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HARDINESS OF DIFFERENT GENERATIONS OF RUSSIAN PEOPLE

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For a person, belonging to a certain generation has now become an indication of having witnessed certain historic events and possessing certain social and psychological qualities. This is a marker that most company executives, advertisers, managers, marketing specialists, and teachers take in consideration. Why is investigating differences between generations relevant? On one hand, both general public and the scientific community have demonstrated a growing interest in social psychology. On the other hand, this problem has not yet been sufficiently studied. In spite of large amounts of empirical data on the psychological differences in multi-age groups, there seem to be little to no research works focused on basic social and psychological characteristics of the generations.

The society today, with its swift socio-economical changes, instability, and loss of values, is becoming more and more stressogenic. Events of the recent years (economic crisis, terrorist threats, technogenic disasters, unstable political relations etc.) constitute a major factor that exerts its influence on a personality. It has been noted that people generally feel less secure and protected after experiencing those events. The science is now facing the task of revealing and processing the psychological characteristics and predispositions that ensure a person's ability to successfully adapt to the world that is constantly changing. The capacity of dealing with life troubles depends on the personality potential of an individual, on how psychologically mature an individual is, and on their value and purpose-in-life orientations. In foreign psychology, the notion of "hardiness" is used as a synonym to the idea of the personality potential. The present research is based on the results of a diagnostic survey that was addressed to Russian citizens from different regions of the Russian Federation, aged from 18 to 75. The diagnostic survey used the following methods: the "Hardiness Test" by D. Leontyev, the "Purpose in Life Orientation Test" by D. Leontyev, and the method of "Subjective Economic Well-Being" by V. Khashchenko. Therefore, the purpose in life and the economic mindset were used as determinants of hardiness. With age, the number of factors influencing the development of hardiness becomes larger; however, age does not determine the development of hardiness as a specific personality trait. Representatives of Generation Y (young Russian people aged 18 to 34) currently show the highest level of hardiness because their

personalities are dominated by the "commitment" and "control" factors. In general, the presence of components of hardiness prevents the increase of psychological tension in stress situations because such individuals are highly resilient and give less importance to stress situations, doing a better job coping with these.

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Introduction

Studies of social and psychological specifics of different generations align quite well with the newest strategy of socio-psychological research that encourages us to look at various phenomena through the prism of a changing world. It is known that the solution of various problems connected with the development of Russia lies in constructive interaction between generations. The society, placing big hopes in such interaction, may also observe how the generations are different and often contradict each other. In the modern world, the phenomenon of "generations" has multiple facets. Research papers have been published to describe various generations, giving them unique labels: the "war front generation", the "lost generation", the generation of "latchkey kids", the "unknown generation", the "other" generation, the "Soviet" generation, the "Post-Soviet" generation, the "transitional" generation, the "thumb" generation, and so on. A person's identification with a certain demographic cohort defines the direction of their life, their social reality that forms the "mental dominant" of each generation (V. Somov).

The ability to cope with life challenges depends on the personality potential, on the grade of maturity in a personality, and on the individual's value and purpose-in-life orientations. Foreign psychology uses a synonym for the idea of the personality potential: "hardiness". S. Maddi, author of the hardiness theory, thinks that this is exactly the personality trait that ensures that the person will cope with the life challenges. This disposition includes three components that are relatively autonomous: commitment, control and challenge. A high level of presence of those components, as well as hardiness in general, protects a person from getting internally pressured in a stress situation as the person can be resilient and cope with stressful situations in a more efficient way, perceiving them as less crucial.

Earlier studies had demonstrated that the higher was the person's hardiness, the quicker could this person adapt to changes of life conditions, feeling less of a cultural shock and experiencing a lower subjective stress level (Klimov, 2011; Vanakova, 2016; Postnikova, 2016, Kabanchenko, 2017). Considering the pace at which the society evolves, the unstable economy and political relations, it is vitally important to establish the factors and personality traits that favor the development of hardiness with different generations of Russian people. It is worth mentioning that this psychological construct has been actively studied in the Western countries for a while, both as a separate phenomenon and in its connection with other psychological categories. As for the Russian reality, the interest in this problem has just started to show.

Typology of generations in contemporary science

The current idea of a "generation" appeared in sociology at the beginning of the 20th century when researchers sought an explanation for several mechanisms they deemed responsible for large-scale social changes. Mannheim suggested that every group of people born during the same period of time brought its own experience into how the society solved the problems it was encountering. There was an opinion that early childhood experiences and feelings resulted in a collective conscience of each generation (Mannheim, 1952, p. 102). The existence of such a collective conscience leads to the fact that every new generation can be characterized by a set of unique and distinguishable features (Rudolph et al., 2018, p. 45).

Representatives of each generation have common group features such as age range, area of residence, and relevant life events that they experienced during a critical stage of their development – in other words, at the age when their personalities were being formed (Yusoff, Kian, 2013, p. 98). People in each generation reach the age of majority within the same time frame and experience important events in economy, politics and social culture in similar ways. Not only do representatives of the same generation have a similar history, but they share a specific personality type and a typical behavior shaped by this history (Yang, Guy, 2006, p. 280).

A change of generations happens approximately every 20 years. Consequently, four successive generations form a life cycle that lasts for about 80 years, after which the cycle repeats, which means that the values of the fifth generation and those of the first generation are very much alike, with minor differences that can be explained by a different level of development. This process is shown in Tab. 1 (Astashova, 2014).

Tab. 1. The approaches to periodization of generations

Generation	Generation	Years of birth				
	type	Strauss-Howe generational theory	Russian adaptation			
Silent generation	Heroes	1901-1924	1900-1923			
	Painters	1925-1942	1923-1943			
Baby boomers	The prophets	1943-1960	1943-1963			
Generation X	Nomads	1961-1981	1963-1984			

Generation Y Millennium	Heroes	1982-2004	1984-2000
Generation Z	Painters	2005	2000-present time

The difference between generations in Russia has only recently become evident. This happened, first of all, because the newest generation of people who reached adulthood grew up in a reality that was strikingly different from the Soviet reality, while a large number of adults from previous generations are people who socialized and obtained all their life experience during the epoch of socialism (Mannheim, 1952). A lot of new research papers have been published on the subject of the problem of generations, thanks to the significant interest in it shown by general public. Many of the works are based on the experience described in research works done in the West and the typology used in those; authors of some other works used their own typology of generation groups. Many Russian researchers prefer to use foreign methodology and refer to the research data from foreign works dedicated to generations.

In most cases, a generation is studied from the point of view of the theory developed by American scholars William Strauss and Neil Howe at the end of the 20th century. This theory combines the principal approaches used in sociology, social psychology and developmental psychology (see Tab. 2). The theory stipulates that the time frame for a given generation should be defined depending on values, and not just by the date of birth.

Tab. 2. Generational Timeline Approaches

Generation	Timelines according to the	Timelines according to the
	theory of generations of Strauss	Russian adaptation of the theory of
	and Hove (years)	generations (years)
Silent generation (or broken,	1925 – 1942	1923 – 1942
lost generation)		
Baby boomer generation (or	1943 – 1960	1943 – 1962
baby boom generation,		
boomers)		
Generation X (unknown	1961 – 1981	1963 – 1983
generation, 13th generation)		

Generation Y (Millennials,	1982 - 2004	1984 – 1999
Next Generation)		
Generation Z (Digital	2005 – present time	2000 - present time
Generation, Alpha)		

People in every generation have a similar set of basic values that they have adopted as a result of specific social, political and economic conditions in which those people were growing, up to the age of 12 or so. The social environment in which an individual grows up determines the person's values, their mindset and behavioral models. This theory takes in consideration the cyclical character of the development of society: each generation, during its lifetime (lasting for about 80 years), goes through four stages (each stage being around 20-25 years long): awakening, high, unraveling and crisis. With more or less the same frequency, a new generation comes to life, only to grow up in a social environment at a certain stage of its development and to obtain a different set of characteristics.

Differences between generations in Russia nowadays

Numerous foreign and Russian research works demonstrate major differences between generations (Haeberle et al., 2009, p. 65; Macky et al., 2008, p. 860).

In foreign models, Generation Z is a designation for people born in early 2000s, even though some researchers believe that, chronologically, the beginning of the digital generation goes back to 1991 when the Internet was invented, which may be considered a starting point (Shamis, Antipov, 2018). Representatives of this group are eager consumers of technology, passionate about the digital world. Generation Z wishes for comfort and simplicity, they are practical but also care about their emotional, physical and financial safety (Chicca, Shellenbarger, 2018, p. 181). They are more self-oriented than the representatives of Generation Y. They are more willing to perceive new information and learn faster (Gurova, Evdokimova, 2016, p. 156). One of the foreign studies has shown that social environment is important to Generation Z. Also, people in this cohort are self-confident and would like to guarantee themselves a happy future. They know that work plays an important role in the fulfillment of their dreams (Ozkan, Solmaz, 2015, p. 479).

Generation Y is rather individualistic, its representatives want to stand out as individuals and are determined to reach their goals. Some Russian studies state that people in Generation Y are ready for change and have a flexible way of thinking, they prefer variety in everything but are easily influenced by fashion and brands (Gurova, Evdokimova, 2016, p. 155). Representatives of

this generation, similarly to those of Generation X, value the work-life balance but find it important for their leisure time to be varied and intense (Anderson et al., 2017, p. 256; Yusoff, Kian, 2013, p. 102).

Generation X spent their childhood in different circumstances, compared with their parents (the Baby Boomers). That period was characterized by the recession in world economy (Yang, Guy, 2006, p. 268). In Russia, this generation grew up on the background of economy stagnation, the Afghanistan war, the Summer Olympic Games in Moscow, the beginning of "perestroika" and product shortages all over the country. Russian studies say that this generation is ready for change, practical, technically competent, and appreciates the possibility to choose from multiple options (Gurova, Evdokimova, 2016, p. 157). Their families and private life are one of the greatest values to them, which is why they would be unlikely to sacrifice their leisure time or days off to go to work (Kaylene et al., 2010, p. 121). Researchers have also found that Generation X is not very tolerant to bureaucracy and organizational norms (Yusoff, Kian, 2013, p. 98).

According to a large number of foreign studies, the generation of Baby Boomers has some characteristic traits: optimism, collectivism, independence. They are interested in personal growth and learning new things. They grew up in a period of prosperity and optimistic views, supported by the feeling that their generation was special and able to change the world. What this generation values the most is work ethics, self-respect and following strong moral principles in the workplace. They are oriented to efficient team work (Yang, Guy, 2006, p. 276). In a way, this generation has a "cult" of health and feeling young, they are also rather religious. They measure their success in material things and are therefore interested in rewards. This generation dislikes laziness and values stability, they believe that one must work hard – and for a long time – to achieve success (Chernikov, 2014, p. 154; Volkova, Chiker, 2016, p. 85).

Determinants of hardiness: purpose-in-life and economic mindsets

One of the most promising directions in the studies of psychological safety, says T. Eksakusto, is the so-called "subject-oriented" approach that observes an individual as an active figure that participates in ensuring his or her own safety: "the person (or more precisely, the subject), the combination of their individual psychological peculiarities and, first of all, their worldview and life philosophy, is exactly the source of the potential that helps this person overcome unfavorable influences of all kinds, in order to preserve their integrity (Eksakusto, 2009). The fundamental "resource" trait of a subject of psychological safety is hardiness. In a larger sense, hardiness reflects the level of vitality that allows the person to interact with their

environment and creates a "subjective feeling of liveliness and energy" that determines, as R. Emmons says, a subjective feeling of personal well-being (Bogomaz, 2009). Hardiness, as a personality trait that helps a person transform stress-inducing life events into new opportunities, is related to the person's aspiration to preserve their personal values that are part of the core of their personality. As for other aspects of hardiness, such as psychological resilience and enhanced efficiency, they are related to the ability of a person to alter less stable personal values in order to adapt to the current situation (Klimov, 2011).

In the present research, the determinants of hardiness are the economic mindset and purpose-in-life orientation.

The purpose-in-life orientation is an integral system of conscious and selective connections that reflects the general attitude of an individual to his or her life, the presence of life goals, the conscious character of choices and judgements, life satisfaction (self-realization) and the ability to assume responsibility for one's life and influence its course (Kochetkova, 2010). V. Chudnovskiy (Chudnovskiy, 1999) claims that the purpose-in-life orientation should be "productive", i.e. reasonable, and drive the positive development of a personality. In the theory by K. Abulkhanova-Slavskaya (1991), the purpose in life is not just the future or the life goal, but also a psychological "curve" reflecting the all the stages of the path to its fulfillment. This is why, as we achieve concrete goals in our lives, we do not lose the purpose of life but we get to feel it even stronger, we become confident in it and experience it.

The category of subjective economic well-being is one of the notions that have not been sufficiently elaborated. It can hardly be found in modern dictionaries, and when it is used in academic publications, no definition is usually given (Khashchenko, 2011). The economic well-being of a person is determined by a number of social and economic factors, including the level and quality of life, access to life essentials, the amount of salary in comparison with the crucial and desirable necessities, and many other factors. The subjective economic well-being is an integral psychological indicator in a person's life that expresses the person's attitude to their current and future material well-being (Khashchenko, 2011).

Empirical study of hardiness factors in Russians

The following methods have been used in the present research:

1. Method of "Subjective economic well-being" (Khashchenko, 2011). The method represents a questionnaire containing 26 statements, each accompanied by a scale of 5 answering

options where "1" means "I disagree with the statement", and "5" means "I completely agree". The answers are then assessed using the key, which gives us a number of indicators: economic optimism or pessimism; economic anxiety; subjective adequacy of income; financial deprivation; current financial well-being of a family (Khashchenko, 2011).

- 2. **Purpose in Life Orientation Test** (D. Leontyev). The method represents a questionnaire containing 20 pairs of opposing statements. The respondent has to choose one statement that describes their real situation best and check one of the answers: "1", "2", "3", based on how confident they are in this choice (or "0", if both statements are equally true). After that, using the key, the indicators are assessed on five scales: life goals, life process, life efficiency, locus of control Self (I am in charge of my life) and locus of control Life (control over life).
- 3. The "Hardiness Test". This is D. Leontyev's adaptation of the Hardiness Survey that was created by American psychologist Salvatore Maddi. The method represents a questionnaire consisting of 45 statements, with four answer options each, where "1" corresponds to the answer "I disagree with the statement", and "4" means "I completely agree". Then, using the key, the following indicators are assessed: "commitment", "control" and "challenge". Commitment is defined as a strong belief that being involved into the ongoing events gives the highest chance to find something worthy and interesting for the person. Control means being sure that active participation allows a person influence the result of the events, even if this influence is not absolute and success is not guaranteed. Challenge refers to the person's belief that everything happening to them is beneficial for their development because any experience, whether it is positive or negative, brings knowledge.

Respondents

The data were collected within the period from 2018 to 2019. In total, 621 young people aged 18 to 34 (Generation Y, born in 1984-2000), participated in the survey, as well as 418 representatives of the Generation X (1963-1984) and 291 respondents born between 1943 and 1963, referred to as "Baby Boomers".

Presentation of results

Descriptive statistics and intergenerational differences of the economic mindset (using the Kruskal-Wallis criterion) are given in Tab. 3.

Tab. 3. Intergenerational differences among economic attitudes (differences by the Kruskal-Wallis test)

Scale	Generation Y			Generation X			Representatives of the baby		
	representatives			representatives			boomer gen	eration	
	Min-	Mean	St.	Min-	Mean	St.	Min-Max	Mean	St.
	Max		dev.	Max		dev.			dev.
Economic optimism / pessimism	3,4-4,8	4,1**	0,48	2,5-3,8	3,15**	0,57	2,2-2,9	2,55**	0,53
Current family well- being	2,8-3,9	3,35	0,46	1,4-2,8	2,1	0,61	1,3-2,7	2,0	0,59
Financial deprivation	1,3-3,2	2,25*	0,74	1,7-3,4	2,55*	0,63	3,1-3,7	3,4*	0,69
Subjective income adequacy	2,1-2,8	2,45	0,58	1,7-3,8	2,75	0,82	1,9-2,8	2,35	0,53
Economic anxiety (financial stress)	3,2-2,9	3,05**	0,49	3,6-4,8	4,2**	0,39	2,8-4,5	3,65**	0,65

Note: *** - p<0,001, ** - p<0,01, * -p<0,05

Significant differences may be observed during the analysis of the following economic mindset parameters: economic optimism, financial deprivation and economic anxiety. On the scale of "economic optimism" that reflects an optimistic or pessimistic judgement concerning the external and internal conditions for the growth of material well-being, the obtained results are higher with the youngest generation of today's Russia; they tend to describe the financial situation of their families at the moment in a more positive way, and they feel less desperate about not being able to improve their financial standing. Financial stress is more often observed with Russian people aged 35 to 74 (the Generation X and Baby Boomers). This shows in the fact that Russian people in this age category are worried about their financial situation due to the state of economy of the entire country; they would like to receive higher income and improve their financial situation, and money plays a bigger role for them.

Russian people from Generations X and Y feel higher financial deprivation. Respondents are less content with the financial situation of their families, they discuss their money problems

with friends and coworkers more often, and they feel rather desperate because they cannot improve their financial standing.

Also, within the frame of this research, the respondents gave their assessment of the social and economic situation in the country in the last two years and provided their subjective evaluation of their own material well-being. It is interesting that the percentage of respondents who believes that the social and economic situation has not changed is approximately the same as the percentage of people who think that the situation has severely deteriorated (see Figure 1).

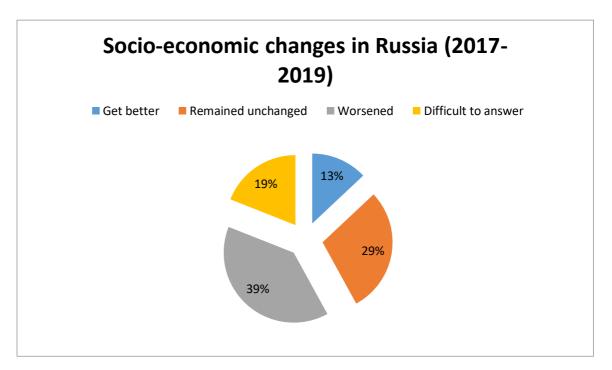


Fig. 1. Assessment of changes in the socio-economic situation in Russia

The assessment of the social well-being is a complex indicator that shows how the population feels about two fundamental aspects of their life quality:

- how they assess their living conditions based on the social and economic situation, the level of income and how well their needs are met;
- how they assess the level of their social and psychological comfort, which reflects the opportunities for them to fulfill their needs and interests, the judgment of the others, understanding and respect in the society, psychological comfort.

A series of questions related to the subjective assessment of material situations of families in the present research has shown that, on the whole, Russians do not give high praise to their financial situation. As we can see from the chart, a large part of respondents has difficulty buying

objects intended for long-term use, not to mention expensive acquisitions like a car, a flat or a summer residence (see Tab. 4).

Tab. 4. The dynamics of the subjective assessment of the financial situation among Russian families

Indicators of subjective economic well-being	Процент
We can afford expensive purchases - a car, an apartment, a cottage and much more	7 %
We can easily purchase durable goods, but it is difficult to acquire really expensive	32 %
things	
There is enough money for food and clothing, but buying durable goods is a problem	44 %
for us	
Enough for food, but buying clothes is difficult	9 %
We barely make ends meet, money is not enough even for products	8 %

Descriptive statistics and intergenerational differences of purpose-in-life orientation (based on the Kruskal-Wallis criterion) are given in Table 5.

Tab. 5. Intergenerational differences in the meaning of life orientations: according to the Kruskal-Wallis criterion

Scale	Generati			Y Generation X representatives		ntatives of
	represen					by boomer
					generation	on
	Mean	St.	Mean	St.	Mean	St.
		dev.		dev.		dev.
Life goals	29,7*	0,7	35,2*	0,89	36,4*	0,90
Life process	29,2	1,32	26,1	0,73	24,7	1,07
Life efficiency	25,3*	0,66	26,9*	0,64	24,6*	0,82
Locus of control – Self	19,3**	1,07	17,8**	0,97	16,6**	0,92
Locus of control – Life	29,1	0,59	32,7	1,17	25,5	0,84
		1		1		

Общий уровень	132,6	0,58	138,7	0,49	127,8	0,98

Note: *** - p < 0.001, ** - p < 0.01, * -p < 0.05

The differences between generations have been found in the following indicators of hardiness: life goals, life efficiency and locus of control – Self. Baby Boomers have demonstrated higher scores in the "life goals" component, which means that it is more typical of them to be conscious about their life goals and to have a certain temporal perspective. Representatives of Generation Y have the lowest score on this scale: in other words, Russian people aged 19 to 34 have not yet found their vocation, their world views have not been completely shaped, but those people have certain goals and aspirations nevertheless.

At the same time, representatives of Generation X claim to have higher life efficiency and emotional intensity of life than Baby Boomers and Generation Y. This high score indicates that the life of those young respondents is full of interesting events, and everyday tasks bring them pleasure and satisfaction.

Representatives of Generation Y have a more developed "locus of control – Self". Respondents aged 19-34 feel that they have enough freedom of choice to build their lives the way they would like to, based on their goals and tasks. The lower score on this scale demonstrated by Baby Boomers means that they do not feel in control of their life events.

Descriptive statistics and intergenerational differences in factors of hardiness (based on the Kruskal-Wallis criterion) are given in Table 6.

Tab 6. Intergenerational differences in hardiness: by the Kruskal-Wallis test

Scale	Generation	Generation Y Generation X		Representatives of the baby		
	representa	representatives		ntatives	boomer generation	
	Mean	St.	Mean	Станд. откл.	Mean	St.
		dev.				dev.
Commitment	33,7*	0,99	29,1*	0,63	31,4*	0,95
Control	27,9	1,24	26,4	1,12	23,3	1,05
Challenge	11,4**	0,86	12,8**	0,08	9,7**	0,52

The general level of	0,94	68,3),88	64,4	0,73
hardiness	3,2 .		,,,,,,		0,72

Note: *** - p < 0.001, ** - p < 0.01, * -p < 0.05

Significant differences have been found between the generations as related to two components of hardiness. The "commitment" and "challenge" factors are higher with the representatives of Generation Y. Young Russian people with a high commitment factor get satisfaction from their activities; they are constantly busy, they try to be involved in everything that is happening around them, they find pleasure in getting to know new people, and they always have things to do.

The challenge factor (understood as the belief that everything that happens with the person is beneficial for their development because of the knowledge that can be extracted from this experience, whether it is positive or negative), is higher with Russian citizens aged 35 to 55. For such individuals, life is a way to gain experience; they are ready to act without any guarantee of success, taking risks and believing that people who only seek simple comfort and safety make their lives less valuable. Representatives of Generation X may be irritated by events that force them to change their schedule; they believe that a bird in hand is worth two in the bush; they live their lives to the fullest and they can influence – practically always – the result of the events happening around them.

The general level of hardiness is higher with representatives of Generation Y: Russian people aged 19 to 34. Young respondents are confident in their decisions, they like being busy all the time, they prefer to set goals that are not easy to reach and achieve them, they find it easy to establish relationships with new people; unexpected things increase their interest in life, and they think that their lives are meaningful and interesting.

Factors that influence the development of hardiness in three generations of today's Russian people

The phenomenon of hardiness is a personality construct that develops throughout the whole life of a person. Hardiness shows itself in certain situations, no matter if the individual himself or herself knows this and understands this fact (Kabanchenko, 2017). As it was stated before, the determinants of hardiness in this research are the economic mindset and purpose-in-life orientations.

Influence of purpose-in-life orientations on the development of hardiness

Let us now review the results of the regression analysis (see Table 7).

Tab. 7. The influence of life-orientation on hardiness: the results of regression analysis (generation Y)

Independent variables	Dependent Variables					
	Life goals	Locus of control – Se	elf Locus of control – Life			
Commitment β	0,47**	0,07	0,33			
Control β	0,62*	0,35*	0,26			
Challengeβ	0,22	-0,39	0,27*			
The general level of hardiness β	0,48	0,39*	0,36**			
\mathbb{R}^2	0,67	0,13	0,23			
F	11***	5,4*	8,3**			

Note: *** - p<0,001, ** - p<0,01, * -p<0,05

The performed regression analysis has shown that the "commitment" component of hardiness can be positively influenced by the feeling that life has a meaning, a direction. Purpose-in-life orientations such as "life goals" and "locus of control – Self" have a positive influence on the "control" component of hardiness (control over life). The sense of meaning in life, presence of life goals, being able to think of a perspective have an influence on an individual's confidence in their decisions, on their determination to control every situation, and on their tendency to set challenging goals and achieve them.

"Locus of control – Life" (the ability of managing one's life) exerts an influence upon the "challenge" factor of hardiness. "Locus of control – Life" influences the mindset of the young respondents, making them feel that everything that happens to them eventually leads to their development, thanks to the knowledge obtained from the experience, whether it was positive or negative. The person takes risks based on the idea of growing through active acquisition of knowledge (from the experience) and further use of that knowledge.

Thus, hardiness in young Russian people is influenced by purpose-in life orientations known as "Locus of control – Self" and "Locus of control – Life". Freedom of choice, the possibility to shape one's life according to their current goals and tasks, feeling control over life,

as well as the idea that people are born to control their lives, to make decisions freely and implement them into life, – all these considerations increase a person's ability to cope with a stressful situation and keep their inner balance.

The established correlation between hardi ness and purpose-in-life orientations in representatives of Generation X are given below (see Table 8).

Tab. 8. The influence of life-orientation on hardiness: the results of regression analysis (Generation X)

Independent variables	Dependent Variables						
	Life	Life process	Life	Locus of control	Locus of control		
	goals		efficiency	– Self	– Life		
Commitment β	0,39*	0,38	0,29	0,33	0,48		
Control β	0,13	0,43*	0,76**	0,78	0,09		
Challengeβ	0,46	0,17	0,05	0,05	0,74		
The general level of hardiness β	0,58**	-0,25	0,17	0,45	0,44*		
\mathbb{R}^2	0,31	0,11	0,17	0,14	0,39		
F	10**	7,8**	8,4**	7,2*	6*		

Note: *** - p<0,001, ** - p<0,01, * -p<0,05

The regression analysis has revealed that the purpose-in-life orientation of "life goals" has a positive impact on the "commitment" factor of hardiness. Meaningfulness of life, the feeling of a direction in life is one factor that reinforces the belief that being involved in the current events gives the biggest chances to find something worthy and interesting for the individual.

The "control" factor of hardiness is influenced by the emotional intensity of life and the satisfaction resulting from the self-realization of a person. Intensity and variety of life, the hedonistic wishes of the Generation X respondents and their satisfaction with their past and their self-realization have a positive impact on their belief that fighting for their needs and values helps them influence the results of the events, even though this influence is not absolute and the success is not guaranteed.

Presence of life goals and the idea of oneself as a strong personality with sufficient freedom of choice in trying to build their life in accordance with their own goals and tasks, their idea of meaning of life, are the factors that influence the individual's hardiness and how he or she can cope with stressful situations and acquire internal mechanisms of defense and adaptation.

The results of regression analysis for Baby Boomers are given in Table 9.

Tab. 9. The influence of life-orientation on hardiness: the results of regression analysis (Baby Boomers)

Independent variables	Dependent Variables				
	Life goals	Life process	Life efficiency	Locus of control - Self	-Locus of control – Life
Commitment β	0,07	0,22*	0,28	0,19	0,08
Control β	0,46	0,05	0,49*	0,48	0,29
Challengeβ	0,09	0,48	-0,33	0,87**	0,18
The general level of hardiness β	0,35	0,46	0,38**	0,62*	-0,55*
\mathbb{R}^2	0,04	0,13	0,14	0,24	0,31
F	9,3	17,9*	8,9**	15,9**	12,04*

Note: *** - p<0,001, ** - p<0,01, * -p<0,05

The regression analysis has shown that the purpose-in-life orientation of "life process" has a positive impact on the "commitment" factor of hardiness. This demonstrates that one's wish to make their life interesting, emotionally rich and meaningful influences their willingness to be aware of the current events, to see a bright and interesting side in everything, to meet new people. Efficiency and meaningfulness of life enhance the belief that the person is free to choose activities that bring him or her pleasure and to organize life according to his or her views and values.

The "challenge" factor is positively influenced by the purpose-in-life orientation of "Locus of control – Self". Freedom of choice and the intention to organize life in accordance with one's own tasks and goals and with one's idea of the meaning of life have an impact on the person's

belief that everything that happens with them leads to their growth, thanks to the knowledge obtained from this experience, whether it has been positive or negative.

Hardiness in the generation of Baby Boomers is positively influenced by such purpose-inlife orientations as "life efficiency" and "Locus of control – Self", while the "Locus of control – Life" has a rather negative impact. If the life is rich in emotions and meaningful, together with the freedom of choice in organizing one's life in alignment with their values and views, has a positive influence on the level of hardiness. At the same time, a low score on the "Locus of control – Life" orientation, which reflects lack of confidence in one's ability to control the events of their own life, has a negative impact on hardiness.

Influence of the economic mindset on hardiness

We used multiple regression analysis to reveal how the economic mindset influences hardiness with each generation.

Let us observe the results of the regression analysis for the representatives of Generation Y (see Table 10).

Tab. 10. The influence of economic attitudes on hardiness: the results of a regression analysis (generation Y)

Independent	Dependent	variables			
variables					
	Economic optimism / pessimism	Current family well-being	Financial deprivation	Subjective income adequacy	Economic anxiety (financial stress)
Commitment β	0,09	0,18	-0,53**	0,94	0,37
Control β	-0,17	-0,09	0,20	0,22	0.09
Challengeβ	0,15	0,27	0,05	0,09	-0,64*
The general level of hardiness β	0,24	0,39	-0,33*	-0,05	-0,72**

\mathbb{R}^2	0,19	0,04	0,32	0,11	0,23
F	9,7*	11*	21,8**	6*	9,2**

Note: *** - p < 0.001, ** - p < 0.01, * -p < 0.05

In representatives of Generation Y, financial deprivation has a negative impact on the "commitment" factor of hardiness, and the financial stress negatively influences their hardiness. These components of their economic mindset, both connected with a low esteem of their financial situation, make people from Generation Y feel less eager to get involved in the current events, to make their lives intense and meaningful; they are not ready to act and take risks since the success is not guaranteed. The "commitment" and "challenge" factors of hardiness will increase when the level of economic anxiety decreases.

Hardiness in representatives of Generation Y is negatively affected by their financial deprivation and economic anxiety. The less satisfied they are with their financial situation, lack of money, impossibility to save up for the future, and the more difficult it becomes to buy expensive things, which causes stronger economic anxiety, the more likely it is that their hardiness will decrease. Growth of material well-being may increase the level of hardiness in young respondents.

Now, we can move on to the results of the regression analysis for representatives of Generation X (see Tab. 11).

Tab. 11. The influence of economic attitudes on hardiness: the results of a regression analysis (generation X)

Independent variables	Dependent variables			
	Current family well-being		Economic anxiety (financial stress)	
Commitment β	0,23	-0,34*	0,08	
Control β	0,69*	0,57	0,22	
Challengeß	-0,78	-0,37**	0,14	
The general level of hardiness β	0,09	0,18	-0,59**	
\mathbb{R}^2	0,13	0,12	0,15	

F	5,5*	6,7*	7,4**

Note: *** - p<0,001, ** - p<0,01, * -p<0,05

The regression analysis has shown that the scale of "financial deprivation" has a negative impact on the "commitment" and "challenge" factors of hardiness. Lack of money forces the respondents to think that no one cares about them; at times, they feel so tired that nothing seems to interest them anymore, and in the evenings, they feel exhausted, which brings on the feeling that they are not living their lives to the fullest. The level of "commitment" may be increased by lowering the financial deprivation.

The current financial well-being of a family has a positive influence on the "control" factor of hardiness. When the family becomes wealthier, it positively affects the respondents' confidence in their decisions, their ability to have everything under control, and many problems appear to have a solution.

Finally, we can consider the results of the influence of the economic mindset on the trait of hardiness in Baby Boomers.

Tab. 12. The influence of economic attitudes on hardiness: the results of a regression analysis (Baby Boomers)

Independent variables	Dependent variables			
	Economic optimism / pessimism	Financial deprivation	Economic anxiety (financial stress)	
Commitment β	0,05	-0,82***	-0,25	
Control β	0,12	0,04	0,38	
Challengeß	0,17	-0,28	-0,04	
The general level of hardiness β	-0,34*	0,60	-0,52**	
\mathbb{R}^2	0,41	-0,71**	0,16	
F	12,08*	16,3*	21,4**	

Note: *** - p<0,001, ** - p<0,01, * -p<0,05

Just like with Generation X, the regression analysis has demonstrated that the scale of "financial deprivation" has a negative influence on the "commitment" factor of hardiness. Due to the lack of money, respondents aged 56 and older have a feeling that no one cares about them; from time to time, they become tired to the point of losing interest in practically everything, and in the evening, they feel exhausted. All this leads them to the thought that they are not living their lives to the fullest.

Hardiness in Baby Boomers is affected by their economic pessimism and financial deprivation. If the negative factors of subjective economic well-being become less expressed, hardiness may increase, and adaptational mechanisms will form. Improvement in well-being will lead to the increase in hardiness.

Results

- 1. Representatives of Generation X generally have a higher level of development of purpose-in-life orientations. They have clear goals and intentions, they feel that their lives are meaningful, they have been successful in fulfilling their life plans, they have found their vocation, and they can control their lives as they please. Also, a rather high level of development of purpose-in-life orientations can be observed in the young generation of Russian citizens, which aligns with their value profile. Representatives of Generation Y are clearly individualistic, with predominant values of power, achievement, and independence.
- 2. Young people in Russia have a more positive feeling about an eventual increase in their financial well-being, they seem to be less suffering from financial stress, while the older group has demonstrated signs of evident financial deprivation. People from Generation X have the highest score on the scale of economic anxiety (financial stress).
- 3. Russian people aged 19 to 34, known as the Generation Y, have the highest general level of hardiness. Young respondents are confident in their life choices, they like being constantly busy, they prefer to set goals that are hard to achieve and still reach them; they find it easy to establish contacts with new people, they perceive surprises as something that makes life interesting, and they characterize their own lives as interesting and meaningful.
- 4. Hardiness does not increase with age; on the contrary, the age and belonging to a generation define how much a person can and will resist stress factors. Age does not influence the ability and the skill of coping with life difficulties.
- 5. Hardiness in young Russian people (Generation Y) is influenced by such purpose-in-life orientations as "Locus of control Self" and "Locus of control Life". Freedom of choice, the possibility of building their lives in perfect alignment with their goals and tasks, control over

life and the attitude based on the idea that a person is in charge their own life, make decisions freely and bring them into life, – all of this enhances a person's ability to cope with a situation of stress while keeping their internal balance.

Presence of goals in life and the idea of being a strong personality with a sufficient freedom of choice in organizing their lives according to their own goals, tasks, and ideas of the meaning of life, are the factors influencing the trait of hardiness in people within Generation X and their ability to cope with stress situations and form adaptational defense mechanisms.

The trait of hardiness in Baby Boomers is positively influenced by the life goals and "Locus of control – Self" purpose-in-life orientations, while the "Locus of control – Life" orientation has a negative impact: in other words, lack of trust in one's own ability to control the events of their life has a negative impact on the level of hardiness.

6. In representatives of Generation X, Generation Y and the generation of Baby Boomers, hardiness is negatively affected by economic anxiety. The less satisfied they are with their material situation, lack of funds, difficulties in purchasing expensive things, inability to save money, and the worse is economic anxiety with young Russians, the higher is the probability that their hardiness level will decrease. Improvements in material well-being can increase the level of hardiness in all groups of the respondents.

Conclusion

In spite of a large amount of empirical data on the generational psychology, we have found that no research works are being dedicated to the study of basic social and psychological characteristics of generations, such as hardiness, values, purpose-in-life orientations and the economic mindset. This article contains a review of Russian and foreign research works on the subject of the above-mentioned social and psychological constructs; it also provides an empirical study of differences in purpose-in-life orientations, economical mindsets and factors of hardiness in representatives of Generation X, Generation Y and the Baby Boomers. A "portrait" of a representative of each generation is given in the corresponding chart, with every indicator organized by its importance to respondents. Only the indicators with intergenerational differences (using the Kruskal-Wallis criterion) have been used in the chart:

	Generation X	Generation Y	Baby Boomers
Indicators of	Economic optimism	Economic anxiety	Economic anxiety (financial
subjective economic	(on the scale of	(financial stress)	stress) (3,65), Financial
well-being	"economic	(4,2), Economic	deprivation (3,44),

	pessimism" - 4,1),	pessimism (on the	Economic pessimism (on
	Economic anxiety	scale of "economic	the scale of "economic
	(financial stress)	pessimism" - 3,15),	pessimism" - 2,55)
	(3,05), Financial	Financial deprivation	
	deprivation (2,25)	(2,55)	
Purpose-in-life	Life goals (29,7), Life	Life goals (35,2),	Life goals (36,4), Life
orientations	efficiency (25,3),	Life efficiency	efficiency (24,6), Locus of
	Locus of control –	(26,9), Locus of	control – Self (16,6)
	Self (19,3)	control – Self (17,8)	
General level of	132,6	138,7	127,8
development of			
purpose-in-life			
orientations			
Hardiness factors	Commitment (33,7),	Commitment (29,1),	Commitment (31,4),
	Challenge (11,4)	Challenge (12,8)	Challenge (9,7)
General level of	73	68,3	64,4
hardiness			

Apart from that, the research was focused on the problem of hardiness in people nowadays and how to identify factors of hardiness in different age groups. Hardiness, understood as the complex of involvement, control and challenge, provides motivation that is necessary to regularly practice transformational coping and take care of one's health. Hardiness allows a person to interact with others in such a way that he or she gives other people help and encouragement, and accepts help and encouragement from them. These two aspects of social support also motivate the person to practice transformational coping and care about their health.

We used purpose-in-life orientations and economic mindset as determinants of hardiness. The main idea is that the ability to cope with life difficulties depends on the personality potential, on how mature the personality is, and on the person's values and purpose-in-life orientations. The older a person becomes, the bigger is the number of factors that influence the development of hardiness; however, age does not influence the development of hardiness as a particular personality trait. Representatives of Generation Y (young Russian citizens aged 18 to 34) have shown the highest level of hardiness as of now, since such factors as "involvement" and "control" are dominating their attitude to life. In general, the explicit presence of the components of

hardiness prevents internal pressure in stress situations, as such people have a skill of coping with stress and perceiving stressful events as something relatively minor.

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