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Prosocial Behavior in Retirement

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Abstract

With the increase in the proportion of the population reaching retirement age in relation to that of working age, extensive research has been conducted to understand retirement processes and to promote older adults' well-being in retirement. In this chapter, we aim to link the theoretical concepts of retirement to the research literature on prosocial behavior. First, we provide an overview of the current conceptualizations of prosocial behavior and retirement. Second, we introduce three main areas of prosocial behavior engagement in retirement (i.e., prosocial behavior in post-retirement employment, in the family context, and in the community). Third, we present a comprehensive model of the antecedents and outcomes of prosocial behavior in retirement, covering factors at the micro, meso, and macro levels. Finally, we offer suggestions to advance future research investigating prosocial behavior in retirement.

Key words: retirement, prosocial behavior, bridge employment, family care, organizational citizenship behavior (OCB), volunteering, well-being, health

Changing population compositions as often represented by age pyramids, are the consequence of low birth rates and increased life expectancies across the 28 member states of the European Union and other highly developed economies. As such, the proportion of older people in the total population will grow in the upcoming decades (Eurostat, 2015). In particular, with the baby boomer generation (born approximately 1946–1964) reaching retirement, the share of people of retirement age in relation to those of working age will significantly increase (Eurostat, 2015). For example, as one of the world's leading economies, Germany will face a dramatic upwards trend from 16% (12.7 million; old-age dependency ratio 25; median age 38.0) of people aged 65 years and older in 1995 to 21% (17.3 million; old-age dependency ratio 35; median age 45.6) in 2015 to 30% (23.2 million; old-age dependency ratio 56; median age 48.6) in 2035 (Federal Statistical Office of Germany, 2015a). A number of other developed countries will follow this trend assuming continued low birth rates, low immigration rates, and long life expectancy of newborns. On the one hand, economic studies note that this trend will in turn lead to an increased burden on people of working age providing social expenditure related to a range of services required by the people of retirement age. On the other hand, this trend provides a great potential for older people to engage in prosocial behavior in retirement from which many individuals, families, communities and society as a whole will benefit.

Conceptualizations of prosocial behavior

Despite Charles Darwin's (1859) widely recognized principle on the “survival of the fittest”, in which the most selfish people would be the ones to survive, there is widespread evidence of prosocial behavior in humankind (Dovidio et al., 2006). Prosocial behavior refers to a broad category of benefiting others' behaviors, which involves an interaction between the person giving assistance (i.e., helper or benefactor) and one or more person(s) receiving help (i.e.,

recipient). There are certain subcategories that are important to understand the phenomenon of prosocial behavior, namely helping, altruism, and cooperation. In short, *helping* is about people contributing to other people's well-being (Dovidio et al., 2006). Since this wide definition of helping involves several helping scenarios, Pearce and Amato (1980) derived a classification of three relevant dimensions. First, one can distinguish *formal and planned* (e.g., volunteering in a charity project) versus *informal and spontaneous* helping (e.g., giving way to someone). Second, one can distinguish helping related to the *seriousness* of the problem (e.g., giving change to allow someone to make a phone call versus providing help to someone having a heart attack). Third, helping can be distinguished in *indirect* (e.g., donating to a charity for children in need) versus *direct* behavior (e.g., rescuing a child from drowning). Although the concepts of helping and altruism are related to each other, *altruism* refers more precisely to helping behaviors in which the benefactor does *not anticipate to benefit* from his or her own helping behavior. Further, in contrast to helping and altruism, which primarily refer to aid provided from one person to another, *cooperation* refers to jointly coordinated behaviors along with a *common goal*. Because cooperators interact as benefactors and recipients at the same time, the cooperative exchange leads to the *expectation of reciprocal benefit* from their joint efforts. In addition, cooperation is based on more or less *equal relationships*. In a typical helping relationship one person is in need and the other person offers relevant resources to satisfy this need. As a consequence, the benefactor might perceive having power over the recipient, who in turn might have a feeling of indebtedness towards the benefactor. However, due to the absence of a power hierarchy and the presence of common goals, cooperative exchanges might facilitate a variety of positive outcomes, such as interpersonal relationships and group cohesiveness.

Conceptualizations of retirement

From a historical perspective, the concept of retirement is a rather novel phenomenon that has continuously changed over the last century. Long before the industrial revolution and the introduction of social security, people continued working as long as they were able to before reaching the stage of complete physical exhaustion and work disability (Shultz & Wang, 2011). In 1889, the first social security system was introduced by Otto von Bismarck, Germany's Chancellor at that time. Although the actual life expectancy was under 45 years, the initial retirement age was set at 70, indicating a limited use for the majority of people. The ratio between retirement age and life expectancy has inverted since then. In Germany, the current retirement age has been recently increased from 65 to 67, while the average life expectancy for new born boys is about 78 years and for newborn girls about 83 years (Federal Statistical Office of Germany, 2015b). Since the beginning of the 21st century, retirement institutions and policies have started to shift dramatically due to population aging and economic uncertainty. Particularly in highly developed economies, demographic and economic changes have caused a political shift from supporting early retirement towards extending working lives and promoting active aging in society (Fasbender & Deller, 2015; Fraccaroli & Deller, 2015).

From a psychological perspective, retirement is a complex phenomenon, "not just a single event but rather a temporal process that unfolds over time" (Wang, Olson, & Shultz, 2013, p. 159). Retirement is related to a wide variety of factors that influence the planning and decision-making process during the retirement transition. To address the complexity in which the retirement process takes place, Szinovacz (2013) provided a multilevel model of retirement. This contextual approach has its origin in sociological research, assuming a reciprocal interplay between societal, organizational, and individual level factors. In particular, at the macro level, retirement can be thought of as an institution based on cultural norms and values and their integration in various

societal support systems. At the meso level, organizational policies and practices are integrated in the work environment, reflecting implicit forms of retirement expectations and images. Further, at the micro level, retirement reflects individual pathways capturing different elements in the transition from work to retirement, such as retirement planning and decision-making. Due to its comprehensive approach, the model can be used as an overarching theoretical framework for the conceptualization of the retirement process (Wang & Shi, 2014).

Different macro level factors influence the individual retirement process (Szinovacz, 2013). Among these factors are economic and labor market conditions. As highlighted by Fasbender, Wang, Voltmer, and Deller (2016), older people are often withheld as reserve in the labor market, in particular under poor economic conditions with low labor demand. In addition, legal issues are directly linked to the retirement process. For example, the pension eligibility age suggests a concrete timeline for many older people to determine their proximity to formal retirement entry (Ekerdt, Hackney, Kosloski, & DeViney, 2001). Also, cultural norms and values encourage the retirement transition and possibly portray rather positive attitudes towards retirement, which in turn facilitate retirement planning and the decision to retire early (Hershey, Henkens, & Van Dalen, 2007). Cultural norms can also influence behavioral arrangements after formal retirement entry. One example of prosocial behavior is “active aging”, which has been introduced by the World Health Organization in the 1990s and subsequently promoted by political institutions, such as the European Union (Jensen & Principi, 2014). The concept of active aging refers to a broad approach of late life engagement in society, including voluntary activities as well as labor market participation. Certain images of older people are created to promote inclusion, health and well-being outcomes and at the same time, individuals are implicitly expected to behave in a suggested manner, which, in turn, encourages prosocial behavior among older people (e.g., engaging in volunteering activities in the community).

At the meso level, there are different contextual factors influencing the individual retirement process including the work context (i.e., job and organizational factors) and the life context (i.e.,

family and social networks). Among the relevant job and organizational factors are different human resource management policies and practices, work design characteristics, and work-related attitudes. Further, individuals' decisions whether to engage in prosocial behavior in retirement are linked to their significant others (Wang & Shi, 2014). As such, family and social network factors are highly relevant in providing material and immaterial support, offering role modeling opportunities and anchoring points, and providing a socially desirable context (Szinovacz, 2013).

At the micro level, there are several individual factors that influence the planning and decision-making during the retirement process. Among these factors are demographics, health and financial resources, personality and values, as well as attitudes towards retirement (Wang & Shi, 2014). A combination of these factors generates the immediate personal context of the retirement process, often by incorporating cumulative effects (Szinovacz & Davey, 2005; van Solinge & Henkens, 2007; Wang & Shi, 2014). For example, people with a low socioeconomic status accumulate not only less human capital, such as knowledge and skills, but also are more prone to health issues, which in turn influences the structural opportunities during the later retirement process. Taken together, these multilevel factors impact the individual retirement process and as a consequence, enhance our understanding of how much effort people are able and willing to invest in prosocial behavior in retirement.

The organization of the chapter

The central objective of this chapter is to systematically review research literature on prosocial behavior in retirement. Building from the review, we also attempt to link traditional theoretical concepts of retirement to the current research literature on prosocial behavior. In relating prosocial behavior to retirement, we introduce three main areas of engagement, namely prosocial behavior in post-retirement employment, in the family context, and in the community. Given that the context is crucial for individual's day-to-day activity-related decision making, it is

important to examine prosocial behavior in these different activity contexts. Relying on Szinovacz’s (2013) multilevel model of retirement, we also attempt to reveal the antecedents and outcomes in the three areas of prosocial behavior in retirement as can be seen in Figure 1. In addition, we aim to provide directions for future research that guide further investigation of prosocial behavior in retirement.

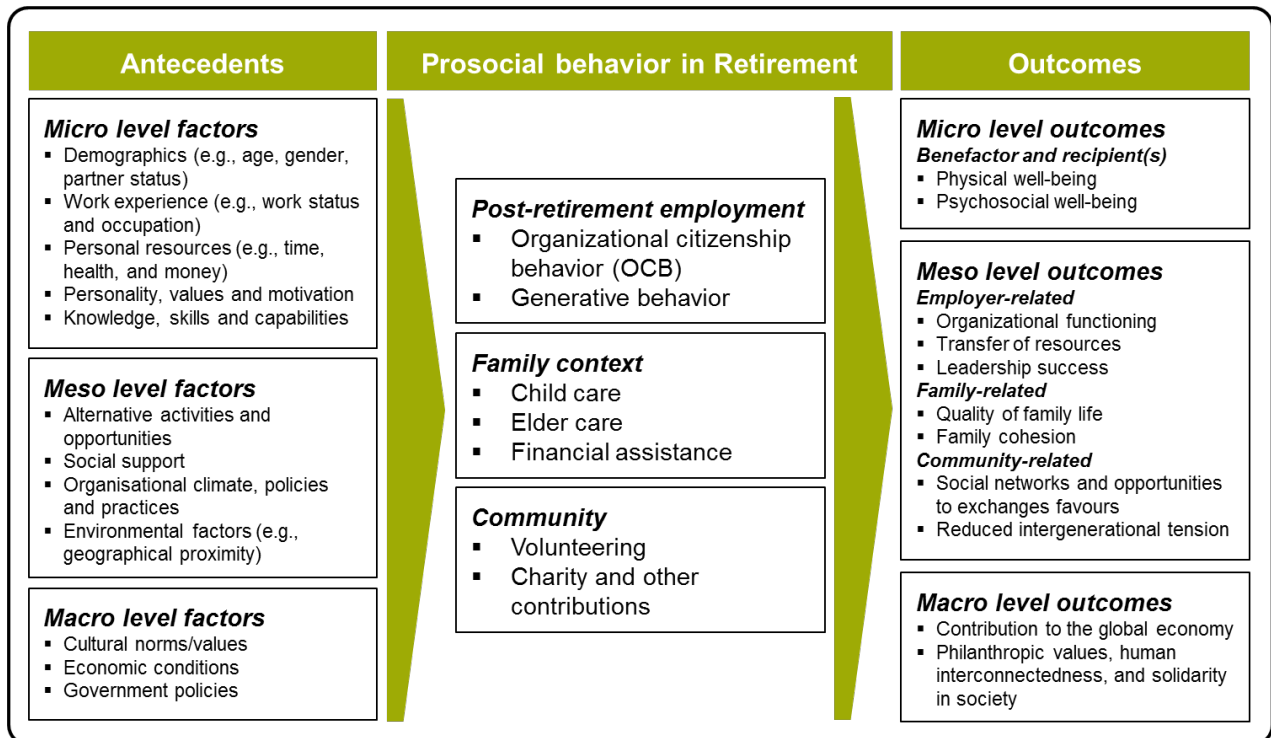


Figure 1. Antecedents and outcomes of prosocial behavior in retirement.

Prosocial Behavior in Post-retirement Employment

Prosocial behavior in the workplace refers to a set of behaviors directed to benefit others and to maintain the social system of a work organization (Chiaburu, Smith, Wang, & Zimmerman, 2014; Ilies, Nahrgang, & Morgeson, 2007; Sonnentag & Grant, 2012), including organizational citizenship behaviors (OCB) and generative behaviors, such as mentoring and sense giving. As one form of work, post-retirement employment refers to paid work after

formally entering retirement (i.e., after mandatory retirement age or receiving pension/social security; Fasbender, Deller, Wang, & Wiernik, 2014). The understanding of the concept and the boundaries of retirement have changed in contemporary society. Although retirement has traditionally been defined as withdrawal from work, it has now been redefined as a late career development stage (Kim & Hall, 2013; Wang & Shi, 2014). As such, post-retirement employment includes work-related activities within the career field as well as work in a different field (Gobeski & Beehr, 2009; Wang, Zhan, Liu, & Shultz, 2008). Further, it can be distinguished in different employer forms, such as continuing to work for the same employer, working for another employer, and being or becoming self-employed (Wang, Adams, Beehr, & Shultz, 2009; Zhan, Wang, & Yao, 2013).

Organizational citizenship behavior

OCB has a comprehensive tradition in organizational psychology and management research, which has increasingly developed over the last three and a half decades (LePine, Erez, & Johnson, 2002; Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Paine, & Bachrach, 2000). A first conceptualization was noted by Barnard (1938), who highlighted workers' "willingness to cooperate" as a distinctive work behavior that goes beyond ordinary job performance. After some decades, Katz (1964) broadened the idea, differentiating in-role and extra-role behaviors and emphasizing the importance of "innovative and spontaneous behaviors" at work. Inspired by these earlier approaches, Organ (1988) provided a formal definition of OCB as "individual behavior that is discretionary, not directly or explicitly recognized by the formal reward system, and that in the aggregate promotes the effective functioning of the organization. By discretionary, we mean that the behavior is not an enforceable requirement of the role or the job description, that is, the clearly specifiable terms of the person's employment contract with the organization; the behavior

is rather a matter of personal choice, such that its omission is not generally understood as punishable" (p.4). Although Organ's original conceptualization (1988) emphasized that OCB is typically not rewarded by the organization, more recent conceptualizations acknowledge that OCB may be recognized during performance evaluations (Johnson, Holladay, & Quinones, 2009; Organ, 1997). In fact, more recent research showed that OCB is related to reward allocation decisions and actual rewards (Podsakoff, Whiting, Podsakoff, & Blume, 2009).

Further, the dimensional structure of the OCB construct has been extensively discussed in the research literature (Dalal, 2005). While Smith, Organ, and Near (1983) suggested a two-dimension construct referring to conscientiousness and altruism, Williams and Anderson (1991) introduced the distinction between OCB directed towards the interpersonal benefit (OCBI) and OCB directed towards the organizational benefit (OCBO). Williams and Anderson (1991) have also empirically supported the distinction between OCBI and OCBO as different measures of performance (different from in-role behaviors). More elaborate taxonomies of OCB have been developed (e.g., Organ, 1988; Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Moorman, & Fetter, 1990), extending the construct to five dimensions of OCB, namely altruism, civic virtue, conscientiousness, courtesy, and sportsmanship. A meta-analysis investigated this five-dimensional structure of OCB (LePine et al., 2002). The authors state that the five dimensions are highly intercorrelated and "that there are no meaningful differences in relationships with predictors across dimensions" (LePine et al., 2002, p.62), questioning the relevance of the five-dimensional structure. In addition, Organ and Paine (1999) argue that the two-dimensional structure is the most stable and seems to underlie the more complex structures of OCB (Dalal, 2005).

Generative behavior

Against the backdrop of global population aging and the upcoming exit of the baby-boomer generation from the workforce, the role of generative behavior in post-retirement employment becomes increasingly important. The term *generativity* can be traced back to Erikson's (1950, 1964) developmental theory. He introduced the concept of generativity as an essential need during the late stages of human development.

“The fashionable insistence on dramatizing the dependence of children on adults often blinds us to the dependence of the older generation on the younger one. Mature man [or woman] needs to be needed, and maturity needs guidance as well as encouragement from what has been produced and must be taken care of. Generativity, then, is primarily the concern in establishing and guiding the next generation, although there are individuals who, through misfortune or because of special and genuine gifts in other directions, do not apply this drive to their own offspring.” (Erikson, 1950, pp. 266-267)

Erikson (1950) describes generativity not only as an essential need of older people but also relates the concept to the mutual dependence between older and younger people. Further, Erikson (1964) introduces different outcomes for generative behaviors, benefits for recipients (i.e., the people being taught), the benefactor (i.e., fulfillment of self-identity) and the society (i.e., intergenerational knowledge transfer).

“And man [or woman] needs to teach, not only for the sake of those who need to be taught and not only for the fulfillment of his [or her] identity, but because facts are kept alive by being told, logic by being demonstrated, truth by being professed.” (Erikson, 1964, p. 131)

Following Erikson's developmental theory, McAdams and de St Aubin (1992) related generativity to the conscious personality that represents a) people's needs and values of self-perceptions, b) goals, intentions, and plans, and c) actual generative behavior (Clark & Arnold, 2008). With regard to post-retirement employment, generative behavior refers to an intergenerational transfer of resources, such as knowledge exchange, mentoring, sense giving,

training and development from older to younger workers (Fasbender et al., 2016; Mor-Barak, 1995; Zacher, Schmitt, & Gielnik, 2012).

Antecedents of prosocial behavior in post-retirement employment

To date, there is no empirical study directly investigating OCB in post-retirement employment. However, different studies have indicated a relationship between age and OCB (e.g., Avanzi, Cortini, & Crocetti, 2012; Gyekye & Haybatollahi, 2015; Wagner & Rush, 2000). For example, a study from Avanzi et al. (2012), investigating the role of teachers' age on job identity and OCB, revealed that older teachers showed higher levels of identity commitment and organizational identification but lower levels of group identification compared to their younger colleagues. Of these variables, organizational identification has been found to be the strongest predictor of OCB among teachers approaching retirement. In addition, a meta-analysis from Dalal (2005) found that job satisfaction and organizational commitment were positive predictors of OCB, supporting the assumption that age might be related with OCB through different underlying mechanisms. Other psychological states related to organizations were also found to predict OCB. For example, organizational justice and positive affect were found to be positive predictors, while negative affect was found to be a negative predictor of OCB (Dalal, 2005). Social exchange theory (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959) and the norm of reciprocity (Gouldner, 1960) have been used as explanatory mechanisms, emphasizing OCB as employees' response to working conditions, workplace processes, interactions, and outcomes perceived as fair or satisfying (Dalal, 2005).

Particularly relevant with regard to the role of age in OCB is socio-emotional selectivity theory (e.g., Carstensen, 2006), which postulates changing motivational priorities with aging resulting in behavioral consequences. However, instead of chronological age, the theory

highlights the “subjective sense of remaining time until death” (i.e., future time perspective) as a more accurate measure of motivational development especially at increasingly older ages (Carstensen, 2006, p.1913). According to this theory, people select goals or priorities as a function of future time perspective. When people perceive future time as unlimited, they prioritize the acquisition of new information and expanding social networks. However, when people perceive future time as increasingly limited, they prioritize feelings and emotional well-being, and focus on the moment rather than on the future (Carstensen, Isaacowitz, & Charles, 1999; Lang & Carstensen, 2002). As people get older they are more likely to perceive future time as limited and as a result should be more likely to engage in socio-emotional behaviors in the workplace, such as helping co-workers or avoid complaining in order to maintain positive interpersonal relationships at work. Older workers also appear to prioritize positive work experiences and goals related to emotion regulation (Hertel & Zacher, in press). A range of empirical studies by Bal and colleagues (Bal, De Lange, Jansen, & Van Der Velde, 2013; Bal, Jansen, van der Velde, de Lange, & Rousseau, 2010; Bal & Smit, 2012) supported age-related differences in dealing with emotional events. For instance, a longitudinal study (Bal et al., 2013) revealed that older workers reacted less intensely in terms of their job satisfaction and job performance when experiencing certain negative emotional events, such as psychological contract breach. Supporting the importance of socio-emotional goals of older people at work, a meta-analysis (Ng & Feldman, 2010) reported positive relationships between age and affective commitment, job involvement, interpersonal and organizational trust, loyalty and organizational identification.

Further, the manner in which work roles are socially constructed (e.g., younger vs. older workers, female vs. male workers) might also be relevant to the prediction of OCB in post-

retirement employment. For example, Kidder and Parks (2001) applied principles from social identity theory to understand gender role and emphasized the importance of social context in shaping role-related behaviors. Referring to gender role stereotypes, the authors distinguished instrumental versus expressive behaviors. While feminine or expressive behaviors typically indicate concern for others (e.g., empathy, interpersonal orientation, perspective taking, and helping others), masculine or instrumental behaviors typically indicate confidence, independence, proactivity, and competitiveness. The authors argue that a mechanism of self-selection occurs as a result of a job role and sex-role spillover, indicating that people choose their job role (e.g., tasks and responsibilities) according to their perceived gender role. With regard to the dimensions of OCB, Kidder and Parks (2001) propose altruism and courtesy to be female behaviors and sportsmanship and civic virtue to be male behaviors. Empirical support for this proposition was found from a recent study by Chiaburu, Sawyer, Smith, Brown, and Harris (2014), investigating role congruent perceptions of civic virtue across gender. The authors noted that only when gender stereotypes were activated did observers expect less civic virtue from target female employees than from their male counterparts. As all employees take multiple roles, a similar argument regarding pervasiveness and spillover of role stereotypes could occur for older versus younger workers (or the role as post-retirement worker in particular). Different cross-sectional studies have noted that older people are often perceived as warm but incompetent (e.g., Australia, Hong Kong, New Zealand, Philippines, and USA, Harwood et al., 1996; Costa Rica, Japan, Israel, and South Korea, Cuddy, Norton, & Fiske, 2005; and 26 European countries including, Germany, France, and the UK, Shiu, Hassan, & Parry, 2015). The stereotypical view of warmth could lead to higher expectations of OCB (e.g., altruistic behavior) from older workers, which in turn could lead to self-selection of tasks and responsibilities that are more

likely to elicit OCB in post-retirement employment. As a result, it is conceivable that the opportunity for performing OCB plays a significant role for older people engaging in post-retirement employment.

Regarding generative behavior, there are several studies with regard to post-retirement employment, often investigating generativity striving as a central motivation for engaging in post-retirement employment. Relying on socio-emotional selectivity theory (Lang & Carstensen, 2002), many researchers have argued that the motivation for generativity increases with age (e.g., Dendinger, Adams, & Jacobson, 2005; Kooij, de Lange, Jansen, & Dijkers, 2013; Zhan, Wang, & Shi, 2015). As older people usually perceive future time as limited, they prioritize social goals that are emotionally meaningful, including generative behaviors as well as feelings of emotional intimacy and social embeddedness (Kooij et al., 2013). For example, Zhan et al. (2015) describe the transition from work to retirement as work role loss, which manifests “as losing one’s work-related social worth and status, social relationships and contact, and opportunities to nurture younger generations” (p. 2), indicating the opportunity for generative behavior in post-retirement employment. As a result, generativity striving can be found as one of the major antecedents for generative behavior in post-retirement employment.

Prosocial Behavior in the Family Context

Prosocial behavior between generations has been an enduring characteristic of solidarity in the family context (Brubaker, 1990). Along with demographic trends, technological, and societal changes, there are also changes within families (e.g., diversification of family formation and household structures, changing transition timing within the family context) that cause structural fragility and larger dependence on the voluntary commitment of family members (Harper, 2004; Lowenstein, 2005; Wolf, 2001). Therefore, family can be seen as a point of

departure with regard to the challenges that arise from demographic changes in society (Lowenstein, 2005). Prosocial behavior in the family context includes *direct* (i.e., child care and elder care) and *indirect* helping behaviors (i.e., financial assistance) that benefit the members of one's own family. In some circumstances, indirect helping behaviors can be a substitute for direct helping behaviors (e.g., paying for the external care).

Child care and elder care

Within the family context, child care refers to caring for grandchildren and caring for children with chronic or disabling conditions. The shift from a high-mortality and high-fertility society towards a low-mortality and low-fertility society has resulted in a shift from a horizontal (i.e., within one generation) towards a vertical (i.e., between different generations) linkage in the family context (Harper, 2005). As a consequence, older people's role of caring for younger generations has increased in contemporary society (Harper, 2005). Responsibilities in child care include acting as a family anchor (transferring attitudes and values) and replacement of a partner or parent (e.g., disciplinarian, guide, facilitator, listener, or teacher; Harper & Ruicheva, 2010). Further, elder care contains different areas of caring activities. To begin with, elder care refers to the caring for parents (or spouse's parents). Increased longevity has generated a larger number of living generations within one family (i.e., up to five living generations; Lowenstein, 2005; Morgan, 1983). Thus, it is possible that people entering formal retirement at 65 years of age would be likely to have parents at the age of about 85 years, who are in need of familial care. Further, elder care refers to the caring for one's spouse. In addition, caring in the family context can contain helping more distant relatives (e.g., caring for aunts and uncles or nieces and nephews) or even significant friends (Feinberg, 2014).

Financial assistance

Within the family context, financial assistance refers to different kinds of monetary help to support family members. Financial assistance flows upward and downward between the different living generations within one family (Morgan, 1983). Therefore, retirees can be both benefactor and recipient of financial assistance. However, as this chapter focuses primarily on prosocial behavior in retirement in terms of giving help to others, financial assistance is highlighted from the benefactor side. As such, retirees may use their pension or other sources of income (e.g., remuneration from post-retirement employment) to support their children and grandchildren or their parents (and spouse's parents). In regards to time, financial assistance can include one-time or short-term support (e.g., paying for medical treatment), medium-term support (e.g., disbursing study enrollment fees) and long-term support (e.g., paying for permanent elder care facility).

Antecedents of prosocial behavior in the family context

At the micro level, prosocial behavior in the family context is influenced by the personal resources that retirees are able to offer. Among the most important resources are health, time, and money. People's physical functioning has been found to be the most powerful predictor for giving elder care (Lowenstein, Katz, & Gur-Yatish, 2007). Also, time seems to be a highly relevant resource for undertaking caring activities in retirement. Research literature suggests that different care responsibilities influence the decision to retire early and also the perception of retirement transitions as involuntary. As such, Lumsdaine and Vermeer (2014) have found that the need for caring for grandchildren is associated with early retirement among women. Further, Szinovacz and Davey (2005) found that retired men who cared for their parents were more likely

to perceive retirement as forced, reflecting the restricted choice that often goes along with caring responsibilities.

While health and time resources are particularly important for direct helping behaviors, such as child and elder care, monetary resources are necessary for providing financial assistance to family members. In turn, personal resources may be affected by different individual factors. Retired couples are more likely to provide financial assistance compared to retired singles or divorcees due to higher levels of economic well-being (Choi, 2003; Harper, 2004). However, due to income disparities between men and women, it is likely that divorced men are in a more favorable position than divorced women and thus, they are more able to provide financial assistance to their family members. Also, work status can be relevant for personal resources that facilitate prosocial behavior in the family context. While nonworking retirees are likely to have more time to devote to direct helping behaviors, working retirees are more likely to indirectly help their family members by providing financial assistance (Choi, 2003). Different occupations (e.g., between pre- and post-retirement) may also influence personal resources in retirement. While manual workers are likely to suffer from demanding working conditions, non-manual workers may have higher health resources. Further, workers with managerial responsibilities are likely to have higher monetary resources compared to workers without managerial responsibilities.

At the meso level, one can argue that often the nature of situations (in contrast to the nature of humans) determines when people are ready to help and when they are not (Dovidio, Piliavin, Schroeder, & Penner, 2010). Therefore, the familial formation and related structures play a major role for prosocial behavior in the family context. To begin with, geographical proximity between family members (i.e., benefactor and recipient) seems to be relevant for direct

helping behaviors because it might rule out possible hindrances that occur due to lower levels of mobility in retirement. Supporting this argument, a cross-national study found geographical proximity to be positively related to elder care in the family context (Lowenstein et al., 2007). In addition, the study revealed familial norms (i.e., the willingness to sacrifice in order to fulfill care responsibilities) and familial solidarity (i.e., feelings of emotional intimacy, similarity, and proximity) to be positively related, while family-state balance (i.e., attitude towards family versus state responsibility) to be negatively associated with elder care in the family. Further, research has indicated that often different family members share direct and indirect helping behaviors in the family (e.g., shared caregiving responsibilities for elder parents; Checkovich & Stern, 2002), highlighting the importance of family cohesion.

At the macro level, the role of public services influences prosocial behaviors in the family context. The availability, accessibility, quality, and costs of public services determine the state solidarity that either complements or substitutes familial solidarity (Lowenstein, 2005). However, the role of public services varies largely between countries. While Scandinavian countries are known for direct governmental involvement through supplying generous public services, many other European countries rely on state insurance-based arrangements, whereas liberal regimes, such as the United States, are known for their limited state solidarity (Lowenstein, 2005). As a result, countries with distinctive public services may replace prosocial behavior in the family context up to a certain degree. However, beyond public services as a means of state solidarity, cultural norms and values determine familial solidarity, which in turn shape role expectations of family members. Role expectations (e.g., for being a grandmother or grandfather) to take responsibility with emerging dependency in the family (e.g., birth of a grandchild) are largely socially constructed. As a consequence, prosocial behavior in the family

context “is the widening concern for what has been generated by love, necessity, or accident; it overcomes the ambivalence adhering to irreversible obligation” (Erikson, 1964, p. 131).

Prosocial Behavior in the Community

Prosocial behavior in the community also includes *direct* (i.e., volunteering activities) and *indirect* helping behaviors (i.e., charity and other contributions) that benefit the members of a community. Emphasizing different contexts of prosocial behavior in retirement, the community context provides formal structures of helping behaviors that are usually represented in not-for-profit organizations (i.e., community sector). By focusing on education, environment, and social services, the community sector is increasingly central to the health and well-being outcomes in society. In the following sections, we introduce volunteering activities, charities and other contributions and discuss their antecedents based on the multilevel framework of retirement.

Volunteering activities

Volunteering activities refer to productive but unpaid engagement in society. Based on the general conceptualization of prosocial behavior, volunteering describes the relationship between the volunteer as benefactor, who provides time and other resources to one or more recipient(s). In the past, policy makers often neglected the economic potential of volunteering activities. For example, aggregate indicators (e.g., Gross Domestic Product) rely on traditional definitions of productive activity in estimating economic performance. Ignoring many volunteering activities that produce social benefits in society leads to a substantial underestimation of the true productivity of a country (Dosman, Fast, Chapman, & Keating, 2006). Nevertheless, the rate of older people engaging in volunteering activities has continuously increased for the last three decades (Morrow-Howell, 2010). In addition, policy makers have more recently discovered the societal gain of volunteering activities, which has been accentuated

with the “Year of Volunteering” in 2011 or the “European Year of Active Aging and Intergenerational Solidarity” in 2012. This reflects the meaning of personal productivity and societal responsibility (Fasbender et al., 2016).

Charity and other contributions

Charity and other contributions refer to giving money and goods to the unfortunate, as a humanitarian act. Often charitable giving is associated as a religious practice (e.g., giving one-tenth of one's income to the community). However, charitable giving is also prevalent in atheist cultures. Current research reveals that people have “mental budgets for philanthropy” (Sussman, Sharma, & Alter, 2015, p.130), which are malleable (LaBarge & Stinson, 2014). As such, mental accounting is a psychological process that explains how people allocate their monetary resources to those in need (LaBarge & Stinson, 2014). In addition to monetary resources, charitable contributions also contain the donation of food, clothes, and household goods or even biological resources (e.g., biological tissue, blood and organ donation). Complementary to charitable giving is the process of gathering contributions from others (e.g., from individuals, businesses and organizations, and governmental institutions), including fundraising activities (e.g., crowd funding, hand-held collection) or selling material resources (e.g., charity shops) to invest in philanthropic projects.

Antecedents of prosocial behavior in the community

There is a vast amount of literature on prosocial behavior in the community as retirement has been identified as an important life stage that offers many older people the opportunity to engage in society. At the micro level, there are two opposing theories that have dominated the debates on what drives older people to become active in society. On the one hand, disengagement theories state that older people become more fragile, less active and less social,

turning towards voluntary retirement, and turning away from engagement in society (Jensen, Lamura, & Principi, 2014). On the other hand, activity and continuity theories state that older people maintain their activity patterns and hence, past prosocial behavior predicts future prosocial behavior (Dury et al., 2015). As a result, retirement satisfaction is preconditioned by continuing earlier lifestyles and remaining active (Atchley, 1989; Jensen et al., 2014). However, there are differences between people; while some people disengage, others continue to be active. A resource perspective has been used to explain who engages in the community, with higher levels of individual human and social capital leading to higher involvement (Morrow-Howell, 2010). One type of such important resource is good health, which affects whether people are likely to engage in the community (e.g., Li & Ferraro, 2005; Morrow-Howell et al., 2014). Further, financial resources were found to facilitate prosocial behavior in the community as higher income helps to cover extra costs that are associated with volunteering (e.g., food, lodging, and transportation costs; Morrow-Howell, 2010). Also, higher levels of education have been found to support prosocial behavior in the community as certain skills and capabilities can open up more opportunities to engage in the community (e.g., Choi, Burr, Mutchler, & Caro, 2007; Morrow-Howell et al., 2014). With regard to the motivational orientation of retirees, socio-emotional selectivity theory has been used to predict the type of activity. It appears that older people are more motivated by emotional gratification and the desire to stay active in helping others, while younger and middle-aged people are rather motivated by instrumental aspirations (e.g., development of knowledge and skills; Morrow-Howell, Hong, McCrary, & Blinne, 2012). In addition, older people tend to engage more in religious communities, health and social services and choose relational activities (e.g., being friendly visitor, mentor, or tutor) over educational and recreational tasks (Morrow-Howell, 2007).

At the meso level, organizational factors influence prosocial behavior in the community beyond individual choice. To begin with, the community climate suggests two different mechanisms for older people's involvement in the community. First, self-selection, which can also be seen as an individual level factor, influences whether people join a community or not (Cemalcilar, 2009). Second, social assimilation influences whether people will be absorbed and welcomed by the members of a community (Fitzpatrick, 1966). The latter mechanism is partly driven by older people's personality and value orientation in accordance with the community climate (Choi et al., 2007). Also, perceptions of how attractive older people are to organizations depends on what older people have to offer to the community (Jensen et al., 2014). In this context, images of older people are often associated with declining cognitive and physical abilities (Jensen et al., 2014). However, social-gerontological studies have identified different strengths (e.g., emotional stability, life-experience and maturity, independence, social understanding) and weaknesses (e.g., less flexible, physically weaker, slower and more anxious in learning new skills and competencies) of older people, suggesting that older people are neither better nor worse compared to their younger counterparts (Griffiths, 2007; Henkens, 2005). Therefore, it is particularly relevant to identify a fit between older people's individual strengths and the organizational demands that are related to prosocial behavior in the community. Strategies for good practice in recruitment, employability, and retention of older people engaging in prosocial behavior in the community are needed throughout the entire volunteer cycle. For example, marketing strategies that create a meaningful image of volunteers and emphasize on the strengths and resources based options to engage could help attracting older people and therefore, facilitate effective recruitment.

In addition, retention strategies are important as high rates of turnover and decreasing productivity (e.g., due to deterioration in physical and mental health) are costly. As such, training and development opportunities help increase volunteer commitment, in particular under unclear role specification (Morrow-Howell, Hong, & Tang, 2009; Tang, Choi, & Morrow-Howell, 2010; Wilson, 2012). Further, retention strategies also include providing a certain scope of action and work flexibility. As older people often engage in diverse activities including familiar responsibilities and interpersonal exchange (e.g., personal leisure, physical exercise, and post-retirement employment) in addition to their engagement in the community, organizations need to provide flexibility that allows older people to combine their different activities. Recent research by Dury et al. (2015) found that other activities, in particular personal leisure including adult education (e.g., reading books, taking part in courses, using internet) and household chores (e.g., gardening, repairs in the house) increase the likelihood to be or become a volunteer. Also, post-retirement employment can function as a “trampoline for volunteering” because it allows retirees to have higher economic and social resources compared to their nonworking counterparts (Jensen et al., 2014, p.33). This, however, is a tradeoff between time and other resources. In addition to organizational factors that help recruiting and retaining older people, environmental factors may also influence prosocial engagement in the community. For example, people who live in urban areas have higher access to formal organizations that are in need of voluntary helpers (Choi, 2003). Further, research has revealed a positive change in community activity by taking part in systematic programs (e.g., volunteer program in elementary schools; Morrow-Howell et al., 2012), suggesting that opportunities to engage in the community may influence older people’s actual engagement.

At the macro level, governments and policy makers impact prosocial behavior in the community in two major ways, namely in the legal framework setting and culture steering. In some countries, prosocial engagement in the community has become a cornerstone of society as can be seen for example, when in 2011 the UK's Prime Minister David Cameron declared volunteering a central element of his vision for a 'Big Society' (Jensen et al., 2014). The increased importance of prosocial behavior in the community has been partly explained by market or government failure indicating that prosocial engagement has become a key instrument in satisfying demands for public goods, which have not been addressed by the market system (Salamon & Anheier, 1996). Recognizing this increased importance, the legal framework can stimulate prosocial engagement by creating (or adjusting) administration, laws, and regulations that are associated with the fundamental rights and obligations under which prosocial engagement takes place in organizational structures (Jensen et al., 2014). Policy makers can, for example, reduce bureaucratization and formal requirements for non-profit organizations in the community sector (Goss, 2010). Also, policy makers are able to reinforce regulations by providing financial incentives to organizations that promote certain types of engagement, including types that are most favorable to older people or by allowing tax deductions for people who engage in the community. Policies set the framework for prosocial behavior in the community and at the same time, create culture, values, and a belief system that shapes individuals' identities, preferences and the way prosocial engagement works. Culture steering is a top-down process from government officials towards the nation communicating visions (e.g., 'Active Aging' or 'Big Society') that are often advanced by benchmarking, best practices, and codes of conduct allowing self-reflexive practices in society (Jensen et al., 2014).

Outcomes of Prosocial Behavior in Retirement

Within a multilevel framework of retirement, prosocial behavior has several positive outcomes for individuals on the micro level, for employers, families, and communities at the meso level and for society on the macro level. At the micro level, prosocial behavior in retirement benefits both the benefactor and the recipient, albeit in some areas it is more beneficial to the benefactor (e.g., mortality; Brown, Nesse, Vinokur, & Smith, 2003). Several studies have highlighted prosocial behavior as a source of physical and psychosocial well-being in retirement (e.g., Guo, Pickard, & Huang, 2008; Kahana, Bhatta, Lovegreen, Kahana, & Midlarsky, 2013; Morrow-Howell, Hinterlong, Rozario, & Tang, 2003). For example, the longitudinal study from Kahana et al. (2013) revealed that a prosocial orientation (i.e., altruistic attitudes, volunteering behavior, and informal helping behavior) facilitates psychosocial well-being (i.e., positive affect and life-satisfaction) in retirement. Further, the individual benefits of prosocial behavior in retirement include maintained or increased physical health (i.e., fewer doctor-diagnosed conditions, functional independence, lower mortality) and cognitive health (i.e., executive function, memory, and mental status) (Anderson et al., 2014; Gonzales, Matz-Costa, & Morrow-Howell, 2015). These positive outcomes have often been explained by role theory as prosocial behavior may substitute role losses experienced due to retirement. However, contrary to those positive findings are studies that reveal negative effects of prosocial behavior, in particular in the family context (see meta-analysis from Pinguart & Sörensen, 2003). With regard to role theory, two alternative hypotheses, role extension and role overload, have been discussed in addressing prosocial behavior in the family context. While the role extension hypothesis argues that caregiving for family members (e.g., for the spouse) facilitates the benefactor by having greater social networks and more opportunities to exchange favors within the community,

the role overload hypothesis argues that caring for family members requires high levels of commitment, time and effort that prevents social exchange outside the family (Choi et al., 2007). Role overload has also been discussed for OCB and task performance suggesting a dual nature of role overload comprising both challenge and hindrance aspects (see meta-analysis from Eatough, Chang, Miloslavic, & Johnson, 2011). Further, the findings of Weinstein and Ryan (2010) highlight the importance of self-determination for prosocial behavior in retirement. In particular, prosocial behavior in retirement can have many different positive psychosocial and physical well-being outcomes when it is carried out as an autonomous or volitional act along one's role preference.

At the meso level, prosocial behavior in retirement is related to a range of positive outcomes, which can be differentiated into employer-related, family-related, and community-related outcomes. Although little is known about the role of prosocial behavior in post-retirement employment, research has revealed positive employer-related outcomes in more general (pre-retirement) work settings. For example, research revealed that OCB can improve the performance and functioning of work teams (Nielsen, Hrivnak, & Shaw, 2009). Further, OCB has been found to contribute to lower levels of withdrawal-related behaviors, such as absenteeism and employee turnover, which in turn help organizations reduce recruitment and job training costs (Podsakoff, Whiting, Podsakoff, & Blume, 2009). Also, research has shown that OCB helps increase organizational productivity, efficiency, and customer satisfaction (Podsakoff et al., 2009). In addition, current research suggests that opportunities to engage in generative behavior facilitate the improvement in the quality of intergenerational contact at work, which in turn helps to reduce age bias and turnover intentions (Henry, Zacher, & Desmette, 2015). Further, research shows that generative behavior among older leaders helps maintaining leadership

success (i.e., follower satisfaction with leader, follower perceptions of leader effectiveness, and follower extra effort) through higher levels of leader-member exchange (Zacher, Rosing, Henning, & Frese, 2011).

Among the family-related outcomes are quality of family life and family cohesion. Different kinds of prosocial behavior in the family context, such as child care and elder care can be highly stressful on a day-to-day basis (Fingerman, Pillemer, Silverstein, & Suiitor, 2012; Guo et al., 2008). In addition, for the elderly, solely depending on other people's support can cause anxiety, guilt, or even tendencies for suicide (Brown et al., 2003). Nevertheless, research has shown that relying on familial care is less (and partly non-significantly) related to the psychological quality of life among the elderly compared to the use of formal care services for elder people (i.e., use of professional services at home and use of community services; Lowenstein et al., 2007). In addition, familial solidarity (i.e., feelings of emotional intimacy, similarity, and proximity) has been found to support the psychological quality of life among the elderly (Lowenstein et al., 2007). Further, it is likely that sharing care responsibilities (e.g., by offering social support) helps to reduce possible negative outcomes and at the same time to facilitate family cohesion and quality of family life (Chiou, Chang, Chen, & Wang, 2009; Sebern, 2005).

Moreover, prosocial behavior in retirement offers several community-related outcomes. To begin with, active and direct engagement in the community helps to foster social inclusion as part of strong and cohesive communities that often build bridges into society (i.e., to neighborhood, companies, and governments; Jones, 2006; Kawachi & Berkman, 2014). Also, prosocial behavior in retirement might also help reduce intergenerational tension through establishing regular contact between young and old community members (see meta-analysis

from Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Further, additional income, transfer of knowledge and other relevant resources contributed by benefactors, as well as additional services that cannot be covered by paid workers (e.g., pastoral services) can support the delivery of high quality services to community members.

At the macro level, it can be expected that prosocial behavior in retirement makes a significant contribution to the economy all around the world. According to the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Project that measured the economic size of the non-for-profit sector across 37 countries, prosocial behavior contributes with (conservatively estimated) \$400 billion to the global economy (International Labour Organization, 2011). Further, the project revealed that approximately 140 million people engage in some kind of direct helping behavior each year, which equals the population size of Russia, half of the United States or Germany and the United Kingdom together. As older people value the contribution to the public good more highly and also are more likely to behave altruistically compared to their younger counterparts (Freund & Blanchard-Fields, 2014), it can be assumed that prosocial behavior among retirees plays a major role for the world economy. Apart from financial indicators, it is likely that prosocial behavior in retirement helps strengthen philanthropic values, human interconnectedness, and solidarity in society.

Future Research Directions

The literature on prosocial behavior in retirement is still in its infancy. The proposed model of prosocial behavior in retirement needs to be examined and validated by future empirical studies. In examining the antecedents and outcomes of retirees' prosocial behavior, future research should pay particular attention to several issues.

Dynamics of prosocial behavior in retirement

Although the existing literature has largely described prosocial behavior as a relatively static behavioral phenomenon, people's participation in prosocial behavior should be dynamic in nature. First, as people age and go through different life and career stages, they may start participating in certain types of prosocial behaviors. As discussed, socio-emotional selectivity theory provides a theoretical foundation for the potential developmental change in prosocial behavior during later life stages. Furthermore, as people transition from employment to retirement, their past experience from engaging in prosocial behavior may have implications for their prosocial behavior in retirement. As for prosocial behavior in post-retirement employment (e.g., OCBs and generative behaviors), it is reasonable to expect some continuity from pre-retirement to post-retirement. As for prosocial behavior in the family context or in the community, people may experience role transitions as they start engaging in non-employment related prosocial behaviors. Thus, the amount of time they spend on these behaviors as well as the motives driving them to these behaviors may change as people move into retirement and move across different retirement phases (e.g., from the initial honeymoon phase to the later stability phase; Atchley, 1976). Also, such dynamics may be different for those who have been engaging in family and community prosocial behaviors for long time before retiring versus older adults who only start engaging in these behaviors when they retire. For example, as suggested by Morrow-Howell (2010, p. 462), the dynamics of starting and stopping volunteer services "may be different for those volunteers who grow old versus older adults who become first-time volunteers."

In addition, the dynamics of prosocial behavior in retirement may also be manifested in the day-to-day fluctuations. As discussed, personal resources (e.g., health, money, etc.) are one of the micro-level antecedents of prosocial behavior in retirement. While one's monetary

resources tend to be stable, health status is likely to vary over time especially for older adults. Different from younger adults, older adults face increased health risks in daily life because the decline in their physical strength, cognitive functioning, and immune system make them more physically vulnerable on a daily basis (Wang, Olson, & Shultz, 2013). Related to health, older adults may experience more fluctuations in the amount of psychological energy available for prosocial behavior. Prior research has suggested that the lack of personal resources relates to fewer prosocial behaviors in the workplace (e.g., Cropanzano, Rupp, & Byrne, 2003; Ng & Feldman, 2012) and in the family context (Lowenstein, et al., 2007). Therefore, it is meaningful to explore the day-to-day fluctuations of retirees' participation in prosocial behavior.

Adaptive nature of prosocial behavior in retirement

As reviewed earlier in this chapter, existing research has suggested a wide range of positive outcomes for engaging in prosocial behavior. When examining the prosocial behavior in the retirement context, we call for research focusing on understanding the adaptive nature of prosocial behavior; in other words, how and why prosocial behavior in retirement facilitates active and successful aging.

Multiple mechanisms may exist simultaneously in explaining the adaptive nature of prosocial behavior in retirement. For example, prosocial behavior may promote well-being for older adults based on mechanisms specified by role theory. This is because prosocial activities help buffer the threat of role loss due to retirement, keeping people physically and cognitively active and satisfying their needs related to self-worth, social belongingness, and generativity, etc. Alternatively, prosocial behavior may promote well-being based on mechanisms specified by the social exchange perspective. Older adults who take caregiving responsibilities and older adults

who volunteer in community or charity activities are likely to receive social support from others in their social network, which has been shown to promote older workers' life satisfaction.

It is also important to note that prosocial behaviors in different areas may vary in nature and vary in their potential impacts on older adults. For instance, compared to prosocial behavior in the employment and community context, family-related prosocial behavior (i.e., caregiving and financial assistance) might be less discretionary and less able to substitute the lost work role identity. Further, the outcome may differ for those who participate in multiple types of prosocial behaviors across employment, family, and community contexts versus those who devote themselves in one type of prosocial behavior. Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of the adaptive nature of prosocial behavior in retirement requires future research to examine the differences between prosocial behaviors and to examine how each type of prosocial behavior influences individual well-being.

Social norms, culture, and retirement institution as boundary conditions

In this chapter, we propose antecedents of prosocial behavior in retirement at different levels, which may explain unique variance of retirees' prosocial behavior respectively. Moreover, these antecedents are likely to work interactively in influencing older adults' decision-making in participating in prosocial behavior. Specifically, depending on the macro level factors such as retirement institution as well as social norms and cultural values related to prosocial behavior for older adults, people may respond in different ways to micro level and meso level antecedents and may subsequently experience different outcomes of engaging in prosocial behavior.

For example, the norms about grandparenting vary widely across cultures. In cultures that value familial solidarity and expect grandparents to take care of grandchildren, older adults' personal or work characteristics may not be as important when it comes to make the decisions

about when and where they will participate in grandparenting in retirement. Further, the retirement policies and social security system may function as boundary conditions in predicting older adults' participation in post-retirement employment as these policies may relate to the need and opportunities of working in retirement.

Measurement issues

Future research on prosocial behavior in retirement should also pay attention to two measurement issues. First, future research should carefully decide the rating source of prosocial behavior. Given that prosocial behavior in retirement could take a variety of forms and occur in different areas of life, the choice of rating source should be consistent with the specific form of prosocial behavior of interest. For instance, working colleagues might be the best source of prosocial behavior in the post-retirement employment context, while close family members might be the best source of prosocial behavior in the family and community context. As suggested by the meta-analytic results, the relationship between variables is much stronger when rating sources are the same rather than different (e.g., between OCB and performance, Nielsen et al., 2009). However, using different rating sources for prosocial behavior and its antecedents or outcomes will help reduce common method biases.

Second, future research should differentiate between age and retirement as a life stage. What variables to measure in one study should be based on the research questions and theoretical foundations. For example, when applying developmental theories to suggest a continuous change in people's behavior and well-being, age could be a good proxy of the aging process. When applying theories that suggest discontinuity across life stages (e.g., pre- and post-retirement) and when studying how people change their prosocial behavior as they move into retirement, only

using age may not be appropriate. Instead, researchers may measure whether the participants have retired and/or how far away the participants are from retirement.

Conclusion

Due to workforce aging and the increase of the proportion of population reaching retirement age, interest among researchers in retirement processes and retiree well-being has increased dramatically. In this chapter, we focus our attention on prosocial behaviors in retirement, which is a relatively understudied topic that is related to the well-being of retirees and the society at large. Based on the current conceptualization of retirement and an overview of the current research literature on prosocial behavior, we specify different types of prosocial behavior in retirement in three main areas: post-retirement employment, family context, and community. Further, we present a comprehensive multilevel model covering the antecedents and outcomes of prosocial behavior in retirement. We call for more research effort examining this multilevel model and we also highlight several future directions to advance research on this topic.

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