DYSKURSY MŁODYCH ANDRAGOGÓW 18

ZIELONA GÓRA 2017

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DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES AND THE NEED FOR LATER CAREER OPPORTUNITIES

Today's society is characterized by both demographic changes and a global economy, with effects on both employment trends and people's working lives (Kim 2014). On the one hand, there are a lot of changes affecting people in their mid-life careers; on the other hand there is also an increasing need for older people to continue their work. An ageing population creates challenges for society, organizations and individuals. People are healthier and live longer and many adults who are in time for retirement are still able to continue working. Later life career planning has been highlighted as a challenge for career counsellors for several years now, since many older adults choose to return to employment instead of entering the traditional stage of retirement (Canaff 1997). The preparation for transitions and retirement are also highlighted as necessary needs to be recognized (Nuss & Schroeder 2002). According to Lehr and Kruse (2006), many people retain their ability to contribute to society even after the age of retirement. Furthermore, as pointed out by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 2012), improved living standards, easier access and improved quality of health care services, as well as enhanced education, have all contributed to longer healthier lives and increased life expectancy. Previous research also highlights that many older people are willing to extend their working lives (Fasbender et al. 2015). It has also shown that people who extend their working lives experience benefits such as higher levels of well-being and health (Kim & Feldman 2000; Zahn et al. 2009).

An extended working life is clearly an issue of increasing interest in society. The ageing of the workforce will mean that several countries in the future will likely have to rely on a smaller proportion of their population to produce their economic wealth and to provide their services (cf. e.g., Hollywood et al. 2007). As argued by Hollywood, Brown, Danson and McQuaid (2007), the question is from where will employers draw labour within the context of a declining labour force? Politicians argue for changes in the retirement system and suggest increasing the age of retirement. This issue has been highly debated in society within several countries. However, to more fully grasp what such changes would bring to the labour market, to organizations, to people involved

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and to social support systems, there is a need to explore what is known about midlife and late career issues so far. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to explore and map the character of issues and themes visible in recent research about extended working lives and midlife and older adults' career issues and opportunities within the context of demographic changes in the changing world of work. These issues and themes are then discussed in terms of seemingly dominant perspectives and interests and what possible gaps and challenges can be identified for future research.

Methodology

To explore midlife and older adults' career issues and opportunities within an extended and changing working life impacted by demographic changes, a traditional literature review (Jesson et al. 2011) was conducted. A brief review of the context and themes of extended working lives in the literature was first explored in order to initially gain an overview of the area. This procedure indicated some keywords and phrases that were often repeated in the area of research, and were found to be of relevance in the searching procedure. Given that the research interest involves both policy interests, educational and labour interests the database Academic Search Elite was selected for this study. Keywords based upon common words and phrases in the area were tested, revised, and finally selected for the final searching procedure. These key words (late career/extended working life, adults, older adults, career, demographic change, prolonged working life, midlife career, career development, policy/policies, career change, career opportunities in later life, guidance/counselling/counseling, demographic changes, workforce, labour market) were then combined in several ways, along with the delimitations made, result hits, and abstracts reviewed and selected for deeper screening. The searching procedure was made with Boolean phrases, Smart Texts Searching and the addition of Thesaurus terms. The initial searching procedure resulted in too many hits (1,506) and delimitations were gradually made, focusing on articles in academic journals. This delimitation resulted in 589 articles, and a time span of articles published between the years 2000-2015 was added, along with a delimitation of articles marked as both peer reviewed and found within academic journals. In order to primarily pay attention to recent research, the time span was reduced to comprise the years 2010-2015. In addition, the decision was made to focus on peer reviewed journals only, in order to ensure the quality of the papers. The article titles were initially screened, and thereafter abstracts were screened, in several steps. This procedure was repeated for all the searching procedures with the combined keywords and in the searching procedure for each date. The process of locating material from databases resulted in 141 articles selected for deeper screening. These articles were downloaded and saved in folders.

Inclusion and exclusion procedure

During the searching procedures, the gradual sorting out of articles was conducted based upon formulated inclusion and exclusion criteria. These criteria were gathered in an article review protocol (Larsen 2009) in order to assess the relevance of each article according to the certain inclusion/exclusion criteria (Friberg 2012). This way of working supports the reviewing and reading of each article and facilitates comparisons (Larsen 2009). The article review protocol was used as a supportive tool during the phases of searching, collecting, saving and sorting of the articles. The inclusion/exclusion criteria used in the process are presented below.

Articles concerned with issues or research questions regarding adults/older adults' career issues, midlife and later life career issues of any kind, retirement, continuing work, continuing education, continuing professional development were included in the folders. If the articles were concerned with demographic changes related to working life, labour market and organizations they were also included in the folders. Articles that seemed relevant for the purpose of this paper, but did not reveal enough details, were saved in the folders in order to explore them further with support from formulated exclusion criteria for the exploration of abstracts. If the articles seemed appropriate according to the above presented inclusion criteria, and presented a well described methodology of empirical investigation together with a reliable result, they were saved in the folders. Such was also the case if the articles were a review of relevance. If the articles were of another character than an empirical study, they were saved for further explorations, if the theme was relevant according to the purpose of this paper. Exclusions of articles were made when the title/abstract presented individual portraits depicting famous personalities, interviews with famous personalities of cultural occupations, portraits of theorists, in memoriam articles, or reports/news articles in magazines. Articles were also excluded if they were concerned with cultural occupations with no clear connection to the changing world of work, or if they presented specific professional groups careers with no relevance for the purpose of the study (astronauts for instance). Articles in which career as a concept was mentioned as a taken for granted concept without a specific focus were also excluded. Articles focusing on drug careers and criminal careers were excluded as they were not relevant for the purpose of this study. Articles with a longitudinal approach examining predictive factors such as personality and individual differences, behaviour and intellectual variables were excluded if they did not reveal any relevance for careers in later life. Articles that related to career selection factors for specific professions, young adults' school-to-work transitions and young adults' health were also excluded as they had no obvious relevance for the purpose of this study. Articles concerned with health aspects, poverty issues and effects from

childhood to late adulthood without a clear connection to a prolonged working life were excluded, as well as well-being related to factors other than career and continued/longer working life (social ecology).

The deeper screening of the 141 downloaded articles led to a final procedure of sorting out articles from the folders with support from the inclusion/exclusion criteria. This procedure revealed that some of the articles were found in several folders. Consequently these duplicates were excluded. The screening process also resulted in the exclusion of some articles which initially had been downloaded as relevant, but after screening showed no clear connection with the subject in question. Finally, 63 articles remained as empirical data for analysis.

Methodological discussion

During the initial searching procedure, several articles in academic journals (not automatically marked as peer reviewed journals) were found. These were excluded from this analysis since they were not marked as peer reviewed articles. However, such articles might contribute with knowledge about what types of issues are currently highlighted in practice. Therefore, a specific review focusing on such journals would be of interest for further review in order to gain knowledge about possible questions for future research. Since the delimitations in the searching procedure excluded research published in languages other than English, it would be of interest to pay attention to research published in other languages as well. Otherwise, valuable knowledge might be missed. Moreover, there is extensive research with focus on adults' health aspects, and in which career as a variable is mentioned. However, such articles focused mainly on the health aspects, but future explorations on the relations between health and career in later life would contribute to this area of research. I do not claim that this review should be regarded as a full overview of previous research in this area. This study only presents such research found according to the presented methodology, in which other decisions could have been made, with another result as a consequence. An additional search, also in other databases of relevance, would most certainly contribute with supplementary and valuable material. However, I have strived to present the methodology as transparent as possible, so others who have interest in this research area can fill gaps that are not covered by this review. I hope this review can provide some contribution to the area, in that it presents recent themes and issues concerned with midlife and older adults' career issues and opportunities.

Processing, mapping and analysis of articles

The processing and mapping of articles has been conducted in several steps, based upon content analysis (Graneheim & Lundman 2004) as the basic method to approach the data. First, the included articles were summarized chronologically in a table structure, where the authors, publication year, title of the article and peer reviewed journal were summarized alongside notes on the main subject of the article. This procedure was made in order to get an overview of the articles and as support for the content analysis in event there is a need to go back to the main sources. The articles were read, coded and then organized in categories related to the issues addressed in the articles. Thereafter, articles with the same or similar codes and categories were brought together into common, synthesized themes. The article analysis procedure resulted in five overall, synthesized themes: the need for all-age-career guidance services, career issues among certain professions, immigrants' career paths, later careers and factors of well-being, and longitudinal correlations between early life conditions and later career. These themes are presented descriptively below as a result of the analysis. The themes are then finally discussed in terms of perspectives and interests that seem to dominate. Possible gaps and challenges for future research are also discussed.

Results of the analysis

The resultant five overall themes, deriving from the analysis, are presented as headings below. The first, and most comprehensive theme, is built up by several categories, presented as subheadings under this first theme. These categories emerged from the analysis as variables of interest in order to support adults in their later careers.

The need for all-age-career guidance services

The first theme addresses the need for all-age-career guidance services (cf. e.g., Hughes 2013a; Sampson Jr. et al. 2011; Thomsen & Mariager-Anderson 2015; Watts 2010; 2013) as a consequence of the demographic changes along with the changing working life. These studies relate to policies on career guidance. Hughes (2013a) states that career services are increasingly under pressure, struggling to demonstrate their value in response to neo-liberal policies. Moreover, the access to effective guidance for all citizens is regarded as an important aspect of social justice (Sampson Jr. et al. 2011). Thomsen and Mariager-Anderson (2015) investigate the potential of adult career guidance in Denmark with regard to lifelong guidance policy. The need for all-age-career guidance services also challenges career supportive professionals within the scope of career provision for all ages. The professional identity among career supportive professionals is

highlighted by Hughes (2013b), because of the challenges they experience under the pressure of neoliberal discourses. Such discourses impact upon the arrangements and design of how all-age-career services shall be provided. Mulvey (2013) also focus on the professional careers workforce, and how they can work with continuing professional development.

Mid-life career transitions, handling change and uncertainty

Articles sorted into this category are concerned with mid-life career transitions in the changing world of work and the stressed need for people to handle change and uncertainty. Peake and McDowall (2012) have interviewed seven mid-career individuals. With the chaos theory of careers (CTC) – proposed by Pryor and Bright (2003a; 2003b; Bright & Pryor 2007) – as a guiding metaphor, results show that career success outcomes where shaped by chance, unplanned events, and non-linearity. Mid-career adults are also in focus in an exploration of how these groups of adults actually make career decisions (Bimrose & Mulvey 2015). Results reveal that characteristic patterns of behaviour recur when they approach crisis and transitions. The changes in the world of work and organizations have resulted in an increased need for self-directed career management (SDCM), according to Hirschi (2012). This study integrates previous research across different conceptualizations of SDCM and proposes four critical and essential career resources in today's changing context: human capital resources, social resources, psychological resources and identity resources (Hirschi 2012). Experiences of midlife career transitions among a group of middle-aged male scientists and engineers are qualitatively explored (Yosen et al. 2012). The results describe personhood, relationships, lifestyle and workplace environment as major factors in career transition. Maree (2013) discusses how guidance practices need to develop strategies to support their clients by equipping them with necessary skills to respond to fundamental changes in the workplaces across all countries. Lent (2013) also emphasizes the need for workers to prepare to a greater degree for difficult transitions and obstacles and unplanned job loss. Another study (Golden 2013) explores working conditions and flexible work arrangements. This study reveals the theme of work-life balance in relation to work-at-home and home-at-work. In addition, stress coping and workers' personality attributes are explored as necessary areas to understand career adaptability in the numerous transitions people experience over the life course (Stoltz et al. 2013). Another study (Hallqvist 2012) focuses on occupational transitions. This study draws on interviews with workers who had been made redundant and were enrolled at an outplacement agency. Hallqvist argues that occupational transitions in late modern society have become a learning option, rather than just being considered as a passage. Adult education programs are yet another learning area of relevance in a society

characterized by economic, social and technical changes with shifts in the labour market. According to Petty and Thomas (2014), many adults need to obtain appropriate skills to be more marketable for employment. Their literature review suggests that adult education programs need to be persistent and identify several types of barriers faced by adult learners. Motivation emerges as the force that might help adults overcome these barriers (Petty & Thomas 2014). Two of the studies more specifically focus on unemployed adults. Bullock-Yowell and colleagues (2014) suggest that workshops, as a supporting method, had no impact on negative career thinking but rather increased career decision making difficulties among the group of unemployed adults. Katcher and Wright (2013) explore low-income adults with a focus on anger response style and its effects on job employment and six-month job retention. Voluntary midlife career changes are also an issue of interest, where self-initiated career changers are in focus (Barclay et al. 2011). Kowske, Rasch & Wiley (2010) shed light on the need to be aware of generational differences between groups of generations in the work force and the effects these generational differences bring to peoples' work values, work attitudes and expectations of job security in relation to work trends.

Age transitions and late life planning

Articles sorted into this category are concerned with different kinds of age transitions: experiences of aging and limits, transitions from work to retirement or postretirement employment, and how to plan later in life. Three articles address different types of age transitions. Ronkainen, Ryba and Nesti (2013) explore experiences of aging and the limits of physical performance among a group of 10 elite athletes. The results reveal four storylines related with aging and how the athletes find diverse ways of bringing meaning to the experience of aging. Some participants confirmed the normativity of retirement while others demonstrated career continuity. Another study (Reeuwijk et al. 2013) focuses on the theme of early retirement. This study investigates which non-health related factors influence early retirement, and why and how these factors influence it. 30 Dutch employees (60-64 years) where interviewed. Results show that various factors pushed them towards early retirement. Such "push factors" could be organizational changes at work, conflicts at work, high work pressure and physical job demands, also in addition to insufficient use of their knowledge and skills by others in the organization. The result also shows some "pull factors" that attracted them towards early retirement. Such factors involved the wish to do other things outside work, have more flexibility, enjoy life, spend more time with family and care for others. The authors conclude that in order to prolong working life, improvements in the work environment that motivate employees to prolong their careers seem important. Another study (Kim 2014) focuses the career transition process among Korean middle-aged workers towards their engagement in

postretirement second careers. In-depth interviews were conducted with nine individuals (48-65 years). The results reveal four phases in such a career transition process. The individuals experienced disequilibrium in a previous career, the reflected-on self and context, they were making new professional connections and changes, and they were committing to new careers. Furthermore, self-estimated life expectancy (SLE) as a predictor of important decisions about work and retirement is explored (Griffin et al. 2013). According to this study, individuals' thoughts about their likely age at death are essential for late-career planning and future financial planning.

Gender issues

Articles in this category address gender issues of relevance when working with adults' experiences of working life. For instance, Bimrose, McMahon and Watson (2013) note that older women are likely to experience structural labour market disadvantage and would benefit from career guidance support that is sympathetic to their particular needs. They present results from an international, comparative and qualitative investigation of the career trajectories of women aged 45 to 65 in Australia, England and South Africa. The study confirms a need for career guidance that is differentiated and nuanced for particularly older women, to move beyond inequality paths occurring when aging and gender converge. It is also necessary for career guidance services to pay attention to such gender issues that occur among older workers. Bimrose, McMahon and Watson (2013) highlight a fundamental paradox among the women in their study: to be successful in organizations older women are expected to demonstrate qualities associated with masculinity, yet at the same time they need to maintain their femininity (Bimrose et al. 2013). Another study (Gibbons et al. 2011) concerns the career and work development of adult women whose parents lack postsecondary education. Hancock (2012a) explores male adults in their decision to return to further education. Hancock (2012b) also highlights gender issues and argues that over time early socialization of masculinity can be overcome so that some men can be supported to make non-stereotypical career decisions later in life.

Career issues among certain professions

The second theme is clearly concerned with possibilities of/lack of Continuing Professional Development (CDP), future competence profiles, learning and working conditions among certain professions, as well as issues of retaining and recruiting employees. Some studies are concerned with the dental professions. Bailey and colleagues (2013), discuss the need for dental professions to maintain and update their clinical skills and knowledge. They conclude that CDP participation was consistently and significantly higher in mid- and late-career than in early-career. Hunter, Harrhy

and Morgan (2010) focus in turn on the current and predicted future profile of UK's specialist workforce in paediatric dentistry. Among professional librarians, learning is stated as generally self-directed, informal, highly dependent on social interactions with peers and embedded in practice (Bildeau & Carson 2015). The impacts of postdoctoral training on scientists' academic employment is explored (Xuhong 2013), as well as the barriers for air force commanders to gain entry into doctoral business programs (Williams & LeMire 2011). Mid-career army officers' experiences are also explored (Vance 2015), with focus on how the group decided to enrol in a master's degree program. Another study is concerned with scientists' careers in the USA (Bender & Heywood 2011). This study examines the evolution of mismatch and its consequences over the course of a career among scientists and concludes that both the incidence of mismatch and its negative consequences appear concentrated among those late in their careers. Other studies concern workplace settings (Neimeyger et al. 2011) and what kind of knowledge (Sanders et al. 2010) psychologist need in relation to early-, mid-, and late-career development stages. Some studies focus on working conditions and its possible influence on occupational change. For instance, the teaching profession is explored. Cooper and Mackenzie Davey (2011) focus on those who had thought about changing their occupation, but did not. Their study explored narratives among nine female teachers. They had all considered leaving the profession, but remained in their profession at mid-life. The study contributes with highlighting embedded issues that constrain women's occupational mobility. Another study (Chingos & Peterson 2011) presents evidence that teachers may become less effective with experience, particularly later in their careers. The study suggests revisiting both compensation policies and the design of teacher recruitment. There are also studies concerned with the nursing profession (Clendon & Walker 2013; Takase 2013). For instance, Clendon and Walker (2013) explore nurses' late-careers with focus on their experiences of work shifts. The authors argue that an aging nurse workforce requires a stressed need to find strategies to retain older nurses in the workforce. Improved scheduling, practices with increasing access to flexible and part-time work hours and the development of resources on coping with shift work are recommended. Clearly this study and several others also concern themes of recruitment and retaining employees within different professions (Pena et al. 2010; Walker et al. 2010). Themes concerning recruitment and the unbalanced distribution of certain professions across geographic areas have also been acknowledged as a problem for many countries. Straume and Shaw (2010) point at the difficulties in retaining physicians in remote geographical settings because of heavy workloads, harsh environmental conditions and a lack of opportunities for CDP. They discuss how rural areas can provide training that will meet modern principles of adult learning. The geographical theme is also highlighted among general practitioners in Australia (Mu

2015), as well as among mid- and late-career health professionals wanting to perform clinical services abroad (Andrew Harris et al. 2014).

Immigrants' career paths

Articles sorted into this third theme are dealing with demographic questions about countries' population composition in terms of immigrants and refugees. Using the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada during the period 2000-2004, Adamuti--Trache, Anisef and Sweet (2013) explore short-term employment and occupational attainment of recent immigrants who chose to obtain additional credentials at a Canadian postsecondary institution, even though they have earlier completed a university degree in their countries of origin. The authors posit that the choice to participate in postsecondary education in certain institutions and fields by highly educated immigrants provides valuable indicators of future career plans and occupational intentions. Moreover, they argue for the idea that the new host country should provide newcomers with access to postsecondary education and tailor education to respond to their needs to develop special cultural understanding, official language skills and job experiences required for successful social and economic integration (Adamuti-Trache et al. 2013). Another study (Olgiati et al. 2013), focusing on economic migration and life-satisfaction by employing data from the Gallup World Poll, investigates whether there exists a general pattern of association between subjective well-being and income, with particular focus on immigration status in 16 high-income countries. The results indicate that income increases cognitive well-being in some countries, while in other countries, the foreign-born report a negative association. Another study (Lai et al. 2013) investigates whether differences in subjective well-being can be attributed to cultural response bias, by comparing Australians, first and second generation Chinese immigrants and Hong Kong Chinese. Results confirm that the difference in subjective well-being can be explained by different levels of cultural response bias. The need for refugees to integrate past experience into their lives in a new culture is highlighted from constructivist approaches to counselling in another study with focus on African refugees (Pierce & Gibbons 2012).

Later careers and factors of well-being

The fourth theme address the interconnectedness between later careers and factors of well-being (Angelini et al. 2012; Cheung & Ngan 2012; Howell et al. 2013; Körner et al. 2014). For instance, age, health and life satisfaction among older Europeans is explored (Angelini et al. 2012). Angelini et al. conclude that research on well-being that mainly studies observable and objective economic factors such as income and wealth is undoubtedly important; however, subjective life satisfaction is also influenced

by non-economic factors (Angelini et al. 2012). Their study uses data from the 2006 wave of the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE), which is an interdisciplinary survey on ageing and collects extensive information on health, socioeconomic status, family interactions of individuals aged 50 and over in several European countries. Among the respondents, more than 50% are retired, and only 30% are still working. The results show that life satisfaction increases with the level of education and occupation. People at work are more satisfied than those who are not currently working due to retirement or other reasons for being out of the labour force. Furthermore, Angelini et al. (2012) conclude that people with high socio-economic status are happier than others. Similarily, financial security and financial literacy, and their importance for overall life satisfaction and late employment careers, are themes highlighted in other studies (Howell et al. 2013; O'Rand 2011). Another study (Körner et al. 2014) explores the interconnectedness between high levels of work-related demands with uncertainties concerning job and career prospects and level of well-being. The results suggest that negative psychological effects of perceived growing uncertainties in people's work life indeed matter for people's subjective well-being. Another aspect of well-being is explored among people who engage in volunteer services and non-profit organizations (Vecina et al. 2013). Even though the participants in the study ranged from ages 18-78, the results are important to understand the relevance for the well-being of people later in life who choose to engage in such organizations. The results indicate that the intention to remain engaged is predicted by commitment, not engagement, while engagement, and not commitment, predicts psychological well-being.

Longitudinal correlations between early life conditions and later career

The fifth, and final, theme addresses longitudinal correlations between early life conditions and later career. For instance, Newton, Torges and Stewart (2012) explore the relationship between women's life regrets and life satisfaction. The study uses data from 313 college-educated women who graduated in the US in 1951/2, 1972 and 1992. Analyses reveal that the more types of regrets middle-aged and older women reported, the lower their life satisfaction. Another study (Wille et al. 2013) explores subjective career success in three general ways where employability and work-family conflict are used as two indicators of career success and are considered as closely aligned with the characteristics of contemporary conceptions of 'boundaryless' careers. Yet another study focuses on gender earning gaps among data of graduates (Eisenberg & Laposata 2013). The results suggest that women's salaries fall behind men's salaries in the later years of their careers because of either labour market discrimination and/or gender socialization. Other authors (Cochran et al. 2011) investigate the relationship between adolescent occupation aspirations and midlife career success, with support

from Gottfredsons's (1981) theory of circumscription and compromise. Results indicate that occupational aspirations predicted career achievement later in life, and that girls achieved less career success in midlife than boys. Comparably, Ashby & Schoon (2012) study the links between adolescent career aspirations to adult outcomes. Their longitudinal research investigates quantitative survey data from participants at different ages, combined with retrospective interview data at age 50. Their study contributes with an understanding of the role adolescent-career aspirations play in shaping adult career development later in life, as well as adult identities and well-being. Transitional pathways to adulthood are also explored (Salmela-Aro et al. 2014). Results suggest that a postponed pathway in various transitions predicted less optimism and a higher level of depressive symptoms.

Discussion

This paper presents some of the previous research about late career issues within a context of demographic changes in a changing world of work found in the Academic Search Elite database during the period 2010-2015. The results reveal five overall themes of how late careers for mid-life adults and older workers are highlighted in recent research. All themes contribute with valuable knowledge for understanding the need for adults' later career opportunities in demographic changes. The most comprehensive theme stresses the need for all-age career guidance services, in conjunction with taking certain variables of interest into consideration when supporting older adults in late career planning. The need for all-age-career guidance services is often communicated in relation to guidance policies and lifelong learning strategies, which, in turn, are underpinned by neo-liberal agendas (cf. Hughes 2013a; Sampson Jr. et al. 2011; Thomsen & Mariager-Anderson 2015; Watts 2010; 2013). Consequently, there are reasons to pay further attention to what these policies, and their underlying neo-liberal agendas, will bring to the areas of extended and prolonged working lives for adults. It is obvious that the changing world of work causes an increasing amount of mid-life career transitions, of both involuntary (Hallqvist 2012; Lent 2013; Maree 2013) and voluntary bases (Barclay et al. 2011). These transitions require people to develop skills to handle change, to prepare for and participate in learning both within the transitional phase (see Hallqvist 2012) and within adult education programs (see Petty & Thomas 2014). These various transitions among adults in mid-life careers are clearly connected to the changing world of work with obvious effects on both employment trends and people's working conditions (cf. Kim 2014). In addition to these transitions, there are also obvious age transitions to take into consideration. All these changes that clearly affect adults' working conditions in both middle-aged career and end of career might have an impact on whether people choose to retire, go for early retirement or prolong their working life. The results from the study by Reeuwijks and colleagues (2013) clearly indicate that such is the case. Such factors that clearly pushed employees towards early retirement were, for instance, organizational changes at work and high work pressure, as well as insufficient use of their knowledge. Clearly, working life conditions have a role to play in whether people choose to prolong their working lives or not. And this would be of interest for all employers, organizations and policy makers when emphasizing the need for an extended working life. Clearly, the demographic changes, which are characterized by people living longer, being healthier and possibly able to continue their work, or move on to second careers – as is the case among the middle-aged workers who engaged in postretirement second careers (Kim 2014) - can not only be discussed from the perspective of employers' needs to find labour in the context of a declining labour force (cf. Hollywood et al. 2007). The issue also has to address the need for later career opportunities, that is, how do employers provide and create possibilities for later career opportunities for this potential group of labour? One can assume this to be a challenging task according to the character of a continuously changing working life, with less stability, no transparent career paths for the workforce, no matter if they are young or older. The question is not only concerned with where to find labour when a large number of workers are heading for retirement. It is also about how to retain already employed workers, and how to recruit new workers. Clearly, these questions are apparent within many professions and involve workplaces conditions for CDP, competence development, learning and working conditions as well. The career issues raised within many professions in this study indicate that there is a huge need to pay attention to how working conditions, geographical conditions and different possibilities for continuous professional development at workplaces may influence if workers stay or move on (see e.g., Clendon & Walker 2013; Cooper & Mackenzie Davey 2011; Straume & Shaw 2010). The need for later career opportunities is also an urgent issue from a migration perspective. Just as adults need to be seen as a heterogeneous group with individual differences, with different life-stories, life-situations and aims, so are immigrants a heterogeneous group. They can choose to move to another country for several reasons, or they can be forced to move from their countries for several reasons (see e.g., Adamuti-Trache et al. 2013; Pierce & Gibbons 2012). Nevertheless, immigrants often need to develop language skills and cultural understanding, and they also need job possibilities to gain experiences for future careers (Adamuti-Trache et al. 2013). The need for later career opportunities for immigrants in their receiving countries is therefore important for successful integration and for immigrants' future subjective well-being. It is also about how employers should be able to see the potential of immigrants to contribute with their skills.

It is clear that the changes in working life and the demographic changes of altering structures for retirements, occupational transitions as well as migration issues, create new challenges for career supportive professionals. Besides the multiple transitional challenges disclosed, gender issues for both women and men are important variables that need to be involved in the career supportive activities with adults and older adults (Bimrose et al. 2013; Gibbons et al. 2011; Hancock 2012a; 2012b). In addition, adults in mid-life and later life are in an emerging need for support in how to plan their later life, and if they are about to prolong their working lives, they also need support with such later life planning including financial literacy and financial planning (Howell et al. 2013; O'Rand 2011). The increasing uncertainty concerning the future in later life indeed matters for people's subjective well-being (Körner et al. 2014). There is also a lot to be learned from longitudinal approaches. Knowledge about how early life conditions have effect on later career is of great importance for understanding and supporting adults in midlife and age transitions. Life-regrets (Newton et al. 2012), postponed pathways (Salmela-Aro et al. 2014), gender socialized career choices earlier in life and experiences of labour market discrimination (Eisenberg & Laposata 2013), early occupational aspirations (Ashby & Schoon 2012; Cochran et al. 2011) all have effects on later career outcomes. This knowledge would be of importance for both supporting adults and for how to predictively support young people to prevent negative outcomes later in life.

Conclusions

Given the themes that derived from the analysis, it is clear that adults' and older adults' career opportunities in a changing and extended working life attract interest from a range of areas and disciplines. There are, however, some perspectives and interests that seem to dominate in this analysis. For instance, it is obvious that most of the articles address the subject in question from educational and vocational guidance, career guidance and employment counselling issues and perspectives. This is also evident with the types of journals in which the articles are published. In addition, there is a dominance of articles addressing issues of relevance for human resource work; however, they address these issues more implicitly through their interest in continuing professional development, competence development and learning and work conditions among different professions. These articles are not published in typical human resource journals; rather they are distributed between different types of journals. Nevertheless, the issues raised are of importance for employers when working with retention and recruitment of workers, a typical issue for human resource strategies. In conclusion, attention has been given to the need for all-age-career guidance services, and how these services can

also support people with career issues later in life. Furthermore, it also implicitly points to the fact that workplaces also need to think along these lines. This would include exploring their attitudes to, and determining what kind of organizational opportunities they provide for, midlife careers. This is important for employee retention for both current and potential employees. Furthermore, older adults should be included so they can prolong their working lives. Such development is essential if career guidance practitioners should be able to support and guide older adults towards future career opportunities. It seems important, therefore, for future research to examine employers' perceptions of and attitudes towards older adults as potential future employees, and how they are treated in the recruitment and retention context.

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DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES AND THE NEED FOR LATER CAREER OPPORTUNITIES

SUMMARY: This study explores previous research about extended working lives and later careers, as consequences of demographic changes alongside with a changing working life. Issues and themes visible in recent research on midlife and older adults' careers opportunities are explored. A traditional literature review is conducted, in which peer reviewed articles on midlife and older adults' careers issues and opportunities in an extended and changing working life are localized and downloaded as material for this study. This paper presents an analysis of empirical material downloaded from the Academic Search Elite database. The process of locating material from databases resulted in 141 articles selected for a deeper screening. Among these, 63 were finally selected as empirical material for analysis. Initially, the content of each article was identified, mapped, coded and categorized with content analysis as the basic method. The codes and categories with same or similar content were then brought together, and resulted in five overall themes: the need for all-age-career guidance services, career issues among certain professions, immigrants' career paths, later careers and factors of well-being, and longitudinal correlations between early life conditions and late career. These themes are then discussed in terms of perspectives and interests that seem to dominate, and possible gaps and challenges for future research are also discussed.

KEYWORDS: demographic changes, extended working life, later careers, adults, traditional literature review.

ZMIANY DEMOGRAFICZNE I POTRZEBA UMOŻLIWIENIA ROZWOJU "PÓŹNEJ KARIERY" ZAWODOWEJ

streszczenie: Niniejszy artykuł dotyczy analizy materiałów, w których opisano różne przeprowadzone badania nad wydłużonym okresem życia zawodowego oraz "późnymi karierami" jako konsekwencjami zmian demograficznych oraz zmian stylu życia zawodowego. Przedstawione zostały tematy, zagadnienia i badania dotyczące możliwości rozwoju kariery osób w średniej i późnej dorosłości, opublikowane w ostatnich latach. W artykule przedstawiono analizę materiału empirycznego pobranego z bazy danych Academic Search Elite. Proces pozyskiwania materiału do analizy przebiegał następująco: najpierw z bazy danych wybrano 141 artykułów, z których do ostatecznej analizy wykorzystano 63 artykuły. W pierwszym etapie treść każdego artykułu była identyfikowana, mapowana, kodowana i klasyfikowana jako analiza treści, która stanowiła podstawową metodę. Kody i kategorie, z taką samą lub podobną treścią, zostały połączone i wyłoniono pięć ogólnych zagadnień: potrzeba poradnictwa kariery dla osób w każdym wieku, zagadnienie kariery dla niektórych zawodów, ścieżki kariery imigrantów, późne kariery, czynniki jakości życia, podłużne korelacje między warunkami wcześniejszego etapu życia a późną karierą. Powyższe zagadnienia omawiane są pod kątem perspektyw i zainteresowań, które wydają się dominować. Pokazane są także luki i wyzwania dla prowadzenia dalszych badań w przyszłości.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: zmiany demograficzne, wydłużające się życie zawodowe, "późne kariery", dorośli, przegląd literatury tradycyjnej.