

Overcome discrimination for older workers to achieve equality and sustainable development

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Abstract. Transformation of the world population age structure happens at a fast pace and creates problems of increasing social expenditures. However, Industry 4.0 technologies create large-scale opportunities for extending the labor activity of the older population. In Russia, share of people over working age is 22%, and it will increase by another 15% in next 30 years. At the same time, older people are discriminated in the labor market. The article is devoted to the study of job and salary discrimination of elderly workers in the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania as a typical Russian region with tight labor market and a deteriorating demographic situation. Methods of statistical and graphical analysis, factual and sociological research were used. Conclusions have been drawn about the predominance of the model of preserving the employment of older workers in public administration, education, science and health care; the influence of the indexation rate of pensions for non-working pensioners on their informal employment; the preservation of wage disparities for older people employed in the regional economy. The internal gender and age discrimination that has developed in the field of remuneration of older age groups has been revealed: discrimination of women's labor in all age cohorts and types of employment; inter-cohort discrimination of older men's labor within one type of employment; discrimination of wage growth rates of employees of different types of employment. Measures to improve the efficiency of regulating the employment of older workers are proposed.

1 Introduction

The current stage of scientific and technological progress, associated with rapid changes in the conditions and quality of people life, predetermines a qualitative transformation of local and global socio-demographic processes and leads to an increase in the life expectancy and a change in the demographic structure of the world population in favor of an increase in the proportion of older people [1]. According to the World Bank, in 2022 the proportion of the world's population over 65 years old was at record 9.8%, and the aging process of the world's population has accelerated sharply since 2010. At the same time, the share of the working age population (from 15 to 64 years old) of the world population reached its peak in

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2014, when it was 65.58%, after which it has been steadily declining, reaching a value of 64.9% in 2022 [2].

The emergence of Industry 4.0 technologies, and the emergence of breakthrough technologies of Industry 5.0, directly focused on people, made it possible to maintain health for decades and formed the prerequisites for a fundamentally new perception of the age limits of aging, which creates objective grounds for extending active working longevity. These changes were first described in 2002 in the report of the Second World Assembly on Aging: «In many countries, there is a transformation in the perception of aging – from acutely negative to balanced»[3]. In reality, this transition has not yet been completed, which creates a contradiction between the growing part of the working-age population over 65 years and the persistent negative assessment of the economic role of the older population. A study by R. Lee identifies population aging as one of the main reasons for the decline in economic growth in developed economies in the 21st century [4]. At the same time, a number of works note an increase in the human capital of older people and an improvement in their health indicators. For example, A.M Ahmed, L.Andersson, M. Hammarstedt and others showed that worker productivity is not statistically related to age in areas that do not require physical labor, quick decision-making, or constant switching to new functions [5], [6], [7]. Even earlier, D. Acemoglu and S. Johnson explored the technologically driven possibilities of new forms of employment and showed that with the expansion of employment among the elderly, it is even possible to accelerate the rate of economic growth [8].

In fact, the concept of active longevity announced by the UN in the context of digitalization of the economy and the expansion of forms of atypical (remote, part-time, project) employment reflects the new economic opportunities of the older generation, whose share is growing globally. The WHO Active Aging Framework describes these new opportunities as “the process of optimizing a person's health, participation and security to improve their quality of life as they age” [9]. Thus, in 2015, after the report of the Belgian economist D. Itock to the European Commission, the concept of a “silver economy” began to develop in the world [10]. The concept of the “silver economy” is associated with the increase in the share of older people in the structure of society and the use of human capabilities during the period of time called «aging», as well as meeting the growing number of needs of the new market of services for the elderly: the volume of the «silver economy» is estimated at \$ 15 trillion USA [11], and the volume of the global market for caring technologies for the elderly exceeds \$13 billion [12]. The Silver Economy also seeks to integrate and build interventions to promote active and healthy aging that increase employment levels as silver-age people with experience and diverse skills are increasingly willing and able to work [13]. These are active people seeking to improve their skills and acquire new, in-demand skills that will be useful to them in the process of work. Such people formed the image of the «new elderly», that is, an educated, active and productive person.

Therefore, all stakeholders must seize the opportunities that the digital revolution offers for an aging population. Training and retraining programs the elderly, providing information on in-demand skills and professions, and expanding opportunities for flexible or part-time employment help increase labor supply. In recent years, this has been training older people in digital literacy and digital technologies [14]. Among the measures that stimulate the demand for the work of older people is the fight against age discrimination, which includes, in addition to anti-discrimination legislation, easing employment protection legislation and changing stereotypes regarding older people and their opportunities in the labor market [15], [16], [17]. Russian authors propose to widely introduce institutional measures to stimulate the demand of older generation workers, whose experience and competencies are often invaluable [18].

Obviously, the employment of the population of older age groups has its own qualitative differences, and its maintenance requires a systematic approach aimed at increasing the

efficiency of the labor market [19]. Such efficiency in relation to older age groups means employment that provides a decent income, development of professional level and orientation towards healthy longevity. Raising the retirement age in Russia in 2019-2022 added 1.7 million people to the national labor market [20]. At the same time, there is clearly not enough work devoted to the study of the employment of older people and the phenomenon of their discrimination in the Russian labor market. This study aims to bridge this gap.

The purpose of the study is to identify discrimination in wages for older workers in the internal labor market of Russian companies and to develop measures to increase the efficiency of employment of the older population using the example of the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania, as a typical Russian region with chronic tension in the labor market and a worsening demographic situation.

2 Materials and methods

To study certain aspects of employment of the population of older age groups, the work used official data from Rosstat. In particular, this is data from the collections «Results of a sample survey of the labor force» (<https://rosstat.gov.ru/compendium/document/13265>), «Demographic Yearbook of Russia» (https://gks.ru/bgd/regl/B21_16/Main.htm), «Labor and employment in Russia» (<https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/210/document/13210>); «Demography/Population» (<https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/13877>), as well as sociological research data.

The study used logical, comparative and qualitative methods to study occupational age discrimination in the field of wages for older workers and to overcome them for the purpose of active working longevity of the population and demographic development of Russian regions in the emerging Industry 4.0.

3 Results

The demographic situation in the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania generally reflects the all-Russian negative trends, consisting of a gradual decrease in the overall population size (due to a decrease in the birth rate, as well as high migration) and a simultaneous increase in the proportion of elderly population (Figure 1, Table 1).

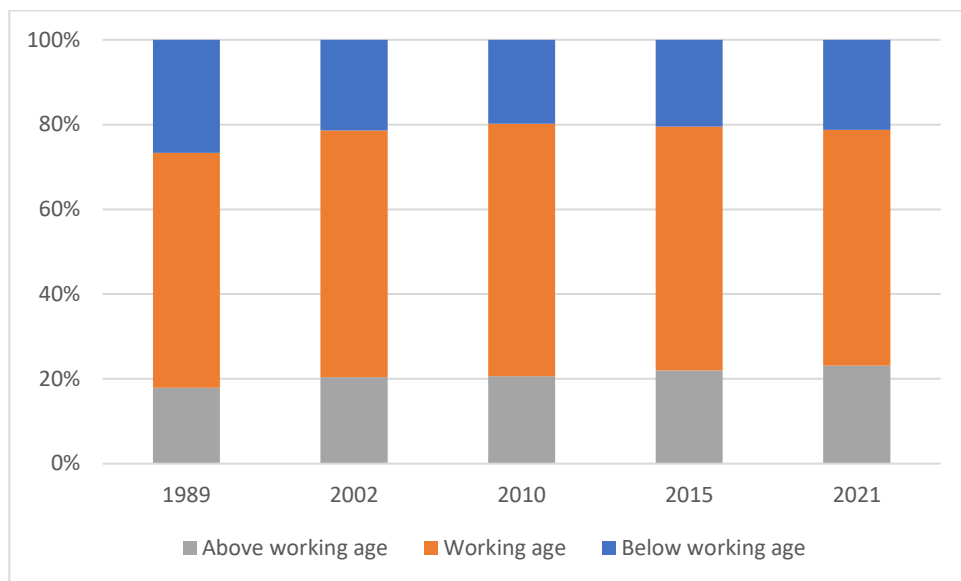


Fig. 1. Number and structure of the population of the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania by main age groups in 1989-2021.

Sources: Age composition and marital status of the population of the North Ossetian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. (According to the All-Union Population Census). Ordzhonikidze 1990 Demographic Yearbook of Russia. Demographic Yearbook of Russia. https://gks.ru/bgd/regl/B21_16/Main.htm

At the same time, the demographic structure has its own characteristics that affect the employment parameters of the population. The process of negative changes in the population structure of the region has led to the fact that in just 15 years the increase in the total dependency ratio of the working-age population amounted to 15.8%, for those under working age the dependency ratio increased by 13.6%, and for those over working age - by 17.9% (Table 1).

Table 1. Dynamics of dependency ratios in the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania in 2006-2021.

| | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 |
|--------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Total | 659 | 661 | 663 | 672 | 679 | 689 | 705 | 724 |
| Younger than working age | 330 | 329 | 328 | 331 | 332 | 335 | 342 | 351 |
| Over working age | 329 | 332 | 335 | 341 | 347 | 354 | 363 | 373 |
| | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 |
| Younger than working age | 740 | 762 | 778 | 794 | 812 | 786 | 796 | 763 |
| Over working age | 358 | 367 | 372 | 378 | 384 | 379 | 382 | 375 |
| | 382 | 395 | 406 | 416 | 428 | 407 | 414 | 388 |

Source: official website of Rosstat. Demographics/Population/Older Generation. <https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/13877>; Demographic Yearbook of Russia. https://gks.ru/bgd/regl/B21_16/Main.htm

It is obvious that by 2030 every fourth resident of North Ossetia will belong to the older generation. Therefore, the tasks of the regional demographic development in the near future consist not only in creating conditions for natural and migration population growth, but also in creating conditions for the active longevity of the rapidly aging population of the region, whose life expectancy is growing, and at a higher rate than the Russian average (Figure 2).



Fig. 2. Expected life expectancy of older people in the Russian Federation and the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania in 2020-2022.

Source: official website of Rosstat. Demographics/Population/Older Generation. <https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/13877>; Demographic Yearbook of Russia. (https://gks.ru/bgd/regl/B21_16/Main.htm)

It should be noted that the general aging of the population, the increase in the demographic burden of the population of older age groups and the increase in the life expectancy of the elderly population in the region are accompanied by a decrease in their employment, the level of which decreased from 32% in 2018 to 21.7% in 2022, and the level of registered unemployment, respectively, increased from 4.5% in 2018 to 8.3% in 2022. At

the same time, the average job search time over the same 5 years increased 1.6 times: from 7.8 months in 2018 to 12.1 months in 2022.

We believe that the decline in employment of older workers indicates a decrease in the efficiency of the regional labor market. We will give an assessment of the employment efficiency of the intra-corporate labor market, which is possible based on the analysis of data on the professional and qualification structure of workers in older age groups, the level and dynamics of average accrued wages by occupation group and gender. However, first of all, let us note some features of the employment structure of older workers in the region. Our assessment is based on an analysis of data from the Russian Pension Fund for the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania in 2021, as well as data from sample studies of the demographics of organizational personnel. An important characteristic of the region is that a significant proportion of working pensioners (about 40%) are employed in several sectors – education, healthcare, science, culture. The share of pensioners employed in state-owned enterprises is also statistically significant. Let us give several possible explanations for this fact. First, these industries are characterized by lower wages, which makes them less attractive to younger workers. Secondly, state-owned enterprises often have better working conditions and provide additional social guarantees and benefits, which increases the attractiveness of such jobs for retirees. Thirdly, such jobs do not make special demands on the physical characteristics of the worker; accumulated human capital in the form of education, qualifications, and experience is of greater importance. In such conditions, the productivity and effectiveness of older workers is often higher than that of younger ones. At the same time, the employment of pensioners in the public sector can be explained in two ways: it is both voluntary - pensioners prefer to receive non-monetary benefits that compensate for relatively low wages, and employers value their professional qualities, and forced - due to the low supply of labor for young workers, employers agree to hire older people or continue cooperation, and retirees agree to such work because of their low demand in the private sector. The compensating mechanism for increasing the employment of older people (against the background of a reduction in employment of younger people due to the declining share of youth in the population structure and their high labor migration) is most clearly manifested in the education, science and health sectors.

An analysis of the Pension Fund data also revealed the second reason for the lack of pensioners in the region: 80% of older workers did not change jobs after retirement. This is especially true for retirees working in public sectors such as education, science and healthcare. As for other sectors, there is a common practice of low-income retirees who have changed jobs to lower positions, in low-paid professions (about 30% of security guards in public sector organizations in the region have a higher education), or – and quite often – they work informally, without contract (nannies, caregivers, auxiliary workers at home, home assistants).

Thus, we can conclude that in North Ossetia there are two main opportunities for continuing to work for people who have reached retirement age, largely determined by the field of employment where the person worked before retirement. The first opportunity is highly skilled work in the public sector while maintaining the job in which the person was employed before retirement. The second is a change of job and employment in unskilled position, often in the informal sector of the economy. The high prevalence of informal employment among pensioners in the region has several possible explanations. This may be both an indication of the difficulty of access to the formal labor market, and the result of a conscious choice of a pensioner. This phenomenon is explained in the work of Sonina and Kolosnitsyna, «among the explanations for the reluctance to work officially, approximately an equal proportion of answers are the reluctance of the employer, the reluctance of the employee and the mutual reluctance to formalize employment» [21, p. 46]. However, according to the results of our study, the main factor in the increase in the share of informally

employed pensioners was not professional burnout, but the regulatory measure introduced in Russia in 2016, such as the cessation of indexation of pensions for working pensioners.

Considering the peculiarities of elderly employment in North Ossetia, it is worth highlighting the group of early retirees who are registered and receiving pensions with the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the FSB and a number of other law enforcement agencies. This is explained by the fact that North Ossetia is a border region, the 58th Russian Army is stationed here, and the share of Ministry of Internal Affairs and FSB employees per 10,000 population, for historical reasons for the long-term persistence of high military-terrorist threats, is one of the highest among Russian regions. Due to the lack of direct statistical data, we estimated the proportion of people receiving a pension before reaching retirement age during interviews with Pension Fund employees. According to them, at least 15% aged 50-54 years, and about 25% men and 20% women aged 55-59 years receive early pensions. These estimates correlate, taking into account the indicated regional characteristics, with similar estimates by O.V. Sinyavskaya and A.A. Chervyakova [22]. The main place of work for this category of employees is the security sector of the public and corporate sectors (mainly ministries and departments of the Government of North Ossetia-Alania, the Pension Fund, regional branches of such large Russian banks as Sber PJSC, VTB PJSC, Otkritie PJSC and national companies Rostelecom, Beeline, Megafon).

We have analyzed the reports of 25 of the largest regional organizations that provide employment for more than 30% of older workers. It allows us to draw the following conclusions:

1) for the period 2015-2022, in the group of employees aged 55 to 59, there was a general decrease in the share of working pensioners by 1.4%. At the same time, the employment level of the group «Skilled workers of agriculture, forestry, hunting, fish farming and fishing» remained unchanged, and the employment of workers in the field of «Service, housing and communal services, trade» increased slightly due to the growth of women's employment;

2) the share of workers aged 60-65 years, for example, has increased, and to the greatest extent in the group of qualified workers of large and small industrial enterprises, construction, transport, communications, geology and subsoil exploration; employment of specialists of the highest level of qualification has also increased slightly and noticeably (1.3%) of specialists of the average level of qualification;

3) the share of employed workers over 65 years of age has increased in all groups of statistically monitored employment, while the share of managers, specialists of higher and intermediate qualifications has increased (Rosstat records the most noticeable increase among women), the share of employment in the group of operators, apparatchiks and machinists has increased, and what is definitely negative – among unskilled workers, their share in the overall structure of employment increased from 8.3% in 2015 to 9.7% in 2022.

It should be noted that there are no detailed statistics on the types and number of sex and age employment, the level of qualifications and accrued salaries for employees of older age groups in the context of regions in Russia yet, so our further research is based solely on all-Russian statistics. Analysis of population dynamics, presented on the Rosstat website in the section «Population. Older generation. Number of employees» (<https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/13877>) showed that in 2015-2021 the absolute number of older workers changed extremely unevenly: in the group from 55 to 59 years old it decreased by 1.3 times, both men and women; in the group from 60 to 64 years old, the number increased slightly, but in the oldest age group - from 65 and older – this reduction was 1076.9 times for men, and 924.58 times for women. In terms of the employment structure, the proportions of changes are identical: for example, in the «Managers» group in the first age cohort, the reduction was 1.6 times among men, 1.3 times among women; in the second age cohort, there was a slight increase in the number of managers, and in the oldest group of employees, the number of men decreased by 1261.8 times, and women by 1026.7 times. The same

proportions of transformation can be seen in the employment of specialists at the highest level (the reduction in the number of employees in the older age group was 1259.5 times for men and 857.8 times for women), and in the employment of mid-level specialists (the number of specialists in the cohort over 65 years old was 703.6 times for men and 858.1 times for women). It is noteworthy that for groups of skilled and unskilled workers, this pattern also appears for the period 2015-2021: the number in the age group from 55 to 59 years decreased by about a third, the number in the age group 60-64 years increased slightly and the number of employees in the age cohort of 65 years and older has decreased by more than 1000 times.

Valuable conclusions were obtained as a result of the analysis of data on the average accrued wages of employees of older age groups. Analysis of statistical information (Rosstat website, section « Population. The older generation. Average accrued salary» (<https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/13877>) showed that the wages of workers of older age groups are growing as well as the wages of workers of working age, at the same time, it is worth noting the following internal gender and age disparities that have developed in the field of remuneration of older age groups:

1) The gender difference in accrued salaries to senior managers, senior officials and legislators in the 55-59-year-old group in 2019 was 1.9 times, in the 60-69-year-old group – 1.4 times, and in the 65 and older group - 1.6 times; according to 2021, this gap remained in the following proportions: 1.9 times, 2.4 times, 1.3 times, respectively. The gender gap in the salaries of mid-level specialists is also large: according to 2019 data, in the context of the three analyzed age cohorts, it was 1.6 times, 1.4 times, 1.3 times. In 2021 the gender wage gap of this category of employed was 1.6 times, 1.5 times, 1.3 times, respectively. The smallest gender differences are observed in the group of unskilled workers, where the salaries of men and women of all age groups are closely approximated.

2) The age difference in the accrued salaries of men in the group «Senior managers, senior officials and legislators» in 2021 between men aged 55 to 59 years and those 65 years and older amounted to 68,768 rubles, or 45%. For mid-level specialists, age discrimination is expressed in the following salary differentiation according to 2021 data: RUB 55,915 salary of men 50-59 years old and 43,476 rubles – for men 65 years of age or older (difference 12,439 rubles, or 29%). In the group of skilled workers in 2021, the following salary ratio developed: 48,138 rubles for men 50-59 years old and 40,407 rubles in men over 65 years of age (the difference is 7,731 rubles, or 19%). In the group of employed men «Operators of production plants and machines, assemblers and drivers» discrimination is also recorded; according to 2021 data, the analyzed salary ratio between the younger and older cohorts is as follows: 47,428 rubles and 38,661 rubles (difference 8,767 rubles or 23%).

3) Intergroup differentiation of the level and growth rate of salaries in different professional groups shows that the gap between the salaries of the highest paid group «Senior managers, senior officials and legislators» and the group «Managers in the corporate sector and other organizations» in 2019 amounted to 31.9 thousand rubles or 43%, and in 2021 the gap increased to 55.7 thousand rubles, or 58%. The salary of senior managers in 2019 was 2.7 times higher than the group average, and in 2021 it was 3.26 times higher, that is, over 2 years it increased almost 1.5 times. And this is the highest growth in the entire group of employed people. In turn, salary of the group «Managers in the corporate sector and in other organizations» was 1.5 times higher than the salary of top-level specialists in 2019 (48.7 thousand rubles against 73.5 thousand rubles), and in 2021 by 1.9 times (52.3 thousand rubles versus 96.7 thousand rubles). The widening gap is also explained by different rates of wage growth.

A very high gap is observed between the salary levels of «Managers» и « Mid-level specialists»: in 2019 it was 1.8 times (42.2 thousand rubles against 76.7 thousand rubles, respectively), and in 2021, the gap increased to 2 times (45.4 thousand rubles versus 94.8 thousand rubles, respectively). At the same time, in 2019, the average accrued salary of mid-

level specialists was 8% higher than the average for the analyzed group, and in 2021 it became lower by 3%.

The calculations of the level of average salaries of specialists of the highest level of qualification in the field of education, as well as the average salaries of medical personnel shown in Table 2, indicate that in the most popular and numerous areas of employment for older workers, wages are fixed below the average level.

Of particular note are the extremely unattractive wages for the groups of skilled workers, plant and machine operators, assemblers and drivers, in 2021 they amounted to 80-90% of the average wage for the group of senior workers. Accordingly, it was lower than the salaries of managers by more than 2 times in 2019, and in 2021 the gap increased to 2.5 times.

Table 2. Intergroup differentiation of the level and growth rate of average accrued wages of workers aged 55 years and older in different professional groups of employees in 2019 and 2021.

| № | Groups of activities | Average accrued wages of employees aged 55 years and older, rub. | | Change in average accrued wages of employees, 2021 to 2019, in % | Deviation from the average accrued wages of all employees, in % | |
|------|--|--|-------|--|---|------|
| | | 2019 | 2021 | | 2019 | 2021 |
| 1. | All employees | 39,0 | 46,7 | 120 | 100 | 100 |
| 2. | Managers | 76,7 | 94,8 | 124 | 197 | 203 |
| 2.1 | Senior managers, senior officials and legislators | 105,4 | 152,4 | 146 | 270 | 326 |
| 2.2 | Managers in the corporate sector and other organizations | 73,5 | 96,7 | 132 | 188 | 207 |
| 3. | Highly qualified specialists | 48,7 | 52,3 | 107 | 125 | 112 |
| 3.1. | Specialists in the field of education | 41,8 | 49,7 | 119 | 108 | 106 |
| 4. | Mid-level specialists | 42,2 | 45,4 | 108 | 108 | 97 |
| 4.1 | Paramedical health care personnel | 35,5 | 40,2 | 113 | 91 | 86 |
| 5. | Plant and machine operators, assemblers and drivers | 32,8 | 38,4 | 117 | 84 | 82 |
| 6. | Skilled workers in industry, construction, transport and related occupations | 37,1 | 42,4 | 114 | 95 | 91 |
| 7 | Unskilled workers | 20,3 | 23,8 | 117 | 52 | 49 |

Source: official website of Rosstat. Demographics/Population/Older Generation. <https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/13877>; Labor and employment in Russia <https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/210/document/13210>; Results of a sample survey of the labor force» (<https://rosstat.gov.ru/compendium/document/13265>)

The most vulnerable group includes unskilled workers, whose wages were 52% of the average wage in 2019, and in 2021 dropped to 49% of the average wage for the group of employed older age groups.

4 Discussion

Current trends in wages indicate an increase in income inequality and the persistence of poverty among the least paid groups of workers, who also have the lowest pension savings.

Our conclusions were made without taking into account the mutual influence of wage levels, education, length of specific work experience and health, accepting only the fact that wages grow with increasing qualifications. At the same time, we believe that the persistence of low labor motivation and growing wage inequality is an acute employment problem, and it concerns not only the material well-being and quality of life of people, but also affects the existential characteristics and stability of society, its self-preservation and demographic behavior. We share the point of view of V.D. Roic that «a significant proportion of older people would like to remain economically active, but at the same time organizing their work on their own terms, for example, working in a flexible mode» [23, p. 98]. However, «mechanisms for adaptation of older people to work have not yet been created» [23, p. 4]. We believe that government measures that are currently developing within the federal project «Demography» framework (vocational training, advanced training at the expense of federal and regional budgets, assistance in finding new jobs, etc.) should become a certain “bridge” to increase the efficiency of employment of those pensioners who can and want to continue working. Research by Russian authors shows that almost half of respondents who have reached an older age would like to engage in feasible work. On this basis, it can be stated that changes in the motivational attitudes of citizens regarding the organization of their life activities in older age groups have already occurred.

However, unbiased attitudes towards older job seekers do not change as quickly, as evidenced by representative sociological surveys on the labor market. According to research by one of the largest job search sites and employees, HeadHunter, employers usually associate «age-related characteristics» with a decrease in employee efficiency (65%), stereotypic thinking (44%), lack of psychological flexibility to adapt to new things (33%) and weak orientation in modern technologies (31%). At the same time, three quarters of surveyed applicants over 45 years of age note that age is the main reason for job refusals. At the same time, the average age of the Russian labor force, according to 2021 data, was 55.3 years [24].

At the same time, it should be noted that the majority of employers (75%) rightly consider the level of digital skills even among very experienced older professionals to be insufficient, and 25% believe that employees of pre-retirement age lack digital competencies in general. Global practice confirms that 30-year-olds do learn new technologies more easily than 60-year-olds, and that digital competencies and lifelong learning abilities are now becoming a requirement for everyone, regardless of age [25, 26]. However, we should not assume that young people by default have the digital competencies necessary for work, as evidenced by our previous studies [27].

Undoubtedly, increasing the employment efficiency of workers in older age groups requires that the Russian community recognize age discrimination as a problem and begin to systematically solve it; this should become the responsibility of not only the state, but also Russian companies, trade unions, and public organizations.

5 Conclusion

Russia is experiencing an aging population, and according to Rosstat forecasts, by 2036 the largest population of Russia will be in the age groups of 46-50 and 51-55 years. Therefore, it is extremely important to provide the current and future generations of older ages with the opportunity to lead a healthy and active lifestyle. At the same time, in North Ossetia, as in a number of other Russian regions, life expectancy is significantly higher than national indicators.

The analysis showed system-wide (on the regional labor market) and intra-system (at the organizational level) discrimination in the field of remuneration of older age groups. The gender and age discrimination that has developed in the field of remuneration of older age groups has been revealed: discrimination of women's labor in all age cohorts and types of employment; cross-cohort discrimination of older men's labor within one type of employment; discrimination of wage growth rates of employees of different types of employment.

The study indicates the need to strengthen regional policies to stimulate the demand for labor of older workers in North Ossetia-Alania, while all significant labor parameters should be designed taking into account the leading institutional role of the state. As a way to minimize all types of job discrimination, it is proposed to form inclusive regulatory models based on regional specifics of the socio-economic and demographic development of individual regions. This will allow maintaining the unity of approaches defined at the federal level to solving this problem and providing regions with independence to implement measures that are most effective in the conditions of specific territories. At the same time, in our opinion, the main attention should be paid to the following points: preventing the «squeezing out» of workers of pre-retirement age into the informal sector of the economy; preventing the unjustified transfer of such employees to lower positions, which entails a reduction in wages; special attention should be paid to the development of a model of flexible, part-time employment for older workers in the labor market, maintaining or changing their labor status by mastering new professional skills; increasing the competitiveness of older people in the labor market, including through continuous training in digital literacy and advanced training in the field of digital technologies; creating conditions for «flexible retirement». We believe that special attention should be paid to the development of the mentoring institution; providing subsidies or tax breaks to enterprises that hire older people, as is already done when hiring graduates of Russian educational institutions.

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