PUTTING SUCCESSFUL AGING INTO CONTEXT

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Putting Successful Aging into Context

In their excellent article, Kooij et al. (2020) introduce a self-regulatory model of successful aging at work. Their approach defines successful aging as "the proactive maintenance of, or adaptive recovery (from decline) to, high levels of ability and motivation to continue working among older workers" (p. 14). Their model proposes that personenvironment fit (P-F fit) is a proximal determinant of successful aging. When misfit occurs or is anticipated, individuals engage in a self-regulation process of proactive or adaptive goal engagement and disengagement strategies to restore or maintain P-E fit. Although they identify contextual factors, such as age bias and meso-level (job, team and organizational) factors, as antecedents of P-E fit and as catalysts for the self-regulation process, the model assumes these factors have their effects via individual processes. We believe this approach over-emphasises the role of individuals (i.e., the 'person'), and understates the role of context (i.e., the 'environment'), in achieving and maintaining P-E fit.

In this article, we propose several modifications to the process model of successful aging at work (see Figure 1). We draw on Johns' (2006) review of the role of context on organizational behaviour to describe the way environmental factors facilitate or constrain successful aging at work. First, we identify opportunity as a proximal determinant of successful aging at work (Path A in Figure 1) that explains the direct effects of context.

Second, we argue that contextual factors (age bias and meso-level factors¹) can moderate the misfit-self-regulation-fit process described in the model (Paths B1 to B3 in Figure 1). Finally, we use our proposed expanded model to suggest strategies that organizations can use to enhance employees' successful aging at work.

¹ For this commentary we limit our discussion to opportunities and constraints that stem from the meso-level context, although we recognize that higher level contextual features (such as the retirement/superannuation age of a nation) can operate through similar processes

INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE

Opportunity as a proximal antecedent (Path A)

Meso-level factors can have a direct impact on successful aging at work by denying older workers the opportunity to participate fully in work (Path A in Figure 1). Blumberg and Pringle (1982) reasoned that behavior "depends on the help or hindrance of uncontrollable events and actors in one's environment" (p.564), which they labelled as *opportunity*. They observed that ability and motivation, in the absence of opportunity, fails to adequately explain observed differences in employees' behavior and ascertained that environmental factors outside of the individual's control play a central role in predicting performance. Applied to aging, individual ability and motivation alone cannot result in successful aging at work without having the opportunity to work. Indeed, a recent meta-analysis (Pak et al., 2019) revealed that organizational factors (i.e., job resources) were positively associated with older workers' ability, motivation, and opportunity to continue working.

Contextual factors, such as age bias and organizational features, can influence successful ageing at work by creating opportunities or imposing constraints (Johns, 2006). For example, despite extensive empirical refuting evidence (Postuma & Campion, 2009), negative older worker stereotypes often shape the way that individuals in organisations view and behave towards older workers, which may in turn limit work-related opportunities available to older workers. At the extreme, negative age biased work practices result in excluding older workers from participating in the workforce altogether, such as through layoffs or being denied employment. Albeit less extreme than total exclusion, negative age biases can also reduce opportunities such as the chance for training or engaging in interesting tasks. The extent to which mature workers have been denied work opportunities was revealed in our survey of Australian workers (Andrei et al., 2019), which found that among working

adults aged 55 to 64, 18% reported experiencing age discrimination at work. Similarly, in a survey of workers in the United States (Perron, 2018) 61% of respondents over age 45 reported experiencing or witnessing workplace age discrimination, and 16% had personally experienced not being hired or losing their job because of their age. Therefore, negative age bias in the environment can deny employment opportunities, directly preventing successful ageing at work.

The impact that older worker stereotypes and biases can have on employment opportunities is further shaped by other aspects of context. For instance, older worker stereotypes can be particularly influential for jobs or industries that are perceived as having a "correct age" (e.g. the commonly held belief that the technology sector is a "young" industry; Posthuma & Campion, 2009). When an older applicant's actual age doesn't match the perceived correct age of the job, they are less likely to be successful in obtaining the job, regardless of their ability or motivation to perform. According to Johns' (2006) taxonomy, this is an example of omnibus context affecting base rates of behaviour due to social norms and attitudes. Social norms, attitudes and biases held by those responsible for making hiring decisions influence the occurrence of mature workers being offered employment opportunities, which in turn shapes the base rate of mature workers successfully ageing at work. In these cases, older workers do not have the option of adapting to misfit in the environment because they have been denied the opportunity to work.

Consider the example of John, the construction worker from the focal article who anticipated misfit due to declining physical abilities. One suggestion was that John could look for a new, less physically demanding job to rectify misfit. If John were to leave his job and seek employment elsewhere, biased and discriminatory recruitment and selection processes at other organizations might hinder his success in securing new employment. On the other hand, if John were to remain in the physically demanding job, his employer might fire him for

being unable to meet the demands of the job. In either case, John's opportunities are constrained, as is his successful aging at work.

The proposed opportunity pathway (Path A) is critical in that it bypasses the self-regulation process, and highlights organization's responsibility to create opportunities that enable mature workers to fully participate in work, and thereby enhance the potential for successful aging at work.

Moderating effects (Path B1 to B3)

Kooij et al. (2020) recognize that age-supportive meso-level factors enable self-regulation. That said, their model suggests that successful aging at work is achieved via an individual-level process prompted by misfit between the employee and the environment. We contend that contextual factors can also have a top-down moderating effect on the misfit-self-regulation-fit process (Paths B1, B2, and B3 in Figure 1). For example, the meso context can influence the extent to which misfit is considered manageable (Path B1), the extent to which the employee engages or disengages from the goal (Path B2), and the extent to which goal reorientation can achieve P-E fit (Path B3).

When misfit is anticipated or experienced, situational factors can moderate the extent to which the misfit is appraised as manageable or unmanageable (Path B1 in Figure 1). Johns (2006) observed that work design and organisational norms can create "strong situations," which are contexts in which employees experience rigid work environments that restrict options. By contrast, weak situations offer more decision-making latitude and avenues for goal adaptation. Consider the case of a mature worker whose current work schedule doesn't allow her to fulfil her increased elder care responsibilities. In weak environments, this may be viewed as manageable because there are many ways to adapt to her new situation. However, in strong situations with few options, she is more likely to appraisal the situation as unmanageable. Therefore, whilst contextual factors can trigger misfit, appraising misfit as

manageable or unmanageable is influenced, at least in part, by perception that the work environment offers options to restore fit.

It is not enough to just perceive options. The top-down moderating effect of context can limit the self-regulation process by restricting the range of behaviors individuals can engaged in to achieve the new goal (Johns, 2006; Path B2 in Figure 1). For instance, there may be many options for different work schedules in an organization, but not all workers can access the full range of schedules. Our worker with increased eldercare might perceive there is scheduling flexibility at her work (P-E discrepancy appraised as manageable), but in reality, her job only allows her a choice of two schedules, which might not fit her needs, thereby restricting her ability to engage fully with her goal. Thus, even when individual workers reorientate and select new goals, organizational factors can limit those goals.

The work environment can also moderate goal reorientation (goal engagement and disengagement) efforts (Path B3 in Figure 1). Organizational support is often required to enable the enactment of goals directed at restoring P-E fit and for fit to be successful.

Returning to the early example of John, suppose he feels his misfit is manageable and decides he wants to learn new skills to enrich his current job (goal engagement, Path B2), as suggested in the focal article. In an age-inclusive work environment, where training is provided and learning needs are accommodated regardless of age, John's employer would support his goal reorientation, enabling the reestablishment of P-E fit. However, in a non-supportive work climate, John might denied or not offered the opportunity to participate in training and development activities due to his age, thereby impeding his efforts to restore P-E fit. This is a reality for a large proportion of older workers. Our survey of Australian workers (Andrei et al., 2019) revealed that 39% of respondents aged 55 and older believed they had been overlooked for training opportunities due to age. Now imagine that John deems the misfit as unmanageable and decides to look for a new job (goal disengagement, Path B3).

However, the jobs for which he is qualified are other physically demanding jobs, leaving him stuck in poor fitting work. Regardless of the goals that are selected, the organization's or environment's response ultimately determines whether individuals can achieve fit by either supporting or constraining their goal-directed behaviour.

An important feature of these examples is that adaptations strongly depend on contextual features and situations. Work environmental factors can moderate how misfit is appraised, the effectiveness of the goal adaptation response, and the ability to achieve fit.

Often these meso-level influences are invisible to employers and employees because they are part of the 'taken for granted' environment and norms. Yet, at the same time, small adjustments to the context can have profound impacts on employee outcomes (Johns, 2006). Organizations can facilitate opportunities for workers to successfully age at work by changing the work environment, as changing the "E" is a powerful way to achieve P-E fit.

Strategies to support successful aging at work

We maintain that context has a more powerful role in facilitating or hindering mature workers' successful aging at work than suggested in the focal article. Although it is not impossible for employees to change their environment (such as through proactive work behaviour; Parker and Collins, 2010), it can be difficult for employees to control or shape these conditions. Therefore, organizations have a responsibility to adapt the environment to enable successful aging at work.

To guide organizations in creating a workplace that empower workers to successfully age at work, we draw on a framework of three broad meta-strategies for supporting mature workers, namely the 3I model of include, individualize, and integrate (Parker & Andrei, 2020). We briefly describe this framework and provide in Table 1 examples of how each strategy can be used to support the additional pathways proposed above.

INSERT TABLE 1 HERE

Include strategies aim to reduce age discrimination and create a workplace where workers of all ages feel welcomed and valued. Evolving from social identification theory and self-categorisation theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), include strategies recognise that humans tend to use identifiable traits (such as age) to differentiate themselves from others and more strongly identify with those who are similar to us. Include strategies go beyond simply complying with mandatory employment legislation to proactively enacting and promoting inclusive and non-discriminatory work practices, such as targeted recruitment of mature workers. Optimally, include strategies create a sense of belonging, while at the same time valuing the unique contributions diverse employees make to the workplace (Shore et al, 2011).

Individualize strategies focus on tailoring and redesigning work to better fit the worker. These strategies draw on lifespan development theories, including selective optimization with compensation theory (SOC; Baltes & Baltes, 1990) and socioemotional selectivity theory (SST; Carstensen, Isaacowitz, & Charles, 1999), and encourage organizations to adjust work to accommodate the changing needs, skills, and abilities of workers as they age. Such strategies include top-down organization-led initiatives, such as implementing flexible work practices, and bottom-up individually instigated actions, such as job crafting. Combining both bottom-up and top-down approaches can generate powerful and lasting results.

Integrate strategies drawing on team diversity theories (e.g., van Knippenberg et al., 2006) and emphasise improving interactions and collaborations between age diverse workers. Strategies involve encouraging intergenerational contact and bi-directional knowledge

sharing and learning. Integrative strategies not only increase collaboration; they can strengthen the positive, age-inclusive climate foundation established with include strategies.

Conclusion

The process model described by Kooij et al. (2020) paints an individualistic vision of successful aging at work. In reality, complex and dynamic contextual factors within organizations can restrict opportunities and foil individual's motivation, ability, and actions directed towards successfully aging at work. Our 3I framework can help organizations to capitalize on the unique knowledge, skills, and abilities of an age-diverse workforce, whilst cultivating an environment in which workers are able and empowered to age successfully.

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Table 1

Examples of organizational intervention strategies to support individual efforts to successfully age at work

		Meso Context Pathway				
		Direct effect via opportunity		Moderating effects		
		-	(Un)manageable P-E			
			Anticipated/experienced	discrepancy →	Proactive/Adaptive goal	
		Meso factors → Successful	misfit → (Un)manageable P-E	Proactive/adaptive goal	(dis)engagement → P-E fit	
	Definition	aging at work (Path A)	discrepancy (Path B1)	(dis)engagement (Path B2)	(Path B3)	
Include	Workers welcomed	Train selection committees	Create a positive age diversity	Train members of promotion	Ensure that employees have	
	and valued,	about age bias and maintain	climate that communicates	committees to remove bias to	fair access to training to	
	regardless of age	compliance with anti-	that employees of all ages are	ensure that employees can	maintain or develop skills	
	(i.e., lack of age	discrimination laws to enable	welcome and valued to	still engage new goals	regardless of age to increase	
	bias)	mature workers the	encourage employees to feel	regardless of appraising the fit	the chances of achieving fit	
		opportunity to work.	that misfit is manageable	as unmanageable		

Individualize	Work is adjusted to	Use age-inclusive work	Train employees and	Educate managers on work	Ensure that training is tailored
	accommodate the	design (e.g. flexible work	managers in job crafting	redesign strategies. A	to support the learning needs
	changing needs and	arrangements) to enable	principles to enable appraisals	manager who actively	of mature workers to ensure
	preferences of	participation and improve	of misfit as manageable	encourages an employee to	that learning is maximised
	workers at different	attraction of mature workers		continue working could help	
	life stages	(e.g. avoid self-selection in		change an unmanageable and	
		recruitment process)		foster goal engagement	
Integrate	Communication and	Actively address team	Encouraging positive team	Promote coaching, mentoring	Encourage team collaboration
	knowledge sharing	composition by ensuring a	relationships that encourage	and reverse-mentoring	and interdependence to
	across diverse age	diversity of skills and ages are	co-workers to provide	opportunities to support	support execution of new
	groups	represented to create	instrumental and emotional	exploration of alterative goals	goals to achieve P-E fit
		opportunities for participation	support in the event of		
		at work and encourage	experienced or anticipated		
		positive intergenerational	misfit		
		exposure to challenge age			
		stereotypes			

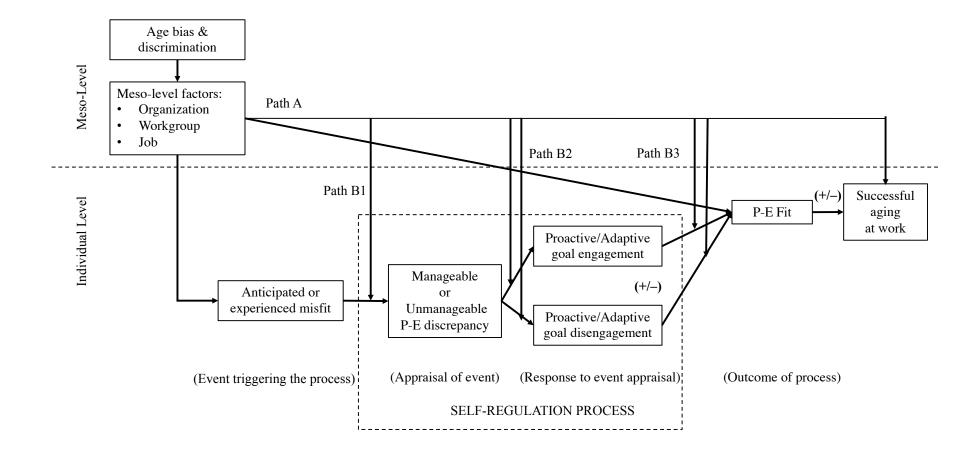


Figure 1. Modified process model of successful aging at work. Path A depicts the direct effect and Paths B1 to B3 show the moderating effects contextual factors (here meso-level factors) can have on successful aging at work.