

1 **The Process of Rehabilitation, Return and Stay at Work of Aging Workers who Suffered an Occupational**  
2 **Injury: A Portrait based on the Experience of Canadian Stakeholders**

3

4 **Abstract (150-250 words)**

5 *Purpose.* This study aims to paint a picture of the factors that influence the process of rehabilitation, return, and  
6 stay at work, for aging workers who have suffered an occupational injury. *Methods.* Based on a descriptive  
7 interpretative research design, the authors conducted interviews with 23 participants (i.e., aging workers, workers'  
8 representatives, employers, insurers, and rehabilitation professionals) to gather their perspectives. Qualitative data  
9 was analyzed through thematic analysis. *Results.* Fifteen factors related to the worker, health system, workplace,  
10 or compensation system were identified. These factors prevail during rehabilitation, return to work, stay at work,  
11 or the entire process. *Conclusions.* This study contributes to the advancement of knowledge regarding three main  
12 ideas: 1) the importance of not placing the responsibility in this complex process on the worker, 2) the key role of  
13 the compensation system, and 3) the necessity of transforming work to reduce ageism.

14

15 **Keywords (5)**

16 Aging workers, qualitative research, occupational rehabilitation, return to work, stay at work

## 17 **Introduction**

18 The portrait of seniors has changed significantly in recent years. People now maintain levels of functioning that  
19 allow them to engage in their occupations longer, and work is no exception. As a reflection of this contemporary  
20 trend, Canada's employment growth occurs primarily among aging workers, i.e., those aged 55 and older [1]. This  
21 experienced workforce is an important resource, considering the current labor shortage.

22 Although work leads to many benefits for aging workers, such as developing a sense of belonging, maintaining  
23 social contacts, and ensuring financial security, this occupation also carries significant risks [2]. Aging workers  
24 face higher probabilities of experiencing one or more periods of disability [2]. Not only does the risk of suffering  
25 an occupational injury increase with age, but the severity of the injury escalates, as does the duration of disability  
26 [3, 4]. Moreover, many retirees decide to re-enter the labor market in a different job from the one they held in the  
27 major part of their working life, a recent phenomenon that affects aging workers. Yet, it may expose them to new  
28 risks and challenges [2], contributing to a marked increase in their use of rehabilitation services [5].

29 The increasing rehabilitation needs of aging workers create changes in the profile of rehabilitation services'  
30 clientele [6]. Rehabilitation professionals now work with this emerging population and its particular  
31 characteristics. Professionals are generally aware of the growing presence of aging workers among the clients  
32 receiving their services, but they are often poorly equipped to intervene with them, and most practice settings have  
33 not yet added specific services to meet their needs [6]. However, the scientific literature does suggest the  
34 adaptation of certain rehabilitation interventions to fit the reality of aging workers [7], such as offering assistance  
35 with mobility within the community or support for health self-management [6]. Other authors suggest offering  
36 targeted interventions to aging workers, such as health promotion or awareness of ageism in the workplace [8].  
37 At this stage, it seems necessary to explore the process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work of aging workers  
38 who have suffered an occupational injury, to offer them quality services appropriate to their reality.

39

## 40 **State of knowledge**

### 41 **Portrait and specificities of aging workers**

42 In 2016, individuals aged 55 and over accounted for more than one-third of the Canadian working-age population,  
43 38% of whom were active in the labor market [9]. This proportion is the highest noted since work-related statistical  
44 compilations began over 40 years ago [9]. Forecasts suggest that the number of Canadians over the age of 55 and  
45 active in the labor market will continue to increase in the coming years [9]. The situation is similar in the United  
46 States, where the proportion of workers aged 55 or older is at a historic high, having jumped 124% in 20 years

47 [10]. In Europe, people over 55 also represent an important workforce with an employment rate of over 50% [11].  
48 In Canada, the private sector employs nearly 75% of workers aged 55 and over; in the United States, this  
49 proportion is of 68 % [10]. According to Statistics Canada, sales and service (21%), business, finance, and  
50 administration (18%), and transportation and machinery (16%) are the main economic sectors that employ these  
51 workers [12]. American aging workers are mostly hired in health and social assistance (14%), manufacturing  
52 (11%) and education services (10%) [10].

53 Aging workers have unique characteristics that distinguish them from other cohorts, including their relationship  
54 to their jobs and the values they hold [7]. Compared to younger workers, this generation of employees reports  
55 greater job satisfaction and less willingness to leave their jobs [13]. The job satisfaction of this workgroup depends  
56 on specific characteristics, such as employer support or opportunities for promotion. Job security, role clarity, and  
57 available resources also motivate their commitment to the workplace [13]. These individuals appear to value the  
58 intrinsic benefits of a job (e.g., responsibilities, challenges, social contacts) more than its extrinsic benefits (e.g.,  
59 prestige, salary material goods) [14].

60 The literature indicates that the work experience of these workers may differ from that of other cohorts because  
61 of the stereotyping that targets them. McCann and Keaton [15] suggest a general perception of aging workers as  
62 loyal colleagues who adapt less quickly to technology. Younger workers describe their 55–65-year-old colleagues  
63 as less outgoing and extroverted but more pleasant, conscientious, and emotionally stable [16].

64 These older workers also have more difficulty returning to employment after a period of disability. A study by  
65 Kadefors and Hanse [17] indicate that while many aging workers were optimistic about returning to the workforce,  
66 the negative attitudes of many employers toward them would demotivate them over time. Thus, generational  
67 differences may impact the factors influencing their process of rehabilitation, return, and staying at work.

68

### 69 **Influence of work on the health of aging workers**

70 Increasingly, coping with the social and economic realities of aging societies requires prolonged participation in  
71 the workforce. Even more important are the associated individual benefits for aging people. In addition to allowing  
72 them to maintain their physical health and cognitive capacity [18], work can lead to feelings of recognition and  
73 contributing to society, with positive impacts on the health and quality of life of aging individuals [19]. However,  
74 work also comes with potentially negative effects for this population. Compared to a younger worker, a worker  
75 aged 55 years and older has twice the risk of suffering an occupational injury and six times the risk of developing  
76 a musculoskeletal disorder [20]. Moreover, these statistics show an upward trend. Between 2015 and 2018,

77 musculoskeletal disorders increased by nearly 30% among Quebec (i.e., a province in Canada) workers aged 55  
78 and over, an increase significantly higher than that in the general population of workers, closer to 10% [21]. Older  
79 people would take longer than younger workers to return to work after an injury [4]. This increased vulnerability  
80 to occupational injuries and disability requires focusing on the factors influencing their rehabilitation, return, and  
81 stay at work.

82

### 83 **Factors that influence rehabilitation, return, and stay at work**

84 Scientific literature reports the main factors in promoting the process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work  
85 after a period of disability, for the general population of workers. Among others, these include factors that relate  
86 to the individual (e.g., adaptability) [22], the workplace (e.g., accommodation opportunities) [23], the health care  
87 system (e.g., professional support) [23], or the compensation system (e.g., insurer regulation) [24] [25]. The  
88 unique characteristics of aging workers have prompted a few authors to take an interest in the factors that influence  
89 the process of their rehabilitation, return, and stay at work [7]. A brief portrait of these factors follows.

#### 90 1) Occupational rehabilitation

91 Authors have proposed various factors in the rehabilitation of aging workers. Issues seem to surround the time  
92 that rehabilitation in this group of workers requires. Stikeleather [26] suggests that rehabilitation programs should  
93 more adequately consider the additional recovery time aging workers need to return to their original occupation.  
94 Among other factors, rehabilitation professionals should consider comorbidities that influence recovery time.  
95 Durand et al. [24] suggest that an individualized approach that considers personal characteristics and motivation  
96 to return to work could offer a promising avenue for aging workers. Other authors note the need for collaboration  
97 between the aging worker, health care professionals, and the employer, to achieve an adequate level of support  
98 [27]. In this regard, Steenstra et al. [28] show that rehabilitation in the workplace is particularly beneficial for  
99 workers aged 44 and over. Indeed, due to their extensive work experience, these workers would participate more  
100 actively and effectively in rehabilitation processes set in the workplace than in traditional clinical settings.

#### 101 2) Return to work

102 The scientific literature enables us to identify a few factors that seem necessary to ensure a successful return to  
103 work after a period of disability. Saint-Arnaud and Saint-Jean [29] indicate that the openness of employers to  
104 improving working conditions is a major determinant of the successful return of aging workers absent from work.  
105 However, other authors [30] indicate that many employers cannot always accommodate workers after retirement  
106 age, often due to the nature of the work. For example, it would be more difficult for employers to imagine job

107 changes for certain fields, such as transportation [30]. These authors also cite issues of ageism and age  
108 discrimination as reasons why aging workers are sometimes granted fewer accommodations [30]. Employers are  
109 important actors in the return to work. As such, the level of support they provide to the worker is an important  
110 determinant in ensuring a smooth transition back to work [26]. Lilley et al. [31] assert that the organization of the  
111 workstation should get more attention, as it is, a favorable occasion for soliciting the collaboration of the aging  
112 worker to consider the necessary changes and adaptations to the workstation, in light of their particular needs [27].  
113 The possibility of adjusting working hours has also proved instrumental in facilitating the return of workers aged  
114 45 and over. Whether by modifying arrival and departure times or taking more frequent or longer breaks, the  
115 worker can adapt a schedule to his or her needs [32].

### 116 3) Stay at work

117 Authors highlight some factors that hinder healthy and sustainable stay at work for aging workers who have  
118 suffered an occupational injury. According to Durand et al. [24], the desire to receive or retain work-related  
119 benefits could encourage some workers to return to work early, despite their disability. However, this could  
120 increase the risk of a relapse. Although this idea may vary across legislative contexts, the rules the insurer imposes  
121 is also susceptible to encourage an early return to work, a tendency even more pronounced among aging workers  
122 since they are likely to have accumulated benefits over time [24]. Manifestly, these external incentives influencing  
123 return to work would not be conducive to a long-term, successful stay at work. Aging workers see support from  
124 their employer as facilitating stay at work after a period of disability [24]. However, this support can be difficult  
125 to obtain, particularly because it can depend on the value that the employer places on older workers [24]. Similarly,  
126 the value that these workers themselves place on work may influence their commitment to work. This will differ  
127 if workers consider their work to be the cause of their health situation or, on the contrary, as a space for fulfillment  
128 [24]. This seems to be an issue of perception on both the employer's side and the worker's. Algarni et al. [30] state  
129 that workers aged 65 and over are more likely to require a long-term change in tasks and work schedule, compared  
130 to younger workers (i.e., 13% more than the 25–54 age group). Finally, a recent research paper on sustainable  
131 return to work of workers aged 45 and over [32] considers the concept of work design a possible determinant of  
132 stay at work. In Morgeson and Humphrey's [33] conceptualization, work design encompasses four types of  
133 characteristics influencing the work experience, namely, those pertaining to task, knowledge, and social and  
134 contextual characteristics. This avenue seems promising for supporting workers who have suffered an  
135 occupational injury in stay at work.

136

137 **Relevance of the research and objective**

138 Although the current literature makes it possible to understand that certain factors specifically influence the  
139 process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work for aging workers, the picture remains incomplete. Most of the  
140 findings come from a limited number of studies, and very little information is available on the role of the  
141 compensation system in the process. A careful review of the literature also reveals that despite an identified need,  
142 the stakeholders cannot always respond, particularly when it comes to improving working conditions [29] and  
143 employer support [24, 27, 30]. This requires initiating a shared discussion, to identify viable and concrete avenues  
144 to solutions for each stakeholder. The situation includes 1) the considerable increase in the number of aging  
145 workers in the labor market, 2) their increased risk of suffering an occupational injury leading to a prolonged  
146 disability, and 3) their particularities that create needs different from the general population of workers. Therefore,  
147 the aim of this study was to paint a picture of the factors that influence the process of rehabilitation, return, and  
148 stay at work of aging workers who have suffered an occupational injury.

149

150 **Theoretical framework**

151 This study was based on the theoretical framework of work disability [25] which suggests that several levels -  
152 *individual (i.e., worker), organizational (i.e., work environment, health care and rehabilitation system, insurance*  
153 *and legislative system, social environment) and societal (i.e., dynamics, structures and systems)* - interact to  
154 explain work disability and influence the process of rehabilitation, return to work and stay at work [34]. In doing  
155 so, various stakeholders (e.g., aging workers, employers, rehabilitation professionals, unions, insurers) are  
156 involved and interact in this complex process [34]. The perspectives of these stakeholders must be documented to  
157 understand the process.

158 **Method**

159 **Design.** The study utilized a descriptive interpretative research design [35, 36]. This qualitative design allows an  
160 in-depth examination of a phenomenon (e.g., the process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work of aging  
161 workers) by considering different stakeholders' perspectives. Previous work qualifies this research design as  
162 appropriate for producing a rich understanding of a phenomenon within its natural context [37-39]. This study  
163 considers the specific context of Quebec, Canada.

164

165 **Participants.** In accordance with the theoretical framework of this study, the main categories of stakeholders  
166 involved with injured aging workers were recruited: 1) rehabilitation professionals, 2) aging workers, 3) workers'

167 representatives (i.e., union or community organizations), 4) employers, and 5) insurers. The researchers targeted  
168 people in these categories as participants because of their respective roles in the process under study [e.g., 22, 23,  
169 40]. To be included in the study, participants had to have at least two years of experience in their work in Canada.  
170 A purposive sampling method was used to recruit the participants, and their selection was based on a maximum  
171 variation sampling strategy [24]. Attention was paid to obtaining diverse profiles, in terms of the practice  
172 environment, level of training, and years of experience. The recruitment of 12 to 24 participants was initially  
173 planned [41, 42]. Indeed, the literature suggests that for qualitative studies aiming to describe the perspectives of  
174 people sharing a similar reality, interviews with a dozen participants are generally sufficient to achieve saturation.  
175 [42]. The final number of participants was adjusted during the study, and recruitment stopped when the interviews  
176 revealed redundancy in the sense of the ideas that the 23 participants who took part in the study reported [42].

177

178 **Procedure.** Individual phone interviews followed a validated guide, pretested on two individuals who shared  
179 participants' characteristics. The interviewer asked participants to express their views on the factors influencing  
180 the process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work of aging workers. Based on real-life situations they may  
181 have experienced, the interviewer invited participants to discuss the factors influencing this process (e.g., obstacles  
182 and facilitators, unmet needs, required improvements). The questions focused on four themes: personal factors of  
183 workers (e.g., abilities, pain, motivation), rehabilitation interventions (e.g., strengths and challenges), actions of  
184 different stakeholders (e.g., employer, worker, insurer, union), and the characteristics of work context (e.g., type  
185 of job, work organization, support). All the interviews were conducted in French and were digitally recorded. The  
186 average time of the interviews was  $45.88 \pm 13.29$  minutes.

187

188 **Analysis.** Following the transcription of verbatim interviews, the five stages of the thematic analysis strategy [43]  
189 were carried out: 1) repeated readings of the data corpus, allowing researchers to develop a sense of immersion;  
190 2) initial coding with descriptive codes assigned to the units of significance found in the corpus; 3) units of  
191 meaning transformed into meaningful expressions of participants' experience; 4) synthesis of expressions enabling  
192 the organization of the data in a general structure (the codes [micro level] were grouped into categories [meso  
193 level] and/or themes [macro level]); 5) back and forth between the raw data and the general structure, enabling  
194 clarification and interpretation of the data while respecting participants' experience. The researcher completed the  
195 analysis using QSR NVivo software.

196 Two members of the research team with experience in qualitative analysis independently analyzed the first eight  
197 interviews. They met after coding each interview to compare their coding and forge a consensus on codes and  
198 structure. This procedure reduced the risk of bias by preventing the coding from reflecting the perception of a  
199 single person. One person coded subsequent interviews, and periodic discussions occurred among research team  
200 members. The research team produced several versions of the structure of the participants' experience until the  
201 team agreed on a structure that respected the data as accurately as possible.

202

## 203 **Results**

### 204 **Description of participants**

205 Of the 23 participants, 17 were female. The sample included a) 12 rehabilitation professionals (i.e., occupational  
206 therapists, physical therapists, psychologists, physicians); b) six aging workers who have experienced the process  
207 of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work; c) three representatives of workers (i.e., unions, community  
208 organizations defending workers' rights); d) one employer; and e) one public insurer. The average age of the  
209 participants, whose ages ranged from 27 to 75 years old, was 45.35 years old. They had held their position for an  
210 average of 17.21 years, ranging from 3 to 40 years. Table 1 shows the participants' descriptive characteristics.

211

*Insert table 1 here*

### 212 **Factors influencing the process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work of aging workers**

213 Data analysis led to highlighting 15 factors influencing the process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work of  
214 aging workers who had suffered an occupational injury. Depending on the context, the identified factors may have  
215 positively or negatively influenced the process for most of them. These factors relate to the worker, the health  
216 system, the workplace, or the compensation system.

217

#### 218 *Factors related to the worker*

219 In their responses, participants identified seven worker-related factors. First, *healing speed and health condition*  
220 appeared to be a major issue in the process, as this participant said: "It can be a little longer and a little more  
221 rehabilitation. Often [aging workers] have a little less energy and all that. Since they also evolve less quickly than  
222 our younger [workers], it makes the process a little longer<sup>1</sup>" [RP-21]<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Verbatim extracts from the participants' interviews exemplify the factors. The extracts are a free translation from the original French transcripts.

<sup>2</sup> Letters in brackets refer to the stakeholder's type: E = employer, I = insurer, RP = rehabilitation professional, W = worker, WR = worker representative. Numbers (1 to 23) refer to the participant's number.



223 Also, participants reported that “the deconditioning is more important [with aging workers]. If they don't have an  
224 active lifestyle, they will decondition themselves faster, which can influence [their process of rehabilitation, return  
225 and stay at work]” [RP-03]. Therefore, other health conditions and comorbidities that may occur more frequently  
226 with age, such as “high blood pressure or diabetes” [RP-11], influence the process.

227 The second worker-related factor is *imminent retirement*. This factor influences the process because aging workers  
228 want to regain their capacity to enjoy retirement: “[The aging workers] know that retirement is coming, and that  
229 it is [the] time to get back in shape. The aging workers want to heal to have a nice retirement” [RP-03]. Imminent  
230 retirement may also refer to the financial needs of aging workers; some must return to work to have “financial  
231 security or financial integrity” [RP-22]. On the other hand, imminent retirement may hinder the return to work  
232 because aging workers think that they “do not have many [years to work] anyway” [E-23].

233 *Years of experience* was another worker-related factor. A worker participant mentioned that his seniority enabled  
234 him to choose tasks that he wanted to do: “I am the first driver. I could have said: I drive trucks only, and I do not  
235 [drive] 12 wheels. I could have asked” [W-08]. Also, participants reported that “if [aging workers] have a lot of  
236 experience and [are considered] mentors in their workplace, they will be tempted to return even if they are still  
237 limited or in pain” [RP-20]. On the other hand, years of experience could be an obstacle, creating “more conflicts  
238 [...] because it seems that since [aging workers] have been working for their employer for so long, they are more  
239 demanding of their employer” [RP-03].

240 Participants noted *family situation* as a relevant factor influencing the process. Usually, family members and  
241 friends will help in the process. Conversely, “[if] all they [aging workers] have done in their life is work, if they  
242 have no wife and no children, if they don't have a lot of friends, if their circle of friends was related to work, they  
243 find themselves isolated [during work disability], so it's more difficult sometimes to have the motivation to go  
244 back to work” [WR-17]. Otherwise, data showed that having a life partner could influence the process: “If the  
245 client has a spouse who is still working, that will often be a lever for returning to work, versus when the spouse is  
246 already retired” [RP-12]. In addition, the emergence of new roles in the family that comes with age affects the  
247 process, as a participant expressed: “They are young grandparents, they have grown children with whom they are  
248 often still very involved. Sometimes, they still have their parents, if they [aging workers] are in their 50s, 60s,  
249 sometimes their parents are in their 80s. And sometimes, they are natural caregivers for their parents. So, it can  
250 become an obstacle because they have a lot to do” [RP-10].

251 *Value of work and sense of belonging* emerged from the analysis as an important component for aging workers.  
252 Participants stated that “there is a direct link with the sense of belonging. If [aging workers] do not have colleagues

253 and if they know that nobody will miss [them] [...] it does not help [them] to come back [to work]" [E-23].  
254 Another participant highlighted that value of work and sense of belonging could influence the person's identity:  
255 "Because people define themselves by their job, we ask, "who are you?", and [aging workers] often answer with  
256 their job title. People identify themselves through work [and, following an injury], if they are asked "who are  
257 you?", [they] are no longer able to say "I am a truck driver" because they got injured and can no longer drive a  
258 truck. They must redefine themselves, and it is not easy" [WR-19].

259 Value of work and sense of belonging appeared to be a key factor in a success story, as a participant expressed:  
260 "She [the injured worker] was 60, but she loved it [her job] so much and wanted [to return to work] so much. She  
261 went back [to work] and she adjusted [her workstation by herself] and she paid for the adaptations. She loved it  
262 so much and even if she was 60 years old, she was really able to have great success with [the process], precisely  
263 because of her love for work" [RP-21].

264 *Occupation other than work* also appeared to influence the process. Aging workers who already have other  
265 occupations could leverage the process, as a rehabilitation professional participant stated: "I can motivate them  
266 more with their interests—gardening, for example—or with what they would like to do in retirement" [RP-4].

267 Another participant expressed: "Aging workers who have activities outside of their work that are varied, that are  
268 already flourishing, I think that, most of the time, [they will return] to work" [RP-20]. On the other hand,  
269 sometimes aging workers wanting to preserve themselves for their leisure instead of their work could be an  
270 obstacle to the process. This participant described this idea: "I prefer to damage my knees not at the factory, [but]  
271 in sports [and with] my children" [W-18].

272 *Worker apprehension and adaptability* constitute a relevant factor that emerged from the results. Participants  
273 raised the point that aging workers have less adaptability capacity than younger workers because "aging workers  
274 [were using] wrong [working techniques] and they have been doing it for years. There was no problem because  
275 they were not injured, but now that they are injured, they cannot work anymore the same way, and it's harder [for  
276 them to] change" [RP-16]. In addition, there is greater reluctance to change among aging workers, according to  
277 this participant: "They have always done it [this way], they can't change, it's always been like this since they were  
278 very young" [RP-12]. A participant reported that apprehension about performance at work is a big issue for aging  
279 workers: "I was wondering with my back, my leg, my hip, will I be able to redo [my work], will I be able to do  
280 as much [as before my injury]? Am I going to have the same [efficiency] that I had before?" [W-09]. These  
281 worker-related factors influence the process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work for aging workers.  
282

283 *Factors related to the health care system*

284 Participants identified three factors related to the health care system as influencing the process of rehabilitation,  
285 return, and stay at work of aging workers who have suffered an occupational injury. The first factor that emerged  
286 from the experiences of participants was the *possibility of involving relatives in rehabilitation*. According to the  
287 participants, relatives are essential in the rehabilitation of aging workers, as this participant explained: “If I hadn't  
288 had my son, I don't know how I would have done” [W-05]. Another participant described how his relative helped  
289 him in rehabilitation: “Well, she explained to me. Let's say I was doing an exercise that was not correct; she  
290 explained to me [how] to correct it, to improve myself; then [she explained to me] how long I had to do my  
291 exercises and then how to do them [properly]” [W-07].

292 Another participant also stated that he has “a good wife who helped [him] a lot [in the rehabilitation], and she  
293 followed [him] closely for the rehabilitation to go well” [W-15].

294 A *holistic-care team approach* also emerged as a factor influencing the process. A participant insisted that the  
295 professionals have to “[consider] the whole person” [I-14] and that “the intervention must be modulated with the  
296 aging worker, because there are different issues [in comparison with a younger worker]” [I-14]. These issues relate  
297 to the health conditions and capacities of the aging worker, and they imply that professionals must “adapt their  
298 interventions to the person's needs and state of health. [Rehabilitation professionals] must modulate their  
299 interventions according to the capacities [of aging workers]” [RP-11]. A rehabilitation professional participant  
300 gave an example of how this factor is important for the process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work of aging  
301 workers: “We did rehabilitation for his [the aging worker's] back, but [he also had] respiratory problems. Of  
302 course, we had to adapt the exercises to the whole condition” [RP-02].

303 The last relevant factor related to the health care system was *facilitation of change*, expressed as the importance  
304 of finding a way to help aging workers change their working method, despite their possible reluctance. For  
305 instance, a participant explained how he facilitated changes with his patients: “I'm going to take more time to  
306 explain [how to perform the work task]: why do it like this, why the technique [used before] was not bad, but why  
307 now [we need] to change it. [We talk about] the advantages [of the new technique] and [ensure the worker]  
308 understands the disadvantages. Sometimes, it takes more discussion for the person to understand” [RP-04].  
309 Another example was “about keeping the same [working mode] and changing small details. For example, the  
310 person wants to take over the load in such a way. Sometimes we can just ensure that he/she is positioned in front  
311 of the load rather than rotated. Let him/her keep some of his/her mode and just address the [part] that is more  
312 problematic” [RP-16]. Participants also reported that facilitation of change was specific to each aging worker;

313 what works for one person may not work for another: “Find a motivational angle to really find what appeals to  
314 them [aging workers] so that they can really make a change in their way of doing things. I would tell you this is  
315 really on a case-by-case basis. Often you have to dig a little deeper to find the lever that will motivate them” [RP-  
316 12].

317

### 318 *Factors related to the workplace*

319 The data analysis led to four factors associated with the workplace. The *recognition of the worker’s expertise*  
320 influences the process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work for aging workers because the employer who  
321 values the worker's expertise may make more efforts in the workplace. One participant gave an example: “The  
322 expertise and experience of [the worker] who had 30 years of experience [is beneficial for the process]. [The aging  
323 worker may] pass it on to young people. For example, I saw an employer who was ready to do anything to keep  
324 that expertise in the company and train young people” [RP-11].

325 Another participant said, [When] “the knowledge of the person [aging worker] is appreciated by the employer,  
326 the employer will organize to do the maximum to help this person to return and, therefore, easily accept return-  
327 to-work plans” [RP-01]. Data analysis also suggested that recognition of the worker’s expertise benefits the  
328 process, as this extract expressed: “The success stories are especially those where the employer has been able to  
329 use the strengths of [the aging worker] and has valued that worker” [RP-10].

330 One more factor related to the workplace that emerged from data analysis was the *possibility of specific*  
331 *accommodations*. Participants reported that the specific accommodations for aging workers that employers may  
332 suggest could influence their process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work. A participant stated that  
333 “employers quickly offer [to aging workers] to change jobs, instead of trying to adapt [the pre-injury job]” [RP-  
334 16]. When no possibilities for accommodations are present, the process lengthens, as this participant said: “I had  
335 to get the worker to be able to do all the tasks 100%, [...]. So that [resulted in] a very long process; it took several  
336 weeks. I would say it took at least 4 months before I could get him [the aging worker] back to work, to say he was  
337 able to do his chores. And [at the end of the process] he still had functional limitations. The combination of his  
338 job and aging was not a good fit” [RP-01].

339 On the other hand, when accommodations are possible, such as pre-retirement, it is positive for the process of  
340 rehabilitation, return, and stay at work, as a participant stated: “The opportunity to take a pre-retirement, so [aging  
341 workers] work fewer days per week and have time to recover their energy level [...]. Sometimes, the fact that [the  
342 worker] is in early retirement can facilitate [the process]” [RP-04]. Also, according to the participants, the

343 possibility of mentoring is often offered to aging workers rather than younger employees: “Take the case of a  
344 young worker who cannot do exactly [the same job] anymore. The employer assigns this person to training or  
345 mentoring. That is not really [what is expected] for a young person as career progression. However, for the aging  
346 worker, that could be the path that [she/he] would have taken anyway, so [the process] is facilitated for [him/her]”  
347 [E-23].

348 Participants named *ageism* as a factor affecting the process. The prejudices of the different stakeholders involved  
349 in the process may lead to injustices. A participant declared: “When we have people of 55 years old [...], I don't  
350 know if the [public insurer] or the employers say to themselves, ‘We are not going to put energy into developing  
351 their capacities, we would rather redirect them toward an easier job’” [WR-06]. Another prejudice that participants  
352 reported was aging workers’ difficulty understanding the information they receive. A participant affirmed, “He  
353 [the rehabilitation professional] thought that because I was 70, I wouldn't understand his exercises or whatever”  
354 [W-05]. Additionally, ageism brought out reorientation difficulties: “Employers would not hire [an aging worker]  
355 anyway, let alone someone who has had an occupational injury” [I-13].

356 The last factor related to the workplace is the *employer's apprehensions*. Data suggested that employers were  
357 reluctant to return older workers to work because “they are afraid of making [the] injury worse” [W-18], and  
358 perhaps “[the aging worker] will get hurt again and that will [be expensive], and [...] the employers are going to  
359 be stuck again [with an injury]” [WR-06]. This reluctance led employers to request a return to work without any  
360 accommodation, as this participant stated: “Whether people are having difficulty doing their job or not, it seems  
361 that when workers are aging, well, the fear that [they] will get hurt again is like, more present, [especially] when  
362 they have a physical job. So, sometimes employers tend to say “Well, I really would like them to come back  
363 100%,” for fear that they will get hurt [...] during a return to work” [RP-04].

364

#### 365 *Factors related to the compensation system*

366 Our data analysis led to proposing that one factor related to the compensation system influences the process of  
367 aging workers’ rehabilitation, return, and staying at work after suffering an occupational injury—namely,  
368 *compensation system policies*. These policies influence the process in several ways. Participants reported that  
369 policies restrict the number of interventions, adaptations, and possibilities for reorientation. “Regardless of the  
370 person's age, that's the same number of interventions [the insurer] expects. Typically, [the public insurer] expects  
371 fewer than 40 treatments. But for the older population, 40 treatments is not a lot” [RP-01]. A participant also  
372 stated: “We had a lady. She was 66 years old, so she passed the income replacement indemnity age with the

373 [public insurer]. It was a bit of a challenge for the occupational therapist and ergonomist to obtain certain  
374 equipment to adapt her job [because of her age]. The lady was planning to work for several more years; she had  
375 not made the choice to stop working. But because she was aging, it was more difficult to justify [the need for  
376 accommodations and equipment]. Much more justification had to be done to receive financial support, in terms  
377 of equipment facilitating the adaptation of the workstation” [RP-22].

378 Also, participants felt that insurers were not open to paying for the reorientation of aging workers: “Rehabilitation  
379 costs are calculated. So it is certain that for someone who is getting older, [the insurer] is not going to pay for a  
380 training measure because these are significant costs. [...] So the chances of success are lower” [I-13]. On the other  
381 hand, indemnity policies do not incentivize aging workers to engage in the process this participant described:  
382 “Let's say we have an accident at 61, and we are unable to do our job anymore; well, then the [public insurer] pays  
383 us until age 65 with full compensation, [up to] age 68 [with partial compensation]. Certain people may say to  
384 themselves, “Yes, I will be paid, so much the better, I am not going back to work.” Perhaps they would have  
385 returned to the labor market then if not for [those indemnity policies]” [WR-17].

386

387 In summary, this study identifies 15 factors influencing the process for aging workers who had suffered an  
388 occupational injury, as Figure 1 shows. The arrow in Figure 1 represents the process, beginning with rehabilitation,  
389 followed by the return to work and subsequent stay at work. Factors in Figure 1 appear where they are most  
390 influential in the process. Thus, factors linked with the health care system mainly influence the rehabilitation  
391 stage, while workplace-related factors influence phases of return and stay at work. As for worker and  
392 compensation-system factors, the results of this study suggest that they both influence the whole process by  
393 affecting rehabilitation, return, and stay at work. Figure 1 also exposes the idea that the process of rehabilitation,  
394 return and stay at work of aging workers is influenced by the societal context.

395 *Insert Figure 1 here*

396 Figure 1. Factors influencing the process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work of aging workers who had  
397 suffered an occupational injury

398

## 399 **Discussion**

400 This study identifies 15 factors related to the worker, health care system, workplace, and compensation system  
401 that specifically influence the process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work of aging workers who had suffered  
402 an occupational injury. The analysis of rich and in-depth qualitative data collected from participants representing

403 various stakeholder groups contributes to the advancement of knowledge regarding three main ideas: 1) the  
404 importance of not placing the responsibility on the worker in this complex process, 2) the key role of the  
405 compensation system, and 3) the necessity of transforming work.

406

#### 407 **The importance of not placing the responsibility on the worker in this complex process**

408 The results of this study suggest that 7 out of the 15 factors influencing the process of rehabilitation, return, and  
409 stay at work of aging workers related to the worker, sending the message that the worker has a greater  
410 responsibility than other stakeholders in the success of the process. These worker-related factors were mostly  
411 named by rehabilitation professionals who have a practice centered on the worker, which may have influenced  
412 our result. Despite that, it is important to keep in mind that the worker is not the only person responsible for the  
413 process, and other stakeholders (i.e., employers, health professionals, and insurers) also have an important and  
414 crucial influence on this complex process [44]. Even more, the implication of relatives has been named as a  
415 success factor during rehabilitation by the worker participants in this study, In accordance with our result and with  
416 the theoretical framework of work disability [25, 34], other authors also reported that interactions and social  
417 exchanges between several stakeholders influence the process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work after an  
418 occupational injury [45]. Some authors insist that rehabilitation, return, and stay at work should not be considered  
419 three isolated steps, because they are linked and subject to interacting influences resulting from the actions of all  
420 stakeholders [45, 46]. These authors suggest an even higher level of complexity, suggesting that preventive actions  
421 that stakeholders implement could influence the process, giving the example of workplace practices that aim at  
422 preventing occupational injuries, which may influence the success of staying at work after a period of disability  
423 [46]. Other authors have concurred, suggesting that rehabilitation, return, and stay at work is a dynamic process  
424 of multiple actions that several stakeholders implement [47, 48]. All stakeholders sharing the success of the  
425 process is crucial. The complex interactions between the different stakeholders make determining who owns the  
426 success (or failure) of the process difficult. Continuing research work to better understand how all stakeholders  
427 can contribute to this team effort would be wise; this study barely describes some aspects, such as the  
428 compensation system.

429

#### 430 **The key role of the compensation system**

431 Even if we identified only one factor related to the compensation system, the interpretation of our results suggests  
432 that this system has a major influence on the entire process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work for aging

433 workers. This observation testifies to the importance of the compensation system. However, the literature on the  
434 role of the compensation system regarding aging workers who suffered an occupational injury is sparse [7] and  
435 complex because of the great differences regarding compensation systems across countries and jurisdictions [34].  
436 Nonetheless, one possible explanation concerning the role of the compensation system throughout the process  
437 could lie in its influence on the interactions between stakeholders. In accordance with the theoretical framework  
438 on work disability which stipulates the important influence of the interactions between the stakeholders coming  
439 from the different systems [25, 34], studies show that the interactions between workers and actors in the  
440 compensation system are often complex regarding the rehabilitation process, return, and stay at work [49], and  
441 these may influence the success of the process and individuals' work function [50]. Indeed, the results of the study  
442 by Collie et al [51] suggest that negative perceptions between stakeholders regarding compensation procedures  
443 have a deleterious effect on return-to-work success, regardless of the legislative context. However, these complex  
444 interactions could be less frequent for aging workers, as aging people tend to receive a higher level of support  
445 [52] and more satisfactory responses from insurers [53] than younger workers do. Furthermore, the literature  
446 suggests that the rules and policies of the compensation system may place rehabilitation professionals in  
447 uncomfortable positions, where they say they cannot always assess and treat workers in the best way [54]. Other  
448 authors also note that these rules and policies of the compensation system would even influence the therapeutic  
449 relationship between the professional and the worker [55]. Our results also support the importance of the  
450 compensation system; participants representing each of the stakeholder groups discussed the influence of the  
451 compensation system on the success of the process, through interactions and social exchanges between  
452 stakeholders. Describing the effects of the compensation system must occur longitudinally, to better explain how  
453 they affect rehabilitation service delivery, return, stay at work, and workers' health [24].  
454 Finally, the interpretation of the results of our study suggests avenues for improvement related to the compensation  
455 system, to better support the process. First, adapting the rules and policies to the specific reality of aging workers  
456 would be necessary, as would considering the overall health condition of aging workers in rehabilitation services.  
457 This idea of leading the compensation system to look beyond "damage" or "occupational injury", but to consider  
458 all the variables influencing work disability has been suggested by other authors [34]. For example, flexibility  
459 should be added in setting the number of authorized interventions and the duration of services. Programs should  
460 be adjusted to allow aging workers to reorient themselves if they wish. Interestingly, the insurer representative  
461 participant in this study recognized the importance of adopting an approach that considers the whole person and  
462 to adapt the interventions accordingly. It seems that this idea was not perceived the same way by other stakeholders



463 who did not perceive this openness from the insurer with whom they have worked. Also, it would be wise to  
464 increase training and education of aging workers with respect to the compensation system that prevails in their  
465 legislative context. Indeed, results of international studies have reported inequalities of power between workers  
466 and employers in the return-to-work process [56], notably due to a lack of knowledge of the rules on the part of  
467 workers [57]. Finally, a reflection on indemnities in relation to age should occur since the financial incentives  
468 have mixed effects on the process's success [7, 24].

469

#### 470 **The necessity of transforming work to reduce ageism**

471 Aging workers represent essential resources for today's job market. These workers have specific qualities,  
472 including a great deal of accumulated experience [58, 59]. Although they can adapt, these workers experience  
473 changes of different kinds, especially in their physical and cognitive capacities [60]. In addition, the characteristics  
474 of their jobs may change over time [60]. Thus, the work demands are no longer always in line with the biological  
475 changes that occur with age [58]. Favoring the success of the process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work of  
476 aging workers who have suffered an occupational injury and optimizing the contribution of these workers to the  
477 contemporary workforce requires changing the view of aging workers, to focus not on diminishing capacities but  
478 on the development of new opportunities. The results of our study made little mention of this idea; instead,  
479 participants mostly had representations related to the losses and challenges of aging and returning to work after a  
480 period of disability. However, the literature did acknowledge the transformative and adaptive capacities of aging  
481 workers [e.g., 15, 24]. Transforming stakeholder's perceptions of aging could decrease ageism and have significant  
482 benefits for the workers, their employers, and society [24]. Employers appear to be key stakeholders in fostering  
483 and implementing these changes in perceptions and valuing the contribution of aging workers [61]. Educating  
484 and encouraging employers to recognize the detrimental effects of ageist perceptions on the process of  
485 rehabilitation, return and stay at work of aging workers is a necessary first step to optimizing its long-term success.  
486 This first step would contribute to enhancing the value of job accommodation and transformation to allow aging  
487 workers to use their expertise according to their abilities. Other authors have suggested interventions to value the  
488 work of aging workers among their colleagues, particularly through intergenerational contacts and activities [62,  
489 63]. In addition to promoting the transformation of workplace cultures, these interventions can reduce ageism and  
490 promote the support offered to aging workers when they return to work following a period of absence. This  
491 paradigm shift would increase the motivation of workers regarding return to work [24], in addition to taking  
492 greater advantage of their potential. According to Krause et al. [64], modifying work tasks to provide new

493 opportunities in line with the capabilities of aging workers would facilitate return to work, for workers with either  
494 temporary or permanent incapacity. Workers benefiting from these modifications would return to work twice as  
495 quickly [64]. Work-design approaches that also consider the tasks, knowledge, social characteristics, and context  
496 in the design of workstations, suggest an interesting avenue for supporting the healthy participation of aging  
497 workers [33]. Even if not perfect [65], legal provisions may also address age discrimination (e.g., Age  
498 Discrimination in Employment Act [66]) and should be considered and regularly adapted to the new work realities.  
499 Finally, the literature suggests that these transformations of work should go beyond the organizational level,  
500 advancing changes in social and government policies to better reflect the reality of aging workers who want to  
501 return to work after a period of disability [44]. This idea suggests that another, broader system, namely, the societal  
502 system, should figure in the process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work of aging workers. Even if the  
503 theoretical postulates suggest the influence of the societal system on work disability, few studies have focused on  
504 it [34] and even less regarding its influence on the specific population of aging workers. Studies should explore  
505 this direction, responding to the call to design occupational-injury recovery with a less biomedical aim and a more  
506 societal and collaborative approach [44].

507

### 508 **Strengths and Limits**

509 This study helped to improve knowledge of the process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work for aging  
510 workers, but its limits must be considered. In line with the theoretical framework on work disability [25, 34], we  
511 conducted this study by considering the perspectives of different stakeholders, which brought richness to the  
512 results by highlighting points of convergence as well as differences. However, rehabilitation professionals were  
513 overrepresented in the sample, which may have influenced the results. A sample representing the stakeholders in  
514 a more proportional way would have been desirable. Although the number of participants was appropriate to attain  
515 data saturation, transferability of the results to other contexts than Canada cannot be guaranteed. However, the  
516 results of a recent study examining the influence of insurance procedures on return to work suggest that the issues  
517 are similar despite jurisdictional differences [51]. As such, the results of our study remain relevant to the  
518 advancement of knowledge. Despite these limitations, the rigorous and detailed methodology contributes to the  
519 relevance, richness, and validity of the results. Finally, the manuscript was written to fulfill the Standards for  
520 Reporting Qualitative Research [67].

521

### 522 **Conclusion**

523 This study finds 15 factors influencing the process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work of aging workers.  
524 Since these factors are part of a complex context, they can sometimes positively or negatively influence the  
525 process. In addition, we highlighted these factors influencing the process to varying degrees, depending on the  
526 stage. Improving the process of rehabilitation, return, and stay at work for aging workers, especially by  
527 recognizing the responsibility of all stakeholders, the importance of the compensation system, and the necessity  
528 of transforming work to reduce ageism, requires future work. These changes must be part of a societal and  
529 collaborative perspective.

530

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