

















## Rachel Wilkie, Nissa Finney, Alice Butler-Warke, Qiong He, Elspeth Graham, Jo Hale

University of St Andrews and CPC Connecting Generations

**Economic** and Social

Research Council

The changing geographies of ageing and age-mixing in Scotland, 2011-2022

Census User Conference, 12<sup>th</sup> June 2025 Presenter: Rachel Wilkie, rzw1@st-Andrews.ac.uk

## Background



Source: Centre for Ageing Better https://www.agewithoutlimits.org/

As Scotland's population ages, maintaining sustainable age structures is increasingly important for both economic and demographic sustainability (Scottish Government, 2021)

Scotland faces added challenges due to the uneven spatial distribution of its population and ongoing population decline in remote areas (Scottish Government, 2024)

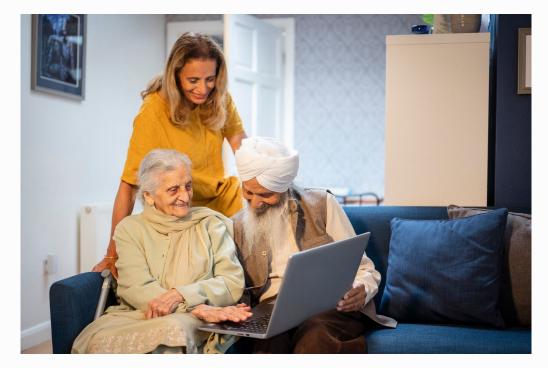
Rising residential age segregation in England and Wales (Sabater et al. 2017, Sabater and Finney, 2023) raises concerns about reduced intergenerational mixing and social cohesion

Age-mixed neighbourhoods may have more opportunities for intergenerational interactions, which are beneficial for health and wellbeing (Zhong et al, 2020) but many people may prefer to live in similar-aged spaces

This study explores how the geographies of ageing and age-mixing are changing across Scotland's urban-rural hierarchy, with implications for demographic sustainability and age-inclusive communities

## Research questions

- 1. How are patterns of age segregation and age diversity changing over time across the urban hierarchy?
- 2. How are changes in age diversity and population ageing over time spatially patterned?



Source: Centre for Ageing Better https://www.agewithoutlimits.org/

## Data



## 2011 and 2022 Scottish Census data (2011 data zones)

- Population for single year of age
- Total population
- Median age

## **Urban-rural hierarchy** (Scottish Government):

**Large urban**: ≥ 125,000

population

Other urban: 10,000-

124,999 population

**Small town**: 3,000 – 9,999

population

Accessible: <30 minutes

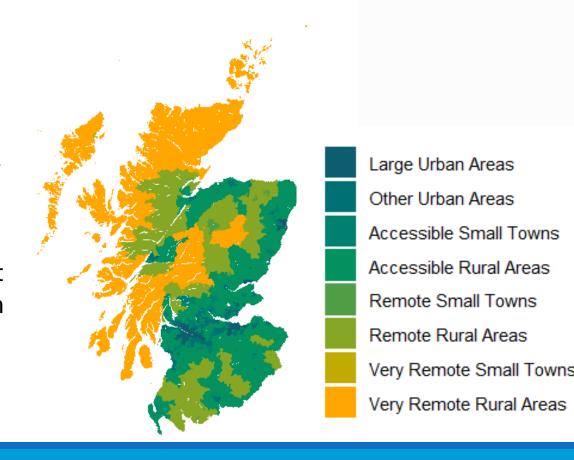
from large settlement

Remote: ≥30 minutes – 1

hour from large settlement

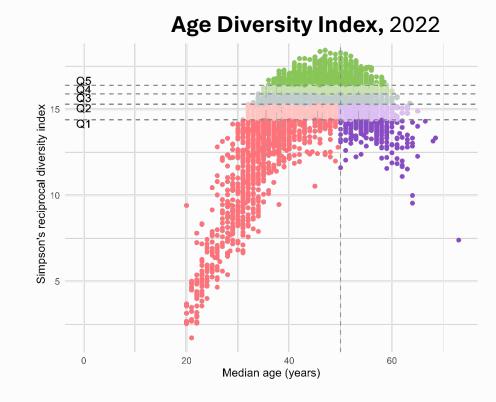
**Very remote**: ≥1 hour from

large settlement

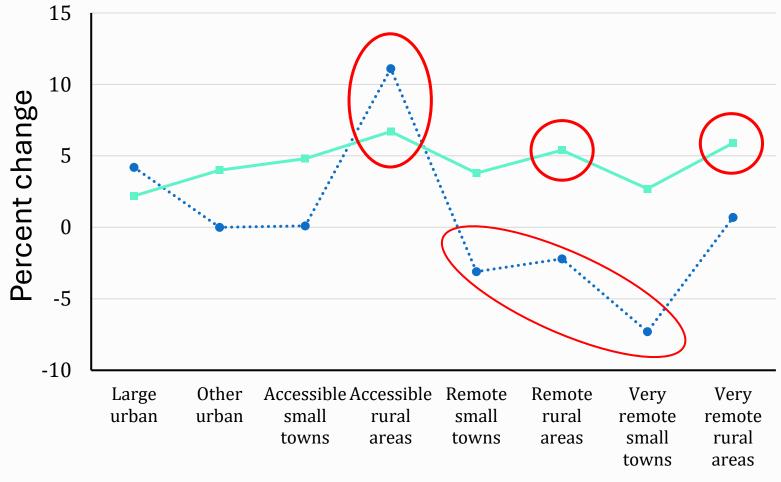


## Analysis

- 1. **Dissimilarity Index** of segregation between "older" and "younger" groups calculated across data zones, within urban-rural categories
  - e.g., percent aged 24-39 and percent aged 65+
- 2. **Age Diversity Index**: Simpson's reciprocal index calculated across 5-year age groups for each data zone
  - Quintiles of age diversity and age diversity change were calculated to plot in graphs and maps
- 3. Local Indicators of Spatial Autocorrelation (**LISA**) of **age diversity change** to understand clusters and outliers of changing age diversity
  - Clusters: high-high, low-low, low-high, high-low



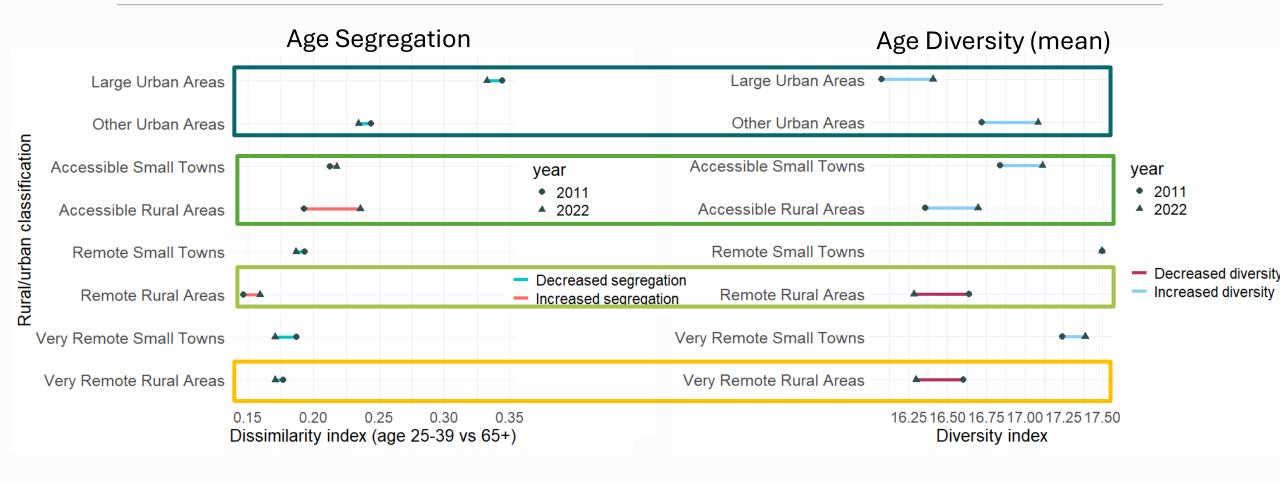
# The changing geographies of ageing, 2011-2022



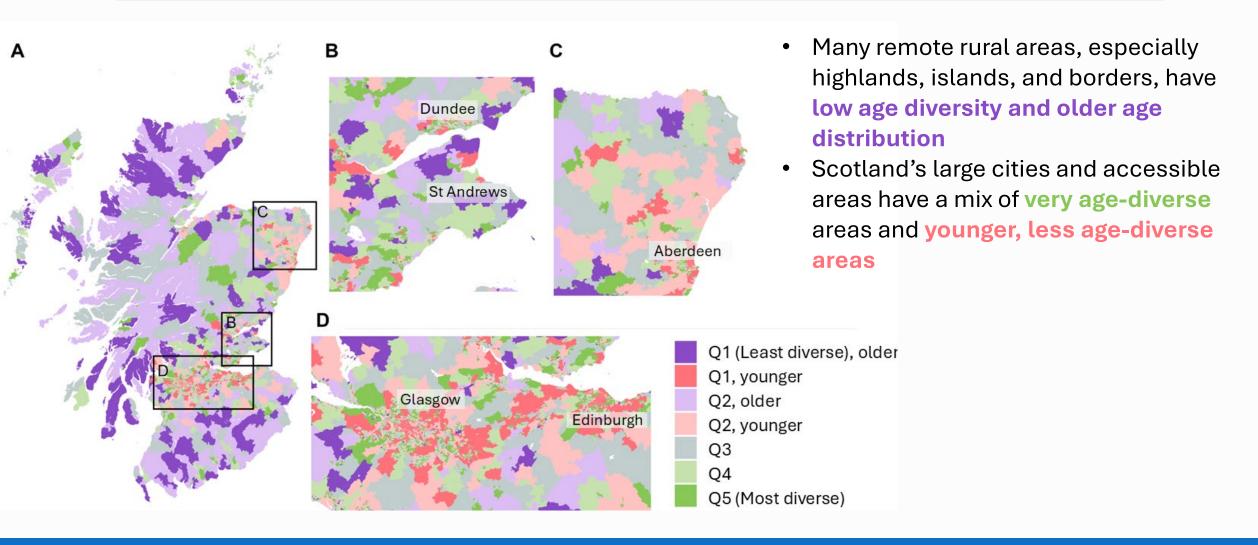
- Accessible rural areas saw the largest increase in total population and 65+ population
- After accessible rural areas, (very)
   remote rural areas saw the
   largest increase in the 65+
   population
- Remote small towns and rural areas and very remote small towns and saw decreases in population

••••• Percent change total population ——Percent change 65+ population

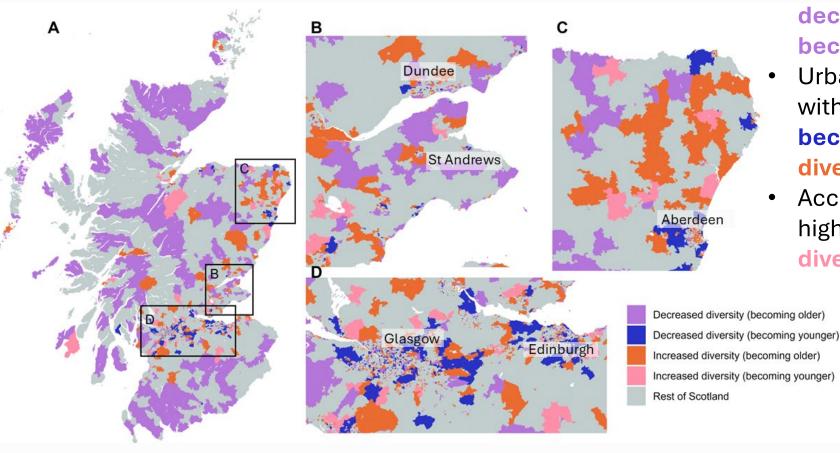
## Changing local age mix across the urban-rural hierarchy



# Spatial distribution of Age Diversity Index, 2022

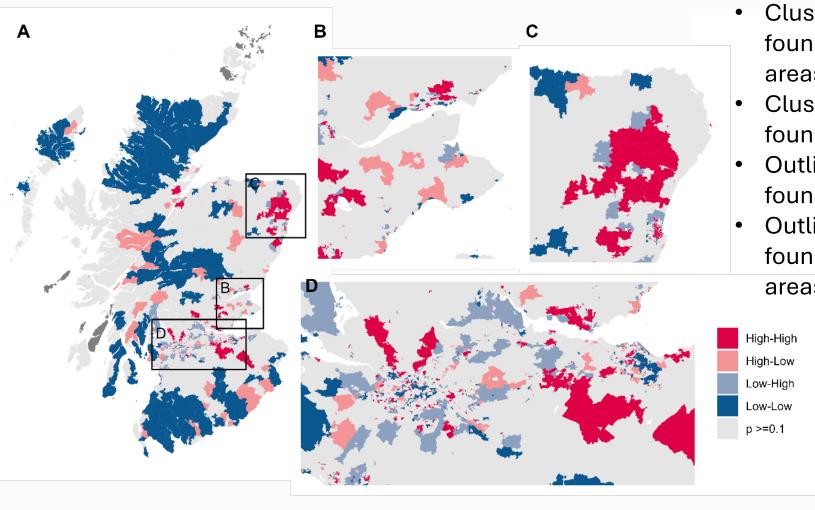


## Spatial distribution of change in Age Diversity Index, 2011-2022



- A large proportion of remote areas have decreasing age diversity and are becoming older over time
- Urban areas have a mix of neighbourhoods with decreased age diversity and becoming younger, and increased age diversity and becoming older
- Accessible rural areas have a relatively high proportion of areas of increasing age diversity but becoming younger over time

# Spatial distribution of clusters of change in Age Diversity Index (LISA), 2011-2022



- Clusters of decreasing age diversity are found in remote rural areas and some urban areas
- Clusters of increasing age diversity are found in accessible areas and urban areas
- Outliers with decreasing age diversity are found in accessible and urban areas
- Outliers with increasing age diversity are found in some remote areas, accessible areas, and urban areas

## Changes in age mixing varied considerably across area types

#### **Urban areas:**

- Age segregation is highest (and age diversity is lowest) in large urban areas, although these areas are becoming less age-segregated and more age-diverse over time
- Outliers of increasing or decreasing age diversity in urban areas suggests increasing polarisation between age groups in some urban places

#### **Accessible areas:**

- Accessible rural areas have seen both increased age segregation and increased age diversity
- This may be due to a combination of ageing in place and in-migration by families to particular localities

### (Very) remote areas:

- Remote rural areas have seen decreases in age diversity
- Clusters of rural areas of decreasing diversity in combination with population ageing suggests threat to demographic resilience



Source: Centre for Ageing Better https://www.agewithoutlimits.org/

# Challenges for Scotland's Ageing Population: Emerging Patterns and Policy Implications

These findings highlight specific challenges that Scotland is facing in the context of population ageing:

- Rural-urban variations in the age mix of small areas may pose a threat to the demographic and economic sustainability of some areas in Scotland especially remote rural areas (Scottish Government, 2024)
- Increased polarisation between age groups in urban and accessible areas could widen or create new inequalities for older people living in these areas (Hagestad and Uhlenberg, 2006; Sabater and Finney, 2023) and reduce opportunities for intergenerational mixing (Buffel et al, 2014, Fang et al, 2023)



Source: Centre for Ageing Better https://www.agewithoutlimits.org/

### Questions for the future (to be continued!):

- What is driving these changes in Scotland? E.g., Age-selective migration, mortality inequalities, housing dynamics?
- Does neighbourhood age mix matter for health and wellbeing;
  and for neighbourhood belonging?

## References

Broome, M. et al (2023) An Intergenerational Audit for the UK: 2023. Resolution Foundation

Buffel, T., De Backer, F., Peeters, J., Phillipson, C., Reina, V. R., Kindekens, A., De Donder, L., & Lombaerts, K. (2014). Promoting Sustainable Communities through Intergenerational Practice. Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences, 116, 1785–1791. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.01.472

Buffel, T., Doran, P and Yarker, S. (2024) Reimagining age-friendly communities. Urban Ageing and Spatial Justice. Bristol: Policy Press

Fang, M. L., Sixsmith, J., Hamilton-Pryde, A., Rogowsky, R., Scrutton, P., Pengelly, R., Woolrych, R., & Creaney, R. (2023). Co-creating inclusive spaces and places: Towards an intergenerational and age-friendly living ecosystem. Frontiers in Public Health, 10, 996520.

Hagestad, Gunhild O., and Peter Uhlenberg. 'Should We Be Concerned About Age Segregation?: Some Theoretical and Empirical Explorations'. Research on Aging 28, no. 6 (1 November 2006): 638–53. https://doi.org/10.1177/0164027506291872.

Lau, M.H. Residential Age Segregation: Evidence from a Rapidly Ageing Asian City. Population Ageing (2023). https://doi.org/10.1007/s12062-023-09416-7

Lewis, C. & Buffel. T. (2020) 'Ageing in place and places of ageing: A longitudinal study' *Journal of Ageing Studies*, 54 <a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaging.2020.100870">https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaging.2020.100870</a>

Sabater, A., Graham, E. and Finney, N. (2017) 'The spatialities of ageing: Evidencing increasing spatial polarisation of the old and young in England and Wales' *Demographic Research* 

Sabater, A., & Finney, N. (2022). Age segregation and housing unaffordability: Generational divides in housing opportunities and spatial polarisation in England and Wales. *Urban Studies*, <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980221121088">https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980221121088</a>

Scottish Government. 'A Scotland for The Future: The Opportunities and Challenges of Scotland's Changing Population', 2021.

Scottish Government. 'Supporting and Enabling Sustainable Communities: An Action Plan to Address Depopulation', 2024. <a href="https://www.gov.scot/publications/supporting-enabling-sustainable-communities-action-plan-address-depopulation/">https://www.gov.scot/publications/supporting-enabling-sustainable-communities-action-plan-address-depopulation/</a>.



















# **Connecting Generations**

## Find out more and contact us

Presenter: Rachel Wilkie, rzw1@st-Andrews.ac.uk

**Web**: www.cpc.ac.uk/research\_programme/connecting\_generations

Email: cpc@soton.ac.uk

**Tel:** +44 (0)23 80 592 579

**Twitter**: @Connecting Gens