Beyond Wealth and Health: Psycho-Social Factors and Retirement Planning and Expectations in the U.S.

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by

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Abstract

Retirement is a significant transition in an individual's life course. More and more people are working past traditional retirement ages. Planning before retirement has been shown to relate to a number of positive outcomes and lead to a smoother transition to a retired life, such as more retirement savings, better retirement satisfaction, better social life, health, and mental health. However, most of the studies about retirement to date have focused on the impact of health and wealth in preparing for a successful retirement. This dissertation examines three issues related to retirement planning and expectations: (1) How do work and family relationships relate to having a plan to reduce or stop work and expected retirement timing in late life, and are there gender and occupational differences in these relationships? (2) How do workplace experiences relate to expectations to retire earlier or later than what is normative in different occupations? (3) Does sense of control explain the relationship between involuntary retirement and retirement satisfaction? To answer the three questions, the author adopts the role theory, the age norm theory, and the theory of self-efficacy to explain the background and findings.

The data for this dissertation comes from the Health and Retirement Study (HRS), a nationally representative dataset that captures the information about the health and retirement issues among adults over age 50 in the U.S. This proposed study uses pooled cross-sectional data from waves 2012 and 2014. Ordinary least squares (OLS) regression and logistic regression were used to examine the effect of work and family relationships and the plans/retirement timing of pre-retirees. Multinomial logistic regression was used to examine workplace factors that contribute to the non-normative retirement age expectations. Mediation analysis was used to study how personal mastery, perceived constraints, and domain-specific control mediates the relationship between involuntary retirement and retirement satisfaction.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandparents, who are now resting in peace in heaven.

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Introduction

Research on retirement has surged in the recent decades as the amount of years that older Americans remain in the labor force continues to rise. Newly released statistics indicate that, as of February 2019, more than 20 percent of adults over the age of 65 are either working or looking for work, compared to 10 percent in 1985 (AARP, 2019). There are several factors that contribute to why greater proportions of Americans are working later in life. First, life expectancy has increased. Statistics have shown that the average life expectancy in the United States has reached 78.6 years (World Bank, 2016). Both men and women are expected to live longer lives, perhaps 20 to 30 years past what was traditionally considered to be the retirement age (Hinshaw, 2007). For many, this prolonged life expectancy has been accompanied by good overall health which allows workers to continue to perform the same work at much older ages. Second, The U.S. labor force has become increasingly educated over the last two decades. From 1992 to 2016, the share of the labor force made up of people with a bachelor's degree and advanced degrees (includes people with master's, professional, and doctoral degrees) has grown consistently, rising by seven percentage points and five percentage points, respectively (Brundage, 2017). Greater overall educational attainment is related to workers staying in the labor force longer. Third, there has been a shift from employer-sponsored defined benefit (DB) plans to defined contribution (DC) plans and cutbacks in employer-sponsored retiree health benefits, which leave the employees with more personal responsibility to finance their own retirement, which often means a later retirement (Khan, Rutledge, & Wu, 2014).

Standard pathways out of work are also being transformed (Kojola &Moen, 2016). While retirement has traditionally been conceived as a single departure (a "full-stop") from full-time work, a growing proportion of older people are engaging in alternative pathways to retirement,

which include partial labor force withdrawal (reducing hours in one's career job, leaving career work and taking on a part-time job or bridge job), complete withdrawal followed by re-employment ("un-retirement"), and partial withdrawal while phasing into some new form of work, among others (e.g., Calvo, Madero-Cabib, & Staudinger, 2018; Maestas, 2010). While retirement (whether abrupt or gradual or cyclical) can be associated with significant changes in family finance, life style, and intrapersonal relationships, "planning" for this transition has been shown to be helpful to ease the challenges (Hershey, Van Dalen, & Hendrik, 2010; Lee & Law, 2004; Panis, 2004; Reitzes & Mutran, 2004). In most of the retirement literature, retirement "planning" refers to financial planning, specifically activities to accumulate the wealth to finance their needs in the post-retirement stage of life (Topa, Lunceford, & Boyatzi, 2017). Of course, part of such planning however, involves determining what types of lifestyle one would like to live in retirement, the types of activities they hope to engage in, the degree of support they expect to have from family and friends, expected health problems, and a variety of other bio-psycho-social-environmental factors that can effect if, when, and how they can retire (James, Matz-Costa, & Smyer, 2017; Choi & Matz-Costa, 2017; Wang & Matz-Costa, 2018). Research has shown that planning for retirement influences retirement timing, financial security, retirement satisfaction, and adjustment (Fletcher & Hansson, 1991; Moen, 1996; Wang & Shultz, 2010). However, data suggests that there is a lack of adequate planning among pre-retirees. The 2017 Retirement Confidence Survey indicated that four out of 10 American workers lack retirement confidence and felt stressed about retirement preparations (Greenwald, Copeland, & VanDerhei, 2017).

Finances and health are the most well-studied factors in the retirement decision-making and retirement satisfaction research. Having more savings is consistently related to better

retirement outcomes and overall well-being in later life (Krout, Moen, Holmes, Oggins, & Bowen, 2002; Syse, Veenstra, Furunes, Mykletun, & Solem, 2017). Better health prior to retirement has been shown to lead to a more satisfying and active retirement (Steptoe, Deaton, & Stone, 2015). However, there are other important factors related to planning and expectations that are understudied. In an effort to situate the aims of each of the three papers presented in this dissertation in the broader empirical and theoretical literature on retirement planning and expectations, this chapter presents a review of the literature in this arena and identifies gaps in our knowledge that the three papers seek to fill. Overall, this dissertation aims to fill key gaps in the literature that may shed light on how various psychosocial factors (i.e., work-family balance, how one experiences their workplace, choice and control) shape retirement planning, expectations, and satisfaction, with the hopes of generating practical knowledge that can be used to inform strategies and programming that can better support individuals as they approach the retirement transition. Implications will be discussed at the individual, organizational, and societal levels.

Literature Review

In the United States, retirement is growing into a topic of great importance as more and more Americans enter the retirement process. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the total number of people who left the labor force in the last decade of the twentieth century was 19 million, and that in the early twenty-first century, that number would be 22 million (Dohm, 2000). However, retirement is also growing increasingly complex which is also leaving an impact on pre-retirees and retirees alike. The concept of retirement is multifaceted, changes overtime, and underlies important considerations for pre-retirees to plan for a successful retirement (Solinge, 2011; Hershenson, 2016). It has been linked to changes in social life and

shifts in the perceived importance of work and family which are factors strongly related to retirement satisfaction (Moen, Fields, Quick, & Hofmeister, 2000; Wang & Matz-Costa, 2018). Further complicating matters is that the designation of retirement status is ambiguous because there are multiple overlapping criteria by which someone might be called retired, including career cessation, reduced work effort, pension receipt, or self-report (Ekerdt, 2010).

While the definition of a "successful" retirement is personal and varies across individuals, a good retirement life is often associated with good physical and mental health, financial preparedness, supportive relationships, and activities to achieve self-worth. Cross-sectional and retrospective research has identified a reliable relationship between preretirement planning and later-life well-being, that is, those who have discussed retirement with their spouse or had retirement superannuation or a savings plan reported greater well-being in their later years (Noone, Stephens, & Alpass, 2009). Entering retirement when one is ready to do so, and having clear knowledge and expectations is important in making a smooth transition to a post-retirement life, however this ideal is not always possible.

Psychosocial Factors Shaping Retirement Planning and Expectations

Despite the clear benefits of retirement planning, research has shown that many people fail to engage in either formal or informal preparation activities designed to promote their financial and nonfinancial well-being in retirement (Ekerdt, Hackney, Kosloski, & DeViney, 2001). Lumsdaine (1996) pointed out that nearly 20% of Americans in the 60-64 age range live in poverty, that number doubles to 40% for members of the 80-84 age group. In addition to financial planning, health planning, life style planning, and psychological planning have also been shown to be lacking, though they are just as important to retirement well-being (Kojola & Moen, 2016; Donald C. Reitzes & Mutran, 2004; Wiggins & Henderson, 1996). In light of the

traditional defined-benefit (DB) pension being progressively supplemented by the defined-contribution (DC) pension, placing more risks on individuals, the lack of inclination for individuals to engage in retirement preparation has become an even more urgent issue (Griffin & Hesketh, 2012; Schulz & Binstock, 2006). Facing the increased life expectancy and longer retirement years, with the large and potentially ill-prepared and underfunded older population transitioning into retirement, there is a very real risk of more unsustainable welfare burdens and greater number of challenges than the previous generations of retirees faced (Bidewell, Griffin, & Hesketh, 2006). Having a clear understanding of the factors related to retirement planning behaviors is important on two levels. On the individual level, it helps older adults to plan for a better retired life, which is beneficial to the individual and their family, and on the societal level, it helps to promote the sustainability of Social Security funds and ease welfare tension.

Most of the studies to date examine economic and health factors that drives individuals' retirement decisions. The Employee Benefit Research Institute (EBRI, 2006) estimated that only about 15% of survey respondents reported retiring early because of health problems. Therefore, the number of retirees citing a health-induced exit from the workforce is not so large that it can explain all, or even the majority, of early retirement behavior (Knoll, 2011). The three separate studies presented in this dissertation seek to expand the literature of retirement planning by examining and building upon new possible factors related to retirement planning and expecations outcomes oustide of the current health and economic literature. The findings in this dissertation hope to influence and help build a more robust and encompassing body of literature detailing the many facets and issues of retirement.

Work-Family Balance and Retirement Planning and Expectations

The influence of work on family and family on work has been well documented in the

earlier stages of life where they relate to well-being conditions such as mental health and life satisfaction (Gareis, Barnett, Ertel, & Berkman, 2009). Studies have shown that there are also positive influences between work and family, suggesting that supportive family relationships and useful skills acquired at home can have a positive spillover in the work setting (Crouter, 1984). However, work and family interference and enhancement can direct several critical employment and personal life outcomes that have longstanding or immediate effects well into the retirement years, such as work, family, physical health, mental health, and life satisfaction (Allen & Armstrong, 2006; Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000; Grandey & Cropanzano, 1999; Kossek, Lautsch, & Eaton, 2006). Looking at it in this context, there are few studies examining the affects between an individual's retirement planning and these two sources of interference and enhancement.

In addition, it is important to explore how gender and occupational differences can moderate the relationship between work and family interference and enhancement and retirement planning and expectations. Despite the fact that more women are entering the labor force and remaining in their positions longer than they have in the past, they may still be disadvantaged in many ways. Women may face greater challenges in retirement planning than men as they continue to occupy fewer of the higher level positions in many industries and organizations, generally holding onto more nonstandard employment contracts, and often times are the primary caregivers in the home (Blau & Kahn, 1994; Kalleberg, Reskin, & Hudson, 2000; Hochschild & Machung, 2012). As for occupational differences, it is generally understood that occupations require different levels of commitment, experience, or physical demand in order to achieve a successful work outcome. Occupation affects work expectations and characteristics of work affect retirement transitions (Angrisani, Hurd, Meijer, Parker, & Rohwedder, 2013).

Influence at the Workplace and Non-Normative Retirement Expectations

Remaining in the labor force longer is increasingly being discussed as an important and beneficial strategy for ensuring retirement security. Some propose that prolonged workforce participation may be the "solution to the retirement income challenge" (Munnell & Sass, 2008). Retirement planners have also begun to endorse retiring at later ages (e.g., Spiegelman, 2009). Evidence suggests that workplace factors are playing a key role in the retirement-decision making process. For example, in the workplace, career enjoyment and occupational goal attainment accounts for a significant portion of the variance in expected retirement (Adams, 1999). Additionally, satisfaction gained from work shapes whether one works during the conventional retirement years (Mott, 2006). Unfavorable situations at work, such as inflexible work policies or discrimination, repel employees away from the workforce and towards retirement (Beehr, Glazer, Nielson, & Farmer, 2000; Taylor & Shore, 1995). Moreover, one's perceptions of normative retirement age and expectations of one's own retirement age is influenced by social forces at the individual, occupational, and public policy levels.

When retirement is far in the future, workers may intend to retire later, but, as the time to retire approaches and the opportunity to stop working and obtain benefits immediately overwhelms the prospect of long-term financial well-being, those workers may end up opting to retire sooner. With so many reasons to postpone or hasten the retirement process, it is not surprising that many workers do not retire at the usual age that those in their occupation consider normal. Indeed, 38% of respondents in an EBRI (2006) survey reported retiring earlier than planned, while only five percent reported retiring later than planned. So what exactly are the possible workplace factors that relate to retirement age expectations outside of the norm? The

current literature gives many possible reasons, but has yet to properly analyze and distinguish significant relationships between such factors and non-normative retirement age expectations.

Lack of Choices, Sense of Control, and Retirement Satisfaction

The life expectancy in America is increasing. Statistics have shown that the average life expectancy in the nation has risen to 78.6 years, and that many individuals could live to more than 20 or 30 years passed their retirement ages (World Bank, 2016). Prolonged retirement could lead to unresolved financial burdens and various health problems very late in life. Working longer has been proposed as one way to increase financial security after retirement, and also as a way to stay active and purposeful after the retirement ages.

Perhaps planning and choosing the proper time to retire could eliminate most avoidable problems and lead to greater retirement satisfaction. However, choosing when to retire is not always under one's own control. A study based on the Health and Retirement Study (HRS) found that more than half of all workers age 50 and older lost their long-held jobs because they were laid off or otherwise forced to leave involuntarily. The steady earnings that many people count on in their 50s and 60s to build their retirement savings and ensure some financial security in later life often vanishes, upending retirement expectations and creating economic hardship (Johnson & Gosselin, 2018). Additionally, about two-thirds of future retirees in the 2009 RCS expected to work for pay in retirement, while only about one-third of those who were actually retired reported working for pay (Knoll, 2011).

Although there could be a variety of factors that contribute to an individual's involuntary retirement, interestingly, forced or involuntary retirement has not been consistently accounted for in studies on the effects of retirement on well-being. Among the studies that have focused on the effect of voluntariness, empirical evidence consistently points to a negative effect of involuntary

retirement on a variety of post-retirement outcomes including health (Dave, Rashad, & Spasojevic, 2007; Rhee, Mor Barak & Gallo, 2016; van Solinge, 2007), mental health (Mosca, 2016; Szinovacz & Davey, 2004), and life satisfaction (Calvo, Haverstick, & Sass, 2007; Van Solinge, 2013; Zantinge, van den Berg, Smit, & Picavet, 2014). The mechanism through which involuntary retirement has an impact on retirement satisfaction has not been clear.

Theoretical Frameworks

Role Theory

Role theory brings together many different ideas concerning the experiences one faces because of their role or multiple roles. The concept of *role enhancement* suggests that when an individual takes on multiple roles, they experience higher levels of well-being. Underlying this assumption is the belief that human energy is a potentially expandable resource and so by engaging in multiple roles, one has the opportunity to increase one's energy supply. Therefore, engaging in multiple roles is beneficial (Barnett & Gareis, 2015; Moen, Dempster-Mcclain, & Williams, 1989). Other concepts in role theory include *role strain*, when an individual feels pressured to handle demands that they feel they are incapable of completing or lack the resources to complete (Goode, 1960), *role conflict* or *role strain*, when an individual feels constrained by time or is being evaluated without regards to time (Sieber, 1974), and *role transition*, the process of changing from one role to another (Allen & Van de Vliert, 2012). Additionally, people who occupy roles in different spheres experience tension and conflict. These different spheres are work and family, which basically places roles at work and in the family in conflict (Barnett & Gareis, 2015).

Pre-retirees may experience any one of these concepts of role theory many times over in the context of work and family interference and enhancement before retirement. An individual

would experience role transition when changing from a worker to a retiree. One may feel role strain when trying to meet the financial or temporal expectations of a proper retirement. Depending on how work and family life interfere with or enhance each other, pre-retirees may either face role conflict or role enhancement. Role conflict could play out if an individual's demands at work conflict with their demands with the family, and similarly role enhancement could play out if either domain has a positive influence on the other. Extensive studies cover how work and life relationships affect one another in the earlier life course (Beauregard & Henry, 2009; Hill, Hawkins, Ferris, & Weitzman, 2001), but there are few studies covering work on family interference and enhancement related to retirement decisions.

Age Norm Theory

Age norms, defined here as widely shared judgments of the standard or typical ages of individuals holding a role or status within a given context, circumscribe behavior in all human societies (Lawrence, 1996). In a study correlating various norm representations and emotions with environmental behaviors, Thøgersen (2006) found evidence for two kinds of internalization: introjected norms, which people follow to avoid guilt, and self-integrated norms, which people follow to express their values. People follow norms to express their values, to avoid guilt, to feel group belonging and distinctiveness, to maximize instrumental payoffs and to navigate the environment tactically and strategically. In other words, people mirror the widespread behaviors and beliefs in their environment to succeed in interactions and conversations. (Morris, Hong, Chiu, & Liu, 2015). In this sense, norms influence behaviors and evolve over time.

Moreover, although many scholars consider age norms in a societal context, few examine them in other structured settings, such as communities or work organizations (Lawrence, 1996). At the organizational level, managers can even seek to change perceived norms. As repeated

exposure to practices induces the perception of these being familiar and typical in the group, managers can do so through shaping the environment, not only the objective behavioral regularities, but also the information about fellow employees that people encounter in the workplace and on company intranets. This is especially effective when working in tandem with strategies aimed at motivating employees to want to belong to the group (Kwan et al., 2015). As practices are repeated within the organization, they can grow to be perceived as common and instill the judgment that they are accepted or morally enjoyed by coworkers (Eriksson et al., 2015). Age norms can affect workplace-related behavior in many ways, but people do not always abide by the norms in their environment or in their heads (Morris, Hong, Chiu, & Liu, 2015). For example, many workers do not expect to retire or actually retire at the normative age for even their occupation let alone the conventional ages like those institutionalized by Social Security and Medicare.

Theory of Self-Efficacy

The third paper aims to build on the literature by using the theory of self-efficacy to interpret retirement planning behavior and retirement satisfaction. Existing studies have examined perceived sense of control as essential for successful planning and goal ascertainment. One study found that a reduction in work and family interference in those that demonstrated greater planning behavior was strongly related to greater control at work (Lapierre & Allen, 2012). One model showed that the effects of future planning on life satisfaction were mediated by a sense of control (Prenda & Lachman, 2001). Knowledge of family planning and the autonomy of decision-making in fertility problems were also found to be of great importance in having control in fertility plans (Kohan, Simbar & Taleghani, 2012).

Those who believe themselves to be very efficacious often apply far more effort and thereby are more prone to encounter success in the tasks and projects that they undertake, whereas those that exhibit low efficacy tend to fall short of the demands of tasks and end up failing (Bandura, 1986, 1997). Here self-efficacy is defined as one's belief in how well they are able to perform the necessary actions needed to successfully accomplish a future goal (Bandura, 1982). A meta-analytic review of the relationship between self-efficacy and work-related performance showed significant positive average weighted correlation between self-efficacy and work performance (Stajkovic & Luthans, 1998). Empirical research of work-related performance has found that self-efficacy is related to becoming accustomed to new settings (Saks, 1995), performing as a manager (Wood, Bandura, & Bailey, 1990), and even getting through career-related events (Stumpf, Brief, & Hartman, 1987). Self-efficacy should be no less important in dealing with an involuntary retirement and achieving a successful retirement.

Overview of the Three Papers: Datasets and Aims

Datasets

This dissertation uses data from the Health and Retirement Study (HRS) for all three papers. The HRS is a nationally representative dataset that captures the health, retirement, and aging information of adults over age 50 and over in the United States (HRS, 2016). In the first decade after its inception in 1992, the HRS initially focused on the health, economics, and demographics of aging and the retirement process. Since 2006, the HRS has collected psychosocial and lifestyle data biennially using a self-administered questionnaire known as the Leave Behind Questionnaire (LBQ). A randomly rotating 50% of the core panel participants who do an enhanced face-to-face interview (EFTF) are asked to complete the LBQ at their convenience and return it by mail (Smith et al., 2017). Given that 50% of the sample was asked

to complete the LBQ in any given wave, the full sample of participants responding to the LBQ can be achieved by pooling across two waves. All three studies will use the data from the LBQ and RAND.

Paper One

Guided by the role theory, the first paper proposes that work and family interference and enhancement are related to having a plan to reduce/stop work and retirement age expectations. The majority of research has focused on how balancing family and work interfere with employment opportunities for men and women with a particular focus on midlife, but fewer studies have examined how work and family issues play out in later life to affect retirement and how this too may differ by gender and occupation (Loretto & Vickerstaff, 2015). This paper seeks to fill this gap.

Most of the studies in the literature examine economic and health factors that drive individuals' retirement decisions. This study goes beyond that and introduces work and family relationships as another major concern facing pre-retirees. The fourfold taxonomy of work to family and family to work interference and enhancement is a good model to demonstrate work and family balance in later life, and has received empirical support in some studies. Grzywacz & Marks (2000) found that work and family microsystem factors were associated with problem drinking during midlife above and beyond individual characteristics. Greenhaus and Powell (2006) proposed work and family enrich each other and that experiences in one role would improve the quality of life in the other role. However, no study to date has examined the work and family balance in the retirement planning context. The research in this paper aims to tap into this important area.

Based on the above discussion, the following research questions are proposed:

Research question 1: Do work and family interference and enhancement relate to whether pre-retirees have a plan to reduce/stop work?

Research question 2: Do work and family interference and enhancement relate to pre-retirees' expected retirement age?

Research question 3: Are there gender differences in how work and family interference and enhancement relate to whether pre-retirees have a plan to reduce/stop work?

Research question 4: Are there occupational differences in how work and family interference and enhancement relate to whether pre-retirees have a plan to reduce/stop work?

Research question 5: Are there gender differences in how work and family interference and enhancement relate to pre-retirees' expected retirement age?

Research question 6: Are there occupational differences in how work and family interference and enhancement relate to pre-retirees' expected retirement age?

Paper Two

The second paper uses age norm theory and examines workplace factors that contribute to pre-retirees' non-normative retirement age expectations. On a policy level, to sustain solvency of the Social Security trust funds, the full retirement age (FRA) has gradually risen from age 65 to 67 (Kingson & Altman, 2011). In the work environment, workers are also more likely to retire at a particular age if they regard that age as the usual retirement age for workers like them (Brown, 2006). However, existing research on retirement behavior tends to ignore conventional or typical retirement ages in the model (Brown, 2006). The author aims to reexamine the workplace factors that contribute to individual's retirement decisions by introducing non-normative retirement age expectation as an outcome.

Based on the current empirical findings, this paper proposes that a range of experiences

are related to older workers' non-normative retirement age expectations. These experiences include work enjoyment, perceived age discrimination, employee preference for a phased retirement, employer support of reducing work demands, work stress, and whether one has an early-out window. Specifically, the following hypotheses are proposed:

Hypothesis 1: A number of experiences relate to respondents' earlier non-normative retirement age expectations. These experiences include perceiving age discrimination (H1-1), being in favor of phased retirement (H1-2), experiencing work stress (H1-3), and having an early-out window (H1-4).

Hypothesis 2: Other experiences relate to respondents' later non-normative retirement age expectations. These experiences include work enjoyment (H2-1) and having employer support of reducing work demands (H2-2).

Paper Three

The third paper uses the theory of self-efficacy to test the mediation effect of global sense of control (i.e., personal mastery and perceived constraints), and domain-specific control over health, finance, and social-life specifically, on the relationship between involuntary retirement and retirement satisfaction. Empirical evidence consistently points to the negative effect of involuntary retirement on a variety of post-retirement outcomes including health, mental health, life satisfaction, and the adoption of unhealthy lifestyle choices such as smoking and excessive alcohol consumption (Dave, Rashad, & Spasojevic, 2007; Szinovacz & Davey, 2004; Zantinge, van den Berg, Smit, & Picavet, 2014; Bacharach, Bamberger, Biron, & Horowitz-Rozen, 2008). However, the reasons for why an involuntary retirement leads to an unsatisfying retirement have been unclear. Measures of self-efficacy could have the potential of providing insights into the cognitive foundation underlying the importance of a voluntary retirement. Specifically, the paper

tests whether there is a significant mediating effect of personal mastery, perceived constraints, and domain-specific control in the relationship between involuntary retirement and retirement satisfaction.

Researchers have generally assumed that involuntary retirement arises primarily from health problems or organizational downsizing (Gallo, Bradley, Siegel, & Kasl, 2000; Isaksson & Johansson, 2000). Involuntary retirement might be perceived as more stressful because of a perceived lack of control, as opposed to a voluntary retirement. The abrupt and unanticipated nature of involuntary career exit can complicate the stressful transition to retirement. Some studies have concluded that the lack of a sense of personal control over the retirement decision is specifically responsible for these negative changes in late-life outcomes (Calvo, Haverstick, & Sass, 2009; De Vaus, Wells, Kendig, & Quine, 2007). Such a lack of personal control over the retirement transition may lower one's self-efficacy, which may eventually lead to an unsatisfactory retirement (Mountain & Craig, 2011; Unson & Richardson, 2013; Blazer, 2002). All of the evidence above points to the importance of examining self-efficacy to help retirees gain more control in planning more of their retirement, however, relevant studies are lacking.

Based on the above theoretical and empirical framework, this study hypothesizes that involuntary retirement, compared to voluntary retirement, has an adverse indirect effect on retirement satisfaction through one's global sense of control (i.e., personal mastery and perceived constraints) and domain-specific control (i.e., control over health, social life and finances). In other words, involuntary retirees have lower post-retirement levels of personal mastery (H1), higher levels of perceived constraints (H2), and perceive less control over their health (H3), their social life (H4), and their finances (H5) than voluntary retirees, and these perceptions are, in turn, associated with lower retirement satisfaction.

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Work, Family, and Retirement Planning:

Analysis of Gender and Occupational Differences

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Abstract

Previous research using role theory has identified how work and family dynamics might influence an individual's career choices. However, only a few studies to date have examined the work and family relationships experienced by individuals when they plan for retirement. This study aims to address this gap in the literature by examining how work and family interference and enhancement relates to individuals' retirement planning, and the gender and occupational differences therein.

Using pooled cross-sectional data from the Health and Retirement Study (HRS), this study used logistic regression and OLS regression to analyze a sample of 5,215 individuals between the ages of 50 and 62 who have not yet retired. Results showed that when pre-retirees perceived negative spillover from work to family, they were more likely to have a plan to reduce/stop work but did not expect a younger retirement age. When pre-retirees perceived positive spillover from work to family, they were less likely to have a plan to reduce/stop work and expected a later retirement. Family to work enhancement played a similar role. When there was negative spillover from work to family, those in blue collar occupations did not usually have a plan to reduce/stop work but expected to retire early nevertheless. When there was negative spillover from family to work, those in blue-collar and service sector occupations were more likely to have a plan to reduce/stop work. Positive family to work spillover led blue collar workers to expect a later retirement. No significant gender differences were found.

The findings suggest that blue-collar workers may face significant stress in balancing work and family as they near their retirement years, thus they can potentially benefit from social programs created to reduce their work and family conflicts upon transitioning to retirement.

Work, Family, and Retirement Planning:
Analysis of Gender and Occupational Differences

Retirement is a major event in life and typically marks an important transition in paid work, family life, leisure time, and potentially health and mental health. An early formal taxonomy classified retirement types along three dimensions: early versus on-time, voluntary versus involuntary, and partial versus complete retirement (Beehr, 1986). This classification represented an example of the multi-dimensional nature of retirement, and that there are different angles of approach that researchers can use to study the topic of retirement. From a psychological perspective, retirement can be conceptualized as a decision-making process which emphasizes that when workers decide to retire, they make a choice to decrease their psychological commitment to work and behaviorally withdraw from work-related activities (Adams, Prescher, Beehr, & Lepisto, 2002; Shultz & Wang, 2007). Studying people's expectations about retirement is important not only because it predicts how one exits their job, but also because it may prompt interim preparatory behaviors, thereby directing various retirement outcomes (Ekerdt, Kosloski, & Deviney, 2000).

In the last two decades, there has been a trend of American workers delaying retirement. From 1993 to 2013, the average retirement age for men steadily increased from 62 to 64 years old, while the average retirement age for women increased from roughly 59 to 63 years old (Munnell, 2015). The number of people aged 60 and over who still work has increased since 1994 (Gendell, 2008). Increasing proportions of midlife and older adults are reporting that they have no plans to ever retire and that they hope to work until they are no longer able to (Cooper & Beehr, 2015). There has also been a variety of different pathways to retirement that have been recognized in the literature. People can either withdraw from the workforce completely (e.g.,

Kantarci & Van Soest, 2008), slowly phase out of one's career job by reducing work hours (Kantarci & VanSoest, 2008; Sheaks, 2007); still be engaged in employment after they retire from a career job by taking bridge employment (e.g., Gobeski & Beehr, 2009; Sterns & Subich, 2005), or "un-retire" by reentering the workforce any number of times (e.g., Pleau & Shauman, 2013; Zissimopoulos & Karoly, 2009). Moreover, these retirement decisions are made based on the context of the work and family dynamic.

Work and family interference and enhancement are constructs that have been shown to relate to well-being outcomes in earlier life, such as mental health, life satisfaction, and partner relationship quality (Gareis, Barnett, Ertel, & Berkman, 2009). Studies have shown that there are positive and negative influences between work and family, suggesting that supportive family relationships and useful skills acquired at home can have a positive spillover in the work setting, while personal difficulties and family demands can also have a negative spillover to work (Crouter, 1984). Conflict between work and family has been found to be positively related to turnover intentions among employees in multiple studies (Chen, Ayoun & Eyoun, 2018; Brotheridge & Lee, 2005; Amstad, Meier, Fasel, Elfering, & Semmer, 2011), thus it is likely that it is related to expectations around whether, when, and how (i.e., gradually or quickly) to retire as well. However, there is a lack of studies focusing on how work and family interference and enhancement could relate to an individual's planning for retirement. Furthermore, the relationships between work and family interference and enhancement and retirement planning could be moderated by gender and occupation. Although there is an increase in women participating in the labor force at old ages, women are still disadvantaged in many ways. They earn less than men, occupy fewer of the highest level positions in many organizations and occupations, more commonly hold nonstandard employment contracts, and are often the primary

caregivers in families (Blau & Kahn, 1994; Kalleberg, Reskin, & Hudson, 2000; Hochschild & Machung, 2012). These situations create challenges for women in planning for their retirement. Occupation affects work expectations and characteristics of work affect retirement transitions (Angrisani, Hurd, Meijer, Parker, & Rohwedder, 2013). The differences in work and family spillover across occupations can be especially prominent as one approaches retirement years. Empirical studies conducted to date suggest that while the manifestation of work and family issues might be different than during earlier life stages, these issues continue to be part of the overall life experiences of those in their mid/late career. Previous research has indicated that there are significant work and family conflicts across the lifespan, and that these conflicts are particularly problematic during midlife as competing demands in both domains mount (Huffman, Culbertson, Henning, & Goh, 2013). While there is research indicating that work and family issues continue to be present during the pre-retirement years, there has been a lack of research on the relationships among work and family interference and enhancement and expectations around whether, when, and how one will retire (Westrupp et al., 2016; Boyar, Maertz, & Pearson, 2005).

Drawing data from the Health and Retirement Study (HRS), this study used role theory to understanding how the work and family dynamic is related to planning behaviors before retirement. Using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression and logistic regression, this study assessed how work and family interference and enhancement are related to whether an individual has a plan to reduce/stop work (compared to having no such plans), and expected retirement age, and the gender and occupational differences therein.

Theoretical and Empirical Framework

Role Theory and Retirement Planning

According to role theory, each role in which an individual participates has its own

prescribed set of responsibilities that are partially determined by the expectations of the role senders, those individuals with whom the focal person interacts during role activities (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & R, 1964). Individuals can take on multiple major roles across the life course, such as son/daughter, parent, and employee. Perceptions of social roles drive individuals to make decisions either to prioritize or reduce commitment within their roles throughout different stages of the life course.

There are several concepts within role theory that help to depict the synergistic or conflicting situations that pre-retirees face with their work and family roles. When an individual has limited resources to be allocated among alternative ends, they may feel pressured to handle the demands of certain roles and experience *role strain* (Goode, 1960). When an individual feels constraints imposed by time or discrepant expectations irrespective of time pressures when performing duties associated with certain roles, they may experience *role overload* or *role conflict* (Sieber, 1974). In contrast, when an individual occupies more roles, they can experience higher levels of well-being because of the augmentation of the individual's power, prestige, resources, and emotional gratification, which is *role enhancement* (Moen, Dempster-Mcclain, & Williams, 1989). Also, the concept of *role transition* is used to refer to the process of an individual changing from one set of expected positional behaviors in a social system to another (Allen & Van de Vliert, 2012).

In the context of work and family relationships before retirement, an individual experiences role transition from a worker to retiree, which would require the reallocation of time and resources one puts in the work and family domains. Pre-retirees may either face role conflict or role enhancement, depending on how work and family life interfere or enhance with each other. Role conflict is likely to happen if an individual's role demand from work contradicts

their role demand from family, whether that role is son/daughter, spouse, parent, or grandparent. Similarly, role enhancement can happen if an individual feels their work or family roles enhance their satisfaction in the other domain. There are extensive studies examining how work and life relationships affect work performance and family happiness earlier in life (Beauregard & Henry, 2009; Hill, Hawkins, Ferris, & Weitzman, 2001), but not necessarily later in life.

Gendered Nature of Work and Family Roles

Role theory suggests that individuals place expectations upon themselves for roles in which they participate (Weer, Greenhaus, & Linnehan, 2010). Because work and family pathways may diverge depending on gender and occupation, individuals are likely to perceive role conflicts and enhancements in different ways when they enter retirement (Wang & Matz-Costa, 2018). The concept of "work and family" intertwines with working conditions and the changing life course between men and women. Making salient gender and family identities versus professional identities may influence an individual's preference in competition (Cadsby, Bram, Servatka, & Song, 2013). Because men and women's expectations in work and family roles in retirement can be connected to their past experience, the "work and family roles" in retirement is gendered by nature.

On the individual level, the gender differences in psychological traits, preferences for non-pecuniary (in particular, family-friendly) job characteristics, personality traits, and skills can lead to gendered perceptions of job and family priorities (Cortes & Pan, 2017). For example, studies have found that, compared to men, women are more risk averse and have a distaste for competition in the work force; are better-endowed in interpersonal skills or "people" skills; and have a comparative advantage in cognitive skills relative to manual or motor skills (Borghans, ter Weel, & Weinberg, 2014; Woolley, Williams, Chabris, Nada, & Thomas, 2010; Kirkland,

Peterson, Baker, Miller, & Pulos, 2013; Welch, 2000). These factors can play a role throughout times when women make an important career choice, such as retirement. On the occupational level, even though jobs between women and men are becoming more similar, women are still less represented in jobs that are higher-paid and manager level positions (Hochschild & Machung, 2012). Gender differences in occupation and industry have been widely found to contribute to gender wage differences (Blau, Brummund, & Liu, 2013; Blau & Kahn, 2016). At the family level, differential employment experiences shape differences between men and women in prioritizing work and life balance. Women may have limited choices so as to recast identities to correspond with increased family demands at different points in their lives, whereas men are less likely to do so. When work and life interference emerges, women are often more likely to leave or scale back on demanding jobs when family responsibilities escalate (Wang & Matz-Costa, 2018). Thus, women, as a group, tend to place a higher value than men on workplace flexibility, and have a preference for jobs that allow a greater degree of temporal flexibility (Cortes & Pan, 2017).

Job Characteristics and Retirement Expectations

There is a plethora of literature examining how different occupations and occupational characteristics affect individual retirement age. A previous study using data from the HRS had found that the jobs that entail less physical effort, less stress, have not increased in difficulty in recent decades, and allow people to reduce hours if desired are associated with retirement at an older age (Hudomiet, 2015). While traditional blue-collar workers tend to retire earlier, white-collar workers tend to retire later (Hudomiet, 2015). One other study consistently found that professionals and managers are two times more likely to continue working beyond the retirement age compared to manual labor workers (Virtanen et al., 2017). Another study further revealed

that work control and flexibility benefited some upper and middle-level employees but is largely unavailable to lower-level workers (Kossek & Lautsch, 2018). A cross-country study examining the role of occupation in explaining retirement age across gender found that the differences in occupational composition explain up to 32.4% of the observed cross-country variation in retirement age (Sauré & Zoabi, 2011). Thus, it is important to study occupational differences in work and family interference and enhancement and pre-retirees' plans to reduce/stop work and expected retirement age.

Blue-collar workers are those who perform primarily physical work and whose career paths are relatively restricted (Gibson & Papa, 2000) and white-collar workers are professional and semi-professional employees (Hammer & Ferrari, 2002). Previous research has used this categorization to examine blue versus white-collar workers' conceptualizations of job satisfaction (Hu, Kaplan, & Dalal, 2010). The current paper further divides white-collar workers into professionals, those who are performing more professional roles in their job position (e.g. dentist, computer scientist), and service sector workers, those who assist professionals or perform other service-producing roles (e.g. dental assistant, retail salesperson). Ways to categorize occupation in research studies can be vast in number and vary in nature. This approach is based on several concerns: job characteristics, physical intensiveness, and wages; these factors are all closely related to one's work prospects before retirement.

Work and Family Spillover Before Retirement

The relationships between work experiences and family experiences are bidirectional; namely, work can affect family life and family can affect work life (Frone, 2003; Greenhaus & Foley, 2007). Employment curtails how much time individuals can devote to family activities, but it also offers chances for social contacts and self-fulfillment outside the family context

(Szinovacz, DeViney, & Davey, 2001). There can be escalated demands from either work or family when an individual enters the later stages of life, such as increased competition with younger coworkers and transitions to management positions, which could precipitate work to life interference; and family conflicts or demands from taking care of an ill family member, which could precipitate life to work interference. These conflicts could be especially prominent among pre-retirees, as the balancing of work opportunities, family finance, caregiving, personal pursuits, and social life can be more challenging later in life.

At the same time, work and family experience can have additive effects on each other which can be reflected in two directions: participation in both work and family roles can buffer stress in each of the roles, and experience in one role can produce positive experiences and outcomes in the other role (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). A meta-analytic review found that both work to family enhancement and family to work enhancement were positively related to job satisfaction, affective commitment, and family satisfaction (McNall, Nicklin, & Masuda, 2010). In the retirement planning context, work to family enhancement might buffer individuals' stress in the family domain. For example, care and help from colleagues could be helpful for someone who experiences the loss of a family member. On the contrary, family to work enhancement can facilitate individuals to deal with their problems at work better, such as home-cooked meals or care from family members can largely sooth a stressed worker. These positive role spillovers between work and family are connected to individuals' plans to reduce/stop work and expected retirement age.

Most of the studies in the literature examine economic and health factors that drive individuals' retirement decisions. This study goes beyond that and introduces work and family relationships as another major concern facing pre-retirees. The fourfold taxonomy of work to

family and family to work interference and enhancement is a good model to demonstrate work and family balance in later life, and has received empirical support in some studies. Grzywacz & Marks (2000) found that work and family microsystem factors were associated with problem drinking during midlife above and beyond individual characteristics. Greenhaus and Powell (2006) proposed work and family can enrich each other and that experiences in one role would improve the quality of life in the other role. However, only a few studies to date have examined the work and family balance in the retirement planning context (Marco, Casanova, & Meijer, 2017). The research in this paper aims to tap into this important area.

Based on the above discussion, the following research questions are proposed:

Research question 1: Do work and family interference and enhancement relate to whether pre-retirees have a plan to reduce/stop work?

Research question 2: Do work and family interference and enhancement relate to pre-retirees' expected retirement age?

Research question 3: Are there gender differences in how work and family interference and enhancement relate to whether pre-retirees have a plan to reduce/stop work?

Research question 4: Are there occupational differences in how work and family interference and enhancement relate to whether pre-retirees have a plan to reduce/stop work?

Research question 5: Are there gender differences in how work and family interference and enhancement relate to pre-retirees' expected retirement age?

Research question 6: Are there occupational differences in how work and family interference and enhancement relate to pre-retirees' expected retirement age?

Methods

Data and Sample

This study uses a nationally representative dataset, the HRS, to address the research aims. Since its inception in 1992, the HRS has surveyed adults age 50 and older every two years, with a focus on the health, economics, and demographics of aging and the retirement process (Smith et al., 2017). New cohorts were introduced and existing participants interviewed for follow-up questions. Starting in 2006, self-administered psychosocial data—contained in the Leave Behind Questionnaire (LBQ)—were collected in each biennial wave from a rotating (random) 50% of the core panel participants who complete the enhanced face-to-face interview (EFTF), such that for every two-wave period, the entire HRS sample is surveyed. For the purpose of this research, I used data from both the HRS core dataset and the LBQ. Specifically, data from year 2012 and 2014 were pooled to maximize sample size. Factoring in the core overall response rate as well as the LBQ, the response rate for 2012 was 72.7% (Smith et al., 2017). Due to further training to emphasize the importance of the LBQ before the 2014 data collection, response rate increased to 77.8% in 2014.

There were two analytic samples. The first analytic sample was restricted to those who were between the ages 50 and 62 and answered the questions about whether they had a plan to reduce/stop work and about work and family interference and enhancement. The final pooled sample size was 5,215. The second analytic sample was restricted to those who were between the ages of 50 and 62, who had a plan to stop/reduce work, had an expected retirement age, and who answered questions about work and family interference and enhancement. Because only those who had indicated that they had a plan to stop/reduce work were asked what their expected retirement age is, this sample is restricted to those who had a plan to reduce/stop work but excluded those who had no plans to reduce/stop work, thus the final pooled sample size for the second analytic sample was 1,199.

Measures

Dependent variables.

Whether one has a plan to reduce/stop work. One question asked respondents about their plans for retirement. The response items included (1) "stop work altogether," (2) "never stop work," (3) "not given much thought," (4) "no current plans, continue as is," (5) "reduced work hours," (6) "change kind of work," (7) "work for myself," (8) "work until my health fails," and (9) "other." The response items were collapsed into two groups with 1 and 5 coded as "have a plan to reduce/stop work" and 2, 3, 4, and 8 coded as "have no plan to reduce/stop work." Respondents who answered 6, 7, or 9 were not included in the analyses.

Expected retirement age. For the respondents who planned to stop working altogether at a particular age, another question asked at what age they planned to stop working. The response items were the actual years of age. Respondents with no ascertained answer were excluded from the second analytic sample.

Key independent variables. The perceived-work to family/family to work interference and enhancement scales (MacDermid et al., 2000) asked the respondents who were still working to respond to a series of statements about how frequently work had a positive or negative effect on their family and vice versa. The response options included 1= rarely, 2 = some times, 3 = often, and 4 = most of the time. Four separate scale scores were constructed. Pearson correlation tests indicated a negative correlation between work and family interference and work and family enhancement ($r = -0.47$, $p < .001$) scales, and a negative correlation between family and work interference and family and work enhancement ($r = -0.26$, $p < .001$) scales. The effect size of these two correlation tests are large enough to confirm that interference and enhancement work

in opposite directions, but sufficiently small enough that interference and enhancement are not direct opposites; thus, four scales are used in the analyses.

The work to family interference scale. This scale was composed of the following three statements: (a) "My work schedule makes it difficult to fulfill personal responsibilities," (b) "Because of my job, I don't have the energy to do things with my family or other important people in my life," and (c) "Job worries or problems distract me when I am not at work."

The family to work interference scale. This scale was composed of the following three statements: (a) "My home life keeps me from getting work done on time for my job," (b) "My family or personal life drains me of the energy I need to do my job," and (c) "I am preoccupied with personal responsibilities while I am at work."

The work to family enhancement scale. This scale was composed of the following three statements: (a) "My work leaves me enough time to attend to my personal responsibilities," (b) "My work gives me energy to do things with my family and other important people in my life," and (c) "Because of my job, I am in a better mood at home."

The family to work enhancement scale. This scale was composed of the following three statements: (a) "My personal responsibilities leave me enough time to do my job," (b) "My family or personal life gives me energy to do my job," and (c) "I am in a better mood at work because of my family or personal life." Alpha reliability for the scales ranged from .71 to .82, indicating the individual questions have moderate to high internal consistency in measuring the four constructs.

Moderating variables.

Gender. The gender variable was coded as 0 for male and 1 for female.

Occupation. The HRS asked about respondents' occupations. For this study, the occupations were placed into three broad categories, "professional," "services," and "blue-collar." These three categories are similar to Autor (2010), which used these categories (aggregating workers in the Current Population Survey) to study workers with high, medium, and low skill levels. This paper coded the occupations in a slightly different way given the occupation codes used by the HRS (2016). Please see Appendix A for the full list of occupation codes. Jobs in the *professional* category included management occupations, business operations specialists, financial specialists, computer and mathematical occupations, architectural and engineering occupations, legal occupations, and healthcare practitioners and technical occupations. Jobs in the *services* category included healthcare support occupations; protective service occupations, food preparation and serving occupations; building and grounds cleaning and maintenance occupations; personal care and service occupations, sales occupations, and office and administrative support occupations. Jobs in the *blue-collar* category included farming, fishing, and forestry occupations; construction trades; extraction workers; installation, maintenance, and repair workers; production occupations; transportation and material moving occupations; and military specific occupations.

Control variables.

Age. Age was assessed on a continuous scale.

Marital status. Marital status was coded as 1 for married or partnered and 0 for single, separated, divorced, or widowed.

Years of education. Education was measured on a continuous scale indicating the number of years of education the respondent received.

Race/Ethnicity. Race/ethnicity was coded as non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, and non-Hispanic other race.

Subjective health status. A single question asking about the respondents' overall health was used to measure subjective health status. Those who reported their health to be excellent, very good, or good were coded as 1, and those who reported their health to be fair or poor were coded as 0.

Household wealth. Household wealth measured respondents' total household wealth including housing wealth (primary and secondary residences) and non-housing wealth (i.e., individual retirement accounts, IRAs). Household wealth was log transformed to reduce the skewness in the regression models.

Debt. Debt was measured as 0 if one had no debt and 1 if they did have debt.

Health insurance. A question asked the respondents if they had any health insurance. The responses were recorded as 1 if the respondent had one or more health insurance plans and as 0 if the respondent did not have any health insurance plan.

Pension coverage. Based on a series of questions asking respondents about their pension coverage, four categories were calculated indicating the respondent had no pension coverage, only had defined benefits (DB) pension coverage, only had defined contribution (DC) pension coverage, or had both defined benefits (DB) and defined contribution (DC) pension plans.

Whether spouse worked for pay. The question asked each respondent if their spouse did any work for pay the year prior. This variable was included for couple's joint retirement concern. Responses were coded as 0 for no and 1 for yes. Those respondents who did not answer this question (whether they could not or would not) were not included in the sample.

Home ownership. The question asked if the respondents owned a home, rented a home, or something else. Those respondents who owned a home were recorded as 1 and the respondents who did not own a home (rented or something else) were recorded as 0.

Analytic Strategy

Firstly, descriptive statistics of the full sample were calculated for all study variables, as well as descriptive statistics for the sample of those who had a plan to reduce/stop work and those who did not have a plan to stop/reduce work. Bivariate significance tests were conducted to assess whether there were differences in the study variables across these two groups. Secondly, bivariate analyses were conducted to examine differences in work and family interference and enhancement based on gender and occupation. Thirdly, multivariate models were estimated. Logistic regression was used to estimate if work and family interference and enhancement were related to whether an individual had a plan to reduce/stop work and OLS regression was used to estimate whether work and family interference and enhancement were related to an individual's expected retirement age. Finally, separate models were estimated for each gender and occupation group, as were pooled models, with interactions between work and family interference and enhancement and either gender or occupation, to examine if work and family interference and enhancement affected whether or not one had a plan to reduce or stop work and one's expected retirement age differently by gender and occupation. Stata SE 14.2 was used to perform all analyses. The analyses pooled data for both respondent and spouse as the analytic sample.

Handling of missing data. Imputations available from RAND were used for all non-LBQ variables in the analyses. For the first analytic sample (outcome being whether or not respondents had a plan to reduce/stop work), respondents who did not answer work and family interference and enhancement questions were excluded from the analyses. For other LBQ

independent variables that contained missing data, Stata SE 14.2 was used to implement the Markov chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) method (Schafer, 1997) to impute 20 datasets for the purpose of analyses. Missing data imputed using this method ranged from 0.0% (i.e., variables imputed using RAND) to 13.6% (household wealth). The total sample size was 5,215. For the second analytic sample (outcome being expected retirement age), respondents who did not answer work and family interference and enhancement questions and those who had retirement plans other than planning to retire at one particular age were excluded from the analyses. Again, the MCMC method (Schafer, 1997) was used to produce 20 datasets for multiple imputations. Missing data imputed using this method ranged from 0.0% (i.e., variables imputed using RAND) to 10.4% (household wealth). The total sample size was 1,199.

Results

Descriptive and Bivariate Analyses

As can be seen in Table 1, slightly over half (53%) of the respondents had a plan to reduce/stop work. The expected retirement age was 64 (SD = 3.79) for those who planned to stop work all at once and reported the age at which they would. The mean values for work to family interference (M = 1.66) and enhancement (M = 2.65) and family to work interference (M = 1.21) and enhancement (M = 3.11) indicated higher positive than negative spillovers between work and family. The mean age of the respondents was 56, so the fact that around half of the sample did not have a plan to reduce/stop work before traditional retirement ages is surprising. Forty-four percent were male. A majority (84%) of the respondents were married or had a partner. The average years of education of all respondents was 14 years. The majority of the respondents were non-Hispanic White (69%) and non-Hispanic Black (18%). Around 84% of respondents reported having good, very good, or excellent health. Around 47% of respondents reported they worked in

service occupations, 35% worked in professional occupations, and about 18% of the respondents worked as blue-collar workers. Average household wealth was close to 441k USD (*SD* = 1023k). Around nine percent of respondents possessed debts. Over 80% of the respondents had health insurance. Around half of the respondents had no pension coverage. Among those who had pension coverage, the majority had only defined contribution plans, while around 10% of the respondents had only defined benefits plans and around 12% had both DB and DC plans. Over 80% of respondents had a spouse who worked for pay the year prior. About 74% of respondents owned a home.

<Insert Table 1 around here>

There was a significant gender difference in work and family interference and enhancement (Table 2). Specifically, males (*M* = 1.68) reported statistically significant higher work to family interference than females (*M* = 1.65) before retirement, but the magnitude is small. Moreover, there were significant occupational differences in work and family interference and enhancement. Generally speaking, blue-collar workers experienced less positive spillover between work and family, and more negative spillover between work and family. See Table 3 for details.

<Insert Tables 2 & 3 around here>

Multivariate Analyses

With regard to the first research question, the results of the logistic regression analyses are summarized in Table 4. Greater work to family interference was largely associated with higher odds of having a plan to reduce/stop work (*OR* = 1.46, *SE* = .09, $p < .001$), and greater work to family enhancement was associated with lower odds of having a plan to reduce/stop work (*OR* = .89, *SE* = .04, $p < .05$). Moreover, having greater family to work interference was

associated with higher odds of reporting having a plan to reduce/stop work (*OR* = 1.11, *SE* = .05, $p < .05$), while having greater family to work enhancement was not significantly associated with whether an individual had a plan to reduce/stop work.

<Insert Table 4 around here>

Regarding the second research question, the results of the OLS regression analyses are summarized in Table 5. With a one-unit increase in work to family enhancement, an individual's expected retirement age would increase by 0.42 years, holding all other variables constant ($p < .01$). With a one-unit increase in family to work enhancement, an individual's expected retirement age would decrease by 0.25 years, holding all other variables constant in the model ($p < .05$). Neither work to family nor family to work interferences were found to significantly relate to expected retirement age.

<Insert Table 5 around here>

Regarding the third research question, there were no significant gender differences in how work and family interference and enhancement related to whether one had a plan to reduce/stop work.

<Insert Table 6 around here>

In regards to the fourth research question, significant occupational differences were found in how work and family interference and enhancement related to whether one had a plan to reduce/stop work. Compared to professionals (in the model with interactions), when experiencing the same level of work to family interference, blue-collar workers had lower odds of having a plan to reduce/stop work (*OR* = 0.80, $p < .05$). On the contrary, compared to professionals, when experiencing the same level of family to work interference, blue-collar

workers and service sector workers both had higher odds of having a plan to reduce/stop work ($OR = 1.30$, $p < .05$; $OR = 1.13$, $p < .05$).

<Insert Table 7 around here>

In regards to the fifth research question, due to the small gender differences in work and family relationships, there were no significant gender differences in how work and family interference and enhancement related to expected retirement age.

<Insert Table 8 around here>

In regard to the last research question, occupational differences were also found in how work and family interference and enhancement related to expected retirement age. When having the same level of work to family interference, blue-collar workers expected to retire almost five years earlier than professionals ($b = -4.82$, $p < .01$). When having the same level of family to work enhancement, blue-collar workers expected to retire almost one and a half years later than professionals ($b = 1.58$, $p < .05$).

<Insert Table 9 around here>

Discussion

People have different priorities when it comes to balancing work and family leading up to their retirement years. This paper depicted the situations people may face in balancing their work and family and how that could affect retirement planning. In general, pre-retirees were more likely to have a plan to reduce/stop working if there was negative spillover from work to family, but negative spillover from work to family was not related to expected retirement age. Someone might have taken bridge employment as an option to resolve the conflicts from work, but it is also likely that pre-retirees had a vague idea of retirement, but no concrete plan was accepted. In contrast, when there was positive spillover from work to family, pre-retirees were less likely to

have a plan to reduce/stop and expected a later retirement age. Similarly, if there was positive spillover from family to work, pre-retirees were more likely to plan to reduce/stop work working and expected an earlier retirement age. In other words, it appears that whichever domain, whether it be work or family, brought more joy and happiness to people, they would be more likely to stay in that domain more and withdraw from the other domain. Continuity theory has been frequently used to explain retirement decisions and the lifestyle adjustment of retirees. Increasing proportions of older individuals are deciding not to retire, or not to withdraw fully from the workforce, because they can still effectively maintain relationships, physical activities, and mental capacities (Cooper & Beehr, 2015). On the other hand, for those who have the positive family to work spillover and enjoy spending time with their family, retirement may serve as an opportunity to give an individual more freedom and allow them to enjoy more family and personal time (Dorfman, 2002). These findings suggest that work and family spillover is an important area to explore further in future research in the context of planning for retirement.

Occupational Differences in Work and Family Relationships

The study has mixed findings on how work and family interference and enhancement differ across occupations. Blue-collar workers have higher work to family interference and family to work interference, compared to their professional or service sector counterparts, as well as lower work to family and family to work enhancement. There is reason to believe that systematic occupational differences in work and family flexibility experiences exist (Williams & Boushey, 2010; Williams, Blair-Loy, & Berdahl, 2013). Individuals in different occupations differ in how much they have access to work and family flexibility policies (Williams & Boushey, 2010). Moreover, there is a clear difference in flexibility arrangements among higher status occupational groups such as managerial and professional samples (higher pay and skills)

(e.g. Jacobs & Gerson, 2005), middle status (moderate pay skilled/semi-skilled) (e.g. Berg, Kossek, Belman, & Misra, 2014), and lower status (lower wage, lower skilled) (Henly & Lambert, 2014) occupational groups (Casper, Eby, Bordeaux, Lockwood, & Lambert, 2007; Kossek & Distelberg, 2009). Given the lack of resources and flexible work arrangements, conflicts between work and family may jeopardize continued work for blue-collar workers the most. Marriage counseling programs, affordable elder care services, and family caregiving credits would provide options for retirees to juggle family and work better, especially for those in middle and lower status jobs. Such assistance programs would allow and/or influence blue collar workers to remain in the workforce longer if needed or desired.

Blue-Collar Workers' Retirement Exit Dilemma and What can be Done

When there was negative spillover from work to family, blue-collar workers were less likely to have a plan to reduce/stop work but expected earlier retirement ages. When there was negative spillover from family to work, blue-collar and service sector workers were more likely to have plans to reduce/stop work but did not expect earlier or later retirement ages compared to professionals, possibly because their circumstances do not allow them to retire early. Moreover, when there was positive spillover from family to work, blue-collar workers were more likely to expect a later retirement compared to professionals. The findings boil down to two basic questions. What are the ways in which work and family are negatively interfering with each other that are most likely to affect blue-collar and service sector employees before they retire, and how can we utilize resources to alleviate work and family-related stress for blue-collar workers?

When work demands escalate in the later life stage, workers from blue-collar jobs may be compensated less in the workplace in comparison to how much they can contribute to the family

domain compared to professionals. In other words, professionals might face higher opportunity costs to give up their work, which could be associated with more respect, reputation, and income. The blue-collar workers, especially, may face unfair treatment in the workplace which may likely influence early retirement. However, when family demands escalate, blue-collar workers may face more financial burden which forces them to stay in the workforce, regardless of marital problems or family caregiving demands. If family and work turn out to be in good balance, blue-collar workers might well extend to a later and better planned retirement.

To make sure family to work spillover is positive and in good balance among blue-collar and service sector workers, it is necessary to understand what causes negative family to work and work to family spillover. Likewise, an understanding of the causes of positive spillover among professional workers could provide positive examples of how to help the blue collar workers. It is possible that higher job security, less stress over making purchases for oneself or their family, more time to enjoy life outside of work, and better access to care and benefits could free up the blue-collar workers to make more sustainable and efficient decisions earlier in the retirement process. Having more of these comparative advantages in the retirement years could translate to more options and satisfaction. However, of particular note is that these advantages will have the most influence and success at work. Concerning family to work spillover, there is a bigger problem of compounded interests in the family, especially when several members interact in the workforce.

This research study found that compared to females, males had higher work to family interference before retirement, possibly due to higher work-related stress perceived by males. However, no gender differences were found in how work and family interference and enhancement relate to whether one had a plan to reduce/stop work or expected retirement age.

Despite research suggesting that women are more often in jobs that provide limited job security, limited power, lower compensation and lower levels of control, it is certain that men and women are both represented in occupations with opposite characteristics (Elliott & Smith, 2004; Sweet, Sarkisian, Matz-Costa, & Pitt-Catsouphes, 2016). The results provide evidence that beyond the peak work time into the later life stage, both genders can experience tension between work and family roles that interfere with their retirement planning. Regarding family to work spillover, one explanation could be that marital adjustments occur as couples go through life events together, thus men and women have similar perceived experiences of life events (Michalos, 2003). However, future research is needed to test if other types of challenges are faced by each gender in planning for a successful retirement.

Limitations and Future Directions

First, because of the nature of the study design being cross-sectional, we cannot draw causal conclusions regarding the relationships between work and family interference and enhancement and retirement planning and expectations. It is possible that one's retirement plans and expected timing may actually affect one's work and family arrangement rather than vice versa. For example, one may have a plan in mind to retire at an earlier age, thus they perceive more negative spillover from the work domain during those years. Future studies could explore the directionality of these relationships using longitudinal data.

Second, given that this was a secondary data analysis, the measures used in this study were limited to what was available in the HRS data. While ideally this study would have been able to capture the concept of retirement planning using a nuanced measure of planning activities and behaviors, for the purposes of the current study, the best available HRS measure was the question around whether individuals had a plan to reduce or stop work. This measure does not

necessarily capture planning behaviors or activities, just that there is a loose "plan" to either stop or reduce work hours at some point. Those who plan to change the kind of work that they do, work for themselves, or who had some "other" plan were excluded entirely, and those who reported that they will never stop work, have not given it much thought, have no current plans, and who plan to work until their health fails, were all in the reference group (i.e., the no plans group). This categorization can be seen as a proxy for retirement planning behaviors and activities at best. This proxy cannot adequately distinguish those respondents who took part-time jobs and bridge employment, nor can it capture the degree of work reduction. It could also represent a mixed bag of potential interpretations. For example, those who had no plans to stop work are all categorized as having no plan to reduce or stop work, but the reasons behind such a lack of planning could vary greatly. While this secondary analysis provides important initial insight, future studies should measure retirement planning behaviors and activities more comprehensively by designing questionnaires that probe further into the reasons behind having a plan to reduce or stop work to decipher more information about retirees' plans in work reduction and also tapping into a variety of preparatory activities and behaviors such as engagement in financial planning activities and social planning activities, like travel plans and housing arrangements.

Also with regard to measures, ideally this study would have controlled for a variety of work-related variables and family-related variables that might affect the relationship between work and family enhancement and interference and retirement planning and expectations, however, limited work and family variables were available for this study. Future studies could consider workplace variables like whether part-time/full-time, supervisory status, tenure, and access to work-family benefits; and family variables like dependent care responsibilities, support

from family, more nuanced marital status and partner work status variables, or family-related stressors to fully capture these domains.

Third, there were some limitations when it came to the sample. The decision was made to focus on older adults in the HRS who were between the ages of 50 and 62. However, retirement plans and expectations can change as one gets closer to traditional retirement ages, so people's plans to reduce or stop work and expectations for retirement timing may look very different at age 50 than at age 62. Caution should be given to understanding the expected retirement age across age cohorts. Social expectation bias could occur for those who didn't answer planning/expectations questions or questions asked of work and family relationships. It is possible that one who had a vague idea of when to retire, or had negative perceptions of either direction of work and family relationships, simply did not answer the question, thus the sample invoked more positive response. Also, because only those who had indicated that they had a plan to stop or reduce work were asked what their expected retirement age was, the sample for the expected retirement age analyses was restricted to those who had a plan to reduce or stop work. It is suggested to study the fundamental difference between those who had a plan and those who did not have a plan. Future studies should more carefully examine the reasons behind whether one had a plan to retire in the first place.

Fourth, it is worth noting that not all retirement decisions are voluntary, therefore, the theoretical utility of retirement planning depends on the extent to which the retirement decision is indeed a result of motivated choice (Wang & Shi, 2014). More data is needed to assess voluntary and involuntary planning for retirement.

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Appendix A

Occupation Codes Used by the HRS

MGR: Management Occupations

- 001 Chief Executives
- 002 General and Operations Managers
- 003 Legislators
- 004 Advertising and Promotions Managers
- 005 Marketing and Sales Managers
- 006 Public Relations Managers
- 010 Administrative Services Managers
- 011 Computer and Information Systems Managers
- 012 Financial Managers
- 013 Human Resources Managers
- 014 Industrial Production Managers
- 015 Purchasing Managers
- 016 Transportation, Storage, and Distribution Managers
- 020 Farm, Ranch, and Other Agricultural Managers
- 021 Farmers and Ranchers
- 022 Constructions Managers
- 023 Education Administrators
- 030 Engineering Managers
- 031 Food Service Managers
- 032 Funeral Directors
- 033 Gaming Managers
- 034 Lodging Managers
- 035 Medical and Health Services Managers
- 036 Natural Science Managers
- 040 Postmasters and Mail Superintendents
- 041 Property, Real Estate, and Community Association Managers
- 042 Social and Community Service Managers
- 043 Managers, All Other

BUS: Business Operations Specialists

- 050 Agents and Business Managers of Artists, Performers, and Athletes
- 051 Purchasing Agents and Buyers, Farm Products
- 052 Wholesale and Retail Buyers, Except Farm Products
- 053 Purchasing Agents, Except Wholesale, Retail, and Farm Products
- 054 Claims Adjusters, Appraisers, Examiners, and Investigators
- 056 Compliance Officers, Except Agriculture, Construction, Health and Safety, and Transportation
- 060 Cost Estimators
- 062 Human Resources, Training, and Labor Relations Specialists
- 070 Logisticians
- 071 Management Analysts
- 072 Meeting and Convention Planners

073 Other Business Operations Specialists

FIN: Financial Specialists

080 Accountants and Auditors
081 Appraisers and Assessors of Real Estate
082 Budget Analysts
083 Credit Analysts
084 Financial Analysts
085 Personal Financial Advisors
086 Insurance Underwriters
090 Financial Examiners
091 Loan Counselors and Officers
093 Tax Examiners, Collectors, and Revenue Agents
094 Tax Preparers
095 Financial Specialists, All Other

CMM: Computer and Mathematical Occupations

100 Computer Scientists and Systems Analysts
101 Computer Programmers
102 Computer Software Engineers
104 Computer Support Specialists
106 Database Administrators
110 Network and Computer Systems Administrators
111 Network Systems and Data Communications Analysts
120 Actuaries
121 Mathematicians
122 Operations Research Analysts
123 Statisticians
124 Miscellaneous Mathematical Scientists and Technicians

ENG: Architecture and Engineering Occupations

130 Architects, Except Naval
131 Surveyors, Cartographers, and Photogrammetrists
132 Aerospace Engineers
133 Agricultural Engineers
134 Biomedical Engineers
135 Chemical Engineers
136 Civil Engineers
140 Computer Hardware Engineers
141 Electrical and Electronics Engineers
142 Environmental Engineers
143 Industrial Engineers, including Health and Safety
144 Marine Engineers and Naval Architects
145 Materials Engineers
146 Mechanical Engineers
150 Mining and Geological Engineers, Including Mining Safety Engineers
151 Nuclear Engineers
152 Petroleum Engineers
153 Engineers, All Other

154 Drafters
155 Engineering Technicians, Except Drafters

SCI: Life, Physical, and Social Science Occupations

160 Agricultural and Food Scientists
161 Biological Scientists
164 Conservation Scientists and Foresters
165 Medical Scientists
170 Astronomers and Physicists
171 Atmospheric and Space Scientists
172 Chemists and Materials Scientists
174 Environmental Scientists and Geoscientists
176 Physical Scientists, All Other
180 Economists
181 Market and Survey Researchers
182 Psychologists
183 Sociologists
184 Urban and Regional Planners
186 Miscellaneous Social Scientists and Related Workers
190 Agricultural and Food Science Technicians
191 Biological Technicians
192 Chemical Technicians
193 Geological and Petroleum Technicians
194 Nuclear Technicians
196 Other Life, Physical, and Social Science Technicians

CMS: Community and Social Services Occupations

200 Counselors
201 Social Workers
202 Miscellaneous Community and Social Service Specialists
204 Clergy
205 Directors, Religious Activities and Education
206 Religious Workers, All Other

LGL: Legal Occupations

210 Lawyers
211 Judges, Magistrates, and Other Judicial Workers
214 Paralegals and Legal Assistants
215 Miscellaneous Legal Support Workers

EDU: Education, Training, and Library Occupations

220 Postsecondary Teachers
230 Preschool and Kindergarten Teachers
231 Elementary and Middle School Teachers
232 Secondary School Teachers
233 Special Education Teachers
234 Other Teachers and Instructors
240 Archivists, Curators, and Museum Technicians
243 Librarians
244 Library Technicians

254 Teacher Assistants
255 Other Education, Training, and Library Workers

ENT: Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media Occupations

260 Artists and Related Workers
263 Designers
270 Actors
271 Producers and Directors
272 Athletes, Coaches, Umpires, and Related Workers
274 Dancers and Choreographers
275 Musicians, Singers, and Related Workers
276 Entertainers and Performers, Sports and Related Workers, All Other
280 Announcers
281 News Analysts, Reporters and Correspondents
282 Public Relations Specialists
283 Editors
284 Technical Writers
285 Writers and Authors
286 Miscellaneous Media and Communication Workers
290 Broadcast and Sound Engineering Technicians and Radio Operators
291 Photographers
292 Television, Video, and Motion Picture Camera Operators and Editors
296 Media and Communication Equipment Workers, All Other

MED: Healthcare Practitioners and Technical Occupations

300 Chiropractors
301 Dentists
303 Dieticians and Nutritionists
304 Optometrists
305 Pharmacists
306 Physicians and Surgeons
311 Physician Assistants
312 Podiatrists
313 Registered Nurses
314 Audiologists
315 Occupational Therapists
316 Physical Therapists
320 Radiation Therapists
321 Recreational Therapists
322 Respiratory Therapists
323 Speech-Language Pathologists
324 Therapists, All Other
325 Veterinarians
326 Health Diagnosing and Treating Practitioners, All Other
330 Clinical Laboratory Technologists and Technicians
331 Dental Hygienists
332 Diagnostic Related Technologists and Technicians
340 Emergency Medical Technicians and Paramedics

341 Health Diagnosing and Treating Practitioner Support Technicians
350 Licensed Practical and Licensed Vocational Nurses
351 Medical Records and Health Information Technicians
352 Opticians, Dispensing
353 Miscellaneous Health Technologists and Technicians
354 Other Healthcare Practitioners and Technical Occupations

HLS: Healthcare Support Occupations

360 Nursing, Psychiatric, and Home Health Aides
361 Occupational Therapist Assistants and Aides
362 Physical Therapist Assistants and Aides
363 Massage Therapists
364 Dental Assistants
365 Medical Assistants and Other Healthcare Support Occupations

PRT: Protective Service Occupations

370 First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Correctional Officers
371 First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Police and Detectives
372 First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Fire Fighting and Prevention Workers
373 Supervisors, Protective Service Workers, All Other
374 Fire Fighters
375 Fire Inspectors
380 Bailiffs, Correctional Officers, and Jailers
382 Detectives and Criminal Investigators
383 Fish and Game Wardens
384 Parking Enforcement Workers
385 Police and Sheriff's Patrol Officers
386 Transit and Railroad Police
390 Animal Control Workers
391 Private Detectives and Investigators
392 Security Guards and Gaming Surveillance Officers
394 Crossing Guards
395 Lifeguards and Other Protective Service Workers

EAT: Food Preparation and Serving Occupations

400 Chefs and Head Cooks
401 First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Food Preparation and Serving Workers
402 Cooks
403 Food Preparation Workers
404 Bartenders
405 Combined Food Preparation and Serving Workers, Including Fast Food
406 Counter Attendant, Cafeteria, Food Concession, and Coffee Shop
411 Waiters and Waitresses
412 Food Servers, Nonrestaurant
413 Dining Room and Cafeteria Attendants and Bartender Helpers
414 Dishwashers
415 Host and Hostesses, Restaurant, Lounge, and Coffee Shop
416 Food Preparation and Serving Related Workers, All Other

CLN: Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance Occupations

420 First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Housekeeping and Janitorial Workers
421 First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Landscaping, Lawn Service, and Groundskeeping Workers
422 Janitors and Building Cleaners
423 Maids and Housekeeping Cleaners
424 Pest Control Workers
425 Grounds Maintenance Workers

PRS: Personal Care and Service Occupations

430 First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Gaming Workers
432 First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Personal Service Workers
434 Animal Trainers
435 Nonfarm Animal Caretakers
440 Gaming Services Workers
441 Motion Picture Projectionists
442 Ushers, Lobby Attendants, and Ticket Takers
443 Miscellaneous Entertainment Attendants and Related Workers
446 Funeral Service Workers
450 Barbers
451 Hairdressers, Hairstylists, and Cosmetologists
452 Miscellaneous Personal Appearance Workers
453 Baggage Porters, Bellhops, and Concierges
454 Tour and Travel Guides
455 Transportation Attendants
460 Child Care Workers
461 Personal and Home Care Aides
462 Recreation and Fitness Workers
464 Residential Advisors
465 Personal Care and Service Workers, All Other

SAL: Sales Occupations

470 First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Retail Sales Workers
471 First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Non-Retail Sales
472 Cashiers
474 Counter and Rental Clerks
475 Parts Salespersons
476 Retail Salespersons
480 Advertising Sales Agents
481 Insurance Sales Agents
482 Securities, Commodities, and Financial Services Sales Agents
483 Travel Agents
484 Sales Representatives, Services, All Other
485 Sales Representatives, Wholesale and Manufacturing
490 Models, Demonstrators, and Product Promoters
492 Real Estate Brokers and Sales Agents
493 Sales Engineers
494 Telemarketers
495 Door-to-Door Sales Workers, News and Street Vendors, and Related Workers

496 Sales and Related Workers, All Other

OFF: Office and Administrative Support Occupations

500 First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Office and Administrative Support Workers
501 Switchboard Operators, Including Answering Service
502 Telephone Operators
503 Communications Equipment Operators, All Other
510 Bill and Account Collectors
511 Billing and Posting Clerks and Machine Operators
512 Bookkeeping, Accounting, and Auditing Clerks
513 Gaming Cage Workers
514 Payroll and Timekeeping Clerks
515 Procurement Clerks
516 Tellers
520 Brokerage Clerks
521 Correspondence Clerks
522 Court, Municipal, and License Clerks
523 Credit Authorizers, Checkers, and Clerks
524 Customer Service Representatives
525 Eligibility Interviewers, Government Programs
526 File Clerks
530 Hotel, Motel, and Resort Desk Clerks
531 Interviewers, Except Eligibility and Loan
532 Library Assistants, Clerical
533 Loan Interviewers and Clerks
534 New Account Clerks
535 Order Clerks
536 Human Resources Assistants, Except Payroll and Timekeeping
540 Receptionists and Information Clerks
541 Reservation and Transportation Ticket Agents and Travel Clerks
542 Information and Record Clerks, All Other
550 Cargo and Freight Agents
551 Couriers and Messengers
552 Dispatchers
553 Meter Readers, Utilities
554 Postal Service Clerks
555 Postal Service Mail Carriers
556 Postal Service Mail Sorters, Processors, and Processing Machine Operators
560 Production, Planning, and Expediting Clerks
561 Shipping, Receiving, and Traffic Clerks
562 Stock Clerks and Order Fillers
563 Weighers, Measurers, Checkers, and Samplers, Recordkeeping
570 Secretaries and Administrative Assistants
580 Computer Operators
581 Data Entry Keyers
582 Word Processors and Typists
583 Desktop Publishers

584 Insurance Claims and Policy Processing Clerks
585 Mail Clerks and Mail Machine Operators, Except Postal Service
586 Office Clerks, General
590 Office Machine Operators, Except Computer
591 Proofreaders and Copy Markers
592 Statistical Assistants
593 Office and Administrative Support Workers, All Other

FFF: Farming, Fishing, and Forestry Occupations

600 First-Line Supervisors/Managers/Contractors of Farming, Fishing, and Forestry Workers
601 Agricultural Inspectors
602 Animal Breeders
604 Graders and Sorters, Agricultural Products
605 Other Agricultural Workers
610 Fishers and Related Fishing Workers
611 Hunters and Trappers
612 Forest and Conservation Workers
613 Logging Workers

CON: Construction Trades

620 First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Construction Trades and Extraction Workers
621 Boilermakers
622 Brickmasons, Blockmasons, and Stonemasons
623 Carpenters
624 Carpet, Floor, and Tile Installers and Finishers
625 Cement Masons, Concrete Finishers, and Terrazzo Workers
626 Construction Laborers
630 Paving, Surfacing, and Tamping Equipment Operators
631 Pile-Driver Operators
632 Operating Engineers and Other Construction Equipment Operators
633 Drywall Installers, Ceiling Tile Installers, and Tapers
635 Electricians
636 Glaziers
640 Insulation Workers
642 Painters, Construction and Maintenance
643 Paperhangers
644 Pipelayers, Plumbers, Pipefitters, and Steamfitters
646 Plasterers and Stucco Masons
650 Reinforcing Iron and Rebar Workers
651 Roofers
652 Sheet Metal Workers
653 Structural Iron and Steel Workers
660 Helpers, Construction Trades
666 Construction and Building Inspectors
670 Elevator Installers and Repairers
671 Fence Erectors
672 Hazardous Materials Removal Workers

673 Highway Maintenance Workers
674 Rail-Track Laying and Maintenance Equipment Operators
675 Septic Tank Servicers and Sewer Pipe Cleaners
676 Miscellaneous Construction and Related Workers

EXT: Extraction Workers

680 Derrick, Rotary Drill, and Service Unit Operators, Oil, Gas, and Mining
682 Earth Drillers, Except Oil and Gar
683 Explosives Workers, Ordnance Handling Experts, and Blasters
684 Mining Machine Operators
691 Roof Bolters, Mining
692 Roustabouts, Oil and Gas
693 Helpers--Extraction Workers
694 Other Extraction Workers

RPR: Installation, Maintenance, and Repair Workers

700 First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Mechanics, Installers, and Repairers
701 Computer, Automated Teller, and Office Machine Repairers
702 Radio and Telecommunications Equipment Installers and Repairers
703 Avionics Technicians
704 Electric Motor, Power Tool, and Related Repairers
705 Electrical and Electronics Installers and Repairers, Transportation Equipment
710 Electrical and Electronics Repairers, Industrial and Utility
711 Electronic Equipment Installers and Repairers, Motor Vehicles
712 Electronic Home Entertainment Equipment Installers and Repairers
713 Security and Fire Alarm Systems Installers
714 Aircraft Mechanics and Service Technicians
715 Automotive Body and Related Repairers
716 Automotive Glass Installers and Repairers
720 Automotive Service Technicians and Mechanics
721 Bus and Truck Mechanics and Diesel Engine Specialists
722 Heavy Vehicle and Mobile Equipment Service Technicians and Mechanics
724 Small Engine Mechanics
726 Miscellaneous Vehicle and Mobile Equipment Mechanics, Installers, and Repairers
730 Control and Valve Installers and Repairers
731 Heating, Air Conditioning, and Refrigeration Mechanics and Installers
732 Home Appliance Repairers
733 Industrial and Refractory Machinery Mechanics
734 Maintenance and Repair Workers, General
735 Maintenance Workers, Machinery
736 Millwrights
741 Electrical Power-Line Installers and Repairers
742 Telecommunications Line Installers and Repairers
743 Precision Instrument and Equipment Repairers
751 Coin, Vending, and Amusement Machine Servicers and Repairers
752 Commercial Divers
754 Locksmiths and Safe Repairers
755 Manufactured Building and Mobile Home Installers

756 Riggers
760 Signal and Track Switch Repairers
761 Helpers--Installation, Maintenance, and Repair Workers
762 Other Installation, Maintenance, and Repair Workers

PRD: Production Occupations

770 First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Production and Operating Workers
771 Aircraft Structure, Surfaces, Rigging, and Systems Assemblers
772 Electrical, Electronics, and Electromechanical Assemblers
773 Engine and Other Machine Assemblers
774 Structural Metal Fabricators and Fitters
775 Miscellaneous Assemblers and Fabricators
780 Bakers
781 Butchers and Other Meat, Poultry, and Fish Processing Workers
783 Food and Tobacco Roasting, Baking, and Drying Machine Operators and Tenders
784 Food Batchmakers
785 Food Cooking Machine Operators and Tenders
790 Computer Control Programmers and Operators
792 Extruding and Drawing Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic
793 Forging Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic
794 Rolling Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, metal and Plastic
795 Cutting, Punching, and Press Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic
796 Drilling and Boring Machine Tool Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic
800 Grinding, Lapping, Polishing, and Buffing Machine Tool Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic
801 Lathe and Turning Machine Tool Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic
802 Milling and Planing Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic
803 Machinists
804 Metal Furnace and Kiln Operators and Tenders
806 Model Makers and Patternmakers, Metal and Plastic
810 Molders and Molding Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic
812 Multiple Machine Tool Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic
813 Tool and Die Makers
814 Welding, Soldering, and Brazing Workers
815 Heat Treating Equipment Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic
816 Lay-Out Workers, Metal and Plastic
820 Plating and Coating Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic
821 Tool Grinders, Filers, and Sharpeners
822 Metalworkers and Plastic Workers, All Other
823 Bookbinders and Bindery Workers
824 Job Printers
825 Prepress Technicians and Workers
826 Printing Machine Operators
830 Laundry and Dry-Cleaning Workers
831 Pressers, Textile, Garment, and Related Materials
832 Sewing Machine Operators

833 Shoe and Leather Workers and Repairers
834 Shoe Machine Operators and Tenders
835 Tailors, Dressmakers, and Sewers
836 Textile Bleaching and Dyeing Machine Operators and Tenders
840 Textile Cutting Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders
841 Textile Knitting and Weaving Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders
842 Textile Winding, Twisting, and Drawing Out Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders
843 Extruding and Forming Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Synthetic and Glass Fibers
844 Fabric and Apparel Patternmakers
845 Upholsterers
846 Textile, Apparel, and Furnishings Workers, All Other
850 Cabinetmakers and Bench Carpenters
851 Furniture Finishers
852 Model Makers and Patternmakers, Wood
853 Sawing Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Wood
854 Woodworking Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Except Sawing
855 Woodworkers, All Other
860 Power Plant Operators, Distributors, and Dispatchers
861 Stationary Engineers and Boiler Operators
862 Water and Liquid Waste Treatment Plant and System Operators
863 Miscellaneous Plant and System Operators
864 Chemical Processing Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders
865 Crushing, Grinding, Polishing, Mixing, and Blending Workers
871 Cutting Workers
872 Extruding, Forming, Pressing, and Compacting Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders
873 Furnace, Kiln, Oven, Drier, and Kettle Operators and Tenders
874 Inspectors, Testers, Sorters, Samplers, and Weighers
875 Jewelers and Precious Stone and Metal Workers
876 Medical, Dental, and Ophthalmic Laboratory Technicians
880 Packaging and Filling Machine Operators and Tenders
881 Painting Workers
883 Photographic Process Workers and Processing Machine Operators
884 Semiconductor Processors
885 Cementing and Gluing Machine Operators and Tenders
886 Cleaning, Washing, and Metal Pickling Equipment Operators and Tenders
890 Cooling and Freezing Equipment Operators and Tenders
891 Etchers and Engravers
892 Molders, Shapers, and Casters, Except Metal and Plastic
893 Paper Goods Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders
894 Tire Builders
895 Helpers--Production Workers
896 Production Workers, All Other

TRN: Transportation and Material Moving Occupations

900 Supervisors, Transportation and Material Moving Workers
903 Aircraft Pilots and Flight Engineers
904 Air Traffic Controllers and Airfield Operations Specialists
911 Ambulance Drivers and Attendants, Except Emergency Medical Technicians
912 Bus Drivers
913 Driver/Sales Workers and Truck Drivers
914 Taxi Drivers and Chauffeurs
915 Motor Vehicle Operators, All Other
920 Locomotive Engineers and Operators
923 Railroad Brake, Signal, and Switch Operators
924 Railroad Conductors and Yardmasters
926 Subway, Streetcar, and Other Rail Transportation Workers
930 Sailors and Marine Oilers
931 Ship and Boat Captains and Operators
933 Ship Engineers
934 Bridge and Lock Tenders
935 Parking Lot Attendants
936 Service Station Attendants
941 Transportation Inspectors
942 Other Transportation Workers
950 Conveyor Operators and Tenders
951 Crane and Tower Operators
952 Dredge, Excavating, and Loading Machine Operators
956 Hoist and Winch Operators
960 Industrial Truck and Tractor Operators
961 Cleaners of Vehicles and Equipment
962 Laborers and Freight, Stock, and Material Movers, Hand
963 Machine Feeders and Off bearers
964 Packers and Packagers, Hand
965 Pumping Station Operators
972 Refuse and Recyclable Material Collectors
973 Shuttle Car Operators
974 Tank Car, Truck, and Ship Loaders
975 Material Moving Workers, All Other

MIL: Military Specific Occupations

980 Military Officer Special and Tactical Operations Leaders/Managers
981 First-Line Enlisted Military Supervisors/Managers
982 Military Enlisted Tactical Operations and Air/Weapons Specialists and Crew Members
983 Military, Rank Not Specified (Census only)
999 DK; NA; Don't know; Not ascertained

Appendix B

Table 1. *Descriptive Statistics for all Study Variables*

	All sample (N = 5,215)		Have a plan to reduce/stop work (N = 2,753)		Have no plan to reduce/stop work (N = 2,462)		Test statistics
	Mean (*SD*)	%	Mean (*SD*)	%	Mean (*SD*)	%	
Whether have a plan to reduce/stop work							
Yes		52.79%					
No		47.21%					
Expected retirement age (N = 1,199)	64.27 (3.79)						
Perceived work and family interference and enhancement							
Work to family interference	1.66 (0.63)		1.73 (0.62)		1.59 (0.64)		-37.03***
Work to family enhancement	2.65 (0.88)		2.60 (0.86)		2.71 (0.89)		20.03***
Family to work interference	1.21 (0.38)		1.21 (0.37)		1.21 (0.40)		0.12
Family to work enhancement	3.11 (0.80)		3.11 (0.76)		3.11 (0.85)		-0.12
Control variables							
Age	56.48 (3.23)		56.57 (3.25)		56.39 (3.22)		-8.45***
Gender							59.48***
Male		44.24%		45.33%		43.01%	
Female		55.76%		54.67%		56.99%	
Marital status							231.06***
Married/partnered		84.06%		85.65%		82.28%	
Single/separated/divorced/widowed		15.94%		14.35%		17.72%	
Years of education	13.62 (2.89)		14.03 (2.73)		13.16 (2.98)		-50.42***
Race/Ethnicity							938.45***
Non-Hispanic White		68.93%		72.44%		65.08%	
Non-Hispanic Black		17.95%		16.54%		19.54%	
Hispanic		8.45%		7.80%		9.15%	
Non-Hispanic other race		4.66%		3.22%		6.23%	
Subjective health status							774.77***
Poor/fair		15.51%		12.63%		18.73%	

Good/very good/excellent	84.49%	87.37%	81.27%	
Occupation				3.3e+03***
Professional	35.00%	42.96%	26.12%	
Service sector	46.88%	41.73%	52.64%	
Blue-collar	18.12%	15.32%	21.24%	
Household wealth	~441k(~1023k)	~530k(~1223k)	~341k(~726k)	-30.36***
Debt				224.29***
Have debt	8.53%	7.34%	9.87%	
No debt	91.47%	92.66%	90.13%	
Health insurance				1.6e+03***
Have health insurance	81.13%	85.65%	76.08%	
No health insurance	18.87%	14.35%	23.92%	
Pension coverage				2.7e+03***
No Coverage	52.79%	46.17%	60.19%	
Defined Benefits Plan (DB)	9.15%	10.64%	7.47%	
Defined Contribution Plan (DC)	26.37%	28.11%	24.41%	
Both (DB & DC)	11.70%	15.07%	7.92%	
Whether spouse worked for pay				37.71***
Yes	83.74%	84.45%	83.08%	
No	16.26%	15.55%	16.92%	
Home ownership				2.0e+03***
Own home	74.06%	79.66%	67.79%	
Not own home	25.94%	20.34%	32.21%	

Notes. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$. Statistics are based on imputed data. Expected retirement age was only reported for those who had a plan to stop work and reported their expected retirement age. The four work and family interference and enhancement scales are on a scale of 1–4. Year of education is on a scale of 0–20 years. Wealth is on a scale of 3 to 1.03e+07 US Dollars.

Table 2. *Bivariate Analysis of Perceived Work and Family Interference and Enhancement Based on Gender* (*N* = 5,215)

	Mean (*SD*)		T-test
	Male	Female	
Work to family interference	1.68 (0.64)	1.65(0.63)	*t* = 5.87***
Work to family enhancement	2.65 (0.88)	2.66 (0.88)	*t* = -1.90
Family to work interference	1.21 (0.40)	1.21 (0.37)	*t* = -1.19
Family to work enhancement	3.11 (0.81)	3.11 (0.80)	*t* = -0.40

Note. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.

Table 3. *Bivariate Analysis of Perceived Work and Family Interference and Enhancement Based on Occupation* (N = 5,215)

	Mean (*SD*)			ANOVA	Tukey's test
	Professional	Service	Blue-Collar		
Work to family interference	1.66 (.61)	1.63 (.63)	1.76 (.70)	F = 265.01***	
Professional vs. Service					-.03***
Service vs. Blue-Collar					0.12***
Professional vs. Blue-Collar					0.10***
Work to family enhancement	2.70 (.85)	2.71 (.88)	2.38 (.88)	F = 1098.47***	
Professional vs. Service					0.01
Service vs. Blue-Collar					-0.32***
Professional vs. Blue-Collar					-0.33***
Family to work interference	1.17 (.30)	1.22 (.39)	1.27 (.49)	F = 494.26***	
Professional vs. Service					0.05***
Service vs. Blue-Collar					0.06***
Professional vs. Blue-Collar					0.11***
Family to work enhancement	3.18 (.75)	3.11 (.81)	2.97 (.87)	F = 433.63***	
Professional vs. Service					-0.06***
Service vs. Blue-Collar					-0.15***
Professional vs. Blue-Collar					-0.21***

Note. *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

Table 4. *Logistic Regression Analysis of the Effect of Perceived Work and Family Interference and Enhancement on Whether One has a plan to Reduce/Stop Work* (*N* = 5,215)

	OR	*SE*
Perceived work and family interference and enhancement		
Work to family interference	1.46***	0.09
Work to family enhancement	0.89*	0.04
Family to work interference	0.95	0.08
Family to work enhancement	1.11*	0.05
Age	1.01	0.01
Female (*Ref.* = male)	0.92	0.18
Married/partnered (*Ref.* = single/separated/divorced/widowed)	1.00	0.09
Years of education	1.04*	0.02
Race/Ethnicity (*Ref.* = White)		
Black	1.15	0.10
Hispanic	1.43**	0.19
Non-Hispanic other race	0.56***	0.09
Excellent/very good/good health (*Ref.* = poor/fair)	1.22*	0.11
Profession (*Ref.* = professional)		
Service sector	0.62**	0.09
Blue-collar	0.59*	0.12
Household wealth (log transformed)	1.07**	0.03
Have debt (*Ref.* = no debt)	0.88	0.10
Have health insurance (*Ref.* = no insurance)	1.13	0.10
Pension coverage (*Ref.* = no pension)		
Defined Benefits Plan (DB)	1.52***	0.22
Defined Contribution Plan (DC)	1.23**	0.11
Both (DB & DC)	1.87***	0.27
Spouse worked for pay (*Ref.* = spouse did not work for pay)	0.88	0.08
Home ownership (*Ref.* = no ownership)	1.26**	0.11
Constant	0.09***	0.06

Notes. Results of logistic regression on whether one has a plan to reduce/stop work, where 0 = no plan to reduce/stop work and 1 = have a plan to reduce/stop work. *OR* = odds ratio, *SE* = standard error. Respondents were between age 50 to 62. *p <. 05, **p <. 01, ***p <. 001.

Table 5. *OLS Regression Analysis of the Effect of Work and Family Interference and Enhancement on Expected Retirement Age* (N = 1,199)

	b	*SE*
Perceived work and family interference and enhancement		
Work to family interference	0.21	0.22
Work to family enhancement	.42**	0.18
Family to work interference	0.13	0.36
Family to work enhancement	-0.25*	0.18
Age	0.24***	0.04
Female (*Ref.* = male)	0.67**	0.22
Married/partnered (*Ref.* = single/separated/divorced/widowed)	-0.32	0.44
Years of education	0.18**	0.07
Race/Ethnicity (*Ref.* = White)		
Black	-0.93**	0.35
Hispanic	1.35**	0.52
Non-Hispanic other race	0.02	0.60
Excellent/very good/good health (*Ref.* = poor/fair)	0.26	0.37
Occupation (*Ref.* = professional)		
Service sector	-0.25	0.59
Blue-collar	2.42**	0.80
Household wealth (log transformed)	-0.11	0.10
Have debt (*Ref.* = no debt)	0.61	0.46
Have health insurance (*Ref.* = no insurance)	-0.17	0.43
Pension coverage (*Ref.* = no pension)		
Defined Benefits Plan (DB)	-1.18***	0.34
Defined Contribution Plan (DC)	-0.65*	0.28
Both (DB & DC)	-1.38***	0.33
Spouse worked for pay (*Ref.* = spouse did not work for pay)	-0.22	0.53
Home ownership (*Ref.* = no ownership)	0.11	0.37
Constant	48.65***	2.64

Notes. Respondents are between age 50 to 62. *SE* = standard error. *p <. 05, **p < .01, ***p < .001. *b* = unstandardized regression coefficient.

Table 6. *Logistic Regression Analysis of the Effect of Perceived Work and Family Interference and Enhancement on Whether One has a Plan to Reduce/Stop Work Based on Gender*

	Male (*N* = 2,307)		Female (*N* = 2,908)		Gender interaction (*N* = 5,215)	
	OR	*SE*	*OR*	*SE*	*OR*	*SE*
Perceived work and family interference and enhancement						
Work to family interference	1.45***	0.13	1.49***	0.12	1.47***	0.13
Work to family enhancement	0.91	0.07	.88*	0.06	0.92	0.07
Family to work interference	0.87	0.11	1.03	0.13	0.84	0.11
Family to work enhancement	1.04	0.08	1.16*	0.08	1.05	0.08
Female (*Reference* = male)					0.60	0.24
Work to family interference × female (*Ref.* = male)					0.99	0.12
Work to family enhancement × female (*Ref.* = male)					0.95	0.09
Family to work interference × female (*Ref.* = male)					1.25	0.22
Family to work enhancement × female (*Ref.* = male)					1.10	0.11

Notes. Results of logistic regression on whether one has a plan to reduce/stop work, where 0 = no plan to reduce/stop work and 1 = have a plan to reduce/stop work. *OR* = odds ratio, *SE* = standard error. Respondents were between age 50 to 62. Other variables are included in the model but not reported. **p* < .05, ***p* < .01, ****p* < .001.

Table 7. *Logistic Regression Analysis of the Effect of Perceived Work and Family Interference and Enhancement on Whether One has a Plan to Reduce/Stop Work Based on Occupation* (*N* = 5,215)

	Professional (*N* = 1,825)		Services (*N* = 2,445)		Blue collar (*N* = 945)		Occupation interaction (*N* = 5,215)	
	OR	*SE*	*OR*	*SE*	*OR*	*SE*	*OR*	*SE*
Perceived work and family interference and enhancement								
Work to family interference	1.93***	0.22	1.39***	0.12	1.32*	0.18	1.65***	0.23
Work to family enhancement	0.72***	0.06	0.92	0.06	0.96	0.12	0.83	0.08
Family to work interference	0.73	0.13	0.81	0.10	1.37	0.25	0.83	0.18
Family to work enhancement	1.26**	0.11	1.03	0.07	1.07	0.12	1.16	0.13
Service sector (*Ref. = professionals*)							0.68	0.41
Blue-Collar (*Ref. = professionals*)							0.49	0.36
Work to family interference × services (*Ref.* = prof)							0.87	0.16
Work to family interference × blue-collar (*Ref.* = prof)							0.80*	0.17
Work to family enhancement × services (*Ref.* = prof)							1.08	0.14
Work to family enhancement × blue-collar (*Ref.* = prof)							1.21	0.22
Family to work interference × services (*Ref.* = prof)							1.13*	0.30
Family to work interference × blue-collar (*Ref.* = prof)							1.30*	0.39
Family to work enhancement × services (*Ref.* = prof)							0.93	0.14
Family to work enhancement × blue-collar (*Ref.* = prof)							0.93	0.18

Notes. Results of logistic regression on whether one has a plan to reduce/stop work, where 0 = no plan to reduce/stop work and 1 = have a plan to reduce/stop work. *OR* = odds ratio, *SE* = standard error. Respondents were between age 50 to 62. Other variables are included in the model but not reported. *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$.

Table 8. *OLS Regression Analysis of the Effect of Work and Family Interference and Enhancement on Expected Retirement Age Based on Gender*

	Male (N = 521)		Female (N = 678)		Gender interaction (N = 1,199)	
	b	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*
Perceived work and family interference and enhancement						
Work to family interference	0.07	0.33	0.50	0.32	0.10	0.34
Work to family enhancement	0.29	0.27	0.62*	0.26	0.39	0.28
Family to work interference	0.63	0.55	0.18	0.56	0.54	0.57
Family to work enhancement	-0.19	0.27	-0.43	0.26	-0.14	0.27
Female (*Reference* = male)					0.90	1.47
Work to family interference × female (*Ref.* = male)					0.31	0.43
Work to family enhancement × female (*Ref.* = male)					0.39	0.28
Family to work interference × female (*Ref.* = male)					0.12	0.35
Family to work enhancement × female (*Ref.* = male)					0.54	0.57

Notes. Respondents are between age 50 to 62. *SE* = standard error. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$. *b* = unstandardized regression coefficient. Other variables are controlled for but not reported.

Table 9. *OLS Regression Analysis of the Effect of Work and Family Interference and Enhancement on Expected Retirement Age Based on Occupation*

	Professional (*N* = 518)		Services (*N* = 530)		Blue collar (*N* = 151)		Occupation interaction (*N* = 1,199)	
	b	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*
Perceived work and family interference and enhancement								
Work to family interference	0.36	0.36	0.16	0.32	0.29	0.91	0.19	0.45
Work to family enhancement	0.66*	0.30	0.59*	0.26	0.92	0.66	0.40	0.31
Family to work interference	0.87	0.76	-0.24	0.50	-0.81	2.46	1.30	0.80
Family to work enhancement	-0.26	0.28	-0.52*	0.26	-0.91	0.63	-0.20	0.34
Service sector (*Reference = professionals*)							0.79	2.27
Blue-Collar (*Reference = professionals*)							3.17	4.96
Work to family interference × services (*Ref.* = prof)							0.22	0.68
Work to family interference × blue-collar (*Ref.* = prof)							-4.82**	1.28
Work to family enhancement × services (*Ref.* = prof)							0.18	0.46
Work to family enhancement × blue-collar (*Ref.* = prof)							0.13	0.75
Family to work interference × services (*Ref.* = prof)							-1.29	1.00
Family to work interference × blue-collar (*Ref.* = prof)							-0.60	3.95
Family to work enhancement × services (*Ref.* = prof)							-0.12	0.49
Family to work enhancement × blue-collar (*Ref.* = prof)							1.58*	0.71

Notes. Respondents are between age 50 and 62. *SE* = standardized error. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$. *b* = unstandardized regression coefficient. Other variables are controlled for but not reported.

Experiences at the Workplace and Non-Normative Retirement Age Expectations

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Abstract

People generally have an idea of what the normative retirement age is for their job or occupation. Experiences at the workplace may be related to an individual's expectation to retire earlier or later than the norm. This paper examines whether experiences at the workplace help to explain older workers' non-normative retirement age expectations. Using the Health and Retirement Study (HRS), data from 1,848 pre-retirees was analyzed using multinomial logistic regression.

Some of the results were consistent with previous findings, indicating that enjoying one's work relates to later retirement, and that individuals who have a preference for gradual phased retirement or who have an option for an early-out retirement window expected to retire earlier than the norm for their job or workplace. However, there were some factors that were counterintuitive, such as higher work stress at the workplace seemed to be related to a later retirement age than normal. Mixed findings were also found in how employer support of reducing work demands related to earlier and much later retirement expectations compared to the norm.

Results further support that employee preference for a phased retirement led people to retire slightly earlier than the normative age. Employer support of reducing work stress had a mixed effect on expected retirement age. Counterintuitively, work stress made people more likely to retire later than the norm, while age discrimination did not relate to expected retirement age. Further exploration of the types of stress that produce negative and positive responses from individual workers and understanding how employees take advantage of work flexibility when nearing retirement could prove useful in understanding the retirement decision-making process and what contributes or detracts from longer working lives in the United States.

Experiences at the Workplace and Non-Normative Retirement Age Expectations

The literature focused on issues of retirement has burgeoned in recent decades, largely due to the fact that the meaning and context of retirement has shifted considerably. The average retirement age, defined as the age (in years and months) at which the labor force participation rate drops below 50 percent, has increased from 62 to 64 over the last 20 years for men, and 60 to 62 for women in the United States (Munnell, 2011). Several major factors, including the delayed retirement credit in Social Security, the shift from defined benefit retirement plans to defined contribution retirement plans (e.g., 401(k)), and improved health and longevity contribute to the trend towards staying in the workforce longer (Munnell, 2015). These statistics raise questions around what factors contribute to individuals' expectations around the timing of their retirement (Montalto, Yuh, & Hanna, 2000).

Past research has suggested a variety of factors that are related to one's expected retirement age. Finances play a very important role in making retirement decisions; however, non-financial factors have gained increasing attention in retirement decision-making as well (Shultz & Wang, 2011). Indeed, many workers approach and enter retirement without sufficient savings, while some individuals delay retirement despite being financially prepared (Boivie & Rhee, 2015; Federal Reserve, 2013). Evidence further implicates workplace factors as playing a key role in the retirement-decision making process. In the workplace, career enjoyment and occupational goal attainment accounts for a significant portion of the variance in expected retirement (Adams, 1999). Moreover, satisfaction gained from work shapes whether one works during the conventional retirement years (Mott, 2006). On the other hand, unfavorable situations at work, such as discrimination or inflexible work policies, push employees out of the workforce and towards retirement (Beehr, Glazer, Nielson, & Farmer, 2000; Taylor & Shore, 1995).

While there is a considerable body of research focused on antecedents of an individual's expected retirement age, there is little research to date that has examined predictors of non-normative retirement age expectations. Research suggests there is a good amount of variation in the "usual" or normative retirement age based on one's specific job or field (McFall, Helppie, Sonnega, & Hudomiet, 2015). For example, while it might be expected that there are differences between the normative retirement age of those who are in traditional blue-collar jobs, which tend to be physically demanding, and those who are in white-collar jobs, McFall et al. (2015) found interesting exceptions that suggest that contextualizing "early" and "late" retirement around what is normative within one's occupation would be important. This approach will provide important insights into modifiable workplace policies that can potentially prevent earlier than normative retirement, which may be detrimental to employees, if they expect to retire early due to unsatisfactory conditions at their workplace, and to employers, who may be at risk of losing valuable employees. This paper draws on age norm theory, and uses multinomial logistic regression to examine the relationship between a set of experiences at the workplace and pre-retirees' non-normative retirement age expectations.

Theoretical and Empirical Framework

Age Norm Theory

Age norms are the ages viewed as standard or typical for a given role or status by the modal group of members of a social system. As opposed to a demographic norm, normative age is a social norm that is based on society's expectations of age appropriate roles and transitions (Burton, 1996; Pitt-Catsouphes, Matz-Costa, & James, 2012). Previous studies have used an age norm perspective to study a range of workplace-related outcomes. One study found that managers' workplace-related age norms are related to the recruitment and retention practices of

older workers—specifically, age equality norms positively affect practices *before* the boundary of normative retirement age, whereas retirement age norms positively affect practices *after* the boundary of normal retirement age (Mulders, Henkens, & Schippers, 2016). Another study looking into the effects of the supervisor-employee dyad on employees' work performance found that employees with similar-age supervisors were less engaged than employees with older supervisors, and employees who did not know the ages of their supervisors were just as engaged as employees with older supervisors (Yang & Matz-Costa, 2017). In another study, researchers found that employees who felt they were of a dissimilar age to their work teammates reported being less included in both decision-making and information-sharing than those on age-diverse work teams (Matz-Costa, Carapinha, & Pitt-Catsouphes, 2012). However, to the author's knowledge, there is no study to date contextualizing pre-retirees' expected retirement timing within what is normative in their occupation.

Despite the importance of studying age norms in the work setting, previous review articles have identified two reasons that made it difficult to do so. First, people do not talk about age norms when they take it for granted, and second, norms exist in widespread regularities in a group's beliefs or behaviors that is hard to define (Lawrence, 1994). A previous study examining the timing of family role transitions and intergenerational caregiving divided the age norm into three categories based on when one transitioned into the role of grandparent as "normative on-time,", "early non-normative," and "early normative" (Burton, 1996). In my current study, a "non-normative retirement age expectation" measure was constructed to capture the earlier and later than normal retirement expectations, hoping to identify important workplace experiences related to non-normative retirement age expectations.

Retirement Age Norms on Three Levels

There are social forces at the individual, occupational, and public policy levels that can affect the normative retirement age. On the individual level, interactions with others can affect how one processes and makes sense of their decisions and behaviors. There is abundant evidence showing that an individual's retirement-related decisions can be highly influenced by colleagues in the workplace. Chiesa and Sarchielli (2008) also suggested that social interactions are important for older workers' retirement timing. In addition, support from colleagues and friends may increase clarity of retirement goals, which, in turn, fosters retirement planning (Schaffer & Taylor, 2012). Moreover, Burtless (2006) suggested that people may simply imitate the behavior of others who appear better informed or more capable of effective planning.

On the occupational level, people in different occupations can also have different perceptions of what is a normative retirement age, due to factors such as physical strength or the ability to compensate for deficits in some skills with other skills (Göbel & Zwick, 2012). Other studies further depict three age-productivity retirement profiles: (a) occupations like brick layer, tiler, and administrator, in which workers are likely to become less productive as they age and retire early; (b) occupations like bank or commercial clerks and electronic engineers, in which productivity is less influenced by age; and (c) occupations like lawyer, professor, manager, medical doctor, or engineer, which are occupations in which employees may achieve higher productivity as they get older, and therefore retire later (Göbel & Zwick, 2012; Veen, 2008). With these profiles in mind, if you work in a job or field where workers tend to retire earlier, like a brick layer, a retirement at a younger age, (e.g., 55 or 60) might actually be "on time," however, it would be categorized as early retirement if age norms specific to that job or field were not considered. Likewise, a lawyer might expect to retire at age 75, which might be in line with norms in his or her profession, but using traditional approaches, it would be considered late

retirement. Therefore, looking at expected retirement age in the context of normative retirement ages at one's job or occupation may allow researchers to go beyond some of the less mutable aspects of particular types of occupations that predict expecting to work longer or retire earlier.

There is also an ongoing retirement age debate at the public policy level. The Social Security full retirement age is gradually increasing, with an impact that varies across age cohorts. The retirement age spike at 62 results from the fact that this is the earliest eligible age for Social Security retirement benefits; another wave of individuals tends to retire at age 65, which is the Medicare eligibility age (Behaghel & Blau, 2010; Coe, Khan & Rutledge, 2013). Since beneficiaries would qualify for unreduced retirement benefits if they retire around the full retirement age, many people choose to retire at that age (Johnson, 2009). These retirement spikes, centered on ages relating to Social Security and Medicare are an example of how the decision context, or the way a policy is framed or presented, can affect individuals' preferences and behaviors (Knoll, 2011). Such normative retirement ages on the individual, organizational, and public policy levels may exert an influence on shaping pre-retirees' own retirement age expectations.

Experiences at the Workplace and Expected Retirement Age

Many aspects of one's social environment can play a significant role in shaping one' age norms about when they should expect to retire, but perhaps most significant are a series of experiences at the workplace that can influence older workers' decisions to retire (Beehr et al., 2000). A study has found that how and why people work in the conventional retirement years is shaped by subjective meanings and the satisfaction people gain from work (Mott, 2006). Age discrimination is another important factor as organizations may pressure older employees to retire early if they believe older employees are less productive, and cost more in wages and

health insurance (Bennett & Lepisto, 2016). Smyer and Pitt-Catsouphes (2007) suggested that there are several motivators that push older adults to continue work, such as health benefits and a sense of purpose. Many older workers desire flexible work arrangements that allow them to navigate work and family (or work and leisure) demands while remaining engaged in the workforce (Pitt-Catsouphes & Matz-Costa, 2008; Shultz, 2003). However, institutionalized workplace policies constrain pathways for when and how people retire, and the absence of workplace policies to accommodate older people affect the timing of the transition to retirement (Hardy, 2011). Work stress can also relate to an earlier retirement (Lund & Villadsen, 2005; Mäcken, 2019) and sometimes, an early-out benefit is available to older workers as well, which serves as an incentive for older employees to retire at a time their employer desires.

Based on the above theoretical and empirical findings, this paper proposes that a range of experiences at the workplace may be related to older workers' non-normative retirement age expectations. These experiences include work enjoyment, perceived age discrimination, employee preference for a phased retirement, employer support of reducing work demands, work stress, and whether one has an early-out window. Specifically, the following hypotheses are proposed:

Hypothesis 1: A number of experiences relate to respondents' earlier than normative retirement age expectations. These experiences include perceiving age discrimination (H1-1), being in favor of phased retirement (H1-2), experiencing work stress (H1-3), and having an early-out window (H1-4).

Hypothesis 2: Other experiences relate to respondents' later than normative retirement age expectations. These experiences include work enjoyment (H2-1) and having employer support of reducing work demands (H2-2).

Method

Data and Sample

This study used the Health and Retirement Study (HRS) to test the aforementioned hypotheses. The HRS is a nationally representative dataset that captures the health, retirement, and aging information of adults over the age of 50 in the United States (HRS, 2016). Since its inception in 1992, the HRS initially focused on the health, economics, and demographics of aging and the retirement process. Since 2006, the HRS has collected psychosocial and lifestyle data biennially using a self-administered questionnaire known as the Leave Behind Questionnaire (LBQ). A randomly rotating 50% of the core panel participants who do an enhanced face-to-face interview (EFTF) are asked to complete the LBQ at their convenience and return it by mail (Smith et al., 2017). Given that 50% of the sample was asked to complete the LBQ in any given wave, the full sample of participants responding to the LBQ can be achieved by pooling across two waves. The current study used the HRS RAND data, and pooled cross-sectional data from waves 11 (2012) and 12 (2014). The analytic sample was restricted to those who are over 50 years old, self-identified as not yet retired, reported as having an expected retirement age, and reported a normative ("usual") retirement age in their workplace, which yielded a final sample size of 1,848.

Measures

Dependent variable.

Non-normative retirement age expectations. A variable was constructed that represents non-normative retirement age expectations for one's occupation. Normative retirement age for one's occupation was determined using participants' responses to the question, "In your main job, what is the usual retirement age for people who work with you or have the same kind of job?"

Respondents could indicate an age in years or choose "no usual retirement age." Respondents were also asked, "At what age do you plan to stop working?" The respondents, again could indicate an age in years or choose "never." For cases where one of these responses was not ascertained, the case was excluded from the analysis. Cases were coded as 1 if an individual's expected retirement age was three or more years earlier than the normative retirement age at their occupation (*3 or more years earlier than norm*), 2 if their expected retirement age was within three years earlier than the normative retirement age (*within 3 years earlier than norm*), 3 if their expected retirement age was the same as the normative retirement age (*same as norm*), 4 if their expected retirement age was within three years later than the normative retirement age (*within 3 years later than norm*), and 5 if their expected retirement age was three or more years later than the normative retirement age (*3 or more years later than norm*). In multivariate analyses, the "same as norm" category was treated as the reference group.

Independent variables.

Work enjoyment. The question asked the respondents how much they have enjoyed their work. Response items were on a scale of 0 to 3 corresponding with strongly disagree, disagree, agree, and strongly agree, respectively. To facilitate interpretation, response items were coded as 0 = strongly disagree/disagree and 1 = agree/strongly agree.

Age discrimination at work. There were two questions to measure age discrimination at work (Marchiondo, Gonzales, & Williams, 2019). Respondents were asked how much they agree or disagree with the following statements: "In decisions about promotion, my employer gives young people preference over older people" and "My co-workers make older workers feel that they ought to retire before age 65." Responses were coded from 0 to 3 corresponding with strongly disagree, disagree, agree, and strongly agree, respectively. The two items were averaged

to compose a scale where higher scores indicated higher perceptions of age discrimination at work.

Employee preference for a phased retirement. The question asked the respondents how much they agreed with the statement, "As I get older, I would prefer to gradually reduce the hours I work on this job, keeping my pay per hour the same." Responses were on a scale of 0 to 3 corresponding with strongly disagree, disagree, agree, and strongly agree, respectively. Responses were coded as 0 = strongly disagree/disagree and 1 = agree/strongly agree.

Employer support of reducing work demands. The question asked the respondents how much they agreed with the statement, "My employer would let older workers move to a less demanding job with less pay if they wanted to." Responses were on a scale of 0 to 3 corresponding with strongly disagree, disagree, agree, and strongly agree, respectively. Responses were coded as 0 = strongly disagree/disagree and 1 = strongly agree/agree.

Work stress. The respondents were asked whether their work involves a lot of stress. Response items ranged from 0 to 3 corresponding with strongly disagree, disagree, agree, and strongly agree, respectively. Responses were coded as 0 = strongly disagree/disagree and 1 = strongly agree/agree.

Early-out window. The question asked, "Employers sometimes encourage older workers to leave a firm at a particular time by offering a special financial incentive, like a cash bonus or improved pension benefits. These are often called early retirement windows. Have you been offered such an early retirement window at any time?" Responses were coded as 0 = no and 1 = yes.

Control variables.

Age. Age was measured as a continuous variable.

Gender. Gender was coded as 0 = male and 1 = female.

Race/Ethnicity. Race/Ethnicity was coded into four categories with 0 = non-Hispanic White, 1 = non-Hispanic Black, 2 = Hispanic, and 3 = non-Hispanic other race.

Marital status. Marital status was treated as a dichotomous variable with 0 for married or partnered, and 1 for single, separated, divorced, or widowed.

Education. Education was measured on a continuous scale indicating the actual years of education the respondent completed.

Health. Health was measured as the respondents' self-reported health with 0 = poor, 1= very good, 2 = fair, 3 = very good, and 4 = excellent. A higher score indicates better health.

Wealth. Wealth measured respondents' total wealth including housing-related wealth (primary and secondary residences) and individual retirement accounts (IRAs). It was log transformed to reduce skewness in regression models.

Whether spouse works for pay. The question asked each respondent if their partner did any work for pay the year prior. Responses were coded as 0 = no and 1 = yes. Married/partnered respondents with no answers were excluded from the sample.

Presence of dependent(s). The question asked the respondents, "In this year and the past year, were any children, parents, or other relatives dependent on you for more than half of their support?" The responses were coded as 0 = no and 1 = yes.

Analytic Strategy

First, univariate analyses of all study variables were conducted for the whole sample.

Second, when a study is looking at norms related to occupation, it is important to explore whether there are occupational differences. While it was not possible to control for occupation in the current multivariate analysis due to the limitations of the sample size in occupation, a

preliminary exploratory analysis was conducted to explore the extent to which the distribution of the non-normative expected retirement age variable differed by occupation type. To do this, a simple bivariate chi-square analysis was performed where occupations were grouped into 3 categories: "professional," "services," and "blue collar" per Wang (2019). This exploratory analysis provided important context for interpreting the multivariate results and possible avenues for future analysis.

Third, bivariate analyses were conducted to see if there were significant differences in the study variables across the five categories of the dependent variable. Post-hoc Tukey's tests were performed to determine if the continuous-level variables differed across categories of the non-normative expected retirement age variable. Significant pairwise comparisons between the outcome categories (3 or more years earlier than norm, within 3 years earlier than norm, within 3 years later than norm, and 3 or more years later than norm) and base category (same as norm) were marked with an asterisk.

Fourth, multinomial logistic regression was used because the independence of irrelevant alternatives (IIA) assumptions was violated.

Handling of missing data. Imputations available from RAND were used for all non-LBQ variables in analyses. As mentioned prior, individuals who have identified themselves as retired and those who did not report a usual retirement age in the workplace were excluded from analyses. Stata SE 14.2 was used to implement the Markov chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) method (Schafer, 1997) to impute 10 datasets for all independent variables for the purpose of analyses. Dependent variable was not imputed. Rubin's combination rules were applied to multiply imputed data. Missing data imputed using this method ranged across variables from 0.00% (i.e., non-normative retirement age expectation) to 8.12% (employer support of reducing work

demands). The total sample size was 1,848.

Results

Univariate Analyses

Results of the univariate analyses are presented in Table 1. The average age of respondents in the sample was 58 and the large majority (76%) of respondents reported being married or partnered. Around 45% of respondents were male. Approximately 67% of the sample was non-Hispanic White, 23% non-Hispanic Black, six percent Hispanic, and four percent non-Hispanic other race. Respondents had an average of 14 years of education, around 20% had a dependent, and 80% had a spouse who worked for pay the year prior. The average self-reported health was 2.5 in a range of 0 to 4 with a higher number representing better health as previously mentioned. Median household wealth was $198,000 USD.

Among the study pre-retirees, roughly one-third (32.68%) expected to retire at the same age as the norm for their occupation, while almost 26% expected to retire earlier than their norm (i.e., eight percent within three years earlier than their norm and 19% three or more years earlier) and 41% expected to retire later than their norm (13% within three years later than their norm and 28% three or more years later).

In regard to experiences at the workplace, 85.5% of the respondent reported enjoying their work. On a scale of 0 to 3, the average self-perceived age discrimination at work was 1.08 (*SD* = .65). Around 58% of the respondents preferred phased retirement, but only 28% of their employers supported reducing work demands and pay for their employees. Almost 64% of respondents reported their work to be stressful. Only four percent of the respondents reported that their employer supported an early-out window for retirement.

<Insert Table 1 around here>

Bivariate Analyses

As a preliminary exploratory step, a two-way tabulation between the non-normative retirement age expectations variable and the occupational categories variable is presented in Table 2. Chi-square analysis indicated that there were significant differences in retirees' non-normative retirement age expectations across blue-collar, service sector, and professional workers ($\chi^2 = 23.99$, $p < .01$). More specifically, those in professional occupations appear to be less likely to expect to retire much earlier than the norm for their occupation (only nine percent) compared to service sector workers (26%) and blue collar workers (18%). However, blue collar workers had the highest rates of workers who expected to retire much later than what is usual in their occupation (40%), followed by professional workers at 33% and service sector workers at only 23%. As stated above, while it was not possible to include occupation in the multivariate analyses, this step still provides information that will help to contextualize the results and provide direction for future studies, which could examine the magnitude of differences in non-normative retirement age expectations across occupations (and perhaps industries as well).

<Insert Table 2 around here>

Results of the bivariate analyses are presented in Table 3. There were significant differences in age and education across the response outcomes. More specifically, people who expected themselves to retire three or more years earlier than the norm were significantly younger than people who expected to retire at the normative age (56 vs. 57), while people who expected themselves to retire within three years later than the norm or three or more years later than the norm were significantly older than people who expected to retire at the normative age (59 vs. 57, 62 vs. 57). Interestingly, there were mixed findings with regard to the bivariate relationship between education and non-normative retirement age expectation. People who

expected themselves to retire within three years earlier than the norm had about one more year of education than people who expected to retire at the normative age, while people who expected to retire within three years later than the norm had about one more year of education, and people who expected to retire three or more years later than norm had about one more year of education.

Significant differences were also found in pre-retirees' work enjoyment, employee preference for a phased retirement, employer support of reducing work demands, and work stress for the workplace experiences; and gender, race, and whether spouse worked for pay, for the control variables. Even though general significance was found, pairwise comparisons indicated no significant differences between the four outcome categories and base category in pre-retirees' self-reported health and wealth. Despite the general significance, the patterns also differed between each variable. For example, percent of people reported work enjoyment showed a linear effect indicating more work enjoyment led to later retirement ages; while work stress indicated a distinct pattern that more people who felt work stress retired slightly earlier than norm.

<Insert Table 3 around here>

Multivariate Analyses

The findings were consistent with the H2-1 hypothesis. The odds for someone who enjoyed their work to expect to retire three or more years earlier than norm was 70% lower than the odds for them to expect to retire at the normative age. It is the same for those who expected to retire within three years earlier than the norm ($RRR = 0.46$, $p < .01$). Similarly, the odds of someone who enjoyed their work to expect to retire three or more years later than the norm was 53% higher than the odds for them to expect to retire at the norm age. The findings were also consistent with the H1-2 hypothesis. The odds of someone in favor of phased retirement to expect to retire within three years earlier than the norm were twice the odds for them to expect to

retire at the normative age. Interestingly, if someone's employer was supportive of reducing their pay as well as work demands for pre-retirees, the odds for them to expect to retire three or more years earlier than the norm, or within three years earlier than the norm were 29%, and 44% higher than the odds for them to expect to retire at the norm age, respectively. The odds of them expecting a retirement three or more years later than the norm was 21% higher than them expecting to retire at the norm age. These findings did not support the H2-2 hypothesis. Moreover, pre-retirees who experienced work stress had 47% lower odds of expecting to retire three or more years earlier than expecting to retire at the norm age, which also ran counter to the H1-3 hypothesis. Consistent with the H1-4 hypothesis, pre-retirees who were provided an early-out window by their employer had more than twice the odds of expecting to retire three or more years earlier than the norm than expecting to retire at the norm. No significant differences were found in how age discrimination affected pre-retirees' non-normative retirement age expectations (suggesting a lack of support for H1-1).

<Insert Table 4 around here>

Discussion

The current study furthers our understanding of experiences at the workplace that may relate to an individual's non-normative retirement age expectations. Some results were consistent with the literature, such as the finding that enjoying one's work more relates to later expected retirement, and that individuals who have a preference for gradual phased retirement or have an option for an early-out window expected to retire earlier than the norm. However, there were some factors that were counterintuitive, such as how higher work stress at the workplace seemed to be related to a later expected retirement age than what is normative. Mixed findings were evident in the relationship between employer support of reducing work demands and individuals'

non-normative retirement age expectations. The findings are discussed in the context of several themes that emerged.

People Who Enjoy Work Stay Longer

Passion for work is positively related to the longevity of work life. The findings suggest that those who enjoy their work expect to have a later than usual retirement, while those who do not enjoy their work expect to retire early or much earlier than people in their field usually do. Research has shown that employees who find meaning in their work, who find it engaging and report high levels of job satisfaction, are more likely to want to keep working (Smyer & Pitt-Catsouphes, 2007). The relationship holds especially true for older workers, who often reassess the importance of work in their lives when they consider whether to continue working (Kanfer & Ackerman, 2004). There is also concrete evidence that happier employees are more productive in the workplace (Mcgillivray, 2006). At the corporate level, companies could find ways to make work less stressful for all of their employees in the years leading up to retirement. Such practices could increase productivity throughout the workforce and perhaps encourage experienced employees to retire past the normative retirement ages. However, this may not be in the best interest of older workers in occupations where they are less able to continue working and are better off retiring as early as possible. Society itself has come to traditionalize retirement as being part of life; however, these views could be geared away from the normative retirement ages as people live longer and look for further satisfaction in the workforce. Encouraging longer engagement in the workforce could ease or perhaps even reverse governments' ever growing role in sustaining an aging population.

High Work Stress Limits Older Workers' Ability to Work Longer

Research indicates that job stress (a perceived increase in workload) is the key factor that

raises the intention for early retirement (Lin, 2001; Siegrist, Wahrendorf, Von dem Knesebeck, Jürges, & Börsch-Supan, 2007). However, the current study found that people who experience higher work stress are less likely to expect to retire much earlier than usual. Previous research has suggested the possibility of a positive and negative effect of job stress. On the positive side, workers with high stress may also be high in inspiration and eagerness, and their jobs may encourage employees to face challenges in the workplace. On the negative side, unexpected stress may lead employees to shun challenges (Lin, 2001). Similarly, whether the effect of job stress is positive or negative probably lies mainly in an employee's perceptions regarding stress. For instance, employees' psychological perceptions can be influenced by their abilities—those with higher abilities may not intend to withdraw from the workplace even under relatively high stress (Lin, 2001). Future research should distinguish "eustress" and "distress" and use more detailed measures of work stress to distinguish whether it is moderate or normal psychological stress which is beneficial to the one experiencing it, or an external cause of great physical or mental strain and stress. Such insight could grant employers greater control in how workloads and assignments affect their workforce.

Corporate Policies and Employees' Expected Retirement Age

There are mixed results regarding how employer support of reducing work demands was related to an individual's non-normative retirement age expectation, with stronger employer support of reducing work demands related to both earlier retirement and much later retirement compared to retirement at the normative age. A look into older workers' own willingness to move to a less demanding position could provide context on how to interpret these results. One study found that low-paid employees may be unwilling to participate in a phased retirement program because they may be unable to live on a part-time salary alone (Johnson, 2011). For

more formal phased retirement programs, most employers gear them toward well-paid workers, who tend to have the specialized skills and knowledge that employers value and who can generally afford to reduce their work schedules (Johnson, 2011). Just as older employee's preference for a phased retirement was strongly related to an intention to retire early, support for reducing work demands may lead to flexibility in one's retirement decisions, especially when employer support of such policies is strong. Further research is needed to understand how flexible work policies leads to significantly different retirement trajectories among employees.

Being provided an early-out window by one's employer is strongly related to a much earlier than usual expected retirement. The findings are consistent with previous findings that an early retirement incentive plan is an effective motivator for older employees to retire before the conventional retirement age. However, compliance with the Age Discrimination in Employment Act must be ensured (Workplace Flexibility, 2010). As the current study shows, only a small percentage of respondents (less than five percent) reported being provided such incentives. This may be because such incentives could be misconstrued as methods to remove older workers from the workforce, but perhaps also because employers would like to keep their workforce rather than manage any costly alternatives. Policies safeguarding employees from being manipulated into either scenario could be difficult to implement at any level, but overall investigations of company employment could shed light on unjust practices.

The Possibility of Occupational Differences

While this study was based on the premise that there is important value in contextualizing "early" and "late" retirement around what is normative within one's occupation, unfortunately, the HRS's question that gets at this idea is a bit ambiguous in that it asks what the usual retirement age is "for people who work with you or have the same kind of job." This, of course,

is subjective (e.g., Do people really have an accurate sense of what the usual retirement age is for people they work with or who have the same kind of job as them? What happens when there is a range?) and it is unclear which group respondents were thinking of when answering (e.g., a janitor in a hospital could have very different answers if they provided a "usual age" for their coworkers on the same unit of the hospital which may include a variety of occupations—janitors, nurses, doctors—verses if they provided a "usual age" for the janitors in their hospital). The exploratory occupational analyses that were performed shed a bit of light on this issue.

Those in professional occupations appear to be less likely to expect to retire much earlier than the norm for their occupation (only nine percent) compared to service sector workers (26%) and blue-collar workers (18%). Perhaps this hints at the professional workers' possible relative privilege of being able to continue working because their job may require less physical demands and therefore are more likely to be able to continue if they need to or want to. However, blue-collar workers had the highest rates of workers who expected to retire much later than what is usual in their occupation (40%), followed by professional workers at 33% and service sector workers at only 23%. Perhaps this is indicative of the large amount of variation that may be present in the category of "blue-collar" occupations. While it is tempting to think that blue-collar occupations are frequently high in physical labor which might make this type of work difficult to perform as one ages, that is certainly not always the case. There are several blue-collar jobs, like bus and Uber driver, that are often seen as very attractive jobs for near retirees. Overall these analyses point to the need for future studies to very carefully unravel the occupational and industry-specific issues at play here.

Limitations and Future Directions

There are several limitations in this study to note and to follow up on in future research.

First, the study used cross-sectional data from the HRS, and did not assess whether there was a temporal difference between the predictor variables and the outcome variable, thus, no causal relationships could be drawn. It is possible that one's workplace experience affects one's expected retirement timing, but it is also possible that other unobserved factors (i.e. family caregiving roles, other life events/crises) affects one's perceptions of the workplace. Longitudinal data should be examined in future research to further confirm the current findings.

Second, use of secondary datasets often presents measurement limitations, which was the case with this study. In addition to the prior-mentioned ambiguities in how non-normative retirement age expectations were measured in this study (i.e., variations in how individuals may be interpreting "the usual retirement age for people who work with you or have the same kind of job"), it is also unclear exactly what is meant by the word "usual". There are key distinctions in the sociological literature between what is "typical" or "usual", and what people feel they "should" do or actually do, and this item does not define this term explicitly for respondents (Logan, 2012). Further, the three-year cutoff points that were used to form the five categories for this variable were arbitrary and it could be interesting to do some sensitivity analysis in the future to explore whether results hold with alternative cut-off points. Future research should develop a clearer measure of non-normative retirement age, such as one that calculates the difference between one's expected retirement age and the normative age based on different occupations, job titles, and retirement benefits. Such comparisons could further reveal nuanced differences in what "norm" truly matters for people's retirement decisions.

Other measurement issues are evident in the independent variables. Unfortunately, the HRS's measures of workplace experiences is very limited. All but one of the workplace variables was measured with a single-item (the exception is age discrimination, mean of 2 items), as

opposed to multi-item scales, and for the sake of interpretation, all of these single item measures were recoded from four-level ordinal variables into dichotomous variables. While multi-item scales with at least three items per construct is preferred (Shrout & Lane, 2012), some studies have found that single items perform as well as multi-item scales for constructs that are sufficiently straightforward and concrete (Bergkvist & Rossiter, 2009; Van Hooff, Geurts, Kompier, & Taris, 2007). However, many scholars would argue that constructs such as work enjoyment and work stress cannot be comprehensively measured using a single item. Also important to note, that the workplace-related variables that were able to be included here (that were termed experiences at the workplace) were a bit of a mixed bag of variables that get at individual perceptions (e.g., work enjoyment, work stress), employee preference for different benefits (e.g., employee preference for phased retirement), and employee-reports of the benefits/supports their employer offers (e.g., employer support of reducing work demands, early out window). Age discrimination straddled these different levels to some extent. While the current study did the best it could with the workplace variables available, it is essential that future studies seek to employ standardized, multi-item scales that assess a variety of workplace factors and experiences to further delve into these issues.

Third, the current sample was restricted to those who are over age 50 and reported not being retired. However, within such a big age range, there could be a difference in age horizons in retirement expectations. For example, someone who is just over 50 may expect to retire much later into their 70s, but when they reach 60, they would expect to retire soon. Future research into this should narrow down the age range and assess if the results still hold.

Fourth, going forward, future research could complement these results with case studies of particular occupations to try to figure out what it is about them that seems to encourage earlier

or later retirement. For example, identifying characteristics of occupations associated with earlier retirement could point to potential targets for policy intervention.

Finally, it would also be useful for follow up studies to examine those who reported that there was no usual retirement age in their occupation, as these individuals were left out of the sample in this study. McFall et al. (2015) found that occupations where respondents reported an older "usual age" or "no usual age" of retirement did have higher expectations of working past 65, and suggested that these norms, however, may be associated with less mutable aspects of the occupations. Future studies can explore the reasons that respondents report not having a normative retirement age.

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Appendix C

Table 1. *Descriptive Statistics of the Study Sample*

Variables	N	Mean (*SD*)/%
DV: Non-normative retirement age expectations	1848	
3 or more years earlier than norm		18.83%
within 3 years earlier than norm		7.79%
same with norm		32.68%
within 3 years later than norm		12.93%
3 or more years later than norm		27.76%
IV: Workplace experiences		
Work enjoyment	1848	
Yes		85.50%
No		14.50%
Age discrimination	1724	1.08 (0.65)
Employee preference for a phased retirement	1826	
Yes		58.43%
No		41.57%
Employer support of reducing work demands	1698	
Yes		27.62%
No		72.38%
Work stress	1848	
Yes		63.64%
No		36.36%
Early-out window	1721	
Yes		4.3%
No		95.70%
IV: Control variables		
Age	1848	58.38 (5.48)
Gender	1848	
Male		44.81%
Female		55.19%
Race/ethnicity	1729	
Non-Hispanic White		67.03%
Non-Hispanic Black		23.31%
Hispanics		5.73%
Non-Hispanic other race		3.93%
Marital status	1747	
Married/partnered		75.56%
Separated/divorced/widowed		24.44%
Education		14.11 (2.64)
Health	1747	2.49 (0.93)
Wealth	1747	~$456k ($1051k)
Whether spouse worked for pay	1229	
Yes		80.23%
No		19.77%
Presence of dependent	1806	
Yes		20.27%
No		79.73%

Notes. Age discrimination ranges from 0 to 3. Age ranges from 50 to 88. Education ranges from 0 to 17. Health ranges from 1 to 5. Wealth ranges from 0 to 2.45e+07. Median household wealth was $198,000 USD. Results are based on non-imputed data

Table 2. *Two-Way Tabulation of Non-Normative Retirement Age Expectations by Occupational Categories* (N = 396).

	3 or more years earlier than norm	within 3 years earlier than norm	Same as norm	within 3 years later than norm	3 or more years later than norm	Total
Professionals	18 (9%)	20 (10%)	61 (31%)	34 (17%)	65 (33%)	198
Service sector workers	36 (26%)	12 (9%)	43 (30%)	18 (13%)	32 (23%)	141
Blue-Collar workers	10 (18%)	1 (2%)	15 (26%)	8 (14%)	23 (40%)	57
Total	64 (16%)	33 (8%)	119 (30%)	60 (15%)	120 (30%)	396

Note. $\chi^2 = 23.99$, $p < .01$. Occupational category variable was coded per Wang (2019).

Table 3. *Bivariate Analyses on Workplace and Demographic Correlates and Non-Normative Retirement Age Expectations*

Variables	3 or more years earlier than norm	within 3 years earlier than norm	Same as norm	within 3 years later than norm	3 or more years later than norm	Test statistics
Workplace experiences						
Work enjoyment						62.11***
Yes	73.85%	78.47%	87.42%	89.96%	91.03%	
Age discrimination	1.06 (0.65)	1.05 (0.68)	1.09 (0.65)	1.05 (0.62)	1.09 (0.65)	1.50
Employee preference for a phased retirement						21.23***
Yes	60.65%	74.65%	58.03%	52.32%	55.77%	
Employer support of reducing work demands						7.61**
Yes	30.12%	33.85%	24.39%	25.35%	29.14%	
Work stress						20.14***
Yes	54.02%	72.22%	65.07%	66.53%	64.72%	
Early-out window						7.01
Yes	5.79%	5.22%	3.11%	6.33%	3.49%	
Controls						
Age	55.95 (3.28)*	57.98 (3.35)	56.96 (3.83)	59.01 (5.36)***	61.53 (7.13)***	369.54***
Gender						13.70***
Male	39.94%	43.75%	42.22%	45.19%	51.27%	
Female	60.06%	56.25%	57.78%	54.81%	48.73%	
Race/Ethnicity						57.94***
Non-Hispanic White	61.61%	78.42%	60.82%	78.17%	69.31%	
Non-Hispanic Black	29.41%	20.14%	25.76%	19.21%	19.21%	
Hispanic	5.26%	1.44%	7.33%	2.62%	6.89%	
Non-Hispanic other race	3.72%	0.00%	6.08%	0.00%	4.59%	
Marital status						4.75
Married/partnered	74.61%	77.21%	75.83%	80.35%	73.16%	
Separated/divorced/widowed	25.39%	22.79%	24.17%	19.65%	26.84%	
Education	13.60 (2.58)	14.50 (2.38)*	13.76 (2.72)	14.50 (2.26)**	14.56 (2.71)***	15.21**
Health	2.47 (1.05)	2.40 (1.02)	2.50 (0.91)	2.48 (0.87)	2.50 (0.87)	19.28***
Wealth	522k (1410k)	587k (839k)	546k (548k)	440k (609k)	510k (138k)	590.80***
Whether spouse worked for pay						10.43*
Yes	79.27%	79.25%	85.01%	76.33%	76.51%	
Presence of dependent						2.20
Yes	20.54%	16.90%	21.81%	20.09%	19.28%	

Notes. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$. Analyses are based on non-imputed data; sample size is the same with Table 1. Post-hoc Tukey's test was conducted to examine the relationships between each of the four outcome categories and the base category (same as norm) with each continuous –level predictors.

Table 4. *Multinomial Logistic Regression Model* (*N* = 1,848)

Variables	Non-normative retirement age expectation (*Ref.* = same as norm)							
	3 or more years earlier than norm		within 3 years earlier than norm		within 3 years later than norm		3 or more years later than norm	
	RRR	*SE*	*RRR*	*SE*	*RRR*	*SE*	*RRR*	*SE*
Workplace experiences								
Work enjoyment (*Ref.* = No)								
Yes	0.30***	0.06	0.46**	0.12	1.20	0.32	1.53*	0.34
Age discrimination	0.80	0.10	0.88	0.14	1.05	0.14	1.16	0.13
Employee preference for a phased retirement (*Ref.* = No)								
Yes	1.10	0.17	2.06***	0.45	0.76	0.13	0.82	0.11
Employer support of reducing work demands (*Ref.* = No)								
Yes	1.29*	0.21	1.44**	0.31	1.08	0.21	1.21*	0.19
Work stress (*Ref.* = No)								
Yes	0.53***	0.08	1.18	0.26	1.02	0.18	1.09	0.16
Early-out window (*Ref.* = No)								
Yes	2.32***	0.81	1.81	0.86	2.06	0.79	1.27	0.48
Controls								
Age	0.93***	0.02	1.04	0.02	1.09***	0.02	1.18***	0.02
Gender (*Ref.* = Male)								
Female	1.21	0.18	1.05	0.21	1.04	0.17	0.87	0.12
Race/Ethnicity (*Ref.* = Non-Hispanic White)								
Non-Hispanic Black	1.24	0.23	0.80	0.21	0.64*	0.14	0.69*	0.13
Hispanic	0.61	0.23	0.44	0.25	0.47	0.23	1.72	0.53
Non-Hispanic other race	0.52	0.19	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.79	0.25
Marital Status (*Ref.* = Single/separated/divorced/ widowed)								
Married/partnered	0.84	0.15	0.90	0.24	1.36	0.31	0.89	0.15
Education	0.96	0.03	1.07	0.05	1.11**	0.04	1.17***	0.04
Health	0.96	0.08	0.97	0.11	1.10	0.10	1.05	0.08
Wealth (logged)	1.14*	0.07	1.17*	0.09	1.00	0.06	0.96	0.05
Whether spouse worked for pay (*Ref.* = No)								
Yes	0.76	0.18	0.66	0.17	0.57*	0.13	0.64	0.15
Presence of Dependent (*Ref.* = No)								
Yes	0.90	0.16	0.74	0.19	0.95	0.19	1.04	0.17

Notes: *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$. *RRR* = relative risk reduction.

How Does Involuntary Retirement Relate to Retirement Satisfaction?

A Longitudinal Mediation Model

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Abstract

People want to enter retirement in the best possible manner at the best possible time. However, difficult life circumstances may limit one's choices about how one enters retirement. Whether one has a voluntary or involuntary transition into retirement may be related to one's well-being and satisfaction after retirement. Using the theory of self-efficacy, the primary aim of this study is to test whether involuntary retirement has an adverse effect on retirement satisfaction approximately two years later through either a lowered global sense of control (i.e., lower personal mastery and higher perceived constraints), lowered domain-specific control (i.e., lower control over health, social life, and finances), or both.

Using the Health and Retirement Study (HRS), this study conducted mediation analyses based on a sample of 964 individuals who self-identified as retired and had valid responses for the measures of control in 2010-2012. Results showed that voluntary retirement was significantly related to higher personal mastery and more perceived control over health, social life, and finances, which further related to higher retirement satisfaction, indicating partial mediation. Perceived constraints was not a significant mediator in explaining the relationship between involuntary retirement and retirement satisfaction.

This study has important implications. Control over one's health, social life, and finance leads to greater retirement satisfaction. Without this control, involuntary retirement may lead to an unsatisfactory post-retirement. It is important for social workers to understand the constraints that lead to such losses in control over health, social life, and finances. Pension planning services established by companies and employers would do the most to ensure everyone planning for retirement has the right tool set and mind set for maintaining control, whether the life course takes a turn for the worse or not.

How Does Involuntary Retirement Relate to Retirement Satisfaction?

A Longitudinal Mediation Model

The life expectancies of Americans have been increasing. Statistics showed that the average life expectancy in the United States (US) has reached 78.6 years old (World Bank, 2016). Both men and women are expected to live longer lives, perhaps 20 to 30 years past what we have traditionally considered to be retirement age (Hinshaw, 2007). The landscape of factors that affect retirement security and planning in this era of increasing longevity are complex and continuously emerging. Many of today's older adults in the US are facing their later life having been hit hard by the great recession of 2008 and the unforgiving economy that followed, saddled with debt, minimal pension or retirement savings, and poor options for continued work. Data suggests that half of Americans are at risk of not having enough savings to retire (Munnell, Hou & Webb, 2014). Working longer than the traditional retirement age has been raised as an important way in which older adults can increase the likelihood of affording retirement (Munnell & Sass, 2008) and also as a way to stay active, engaged, and maintain a sense of purpose and structure in the context of longer expected lifespans (Morrow-Howell, Gonzales, Matz-Costa, & Greenfield, 2015).

However, as the proverb goes, "The best-laid plans of mice and men often go astray", choosing when one will retire is not always within one's own control. In fact, a recent study found that slightly over one-half of adults in their early 50s who are working full-time with a long-term employer subsequently experienced an involuntary job separation (Johnson & Gosselin, 2018). There are a variety of factors that could contribute to a forced or involuntary retirement, including family caregiving responsibilities, a health crisis/shock or disability, or company closure or layoffs (Denton, Plenderleith, & Chowhan, 2010; Helman, Copeland, &

VanDerhei, 2012), potentially putting retirees on a very different, and more precarious, trajectory for their retirement than they expected. Involuntary retirement, for instance, could present problems with regard to financial stability (Johnson & Gosselin, 2018) and maintaining overall health and well-being in both the short-term and long-term for retirees, which compounds the psychosocial adjustment that is challenging even when transitioning to retirement under optimal conditions (Van Solinge, 2013). Studies have found that older workers who have lost their jobs because of lay-offs or plant shutdowns take longer to find new jobs than younger workers who have similarly lost their jobs. Even worse, although many older workers plan to continue working at least part time instead of fully retiring, those who have to change jobs in order to reduce hours are likely to stop working entirely (Abraham & Houseman, 2004; Chan & Stevens, 2004). Obtaining a new job for older workers is also accompanied by substantial earnings reductions (Johnson & Butrica, 2012; Johnson & Gosselin, 2018).

Interestingly, forced or involuntary retirement is not a variable that has been consistently accounted for in studies on the effects of retirement on well-being. For example, a systematic review of 22 longitudinal studies found that only one looked at the difference between voluntary and involuntary retirement and its effect on post-retirement health outcomes, which could help to explain why much of the literature on the impact of retirement is mixed (van der Heide, van Rijn, Robroek, Alex Burdorf, and Proper, 2013; Rhee, Mor Barak & Gallo, 2016). Among the studies that have focused on the effect of voluntariness, empirical evidence consistently points to a negative effect of involuntary retirement on a variety of post-retirement outcomes including health (Dave, Rashad, & Spasojevic, 2007; Rhee, Mor Barak & Gallo, 2016; van Solinge, 2007), mental health (Mosca, 2016; Szinovacz & Davey, 2004), life satisfaction (Calvo, Haverstick, & Sass, 2007; Van Solinge, 2013; Zantinge, van den Berg, Smit, & Picavet, 2014), and the

adoption of unhealthy lifestyles choices such as smoking and excessive alcohol use (Bacharach, Bamberger, Biron, & Horowitz-Rozen, 2008; Zantinge, Van den Berg, Smit, Picavet, 2014).

While the literature on involuntary retirement has expanded and become more robust in recent years, we still know relatively little about the specific mechanisms through which the voluntariness of retirement has its effect on outcomes, yet this is important in helping to identify potentially modifiable factors that can alter negative post-retirement trajectories. Recently, Rhee, Mor Barak, and Gallo (2016) examined mechanisms of the effect of involuntary retirement on self-rated health and mental health among adults aged 50 or older using the Health and Retirement Study (HRS) and found that the transition to involuntary retirement was directly negatively associated with subsequent self-rated health and indirectly negatively associated with mental health via perception of less financial control. Conversely, voluntary retirement was indirectly positively associated with both self-rated and mental health via perception of more financial control. While this study used latent deprivation theory and life course theory to hypothesize several plausible mechanisms mediating the relationship between retirement and those outcome measures—i.e., financial control, positive family relationship, negative family relationship, and social integration—only financial control emerged as significant, leaving an open question as to what additional mediating factors may be at play here.

The current study seeks to fill this gap by using the theory of self-efficacy to inform hypotheses around possible psychosocial mechanisms at play in the relationship between voluntary and involuntary retirement and retirement satisfaction. Specifically, it explores whether one's overall sense of control (global sense of control) mediates the relationship or whether it is control (or lack thereof) over very specific domains of one's life (domain-specific control) that plays a larger role in explaining the relationship. Disentangling whether and how

loss of control during an involuntary retirement event might lead to a lower global sense of control or a loss of control experienced in multiple life domains and subsequently lower retirement satisfaction can contribute to our understanding of the retirement process and can inform potential interventions to support well-being in later life.

Theoretical and Empirical Framework

Theory and Empirical Evidence

Self-efficacy is defined as a personal judgment of how well "one can execute courses of action required to deal with prospective situations" (Bandura, 1982). Expectations of personal efficacy determine whether an individual's coping behavior will be initiated, how much task-related effort will be expended, and how long that effort will be sustained despite disconfirming evidence (Bandura, 1986, 1997). Individuals who perceive themselves as highly efficacious activate sufficient effort that, if well executed, increases the likelihood of successful outcomes, whereas those who perceive low self-efficacy are likely to cease their efforts prematurely and fail on the task (Bandura, 1986, 1997). In the context of work-related performance, empirical research has found that self-efficacy is related to coping with career-related events (Stumpf, Brief, & Hartman, 1987), newcomer adjustment to an organizational setting (Saks, 1995), and managerial performance (Wood, Bandura, & Bailey, 1990). A meta-analytic review (Stajkovic & Luthans, 1998) of the relationship between self-efficacy and work-related performance showed significant positive average weighted correlation between self-efficacy and work performance.

There are existing studies examining perceived sense of control as an important factor in goal planning and outcomes. Lapierre and Allen (2012) found that control at work was more strongly related to reductions in work and family interference among employees who showed more, rather than less, planning behavior. Prenda and Lachman (2001) supported a model for

older adults in which the effects of future planning on life satisfaction were mediated by perceived sense of control. Kohan, Simbar, and Taleghani (2012) viewed knowledge of family planning and autonomy of decision-making in fertility issues as essential elements for control in fertility plans, and suggested family planning policymakers should plan services with new approaches that focus on women's health and empowerment. This paper aims to build on the literature by using the theory of self-efficacy to interpret retirement planning behavior and retirement satisfaction.

The Role of Self-Efficacy in Maintaining Control in Retirement

The variation in retirement timing has grown, suggesting that individual choices have increased (Guillemard & Van Gunsteren, 1991). However, there are substantive differences between the expected and preferred exit age in retirement (Esser, 2006). Expected timing of retirement is an expression of individuals' judgment when extrinsic constraints (e.g., financial opportunities) are considered, while preferred exit age is regarded as individuals' taste for retirement timing, putting more emphasis on individuals' intrinsic values (Lindemann & Unt, 2016). An individual's actual retirement age may not always be the preferred exit age due to restrictive circumstances such as finances, personal health, or family caregiving responsibilities. A substantial proportion of retirees (20%–30%) perceive their retirement as forced or involuntary (Isaksson & Johansson, 2000). Figures from the International Social Survey Program indicate that forced or involuntary retirement may account for anywhere between 10% to almost half of all early retirements in Western countries (Dorn & Sousa-Poza, 2005). Only 1 in 10 of these involuntarily separated workers ever earned as much after their separation as before. Median household income fell 42% following an employer-related involuntary job separation, and

median household income at age 65 for workers who experienced an involuntary separation was 14% lower than for those who did not (Johnson & Gosselin, 2018).

Researchers have generally assumed that involuntary retirement arises primarily from health problems or organizational downsizing (Gallo, Bradley, Siegel, & Kasl, 2000; Isaksson & Johansson, 2000). Involuntary retirement might be perceived as more stressful because of a perceived lack of control, as opposed to a voluntary retirement. The abrupt and unanticipated nature of involuntary career exit can complicate the stressful transition to retirement. Some studies have concluded that the lack of a sense of personal control over the retirement decision is specifically responsible for these negative changes in late-life outcomes (Calvo, Haverstick, & Sass, 2009; De Vaus, Wells, Kendig, & Quine, 2007). Such a lack of personal control over the retirement transition may lower one's self-efficacy, which may eventually lead to an unsatisfactory retirement (Mountain & Craig, 2011; Unson & Richardson, 2013; Blazer, 2002). All of the above evidence points to the importance in examining self-efficacy to help retirees gain more control in planning their retirement more, however, relevant studies are lacking.

Based on the above theoretical and empirical framework, this study hypothesizes that involuntary retirement, compared to voluntary retirement, has an adverse indirect effect on retirement satisfaction through one's global sense of control (i.e., personal mastery and perceived constraints) and domain-specific control (i.e., control over health, social life and finances). In other words, involuntary retirees have lower post-retirement levels of personal mastery (H1), higher levels of perceived constraints (H2), and perceive less control over their health (H3), their social life (H4), and their finances (H5) than voluntary retirees, and these perceptions are, in turn, associated with lower retirement satisfaction.

Methods

Data and Sample

This paper used the HRS to test the above-specified hypotheses. The HRS is a nationally representative dataset that captures the health, retirement, and aging information of adults age 50 and over in the United States (HRS, 2016). In the first decade after its inception in 1992, the HRS initially focused on the health, economics, and demographics of aging and the retirement process. Since 2006, the HRS has collected psychosocial and lifestyle data biennially using a self-administered questionnaire known as the Leave Behind Questionnaire (LBQ). A randomly rotating 50% of the core panel participants who do an enhanced face-to-face interview (EFTF) are asked to complete the LBQ at their convenience and return it by mail (Smith et al., 2017). Given that 50% of the sample was asked to complete the LBQ in any given wave, the full sample of participants responding to the LBQ can be achieved by pooling across two waves. The current study used the data from the LBQ and RAND, which contains a cleaned, processed, and streamlined collection of variables and pooled cross-sectional data from waves 11 (2012) and 12 (2014). Pooled data from wave 11 and wave 12 were used for the outcome variable, and data from wave 10 (2010) and wave 11 were used for the independent variables and mediators. Only those who reported currently being retired, and who were asked the question about whether their retirement was voluntary or not at the time when they retired, were included in the sample. The total sample size was 964.

Measures

Dependent variable.

Retirement satisfaction. The question asked the respondents, "All in all, would you say that your retirement has turned out to be very satisfying, moderately satisfying, or not at all satisfying?" The proportional odds assumption was tested for conducting ordered logistic

regression analyses with this ordinal-level outcome variable. However, the results indicate the assumption was violated ($\chi^2 = 18.62$, $p < .001$), thus the outcome was collapsed and treated as binary in the analysis. Per Li et al. (2014), the outcome variable was coded as follows: 0 for "not at all satisfying" and 1 for "moderately satisfying" and "very satisfying".

Independent variable.

Involuntary retirement. The question asked the respondents, "Thinking back to the time you partly/completely retired, was that something you wanted to do or something you felt you were forced into?" The response was measured as a dichotomous variable with 0 = voluntary retirement (i.e., wanted to do) and 1 = involuntary retirement (i.e., forced into). Very few respondents (less than three percent) reported that they partly wanted and were partly forced to retire; if so, they were excluded from the sample.

Mediators.

Global sense of control. Global sense of control was measured using measures of personal mastery and perceived constraints that were based on the Midlife Developmental Inventory and that have been found to have strong psychometric properties (Lachman & Weaver, 1998; Pearlin & Schooler, 1978). For the *personal mastery* scale, respondents were asked how much they agree or disagree with each of the following statements: (a) "I can do just about anything I really set my mind to," (b) "When I really want to do something, I usually find a way to succeed at it," (c) "Whether or not I am able to get what I want is in my own hands," (d) "What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me," and (e) "I can do the things that I want to do." Response options ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). A scale was created where the items were averaged. Cronbach's alpha was calculated as .91 for years 2010 and 2012, which indicates a high internal consistency in how the responses measure the

construct of personal mastery. For the *perceived constraints* scale, respondents were asked how much they agree or disagree with each of the following statements: (a) "I often feel helpless in dealing with the problems of life," (b) "Other people determine most of what I can and cannot do," (c) "What happens in my life is often beyond my control," (d) "I have little control over the things that happen to me," and (e) "There is really no way I can solve the problems I have." The five items were averaged to calculate a mean score to measure perceived constraints. Cronbach's alpha was calculated as 0.90 for both years 2010 and 2012, which indicates a high scale reliability in how the items measure the construct of perceived constraints.

Domain-specific control. Domain-specific control was assessed using three single-item measures that were introduced in a study on sociodemographic variations in the sense of control by domain, based on the MacArthur Studies of Midlife (Lachman & Weaver, 1998). Using a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 indicating "no control at all" to 10 indicating "having much control", the respondents were asked to rate the amount of control they felt they had at the time over their health, social life, and finances. Each of these items were treated as continuous variables in analyses.

Control variables.

Age. Age was measured as a continuous variable.

Gender. *Gender* was measured as 0 = male and 1 = female.

Marital status. Marital status was treated as a dichotomous variable with 0 for married or partnered, and 1 for single, separated, divorced, or widowed.

Education. Education was measured on a continuous scale indicating the number of years of schooling completed.

Wealth. Wealth measured respondents' total assets including secondary residences and individual retirement account (IRAs). Cubbin et al. (2011) argued that wealth may be more important to examine in relation to health and wellbeing outcomes than income among older adults, as income typically drops dramatically following retirement. Wealth was log transformed to reduce the skewness in the regression models.

Health. It was measured as the respondents' self-reported health and it was coded as a dichotomous variable, with 0 = having poor (fair, poor) health and 1 = having good (excellent, very good, good) health.

Life satisfaction. The question asked the respondents, "Please think about your life as a whole. How satisfied are you with it? Are you completely satisfied, very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied?" The response was measured as a dichotomous variable with 0 = not satisfied (those who were not very satisfied and not at all satisfied) and 1 = satisfied (those who were very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, and completely satisfied). Those who refused to answer or answered "don't know" were excluded from the analyses.

Whether one lives close to an adult child. The question asked if any of the respondents' children lived within 10 miles of their residence. This measure was used as a proxy for one's family connectedness in later life, which is an important aspect of social life for older adults. Answers were coded as 0 = no and 1 = yes.

Analytic Strategy

First, univariate analyses were performed and descriptive statistics of the study sample were reported in Table 1. Next, bivariate analyses were performed to see if there were differences between those who retired voluntarily and involuntarily. Finally, to assess the mediating effect of global sense of control and domain-specific control, direct and indirect

effects were estimated based on five separate mediation models. Models were estimated separately rather than with all of the mediators in one model together based on the fact that these variables were correlated with each other (Pearson R ranged from 0.39 to 0.59), which could cause multicollinearity problems, and because it is likely that they would explain overlapping variance in the dependent variable. Bonferroni correction was employed by deflating the p-value using the initial p-value divided by the number of analyses, in my case, .05/5 = .01. This method is based on a conservative approach to help decrease the risk of Type I error (Bland & Altman, 1995).

Per Zhao, Lynch, and Chen's (2010) mediation testing procedure, the five models estimated included a model where each of the mediators was regressed on the involuntary retirement variable and a model where retirement satisfaction was regressed on the involuntary retirement variable and each mediator. The coefficients from these models were then used to calculate an indirect effect using the product of coefficients method (Zhao et al., 2010), where *a* was the unstandardized coefficient of the predictor variable on the mediator and *b* was the unstandardized coefficient of the mediator on the outcome variable. The indirect effect was calculated as the product of these two terms ($a \times b$). The total effect was the sum of the indirect effects and the direct effect of the predictor variable on the outcome variable ($a \times b + c'$), where *c'* was the unstandardized coefficient of the predictor variable on the outcome. Bootstrapping with case resampling method was used to test the indirect effect. Odds ratio was manually calculated as the exponentiated value of the coefficient *b* to facilitate interpretation. Confidence intervals were computed and were checked to determine if 0 was in the interval. Given the small sample size, 500 replications were created for the sample. The direct and indirect effect, total effect, and proportion of total effect mediated are presented in Table 3.

Imputations available from RAND were used for all non-LBQ variables in analyses. The Markov chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) method (Schafer, 1997) was used to produce 20 datasets for multiple imputations. Missing data imputed using this method ranged from 0.0% (i.e., age) to 24% (wealth). The total sample size was 964. Listwise deletion was applied for LBQ variables. Stata 14 SE was used to conduct all analyses.

Results

Univariate analysis results are reported in Table 1. For those retirees who reported involuntary retirement, their mean age was 66.28 (*SD* = 8.67), almost half were male, and 66% reported being married or partnered. Their average number of years of education was 12.76 (*SD* = 2.89), their average household wealth was approximately $240,000, and health was split equally between good and poor health. Sixty-three percent reported that they had at least one adult child living within 10 miles from them. Nevertheless, 74% reported that they had a satisfying life. For those retirees who reported voluntary retirement, their mean age was 66.85 (*SD* = 7.51), almost half were female, and 73% reported being married or partnered. Their average number of years of education was 13.56 (*SD* = 2.52), average household wealth was $605,000, and 89% reported having good health. Fifty-two percent reported that they had at least one adult child living within 10 miles from them. Almost everyone (99%) reported that they had a satisfying life. Among the respondents who reported voluntary retirement, almost everyone (98%) reported having a satisfying retirement, but among those who reported involuntary retirement, significantly less people (74%) reported having a satisfying retirement.

Bivariate analyses results are also reported in Table 1. On a scale of 1 to 6, respondents who underwent involuntary retirement reported significantly lower personal mastery (*M* = 4.46, *SD* = 1.28) and higher perceived constraints (*M* = 2.42, *SD* = 1.24) than those who voluntarily

retired (M = 4.98, SD = 1.05 for personal mastery, and M = 1.92, SD = 1.06 for perceived constraints). On a scale of 0 to 10, respondents who underwent involuntary retirement reported an average control over health of 6.42, control over social life of 7.20, and control over finances of 6.36, which were all significantly lower than the corresponding averages of 7.52, 8.44, and 7.90 for those who voluntarily retired. There were also significant differences in terms of age, marital status, education, wealth, health, life satisfaction, and whether an adult child lived close between voluntary and involuntary retirees, which emphasizes the importance of controlling for these factors.

<Insert Table 1 around here>

Next, mediation analyses were conducted to explore whether the relationship between involuntary retirement and retirement satisfaction was accounted for by global sense of control (personal mastery and perceived constraints) and/or domain-specific control (control over health, social life, and finances) (see Table 2). Findings showed that personal mastery significantly mediated the relationship between involuntary retirement and retirement satisfaction. More specifically, involuntary retirement was associated with 76% lower odds of reporting retirement satisfaction, OR = 0.24, $p < .001$, controlling for other factors in the model. Involuntary retirement decreased personal mastery, b = -0.23, $p < .001$, and higher personal mastery was associated with 27% increased odds of reporting retirement satisfaction, OR = 1.27, $p < .001$. The odds of reporting an unsatisfactory retirement if someone retired involuntarily were reduced by two percent for every 1-point increase in personal mastery, OR = 0.26, $p < .001$. A significant indirect effect was found, b = -0.02, $p < .001$, and partial mediation was concluded. The proportion of total effect mediated was calculated as 1 - c'/c = 4.20%. The indirect effect was not

significant for the model where perceived constraints was a mediator, thus the mediation effect was not calculated.

Furthermore, findings showed that domain-specific control over health, social life, and finance significantly mediated the relationship between involuntary retirement and retirement satisfaction. More specifically, involuntary retirement was associated with 76% lower odds of reporting retirement satisfaction, $OR = 0.24$, $p < .001$, controlling for other factors in the model. Involuntary retirement decreased control over health, $b = -0.44$, $p < .001$, and higher control over health was associated with 22% increased odds of reporting retirement satisfaction, $OR = 1.22$, $p < .001$. The odds of reporting an unsatisfactory retirement if someone retired involuntarily was reduced by 1% if someone had higher control over health, $OR = 0.25$, $p < .001$. Significant indirect effect was found, $b = -0.02$, $p < .001$, and partial mediation was concluded. The proportion of total effect mediated was calculated as $1 - c'/c = 3.67\%$. Similar procedures were used in calculating the total mediation effects for the models where control over social life and control over finances were mediators (see Table 2).

<Insert Table 2 around here>

Discussion

Research has consistently shown that those who feel that they had retired involuntarily have more negative post-retirement well-being outcomes, such as lower levels of happiness, worse health and mental health, and lower retirement satisfaction (Dave, Rashad, & Spasojevic, 2007; Szinovacz & Davey, 2004; Van Solinge, 2013), but the reasons have not been clear. The current study tests whether personal mastery, perceived constraints, and domain-specific control over health, social life, and finances are mechanisms through which involuntary retirement has a long term negative effect on retirement satisfaction.

Findings were somewhat mixed with regard to the hypotheses concerning the global sense of control measures and their role in mediating the negative effect of involuntary retirement. In support of H1, people who involuntarily retired had lower levels of personal mastery at time 1 (T1), which, in turn, related to lower retirement satisfaction two years later. Likewise, those who involuntarily retired had higher perceived constraints at T1, which, in turn, related to lower retirement satisfaction, however, this indirect effect did not reach a level of statistical significance. Thus, H2 was not necessarily supported, as the indirect effect was not statistically significant, however it was trending in the expected direction. During the retirement planning process, retirees may have faced certain circumstances that limited or removed their preferred choices in planning for retirement. For example, those who had family caregiving responsibilities may have been more likely to plan for an early retirement against their own desires in order to take care of their loved ones. Those who themselves suffered sudden health deterioration may have had to retire earlier than expected despite how well-prepared they felt financially or socially. When life situations go beyond one's sense of control, one may perceive lower levels of control (i.e., perceive more constraints). In this case, perceived constraints would have a stronger effect in explaining why someone would not be satisfied with their retirement. Conversely, in situations that reinforce one's sense of control, such as maintaining positive health, or accumulating a substantial retirement fund, personal mastery beliefs may show stronger effects (White et al., 2012). Examining both constraints and control can have implications for social work intervention to combine increasing control and decreasing constraints in preparing the aging population for retirement (Infurna & Mayer, 2015). Though perceived constraints as a mediator did not emerge as statistically significant in the model, it is still important to look at it when examining retirement satisfaction. Constraints, more so than

mastery, is more easily recognized and opaque. Dealing with various constraints is already common for many people and provides the overarching concept necessary to understand why losing control in different domains of life is so significant in losing out on a satisfactory retirement.

With regard to hypotheses focused on the role of domain-specific control in mediating the negative effect of involuntary retirement, all three hypotheses were supported. Specifically, those who involuntarily retired perceived less control over their health, and having less control over their health was, in turn related to having lower retirement satisfaction (in support of H3). Good health, along with financial security, is also an important prerequisite for satisfaction during the retirement years, primarily as it influences an individual's ability to engage in social and leisure activities (Barrow, 1996; Kim & Feldman, 2000). Nevertheless, given that an individual's health in retirement is typically influenced by both current and previous health practices (Breslow, Reuben, & Wallace, 2000), it is vital that individuals plan for their health in retirement by engaging in health-promoting practices well in advance of their retirement (Topa, Lunceford, & Boyatzis, 2017). Setting out to make sure that older workers are able to maintain a firm grasp on their health is easier said than done. At one end, social workers can work with aging individuals to ensure that they stay active and are making good healthy life choices for the long run. This is best done through the community and companies as there they would have the most access and capabilities to advise and treat individuals, especially pre-retirement. On the other hand, bureaucracies and policies already set in place can make it extremely difficult for individuals to enjoy retirement when situations take a turn for the worse and retirement becomes questionable at best. In the domain of health, this could mean backward government practices set in place to aid injured workers in the worker's compensation program, but in reality, only slow

down proper and timely health care treatment further exacerbating overall health and well-being, let alone a satisfactory retirement. For example, workers who get injuries at work and receive worker's compensation can experience excessive wait time for proper treatment, and such situations could negatively impact their work prospects and retirement plans as a whole. Such practices rob individuals of the control they once had over their healthcare and can possibly remove able individuals from the workforce early. Social workers, in this case, would do their best by being knowledgeable of these excessive bureaucracies and mindful of the alternatives. However, it does not solely fall on social workers. It would also be beneficial to encourage employer-sponsored health and wellness programs and policies that can help employees develop more control over their health. For example, studies have shown that disease prevention programs can aim either to prevent the onset of diseases (primary prevention) or to diagnose and treat disease at an early stage before complications occur (secondary prevention). Workplace wellness programs address both health-related behaviors and risk factors. Such programs take advantage of employers' access to employees at an age when interventions can still change their long-term health trajectory (Mattke et al., 2013).

People who involuntarily retired perceived less control over their social life, which, in turn, related to lower retirement satisfaction (in support of H4). Research has shown that an individual's involvement with leisure activities prior to retirement predicts his or her involvement level in retirement (Iso-Ahola, Jackson, & Dunn, 1994; De Vaus & Wells, 2004) and that very few people actually take up totally new endeavors and activities during retirement (Ekerdt & Vinick, 1991). Having a good social relationship with family, friends, and neighbors offers a means of support as well as a source of identity. For many individuals, particularly those who derive many of their meaningful social interactions from colleagues at work, retirement can

feel lonely and isolating. Therefore, psychosocial planning for retirement plays a critical role in ensuring a satisfying retirement experience (Bosse, Aldwin, Levenson, Spiro, & Mroczek, 1993). The social life one creates can often lead an individual to make better or worse decisions that ultimately affect their overall retirement satisfaction. People may establish their status by comparing themselves to others and choose to follow the example set by others, be it good or bad. Employer programs and policies can help older adults by encouraging employers to connect volunteer roles in the community during work time which may help them to find volunteer work and social activities that they want to become involved in when they retire. For example, Intel provides encore fellowships that serve such a purpose.

Being satisfied with one's introverted or extroverted personality traits plays the same role in deciding whether one is following the path they expect, specifically the path towards a life with reduced or no work. Social workers could educate individuals to look at their social life and derive their position not simply based on others, but on the greater picture, and what they wish to accomplish. This can be taught as a staple of social work. Regardless of an individual's lifestyle, they are not bound to a certain type of social life after retirement. Retirement plans could and should vary, but the overall goal is still satisfaction after retiring.

Finally, those who involuntarily retired perceived less control over their finances, which, in turn, related to lower retirement satisfaction (in support of H5). People can perceive less control over their finance because of poor financial planning, as evidence suggests that those who plan for retirement accumulate more wealth (Ameriks, Caplin, & Leahy, 2002; Stawski, Hershey, & Jacobs-Lawson, 2007). On the other hand, even if someone has steadily invested and saved for retirement and participated in financial planning activities, unfortunate life circumstances may happen (e.g., losing a job, or a spouse becoming ill) that make their

retirement plans fall through. Instead of only focusing on the amount of net retirement asset, this study sheds light on the importance of increasing mastery in financial security, which further predicts one's retirement satisfaction. As previously mentioned, social workers could play a major role in helping others save and invest for retirement through financial planning activates in order to build up confidence and control over where those planning to retire ultimately place their hard-earned money. Companies and employers could introduce benefits and incentives to planning and saving early and aggressively. Moreover, even without increasing financial resources, social workers, employers, and government agencies can help workers feel more confident in their ability to manage their given resources. Helping make sure people know what they have and what lifestyle that affords and offering them more certainty about a very uncertain period could start much earlier during their work years. These factors can help in the first few years of retirement to make sure people know how to claim benefits and spend their retirement assets without spending too much or too little. It is also important to make sure people whose capacity to manage their money late in life due to cognitive impairment or high health needs are able to get help managing their finances and avoiding fraud. None of these actually involve saving more, though that always helps. Both having more savings and having better financial preparatory awareness help people to have better control over their finances, which could also help prevent other factors from playing a constraining role.

Limitations and Future Directions

There are, of course, limitations to this study that should be considered. First, the involuntary/voluntary retirement outcome might not fully capture the circumstances that limit one's choices before retirement. Future studies can develop more nuanced measures of the voluntariness of the retirement transition that includes the reasons behind involuntary retirement

(health, lay-offs, etc.), the extent to which their plans were derailed by these issues, and how much earlier they were forced to retire than what they had planned for or expected. For example, those with greater education or higher income, on average, perceive greater control than those with lower socio-economic status, which is likely due to greater environmental constraints associated with lower income or less education (Robinson & Lachman, 2017).

Second, even though life satisfaction was controlled at the first time point, endogeneity may still be a concern because of insufficient lagged variables, such as controlling for one's sense of control before they retired. Even though the study is longitudinal, we cannot claim causality, as this study is not an experimental study. Future studies can design a quasi-experimental study to recruit participants with similar backgrounds at the baseline before they retire, control for specific incidents that deprive some participants of the control in domains over social life, finances, and health, and analyze whether the changes in control over years prior to retirement lead to the overall difference in retirement satisfaction. Such a quasi-experimental study would require much more resources for data collection and implementation, but it can reveal a clearer picture of what the incidents are that can cause critical loss in personal mastery and personal control during the years prior to retirement, and how that can have a significant impact on one's retirement satisfaction.

Third, the current retirement satisfaction variable is a binary variable. In future studies, the measure of retirement satisfaction can be improved and measured continuously. Seldom can a person claim themselves to be satisfied or unsatisfied post-retirement in a binary manner. Retirement satisfaction can be measured from different domains of life, such as whether one is satisfied with their social life, leisure, health, freedom to travel, etc. Composing such a scale to

measure one's level of satisfaction can allow more variations in examining circumstances after retirement.

Fourth, the current study only focuses on retirement satisfaction as an outcome, future research should explore whether findings extend to other post-retirement outcomes such as quality of life, life satisfaction, mental health (depression, anxiety), physical health as well as over a longer time span than just 2 years out.

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Appendix D

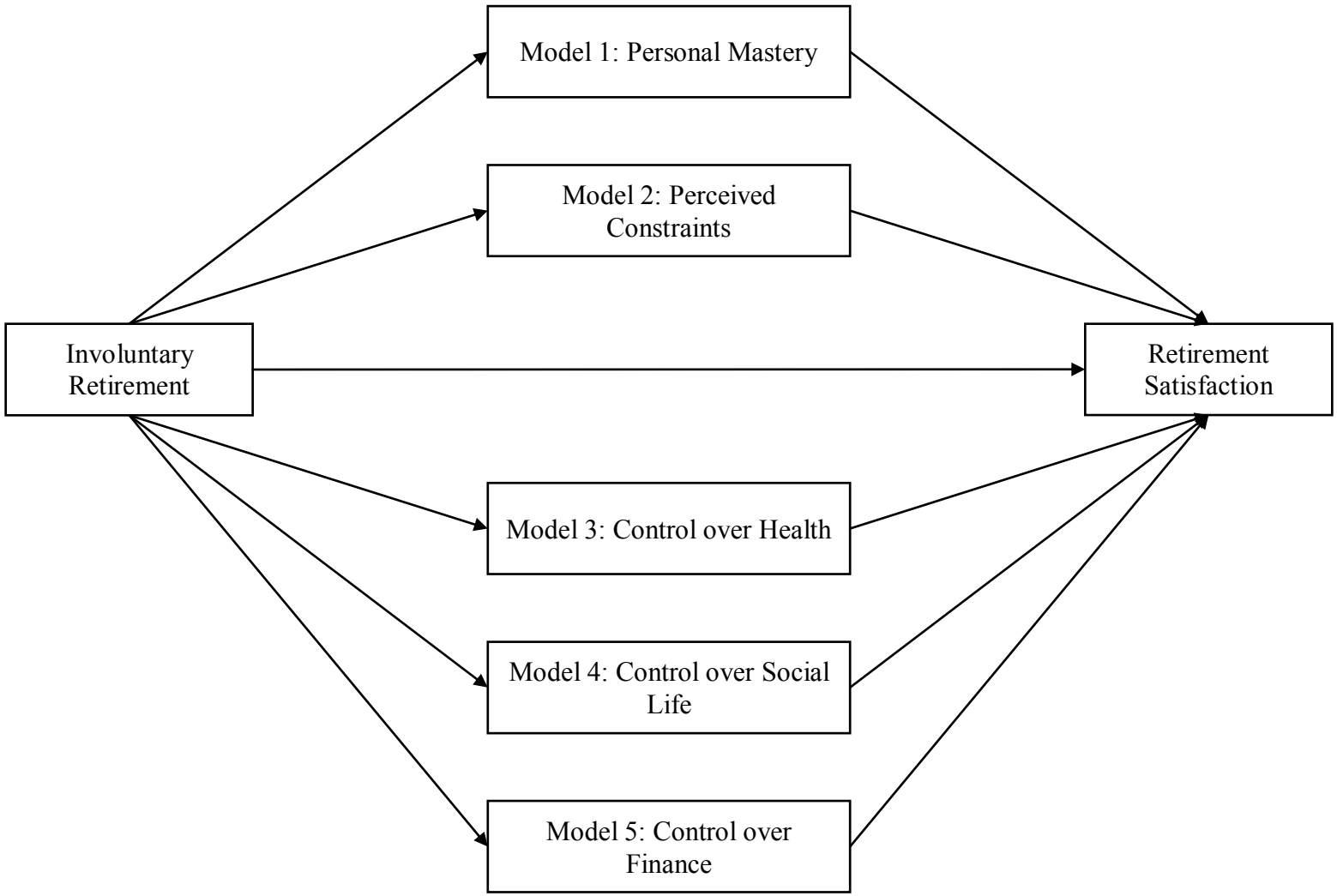

Figure 1. *Mediation Model of Involuntary Retirement and Retirement Satisfaction*

Table 1. *Descriptive Statistics of Study Sample by Voluntary/Involuntary Retirement*

	Sample size	Involuntary Retirement		Voluntary Retirement		Test statistics
		Mean (%)	*SD*	Mean (%)	*SD*	
Global Sense of Control (T1)						
Personal Mastery	964	4.46	1.28	4.98	1.05	47.30***
Perceived Constraints	964	2.42	1.24	1.92	1.06	44.86***
Domain-Specific Control (T1)						
Control over Health	964	6.42	2.65	7.52	2.25	47.10***
Control over Social life	964	7.20	2.65	8.44	1.82	74.52***
Control over Finances	964	6.36	2.17	7.90	2.14	67.07***
Retirement Satisfaction (T2)						125.50***
Satisfied	854	74%	-	98%	-	
Not satisfied	110	26%	-	2%	-	
Age (T2)	964	66.28	8.67	66.85	7.51	8.90**
Gender (T2)						0.34
Male	480	49%	-	51%	-	
Female	482	51%	-	49%	-	
Marital status (T2)						4.21*
Married/partnered	578	66%	-	73%	-	
Separated/divorced/widowed	239	34%	-	27%	-	
Education (T2)	962	12.76	2.89	13.56	2.52	9.01***
Wealth (T2)	817	~240K	475k	~605K	1053k	188.84***
Health (T2)						154.95***
Good	614	50%	-	89%	-	
Poor	206	50%	-	11%	-	
Life satisfaction (T1)						83.40***
Satisfied	892	84%	-	99%	-	
Not satisfied	66	16%	-	1%	-	
Have adult child live close (T2)						9.74**
Yes	484	63%	-	52%	-	
No	382	37%	-	48%	-	

Notes. $p < .05$*, $p < .01$**, $p < .001$***. Personal mastery ranged from 1 to 6; perceived constraints ranged from 1 to 6; domain-specific control ranged from 0 to 10. Results are based on non-imputed data.

Table 2. *Direct Effect, Indirect Effect, and Total Effect of Involuntary Retirement (IR) on Retirement Satisfaction through Global and Domain-Specific Control Measures* (N = 964)

	b(*SE*)	*OR*	Total effect mediated
Model 1: Personal Mastery as a mediator			4.20%
Total effect of IR on satisfaction (path *c*)	-1.42***	0.24	
Effect of IR on personal mastery (path *a*)	-0.23***	-	
Effect of personal mastery on satisfaction (path *b*)	0.24***	1.27	
Direct effect of IR on satisfaction (path *c*')	-1.36***	0.26	
Indirect effect of IR on personal mastery (*a* × *b*)	-0.02***	-	
Model 2: Perceived Constraints as a mediator			N/A
Total effect of IR on satisfaction (path *c*)	-1.42***	-	
Effect of IR on perceived constraints (path *a*)	0.21	-	
Effect of perceived constraints on satisfaction (path *b*)	-0.10	-	
Direct effect of IR on satisfaction (path *c*')	-1.40***	-	
Indirect effect of IR on perceived constraints (*a* × *b*)	-0.01	-	
Model 3: Control over Health as a mediator			3.67%
Total effect of IR on satisfaction (path *c*)	-1.42***	0.24	
Effect of IR on control over health (path *a*)	-0.44***	-	
Effect of control over health on satisfaction (path *b*)	0.20***	1.22	
Direct effect of IR on satisfaction (path *c*')	-1.37***	0.25	
Indirect effect of IR on control over health (*a* × *b*)	-0.02***	-	
Model 4: Control over Social Life as a mediator			4.49%
Total effect of IR on satisfaction (path *c*)	-1.42***	0.24	
Effect of IR on control over social life (path *a*)	-0.56**	-	
Effect of control over social life on satisfaction (path *b*)	0.11***	1.12	
Direct effect of IR on satisfaction (path *c*')	-1.36***	0.26	
Indirect effect of IR on control over social life (*a* × *b*)	-0.02**	-	
Model 5: Control over Finances as a mediator			6.34%
Total effect of IR on satisfaction (path *c*)	-1.42***	0.24	
Effect of IR on control over finances (path *a*)	-0.64***	-	
Effect of control over finances on satisfaction (path *b*)	0.14***	1.15	
Direct effect of IR on satisfaction (path *c*')	-1.33***	0.26	
Indirect effect of IR on control over finances (*a* × *b*)	-0.02***	-	

Notes. $p < .01$*, $p < .001$**, $p < .000$***. Control variables were included in all models. Five separate models were estimated. *OR* = Odds Ratio, calculated as product of the exponentiated value of the unstandardized coefficient *b*, if applied. Based on the Bonferroni Correction. Model 2 was not significant to determine significance using $p < .01$. Results are based on imputed data.

Conclusion

It was the aim of this three-paper dissertation to contribute to the broader empirical and theoretical literature on retirement planning and expectations by shedding light on how various psychosocial factors (i.e., work-family balance, how one experiences their workplace, choice and control) shape retirement planning, expectations, and satisfaction. The results provide a variety of insights that can be used to inform strategies and programming to better support individuals as they approach the retirement transition. In this concluding chapter, first, the major findings of this dissertation are summarized. Next, the limitations and future research directions of the work as a whole are discussed. Finally, implications for policy and practice under three themes are explored.

Major Findings

An important finding of this dissertation is that beyond health and financial concerns, there are many factors at play on various levels that shape Americans' retirement landscape. The first paper examined how work and family relationships affected pre-retirees' planning for retirement, and the gender and occupational differences therein. Work and family dynamics were found to play a role in one's expectations of retirement. More specifically, work to family interference was related to higher odds of having a plan to reduce/stop work. Work to family enhancement was related to lower odds of having a plan to reduce/stop work, while family to work enhancement was related to higher odds of having a plan to reduce/stop work. For those retirees who planned to stop working altogether and had an expected retirement age in mind, work to family enhancement was related to a later expected retirement age, while family to work enhancement was related to an earlier expected retirement age. There were no gender differences found in how work and family relationships were related to one's plans to reduce/stop work or

one's expected retirement age. However, there were occupational differences. Compared to professionals, blue-collar workers had lower odds of reporting having a plan to reduce/stop work when experiencing the same level of work to family interference. Compared to professionals, both service sector and blue-collar workers reported higher odds of having a plan to reduce/stop work, when experiencing the same level of family to work interference. Compared to professionals, blue-collar workers had an earlier expected retirement age, when experiencing the same level of work to family interference. Compared to professionals, blue-collar workers had higher family to work enhancement when experiencing the same level of family to work enhancement. The findings suggest balancing work and family relationships is important upon transitioning into retirement. Moreover, how work and family dynamics affect planning for retirement might differ from occupation to occupation.

The second paper examined workplace factors that are related to older workers' non-normative retirement age expectations. The study found that enjoying work was related to lower odds of expecting to retire earlier than what is normative for one's occupation, and was related to higher odds of expecting to retire later than the norm. Inconsistent with the literature, age discrimination was not found to relate to one's expected retirement age comparative to the norm. As expected, if someone preferred phased retirement, they would have higher odds of expecting to retire within three years earlier than the norm. Interestingly, employer support of reducing work demands was associated with both expecting to retire earlier than the norm and expecting to retire three or more years later than the norm. Counterintuitively, having more work stress was related to lower odds of retiring three or more years earlier than the norm. Being provided an early retirement window is related to higher odds of expecting to retire three or more years earlier than the norm. This study gives insight into what areas need further research to

understand why so many veer from their occupation's normative retirement age.

The third paper examined how involuntary retirement was related to retirement satisfaction two years later, and the mediating effect of global sense of control (i.e., personal mastery, perceived constraints), and control over health, finance, and social life. The results of the study suggested that personal mastery, and control over health, finance, and social life were significant mediators in explaining the relationship between involuntary retirement and retirement satisfaction. More specifically, involuntary retirement was related to lower levels of personal mastery, which further reduced retirement satisfaction. Involuntary retirement was related to lower control over health, finance, and social life, which all further reduced retirement satisfaction. This study sheds light on the importance of personal mastery and domain-specific control in planning for a successful retirement.

Limitations and Future Directions

These three papers have limitations to note. The most notable limitation, perhaps, can be seen in the measurement of key study variables. Given that this was a secondary data analysis, the measures used in this study were limited to what was available in the HRS data. While the HRS dataset is a wonderfully rich, large national dataset with longitudinal data dating back many years, it was not necessarily designed to comprehensively assess factors related to respondents' workplace environments, their retirement planning activities and behaviors, or occupational norms around retirement age, but it did provide decent enough measures of these constructs to be able to meaningfully explore the research aims of this dissertation.

There are constructs that future studies should assess more clearly and comprehensively. The HRS can include both financial and psychosocial preparatory activities/behaviors that individuals may engage in when anticipating retirement (e.g., meeting with financial advisors,

using retirement calculators, talking with folks about activities they might take on in retirement, etc.) as well as what folks' actual plans are (or lack thereof) for work and non-work as they age (e.g., like planning to change the kind of work that they do, planning to go on to work for one's self, planning to never retire) as well as the extent to which this is because they want to, have to (and why) or a little of both.

Measures of normative retirement age can be developed using the complex techniques described in the literature based on social norm theory. For example, Bicchieri (2016) describes a variety of measurement approaches that get at both unconditional preferences (i.e., people prefer to do what they do because they believe it meets a need or because they believe it is the right thing to do) and conditional preferences (i.e., people prefer to do what they do because they believe other people are doing it or because they believe others think they should do it).

Comprehensive workplace studies exist that measure aspects of individuals' workplaces from many angles using standardized multi-item scales—for example, individual level factors (e.g., job demands, job resources, work engagement), occupation-level factors (e.g., type of job, type of schedule, skill-level required), team-level factors (e.g., team and supervisor support, perceptions of inclusion), workplace-level factors (e.g., availability and use of a variety of benefits, program and policies; values alignment with mission of organization; for-profit/non-profit status).

While retirement satisfaction may be a construct that is reasonably concrete and measuring it as a single item is often accepted in the literature (e.g., Cheung & Lucas, 2014), even if the proportional odds assumption was not violated in this sample, the three category ordinal-level measure of retirement satisfaction contained in the HRS is not ideal. It is preferable

to measure retirement satisfaction as a continuous variable, which, some would argue, should only be done if assessed on a scale with a 7–10-point response range.

A second limitation of these 3 three papers is the inability to make causal claims with regard to the findings. For papers one and two, this is due to the cross-sectional nature of the data used in analyses, however, even though paper three does use multiple waves of data in its mediation analyses, additional lagged controls (e.g., controlling for baseline sense of control) would have lent additional support to the temporal ordering of effects, however, without experimental data, one can never fully determine causality.

Thirdly, some caution should be applied when generalizing the findings of this study for a couple of reasons. The first paper used a sample of pre-retirees age 50-62 and the second paper focused on those who were 50 and over. The extent to which individuals in their early 50s can make accurate estimations about their plans for retirement and expectations for retirement age are unclear. There could be a low external validity of the findings based on limitations of different samples. Future studies should consistently use the same sample size and more carefully deal with sample attritions.

Finally, while there is a decent body of literature exploring occupational variations in a variety of the constructs examined in this dissertation, integrating occupation into this dissertation was very limited due to the fact that the occupation data in the HRS is restricted and because it often presented sample size concerns. In paper one, analyses were stratified by occupation, however it was only possible to employ very broad occupational categories (i.e., professional, service sector, blue-collar). Occupational differences could be really important because one's experience of the work and family are largely related to occupational characteristics. The extent of work flexibility, salaries, and retirement exit can largely influence

how one responds when family demands escalate. Future research should explore this by complementing these results with case studies of particular occupations to try to figure out what it is about them that seems to encourage earlier or later retirement.

In addition to the overall limitations, there are some limitations for each individual papers. For the first paper, first, there must certainly be nuanced pathways out of work that the current outcome variable is not able to capture. For example, bridge employment is a popular work arrangement among older workers because many of them prefer to gradually withdraw from the workforce (Beehr & Bennett, 2015). However, because of the limitation of existing data in the HRS, for the current study, these pathways were not distinguished. Were a new study to be designed in the future, it should include several important components in asking about retirees' work plans for retirement, including (a) complete/partial withdrawal from the workforce, and the degree of withdrawal measured by a reduction in hours, (b) voluntary/involuntary retirement, and (c) reasons for the change of expectations in later life. Second, a more comprehensive survey should be designed to include questions asking about people's retirement plans in other aspects, such as whether they engage in financial planning activities and social planning activities. Such a breakdown can present a more interesting picture of how work and family relationships are associated with different aspects of planning for retirement. Third, it is worth noting that not all retirement decisions are voluntary, therefore, the theoretical utility of retirement planning depends on the extent to which the retirement decision is indeed a result of motivated choice (Wang & Shi, 2014). More data is needed to assess voluntary and involuntary planning for retirement.

For the second paper, the three-year cutoff point for the dependent variable in this study is arbitrary. When responding to the question, "what is the usual retirement age in your job or

occupation?", people could understand the question in different ways, which would reduce the reliability of the data collected. For example, people can answer the question based on a certain job title across organizations, or estimate an average age from all employees in their certain organization. Future research could be more deliberate in constructing the measure of non-normative retirement age, such as to calculate the difference between one's expected retirement age and the normative age based on different occupations, job titles, and retirement benefits. Such comparisons could further reveal nuanced differences in what "norm" truly matters for people's retirement decisions. Second, going forward, future research could complement these results with case studies of particular occupations to try to figure out what it is about them that seems to encourage earlier or later retirement. For example, identifying characteristics of occupations associated with earlier retirement could point to potential targets for policy intervention. Third, it would also be useful in follow up studies to look at those who reported that there is no normative age at their job or occupation, as these individuals were left out of the sample in this analysis. McFall, Helppie, Sonnega, Willis, & Hudomiet (2015) found that occupations where respondents report an older "usual age" or "no usual age" of retirement do have higher expectations of working past 65, and suggested that these norms, however, may be associated with less mutable aspects of the occupations. Future studies can explore the reasons that respondents reported not having a normative retirement age.

For the third paper, there could be a selection effect that masks the true influence of the outcome. For example, those with greater education or higher income, on average, perceive greater control and those with lower socio-economic status tend to have lower levels of perceived control; the difference could be likely due to greater environmental constraints associated with lower income or less education (Robinson & Lachman, 2017). It is possible that

involuntarily retirement is also associated with lower socio-economic status, so that those who have low socio-economic status tend to select into the involuntary retirement group and the low control group. The effects we are seeing might be an artifact of selection. However, the control variables were selected carefully to measure one's socio-economic status, as well as conditions on health, social life, finance to reduce the possible selection effect. Second, the involuntary/voluntary retirement outcome might not fully capture the circumstances that limit one's choices before retirement. Future studies can develop more nuanced measures of the voluntariness of the retirement transition that includes the reasons behind involuntary retirement (health, lay-offs, etc.), the extent to which their plans were derailed by work-related issue, and how much earlier they were forced to retire than what they had planned for or expected. Third, even though life satisfaction was controlled for at the first time point, endogeneity may still be a concern because of insufficient lagged variables, such as sense of control before retired. Fourth, the measure of retirement satisfaction can be improved and measured continuously, therefore, it can allow more variations in examining how one fairs after retirement. Sixth, future research should explore whether findings extend to other post-retirement outcomes such as quality of life, life satisfaction, mental health (depression, anxiety), and physical health as well as over a time span longer than just two years out.

Implications for Policy and Practice

Work-Life Balance and Labor Force Attachment at Older Ages

Though understudied, existing research has suggested the importance of work and family relationships in the study of retirement timing and expectations. A study found that full-time workers in their early 50s who experience low levels of work and life balance are more likely to report a preference for retiring within the next 10 years (Raymo & Sweeney, 2006). Though this

paper did not find gender differences in the association between work and life balance and self-reported retirement intentions, another study found that the lack of work and life balance is more likely to induce females than males to actually reduce their hours of work or withdraw from the labor force (Angrisani, Casanova, & Meijer, 2017). In order to better prepare Americans for a retired life, public policy should focus on alleviating the tension between work and family for pre-retirees. If the tension indeed comes from family caregiving, tax credit can help to alleviate the financial burdens on family caregivers. Family caregiving can be physically, emotionally, and financially challenging in itself, and helping a family member often means the family caregiver has to either leave a job or cut back on how many hours they work. Family caregivers over age 50 who leave the workforce to care for a parent are estimated to lose, on average, more than $300,000 in lifetime income and benefits (AARP, 2019). Giving family caregivers tax credits can potentially reduce negative spillovers from family to work. Moreover, since more women traditionally serve as family caregivers and are more financially underprepared transitioning to a retired life, such tax benefits can likely help leverage women caregivers' circumstances upon planning for retirement while taking care of their loved ones.

A study calls the issue of family and retirement as "an elephant in the room" that is not addressed enough in real life (Merrill Lynch Retirement Study, 2013). The vast majority of people age 50 and older have never budgeted or prepared for providing financial support to other family members (88%), caring for an aging parent or relative (91%), or helping to pay for their grandchildren's education (91%) even though they are highly likely to provide such support and the support is substantial with limited future returns. Given the increase in divorce rates and prevalence of single-parent households, having stepfamily members in the household may complicate the financial and caregiving plans before retirement. There are clear benefits to being

proactive and to have open family discussions and plans for potential family challenges (Merrill Lynch Retirement Study, 2013).

Employers' Role in Supporting and Enabling Older Workers

Creating decision contexts that lead individuals to make the best choices possible is the goal of careful choice architecture, which can be used by employers to "nudge" employees toward retirement decisions that are more advantageous for them (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008). At the workplace, employers can design retirement planning workshops to help employees navigate the different savings options for themselves which would afford their lifestyle and maintain some anti-risk capability after their retirement. For example, there are third party agencies in Massachusetts that work with employers to provide pre-retirement planning workshops to their employees on topics such as getting retirement ready, preparing to care for an aging parent, retirement money planning, smart money moves in one's 40s, 50s, and 60s, understanding retirement healthcare, and understanding social security (MetLife, 2018). In return, employers can harvest more knowledgeable employees with early long-term plans for their retirement. Having retirement life assured, employees are more likely to be happy, productive, and a worthwhile investment to their employers.

Rebuilding the relationship between employer and employee is another path to better supporting aging workers. In the twenty-first century the public demands that businesses be responsive to social issues as part of their strategies. Examples of employee pressures include recognition of certain employee rights in the workplace, including provisions for worker health and safety, non-discrimination in hiring, firing, and promotion, tying pay to performance, a zero-layoff policy, family-friendly leave programs, and stock ownership by employees (Devi & Hemant, 2009). For example, incentivizing employers to adopt a zero layoff policy can ensure

continued job security in times of economic instability. Such a policy dictates that the employer will do everything in its power to avoid terminating employees when the economy falls into a recession, including salary cuts, cuts to benefits, natural attrition, moving employees to part-time schedules, or other cost-cutting means. Such policies are enacted by some companies recognizing that the welfare of employees should not be harmed due to economic factors that are out of their control. Those companies that employ a zero lay-off policy tend to treat employees like investments, hiring carefully and often training their employees to cover a variety of jobs. Such mindful hiring and retention policies should benefit both employer and employees in the long run.

Older workers may juggle work and retirement at a time of escalating caregiving demands of loved family members (e.g. aging parents, ill spouse, or grandchildren). Employers can provide a variety of options for employees who have caregiving responsibilities, such as caregiving leave, reduced work hours, flexible work options like work from home options, so that older employees can continue to work, if needed and desired, rather than having to retire before one would like to (Work Flexibility, 2014). Additionally, given the unprecedented number of older adults who extend their labor force attachment beyond traditional retirement ages, a new vision of older adults' economic security and overall quality-of-life should take into account the intersections of aging, work, and health. Workplace-based health and wellness programs (HWPs) may be an obvious yet under-utilized strategy for promoting positive health-related behaviors among older workers and for increasing their ability to continue to work. Supporting provisions for worker health and safety at the workplace can prevent work-place related illness and disabilities that could cause workers to have to retire early (Pitt-Catsouphes, James, & Matz-Costa, 2015).

Retirement in the end is as much a cultural as an economic phenomenon. To the extent that older adults cannot find employment, creating a situation in which they cannot afford to retire may have unintended health consequences, such as poorer metabolic health and earlier mortality (Pyykkönen, 2010). There are lessons from other counties to learn about measures we can take to reduce employer-related barriers to employing older workers (McNamara & Williamson, 2013). The United Kingdom's Department for Work and Pensions runs an informational campaign called Age Positive, which provides information to guide employers and other nations in developing practices to try age diversity as an asset rather than a liability (Age Positive, 2011). Other measures have tried to address the real or perceived productivity losses of older workers. Korean older employers receive a subsidy based at a firm, exceeding a fixed percentage based on industry (OECD, 2009). Other measures, such as government-financed efforts in Japan, link older workers to possible employers (Williamson & Higo, 2009).

How to Enhance Older Workers' Risk-Resisting Ability

Despite the best-laid plans, when one retires cannot always be controlled. It may also be helpful to work on building control beliefs among retirees, particularly those who feel that they were forced to retire for reasons beyond their control, as low global sense of control and domain-specific control appear to be important risk factors for decreased retirement satisfaction and perhaps also decreased quality of life, decreased hope, and increased anxiety (although further research is needed for these latter outcomes). Prior studies have shown that there are a variety of ways in which to foster an increased sense of perceived control in later life. For example, individual psychotherapy, support groups, and/or psychoeducation around tools and techniques that can improve retirees' abilities to cope with the lack of control and powerlessness that they feel could be important measures in preventing the negative impact of low perceived control on

quality of life and overall mental and spiritual well-being.

In working on building a sense of perceived control, it could be important to focus on the specific context in which the involuntary retirement occurred. For example, if an individual was laid off from their job suddenly and is feeling a low sense of control due to struggles around finding a new job and the marketability of their skills, support groups and other skill-building types of resources could be very useful in increasing their perceived control. A great example of a non-profit doing work in this space is the Institute for Career Transitions (ICT) in Massachusetts, whose mission is to better understand and help others navigate the rapidly changing nature of work, income, and well-being. Ofer Sharone founded the ICT "to directly support 50+ long term unemployed job seekers by matching them with volunteer career coaches/counselors, and to research the best way to tailor this support to the specific challenges facing this group of workers. These challenges include discrimination on the basis of unemployment duration, and the severe emotional anguish that frequently occurs when job seekers internalize labor market difficulties." (IWER, 2019). Programs like this could have a real impact on increasing control beliefs among the unemployed during this stage in life, and in turn increase overall health and well-being outcomes in later life. More formalized evaluations of such programs are important as well.

Promoting and supporting formal volunteering could be another pathway to increasing perceived control within unemployed workers upon retirement. Yang (2018) found that unemployed older workers who engaged in volunteering experienced fewer depressive symptoms than those unemployed workers who did not volunteer—this was true for those who were volunteering under 100 hours/year but this benefit disappeared for those who were volunteering over 200 hours/year. Volunteering during times of unemployment might be a

helpful way to distract from one's negative emotions (i.e. depression, anxiety), socially interact with the community, and potentially reconnect to networks and receive useful advice to get reemployed. Research has found that beyond individual intention and capacity, institutional capacity factors, such as role specification, dissemination, role flexibility, cash compensation, skill development, role recognition, accommodation, and integration affect the recruitment, retention, and effective utilization of older volunteers (Hong, Morrow-Howell, Tang, & Hingterlong, 2009). It is important for non-profit organizations in the local community to craft effective policies to engage older volunteers by better addressing the aforementioned factors.

Moreover, if family caregiving responsibilities contributed to the involuntary nature of the retirement transition, different approaches could be utilized to help those who struggle. Research has suggested that psychosocial interventions targeting perceived control can be helpful in improving health trajectories among caregivers (Roepke et al., 2008). There has also been some interesting work on the effect of participant-direction in altering perceived control in family caregivers. Innovative programs, like the Cash and Counseling demonstration program, have shown that it is possible to alter perceptions of control even in the most stressful of caregiving experiences. The Cash and Counseling program changed not only the extent to which care receivers had choice and control over how to best meet their own needs, but it allowed for family caregivers to be financially compensated for their efforts and to have more choice and control themselves over which tasks they take on and which tasks they hire someone else to do (Kemper, 2007). More creative social programs such as these can help older workers regain their sense of control over financial, health, and social domains and plan for retirement more easily.

Conclusion

The relationship between work and family is especially significant towards the age when

many retire, and it seems that the occupation one has pre-retirement also plays a significant role on how retirement is planned. Many workplace factors have an effect on the non-normative retirement ages at which workers actually retire. Further investigation is needed to understand precisely the types of stress and workplace policies that lead so many to choose a different retirement age from the norm. Experiencing a loss of control and personal mastery late in one's life relates to involuntary retirement which in turn relates to an unsatisfying retirement. If the causes of these losses could be isolated and prevented, then perhaps many more could enjoy retirement as it was meant to be.

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