It was believed that young people as an active force are able to overcome the existing negative processes of social development, such as technocracy, alienation, etc. Such theoretical postulates were a reflection of the increasing role of young people in the socio-political agenda of western countries at that time and were caused by the growth of youth (student) movements. However, by the end of the twentieth century, the vector of research is changing. Increasingly, the experts do not focus on the revolutionary nature of young people, but study the conditions for a dialogue between generations. Researchers justify the need for an evolutionary path of development and search for ways to interactions between representatives of the older and younger generations.

The study of intergenerational conflicts in Russian sociology was associated with the study of socio-economic transformations of the late twentieth century. The provisions of the intergenerational dynamics by K. Mannheim (Mankheym,1994) and the "crisis of generations" by G. Mandel (Mendel, 1974) were used as a theoretical basis. Intergenerational conflicts ceased to be viewed from extreme positions (as a sign of positive changes and as a sign of degradation), and became a natural element of social dynamics. It was noted that conflicts increase during periods of accelerating the pace of social development, which is associated with the young people's refusal to accept the patterns of the past. Leveling the destructive aspects of intergenerational conflicts is associated with building a system of effective interactions between representatives of generations. It was not and cannot be about the complete removal and disappearance of the "fathers and children" conflict. It is necessary not only to recognize the existence of different positions and values among young people and the elderly, but also to create opportunities for their socially comfortable coexistence and the interpenetration of points of view.

It should be noted that the results of applied research showed that the value conflict between young people and the elderly was not so acute in Russia at the end of the twentieth century. This situation was explained by the fact that the radical restructuring of the socio-economic system affected all Russians. The change of life values was experienced simultaneously by representatives of all generations, while the generations themselves were not homogeneous. Only at the beginning of the twenty-first century in connection with the entry into active life of a generation of Russians socialized without the direct influence of Soviet ideology, scientists talk about strengthening intergenerational conflicts. They talk about the strong tensions between the generation «market ideas» and generation, who remember the Soviet past (Bespalova& Gertsen, 2009; Gavrilyuk& Trikoz, 2002; Postnikova, 2010).

The attitude to work as one of the main differentiating values, contributing to strengthening the conflict between generations, was highlighted. It was pointed out that for the representatives of the older generations, brought up in the Soviet ideological doctrine, work was perceived as the highest value and as a need. For younger generations, work ceased to play a leading role, replacing hedonistic aspirations (Semenova, 2009). Labour and work began to fulfill a purely pragmatic task: to create a basis for well-being and the opportunity to realize life chances. Experts noted the growing gap between generations in understanding the ideas of social justice and collectivism. While generally recognizing that young and older workers have a different hierarchy of values, we would like to note this difference is characteristic of the conflict between millennials (30-to 40-year-olds, often referred to as "post-perestroika generation") and representatives of both older and younger generations.

In contrast to Western countries, the age group of 30-year-olds currently earns the highest income in Russia. It also demonstrates a commitment to European values in terms of labour and consumption. Their life in Russia resembles the life of the rich in other countries in many ways.

This similarity is justified not only by economic factors but by the fact that they were the first to master the new standards of consumption. The representatives of this age cohort discovered the «art of spending money under capitalism, just as those immediately preceding them discovered the art of earning it. This phenomenon of generational differences in class socialization leads to a paradoxical situation in which the class boundaries recognized in the world literature exist and are reproduced, if not in the absence of classes, then largely over class boundaries» (Sokolov, 2019: 86-87).

Representatives of the younger generation (up to 25 years old, born in the late 90s of the XX-early XXI) combine the characteristics and attitudes of different generations. On the one hand, they ideologically continue to search a balance between personal and work activities, which is expressed in a persistent reluctance to work intensively (millennials values). On the other hand, they demonstrate a common attitude with the representatives of the most senior groups of the population in many aspects of their work. In particular, the younger generation is characterized by collectivism. Representatives of the youngest generation, like their grandparents, actively preach and use the ideas of cooperation, collaboration, everything common (co-creation, co-production, co-financing, etc.) in everyday practices. They revive the spirit of collectivism in a new version of various sharing practices. They successfully subordinate individual goals to collective ones, demonstrate a high level of effectiveness and readiness for teamwork, readiness and desire to put into practice the ideas of shared leadership.

The most important similarity between the youngest and the oldest residents of Russia is that both actively articulate a request for social stability to the state and business. And it is probably not only about the specific Russian socio-economic conditions that form a demand for the stability and reliability of the workplace, expanded social responsibility of business, a critical assessment of career opportunities in the context of limited social elevators. It is rather a global phenomenon that is only gaining strength and is not recorded by statistics and sociological methods. In particular, this trend is confirmed by the data of long-term American studies: American youth under 25 years of age «are interested in more stable, as it seems to them, activities, in particular, service in the army, police more often than millennials ... A regular employment means security, a stable income, an ability to buy whatever you want. ... Moreover, they don't seem to care where they work at all; they just want to... to work». (Twenge, 2017:238-239)

For Russia, one of the integrating factors that determines the common views of the young and the elderly is the socialization process. Children spend a lot of time growing up with their grandparents, internalizing their values and attitudes.

These processes undoubtedly require a special sociological study, which allows us to confirm the above conceptual points. The key integrating aspects between the older (before 1963) and the youngest generation (born in 1995-2010), which reduce the severity of intergenerational conflicts in the labour sphere, will be presented based on the analysis of data sociological studies.

Discrimination of young and old workers in the Russian labour market

The representatives of the youngest generation and working pensioners are currently unanimous on a number of key aspects of employment.

First, as noted above, it is manifested in the orientation to stable employment and pragmatic choice of the employer. The main factors are decent wages and a guaranteed contract. Finding a job in Russia is becoming difficult for all age groups, but according to subjective estimates, the greatest difficulties arise in young professionals (84% of respondents); pre-retirees (87%) and pensioners (80%).

For young professionals (without work experience), difficulties arise not only in finding a job, but a job according to their specialty. The problem of the gap between the received education and the opportunities for professional realization is becoming more acute as a result of the pandemic: 55% of the surveyed graduates experienced difficulties in finding a job in their specialty in 2020. The problem of employment according to the specialty is also relevant for pre-retirees (51%) and pensioners (48%), acting as a deterrent to the continuation of the chosen professional development trajectory (HeadHunter, 2020). The negative conditions are being generally formed for pushing a significant part of both young and elderly workers into the segment of low-paid jobs. Russian companies are increasingly using strategies to hire employees from regions with cheaper labour. Experts note that the recovery of the labour market is slow and mainly due to the hiring of people at lower rates (Sberindex, 2020). However, the resource of conflict between generations in economic terms has been quite low. Data from representative surveys show that from 1992 to 2015, only 8% of Russians agreed with the statement that "pensioners only occupy jobs and hinder the promotion of younger employees" (VCIOM, 1992, 2015). This is confirmed by the data of an expert survey of HR managers of Russian organizations, which was conducted by employees of the Faculty of Sociology of Moscow State University. 52% of respondents believe that intergenerational conflicts at work are not a serious problem for Russian companies. HR managers do not record such conflicts at all in 57% of organizations, they occur frequently only in 8% of organizations.

The basic causes of conflicts between generations, according to HR specialists, are the following: 1) socio-cultural factors (different experiences, lack of trust), 2) objective factors related to differences in professional skills and approaches and the current management policy in the organization. The

factor of economic competition (for high-quality positions and distribution of money) is practically not shown in Russian organizations as a cause of intergenerational conflicts. Existing conditions (limited opportunities for career advancement, nepotism, increased unemployment, etc.), lead to the fact that the workers themselves (younger and older ones) are aware of the limitations of career opportunities. Therefore, competition for career advancement between representatives of different generations is very rare in Russian organizations. In 2014, 73% of Russians under 25 believed that their career advancement opportunities were difficult or almost impossible, and 82% of employees over 60+ were also of the same opinion (VCIOM, 2014). Understanding the limitations of life chances and the closeness of social elevators does not lead to a deepening of the conflict between generations, but contributes to the fact that Russians generally cease to perceive a career as a value. Health (99%), family relations (98%), security (97%), family income (96%) and environment (96%) are the most important priorities of Russians (VCIOM, 2020). Interestingly, traditional vertical careers are losing appeal for Russians: if 53% of Russians considered it is important to climb the career ladder (at the age of 18 to 24, the share of such people was 79% in 2007, then there were only 41% in 2017 and 33% in 2020 (VCIOM).

In the context of this study, there is not an increase in the negative attitude of employees of different ages to each other, but a request to the state and the business community to create many jobs for everyone. For example, to the question whether employers should employ (keep pensioners in office) or whether it is worth "giving way to the young", 65 % of young people (under 25) and 59% of pensioners surveyed thought "it would be great if there are enough jobs for everyone" (HeadHunter, 2020)

It should be noted that state programs ("Older Generation", "Labour Productivity and Employment Support", "Personnel for the Digital Economy"), which highlight certain ages as priorities for the support of employment, can artificially provoke conflict (Markeeva & Kolodeznikova, 2020). For example, the national program "Digital Certificate" identifies women with children under 3 years of age and pre-retirees (workers 50+) as the main target groups for retraining in digital professions. This approach is starting to be perceived by other socio-demographic groups as a discriminating one.

The state programs to retain employment of older people can lead to an increase in intergenerational tension. A change in the age structure of employment will naturally force companies to pay attention to the retention of older representatives. But it is obvious that due to the specifics of technical and digital modernization, the specifics of business models and

other factors, the need to attract and retain pre-retirees and pensioners in different sectors of the economy will be different. The development of such programs should be linked to the organizations' strategic plans and workforce projections. Now, their implementation is mainly associated with the desire of the state to solve the problem of insufficient pension provision. Administrative coercion of state corporations (many of these organizations are the largest Russian employers), forms Russian paradox: the older people are being retrained and retained in industries that do not have problems with a shortage of human resources. In such conditions, the creation of special preferences for older people and their artificial retention in the employment system will inevitably increase intergenerational tension in organizations.

Another factor in the growth of intergenerational tension is the tendency to consolidate aged managers at the top of the organizational pyramids. This trend is evident in a variety of countries, in a variety of economic sectors and spheres of public life in the twenty-first century. The phenomenon of aged managers is primarily associated with success in healthcare and medicine, which allows managers to be in good physical (including mental) shape for longer (Barkov&Ksenofontova, 2020). However, it also has a social perspective. The phenomenon of aged managers is formed by social conditions: 1) existence of activity that, despite digitalization and informatization, do not change dramatically, allowing aged managers, even without owning digital management tools, to effectively manage communities of people in certain territories and businesses; 2) transformation of individual leadership into group leadership; 3) change of the authority mechanism in modern states and corporations. (Barkov, 2020)

It would be logical to assume that the active "usurpation of power" by representatives of older generations will be one of the most important sources of intergenerational conflicts. However, it is necessary to point out a number of circumstances that significantly reduce the conflict between generations on this issue. First, the concept of a "successful career" is changing. Modern people realize that career success is more multifaceted than traditional corporate signals about pay and promotion. The diversity of career paths (not only continuously upward and always in the same professional environment as was seen as ideal in the recent past), the understanding of the importance of a career only in the social context (family, friends, hobbies, etc.) create conditions for peaceful coexistence of generations. Secondly, the boundaries of the beginning of a career and its peak are changing. The phenomenon of late bloomers, associated with later professional self-determination and the beginning of a career path, is a global phenomenon (Karlgaard, 2019). Cases of bright career take-offs at 50,

60 and older are becoming more and more personal, and the attitude towards them in society is changing. Stretching the boundaries of a career creates a loyal attitude to the presence of aged managers at the top of the organizational pyramid, works to build coordination between generations. Third, the change in the requirements for employees, primarily in relation to soft skills, and the increasing importance and role of these skills in solving professional tasks raise the question of the impossibility of fast careers for young people. Emotional intelligence, the ability to build different scenarios of interaction taking into account the context, audience, task, system vision of problems, etc. - these are qualities that are acquired over the years.

All this, combined with other factors (network power, authority-generated power, personal brand, and behavior patterns) form the basis for the promotion, advancement and success of aged managers. Choosing from a number of candidates for high positions, the elite can choose an age-old manager as the best candidate in the post-industrial social and managerial realities. This is not a universal pattern. There is a constant need for new young leaders, for the renewal of the management structure, but in certain periods of time, when this need is not so actively manifested (periods of the evolutionary development of society), representatives of the older generation can compete with the younger ones. And most importantly, the senior managers' consolidation is no longer considered by other age cohorts as an infringement of rights and a basis for conflict, but becomes quite an ordinary situation of organizational competition.

Stereotypes about young and old people as a source of problems in employment and work

In addition to objective factors that exacerbate the problems of employment in the country, there are subjective factors that increase discrimination in the labour market in relation to the analyzed age groups. The most important of them is a set of management stereotypes. Both young professionals (especially without work experience) and older professionals are discriminated. Stereotypes are a social construct, the use of which significantly simplifies the decision-making process, including for HR specialists in terms of hiring, developing and promoting employees of different ages. Reduction of the complex and dynamic processes to specific individual cases makes them very attractive. However, stereotypes reflect only a part, and in the conditions of accelerating social processes and complicating the social world, an insignificant part of social reality.

In other sphere of management (for example, marketing) experts have realized the destructive nature of the use of stereotypes for organizations. Organizations are increasingly using technologies to break down stereotypes. However, the field of human resource management in Russia remains very conservative. HR services mostly use industrial paradigms and corresponding HR technologies. Despite radical social transformations, stereotypes about older and younger workers are fixed and reproduced in management practice, contributing to the manifestations of ageism and adultism. They appeared in a pre-pandemic situation, but were not such significant restrictions on finding or retaining a job. Current research shows that the pandemic has increased their influence in managerial decision-making for the youngest and oldest age groups of staff. For example, the stereotype of inflexible thinking, low learning ability, poor adaptability and low motivation for the development of older employees, leads to the fact that 30% of employers do not consider the resumes of aged applicants in principle. 41% of those considered are refused because of age (HeadHunter, 2020).

The youngest workers are also subject to the pressure of stereotypes. Laziness, excessive ambition, lack of readiness for additional workloads, incompetence (lack of experience) and other characteristics attributed to them significantly limit young people's chances for employment, make it difficult for them to be realized professionally in specialty.

We can talk about the impact of stereotypes on the level of stress. In the post-pandemic situation, stress affects the youngest and the oldest, because both groups experience the higher level of uncertainty in maintaining their jobs (Map of Russians' fears, 2020).

The stereotypical perception of the labour potential and socio-psychological characteristics of older and younger employees exists and is reproduced by managers. They practically do not manifest themselves in horizontal interactions (workers of different ages with each other). Thus, only 14% of employees, assessing the opportunities and contribution of working pensioners in their organizations, believe that the elderly are low-performing workers, while 51% note that they work as well or more effectively than the young. 86% of working pensioners do not face any difficulties in the work process in interacting with other employees related to age. Analyzing personal experience of interaction with working pensioners, 77% of young employees (under 25) note that they have developed warmer or similar relationships with other employees, and only 10% speak about the complexity of interactions (HeadHunter, 2020).

Thus, Russian HR specialists form the environment and processes that prevent constructive interactions between representatives of different generations, relying on stereotypes in decision-making, and fixing discriminatory procedures in organizational practice.

It would seem that two discriminated groups – very young and very old workers – could establish a positive interaction to jointly confront the stereotypes and prejudices present in the labour market. This could also be facilitated by the common values shared by both groups, as discussed above. But this does not happen. And the reason for this is same –the stereotypes of the old age perception in Russian society.

The general information background in the country increases the separation and alienation of generations. This is especially acute in the Russian attitude to old age. Thus, the information space, which reproduces and broadcasts "cliches" about old age and the potential of the older generation, turns into an instrument of public pressure. Pensioners implement a limited number of practices, try to demonstrate socially acceptable for an elderly person behavior (Sokolov, 2019). This is evident in the leisure activities and labour practices. If you try to figuratively represent the stereotypes that exist in Russian society regarding the elderly, you will get more or less this picture: a pensioner should sit on a bench near the house, and even if they work, their work is simple, routine, and does not require special qualifications.

The fear of old age formed in society and the avoidance of the elderly does not contribute to the establishment of constructive interactions between the young and the elderly. Representatives of both the youngest and the oldest age cohort show unanimity in their assessment of old age. 56% of young and 67% of elderly Russians agree that retirement is one of the most difficult periods of life: a person is thrown out of active life, sharply loses income, their social circle narrows, the list of available activities is reduced. (VCIOM, 2020) Overall, Russia has been a country with some of the worst subjective assessments of old age over the past few years. Almost everyone (both old and young) is afraid of old age (77%), and only 20% of respondents are optimistic about old age (Ipsos, 2020).

There is a situation when the young and the elderly are closed within the boundaries of their groups, without trying or seeking to exchange experiences, evaluate and understand each other's positions, and simply enter into any interaction. The strategy of avoiding each other is becoming more common.

Conclusions

The difference in the worldview and practices of the young and the elderly is a natural phenomenon. However, differences are not always a marker of conflict. The current economic situation has a negative impact on workers of all ages, but so far it does not contribute to the manifestation of confrontation or conflicts between the young and the elderly in the Russian labour market. The limited quality jobs, raising the retirement age, prevailing HR policies of the organizations with respect to employees of different ages, and especially the implementation of government programs to support employment of the elderly can provide a basis for the conflict. Without a balanced policy in this area (both at the state or regional levels, and at the organizational level), there is a high probability of «unhealthy» forms of competition, reduced cohesion, etc.. Programs to promote the employment of both young and older workers (for example, direct and reverse mentoring systems) will be difficult to implement.

From the organizational point of view, it is necessary to more actively develop new management approaches by Russian HR specialists. Foreign theory and practice of human resource management rejects the concepts of forming separate management strategies for different age groups of personnel, popular in the early twenty-first century. When developing HR policies, companies are increasingly relying on the concept of "employees beyond generations". While organizations used to focus on the age and training characteristics of different generations of employees when differentiating their HR strategies. Now they seek to understand not only what contribution employees can make, but also how each of them can do it in a unique way (Deloitte, 2020). Companies form their personnel based on the "age diversity" principle. The positive effect of different age groups is associated with an increase in the efficiency of individual organizations (Ashraf & Galor, 2013; Alesina et al., 2016), and with the macroeconomic indicators of the countries` development (Zelity, 2020).

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