Research on the Employment of the Elderly in Japan under the Background of Population Aging

Yang Zhou¹, Fan Zhang²

¹School of Foreign Languages, Lingnan Normal University, Zhanjiang, Guangdong, China ²Dalian University of Technology Press, Liaoning, Dalian, China

Abstract: Population aging is a universal and severe problem faced by all countries in the world. The reduction of young and middle-aged labor force, the shrinking size of families and the rising expenditure of social security fees have brought great challenges comprehensive to the management of the country. Japan is one of the first countries in the world to enter aging, and it is the country with the highest degree of aging. Under the background of the great impact of aging on economic and social development, Japan has paid more and more attention to the employment of the elderly, actively improved the policies to promote the employment of the elderly with the help of legislation, such as gradually delaying retirement, providing financial subsidies to enterprises actively employing the elderly, and establishing various platforms to support the employment of the elderly to broaden the employment channels of the elderly. The contradiction of insufficient labor supply has been alleviated largely. These measures provide a useful reference for China to promote and encourage the employment of the elderly.

Keywords: Japan; Population Aging; Employment of the Elderly

1. Introduction

As we all know, Japan is one of the earliest aging countries in the world and the country with the highest degree of aging. By the end of 2020, the number of elderly people aged 65 and over in Japan exceeded 36.1 million, accounting for 28.7% of the total population of the country, of which the number of elderly people aged 100 and over exceeded 80,000. With the increasingly serious aging situation of young children, the number of elderly people in Japan has increased, and the labor force population of young and middle-aged people has gradually decreased, resulting in a series of economic and social problems such as insufficient labor supply, high social security costs, slow growth of production efficiency and increasing financial burden, which has also become one of the important issues that the Japanese government needs to solve urgently. Since 2000, the Japanese government has carried out in-depth social security system reform in the fields of pension, medical insurance and nursing insurance, and made several policy revisions. At the same time, the current labor policy has been adjusted, especially the employment policy for the elderly has been drastically reformed. This paper focuses on the employment of the elderly in Japan, analyzes and discusses the background and characteristics of its various policies, and draws on its experience to provide useful reference for promoting the employment of the elderly in China and alleviating the negative impact of aging on economic and social development.

2. Aging and Employment of the Elderly in Japan

2.1 Japan's Population Structure and Aging Status

Since 1970s, the proportion of the elderly aged 65 and over in Japan has reached 7%, and Japan has entered an aging society. In 1994, the proportion of the elderly aged 65 and above reached 14%, and Japan has since become an aging society. According to the statistics of the Statistics Bureau of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications of Japan, on December 1, 2020, the total population of Japan is about 125 million. Among them, the population under the age of 15 is about 15.03 million, the population aged 15-64 is about 74.49 million, and the population aged 65 and over is about 36.19 million, accounting for 12%, 59.3% and 28.8% of the total population respectively. Among the population aged 65 and above, the population aged 65-74 is 17.47 million, accounting for 13.9%. The population aged 75 and over is 18.72 million, accounting for 14.9%. Most people aged 65 and over are women, reaching 20.45 million. It can be seen from the data that Japan is now a super-aging country. In addition, the number of deaths in Japan in 2020 was 1,372,648, a decrease of 8,445 compared with the previous year. The difference between the number of deaths and the number of babies born reached 531,816, which has increased for 13 consecutive years, indicating that the population of Japan is rapidly decreasing. The total number of men and women who got married in Japan last year was 525,490, a decrease of 73,517 compared with the previous year, which was the lowest number after the Second World War. In 2020, the average life expectancy of Japanese will reach 87.74 years for women and 81.64 years for men, 0.3 years and 0.22 years longer than that in 2019 respectively. It can be seen that the aging trend in Japan is becoming more and more serious under the circumstances of low birth rate, reduced death toll and prolonged life expectancy. Its aging rate ranks first in the world, and now it is a veritable super-aging society.

2.2 Employment Situation of the Elderly in Japan

The decrease of young population caused by the aging of young children will lead to the decrease of labor force, the reduction of economic scale and the lack of financial resources for social security fees. In view of this, the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare has actively implemented various measures to promote the employment of the elderly and improve the labor productivity. For example. promoting the continuous employment of the elderly, supporting the ability development of the elderly, supporting the re-employment of the elderly, and strengthening the function of the silver-haired talent center. Its purpose is to build a "career active society" in which people who are willing to work can work freely even if they are old. Looking at the number of employed people in Japan in the past decade, the average employed population in 2020 was 66.76 million, a decrease of 480,000 compared with

2019. In terms of gender differences, the number of men was 37.09 million, a decrease of 240,000, and the number of women was 29.68 million, a decrease of 240,000. In terms of age group, the number of employed people aged 15-64 was 57.71 million, a decrease of 610,000 compared with 2019, of which 320,000 were men and 290,000 were women. Statistics show that this is the first time in eight years that the number of employed people has decreased, mainly due to the COVID-19 epidemic. On the other hand, since the policy adjustment, the number of employed elderly people aged 65 and above has increased from 5.7 million in 2010 to 9.06 million in 2020, with no significant change in the total number of employed people. Among them, the female employed population has increased greatly, from 2.21 million in 2010 to 3.67 million in 2020. It can be seen that the Japanese government's policy of promoting the employment of the elderly is still fruitful. Since 2020, affected by the COVID-19 epidemic, Japan began to restrict the international movement of people and restrict the activities of domestic people going out, and the service industries such as catering,

tourism, accommodation, culture and entertainment were the hardest hit. The service industry is a personnel-intensive industry. The large-scale closure or complete closure of enterprises in this industry has reduced external demand and domestic personal consumption demand, and the income of enterprises has fallen sharply, and the labor income of employees has decreased. In the face of the difficulties such as the decrease of corporate income and employee income, the Japanese government began to encourage enterprises to pay business suspension subsidies to employees whose income decreased due to business suspension. The Japanese government has increased financial investment and expanded the employment adjustment assistance system several times. With the support of the government, many enterprises in Japan pay wage subsidies to employees who stop working without paying any fees. With the joint cooperation of the government, enterprises and individuals, there has not been a large number of layoffs in Japan, and most employees, especially the elderly, can also earn a basic living. Against the background of the deterioration of the

external economic environment, such as epidemic and natural disasters, European and American enterprises mostly adjust the demand for labor by laying off employees and reducing employment, while Japan tries to maintain employment but reduce employment time to cope with the changes in the external environment [1].

3. Japan's Measures to Promote the Employment of the Elderly

3.1 Gradual Delayed Retirement Policy

After the Second World War, Japan's economy gradually recovered, and the labor supply exceeded demand. The Japanese government did not pay too much attention to the employment of the elderly. At this time, most large and medium-sized enterprises in Japan implemented a long-term employment system, basically taking 55 as the retirement age. However, with the rapid development of economy, the demand for labor force continues to increase. At the same time, in 1954, the reform of the annuity system was implemented, and the payment age of the male elderly pension was adjusted from 55 to 60. The labor union strongly urged the government to raise the retirement age. Since then, Japan has begun to pay attention to the employment of the elderly. In 1963, the Japanese government introduced the Welfare Law for the Elderly, which was the earliest law on the employment of the elderly in Japan. The law defines the rights and obligations of the elderly for the first time, and stipulates that "the elderly should be provided with opportunities to engage in work and participate in social activities in combination with their wishes and abilities", and the retirement age is extended from 55 to 60. In 1986, Japan promulgated the Employment Security Law for the Elderly, requiring enterprises to establish a retirement system at the age of 60. This law has become the central law for the employment of the elderly in Japan, and clarified the responsibilities and obligations among the government, enterprises and workers. After more than ten years, the Law on the Employment and Stability of the Elderly was revised several times, and the retirement age was gradually extended. Finally, it was officially implemented on April 1, 2013. Its central idea was to establish the obligation

of enterprises to hire elderly people who are willing to work until they reach the age of 65 in the form of law. In March 2017, the Japanese government launched the "Labor Mode Reform Implementation Plan", which also involved the employment of the elderly, emphasizing the need to encourage and fund enterprises that extend the employment of the elderly and raise the retirement age to 65. In addition, summarize the excellent cases of enterprises continuing to employ the elderly and promote them, and carry out consulting and assistance business for enterprises. In March 2020, the Japanese government passed the Law on Correcting the Employment Stability of the Elderly, which was officially implemented on April 1, 2021. An important change from the last revision is that the new law stipulates that "enterprises have the obligation to work hard to ensure that workers are employed to the age of 70, and enterprises should also take effective measures to arrange workers to suitable posts. If enterprises hire workers who are willing to work to the age of 70, the government will give them a certain amount of help". In addition, the new law has also increased measures to support the elderly to start businesses. Although the law has no mandatory effect for the time being, it also means that Japanese society is about to enter the era of retirement at the age of 70. In the near future, the Japanese government will definitely promote the compulsory retirement at the age of 70.

By the end of 2019, the employment rate of the elderly aged 60-64 in Japan reached 70.3%, which was at a high level internationally. Most of the enterprises that implement the measures to ensure the employment of the elderly take the form of continuing employment system, accounting for 77.9%, raising the retirement age for 19.4%, and abolishing the retirement system for 2.7%. In large enterprises with more than 301 employees, 88.4% chose the continuous employment system. In addition, by 2020, the number of enterprises that can work in Japan until they are over 66 accounts for 33.4% of all enterprises. In terms of enterprise scale, small and medium-sized enterprises (with 31-300 employees) account for 34.0%, and large enterprises (with more than 301 employees) account for 28.2%. Nowadays, the elderly aged 65 and above have become an important labor force group in the

process of Japan's economic and social development. With the economic globalization, the change of population structure and social concept, the labor consciousness of the elderly in Japan has also changed. Many elderly people over the age of 65 have a strong desire to continue working after retirement, so that they can not only have a fixed income to maintain a high quality of life, but also continue to exert their skills and experience to realize their own life value and objectively promote regional economic and social development. From a global perspective, the employment rate of the elderly in Japan is also at a high level. Practice has proved that fully exploring the human resources of the elderly can avoid the negative and negative factors brought about by aging [2].

3.2 Increase Financial Subsidies for Enterprises that Employ the Elderly

Providing incentives and subsidies to enterprises by investing a lot of financial funds is an important measure to promote the employment of the elderly in Japan. In order to encourage enterprises to hire more elderly people, the Japanese government has set up various special subsidies, such as employment promotion grants (retirement age extension grants), employment development grants for specific job seekers, self-employment grants (joint employment opportunities for the elderly), and trial employment grants. The following will give a detailed explanation of various kinds of AIDS.

3.2.1 Employment promotion fund for the elderly over 65 years old

The purpose of the aid is to realize a career active society in which the elderly who are willing to work are free to work without age restrictions. The government provides assistance to enterprises that raise the retirement age to over 65 years old or improve the employment management system for the elderly or change the limited employment contract for the elderly into an indefinite employment contract.

3.2.2 Hiring development assistance funds for specific job seekers

The assistance fund refers to the assistance fund provided to enterprises that employ elderly people or disabled people with particularly difficult employment through the recommendation of public vocational stability centers (hello work) or private employment agencies. The purpose of its establishment is also to increase the employment opportunities of such people or achieve stable employment. The aid is divided into various situations. On the whole, when the elderly aged 60-64 are continuously employed for more than two years, the enterprise can receive a aid of 400,000-600,000 yen; Enterprises can receive 500,000-700,000 yuan of assistance when they continue to employ elderly people over 65 for more than one year.

3.2.3 Career-related entrepreneurship assistance becomes money

The aid is paid to people over 40 years old, that is, part of the expenses borne by middle-aged and elderly people over 40 when they set up new businesses and hire workers over 40 years old are subsidized by the government. For example, the introduction fee non-governmental employment of paid agencies, the funds for workers' education and training, the funds for obtaining qualifications, and the funds for attending seminars. Its purpose is to encourage new employment through entrepreneurship. Apply for the plan within 11 months after the establishment of the enterprise, and you will get a subsidy of 1.5-2 million yen according to the age of the employees.

3.2.4 Employment adjustment assistance fund The assistance fund refers to the financial assistance provided to enterprises that have to reduce the scale of business activities due to the influence of COVID-19, but shorten the working hours of workers according to the labor agreement in order to maintain employment stability. The prerequisite is that the enterprise must pay the workers a subsidy for suspension of business and shutdown. The amount of subsidy that enterprises can get is between 9000 and 15000 yen per person per day. Sign a shutdown agreement between labor and capital, and apply to the labor bureau according to the actual situation.

3.3 Providing Professional Service Platforms for Enterprises and the Elderly

3.3.1 Special window for the employment of the elderly

Hello Work in Japan is a public institution that provides support for people with employment difficulties, and it belongs to the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare. Its business covers job introduction, employment insurance and employment countermeasures. Japan has set up a special window for the employment of elderly people aged 60 and over in public vocational stability centers, that is, the career active support window. This window not only introduces enterprises that actively employ the elderly, but also holds seminars in resume writing, interview and skill upgrading to give free guidance.

3.3.2 Employment support agencies for elderly disabled job seekers

The Japanese government has set up an independent administrative legal person "Employment Support Agency for Older Disabled Job-seekers", which aims to provide comprehensive assistance in ensuring the employment of the elderly, the professional independence of the disabled, and the development and improvement of job-seekers and other workers' professional abilities. In particular, it provides information services such as consulting window, application for financial aid. lectures and activities. investigation and research for enterprises committed to the employment of the elderly. consulting services Provide on the employment status of the elderly to business operators, personnel and labor leaders and experts on a regular basis.For example, a free consultation window for knowledgeable experts has been set up. The independent administrative legal person "Employment Support Agency for Senior Disabled Job-seekers" accepts consultations from all over the country, and holds annual regional seminars for enterprises to realize a career active society. In addition, it also implements employment promotion projects for the elderly with regional characteristics, such as the forum for employment promotion for the elderly.

3.3.3 Silver-haired talent center

The Japanese government has also set up a silver-haired talent center, which is an organization that not only makes the elderly feel the value of life, but also stimulates regional vitality by providing them with opportunities to work or develop their abilities and experiences. In principle, the center is located in cities, towns and villages, and is operated independently by the corporate legal person recognized by the governor of prefectures and counties. After the elderly become members, the center will introduce temporary or short-term jobs according to the living habits and ways of retired elderly people, and also provide some volunteer activities for the elderly to participate in society, so as to realize the purpose of healthy life and contribution to society. The types of work involve a wide range, such as tutor, gardening, pen farming, facility management and other industries with insufficient labor. Through the business development of the silver-haired talent center, business owners can effectively ensure the labor force, and the elderly can also find job opportunities that can give full play to their technical experience, killing two birds with one stone.

3.3.4 Career-related service in the region

With the aging of young children, the shortage of labor force has become an important issue that restricts the sustainable development of economy and society. The Japanese government has launched the project of "Promoting Regional Linkage in Active Service", the purpose of which is to let the elderly work in their own places, provide space for the elderly to give full play to their abilities and experience, and enhance regional vitality. In particular, based on the "Working Method Reform Implementation Plan" and "Japan's 100 million Total Activity Plan" proposed by Japan in 2019, various employment opportunities are provided for the elderly according to the actual situation in various regions. "Agreement meetings" have been set up in local areas, and they have been expanded from 44 to 74. The agreement will put forward a business plan to the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare according to the needs of the region and the elderly. The project contents include a joint briefing session on providing employment information to the elderly, the production of an information log, a demand survey of the elderly, a life design briefing session, and an enterprise inspiration seminar. The specific accepting units are the Labor Bureau and the Public Vocational Stability Institute under the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, which select and entrust the projects proposed by the agreement. Career-related regional joint ventures are raised from local organizations every year, and the scale can be prefectures or cities, towns and villages. Once selected, they will receive 40 million yuan in subsidy funds.

3.3.5 Pre-retirement professional talent bank

for the elderly

In order to realize a career active society, the Japanese government has set up a professional talent bank for the pre-retired elderly in the industrial employment stability center. Older people who are about to retire can register in this institution, and enterprises in need can obtain information about job seekers' career, ability and employment needs in this institution, and find talents that meet the needs of enterprises. The agency can also provide the personal information of elderly job seekers to public institutions such as local governments, private talent service institutions and public employment agencies, so as to expand the employment channels of job seekers.

4. Japan's Experience to China's Enlightenment and Suggestions

By the end of 2020, there were 249 million people aged 60 and over in China, accounting for 18.7% of the total population, of which 191 million were aged 65 and over, accounting for 13.5%. Compared with 2019, the proportion of people aged 60 and over increased by 5.4 percentage points. The further deepening of China's aging trend is the basic national condition of China for a long time to come. Facing the severe aging problem, promoting the employment of the elderly has naturally become an important issue that the country needs to pay attention to. At present, the employment of the elderly in China is facing some problems, such as a small number of people, a low proportion, insufficient financial investment and blocked employment channels. We can learn valuable experience from the comparison with Japan and explore effective ways to promote the employment of the elderly in order to promote the sustainable development of economy and society. We should adhere to the employment priority strategy for the elderly, pay attention to longevity bonus, improve the support policy system of the government, enterprises and equal families, create employment opportunities and improve the labor participation rate of the elderly [3].

4.1 To Strengthen the Legislative Protection of the Elderly Employment, and Gradually Delay the Retirement Age

One of the powerful guarantee conditions to ensure the employment and re-employment of the elderly is to improve the relevant legal system. Facing the increasingly serious problem of the aging of the youngest children, Japan has actively adjusted its labor policy while promoting the reform of the pension system, especially revised the laws related to the employment of the elderly several times to ensure the employment of the elderly, which has alleviated the problem of labor shortage to some extent and achieved remarkable results. Every elderly person's ability, willingness to work, working hours and salary requirements are different. The purpose of the Employment Security Law for the Elderly is to cater to the diverse choices of the elderly, ensure their re-employment after retirement and extend their working hours. Flexible personnel management that can meet the needs of various employment forms of the elderly can also meet the needs of enterprises, rationally allocate labor resources and improve production efficiency. With the support of perfect laws, the elderly can freely choose jobs in combination with their own experience, ability and living habits, which not only ensures their own income, but also reflects their own life value, and basically achieves a sense of security and a sense of worthiness.

Therefore, while promoting the reform of social security system, China should also focus on the adjustment of employment policy for the elderly. It is necessary to amend the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of the Rights and Interests of the Elderly in time to encourage and ensure the employment of the elderly. The Law on Employment Security for the Elderly should be promulgated to clarify the rights and obligations of the government, enterprises and workers, to guide the elderly to actively find employment, to issue a catalogue of employment guidance industries, and to formulate preferential measures for enterprises and the elderly to prohibit age and gender discrimination in enterprises. Only by constantly improving the relevant legal system for the employment of the elderly can we alleviate the contradiction of insufficient labor supply and protect the rights and interests of the elderly.

On the other hand, gradually delay the retirement age and implement a flexible retirement system. We can adopt the practice of Japanese enterprises, employ employees over 60 years old by re-employment, keep their jobs, and adjust the corresponding work content, working hours and salary according to their personal situation. There are many similarities between China and Japan in terms of population structure and pension insurance system. We should learn from Japan's lessons and raise the retirement age in stages to avoid the imbalance of pension expenditure. In addition, extending retirement can not only alleviate the pressure of pension payment, but also meet the needs of the elderly to continue working after retirement, and help reduce the poverty of the elderly [4].

4.2 To Strengthen Financial Subsidies to Stimulate the Enthusiasm of Enterprises to Hire the Elderly

Financial input is an important guarantee and economic support for timely laws and regulations and the implementation of public policies. As mentioned above, in order to promote the employment of the elderly over 65, the Japanese government has formulated various support policies. In terms of enterprise support, a system of "helping to make money" has been established. Under the background of perfect laws and the establishment of assistance funds, enterprises have achieved remarkable results in ensuring the employment of the elderly. According to the questionnaire survey of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 98.4% of enterprises have introduced the "continuous employment system" such as re-employment according to the countermeasures of employment guarantee measures in the revised Employment Stability Law for the Elderly, and the employment number of the elderly has maintained a continuous growth in the past decade, which has eased the pressure on enterprises.

At present, China does not focus on supporting the employment of the elderly, nor does it include employment and the social participation of the elderly in the financial budgets of governments at all levels. Social capital is not enough to support the employment and social participation of the elderly. There is a lack of top-level design of employment policies for the elderly at the national level, and there are occasional local policies to encourage the elderly to start businesses, but there is a lack of specific support policies, which leads to the form of policy papers [5]. Therefore, we should include funds for the employment of the elderly, skills training for the elderly, and entrepreneurship for the elderly in the government's budgets at all levels as soon as possible, and at the same time guide social funds to actively invest in the employment field of the elderly to implement a strong guarantee for the employment of the elderly.

4.3 Establish a Professional Employment Platform for the Elderly and Expand Employment Channels

Public institutions in Japan, such as the Public Vocational Stability Institute, the Employment Support Agency for the Aged Disabled Job-seekers, and the Professional Talents Bank for the Pre-retired Elderly, have provided many employment opportunities for the elderly members, enabling the elderly to participate in society healthily and actively in light of their own conditions, and have also made great contributions to the regional economic revival. These institutions maintain relative independence, reasonable operation and flexible operation, and play an important role in ensuring the employment of the elderly. present, there is no independent At organization dedicated to the employment of the elderly in China. The government should take the lead in setting up a public employment center for the elderly, actively provide employment information for the elderly, and conduct education and skills training to ensure the smooth re-employment of the elderly. The government should actively encourage public organizations to set up windows to serve the employment of the introduce market elderly, mechanisms, integrate resources, and build a professional information platform to serve the elderly while maintaining maximum operational autonomy. At the same time, we will actively guide social capital to invest in this field through preferential policies and other policy means, stimulate market vitality, ensure that the elderly can choose their jobs according to their own wishes, and ensure a healthy life in their later years. Only by establishing a good communication mechanism and a smooth information link between the elderly and the market can we better guide the elderly to enter the labor market. In addition, it is necessary to strengthen the education, training and ability

development of the elderly, so as to achieve "a sense of worthiness". Because the education for the aged is an inevitable requirement of the aging development and an important part of building a learning society. The government, enterprises and society should increase investment in the elderly manpower to achieve high-quality labor output and high-efficiency labor potential [6].

5. Conclusion

The trend of population aging is intensifying, the working-age labor force is decreasing, and the emergence of population structural contradictions is an important problem that all countries in the world are facing. Only by implementing an active aging policy and promoting the employment of the elderly can this contradiction be alleviated, which is also the common experience of the international community. Actively promoting the employment of the elderly and encouraging the development of human resources for the elderly is to attach importance to the embodiment of the value of the elderly, which can not only solve the problem of insufficient labor force, but also alleviate the problem of high social security costs. The active participation of the elderly in society is also helpful to their own health management, improve various social relations and contribute to the construction of a harmonious society. Based on the analysis of the employment problem of the elderly in Japan under the background of aging, this paper draws the to following conclusions: ensure the employment of the elderly, the government, enterprises and individuals need comprehensive management from three dimensions; Japan's aging countermeasures and measures to promote the employment of the elderly are scientific and reasonable; Japan's legal system related to the employment of the elderly is perfect, the financial supporting funds are strong, and the professional platform for the employment of the elderly plays an important role, which greatly alleviates the problem of insufficient

labor supply. At present, China's young and middle-aged labor force is gradually decreasing, and the aging trend of fewer children is becoming increasingly severe. The elderly population has become an important part of China's labor force. It is of great practical significance and urgency to dig deep into the human resources of the elderly and ensure their employment. With reference to Japan's experience, we should take precautions, improve relevant laws and regulations as soon as possible, carefully design rules and regulations, and expand the career choice space for the elderly, so that every elderly person can find and play their own expertise, deeply participate in society, play their residual heat, find their own sense of existence and realize their own life value.

References

- [1] Cui Yan, "A New Topic of Japan's Economic and Social Economic Policy under the Impact of COVID-19 Epidemic", Modern Japanese Economy, 2020, No. 6, pp. 1-11.
- [2] Hu Peng, "Experience and Enlightenment of Japan's Old Age Employment System", People's Forum, 2020, No. 3, pp. 129-131.
- [3] Yuan Xin and Jin Niu, "Actively coping with the problems of an aging society in the national strategic system", Population Research, 2021, No. 2, pp. 3-12.
- [4] Tao Jianguo, Shi Yang, "The New Trend of Japanese Old People's Continuing Employment System after Retirement and Its Enlightenment", China Human Resources Development, 2013, No.21, pp. 99-102.
- [5] Liu Jie, "Enlightenment of Japanese Employment Policy for the Elderly to China's Aging Response", Contemporary Economy, 2020, No.1, pp.4-6.
- [6] An Hua and Zhao Yunyue, "Employment of the elderly in the perspective of international comparison: social identity, government support and enterprise cooperation", Economic System Reform, 2020, No. 4, pp. 173-179.