

2 **Social exclusion of older persons: a scoping review and conceptual**
3 **framework**

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7 **Abstract** As a concept, social exclusion has considerable
8 potential to explain and respond to disadvantage in later
9 life. However, in the context of ageing populations, the
10 construct remains ambiguous. A disjointed evidence-base,
11 spread across disparate disciplines, compounds the chal-
12 lenge of developing a coherent understanding of exclusion
13 in older age. This article addresses this research deficit by
14 presenting the findings of a two-stage scoping review
15 encompassing seven separate reviews of the international
16 literature pertaining to old-age social exclusion. Stage one
17 involved a review of conceptual frameworks on old-age
18 exclusion, identifying conceptual understandings and key
19 domains of later-life exclusion. Stage two involved scoping
20 reviews on each domain (six in all). Stage one identified six
21 conceptual frameworks on old-age exclusion and six

common domains across these frameworks: neighbourhood 22
and community; services, amenities and mobility; social 23
relations; material and financial resources; socio-cultural 24
aspects; and civic participation. International literature 25
concentrated on the first four domains, but indicated a 26
general lack of research knowledge and of theoretical 27
development. Drawing on all seven scoping reviews and a 28
knowledge synthesis, the article presents a new definition 29
and conceptual framework relating to old-age exclusion. 30

Keywords Multidimensional disadvantage · Later life · 32
Knowledge synthesis · Old-age exclusion 33

Introduction 34

‘Social exclusion’ refers to the separation of individuals and 35
groups from mainstream society (Commins 2004; Moffatt 36
and Glasgow 2009). Widely applied in research, policy and 37
practice spheres throughout Europe, the construct is also 38
increasingly prevalent within political and scientific dis- 39
courses in other world regions (Lee et al. 2014; Parmar et al. 40
2014). Building on a longstanding focus in European 41
research on issues concerning disadvantage in later life (e.g. 42
Townsend 1979), social exclusion is receiving growing 43
attention within gerontology. Such interest reflects the 44
combination of demographic ageing patterns, ongoing 45
economic instability, and the susceptibility of ageing 46
cohorts to increasing inequalities (Warburton et al. 2013; 47
Bonfatti et al. 2015; Börsch-Supan et al. 2015; Scharf 2015). 48
Older people who experience social exclusion tend to do so 49
for a longer part of the life course than people belonging to 50
other age groups (Scharf and Keating 2012). 51

While these features justify a scientific focus on old-age 52
exclusion, research in the field remains under-developed. 53

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54 Critical and analytical perspectives on social exclusion are
 55 often absent from the international literature, and associ-
 56 ated policy and practice responses (Levitas 1998; Scharf
 57 2015). Social exclusion remains a highly contested concept
 58 with definitions frequently lacking agreement and trans-
 59 ferability (Silver 1994; Morgan et al. 2007; Abrams and
 60 Christian 2007; Börsch-Supan et al. 2015) and criticised for
 61 homogenising experiences of exclusion (Levitas
 62 1999, 2006). Consequently, social exclusion is prone to
 63 considerable ambiguity (Bradshaw 2004). This is unsur-
 64 prising given the context-specific nature of exclusion, and
 65 its objective and subjective effects on individuals, groups
 66 and societies (Room 1999; Chamberlayne et al. 2002).

67 Issues of ambiguity are especially evident for old-age
 68 exclusion (Scharf and Keating 2012). This occurs for two
 69 reasons. First, while older people are identified as a group
 70 facing heightened risks of exclusion, little is known about
 71 the ways in which ageing and exclusion intersect across the
 72 life course (Scharf et al. 2005; Börsch-Supan et al. 2015).
 73 Instead, research disproportionately focuses on labour
 74 market integration (Madanipour 2011) and on the exclu-
 75 sion of people of working age, those with low-incomes,
 76 and children and youth (Moffatt and Glasgow 2009). Such
 77 a focus often overlooks the position of older people, with a
 78 general lack of research on social exclusion and ageing.
 79 There is also a paucity of research on ageing individuals of
 80 different social locations (e.g. gender, ethnicity, disability).
 81 Second, knowledge deficits can be attributed to disjointed
 82 evidence concerning older-adult disadvantage. Research is
 83 spread across the sub-fields of gerontology and related
 84 disciplinary fields rather than being drawn together in a
 85 single coherent discourse on exclusion. Notwithstanding
 86 recent contributions (e.g. Scharf and Keating 2012; War-
 87 burton et al. 2013; Börsch-Supan et al. 2015), few attempts
 88 have been made to review existing evidence pertaining to
 89 old-age exclusion. The lack of knowledge synthesis not
 90 only limits what can be said about ageing and exclusion in
 91 empirical terms, but also inhibits the development of crit-
 92 ical understandings of exclusion within gerontology. Fur-
 93 ther, it restricts the formulation of meaningful
 94 conceptualisations concerning potential linkages between
 95 processes of exclusion and the wellbeing of ageing adults.

96 Nevertheless, social exclusion can offer valuable insight
 97 into the complexity of disadvantage affecting older indi-
 98 viduals and groups (Room 1995, 1999; Béland 2007;
 99 Scharf 2015). Its capacity to account for both relational and
 100 distributional forms of disadvantage offers a comprehen-
 101 siveness typically ignored in other conceptions (Gough
 102 et al. 2006). There is even perceived value in its ambiguity,
 103 given that this enhances the flexibility of the concept to
 104 reflect different contexts, thereby increasing its conceptual
 105 power (Levitas 1998; Abrams and Christian 2007).
 106 Therefore, if appropriately interrogated and tested within

107 gerontology, social exclusion could be helpful in decon-
 108 structing multidimensional disadvantage in later life (Myck
 109 et al. 2015). It offers the potential to understand life-course
 110 features of old-age disadvantage, including cumulative
 111 inequalities and the changes that occur in exclusionary
 112 mechanisms over time. Crucially, social exclusion can also
 113 illuminate individual, structural and societal components of
 114 marginalisation (Saunders 2008), including such social
 115 categorisations and locations as gender, social class, eth-
 116 nicity and sexual orientation. Thus, unlike allied concepts
 117 of poverty and deprivation, it provides a means to under-
 118 stand the dynamic and multi-level construction of old-age
 119 disadvantage (Room 1995, 1999). Given the growing
 120 influence of demographic ageing on European and inter-
 121 national policy agendas, typically reflecting a burden-dis-
 122 course (Phillipson 2013), a specific focus on old-age
 123 exclusion may offer a valuable approach for informing and
 124 evaluating age-related social policy. It is also likely to be
 125 particularly relevant given prevailing economic austerity in
 126 Europe and elsewhere, and the potential of austerity to
 127 reduce older people's inclusion (Walsh et al. 2015).

128 Due to the lack of knowledge synthesis and the potential
 129 value of an exclusionary perspective, this article seeks to
 130 advance debates on old-age exclusion. Drawing on the
 131 findings of seven scoping reviews, the article synthesises
 132 knowledge on social exclusion of older persons, and pro-
 133 poses a conceptual framework of the phenomenon.

134 Defining social exclusion of older persons

135 Defining social exclusion is often a function of disciplinary
 136 perspectives, context and even political efforts to address
 137 disadvantage (Silver 1995; Morgan et al. 2007). The con-
 138 ceptual evolution of social exclusion can be traced to a
 139 number of theoretical traditions (Silver 1994), the first of
 140 which relates to the semantic origins of the concept within
 141 French sociology. This perspective emphasises the
 142 dynamic and processual nature of exclusion across rela-
 143 tional, symbolic and economic dimensions (De Haan
 144 1998). A key tenet here relates to French Republican
 145 rhetoric around the moral integration discourse of 'soli-
 146 darity', the 'social contract' (Silver 1995). Concern is
 147 expressed for the weakening or rupture of the social bond,
 148 which introduces risks for the individual in terms of
 149 "material and symbolic exchange with the larger society"
 150 (Silver 1995). Silver (1994) refers to this tradition in its
 151 contemporary form as the *solidarity paradigm*.

152 By contrast, the social exclusion concept in the Anglo-
 153 Saxon tradition emerged from critical social policy and
 154 debates about disadvantage. Townsend's work on recon-
 155 figuring perspectives of poverty influenced the establish-
 156 ment of a more comprehensive discourse on disadvantage

157 that was underlined by social democratic principles and
 158 ideas of the ‘underclass’ (Silver 1994). The Anglo-Saxon
 159 perspective emphasised a move towards considering citi-
 160 zenship rights, the ability to participate fully in society, and
 161 the power imbalance emanating from coercive hierarchal
 162 societal structures (Silver 1994; De Haan 1998). Silver
 163 (1994) terms this tradition the *monopoly paradigm*.

164 Silver (1994) also refers to a third model, the *specializa-*
 165 *tion paradigm*, which was influential in US and UK dis-
 166 courses. In this paradigm, liberal ideologies underline notions
 167 of contractual and voluntary exchanges of rights and obli-
 168 gations, where individual differences give rise to specialisa-
 169 tion in competing spheres involving the market and social
 170 groups. Exclusion is seen as a product of discrimination, the
 171 liberal state’s lack of enforcement or inappropriate enforce-
 172 ment of rights, barriers to movement/exchange between
 173 spheres, and market failures (De Haan 1998).

174 Definitions of social exclusion reflect these different
 175 theoretical traditions and vary in their emphasis on the
 176 constructs of solidarity and power. However, overlap
 177 across these elements has been identified within interna-
 178 tional research and policy perspectives (De Haan 1998). No
 179 definitions focus heavily on gender, social class, ethnicity
 180 or sexuality. That said, several definitions specify how
 181 exclusion affects individuals and groups.

182 Regardless of its differing origins, social exclusion is
 183 characterised by at least four common features. Firstly, it is
 184 a *relative* concept (Atkinson 1998). Scharf and Keating
 185 (2012) highlight the centrality of identifying which popu-
 186 lation base older-adult exclusion should be assessed
 187 against. For example, should the ‘normative’ integration
 188 levels experienced by the general population be used or
 189 those experienced by the older population? Secondly,
 190 exclusion involves *agency*, where an act of exclusion is
 191 implied (Atkinson 1998). This might involve older indi-
 192 viduals being excluded against their will, lacking the
 193 agency to achieve integration for themselves, or choosing
 194 to exclude themselves from mainstream society. Thirdly,
 195 exclusion is *dynamic* or *processual*, with individuals and
 196 groups moving in and out of exclusion and experiencing
 197 different forms of exclusion over time. (Scharf 2015).
 198 Fourthly, most definitions acknowledge the multidimen-
 199 sionality of exclusion (Béland 2007; Billette and Lavoie
 200 2010; Levitas et al. 2007; Scharf and Keating 2012). For
 201 example, Walker and Walker (1997) refer to *social, eco-*
 202 *nomical, political or cultural systems*. Multidimensionality is
 203 particularly important for older people given that research
 204 on social exclusion and ageing highlights the impact of
 205 exclusion on various life domains (e.g. Grenier and
 206 Guberman 2009; Walsh et al. 2012a; Hrast et al. 2013).

207 Many existing definitions (see supplementary material for
 208 presentation of reviewed definitions) reflect features of rel-
 209 ativity, agency, dynamism and multidimensionality. To

assist in setting the parameters of our scoping reviews, we
 draw on Levitas et al. (2007) to construct a working defi-
 nition that acknowledges the potential of demographic
 ageing to intersect with exclusionary processes. It states that:

Social exclusion of older persons is a complex pro-
 cess that involves the lack or denial of resources,
 rights, goods and services as people age, and the
 inability to participate in the normal relationships and
 activities, available to the majority of people across
 the varied and multiple domains of society. It affects
 both the quality of life of older individuals and the
 equity and cohesion of an ageing society as a whole
 (Adapted from Levitas et al. 2007).

Methodology

Study design and research questions

A two-stage methodology, involving seven individual
 scoping reviews, was undertaken. A scoping review is a
 means of summarising current research knowledge and
 identifying gaps in existing research (Arksey and O’Malley
 2005; Grant and Booth 2009). Our approach drew on the
 framework developed by Arksey and O’Malley (2005) and
 expanded by Levac et al. (2010). It involved: (1) identi-
 fying the research question; (2) identifying relevant stud-
 ies; (3) study selection; (4) charting the data; and (5)
 collating, summarising and reporting the results.

The full body of literature pertaining to old-age exclu-
 sion may be conceptual and empirical; scattered across
 different literatures; specific to only one exclusion domain
 (e.g. financial and material resources); and may not even be
 labelled or referred to as exclusion. Additionally, within
 specific domains, there might be several dimensions and
 distinct literatures (e.g. poverty in the financial and mate-
 rial resources domain). To address this challenge a two-
 stage scoping review, with targeted but interconnected
 research questions, was developed.

In stage one, the focus was on frameworks presenting
 full conceptualisations of old-age exclusion. Frameworks
 had to involve a detailed articulation of how social
 exclusion can occur in older people’s lives, and particularly
 the multiple domains of exclusion. The research question
 guiding this stage was as follows: *How is social exclusion
 of older people conceptually constructed?*

Findings from stage one directly informed stage two.
 Here, the focus was on reviewing empirical and conceptual
 literature on each domain of social exclusion identified in
 the review of conceptual frameworks. Thus, the research
 question for stage two was as follows: *What are the main
 themes, or dimensions, documented in the international*

259	<i>literature in relation to each domain?</i> The domains	307
260	included in stage two are outlined when presenting findings	308
261	from the first stage. Across the two-stage process, seven	309
262	individual scoping reviews were conducted. One review	310
263	addressed conceptual understandings of old-age exclusion,	311
264	and six further reviews focused on each domain, respec-	312
265	tively. All scoping reviews were completed by November	313
266	2015.	314
267	Study selection, inclusion/exclusion criteria	
268	and screening material	
269	Study selection followed a team approach (Levac et al.	
270	2010). Inclusion/exclusion criteria, data sources and search	
271	terms were agreed and refined by the authors, with deci-	
272	sions to exclude or include ambiguous texts confirmed by	
273	two or more team members. The inclusion criteria were as	
274	follows: (1) gerontological literature since 1997; (2) aca-	
275	ademic, peer-reviewed journal articles, books, and research	
276	reports that present original conceptual/empirical work;	
277	and (3) documents with a focus on older people (aged	
278	50 years and over). Excluded from the review were dis-	
279	sertations, theses and conference papers, EU and national	
280	policy documents, texts referring only to 'social inclu-	
281	sion', ¹ other scoping reviews, and documents published in	
282	languages other than English. For stage one, we included	
283	documents that present a conceptual framework of old-age	
284	exclusion. For stage two, we included documents that	
285	present information relating to exclusion of older people in	
286	a particular domain.	
287	Search keywords were derived from the established lit-	
288	erature on old-age exclusion. Keywords relating to exclu-	
289	sion included: social exclusion; disadvantage;	
290	vulnerability; risk; cumulative disadvantage. Keywords	
291	relating to ageing and older people included: ag(e)ing;	
292	older persons; older adults; seniors; elderly; elders; senior	
293	citizens. Keywords specific to stage one included frame-	
294	work, model, conceptual model/framework and theoretical	
295	frame. Stage-two domain-specific keywords were gener-	
296	ated after domains were identified in stage one and are	
297	presented with the stage-two findings.	
298	A diverse set of electronic bibliographic databases were	
299	chosen to maximise the comprehensiveness of the review:	
300	AgeLine (EBSCO); Applied Social Sciences Index and	
301	Abstracts; ScienceDirect; Scopus; Web of Science; and	
302	PsycINFO. Google Scholar and Google Books were also	
303	searched. The first 1000 articles of search returns were	
304	considered, or until lack of relevance was established. The	
305	decision to include or exclude articles began with a title	
306	review, followed by abstracts of papers, executive	
	summaries of reports, and introductions of books examined	307
	for relevance. The full text of eligible papers was then	308
	reviewed. After completing this step, texts that still fulfilled	309
	the inclusion criteria were included in the final sample. The	310
	bibliographic management system EndNote was used to	311
	track the documents included in each review step. Overall,	312
	444 documents across stages one and two were included in	313
	our analysis.	314
	Data charting, analysis and reporting	315
	Key information was extracted from each document in the	316
	final sample and charted using a descriptive analytical	317
	method and Microsoft Excel data-charting forms (Arksey	318
	and O'Malley 2005). In addition to bibliographic details,	319
	the forms collected information on study methodology	320
	(design/approach, sample, data collection technique) and	321
	the structure of the conceptual frameworks (stage one) and	322
	empirical/conceptual findings (stage two). As suggested by	323
	Levac et al. (2010), a qualitative content analysis was then	324
	performed on the information collected in the forms.	325
	Stage one findings: conceptual frameworks	326
	of social exclusion of older persons	327
	Eight documents presented conceptual frameworks on old-	328
	age exclusion (see supplementary material for flow dia-	329
	gram of stage one), highlighting a limited relevant litera-	330
	ture. However, two other bodies of work, encompassing 17	331
	texts, were relevant to the stage one question, and this	332
	material will be outlined first. Twelve of these documents	333
	discussed the conceptualisation and theorisation of the	334
	multidimensional nature of age-related exclusion. Scharf	335
	and Keating's (2012) edited book interrogates traditional	336
	understandings through an ageing lens. Börsch-Supan et al.	337
	(2015), presenting data from the Survey of Health, Ageing	338
	and Retirement in Europe (SHARE), explore the social,	339
	economic and individual components of exclusion. War-	340
	burton et al. (2013) chart a theoretical analysis of the social	341
	inclusion/exclusion of older people. Lui et al. (2011)	342
	identify economic deprivation, cumulative disadvantages,	343
	social participation and civic engagement, and cultural	344
	recognition as key challenges, in their critique of the	345
	Australian social inclusion approach. Scharf et al. (2001)	346
	refer to participation and integration, spatial segregation,	347
	and institutional disengagement as key exclusion themes,	348
	while Scharf (2015) examines the role of economic aus-	349
	terity in constructing and exacerbating old-age exclusion.	350
	The other texts are more operational in nature, emphasising	351
	the multidimensionality of exclusion and its risk factors	352
	(Patsios 2000 ; Ogg 2005 ; Hoff 2008 ; Hrast et al. 2013 ; Lee	353
	et al. 2014 ; Myck et al. 2015).	354

¹ Social inclusion is an under-theorised topic and requires further work in its own right (Scharf and Keating [2012](#)).

355 The remaining five texts refer to complex age-related
 356 disadvantage constructs. These are akin to old-age exclu-
 357 sion, but do not reference social exclusion. They highlight
 358 many of the components inherent within our old-age
 359 exclusion working definition. Three articles address life-
 360 course factors and their relationship to age-related
 361 inequalities. Dannefer (2003) reflects on how social pro-
 362 cesses may interact to produce stratification and differential
 363 distribution of opportunities in later life. Dewilde (2003)
 364 develops an analytical life-course framework for exploring
 365 exclusion and poverty, emphasising the influence of life-
 366 course experiences and status positions within different
 367 domains. Cavalli and Bickel (2007) outline how critical
 368 life-events can exacerbate the potential for old-age rela-
 369 tional exclusion. Two texts deal with notions of vulnera-
 370 bility. Grundy (2006) conceptualises vulnerability of older
 371 people as an imbalance between challenges and a set of
 372 reserve capacities (e.g. financial resources; family and
 373 social support), while Schröder-Butterfill and Mariani's
 374 (2006) framework is structured around exposure, threats,
 375 coping capacities and outcomes.

376 The eight documents presenting conceptual frameworks
 377 offer original conceptual frameworks on social exclusion
 378 of older persons (Guberman and Lavoie 2004; Scharf et al.
 379 2005; Barnes et al. 2006; Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman
 380 2008; Feng 2003; Walsh et al. 2012a) and extended ver-
 381 sions of these original conceptualisations. Scharf and
 382 Bartlam (2008) extended the work by Scharf et al. (2005),
 383 and Kneale (2012) extended the work of Barnes et al.
 384 (2006). These eight documents represented the final sample
 385 for stage one.

386 The basis for and level of conceptualisation varies
 387 across frameworks. Guberman and Lavoie (2004) devel-
 388 oped their framework from a set of thematic areas identi-
 389 fied within the international literature. While Scharf et al.
 390 (2005) and Barnes et al. (2006) also draw on the literature,
 391 their frameworks are used to inform an operational
 392 assessment of old-age exclusion. The former focuses on a
 393 survey of 600 older adults in socially deprived neigh-
 394 bourhoods. The latter draws on the wave 1 sample of the
 395 English Longitudinal Study of Ageing (ELSA). Con-
 396 versely, Feng's (2003) framework is solely empirical and
 397 based on analysis of six surveys conducted across China.
 398 Walsh et al. (2012a) use a combined approach, deriving a
 399 working model of age-related rural exclusion from the
 400 existing literature, and then refining this on the basis of 106
 401 qualitative interviews with rural-dwelling older people.
 402 The frameworks of Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman (2008),
 403 Scharf and Bartlam (2008), and Kneale (2012) build on
 404 previous conceptualisations. Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman
 405 (2008) refined and adapted an earlier conceptualisation of
 406 social exclusion (Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman 2007) from
 407 the general population to older adults, analysing data from

the European Social Survey (2002), the EU Statistics on
 Income and Living Conditions survey (2005), and the 2004
 wave of SHARE. Scharf and Bartlam (2008) extended the
 framework of Scharf et al. (2005) to rural contexts. Kneale
 (2012) built on Barnes et al. (2006) to analyse wave 4 of
 ELSA. Accordingly, the frameworks of Scharf and Bartlam
 (2008) and Scharf et al. (2005), and of Kneale (2012) and
 Barnes et al. (2006) are grouped together in this article.

416 With reference to Table 1, each framework embraces a
 417 full model of participation, articulating a set of domains
 418 across which older people can experience exclusion. The
 419 old-age exclusion presented in these conceptualisations is
 420 multidimensional. In five conceptualisations, the domains
 421 represent both processes and outcomes of exclusion (Gu-
 422 berman and Lavoie 2004; Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman
 423 2008; Scharf et al. 2005; Scharf and Bartlam 2008; Barnes
 424 et al. 2006; Kneale 2012; Walsh et al. 2012a). Several
 425 frameworks also point to interconnections between
 426 domains (Guberman and Lavoie 2004; Scharf et al. 2005;
 427 Scharf and Bartlam 2008; Barnes et al. 2006; Kneale 2012;
 428 Walsh et al. 2012a), with a lack of financial resources, for
 429 instance, impinging on access to services. These charac-
 430 teristics are used by some authors (Guberman and Lavoie
 431 2004; Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman 2008; Scharf et al.
 432 2005; Scharf and Bartlam 2008; Walsh et al. 2012a) to
 433 emphasise the dynamic nature of exclusion. In such for-
 434 mulations, old-age exclusion can change in form and
 435 degree of impact over the course of later life. Frameworks
 436 supported by quantitative data analysis, such as Scharf
 437 et al. (2005); Scharf and Bartlam (2008) and Barnes et al.
 438 (2006); Kneale (2012), point to older people simultane-
 439 ously experiencing more than one domain of exclusion.

440 Only half of the frameworks explicitly acknowledge
 441 agency in the exclusion of older people, with the others
 442 implying its role. Society through its practises, norms and
 443 bureaucracies, and individuals through their limited capac-
 444 ities, choices and adoption of societal norms produce
 445 exclusion. Guberman and Lavoie (2004) go further by
 446 highlighting how socio-political exclusion relates to a lack of
 447 individual power and agency. Walsh et al. (2012a) note that
 448 personal agency, and a sense of independence, can mediate
 449 exclusionary experiences. Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman
 450 (2008) offer the most detailed analysis, acknowledging the
 451 agency of multiple actors, including individuals, communi-
 452 ties, organisations, and governments, in creating and/or
 453 protecting against exclusion. The relative nature of exclusion
 454 is primarily implied, with frameworks grounded in a specific
 455 jurisdiction or place-based setting (e.g. rural Ireland/North-
 456 ern Ireland in Walsh et al. 2012a). Barnes et al. (2006);
 457 Kneale (2012) offer the exception, with old-age exclusion set
 458 relative to the welfare of the general older population.

459 Theoretical traditions of social exclusion are evident in
 460 several conceptual frameworks. For instance, Scharf et al.

Table 1 Conceptual frameworks of social exclusion of older persons

Summary exclusion domains	Guberman and Lavoie (2004)	Scharf et al. (2005); Scharf and Bartlam (2008)	Barnes et al. (2006); Kneale (2012)	Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman (2008)	Feng (2003)	Walsh et al. (2012a)
Material and financial resources	1. Economic exclusion	1. Exclusion from material resources	1. Exclusion from material resources/common consumer goods	1. Socio-economic exclusion: material deprivation	1. Economic situation	1. Income and financial resources
Services, amenities and mobility	2. Institutional exclusion (e.g. decreased services)	2. Exclusion from basic services	2. Exclusion from financial products	2. Socio-economic exclusion: social rights (e.g. exclusion from government provisions)	2. Social rights	2. Access to services
Social relations	3. Exclusion from meaningful relations	3. Exclusion from social relations	3. Exclusion from social relationships	3. Socio-cultural exclusion: social integration (e.g. lack of social relations)	3. Social participation	3. Transport and mobility
Civic participation	4. Socio-political exclusion	4. Exclusion from civic activities	4. Exclusion from civic activities and access to information	4. Socio-cultural exclusion: normative integration (e.g. lack of integration with society's norms and values)	4. Perceptions of loneliness	4. Social connections and social resources
Neighbourhood and community	5. Territorial exclusion	5. Neighbourhood exclusion	5. Neighbourhood exclusion	5. Exclusion from cultural activities	5. Social support	5. Safety, security and crime
Socio-cultural aspects of society	6. Symbolic exclusion (e.g. negative representations of certain groups)	6. Symbolic exclusion (e.g. negative representations of certain groups)	6. Symbolic exclusion (e.g. negative representations of certain groups)	6. Symbolic exclusion (e.g. negative representations of certain groups)	6. Social integration	
	7. Identity exclusion (e.g. reduction to single identity such as age)	7. Identity exclusion (e.g. reduction to single identity such as age)	7. Identity exclusion (e.g. reduction to single identity such as age)	7. Identity exclusion (e.g. reduction to single identity such as age)		

461 (2005), Scharf and Bartlam (2008) broadly reflect the
 462 Anglo-Saxon tradition, while Guberman and Lavoie's
 463 (2004) focus on symbolic and identity exclusion aligns
 464 with French sociological understandings. However, this
 465 categorisation risks an oversimplification, with several
 466 frameworks incorporating aspects of both traditions.
 467 Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman (2008) acknowledge a
 468 combination of structural features of the Anglo-Saxon
 469 tradition and socio-cultural elements of the French-
 470 Republican tradition. Of greater relevance to old-age
 471 exclusion is arguably the influence of critical gerontology
 472 perspectives in three frameworks (Guberman and Lavoie
 473 2004; Scharf et al. 2005; Scharf and Bartlam 2008; Walsh
 474 et al. 2012a).

475 A number of frameworks offer insight into the causalities
 476 of old-age exclusion. Operationally orientated conceptualisations
 477 (e.g. Barnes et al. 2006; Kneale 2012) highlight particular
 478 risk associations (e.g. living alone; gender; ethnicity; age
 479 85 years plus). It is primarily in this manner that frameworks
 480 deal with social categorisations, such as gender, social class,
 481 and ethnicity, but with variations in the direction of
 482 associations across different domains. For example, Kneale
 483 (2012) found that while gender was not a significant predictor
 484 of overall exclusion, it was connected to certain individual
 485 domains (e.g. older women were more likely to be excluded
 486 from cultural activities, and less likely to be excluded from
 487 social relationships); Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman (2008)
 488 showed that education-level, lower income and poorer health
 489 were more likely to mean older adults were in the most
 490 excluded group; Scharf et al. 2005 showed that older people
 491 belonging to particular ethnic minority communities (i.e.
 492 Pakistani and Somali older people) were more likely to be
 493 excluded from material resources, social relations and basic
 494 services. Sexual orientation was the notable exception from
 495 all frameworks. Within several frameworks, authors note
 496 that assessing the relationship between social categorisations
 497 and exclusion is problematic given their correlation with
 498 other risk factors, such as living alone and income
 499 (Barnes et al. 2006).

501 Elaborating in more conceptual depth on potential drivers
 502 of old-age exclusion, Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman
 503 (2008) take an expanded view of risk factors. The authors
 504 highlight the influence of macro risks surrounding social
 505 processes (e.g. population ageing; economic recession;
 506 individualisation) and government policy/provision (e.g.
 507 inadequate policy and provision), meso risks relating to
 508 official bodies, business and citizens (e.g. discrimination;
 509 inadequate implementation), and micro risks at the individual/
 510 household level (e.g. health, labour market position).
 511 Walsh et al. (2012a) describe the influence of individual
 512 capacities (e.g. personal agency; adaptive capacity; risk
 513 management), life-course trajectories (e.g.

transitions around bereavement; health and dependency;
 ageing), place characteristics (e.g. natural elements; community
 cohesion; attachment and belonging), and macro-economic
 forces (e.g. changing economic structure and service
 retrenchment; economic conditions and emigration) in
 mediating rural age-related exclusion. In their description
 of symbolic and identity exclusion, Guberman and Lavoie
 (2004) note the cultural and societal drivers of individual
 and group disenfranchisement.

In general, however, most old-age exclusion frameworks
 focus less on disentangling the complexity surrounding
 drivers of exclusion, than on articulating the various
 domains. Reflecting the empirical or operational nature
 of most frameworks, there is in fact a tendency to neglect
 a detailed theoretical explanation of why exclusion occurs
 in old age. This is in terms of: how macro, meso and
 micro factors combine and interact to construct or protect
 against multidimensional old-age exclusion; how ageing
 as a life-course process can increase susceptibility to
 multidimensional exclusion; and how outcomes in
 particular domains function as components in other
 forms of exclusionary processes to construct
 multidimensional old-age exclusion. Such a gap in
 conceptual understanding represents a significant
 limitation of many existing frameworks. The research,
 policy and practice challenge of multidimensional
 old-age exclusion must therefore be viewed in this
 context of somewhat stagnated conceptual development.

In summary, stage one findings illustrate the general
 lack of conceptualisation with respect to old-age
 exclusion. The findings, however, do illustrate cross-cutting
 themes evident across framework domains (Table 1).
 These can be broadly labelled as follows: material and
 financial resources; social relations; services, amenities
 and mobility; civic participation; neighbourhood and
 community; and socio-cultural aspects of society. We
 offer these six themes as the synthesised domains of
 exclusion established from state-of-the-art knowledge,
 and utilise them as a basis for stage two of the review.

Stage two findings: domains of social exclusion of older persons

Scoping reviews were conducted for each of the six
 domains identified in stage one. Figure 1 summarises
 the number of texts included in each step of each
 review. It also illustrates the domains prioritised in
 published research (e.g. neighbourhood and community)
 and those that have received less attention (e.g. civic
 participation). Taking account of the overlap among
 identified documents across domains, 425 texts were
 identified in total, with some documents from stage
 one also included.

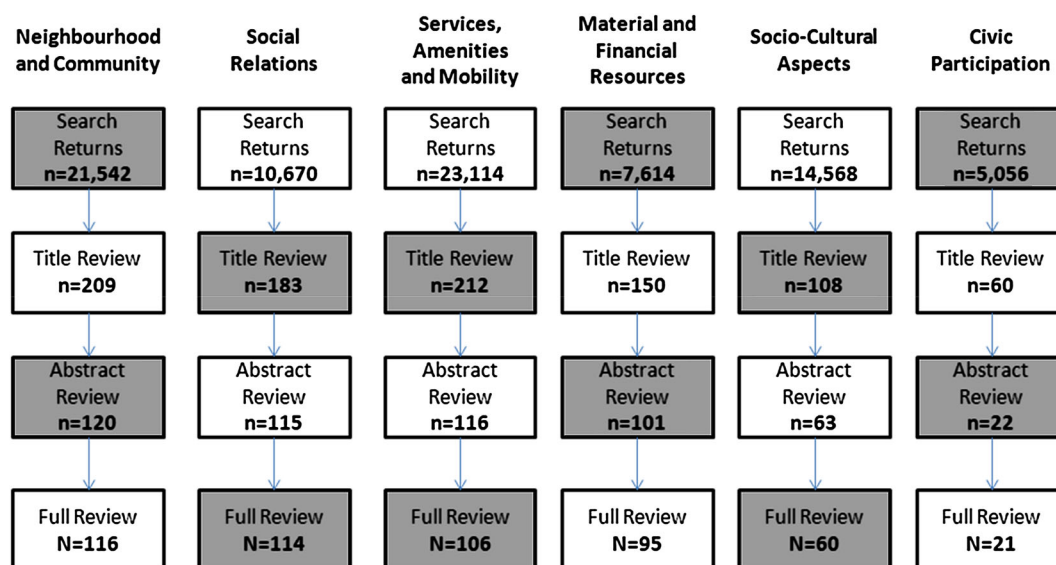


Fig. 1 Stage two breakdown of review process

564 The scoping reviews for five domains identified what we
 565 term *context-oriented* texts, which consider domain topics
 566 together with multiple other factors, but do not feature
 567 extensive interpretation of domain-specific exclusionary
 568 relationships. As this body of work adds to the broad evi-
 569 dence base, it is acknowledged within each domain.
 570 However, these texts are not considered in detail since they
 571 contribute little to explicit understandings of exclusion in
 572 later life. Excluding these context-oriented papers, Table 2
 573 presents a breakdown of key characteristics of the reviewed
 574 material for the domains, identifying trends with respect to
 575 sources, methodological approaches and common concep-
 576 tual features of exclusion.

577 Neighbourhood and community

578 Using domain-specific keywords, that included *neigh-*
 579 *bourhood*, *community*, *place*, *crime* and *safety*, and *social*
 580 *cohesion*, 116 texts were found, with seven dimensions
 581 identified. Neighbourhood context-oriented studies
 582 accounted for 61 publications ($n = 61$), and included
 583 research on neighbourhood influences and disability out-
 584 comes (e.g. Freedman et al. 2011; Marquet and Miralles-
 585 Guasch 2015). The remaining 55 documents addressed:
 586 social and relational aspects of place ($n = 23$); services,
 587 amenities and built environment ($n = 22$); place socio-
 588 economic aspects ($n = 14$); socio-political structures
 589 ($n = 8$); place-based policy ($n = 5$); and crime ($n = 2$).
 590 Studies on social and relational aspects ($n = 23$) concen-
 591 trate on exclusion arising from deficient relational com-
 592 munities, declining social capital, reduced social
 593 participation and social cohesion (e.g. Burns et al. 2012;
 594 Walsh et al. 2012b; Buffel et al. 2014; Stoeckel and Litwin

2015). Work on services, amenities and built environment
 ($n = 22$) explores service retrenchment and reform, spatial
 inequalities in provision, and place-based transport issues
 (e.g. Shergold and Parkhurst 2012; Keene and Ruel 2013;
 Temelová and Slezáková 2014). Research on place socio-
 economic aspects ($n = 14$) focuses on spatially clustered
 poverty and deprivation (Scharf et al. 2005; Milbourne and
 Doheny 2012), and work on socio-political structures
 ($n = 8$) looks at the marginalisation of older residents and
 places from decision-making (Warburton et al. 2014; Burns
 et al. 2012). Research on place-based policy ($n=5$) explores
 how older adult residents are inadequately, or inappropri-
 ately recognised, by policy on, and implemented within,
 place. This work has in particular concentrated on offering
 critical analyses of age-friendly programmes (Scharlach
 and Lehning 2013; Keating et al. 2013; Walsh et al.
 2014). Research on crime ($n = 3$; e.g. De Donder et al.
 2005) had the lowest number of publications. Many texts
 fed into several of these dimensions, hence reported
 numbers do not sum to 116. There were also a number of
 cross-cutting themes. This included work on place
 belonging and the life course ($n = 12$; e.g. Russell et al.
 1998; Walsh et al. 2012a), which could protect against or
 intensify exclusion. Research on change processes and
 macro forces ($n = 10$) illustrated how local shifts (e.g.
 out-migration) and macro-driven transformations (e.g.
 gentrification) can function to reduce social opportuni-
 ties, alter service infrastructure and dilute place-based
 identity ($n = 12$; e.g. Phillipson 2007; Buffel et al. 2013;
 Walsh 2015). Urban and urban deprived contexts domi-
 nated the literature ($n = 28$), with rural settings con-
 sidered less ($n = 19$). Within the 55 documents, over
 three-quarters ($n = 43$) reference social exclusion

Table 2 Breakdown of key characteristics of domain-specific final review sample

	Neighbourhood and community	Social relations	Services, amenities and mobility	Material and financial resources	Socio-cultural aspects of society	Civic participation
National source (top 3)						
	UK (31 %)	UK (17 %)	UK (38 %)	UK (25 %)	UK (30 %)	UK (21 %)
	Australia (11 %)	US (13 %)	Australia (11 %)	US (17 %)	US (18 %)	5 equal sources
	US (9 %)	Australia (9 %)	Canada (10 %)	Australia (8 %)	Ireland (13 %)	
Methodology (top 3)						
	Qualitative (49 %)	Quantitative (57 %)	Quantitative (40 %)	Quantitative (61 %)	Descriptive analysis ^a (50 %)	Descriptive analysis ^a (37 %)
	Quantitative (16 %)	Qualitative (32 %)	Qualitative (28 %)	Descriptive analysis ^a (15 %)	Qualitative (28 %)	Qualitative (37 %)
	Descriptive analysis ^a (15 %); Mixed methods (15 %)	Mixed methods (6 %)	Mixed methods (14 %)	Mixed methods (8 %)	Mixed methods (12 %)	Quantitative (21 %)
Document type						
Peer-review journal	86 %	79 %	87 %	79 %	86 %	95 %
Book	2 %	–	1 %	1 %	–	–
Book (edited volume)	7 %	17 %	10 %	14 %	12 %	5 %
Research report	5 %	4 %	2 %	6 %	2 %	–
Common features						
Multidimensionality	65 %	64 %	69 %	49 %	32 %	58
Dynamic elements	35 %	35 %	13 %	40 %	22 %	32 %
Agency elements	Implied	Implied	Implied	Implied	Implied	Implied
Relative elements	Implied	Implied	Implied	Implied	Implied	Implied

Context-orientated studies are excluded

^a Relates to a theoretical argumentation based on a descriptive review of the literature

628 discourse in some form, and just over half ($n = 30$)
 629 consider exclusion within their main research
 630 question(s).

631 Social relations

632 The review on social relations and exclusion identified 114
 633 relevant studies. Employing such domain-specific key-
 634 words as *social relations*, *social connections*, *social*
 635 *resources*, *social network*, *loneliness*, and *isolation*, six
 636 different dimensions were identified within this body of
 637 work. Again, context-oriented papers on social relations
 638 accounted for the majority of studies ($n = 45$). This
 639 included work on topics such as correlates of loneliness
 640 (e.g. Dahlberg and McKee 2014) and network turnover
 641 (e.g. Conway et al. 2013). Of the remaining 69 texts,
 642 almost two-thirds ($n = 45$) referenced a social exclusion
 643 discourse with a third ($n = 23$) explicitly focused on

exclusion. Twenty-nine publications considered social
 networks and support, exploring the mediating role of these
 resources and documenting mechanisms of exclusion
 arising from migration, deficient capacity for social capital
 generation, reduced formal supports, and social disadvan-
 tage (e.g. Ogg 2003; Ryser and Halseth 2011; Najsztub
 et al. 2015). Nineteen studies examined loneliness and
 isolation and, in particular, how risk factors around social
 location, social and health resources, educational attain-
 ment, economic hardship and changes over time in social
 resources can generate objective and subjective exclu-
 sionary impacts (e.g. Victor et al. 2005; Scharf and De Jong
 Gierveld 2008; Cloutier-Fisher et al. 2011; Victor and
 Bowling 2012; Burholt and Scharf 2014; De Jong Gierveld
 et al. 2015). Seventeen publications considered exclusion
 in relation to social opportunities and, in particular, their
 relationship to deficient financial resources, residential
 tenure, changing community socialisation, and choice

662 constraints (e.g. O'Shea et al. 2012; Rozanova et al. 2012; 712
 663 Zhang and Zhang 2015). The dimensions of social rela- 713
 664 tionship quality ($n = 4$; e.g. Yunong 2012), and conceptual 714
 665 work ($n = 1$) accounted for the fewest publications on
 666 exclusion-related topics. Cross-cutting themes relating to
 667 these dimensions included gender ($n = 18$; Russell and
 668 Porter 2003; Ziegler 2012), neighbourhood and community
 669 ($n = 17$; e.g. Boneham and Sixsmith 2006), immigrant
 670 groups ($n = 9$; e.g. Heikkinen 2011; Lee et al. 2014),
 671 individuals living alone and unmarried ($n = 6$; e.g. Banks
 672 et al. 2009), and family relations ($n = 4$; e.g. Ogg and
 673 Renaut 2012).

674 Service, amenities and mobility

675 After full-text review, 106 studies across seven different 716
 676 dimensions were identified as relevant to exclusion in the 717
 677 services, amenities and mobility domain. Domain-specific 718
 678 keywords such as *service(s)*, *utilities*, *utilisation*, *transport*, 719
 679 and *mobility* were used to conduct the scoping review. In 720
 680 this domain, context-oriented papers accounted for only 16 721
 681 studies, leaving 90 other publications. The dimensions of 722
 682 health and social care services, and transport and mobility 723
 683 represented the primary bodies of literature on old-age 724
 684 service exclusion, accounting for 34 and 20 texts, respec- 725
 685 tively. Research on the former concentrates on exclusion 726
 686 arising from such mechanisms as social and geographic 727
 687 location, market-modelled care reforms, poverty and 728
 688 accumulated disadvantage, discrimination and ageism, lack 729
 689 of cultural and language sensitivity, and failure to address 730
 690 needs of specific older adult sub-groups (e.g. Grenier and 731
 691 Guberman 2009; Parmar et al. 2014; Prada et al. 2015; 732
 692 Srakar et al. 2015). Exclusion in relation to transport and 733
 693 mobility focused on exclusionary processes stemming from 734
 694 lack of service flexibility, dependency on private transport 735
 695 options, disability and built environment access, and rural 736
 696 transport systems (e.g. Engels and Liu 2011; Giesel and 737
 697 Köhler 2015). The dimensions of area-based exclusion 738
 698 (e.g. Manthorpe et al. 2008), general services (e.g. Kendig 739
 699 et al. 2004) and information access and information and 740
 700 communication technologies (ICT) (e.g. Olphert and 741
 701 Damodaran 2013) were also well represented with 15, 11 742
 702 and 10 texts, respectively. Work on conceptual underpin- 743
 703 nings ($n = 3$; e.g. Simms 2004), and housing ($n = 2$; e.g. 744
 704 Peace and Holland 2001) attracted less research interest. 745
 705 Further thematic areas are identifiable across these seven 746
 706 dimensions. This includes work on gendered aspects of 747
 707 service exclusion ($n = 22$; e.g. Aronson and Neysmith 748
 708 2001; Beaulaurier et al. 2014), and the experiences of 749
 709 specific groups of older people, such as members of LGBT 750
 710 ($n = 4$; e.g. McCann et al. 2013) and homeless commu- 751
 711 nities ($n = 3$; e.g. Warnes and Crane, 2006), and persons

with dementia (e.g. $n = 4$; e.g. O'Shea et al. 2015). While 712
 two-thirds of texts ($n = 56$) referred to exclusion, just 713
 under half ($n = 39$) had exclusion as a central focus. 714

Material and financial resources

715
 Ninety-five documents addressed exclusion from material 716
 and financial resources in later life. Using the domain- 717
 specific keywords of *poverty*, *low income*, *deprivation*, 718
material resources and *financial resources*, six dimensions 719
 were identified. Context-oriented texts accounted for 23 720
 studies, with an emphasis on topics such as socio-economic 721
 inequalities in health (e.g. Shaw et al. 2014) and impact of 722
 early-life circumstances (e.g. Shen and Zeng 2014). Of the 723
 remaining five dimensions and 72 texts, half of texts 724
 ($n = 36$) referred to a social exclusion discourse, while 725
 under a third ($n = 20$) concentrated on exclusion as the 726
 primary focus. Studies on poverty accounted for 28 pub- 727
 lications and focused on determinants (such as: life-course 728
 multidimensional disadvantage; inadequate pension provi- 729
 sions; rural contexts; macro-economic recession condi- 730
 tions) and impacts (such as the onset of ill-health and 731
 disability) (e.g. Price 2006; Zaidi 2008; Milbourne and 732
 Doheny 2012; Patsios et al. 2012). Twenty-seven texts 733
 considered deprivation and material resources, exploring 734
 exclusionary mechanisms in relation to housing provision, 735
 gendered power relationships and deprived communities, 736
 and negative impacts with respect to social opportunities, 737
 and psychological and general well-being (e.g. Berthoud 738
 et al. 2009; Patsios 2014; Hunkler et al. 2015). The 739
 dimension of income, employment and pensions accounted 740
 for the next highest number of studies ($n = 11$; e.g. 741
 Dewilde 2012; Delfani et al. 2015). Fuel poverty ($n = 3$; 742
 e.g. Cotter et al. 2012) and conceptual elements ($n = 3$; 743
 e.g. Golant 2005) attracted the fewest publications. As with 744
 the other domains, several cross-cutting thematic areas 745
 were identifiable across the five dimensions and 72 texts. 746
 These included work on gender, focusing mainly on older 747
 women ($n = 12$; e.g. Ginn 1998; Ní Léime et al. 2015), 748
 life-course determinants of poverty and deprivation ($n = 6$; 749
 Heap et al. 2013), neighbourhood and community ($n = 6$; 750
 e.g. Scharf et al. 2005), experiences of ethnic minority 751
 groups ($n = 6$; e.g. Ahmad and Walker 1997; Lai 2011), 752
 and measurement ($n = 4$; e.g. O'Reilly 2002). 753

Socio-cultural aspects of society

754
 The domain-specific keywords of *burden*, *image*, *attitudes*, 755
symbolic, *identity*, *cultural*, and *ageism* yielded 60 studies 756
 across five dimensions that were relevant to socio-cultural 757
 exclusion. Identity exclusion (i.e. reduction to one-dimen- 758
 sional identities) accounted for 23 publications, and 759
 focused on mechanisms in relation to social security 760

761 individualisation; globalisation; social stratification and
 762 welfares states; failure to recognise gender, cultural and
 763 ethnic identities; and biomedical stigmatisation of age (e.g.
 764 Estes 2004; Twigg 2007; Wilińska and Henning 2011).
 765 Twenty-two texts considered symbolic and discourse
 766 exclusion (i.e. negative representations or constructions of
 767 ageing) and analysed exclusion emerging from: fixed social
 768 constructions of age; associations of active and successful
 769 ageing with work trajectories; and universality of frailty
 770 discourses; promotion of anti-ageing interventions (e.g.
 771 Biggs 2001; Gillear and Higgs 2011; Laliberte 2015;
 772 Walsh et al. 2015). Work on ageism and age discrimination
 773 accounted for over one-fifth of all texts ($n = 12$; e.g.
 774 Duncan and Loretto 2004; Vitman et al. 2014; Carney and
 775 Gray 2015). Although only three documents explicitly
 776 considered the conceptualisation of socio-cultural exclu-
 777 sion (e.g. Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman 2008), most pub-
 778 lications contributed in some way to conceptual
 779 knowledge. Other thematic areas evident across dimen-
 780 sions included publications on gender ($n = 9$; e.g. Sabik
 781 2014), employment and labour participation ($n = 7$; e.g.
 782 Taylor and Walker 1998), social policy and active ageing
 783 ($n = 7$; e.g. Biggs and Kimberley 2013), and members of
 784 particular older adult sub-groups, namely the LGBT com-
 785 munity ($n = 6$; e.g. Harley et al. 2016) and ethnic minority
 786 groupings ($n = 6$; e.g. Zubair and Norris 2015). Over half
 787 of studies ($n = 33$) referred to social exclusion in their
 788 analysis, but just ten texts had an explicit focus on social
 789 exclusion.

790 Civic participation

791 The search identified just 21 texts relevant to exclusion
 792 from civic participation. Using domain-specific keywords
 793 of: *civic*, *voting*, *volunteer*, *community responsibility*, *po-*
 794 *litical* and *participation*, six dimensions were identified
 795 within this literature. Two publications were context ori-
 796 entated, addressing levels of political participation and
 797 determinants of social capital (e.g. Serrat et al. 2015). The
 798 remaining dimensions, encompassing 19 texts, focused on
 799 citizenship, conceptual underpinnings of exclusion from
 800 civic participation, general civic activities, volunteering
 801 and community responsibility, and voting and political
 802 participation. While no single dimension dominates, the
 803 greatest number of publications addressed the dimensions
 804 of voting and political participation, concentrating on
 805 deficient advocacy capacity and powerlessness ($n = 5$; e.g.
 806 Raymond and Grenier 2013); general civic activities,
 807 exploring health barriers and lack of state supports ($n = 5$;
 808 e.g. Hirshorn and Settersten 2013); and volunteering and
 809 community responsibility, analysing impediments to local
 810 governance participation and expectations for volunteering
 811 in later life ($n = 4$; e.g. Petriwskyj et al. 2012). Citizenship

($n = 3$; e.g. Craig 2004) and conceptualisation of civic
 exclusion ($n = 2$; e.g. Grenier and Guberman 2009)
 received less attention. Texts that addressed exclusion from
 civic participation in relation to neighbourhood and com-
 munity ($n = 4$; e.g. Buffel et al. 2014), and healthy and
 active ageing policy and discourse ($n = 3$; e.g. Stephens
 et al. 2015) represent identifiable cross-cutting thematic
 areas. Almost two-thirds of publications ($n = 11$) recog-
 nised the multidimensionality of exclusion from civic
 participation, and one third ($n = 6$) acknowledged its
 dynamic nature.

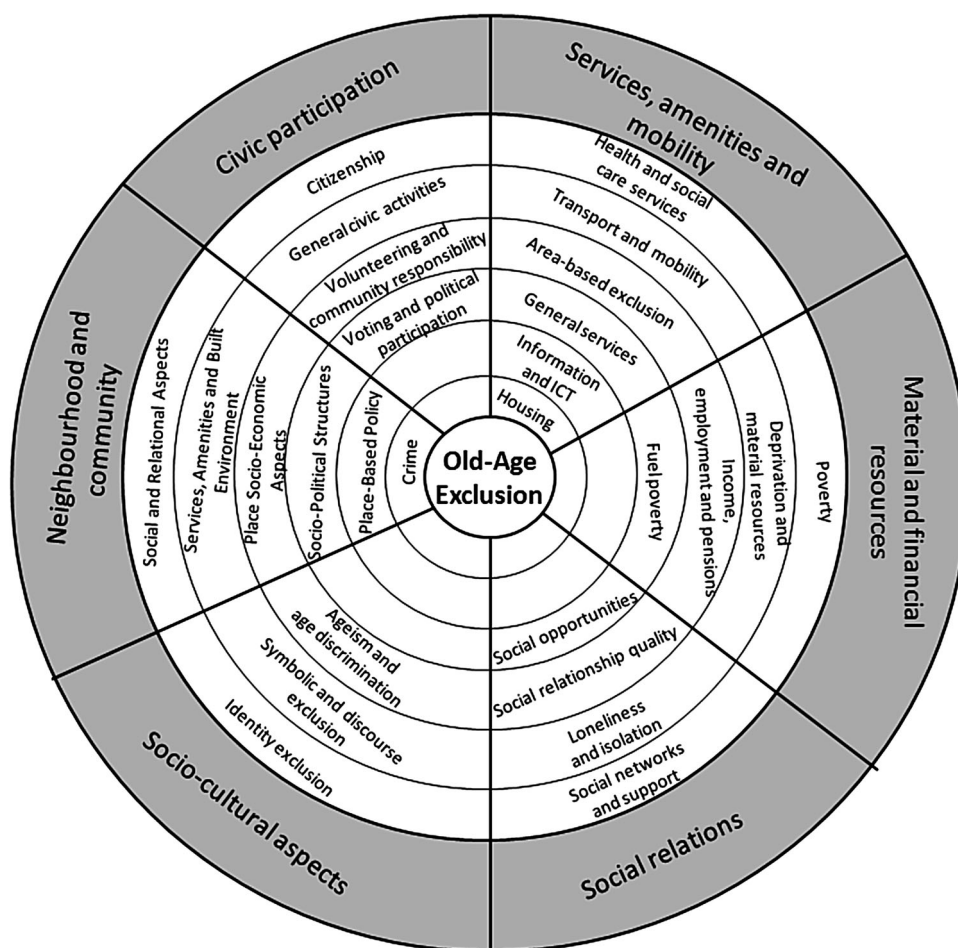
A framework for future study: existing knowledge and future directions

This article presents a two-stage scoping review that aimed
 to capture the ever-expanding, previously disparate, liter-
 atures on social exclusion in later life. Space constraints
 inhibit the detailed presentation of research on each
 domain. Nevertheless, the article provides a synthesis of
 knowledge on old-age exclusion. Our analysis draws
 together the disjointed evidence base concerning the dis-
 advantage of older people, providing a foundation for the
 development of a coherent comprehensive discourse on
 old-age exclusion. Approximately, half of all reviewed
 documents did not refer explicitly to the construct of social
 exclusion. While this indicates commonalities between
 exclusion and other constructs of disadvantage, it also
 illustrates the power of the review as a means of unearthing
 knowledge that previously was not recognised as being part
 of a scientific understanding of old-age exclusion.

Figure 2 presents a framework, in the form of inter-
 connected domains and sub-dimensions of old-age exclu-
 sion, derived from the assessment presented in the scoping
 review. This framework can serve as an orientating struc-
 ture for future studies and analyses of multidimensional
 old-age exclusion. The figure illustrates the range of
 complex pathways to exclusion within each domain.

Although it is difficult to generalise beyond the contexts
 of specific forms and trajectories of disadvantage, it is pos-
 sible to identify some broad operational and structural tenets
 of old-age exclusion across domains. In general, exclusion-
 ary channels appear to be multi-level, implicating not only
 the micro circumstances of individuals, but also typically
 meso- or macro-constructing forces (e.g. national employ-
 ment policies combining with gendered social norms and
 community and household roles to exclude older women
 workers—Vera-Sanso 2012). These pathways are also
 multifaceted, impacting on multiple areas of life, e.g.
 transport exclusion leading to exclusion from health and
 social care services. Cross-cutting mechanisms of exclusion
 can be broadly pinpointed including geographic location and

Fig. 2 Old-age exclusion framework depicting interconnected domains and sub-dimensions



place context (e.g. Dwyer and Hardill 2011); social categorisations and marginalisation of particular groups (e.g. based on gender, ethnicity, income, and sexual orientation—McCann et al. 2013; Hunkler et al. 2015); life-course risk paths (e.g. Arber 2004), failure to recognise and address group-specific need (e.g. homeless older adults—Warnes and Crane, 2006; Beaulaurier et al. 2014); constrained choice and control (e.g. Rozanova et al. 2012); and diminished power (e.g. Raymond and Grenier 2013). The diminishing role of the state and increasing privatisation was also a notable cross-cutting exclusionary theme. Mostly evident in terms of individualisation of risk, service retrenchment and shifts in institutional policy, this act of exclusion involving the state was both direct and indirect in its agency and primarily implicated the domains of social relations (Walsh et al. 2012a), services (Grenier and Guberman 2009), and neighbourhood and community (e.g. Milbourne and Doheny 2012). In their own right, these cross-cutting mechanisms can represent outcomes and processes of exclusion embedded within complex pathways of disadvantage, with the influence of some of these mechanisms noted to be particularly difficult to unpack due to their interconnected nature (e.g. gender, social class, ethnicity and sexual orientation).

The question of how the ageing process itself intersects with such mechanisms is more difficult to answer. Thus what, if anything, makes old-age exclusion unique as a form of disadvantage, and specific to ageing? Three notable features can be discerned from the published material. First, there is a sense that exclusion can be accumulated over the course of older people's lives, contributing to an increasing prevalence of exclusion into later life (e.g. Kneale 2012). Second, exclusionary mechanisms function as tipping points into precarity for ageing individuals, where older people have fewer opportunities and pathways to lift themselves out of exclusion (e.g. Scharf 2015). Third, in some cases, older people are more susceptible to exclusionary processes intersecting their lives and more vulnerable to the impacts of such exclusion mechanisms. This reflects the altered positioning of older adults with time, and the potential for age-related health declines, contracting social and support networks, and depleted income-generation opportunities (Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman 2008; Walsh et al. 2012a).

Reflecting these summative synthesis points, and revisiting our working definition, we draw on the scoping

908 review findings to propose a new definition of old-age
909 exclusion:

910 Old-age exclusion involves interchanges between
911 multi-level risk factors, processes and outcomes.
912 Varying in form and degree across the older adult life
913 course, its complexity, impact and prevalence are
914 amplified by old-age vulnerabilities, accumulated
915 disadvantage for some groups, and constrained
916 opportunities to ameliorate exclusion. Old-age
917 exclusion leads to inequities in choice and control,
918 resources and relationships, and power and rights in
919 key domains of neighbourhood and community; ser-
920 vices, amenities and mobility; material and financial
921 resources; social relations; socio-cultural aspects of
922 society; and civic participation. Old-age exclusion
923 implicates states, societies, communities and
924 individuals.

925 The scoping review process has illuminated the nature and
926 characteristics of the existing evidence-base. Our findings
927 point to the relatively limited literature pertaining to old-
928 age social exclusion. That stated, the scoping review points
929 to a growing body of work on old-age exclusion, with 54
930 per cent of all (non-context orientated) papers published
931 between 2010 and 2015. This increasing interest may be
932 attributable to concerns surrounding global forces, such as
933 economic uncertainty and the prevalence of individualisa-
934 tion of risk within policy discourses. It may also reflect the
935 recognised value of social exclusion as an explanatory and
936 flexible frame for understanding disadvantage in later life.
937 Further, the review highlights the dominance of the UK as
938 a source of research, reflecting the emergence of social
939 exclusion as a significant social policy construct during the
940 1990s, and the UK's longstanding research focus on ageing
941 and structural disadvantage. However, with a growing
942 prevalence of publications emanating from South America
943 (Prada et al. 2015), North America (O'Rand 2006; Lee
944 et al. 2014), Australasia (Winterton et al. 2014), Asia
945 (Shirahase 2015) and Eastern Europe (Hrast et al. 2013), it
946 is also evident that old-age exclusion is gathering traction
947 as a global research topic.

948 Our findings demonstrate the general lack of conceptual
949 work on exclusion of older people. The lack of work on
950 unpacking the conceptual relationships between drivers
951 and domains of exclusion is even more apparent (with the
952 exception of Guberman and Lavoie 2004, Jehoel-Gijsbers
953 and Vrooman 2008 and Walsh et al. 2012a). It is partly for
954 this reason that it was necessary to include documents that
955 contribute, in a broad way, to conceptual discourse of the
956 construct (e.g. Scharf and Keating 2012; Börsch-Supan
957 et al. 2015). Detailed conceptualisation in relation to each
958 domain of exclusion is also generally lacking and is evi-
959 denced by the very small number of papers focusing on

conceptual development across domains. Such a gap not
only undermines the development of a critical under-
standing of old-age exclusion, but also limits our capacity
to develop policy and practice interventions to reduce
exclusion of older people. This may explain why exclusion
has emerged redefined from Europe's period of economic
recession as a policy construct focused on single parents,
young people and, principally, labour market participation.

The scoping review also identified areas that require
further research. The most pressing area relates to the
multidimensional construct of old-age exclusion itself.
How the various experiences, processes and outcomes
across domains and across the life course combine to
generate exclusion remains a fundamental question. With
respect to domain-specific work, Fig. 1 shows the domi-
nance of neighbourhood and community; social relations;
services, amenities and mobility; and material and financial
resources in rank order. It is, however, more appropriate to
exclude context-oriented publications altogether. This
produces a different picture, one that is more reflective of
traditionally dominant areas of research, with the following
rank order: services, amenities and mobility ($n = 90$);
material and financial resources ($n = 72$); social relations
($n = 69$); socio-cultural aspects ($n = 60$); neighbourhood
and community ($n = 55$); and civic participation ($n = 19$).
With environmental gerontology emerging rapidly as a
core feature of research on age-related disadvantage, and
with increased interest in spatially directed social policy
(e.g. age-friendly communities; healthy cities), neigh-
bourhood and community is likely to attract increasing
attention in the study of social exclusion. Similarly, and in
the context of a prevalent age-related burden discourse
within European and international policy, and the prolif-
eration of healthy and active ageing constructs, meaningful
analyses and critiques of exclusion in civic and socio-cul-
tural aspects of life are also likely to become more
important.

Methodological gaps are similarly identifiable, with a
relatively small proportion of mixed-method interdis-
ciplinary work. There is also less of a focus than may have
been expected on longitudinal inquiries, qualitative studies
and life-course approaches.

The coverage of social categorisations, such as gender,
ethnicity, income, and sexual orientation, was relatively
weak. In some respects, this is likely to be connected to the
difficulty in (quantitatively) isolating the directional asso-
ciations of such categorisations, as noted within a number
of operational- and empirically based conceptual frame-
works (e.g. Barnes et al. 2006). Although covered to a
greater extent within certain domains (services, amenities
and mobility—McCann et al. 2013; Beaulaurier et al. 2014;
material and financial resources—Ahmad and Walker
1997; Ní Léime et al. 2015; social relations—Ziegler 2012;

1013 Lee et al. 2014; socio-cultural aspects—Harley et al. 2016),
 1014 and while gender attracts notably more attention than other
 1015 categorisations, there are substantial gaps with respect to
 1016 how the structural and societal positioning of all of these
 1017 categorisations combine with ageing processes to produce
 1018 exclusion. Deficits with respect to the exclusion of older
 1019 people belonging to the LGBT community are especially
 1020 apparent. Moreover, and illustrated again by the difficulties
 1021 noted in the conceptual frameworks, work is required to
 1022 disentangle the objective and subjective experiential
 1023 intersections of these various categorisations across the
 1024 ageing life course.

1025 Few studies addressed exclusionary pathways of migrant
 1026 groups (Heikkinen 2011; Victor et al. 2012). Given new
 1027 and substantial migration flows occurring within and across
 1028 world regions, analyses need to be increasingly framed
 1029 through an age-related exclusionary lens. Emerging evi-
 1030 dence indicates that large numbers of older people have
 1031 migrated, with increasing recognition of older-adult forced
 1032 migration patterns (Mölsä et al. 2014; Loi and Sundram
 1033 2014). Such trends raise complex questions around exclu-
 1034 sion in each of the domains that are framed within pre-
 1035 migration trauma, the ordeal of migration itself, post-mi-
 1036 gration stressors and competing notions of displacement
 1037 and security (Mölsä et al. 2014; Walsh 2016).

1038 The role of economic austerity and the global economic
 1039 recession in generating exclusion received less considera-
 1040 tion than may have been expected (Bonfatti et al. 2015;
 1041 Scharf 2015). This was particularly surprising given the
 1042 social, economic and cultural magnitude of the recession in
 1043 Europe. There is the potential for financial insecurity,
 1044 arising from the sharp contraction of pension wealth,
 1045 decreased value of social benefits, and resource transfer to
 1046 younger generations (Foster and Walker 2014), to impact
 1047 on the lives of older adults in a multifaceted way. This
 1048 extends beyond more complex pathways that implicate cuts
 1049 to public expenditure in welfare, health and social systems
 1050 that may increase older adult vulnerability. It is necessary
 1051 to consider the longer-term exclusionary implications of
 1052 such developments for Europe's ageing societies.

1053 As a significant contributor to the global disease burden,
 1054 the fastest growing cause of disability (OECD 2015), and
 1055 the potential for the condition itself and its care manage-
 1056 ment to serve as an exclusionary mechanism (Österholm
 1057 and Samuelsson 2015), it was also surprising that dementia
 1058 did not feature strongly as a topic of exclusion research.
 1059 Issues with respect to supporting people in their own
 1060 communities, service access, and the societal positioning of
 1061 older people with dementia certainly illustrate exclusion
 1062 stemming from being diagnosed with this condition. While
 1063 similar arguments could also be made for other conditions,
 1064 this area requires future research to develop sociological
 1065 understandings of related disadvantage.

Conclusion

1066 There are a number of limitations to this article. This
 1067 includes its focus on English language studies only, diffi-
 1068 culties in capturing all material outside of the exclusion
 1069 discourse, and the limited space that prevents a detailed
 1070 presentation of knowledge synthesis for each domain.
 1071 Notwithstanding these issues, the article contributes to
 1072 international debates on old-age exclusion. It unites dis-
 1073 parate evidence on the exclusion of older people across
 1074 topic areas and disciplines, and helps to inform a more
 1075 coherent and comprehensive discourse on old-age exclu-
 1076 sion. The presented framework harnesses this synthesis and
 1077 offers a structure for guiding future empirical and con-
 1078 ceptual work in this field of study. Old-age exclusion
 1079 remains a fundamental challenge for ageing societies in
 1080 Europe and beyond. It is only by sharing, synthesising and
 1081 building upon state-of-the-art knowledge that we can begin
 1082 to think about how to effectively and efficiently respond to
 1083 this challenge.
 1084

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