

Retirement

later life. If income generation comes increasingly to be linked to positive retirement, then it may be important for the older person to remain in the region in which they have good employment-related connections (Longino & Warnes, 2005).

SEE ALSO Volume 3: *Aging in Place; Assisted Living Facilities; Long-term Care; Neighborhood Context, Later Life; Retirement Communities.*

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RETIREMENT

Retirement is defined broadly as the departure event in an individual’s life course from a phase of the occupational life cycle (Atchley, 1993, 1996). Rather than a mere withdrawal from paid work, retirement in contemporary social contexts is a complex process inextricably linked with social structures and individual life adjustments. Typically, retirement involves reliance on pension instead of salary as the primary means of financial support and adapting to new options in later life such as leisure pursuits, voluntary activities, and second careers (Szinovacz, 2003). Furthermore, many contemporary workers do not make a clear-cut break from full-time jobs one day to complete retirement the next. Pathways to retirement in the early 21st century are diverse and individualized processes that connect working lives to lives in complete retirement (Quadagno & Hardy, 1996).

MEASUREMENT AND THE IMPORTANCE OF STUDYING RETIREMENT

Mainly because of the diversity in the pathways taken into retirement, there is no single generally agreed-on way to measure a person’s retirement status. Nonetheless, researchers often rely on either one or both of two major criteria to measure retirement status: (a) a person’s self-definition of current work status and (b) objective indicators concerning a person’s retirement status. The objective indicators consist mainly of receipt of pension income as one’s main source of income, total cessation of formal employment, departure from a career job of adulthood that had lasted 10 years or longer, and a significant reduction in hours or days worked for wages (Gendell & Siegel, 1992).

When measuring a person’s retirement status, retirement researchers have faced three major challenges: women’s retirement status, discouraged workers, and the increased complexity of contemporary workers’ pathways

to complete retirement. First, because of employment interruptions of greater frequency and longer duration, women's work histories tend to be more irregular than those of men. This general tendency makes women's transition from employment to retirement less clear and thus more difficult to measure than that of men (Szinovacz, 2003). Second, there is difficulty in measuring the retirement status of older discouraged workers. A discouraged worker refers to an unemployed person who is eligible to participate in the labor force but has given up seeking employment primarily because of the unavailability of employment options that she or he considers suitable (Schulz, 2001).

Although discouraged workers are not counted among those currently in the labor force, they are also not counted in unemployment rates because of the somewhat voluntary nature of their nonworking status. Thus, controversy exists as to how many older people who consider themselves retirees actually fall into the discouraged worker category (Bjørnstad, 2006). Third, the increasing complexity of the transition from full-time employment to complete retirement makes it difficult to measure a person's retirement status. In the early 21st century, only about half of older workers move from full-time employment to complete withdrawal from the labor force in a single step. The other half pass through a period of partial retirement on the way to complete retirement, or reverse the retirement process by reentering the labor force. As many as one-third of retirees become reemployed, often within 1 to 2 years of their first retirement (Hardy, 2006).

As most industrial countries, including the United States, have faced the challenges of population and workforce aging, retirement has become an increasingly important issue. In the United States the upcoming retirement of the baby boomers, the generation born between 1946 and 1964, has led to two major concerns. The first concern is the potential loss of a significant number of skilled and experienced workers who are vital to the maintenance of economic productivity (Hardy, 2006; Rix, 2004). Because of the impending retirement of such a large cohort, U.S. labor force growth is expected to decrease from 1.1% per year in the 1990s to 0.36% per year during the period between 2010 and 2020 (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2005). The second concern is the anticipated fiscal burden on the rest of the society. The retirement of the baby boomers is expected to increase public expenditures associated with Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security. In response to these concerns, much effort has been made to examine these issues with a focus on current and projected future trends in employment rates especially among those ages 55 and older. Therefore, it is important to study the influence of

current policies on the patterns of retirement for the baby boomers as well as how new employment practices and public policies may improve the boomers' working lives and the quality of their life in retirement (Munnell & Sass, 2007).

HISTORY OF RETIREMENT AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

Retirement as a social institution developed and became widespread during the 20th century, particularly among the industrialized countries (Atchley, 1996; Williamson & Pampel, 1993). In the industrialized countries of the early 21st century, most workers leave the labor force between the ages of 55 and 65 (Social Security Administration, 2006–2008). For instance, between 1990 and 1995, the median age for men's retirement was 60.4 in Germany, 62.3 in Sweden, 64.7 in Japan, and 62.1 in the United States. Women's median retirement age for the same period was 59.1 in Germany, 62.4 in Sweden, 62.3 in Japan, and 62.6 in the United States (Gendell & Siegel, 1992).

Retirement began to be institutionalized only after the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century (Costa, 1998). Two main factors led to the institutionalization of retirement during the 20th century. The first was a mutual agreement between employers and workers fixing the age for withdrawing from employment. Employers needed to replace high-salaried older workers with lower-salaried younger ones in order to speed up production and get more out of workers. Workers' unions agreed to fixing the age for mandatory retirement in exchange for greater job security until reaching that age. Although ages for mandatory retirement rules varied by sectors and economy and occupations, they were set mostly between 55 and 60 (Atchley, 1993). The second factor was the need to find a way to support the increasing number of older workers, many of whom were finding it very difficult to obtain work. In the 1880s Otto von Bismarck, the Prussian chancellor of Germany, introduced the world's first public pension system. It called for a massive inter-generational income redistribution scheme designed to help meet the income needs of workers ages 65 and over. Soon many other European nations were introducing similar schemes (Shulz & Myles, 1990).

In the United States the institutionalization of retirement picked up steam during the 1920s with the introduction of old-age pension schemes in many states and with the expansion of corporate pension schemes; much more important, however, was the introduction of a federal old-age pension scheme embodied in the Social Security Act of 1935. The introduction of this national public pension program made leaving the labor force much more attractive to older workers starting in the

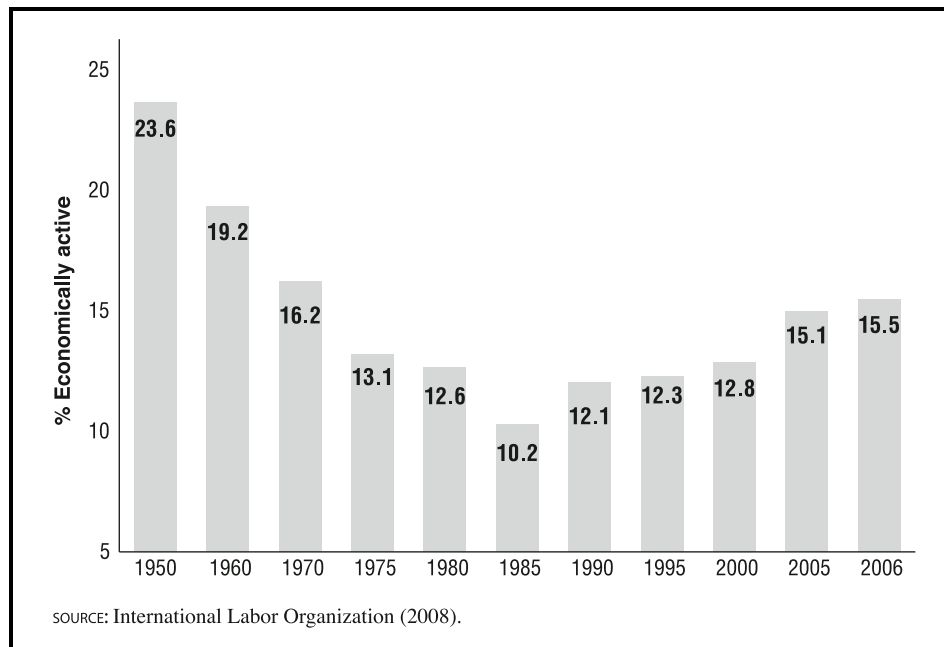


Figure 1. Civilian labor force participation rates in the U.S. for people age 65 and for the years 1950 through 2006. CENGAGE LEARNING, GALE.

1940s. The pension program at first provided only small benefits. Later, increases in benefit levels meant that Social Security replaced a larger part of a worker's pre-retirement income. The availability of retirement options gradually restructured the time workers spent in the labor force before leaving to spend time in various leisure activities and other efforts directed at self-fulfillment in later life (Atchley, 1993). In 1890, 68% of men over age 65 were in the labor force, but that figure dropped to 54% by 1930. In 1950, after Social Security had been in place for several years, the portion of men over age 65 in the labor force dropped further to 46% and continued to decline to below 17% by 1989. The average retirement age of men dropped from 74 in 1910 to 67 in 1950. It continued to drop through the mid-1980s, when the average age stood at 62 (National Academy on an Aging Society, 2000).

In the United States, there was a trend toward an increasing prevalence of "early retirement" through the mid-1980s (Clark & Quinn, 2002). Early retirement refers to withdrawal from the labor force before age 65, the age of eligibility for retirement with the full benefit of Social Security. One factor driving the trend of early retirement was a change in Social Security policy in 1961 allowing workers to start receiving their pensions at age 62, albeit with about a 25% reduction of the benefit they would be entitled to receive if they waited until age 65 (Gall, Evans, & Howard, 1997). Also, to save on the high salaries of older workers, many compa-

nies were offering early retirement packages, including bonuses, to workers between the ages of 55 and 60. About 9 out of 10 U.S. pension plans, particularly for white-collar workers, provide financial incentives for early retirement (Clark & Quinn, 2002).

In 1950, as Figure 1 shows, 23.6% of workers (men and women combined) ages 65 and older remained in the labor force. By 1960, the figure was down to 19.2%. It steadily decreased until the mid-1980s. In 1985 the labor force participation of men and women ages 65 and older reached a low of 10.2% (International Labour Organization, 2008). That year, almost 25% of those 51 to 59 years of age did not work. During the 1980s, about 75% of all new Social Security beneficiaries each year retired before their 65th birthday, and most began collecting retirement benefits at age 62.5 (Quinn & Burkhauser, 1994; Toossi, 2002). Figure 1 also shows, however, that since the early 1990s the long-range trend toward earlier and earlier retirement has reversed. By 2000, the labor force participation rate for people, both men and women, ages 65 and older (12.8%) became higher than that of 1980 (12.6%). The participation rate rose further to 15.5% by 2006 (International Labour Organization, 2008).

At least for now, the early retirement trend among older Americans certainly appears to be over (Hardy, 2006; Quinn, 1997a). The end of this trend is largely attributable to three factors. The first is the strong

macroeconomic performance of the U.S. economy through the 1990s (OECD, 2005). Second, 1983 amendments to the Social Security Act started to delay the age of eligibility for full benefits and increased the financial penalty for receiving early benefits at age 62 (Munnell & Sass, 2007). The final factor is employment practices and public policy initiatives that have increased older workers' options regarding pathways to full retirement (Butrica, Schaner, & Zedlewski, 2006).

COMMON PATTERNS OF RETIREMENT

Throughout much of the 20th century, Americans viewed retirement as an event that occurred once in a lifetime and involved an immediate and complete withdrawal from full-time employment (Rix, 2004). Retirement in the 21st century, in contrast, has come to be characterized by a variety of pathways to complete retirement. Retirement research has developed four conceptual categories of retirement behavior based on the observed patterns and trends in the United States: (a) partial retirement, (b) bridge employment, (c) unretirement, and (d) joint retirement. These conceptual categories are not a mutually exclusive set of retirement behaviors; rather they are common occurrences that retirement researchers have noted.

Partial retirement, also known as phased retirement, is a generic term broadly referring to the process of gradually phasing into complete retirement through reduced work hours and job responsibilities, which may even involve changing one's workplace and occupation (Clark & Quinn, 2002). From 1960 to 2002 the proportion of older men who worked part-time rose from 30% to 43.6%, whereas that of women rose from 44% to 58.2% (Rix, 2004). About 40% of men and 35% of women ages 55 to 64 who received income from a pension in 2005 were still employed as of March 2006 (Hardy, 2006). Watson Wyatt Worldwide (2004) found that 57% of those workers currently in partial retirement entered into the arrangement voluntarily in order to have more leisure time. Brown (2005) reported that about 76% of workers ages 50 to 65 plan to continue working after age 65 primarily because of financial reasons. Such a gradual pathway to complete retirement enables older workers to adjust better to life in retirement and simultaneously allows employers to make gradual changes instead of coping with the abrupt departure of a well-integrated employee (Rix, 2004).

Bridge employment, a growing labor force participation pattern among older workers in the early 21st century, refers to work between their career jobs and complete retirement, which is either part-time or lasts fewer than 10 years, or both (Quinn, 1997b). Although

used as a form of partial retirement, bridge employment is considered a distinct category of retirement because it involves an exit and reentry to the labor force, rather than a mere gradual reduction of hours or days worked (Clark & Quinn, 2002). As of 2004, about 73% of men and 46% of women ages 51 to 61 had a full-time career job.

By 2005, among those who had already retired from full-time career jobs, about 60% of workers, men and women combined, reentered the labor market and worked at a bridge job. More than half of these bridge jobs were part-time (Cahill, Giandrea, & Quinn, 2006).

The term *unretirement* refers to workers who reenter the labor force because of unwarranted optimism about their financial security, which had led them to retire too early, or because of unexpected financial shocks in retirement (Hardy, 2006). Unretirement is most common among retirees in their early to mid-50s, typically occurs within the first 2 years of first retirement, and lasts an average of 4 years. About 24% of those in this age group who originally retired from their career jobs unexpectedly reenter the labor force (Maestas, 2004). Unretirement usually involves jobs similar to bridge employment. They generally require fewer work hours, pay lower wages than a career job, and are more likely to involve a shift from being an employee to being self-employed (Hayward, Hardy, & Liu, 1994).

Joint retirement is a pattern of retirement that involves a simultaneous sequence of work and final withdrawal from the workforce by a working couple. Research has suggested that availability of employer-provided retiree health insurance is an important factor in the retirement decision, particularly for older workers. The likelihood of joint retirement—timing retirement together—more than doubles when wives have employer-provided retiree health insurance (Kapoor & Rogowski, 2007).

PLANNING AND TIMING OF RETIREMENT

Retirement involves more than a decision to withdraw from the labor force; it also involves a decision as to when and how to retire. Quinn and Burkhauser (1994) reported that 65% of men and 55% of women were able to retire near their desired retirement ages. Only about 10% of men and women were able to or had to retire before their desired retirement ages. About 25% of men and 32% of women needed to remain in the labor force longer than they had planned to. Retirement researchers have identified four major factors that largely determine the timing of a person's retirement: (a) availability of adequate retirement income, (b) health status and accessibility to health insurance, (c) job satisfaction, and (d) employment and retirement policies.

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First, an adequate income, through a combination of Social Security, a private pension, and interest income, directly affects the feasibility of retirement. Financial status also impacts worker health and job satisfaction. When given a choice, assuming financial security and adequate health insurance, most people elect to retire as soon as they can (Flippen & Tienda, 2000).

Second, a person's health status, including physical and mental functional limitations and accessibility to health insurance, is an important factor in the retirement decision, especially among those for whom retirement is least attractive (Moon, 2002). Poor health, when combined with an adequate retirement income, usually results in early retirement. In contrast, the combination of poor health and an inadequate income often does not lead to early retirement particularly among low-income workers (Mutchler, Burr, Massagli, & Pienta, 1999).

About 55% of retirees between the ages of 51 and 59 report that a health condition or impairment substantially limits the amount or type of work they can do. In addition, retirees are three times more likely to be in fair to poor health than their employed counterparts (National Academy on an Aging Society, 2000).

The third factor affecting retirement timing is workers' satisfaction with their jobs, which is often determined by the workers' attachment to the job, organizational commitment, and the nature of a job (Taylor & Doverspike, 2003). Some workers retire to escape undesirable working conditions such as boring, repetitive, and stressful jobs and work environments. Workers who have a positive attitude toward retirement and leisure but are dissatisfied with their jobs are likely to retire early. Employees with a high school education or less tend to show lower job satisfaction and thus retire earlier than well-educated employees (Quinn & Burkhauser, 1994).

Fourth, public policies and employment practices affect the timing of retirement. For example, the 1986 amendment to the federal Age Discrimination in Employment Act, which abolished mandatory retirement, has protected workers both in the private and public sectors from forced retirement based on their age. This policy allows workers to choose to stay at work longer if they elect to do so. Prior to 1986, mandatory retirement rules in most workplaces influenced retirement age for many workers (Rix, 2004). Federal policy increasing the age of eligibility for full Social Security benefits from age 65 to 67 by the year 2027 is creating an added incentive to delay the timing of retirement (Neumark, 2003).

GENDER AND RACIAL INEQUALITIES IN RETIREMENT

When comparing men and women, financial security provided mainly through Social Security benefits creates

the single largest gender difference in decision and timing of retirement (Flippen & Tienda, 2000; Ruhm, 1996). On average, retired women's pension benefits make up only about 60% of that of retired men (Belgrave & Bradsher, 1994). Women's likelihood of lower-paying employment tends to keep them from being entitled to adequate retirement pensions (Moen, 1996; O'Grady-LeShane, 1996). Thus, women's marital status influences their financial security in retirement and the decision and timing of the retirement. Furthermore, because of their assumption of family care obligations, women are more likely to have a discontinuous work history, which results in their lower financial security (Pienta, Burr, & Mutchler, 1994). Married women are more likely than single women to be able to retire early because their financial security in retirement tends to rely on their husbands' pension eligibility. Single women are likely to remain in the labor force longer than married women because the pension benefits they are entitled to are often inadequate as a result of their having had relatively low-paying jobs. This general tendency, however, may partly decline in the future because women of the early 21st century are less likely to have interrupted work histories than those in the past. Nevertheless, the gender gap in pay and access to employer pension coverage still persist (Szinovacz, 2003).

Racial minorities—African Americans and Hispanics in particular—have shown different retirement patterns than White men. African Americans tend to work in less secure jobs that often offer low pay, few benefits, and a high risk of disability (Taylor & Doverspike, 2003). Compared with White men, African American men have fewer options in the decision and timing of retirement mainly because of their higher disability rates and poorer health (Hogan & Perrucci, 1998). Also, when compared with the general population, a smaller proportion of African American workers report that their employers pay into a pension plan on their behalf (Employee Benefit Research Institute, 2003; Gallo, Bradley, Siegel, & Kasl, 2000). Both their public and private pension benefits tend to be lower. African Americans and Hispanics are much more likely than White males to experience involuntary labor market exit because of poor health and are likely to retire without sufficient financial security (Flippen & Tienda, 2000; Gibson, 1987). One study found that they are much less likely than retired White men to receive any form of retirement benefits and much more likely to receive disability benefits and public assistance (Hayward, Friedman, & Chen, 1996).

When compared with White women, African American women are more likely to have worked steadily most of their adult lives, but they retire later than their White counterparts, largely for economic reasons (Szinovacz, 2003). Greater probability of widowhood and lower wages result in more than half of African American

women ages 62 to 64 being in the labor force, compared with one-third of White women in that age span. Furthermore, retirement induced by labor market problems is much more common among African American women than among White women (Belgrave & Bradsher, 1994).

SATISFACTION WITH RETIREMENT

Traditionally, a widely held belief in American society, particularly among men, was that full-time participation in the labor force was important to a sense that one was leading a full and meaningful life. This belief contributed to the view that retirement was likely to represent a personal crisis and have a number of adverse personal consequences (Atchley, 1993). Retirement, however, is not usually a negative event; retirement research from the late 1990s has identified the positive effects of retirement on life satisfaction and health, especially during the first year postretirement (Reitzes, Mutran, & Fernandez, 1998). Indeed, the majority of older adults in the 2002 Health and Retirement Study expressed high levels of satisfaction with retirement (61.5%), although others said they were only somewhat satisfied (32.9%), and some reported dissatisfaction (5.6%; Butrica et al., 2006).

Generally, there are four factors that strongly influence satisfaction with life in retirement: (a) financial security, (b) health, (c) preparation and planning for retirement, and (d) active engagement (Reitzes et al., 1998; Szinovacz, 2003). Not surprisingly, retirees with higher incomes, or at least adequate finances, report that they are more satisfied with their lives and develop a more positive identity as retirees than do those with lower incomes (Szinovacz, 2003).

Given the observed positive relations between health status and earned income, programs that improve health status during the working years may, in turn, increase earned income in retirement. Those who believe that they know more about their financial planning, including Social Security and health care coverage such as Medicare, are more likely to have prepared for retirement (Taylor & Doverspike, 2003). Conversely, those without definite retirement plans tend to find themselves bored or depressed (Ekerdt, Kosloski, & DeViney, 2000). Participating in productive activities at older ages is associated with better physical and mental health and lower mortality (Lum & Lightfoot, 2005). One study reported that 58% of volunteers said that an important reason for helping others was to render their own lives more satisfying. Activities other than work that provide autonomy, some sense of control, and the chance to learn new things are all related to retirement satisfaction (Szinovacz, 2003). Conversely, activities that involve less problem solving, are less complex, and are less fulfilling have all

been associated with distress and depression in retirement (Ross & Drentea, 1998).

PHASES OF RETIREMENT PROCESSES

Atchley (1993, 1996) has proposed a widely cited conceptual model illustrating the phases of the retirement process in six distinctive stages: (a) preretirement, (b) honeymoon, (c) disenchantment, (d) reorientation, (e) stability, and (f) the terminal phase. In the preretirement phase, becoming aware of retirement approaching, workers begin saving money, envision postretirement activities such as hobbies, and prepare for general changes to their social lives. The honeymoon phase comes immediately after the actual event of retirement. Retired people typically enjoy their free time during this phase by doing activities such as extended travel. This phase of retirement life requires disposable income, which is a problem for some older people. In the disenchantment phase, the retired person may begin to feel depressed about life and the lack of interesting things to do.

After the traveling, cleaning, and doing the things most desired, some retirees get tired and bored. Often retirees next go through a fourth phase referred to as reorientation in which they develop a more realistic attitude about how to deal with retirement. Retirees reevaluate their choice of activities and make decisions about what is most important. This phase involves using their life experiences to develop a realistic view of alternatives given their resources. Reorientation also involves exploring new avenues of involvement in an effort to create a set of realistic choices that establish a structure and a routine for living in retirement with at least a modicum of satisfaction. During the fifth phase, referred to as stability, the retired person establishes a new set of daily life routines and enjoys them. Typically, volunteer work, visiting, or some other routine is developed that keeps the retiree happy and feeling important.

The sixth and terminal phase of life in retirement is marked primarily by illness or disability that prevents the retiree from actively caring for himself or herself. Also, with increasing frequency the fifth stage sometimes ends because of reemployment. Because workers are retiring earlier than they used to, many are young and healthy enough to return to the labor force, thus terminating retirement, at least temporarily.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS OF RETIREMENT

Retirement research has made extensive use of the following four distinctive theoretical frameworks to account for postretirement well-being in society: (a) disengagement theory, (b) activity theory, (c) continuity theory, and (d)

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the life course perspective. Disengagement theory focuses primarily on the smooth functioning of a society rather than on individual adjustment or attitudes. This theory suggests that as individuals age it is both necessary and positive for them to disengage from society. Early approaches focused on the loss of the work role occasioned by retirement and suggested that this loss would undermine individuals' identities and lead to their social withdrawal (Cumming & Henry, 1961).

Activity theory (which dates from the 1950s) argues that it is not retirement per se but involvement in fulfilling or alienating activities that influences well-being. This theory indicates that retirement leads to a loss of sense of control, mainly because of a reduction in problem-solving activities. Retirees, however, do not report more distress than full-time workers (Ross & Drentea, 1998). Continuity theory emphasizes the importance of maintaining focal identities over life transitions such as retirement. Thus, pronounced lifestyle changes following retirement, as well as experiences of simultaneous life events that lead to disruption in salient identities, are likely to reduce well-being. Atchley (1993, 1996) argued that there is considerable continuity in identity and self-concept over the retirement transition and that this continuity contributes to retirement adaptation. That retirement does not necessarily constitute an identity crisis is upheld by accumulating evidence showing that, on average, retirees are satisfied with their lives (Elder & Johnson, 2003).

A more recent and nuanced view of retirement adaptation derives from the life course perspective and its integration with selected assumptions from other theories. The life course perspective draws attention to four concepts that seem crucial to understanding postretirement well-being: (a) contextual embeddedness of life transitions, (b) interdependence of life spheres, (c) timing of life transitions, and (d) trajectories and pathways (Dannerfer & Uhlenberg, 1999; Setterstein, 2003).

Contextual embeddedness of life transitions refers to the experiences under which the transition occurs, including selected attributes, current and past statuses and roles, as well as societal context. It is also assumed that life spheres are interdependent, so that experiences in one sphere (e.g., employment) influence and are influenced by experiences in other spheres (e.g., family). Furthermore, the experience of life transitions is contingent on their timing in terms of cultural prescriptions, personal expectations, and occurrences in other life spheres. The notion of trajectories and pathways points to the historical context of life experiences (historical time), their development over time (trajectories), and the interrelationships among diverse life transitions (pathways).

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

The 21st century has found many Americans, particularly baby boomers, ill prepared for retirement (Moody, 2006). Because of changes in the age of eligibility for Social Security benefits, workers born after 1960 will not be eligible for the full benefit until age 67. Of workers 55 and older, however, about 44% believe that they will be eligible for full Social Security benefits 1 to 4 years before they actually will be. One-half of workers 55 and older have less than \$50,000 saved for retirement (Employee Benefit Research Institute, 2006).

In response to the aging of the population and the workforce, policy makers in the United States, along with those of most other industrialized nations, have been seeking ways to reduce the anticipated fiscal burden of the growing number of retirees on the public resources, younger populations, and the national economies. Part of the public effort is, as in the cases of the United Kingdom and Sweden, to privatize existing public old-age pension programs by introducing individual accounts (OECD, 2005). Another way to deal with the growing number of older people is to look for ways to postpone retirement for older workers. In years ahead, facilitating efforts by employers to retain older workers longer than they currently do is expected to be the subject of much research (DeLong, 2004). The older workers of the early 21st century are healthier, better educated, and more highly skilled than those in any previous times (Rix, 2004). They should be able to work longer, but will they?

The ever-changing diverse pathways into retirement is another promising research topic. It would also be of use to address and untangle the patterns and trends in retirement being driven by changes in the national and global economy (Hardy, 2006).

Another direction for future retirement research is the effort to come to a clearer understanding of the biological, psychological, and social aspects of aging, which are likely to influence the retirement behaviors of current and future older workers. Much research has been done to identify a variety of age-related changes in physical functioning, but further research is needed on specifically how these age-related biological changes connect to job requirements in different types of occupations (Szinovacz, 2003).

Retirement research has paid considerable attention to the role of public and private pensions in retirement behaviors and satisfaction, but little research has been done on workplace flexibility. This line of research is expected to lead to a greater variety of partial retirement options and more supportive work environments for current and future older workers (Shepard, Clifton, & Kruse, 1996).

Researchers also need to put more effort into figuring out what types of employment training and education and workplace designs will increase the number of workers who elect to work well beyond their mid-60s. Finally, there is a need for research on how and why selected policies influence (or fail to influence) workers' retirement decisions. Social scientists know very little about the diversity of work patterns in later life or about how aging affects work performance in various work settings (Van Dalen & Henkens, 2002). Some jobs provide opportunities for personal growth and creative expression; other jobs subject workers to physical strain, emotional stress, and hazardous conditions. Careful study of workplace interventions is needed to facilitate efforts to make work less stressful for older workers, to increase work satisfaction, to reconfigure jobs, and to understand how technology is changing the workplace.

SEE ALSO Volume 2: *Careers; Policy, Employment; Employment, Adulthood; Job Change*; Volume 3: *Pensions; Social Security; Theories of Aging*.

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The U.S. Census Bureau projects that the U.S. older adult population aged 65 years and older will more than double from 34.9 million in the year 2000 to 71.4 million in the year 2040. Partially because of this, retirement