

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

EXPLORING SILVER EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR ECONOMICALLY VULNERABLE OLDER ADULTS IN MALAYSIA: A QUALITATIVE STUDY

Halimatus Sakdiah Minhat^{1*} and Foong Hui Foh²

¹Department of Community Health, Faculty of Medicine and Health Sciences, Universiti Putra Malaysia, 43300 Serdang, Selangor, Malaysia

²Research Fellow, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, 469C Bukit Timah Rd, National University of Singapore, Singapore 259772

*Corresponding author: Halimatus Sakdiah Minhat

Email: halimatus@upm.edu.my

ABSTRACT

Longevity may impose substantial financial burdens, particularly among economically vulnerable older adults. Silver employment represents an important component of active ageing and a potential strategy to address challenges associated with population ageing. This qualitative study aimed to explore potential silver employment opportunities for economically vulnerable older adults in Malaysia. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted among 21 older adults aged 55 years and above, recruited using convenience and snowball sampling techniques. Data collection continued until thematic saturation was achieved. Interviews and FGDs were guided using a validated semi-structured interview protocol containing predetermined questions and prompts, with flexibility to explore emerging themes. All interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed verbatim, and analysed using Braun and Clarke's thematic analysis approach. Four major themes emerged: (i) centralised database/portal/advisory system, (ii) reskilling and upskilling, (iii) paid grandparenting, and (iv) community empowerment and incentive-based employment. The findings highlight the urgent need to strengthen silver employment opportunities for economically disadvantaged older adults through structured and sustainable mechanisms. Effective implementation requires active collaboration among relevant stakeholders, continuous policy support, and greater attention to barriers such as the digital divide among older adults.

Keywords: Silver employment, older adults, income generation, ageing population

INTRODUCTION

Malaysia is also experiencing a rapid demographic transition towards an ageing nation. The country officially achieved ageing nation status in 2020 when individuals aged 65 years and older exceeded 7% of the total population, and this proportion is projected to increase from 8.1% in 2024 to 14.5% by 2040.¹ This demographic shift is expected to place significant strain on national productivity, public expenditure, healthcare systems, and long-term economic sustainability. Consequently, there is increasing interest in strategies that promote active and productive ageing, including extending labour force participation among older adults.

Silver employment, also referred to as employment participation among older adults beyond conventional working age, has emerged as an important component of active ageing strategies. Silver workforce participation not only helps older adults maintain financial independence, but also promotes social engagement, psychological well-being, and continued societal contribution.² In many developed countries, extending working life has become increasingly necessary due to demographic ageing and shrinking labour force populations. European countries, for example, have actively promoted policies supporting older

workers' participation in the workforce to address labour shortages and reduce dependency burdens.²

The need for silver employment is particularly important among economically vulnerable older adults. In this study, economically vulnerable older adults refer to individuals experiencing financial insecurity, limited retirement savings, unstable income sources, or socioeconomic disadvantage that may affect their ability to sustain adequate living conditions after retirement. Existing evidence suggests that older adults with financial instability are more likely to remain in or re-enter the workforce after retirement, particularly among those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds.^{3,4} Financial vulnerability among older adults has also been associated with poorer physical health, nutritional status, mental well-being, disability, and increased mortality risks.^{5,6}

Despite the potential benefits of silver employment, older adults continue to face substantial barriers to workforce participation. These include age discrimination, caregiving responsibilities, health limitations, limited digital literacy, and unequal access to employment opportunities and support systems.⁷⁻⁹ Employers may also perceive older workers as less adaptable to technological changes or associated with higher

operational costs, potentially limiting opportunities for continued employment.⁷ Such barriers may disproportionately affect economically disadvantaged older adults who are more dependent on post-retirement income generation opportunities.

Although studies on ageing, retirement, and older workforce participation have increased globally, limited evidence is available regarding context-specific silver employment mechanisms suitable for economically vulnerable older adults in Malaysia. Existing literature primarily focuses on retirement behaviour, economic dependency, or labour market trends, with relatively limited exploration of older adults' perspectives regarding feasible employment pathways and support systems. While developed country like Sweden has implemented structured age-friendly employment policies, applicability within Malaysia may be constrained by differences in social protection systems and labour market structures.¹⁰ Furthermore, the sociocultural context, caregiving expectations, digital divide, and economic realities in Malaysia may differ considerably from those reported in Western settings, limiting direct applicability of existing evidence.

Given the complexity and context-dependent nature of silver employment, qualitative exploration is essential to better understand older adults' lived experiences, perceived barriers, and preferred employment mechanisms. Such insights are important to inform age-friendly employment policies and sustainable workforce participation strategies that are culturally and socially appropriate within the Malaysian context. Therefore, this qualitative study aimed to explore potential silver employment opportunities and mechanisms for economically vulnerable older adults in Malaysia.

METHODS

Study design

This study employed a qualitative exploratory design to gain an in-depth understanding of potential silver employment mechanisms among economically vulnerable (low to medium socioeconomic background) older adults in Selangor, Malaysia. A qualitative approach was considered appropriate as the study aimed to explore participants' lived experiences, perceptions, and perspectives regarding employment opportunities and challenges in later life, which may not be adequately captured using quantitative methods. The exploratory nature of the study also enabled flexibility in understanding context-specific issues related to ageing, financial vulnerability, and workforce participation.

Sampling and Participant Recruitment

Participants were recruited using convenience and snowball sampling techniques. Convenience

sampling was initially used to identify eligible older adults who fulfilled the inclusion criteria and were accessible through community networks and relevant organizations. Snowball sampling was subsequently employed to recruit additional participants through referrals from earlier participants, particularly among economically vulnerable older adults who may be difficult to access through formal recruitment channels. These non-probability sampling approaches are commonly used in qualitative studies involving hard-to-reach or socially vulnerable populations to facilitate rich and contextually relevant data collection.

Eligible participants included Malaysian older adults aged 55 years and above who were economically vulnerable (low to medium socioeconomic background), able to communicate in Malay or English, and willing to participate voluntarily in the study. Participants with severe cognitive impairment or communication difficulties were excluded.

Data Collection

Data collection was conducted through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) using a semi-structured interview guide consisting of predetermined open-ended questions and probing prompts. The guide was developed based on existing literature and expert consultation to ensure relevance and comprehensiveness. All interviews and FGDs were conducted by trained researchers in locations convenient and comfortable for participants. Interviews were audio-recorded with participants' consent and supplemented with field notes documenting non-verbal expressions, contextual observations, and researchers' reflections. Data collection continued until thematic saturation was achieved, whereby no substantially new themes or concepts emerged from subsequent interviews. Although preliminary thematic redundancy was observed during earlier interviews, additional interviews and FGDs were conducted to confirm consistency and depth of findings across participants with diverse backgrounds and experiences.

Data Analysis

All interviews were transcribed verbatim and analysed using Braun and Clarke's six-phase thematic analysis approach. The analysis was conducted inductively to allow themes to emerge directly from participants' narratives without imposing predetermined categories. The analytical process involved repeated familiarization with the transcripts, initial code generation, identification of patterns across codes, development of preliminary themes, theme refinement, and final theme definition and naming.¹¹ Coding was performed manually by the research team, with regular discussions conducted to enhance consistency and analytical rigor. Emerging themes and interpretations were continuously reviewed against the original

transcripts to ensure credibility and coherence of findings. Reflexive memo writing and field notes were used throughout the analytical process to document researchers' assumptions, reflections, and interpretive decisions, thereby enhancing transparency and reflexivity during data interpretation.

Trustworthiness

Several strategies were employed to ensure the trustworthiness of the study findings based on Lincoln and Guba's criteria of credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability. Credibility was enhanced through prolonged engagement with participants, triangulation of data sources through both interviews and FGDs, and regular peer discussions among the research team during data analysis. Dependability was strengthened through detailed documentation of the research procedures and analytical decisions. Confirmability was supported through reflexive memo writing and maintenance of an audit trail throughout the study process. Transferability was facilitated by providing detailed descriptions of the study context, participant characteristics, and research procedures to enable readers to assess the applicability of findings to similar contexts.

Ethical approval and informed consent statements

The study protocol was approved by the Ethics Committee for Research Involving Human Subjects, Universiti Putra Malaysia, Ref. No.: (IP-P038)2017. Written and verbal consent to participate were obtained for all participants.

RESULTS

A total of 21 participants were recruited with nine female and 12 male older adults. Four major themes were identified from the interviews and focus group discussions: (i) centralized database/portal/advisory system, (ii) reskilling and upskilling, (iii) paid grandparenting, and (iv) community empowerment and incentive-based employment. These themes collectively reflect participants' perceptions regarding sustainable mechanisms to enhance workforce participation and financial security among economically vulnerable older adults in Malaysia. Representative quotations are presented to illustrate participants' lived experiences and perspectives.

The conceptual framework presented in Figure 1 was developed inductively from the thematic findings generated through the interviews and FGDs. The framework illustrates the interconnected mechanisms perceived to support sustainable silver employment among economically vulnerable older adults in Malaysia. Specifically, the framework integrates structural support systems, skill enhancement strategies, caregiving-related employment opportunities, and community-based empowerment mechanisms as key components influencing older adults' workforce participation and economic resilience. Figure 1 demonstrates how institutional support, reskilling initiatives, flexible caregiving roles, and community-based economic participation collectively contribute to sustainable silver employment pathways. The framework also highlights the importance of stakeholder collaboration and policy support in facilitating age-friendly employment ecosystems for economically vulnerable older adults.

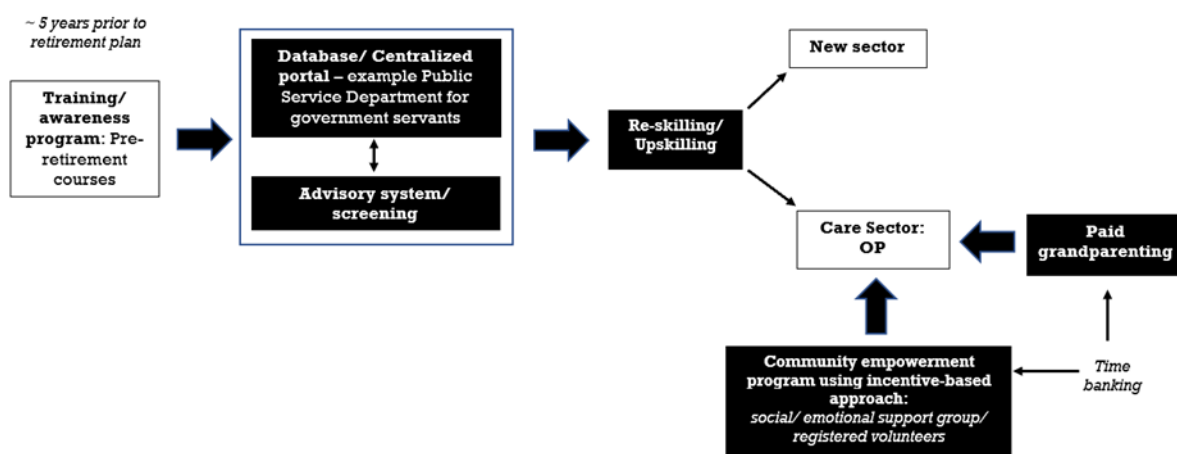


Figure 1: Silver employment framework for the economically disadvantaged older adults in Malaysia.

Theme 1: Centralised database/portal/advisory system

Participants emphasized the importance of a centralized employment support mechanism that could connect older adults with suitable job opportunities, financial guidance, and retraining

resources. Many participants perceived the absence of structured employment navigation systems as a major barrier preventing economically vulnerable older adults from re-entering the workforce.

“Sometimes we, the elderly still want to work, but we do not know where to look or who to ask. If there is one centre that can guide us, or maybe someone who can assist us on the application procedure and giving the correct information, it would help a lot.”

This finding reflects the importance of institutional support and accessible employment infrastructures in promoting labour force participation among older adults, particularly among those with limited digital literacy or socioeconomic resources.

Theme 2: Reskilling and Upskilling

Participants consistently emphasized the importance of reskilling and upskilling initiatives in enabling older adults to remain economically active and adaptable within the evolving labour market. Many participants perceived technological advancement and digitalization as significant challenges limiting employment opportunities among older adults, particularly for those with limited formal education or previous exposure to digital technologies. Consequently, participants highlighted the need for accessible and age-friendly training programmes that could enhance both employability and confidence among older adults.

Several participants also viewed skill enhancement programmes as extending beyond economic benefits, contributing positively to psychological well-being, self-esteem, and social engagement. Participants believed that opportunities to learn new skills could help older adults maintain a sense of purpose and independence while reducing feelings of social isolation and dependency.

“Older people can still work, but many are not familiar with computers or online systems now. If there are proper training classes, we can still contribute and earn income.”

“Learning new skills makes older people feel useful again. It is not only about money, but also confidence and staying active.”

The findings suggest that reskilling and upskilling programmes represent important enabling mechanisms for sustainable silver employment. Participants perceived lifelong learning opportunities as essential for improving adaptability, maintaining workforce relevance, and strengthening economic resilience among economically vulnerable older adults.

Theme 3: Paid Grandparenting

Paid grandparenting emerged as a unique and culturally relevant employment mechanism perceived to be feasible and socially acceptable among older adults in Malaysia. Participants highlighted the increasing need for childcare support among working families and suggested

that older adults could contribute meaningfully through caregiving-related roles while simultaneously generating supplementary income. Many participants perceived paid grandparenting as particularly suitable for older adults because caregiving responsibilities align closely with traditional family and community roles already familiar to many older individuals. Participants also believed that such arrangements could strengthen intergenerational relationships while supporting emotional well-being and social participation among older adults.

“Many parents are working now and need someone trustworthy to take care of their children. Older people already have experience caring for grandchildren, so this can become a source of income.”

“This type of work is more comfortable for older people because it is less physically demanding and still allows us to feel connected with family and society.”

Participants further emphasized that structured support, clear guidelines, and appropriate incentives would be necessary to ensure sustainability and fairness within paid grandparenting initiatives. The findings indicate that caregiving-related employment opportunities may represent an age-friendly and culturally congruent approach to promoting financial security and continued societal contribution among economically vulnerable older adults.

Theme 4: Community Empowerment and Incentive-Based Employment

Participants highlighted the importance of community empowerment initiatives and incentive-based employment mechanisms in supporting sustainable workforce participation among older adults. Many participants perceived community-based programmes as important platforms for generating local employment opportunities, enhancing social connectedness, and reducing financial dependency. Participants also emphasized that older adults often possess valuable experience, practical knowledge, and interpersonal skills that remain underutilized within the workforce. Community-driven employment programmes were perceived as capable of harnessing these strengths while creating supportive and age-friendly work environments.

“Older people still have many skills and experiences that can benefit the community. Sometimes we just need opportunities and encouragement.”

“If there are incentives for employers or community programmes to hire older people, more opportunities can be created for us.”

Participants additionally suggested that financial incentives, flexible work arrangements, and government-supported community programmes could encourage greater participation among both employers and older adults. The findings underscore the importance of collaborative approaches involving communities, policymakers, employers, and support agencies in strengthening inclusive employment ecosystems for older populations. Collectively, these findings demonstrate that sustainable silver employment requires multidimensional support mechanisms that extend beyond individual motivation alone. Participants perceived institutional support, lifelong learning opportunities, culturally appropriate caregiving roles, and community empowerment strategies as interconnected components necessary for enhancing economic resilience and active ageing among economically vulnerable older adults in Malaysia.

DISCUSSION

This study explored potential silver employment mechanisms for economically vulnerable older adults in Malaysia and identified four major themes, namely centralized employment support systems, reskilling and upskilling initiatives, paid grandparenting, and community empowerment with incentive-based employment. Collectively, these findings suggest that silver employment extends beyond income generation alone and represents a multidimensional strategy associated with active ageing, social participation, psychological well-being, and economic resilience among older adults. The findings further highlight the importance of developing context-specific and culturally appropriate employment strategies that reflect the socioeconomic realities experienced by older adults in Malaysia.

The findings demonstrated that participants perceived centralized employment support systems, including employment databases, advisory platforms, and information hubs, as essential mechanisms to facilitate workforce participation among older adults. Participants frequently described difficulties in identifying suitable employment opportunities and navigating available support systems, particularly among individuals with limited digital literacy. This finding reflects broader concerns regarding structural accessibility and digital exclusion among older populations in Malaysia. According to Mubarak et al.,¹² grey digital divide constitutes a major challenge for elderly to participate and benefit from the digital revolution. Furthermore, the socioeconomic inequalities and demographic variance may also influence older adults' social media access and diversity of social media engagement¹³ and make digital divide more pronounced among those economically disadvantaged populations.

Although digital employment platforms have increasingly become important components of labour market participation globally, older adults may continue to face barriers related to technological adaptation, limited digital competencies, and inadequate institutional guidance. Existing studies have similarly reported that digital disparities disproportionately affect economically vulnerable older adults and may contribute to social and economic exclusion. However, within the Malaysian context, such challenges may be further compounded by rural-urban inequalities, educational disparities, and varying levels of technological infrastructure availability.

Reskilling and upskilling were also perceived as important strategies for sustaining employability and workforce adaptability among older adults. Participants emphasized that technological advancement and changing labour market demands may reduce employment opportunities for older individuals who lack digital competencies or updated vocational skills. While previous studies from countries such as Singapore¹² have highlighted successful implementation of lifelong learning and age-friendly workforce policies, direct application of these approaches within Malaysia requires careful contextual consideration. Unlike high-income countries with more comprehensive social protection systems and established adult learning infrastructures, Malaysia continues to face challenges related to unequal access to training opportunities, financial constraints, and limited institutional support for late-life workforce participation. In Singapore, mature workers appeared highly motivated to accept opportunities to upskill and reskill even beyond the age of 62, in order to remain employable.¹⁴ Nearly half (51%) of all mature workers had been invited to participate in training within the last five years, and nearly 9 in 10 accepted the opportunity to participate in training.¹⁴ The findings therefore suggest that reskilling initiatives in Malaysia should not solely focus on technical competencies, but should also incorporate age-sensitive teaching approaches, flexible learning environments, and psychosocial support mechanisms to encourage meaningful participation among older adults.

Importantly, participants viewed skill enhancement programmes not only as mechanisms for economic survival, but also as opportunities to preserve dignity, independence, self-worth, and social relevance in later life. This finding highlights the broader psychosocial significance of workforce participation among older adults and supports existing literature linking productive ageing with improved psychological well-being and social connectedness. Continued participation in meaningful activities may contribute to healthier ageing trajectories by reducing social isolation,

dependency, and perceived loss of societal roles among older populations.

Paid grandparenting emerged as a particularly unique and culturally relevant employment mechanism identified in this study. Participants perceived caregiving-related employment as socially acceptable, emotionally meaningful, and relatively compatible with age-related physical limitations. There have been mixed findings on the association between grandparenting and grandparents' health or wellbeing. The relationship between the two may result in an inverted U-shaped curve, with moderate grandparental involvement is the most beneficial and either absence of grandparenting or grandparents being the primary caregivers of their grandchildren may lead to negative effects.¹⁵ A related systematic review on 117 studies that were published between 1978 and 2019 concluded that, the most negative results on the relationship between grandparenting, health and wellbeing were found among custodial grandparents with the most positive results were among the non-co-residing grandparents.¹³ Nevertheless, older grandparents were reported to receive more cognitive benefits from grandparenting.¹⁶

This finding may reflect the strong collectivist and family-oriented cultural values commonly observed within Malaysian society, where caregiving responsibilities frequently extend across multigenerational family structures. Unlike conventional employment arrangements that may impose physical or technological demands, paid grandparenting was perceived as aligning closely with older adults' existing caregiving experiences and interpersonal strengths.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the findings also suggest potential complexities surrounding the formalization of caregiving-related employment among older adults. While participants generally perceived paid grandparenting positively, implementation may require careful consideration of labour protection, caregiving burden, role boundaries, and potential exploitation risks. Furthermore, reliance on caregiving-related employment alone may unintentionally reinforce traditional gendered caregiving expectations among older women. Therefore, while paid grandparenting may represent a culturally congruent silver employment mechanism within Malaysia, sustainable implementation would likely require structured support systems, fair remuneration, and clear policy guidance.

Community empowerment and incentive-based employment were additionally perceived as important strategies to support sustainable workforce participation among older adults. Participants believed that older individuals continue to possess valuable knowledge, experience, and social skills that remain underutilized within existing labour market structures. The findings suggest that community-

based employment opportunities may simultaneously strengthen economic participation, social engagement, and intergenerational contribution among older adults.¹⁸ Such findings align with active ageing frameworks emphasizing participation, inclusion, and continued societal contribution in later life.

Participants also emphasized the importance of financial incentives, flexible work arrangements, and supportive employer policies in facilitating silver employment. This finding reflects broader structural concerns regarding ageism and labour market discrimination experienced by older workers. Existing evidence has demonstrated that employers may perceive older adults as less adaptable, less technologically competent, or associated with higher healthcare and operational costs.¹⁹ Within Malaysia, such perceptions may further interact with retirement norms, limited age-friendly workplace policies, and insufficient institutional incentives to recruit or retain older workers. Consequently, successful implementation of silver employment strategies may require multisectoral collaboration involving policymakers, employers, local communities, and social support agencies.

Although the findings generally reflected positive perceptions towards silver employment, several participants also expressed concerns regarding health limitations, transportation barriers, caregiving responsibilities, and reduced physical stamina associated with ageing. These findings underscore the complexity of extending workforce participation among economically vulnerable older adults, particularly among individuals who may continue working out of financial necessity rather than personal preference. Therefore, silver employment initiatives should avoid adopting purely productivity-oriented approaches and instead prioritize age-friendly, flexible, and supportive employment environments that protect both economic security and well-being among older adults.

This study contributes important context-specific insights regarding silver employment within Malaysia, where evidence on economically vulnerable older adults remains limited. Existing literature has predominantly focused on retirement adequacy, labour market participation rates, or economic dependency, with relatively limited exploration of older adults' own perspectives regarding feasible employment mechanisms and support systems. The qualitative approach adopted in this study therefore enabled deeper understanding of the lived experiences, perceived barriers, and culturally relevant employment preferences among older adults within the Malaysian sociocultural context.

Limitations

This study should be interpreted in light of several limitations. First, the findings were derived from a relatively small qualitative sample using convenience and snowball sampling approaches, which may limit transferability to broader older adult populations in Malaysia. Participants were recruited from selected settings and may not fully represent the diversity of socioeconomic, cultural, and geographical experiences among older adults nationwide. Additionally, participants who were more socially engaged or accessible through community networks may have been more likely to participate, potentially introducing selection bias.

The qualitative nature of the study also limits the ability to establish causal relationships between silver employment mechanisms and economic or psychosocial outcomes. Furthermore, participants' perspectives may have been influenced by varying levels of digital literacy, educational background, health status, and previous employment experiences. In particular, the digital divide experienced by some older adults may have shaped perceptions regarding employment accessibility, technological adaptation, and workforce participation opportunities. Despite these limitations, the study provides valuable exploratory and context-specific insights into potential silver employment mechanisms among economically vulnerable older adults in Malaysia. The findings may serve as an important foundation for future quantitative studies, policy development, and intervention planning related to active ageing and sustainable workforce participation.

CONCLUSIONS

This study provides important qualitative insights into potential silver employment mechanisms for economically vulnerable older adults in Malaysia. The findings highlight that sustainable workforce participation in later life extends beyond financial necessity and is closely associated with active ageing, social participation, dignity, and continued societal contribution. Four key themes were identified, namely centralized employment support systems, reskilling and upskilling initiatives, paid grandparenting, and community empowerment with incentive-based employment. The findings suggest that economically vulnerable older adults may benefit from more structured, accessible, and age-friendly employment opportunities that consider both socioeconomic realities and age-related challenges. Importantly, the study highlights the need for context-specific approaches that are culturally appropriate and responsive to the Malaysian ageing landscape, particularly in addressing barriers related to digital literacy, ageism, transportation accessibility, and limited institutional support. Mapping between the background characteristics of the applicants and the potential pathways of

silver employment should be conducted meticulously to avoid undesirable economic consequences to employers and country, as well as disruption of cultural traditions in the case of paid grandparenting. Although the findings provide valuable exploratory insights, further research involving larger and more diverse older adult populations is needed to better understand the feasibility, sustainability, and broader implementation of silver employment initiatives in Malaysia. Future studies may also benefit from examining policymakers', employers', and community stakeholders' perspectives to support development of inclusive and sustainable active ageing strategies. Overall, strengthening supportive employment ecosystems for older adults may contribute towards enhancing economic resilience, social inclusion, and quality of life among ageing populations in Malaysia.

Conflicts of interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Authors would like to thank all the informants that have been participated in the study.

REFERENCES

1. Department of Statistics Malaysia. Population projection revised Malaysia, 2010-2040. Putrajaya: Department of Statistics Malaysia; 2025. Available from: <https://www.dosm.gov.my/portal-main/release-content/population-projection-revised-malaysia-2010-2040> [Accessed 2025 Apr 24].
2. Laskowska A, Laskowski JF. "Silver" generation at work—Implications for sustainable human capital management in the Industry 5.0 era. *Sustainability*. 2023;15(1):194. doi:10.3390/su15010194.
3. Bound J. Health, economic resources, and the work decisions of older men. *J Econometrics*. 2010;156(1):106-129.
4. Congressional Research Service. Poverty in the United States in 2019. CRS Report; 2021. Available from: <https://crsreports.congress.gov/R46759.pdf> [Accessed 2025 Jan 10].
5. Shahar S, Vanoh D, Mat Ludin AF, et al. Factors associated with poor socioeconomic status among Malaysian older adults: An analysis according to urban and rural settings. *BMC Public Health*. 2019;19(Suppl 4):549. doi:10.1186/s12889-019-6866-2.
6. Behanova MKZ. Elderly from lower socioeconomic groups are more vulnerable to mental health problems,

- but area deprivation does not contribute: A comparison between Slovak and Dutch cities. *Eur J Public Health*. 2015;27(Suppl 2):80-85.
7. Johnson RW, Gosselin P. How secure is employment at older ages? Washington DC: Urban Institute; 2018. Available from: https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/99570/how_secure_is_employment_at_older_ages_2.pdf [Accessed 2025 Mar 18].
8. Johnson RW, Mommaerts C. Age differences in job loss, job search, and reemployment. Washington DC: Urban Institute; 2011. Available from: <https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/27086/412284-Age-Differences-in-Job-Loss-Job-Search-and-Reemployment.PDF> [Accessed 2025 Feb 8].
9. Burtless G. Age-related health costs and job prospects of older workers. Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research; 2017. Available from: <https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4121660> [Accessed 2025 Jan 10].
10. Carlstedt AB, Bjursell C, Nyman R, Dahl Aslan A. Older workers and extended working life - Managers' experiences and age management. *Work*. 2024;79(3):1323-1331. doi:10.3233/WOR-230468.
11. Braun V, Clarke V. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qual Res Psychol*. 2006;3(2):77-101.
12. Mubarak F, Suomi R. Elderly forgotten? Digital exclusion in the information age and the rising grey digital divide. *Inquiry*. 2022;59:1-15. doi:10.1177/00469580221096272.
13. Zhou Y, He T, Lin F. The digital divide is aging: An intergenerational investigation of social media engagement in China. *Int J Environ Res Public Health*. 2022;19(19):12965. doi:10.3390/ijerph191912965.
14. Hoskins S, Facchinello S. Upskilling of mature workers. Labour Research Conference; 2018. p. 1-38. Available from: https://ink.library.smu.edu.sg/soe_research/2374 [Accessed 2025 Apr 24].
15. Danielsbacka M, Křenková L, Tanskanen AO. Grandparenting, health, and well-being: A systematic literature review. *Eur J Ageing*. 2022;19(3):341-368. doi:10.1007/s10433-021-00674-y.
16. Wang SL. Grandparenting and subjective well-being in China: The moderating effects of residential location, gender, age, and income. *Soc Sci Med*. 2022;315:115528.
17. Lai DWL, Li J, Bai X. To be or not to be: Relationship between grandparent status and health and wellbeing. *BMC Geriatr*. 2021;21(1):204. doi:10.1186/s12877-021-02052-w.
18. Ramely A, Ahmad Y, Mohamed Harith NH. The effects of Malaysian older people's participation and engagement in the local labour market. *Malays J Soc Sci Humanit*. 2022;7(7):e001685. doi:10.47405/mjssh.v7i7.1685.
19. Stypinska J, Nikander P. Ageism and age discrimination in the labour market: A macrostructural perspective. In: Ayalon L, Tesch-Römer C, editors. *Contemporary perspectives on ageism*. Cham: Springer; 2018. p. 91-108. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-73820-8_6.