Norwegian University of Life Sciences

Age segregation in city planning - the planner's responsibility?

Tina Lam

Urban and regional planning

Age segregation in city planning

– the planner's responsibility?

A master's thesis by
Tina Lam
2021, NMBU

PREFACE

With this master thesis I have not only accumulated yet another degree, but I believe I will be the recordholder in my family for staying the longest in university, a rather dubious accomplishment at that. Especially when it did not surmount fulfilling every Asian parents' dream of their offspring becoming a medical doctor or lawyer. They have learnt to drastically turn down their expectations. My parents survived the war and toiled their way to the middle class so that I could get the privilege of living out my intellectual existential crisis through three stays at various of universities around the world for a decade now.

And now: credits where credits are due. I was lucky with my assigned supervisor, Marius Grønning. What a sturdy navigator of a man. It was as if he knew the seams were bursting from the sides. We are talking Don Draper when he pitched for Hersheys-bad. I am thankful for the guidance. A tremendous thanks to my two employers, ROM and A-lab, who has given me great flexibility. A shout-out to the +KOTE team, my safe haven.

I also had help from some powerhouses of women: Vy og Mariel, for checking the grammar, Madde for hooking me up with the Paulus people, Anne for always listening, and Julie, for the graphic design help. And of course other gentle souls who bothered to check on me.

And lastly, I would not even be writing this if I had not met a man at a political rally, who a few years later told me that I could not open beer bottles for him for the rest of my life. The circle ends with this project as this fateful meeting was a tale of intergenerational relations in a city.

ROM, Maridalsveien 3, Oslo 2021

ABSTRACT

We exist in a society of age segregation. The organization of life and society according to life-course and age-division commence at birth. Our age determines which age group we belong to, and within this group, we are assigned tasks and activities that we have to complete. Accompanying these life stages are given spaces such as kindergartens, schools, workplaces and retirement homes. Such structures has created the normalcy of socializing with people from one's own age group. We did not always live like this. This way of sub-dividing the population into age segments is a form of age segregation which in turns makes intergenerational relations difficult because there are barely any exposure to it, contrary to traditional family and community structures.

In a city planning context, age segregation in relation to social sustainability, social cohesion, innovation and future challenges, reveals un uncharted territory and a space of opportunity. This pertains to the research questions. By using the notion of apparatus in the Foucauldian sense and the theory of social mix, the project aims to identify the mechanisms such as laws, official standards, and social norms, in producing age segregation as a standard for structuring life-course.

The project studies three cases which challenge the age-segregation dogma and further provides insight into the conditions for establishing intergenerational relations. The purpose is to provide city planning with awareness and tools to facilitate social integration across age segments in the population.

Key words: *intergenerational relations, multigenerational coexistence, planning, ageism, social sustainability, apparatus, dispositive, social mix, social cohesion*

CONTENT

PART I

CHAPTER 1 *INTRODUCTION*

CHAPTER 2 *LITERATURE REVIEW, PRACTICE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS*

PART II

CHAPTER 3 *SUB-DIVIDING THE POPULATION*

CHAPTER 4 *INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS IN POP-CULTURE*

PART II cont.

CHAPTER 5 *FINDINGS FROM CASES*

CHAPTER 6 *AGE-MIXING IN PLANNING*

PART III

CHAPTER 7 *DISCUSSION*

CHAPTER 8 *CONCLUSION* 99

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The interest in age segregation in the city was initially ignited by the introspective reflections of who we spend most of our time with, but also where it happens and what kind of relations these were. Is it family? Friends? Colleagues? Neighbors? A quick scan of public spaces such as parks and cafés inside malls will reveal that most people choose to socialize within their own age group. This prompts another question: "why are there so little interactions and relations across age groups in cities?". Is this pattern preferred or forced upon us?

Intergenerational relations are not abnormal per se. It is normal in a family-relation setting, but once removed from this context it becomes abnormal and in some cases even suspicious. So far this sounds like an intro to a sociology project, but if you take this theme and insert it into city planning concerns such as densification, social cohesion and what responsibilities planners have in relation to these themes, an interesting space of research unfolds. One that have a particular relevance to planners.

1.1 The relevance to planning

Why at all venture into a topic so niche? And what specific relevance has it to planning? Age segregation in the city is an uncharted territory insofar as planning is concerned and thus worth looking into, as it concerns and intersects with several important considerations in planning such as social sustainability, social cohesion and future challenges. Most, importantly, it pertains to planners' social role and responsibility.

Social sustainability

Of all the sustainability categories, social sustainability is the least studied, and often overshadowed by environmental and economic sustainability (Mehan and Soflaei, 2017).

One scholar even said it is poorly systemized in spatial planning due to difficulty of translating complex social structures and processes into something physical. Often the solutions becomes too simple for what it is intended to solve (Bakke, 2018).

Overall, social sustainability can be said to involve three indicators. First, the focus on the future. It is about guarding the positive aspects of culture and lift existing conditions including individuals, communities and societies. But perhaps as important, is the securing of these qualities for generations to come (Me

han and Soflaei, 2017). An obvious reference to the Brundtland Commission's work on sustainable policies. Secondly, based on Maslow's pyramid, essential needs such as physiological, social and self-actualization are too considered part of sustainability. Public health, given opportunities and obtainable resources on a community level are also part of social sustainability (Mehan and Soflaei, 2017). The third indicator concerns the relational qualities of society (Mehan and Soflaei, 2017), which is what this project is addressing.

Social cohesion

Related to social sustainability is social cohesion, which can be described as the degree of "connectedness and solidarity among groups in society (Kawachi & Berkman, 2000, p. 175 in Mouratidis and Poortinga, 2020, p. 2). Themes that intersect age segregation and social cohesion is respect, tolerance and solidarity for other groups, combating ageism (discrimination based on age) and lastly the creation of stronger neighborhoods.

Social cohesion together with social capital can have implications for public health and the over-all well-being of inhabitants in cities (Kawachi & Berkman, 2000; Poortinga, 2006 in Mouratidis and Poortinga, 2020). Public health is perhaps where social sustainability becomes most visible in planning, in particular through the Planning and Building Act of 2008.

Public health is about creating conditions that enhance people's health, such as being able to live an active lifestyle. But it also includes social dimensions like belonging, recreation and togetherness. These elements have a correlation with how we form and plan space towards a sustainable society (Bakke, 2018).

Future challenges
It is projected that within the year 2065 around 68% of Earth's population will reside in cities (UN, 2018). With this trajectory, there are challenges that becomes apparent, especially within spatial planning. Solving scarcity of space is one thing, another issue pertains to how official infrastructures and systems can handle the pressure of so many people living in dense areas. There is also a relevance in terms of loneliness and mental

health. Loneliness and the increase in the elder population, are issues that we are facing in this moment. With this projected development, comes questions concerning how to face this in an environmental and social sustainable way.

Could it be that the habitual way of organizing and planning for social functions need to be re-considered? This project works from the hypothesis that we live in a society where age segregation is not only normalized, but also institutionalized. With that in mind, has planning failed to see the potentials in intergenerational relations? Could, for the a lack of a better word, intergenerationality have a role in innovative solutions to the aforementioned issues pertaining to planning and in facing future challenges?

1.2 Untapped potential?

Intergenerational relations cannot solve all planning grievances. However, there are reasons to believe that it may contribute to solve some of the social issues cities struggle with. Or at the very least, worth investigating the possibilities, as there are indications from pilot projects that this might be an untapped potential in planning.

There exists some traces of its existence in Norway in the form of small pilot projects, mostly about co-housing with mixed generations. Same observations can be found in other comparable countries such as Denmark and Sweden. Countries that also have similar welfare systems with social values of care.

Due to the aforementioned issues such as population trends and grave planning challenges, there is a room of opportunity in looking at intergenerational relations in cities.

1.3 Planners' social responsibility

The roots of modern city planning as a discipline started with social sustainability. Although then in the form of sanitation, health and moral (Bakke, 2018) as the prime directive back in the 1800s was to cure cities of its squalor conditions. Europeans cities back then were ridden with cramped living spaces, filthy streets and pollution. Planning was considered as the solution to these self-induced ailments. Throughout the 1900s the focus on the social was replaced with the fascination for new technologies, only to now turn back to the social aspects (Bakke,

2018). The explanation for the shift has to do with new perspectives on city life, such as it being something vital, a patchwork and affectivity. This new perspective consists of considering arenas of social life as something that intersects the individual, society and the built structures (Bakke, 2018), hence the sudden return of the social aspects of planning.

On how social responsibility manifest itself in plans, one often see sentences along the lines of "a place for everyone" or "we are an inclusive city". But to which extent does these statements translate into reality? This project works from the assumption that there is a gap between planning for age inclusivity and how this is being practice in reality, in terms of creating relations and not just coexistence. Has age segregation of the population into age groups from the stages

of birth to death made us accustomed to the status quo? Hence the difficulty of integrating different age segments?

1.4 Research questions

Are intergenerational relations an ignored potential in planning? In that case, how to approach this issue? In order to outline a possible methodology and to question what is at stake, the study is guided by a set of sub-questions. The first issue that needs to be clarified is: "what has created the sub-division of ages?" By trying to answer this we may identify the hindrances to interactions across age segments in our current socio-spatial organization. Following this, we may ask "what are the opportunities when it comes to intergenerational relations?". This sub-question aims to find contrary evidence in terms of planning. What can planning learn from these opportunities. Further, we may ask how much of it is structural factors such as institutions, organizations, governmental tools and

law, and how much is due to non-structural factors such as culture and habits. With that, the study turns to a third sub-question: "Are there practices that challenge the traditional way of regarding generations?". This is to identify possible alternative ways of looking at intergenerational relations in city planning. A final sub-question regard the planner's responsibility and possible contribution, concerns with how the observed mechanisms are currently addressed in spatial plans: "How does planners' responsibility for social sustainability manifest itself in plans in terms of age-mixing?"

Are intergenerational relations an ignored potential in planning?

Sub-questions

Q1: What has created the sub-division of ages?

Q2: What are the opportunities and hindrances when it comes to intergenerational relations?

Q3: Are there practices that challenges the traditional way of regarding generations?

Q4: How does the planner's responsibility for social sustainability manifest itself in conjunction with age-mixing?

1.5 Research design and method

This project has relied on document analysis and interviews as the main methods of gathering material. For the document analysis, I examined five municipal plans, three of which also included both the societal (samfunnsdel) and the land-use section (arealplan). I also included real estate listings and urban development projects in my document analysis. Other spatial information such as rendered illustrations from projects and photos from real estate listings, were also included as data. The justification for this was to see if the same patterns from the planning documents were present in these materials, as they too are spatial in nature.

The analysis consisted of examining words and policies that concerned age and generations, and cases where there were suspicion of possible age targeted policies/goals. The purpose of the document analysis was to uncover underlying perceptions of different age groups and with that also reveal structures of age segregation. In addition, the document analysis was instrumental to study how planning navigate social responsibility when pertaining the topic of age-mixing in the city.

The discoveries from the document analysis were then juxtaposed with three cases to challenges the findings. Case 1 is Edvards, where I interviewed a former employee at a neighborhood coffee shop. Case 2 is St. Paulus, a retirement home that rents out to students. Which is also the subject of a documentary show, "Prosjekt Kollektiv" (2020). Here I interviewed two students who lives there. For the third case I interviewed two people about growing up in rural areas. Altogether, there were 5 interviews, which all were semi-structural. All interviewees received the same set of questions. The intention of semi-structural format was to ensure a full sample of experiences and reflections, in case the pre-set questions failed to do so. Some interviews were conducted in-person while others happened over video-conference.

The project is qualitative of nature. The method resembles abductive reasoning as I started by looking at terms such as dispositif and social-mix. From there I looked at how these related to real life examples and cases. The reasoning are based on looking at these terms in con-junction with how things really are and the result is the questioning of current state and the possibilities of re-thinking these structures. In addition, I have also chosen an interdisciplinary approach, as the organization of life-course, spatiality and relations are complex issues. I have taken from disciplines such as sociology, pop culture and planning.
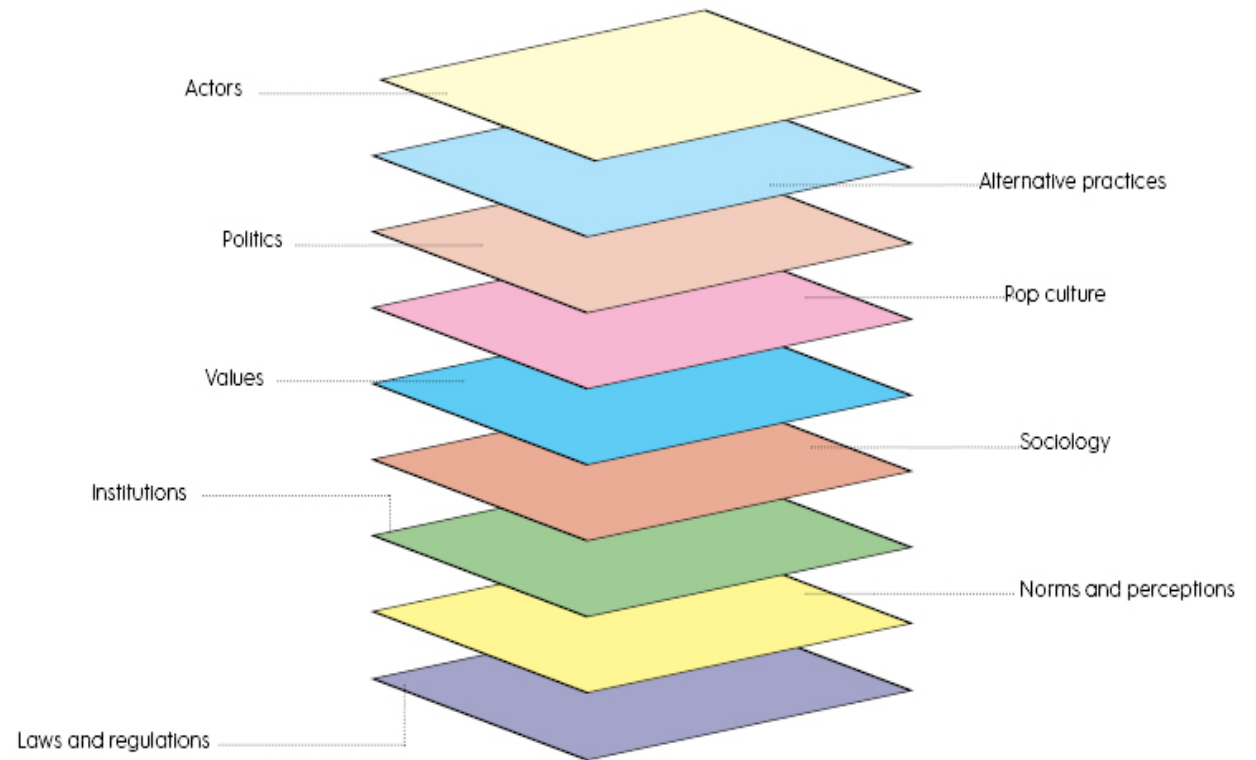
Actors

Alternative practices

Politics

Pop culture

Values

Sociology

Institutions

Norms and perceptions

Laws and regulations

Fig. 1

14

1.6 The scope of the research

The project focuses on the Norwegian planning system and its practices. Further, this project will only focus on cities and not social peripheries. The inclusion of two rural cases was to contrast the information for comparative purposes regarding the relation between density and intergenerational relations.

The cases were chosen on the basis of the nature of the relations. The project required insight into intergenerational relations such as friendships and not between familial relations or of a professional nature. Relations that were described as "natural" or "genuine" friendships were of particular interest. Relations were not limited to only friendship, but also relations between neighbors.

1.7 Limitations

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic 2020 and 2021, I was not able to interview the inhabitants in the retirement home. Thus their accounts will be based on the documentary series "Prosjekt Kollektiv". The restrictions also made the staking of other locations difficult. Thus the subjects interviewed were found through various of formal and informal networks. There are two perspectives lacking from the interviews, and that is of older active adults, these belong to the age group 40-50+ years old and of course minors. All of the subjects interviewed from the cases are in their 20s to 30s. This is a weakness I am aware of, but had to accept due to extraordinary circumstances of the current time.

1.8 The quality of research

As mentioned above, there were some compromises that had to be made and there is no doubt that the research is somewhat weaker due to the lack of the perspectives from minors and elders. Regardless of the flaws, this project aims to be reliable according to scholarly and ethical standards by relying on references from trustworthy sources. It should be possible to both fact-check and try out the arguments from this project by following the bibliography.

1.9 Ethics

All informants have consented to taking part in this project. They were all given a form consisting of information about the project and their rights regarding their participation in the project. The project has submitted the necessary documents, including the pre-set questions to NSD (Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata) for approval which they have been. This was necessary to protect the informants' personal security in terms of being recognized. Most of the subjects are anonymized, with the exception of two who were part of a documentary show. One particular person could possibly be identified from the project, but as this individual is a reoccurring person on the documentary series and what is described was also aired, this has been approved by NSD.

As for the rest, the anonymization has been done such as omitting names and other characteristic traits that could identify someone unknowingly.

1.10 The architecture of the thesis

The thesis will start with an overview of existing literature and introduction of relevant theory and theoretical framework this project will be using. Following this is a chapter on age segregation, which takes us through the history of age groups and age division in law and policies. Afterwards, chapter 4 will use examples from popular culture to illustrate the normalization of intergenerational relations and juxtapose this with pre-determined ideas from planning. Following this, are the cases and the findings from the interviews. Lastly, chapter 6 will address how relations between age groups manifest itself in plans and how this relates to planners' social responsibility. And as customs dictates, discussion and conclusion will complete the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW, PRACTICE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Firstly, some clarification of terms is required. There exist two terms that refer to relationships between generations, or seemingly they are being used in that capacity: intergenerational and multi-generational. Further it seems like they are being used interchangeably. From Merriam Webster (Merriam Webster, no date b) intergenerational is defined as: "existing or occurring between genera-tions", while multigenerational is: "con-sisting of, relating to, involving more than one generation".

The two definitions are closely related, only separated by a nuance. Based on the literature review there are no consen-sus on the difference of the two. Some laments it should be distinguished on the grounds of which generations are of top-ic and depending on context as Gillian Granville has contended (Granville, 2002). However, others believe these should be used as synonyms. Molly Davis contend-ed that both terms address the "involve-ment of different generations, however defined" (Davis, 2008).

Further she argued that both terms say something about the interaction between and among those generations and that it is the relational and/or the interaction-al aspects that are of the core of their meaning. A final point she makes is that the UN recognizes both terms as the same and thus sets a precedence.

2.1 Multi, inter, coexistence and relations

For this project and in conjunction of planning, coexistence versus relations needs to be addressed before landing on multigenerational or intergenerational. Densification creates a situation where many people are more or less forced to coexist together inside an established space. Coexistence does not necessarily equal relations. In order for relations to occur, other prerequisites are required. Relation in this project are used to describe a personal relation between two or more individuals. Based on the Merriam Webster definitions, intergenerational relations, should be used to describe the aforementioned relations: "existing or occurring between generations" (Merriam Webster, no date), While multigenerational should be used when discussing age groups on a macro level, such as density and coexistence. Hence this project will use the two terms to address the factors of intergenerational performance in situation of multigenerational coexistence.

2.2 Literature review

There does not exist much research on intergenerational and multigenerational relations at the community, neighborhood or public space level. This was confirmed not only by reviewing existing literature. Most research on intergenerational and multigenerational relations are about family relations (Rachel Pain, 2005). Relations within families do not quite translate to the outside world (Rachel Pain, 2005). Sociological theory seems to be focused on multigenerationality from the point of view of social structures like family and not from a spatial point of view, relevant to considerations of density and city planning

There was however literature on intergenerational practices (IGP), community-based initiatives. IGP are usually characterized by being small in scale and initiated by a third party. The third part is usually not the target of these practices, but rather kids and elders. The projects are set in particular settings. Older and younger people are placed together around a planned activity with a set start and end time. The aims of these activities may vary but it usually involves enriching intergenerational relations and achieve positive outcomes for individuals and communities (Rachel Pain, 2005).

Many within IGP has expressed more clarity in order to better define what intergenerational practice is (Rachel Pain, 2005) (Iain Springate, Mary Atkinson, and Kerry Martin, 2008). Regarding the participating generations, there are wishes to further clarify the different age groups. So far, examples from the US and UK indicate that the participants are older, being over 50 and younger being under 25. The second issue pertain to differentiating intergenerational and multigenerational approaches. Most research on intergenerational relations is about generations within families. IGP however, does not involve members from the same family. Familial relations are of important matter because in working against issues such as ageism, changing attitudes requires exposure of the different generations outside from one own's family (Springate, Atkinson & Martin 2008).

In relation to IGP and planning, there is a recognition that IGP can be instrumental in achieving sustainable communities (Rachel Pain, 2005). Although the aims of IGP may vary, social cohesion is often of focus. Some of the aims of IGP are increasing and improving the contact between older and younger people. It can improve understanding and respect between generations through exposing different generations to each other. This is intended to fight ageist stereotypes such as reducing old people to their physical and mental state or young people being careless about their surroundings. Through intergenerational interaction, young and older generations can discuss issues both groups are concerned about and eventually result in influencing policies and neighborhood planning (Rachel Pain, 2005).

However, one criticism about IGP, which in my opinion is perhaps one of its biggest weaknesses, is whether this method really creates meaningful relations. The top-down approach and the selected age groups make the setting unnatural for forming lasting personal relations. Do these interactions become something more outside of this particular setting and space? This is barely mentioned in the literature about IGP. At best, this practice is good for multigenerational coexistence. A valuable tool for strengthening social and neighborhood cohesion. However, there are doubts regarding the long-lasting effects.

One of the criteria for categorizing relations is whether it also occurs outside of "office-hours". Related to this, are the targeted age groups. What are the motives behind choosing kids and older people? Why not include the middle age category of active adults? Is it because active adults are perceived of not needing these relations? If so, why?

The issue of the flaws in IGP, remind us that intergenerational relations outside of the (private) family context are often framed by (public) concerns for groups with particular needs, or political community issues. While this study addresses a wider issue of social cohesion and sustainability related to age. Hence the need to identify the knowledge gap in the literature.

2.3 Theoretical framework

Of theoretical framework, this project will use social mix as a theory and use Foucault's idea of dispositif as a frame for understanding and expose the structures of age segregation.

2.3.1 Social mix

Social mix is included as a well-suited concept for illuminating the dynamics of multigenerational coexistence and intergenerational relations as it addresses the mixing of different groups together in a spatial manner, who would otherwise not socialize. It has to be emphasized that social mix is mainly a theory of coexistence.

According to various literature reviews, there appears to be several understandings of what social mix is as a concept. One of the most common definitions is the structure of a heterogenous population within an area, typically within a neighborhood. The mix can contain different tenure models such as renting or owning, and other social parameters such as diversity in occupation, ethnicity and age (Alves, 2019). Although it is more common for some scholars to treat social mix with reference to both ethnic and income factors, others examine it with focus on tenure mix (Alves, 2019).

Social mix has been used as a city planning tool in places characterized by concentrations of an ethnic group or socio-economic challenges (Bricocoli and Cucca, 2016).

In this context, the goal of social mix is to counter these trends in a specific spatial situation by injecting different social groups into the area of concern. In other words, a ghetto-prevention tool. However, there is no consensus about what good social mix entails and the details of what types of mix is required for it to be successful (Alves, 2019). As for today, it does not exist a formula that states how much mix of different income class, age, ethnicity and tenure, an area needs in order to show the promised fruits of social mix. The duration of the mix is also an unanswered question.

In Norway, the Tøyen area-regeneration (Tøyenløftet) project is an example of time being an essential but unanswered element. Tøyen is a neighborhood in inner-Oslo with a large concentration of low-income families with a non-western background which has associated with social issues such as poverty and white flight, and thus bringing their resources with them out of Tøyen. As a way to counter this trend, the municipality looked into efforts of getting different social groups to settle in Tøyen such as white middle class families, in order to achieve a greater degree of social mix. Though more well-off families did move to Tøyen after encouragement and incentives, they often did not stay for long. Usually they would move out of Tøyen when their kids reached the age for primary school (Kadasia, Andersen and Dalseide, 2020), making Tøyen a mere pit-stop on the housing-career of these families. A similar study about a project in Copenhagen had some of the same findings.

One informant from the study stated: "I have to admit I was fed up with the mix, I had to move where people are more like me "(Alves, 2019).

These two cases demonstrate the problematic aspect of duration of social mix and the resilience of neighborhoods. How long does the active mixing need to go on in order to reach the desirable effect? Related to, this, is the issue of what the desirable outcome really is. In the literature, there are several claims to what the goal is. One common stated goal is that it is a remedy for social exclusion, while others call it a state-led gentrification effort. A third claim, which is perhaps what social mix is most known for, is method to prevent and lever processes of segregation and urban decay which is closely related to the concentration of families in economic hardship. A fourth

claim is social mix as a way for formal institutions within planning and housing to produce more affordable housing (Alves, 2019). Although there is doubt about this actually being the case as producing more affordable housing requires more than the drips from the middle class.

Some scholars, such as Galster and Friedrich (in Alves, 2019), have lamented that there is sufficient evidence to support that social mix does improve the well-being of those less-off. They based this assertion on the arguments that the disadvantaged groups are harmed by the large concentration of disadvantaged groups in these neighborhoods. Hence, the introduction of a more advantaged group will result in a "trickle down" effect in the form of good role models and stronger response to disorder and violence. However, this notion

has been disputed by several scholars, as the doubts over whether trickle-down mechanisms really work. Even though residential proximity between different types of households and groups of different social belongings may induce contact, it does not necessarily result in social cooperation and desirable flow of capital (Alves, 2019). In these instances, when the core issue is poverty, the only approach is economic redistribution and removing poverty traps such as asocial housing markets. Policies such as social mix and area-regenerations, do not face the problem at its roots. As Loretta Lees remarked, these efforts are rarely forced upon well-off areas (in Alves, 2019). Bacque et al (in Bricocoli and Cucca, 2016) argued that within the aforementioned context, social mix can in fact foster new inequalities and produce forms of spatial segregation.

Where social mix and intergenerational relations intersect, is the somewhat unnatural act of gathering different groups who otherwise would not mix together in the same space. These are groups that would never otherwise seek each other out due to established structures and norms. The two ideas also share the sense of conflict, to a certain degree. The poor might resent the rich for having more and to an extent upholds the current scheme that traps the poor in their current state. While the different age groups hold ageist ideas about each other produced by structures and socially constructed ideas.

2.3.2 Dispositif

This project will use Michel Foucault's notion of dispositif as a framework to understand the formal structures that has resulted in how Norway and other similar countries has sub- divided their population into age groups, thus making interactions and relations with other generations outside of one's own difficult. The point of using the concept dispositif is to reveal age segregation as a system. In a roundtable interview about Les Aveux de la chair (The confession of the flesh), the fourth installment of what was to become L'histoire de la sexualité, (The History of Sexuality), Alan Grosrichard asked Foucault about dispositif. In Foucault's own words he described it as:

"heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic proposition...
Such as the elements of the apparatus"

(Foucault and Gordon, 1980)

Other words that have been used to translate dispositif are apparatus and mechanisms. Foucault also argued in the same conversation that apparatus has historically been used to react or respond to an urgent need (Foucault and Gordon, 1980). This is best demonstrated in Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison (Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison) from 1975, where he traces the genealogy of the treatment of prisoners in Europe. He goes all the way back to 1750. Chapter one opens with a graphic description of what then was considered a punishment, but read with modern eyes would constitute as torture. The very point of punishment vs torture is a clue.

As someone who spent much of his career studying power through various angles of approaches such as psychiatry and sexuality, Foucault believed that moral superiority leads to blindness of the power structures. While we today would classify the punishment of Damiens the Murderer on 2 March 1757 (Foucault, 1977), where he was burned and quartered to death in front of an audience, as torture, Foucault would ask us to ponder over the aim of this particular penal system. The torture scene described would perhaps be called barbaric. But that discourse, in the Foucauldian spirit, viewing punishment as torture neglects to ask what is the purpose of such a scene for a convicted murder. There were several reasons why executions and torture were made public back then. One was to deter others from committing the same crime through deterrence, hence the

graphic torture. But it was also to demonstrate that the government was capable of maintaining order. The same exercise of asking what is the aim of the penal system can be asked of today's system. Foucault would argue that it has little to do with justice or fairness, but rather the surveillance, normalization, molding of harmless obeying citizens. In the Foucauldian sense, the aim of the penal system, as an apparatus, is to shape people into what those in power has determined as normal and acceptable.

Foucault's study of the prison system is an analysis of the transition from a punitive society to a disciplinary one. Prisons still exist, but the dispositive has changed into disciplining society and its people. The relevance of Foucault's concept of dispositive for this study is that our current discourses, institutions, architectural forms and so forth – with its hetereogenous spatial ensembles. The organization the population into age segments in order to respond to their needs, must take part of the responsibility for age segregation. And through this frame work we experiment with the possibility of finding new dispositifs that can facilitate new forms of intergenerational interactions.

CHAPTER 3

Sub-dividing the population

We organize our lives according to the stages in our life-course. Our age determines which age group we belong to, and within this group we are assigned tasks and activities that we have to complete. The assigned group also dictates who we spend the most time with outside of home. As we grow out of one stage of life, we move on to the next stage, with our fellow members from the same group and new tasks and activities awaits.

Based on observations from official documents and life in general, there seems to exist three main stages with assigned locations: childhood, active adults and old age. Accompanying these stages are age-specific spaces such as kindergartens, schools, work and retirement homes. This sub-division of the ages and generations commence at the moment we are born. The very first space we encounter as human beings, the hospital, operates with age segregation as opposed to caves, saunas and tents eons ago. Most hospitals today have separate wards for children and adults.

After birth we spend a few months at home before we start kindergarten with other kids at similar ages. Thereafter, primary school awaits, after that high school and perhaps higher education or vocational training. Following this stage is work and the final location is either retirement homes or if one is lucky one's own home with the necessary assistance. This is of course a very broad description of a typical life-course path. The objective is to merely demonstrate that this way of categorizing people is socially recognized as normal. Further, this organization the population makes it difficult to cultivate intergenerational relations due to lack of exposure to other generations but one's own due to these mechanisms.

This is not to imply that we live in rigid societies where different generations do not interact. There are opportunities for exposures such as with leisure and family. Most people have family members from different generations. The most common form of intergenerational relations occurs within families. However, once removed from the family constellation, these interactions becomes rarer with the exceptions of some professions such as education and health care.

This chapter aims to map out how formal and informal structures has shaped the sub-division of the population into set age-categories. In order to identify the origin there is a need to comprehend how multifaceted this phenomenon is. Some of the most obvious components are laws, policies while other less obvious clues lies in changes in societal trends

and historical events. The chapter is constructed as follows: a historical account of how life was organized before the sub-division, then a presentation of the key policies and laws which lay the foundational groundwork for organizing life with sub-division. Following this is a breakdown of the naturalization of the different generations. And lastly, an analysis of the structuring of generations in a spatial context.

3.1 Historical development

Intergenerational relations were not always considered rare or strange in western society. We know this from historical sources. What prompted the shift from intergenerational relations being common into the sub-division of ages and generations? This section will look at European history as well as Norwegian history, as the development was somewhat comparable.

First, a little detour to the middle ages. The French historian Philippe Ariès chronicled the history of children and family in the middle ages by studying objects such as art and furniture. It is worth mentioning that Ariès' methods and historical evidence has been up for debate from various of historical scholars such as Linda Pollock.

For this project his insights will merely be used to get a sense of how we used to organize life stages

Ariès traced the sentiment of childhood to ca. 1500-1600. It was not until far into the middle ages that the idea of childhood as a distinctive phase of a life cycle came to be (Dekker and Groenendijk, 2012). Until this point, he lamented, childhood did not really exist. A child was treated as a child, until the infant stage succumbed. When a child no longer needed the assistance of a mother or a governess to take care of its basic needs, the child would enter the universe of the grown up world. This was thought to be around the age of 5-7 years old (Ariès and Dyrvik, 1980). Ariès reached this conclusion based on observations such as the trend of engraving the date on things.

Until this point people operated with estimates. In "L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien Régime" he mentioned a Sancho Panza who was not sure how old his daughter was, but he gave the following description: "she might be fifteen, or maybe more or less – anyways, she is as tall as a lance and fresh as an April morning" (Ariès and Dyrvik, 1980).

School during the middle ages was regarded as a place to acquire technical and vocational skills, hence the mixing of different ages. Back then, it was normal for an 11-year-old to attend the same class as a 20-year-old, this was customary, at least in France until 1700 (Ariès and Dyrvik, 1980). One notable detail from this way of organizing life-course and age, was the absence of loneliness as a major public health issue, as there were no space for privacy due to cramped living conditions and having to share everything (Ariès and Dyrvik, 1980), but one might also speculate whether or not this mixing of age and generations also had something to do with this.

Children as breadwinners
Not only did children and adults attend school together, they also worked together. After the industrial revolution, there was an increase in child labor. Children worked in factories, in mines, on the streets and in homes. According to J.N Mohn's study on child labor, which span from 1874 till 1880, Norway was at the top when it came to the use of child labor, topping even Sweden, England and the United States (Statistics Norway, no date).

Norwegian children were widely used in making tobacco and matches during this period. 43% of the tobacco employees were children (Statistics Norway, no date). Mohn found both positive and negative aspects of child labor. The factories and the children were depended on each other, even though the power balance was heavily skewed towards the factory owners. For the factories, children were cheaper than adults to hire. On the other hand, due to poverty, families often depended on their children to contribute to the household economy. He also remarked that children gained independence and confidence from working with adults, that they got a sense of achievement from being in the workforce. However, harsh and hazardous environments and vulgar adults would leave the children susceptible to undesired behavior according to the contemporaries.

3.2 Age and generations in law

Age and generations are not always explicitly addressed, it is however heavily embedded within policies and programs as certain aspects are legally binding, in particular those pertaining welfare (Hagestad and Uhlenberg, 2006). The law together with policies have created an apparatus where the sub-division of age groups was formed out of necessity, as we shall see later. This section aims to consolidate the legal history of age and generations in Norwegian law and highlight important legislations pertaining to age and rights.

Based on J.N Mohn's research about child labor, he was tasked with drafting a child labor law. At this point in history (the end of 1800 and beginning of 1900), several countries had commenced the

efforts against child labor. Although Mohn drafted the bill, he did not a call for an eradication, but rather regulations such as reduced hours for children and prohibiting nightshifts for children.

These points were to become the law for work protection of 1892 which was the predecessor to the modern-day labor law. It was also around this time that the legislation on Folkeskolen was ratified (1889). It was the predecessor to the modern-day primary school, which became the law of the land in 1969 (Jarning, 2020). After this point, education was offered for all children, regardless of their financial background. Though some parents with economic difficulties preferred their children to work instead. The Education Act of 1998, section 2-1 states clearly that children and young people are obligated to attend school, respectively

primary and lower secondary education (Act relating to Primary and Secondary Education and Training (the Education Act), 1998). In addition, these laws are supplemented by the Convention on the rights of the child which is embedded in the human rights, which Norway has been ratified (Utdanningsforbundet, no date). From this point on, children's spheres were separated from the adults.

In terms of laws pertaining to land-use and age, there are two main laws worth highlighting: the Planning and Building Act of 2008 and the Constitution, as it addresses age specifically and in a spatial manner. the Planning and Building Act states its prime directive as:

"the law shall promote the best sustainable development for the individual, society and future generations"[1]

(Lov om planlegging og byggesaksbehandling (plan- og bygningsloven) - Lovdata, 2008).

This sentence refers to age in a direct manner, in saying that planning shall promote sustainable development for future generations. Supplementing §1-1, is article 3-1, which pertains to the matter of tasks and considerations in planning. It has a section (e) which states:

"... to facilitate for good design of the built environment, good places to live and good for upbringing- and living conditions in all parts of the country"[2]

(Lov om planlegging og byggesaksbehandling (plan- og bygningsloven) - Lovdata, 2008).

[1] "§1-1. Loven skal fremme bærekraftig utvikling til beste for den enkelte, samfunnet og framtidige generasjoner."
[2] "§ 3-1 e . legge til rette for god forming av bygde omgivelser, gode bomiljøer og gode oppvekst- og levekår i alle deler av landet"

Article 3-3 is more explicit and uses the words "children" and "young people" in its formulation about considerations in planning:

"the municipal board shall make sure to establish a specific policy in order to take into consideration the interests of children and young people in planning"[3]

(Lov om planlegging og byggesaksbehandling (plan- og bygningsloven) - Lovdata, 2008).

With the inclusion of the UN's Child Convention in 2014, kids are directly mentioned in the constitution document from 1814. Child Convention stipulates the consideration of the child in manners that concerns them. This comes through in section 104 which pertains to children's basic rights (The Constitution of the Kingdom of Norway - Lovdata, 1814). In terms of planning, the same section states that children have the right to be heard in questions that concern them, and further it states "due weight shall be attached to their views in accordance with their age and development". This is supplemented with "for actions and decisions that affect children, the best interests of the child shall be a fundamental consideration" (The Constitution of the Kingdom of Norway - Lovdata, 1814).

"Can I see your ID?"
Another aspect of age and legal statutes, are how we regulate someone's rights and access to places and services. In Norway, one has to be reach the legal age of 18 years old to buy alcohol and to vote. Age-limits can also regulate someone's access to particular establishments. For example, some night clubs operate with age-limits above 18 years in order to attract their desired customers.

[3] "Kommunestyret skal sørge for å etablere en særskilt ordning for å ivareta barn og unges interesser i planleggingen"

What these laws tell us is that the division of the population into age groups are embedded in the way we organize life-course. It dictates where we have to be at a certain time. In some cases what we are obligated to do, where we can and cannot be and what we can and cannot consume. As demonstrated through the legal history and relevant laws, we have seen that age and age groups categorization and division has been established to secure rights and to ensure an effective enforcement of the legislations. To complete the theme of laws, the next sub-chapter will discuss the welfare state and how it too is complicit in age-division.

3.3 The role of the welfare state

The role of the Norwegian welfare state needs to be highlighted, as it is complicit, and also could be argued is the very mechanism that facilitates the sub-division of ages. The remnants of the welfare state in Norway as we know it today, can be traced back to the 1700-1800s with policies aimed at targeting poverty and acute need (Christensen and Berg, 2019). It was not until after WW2 that the welfare state as we know it today, started to take form. Social security for children, sickness, unemployment and other benefits came to during the 60s, this became folketrygden (Christensen and Berg, 2019), social security or welfare. After an agreement between the Labor party and the conservatives, it was agreed upon to strengthen welfare. (Christensen and Berg, 2019). As it was strengthened,

it also became more specialized with its services and access to benefits corresponding to all material needs of every life stage.

This, I would argue paved the way for, or created an apparatus where the sub-division of the population was necessary in order to secure the population's rights and managing the aforementioned policies in an effective way. A biproduct of this is how it makes intergenerational relations difficult to attain and it de-normalizes these relations as we rarely see intergenerational relations outside of a familial context due to these mechanisms.

3.4 The naturalization of generations

This sub-chapter will explore how the sub-division of ages through age-targeted policies and branding, impacts how generations are perceived. This will be done by examining language and other spatial information from planning documents, real estate listings and proposed urban development projects. With this I hope to decode the language used to target age groups and unearth patterns that articulates something about the naturalization of age groups.

3.4.1 Planning documents

According to Hagestad and Ulhenberg, life-course segments becomes the foundation for the allocation of "rights, responsibilities, opportunities and constraints for individuals " (Hagestad & Uhlenberg, 2006, p. 639). This applies in particular to urban-industrial nations and their welfare policies and programs, Norway being no exception. Based on formulations from the municipal plans and legal statutes, the life-course categories can roughly be divided into three main age groupings: children and teens (0-18 years), active adults (18-60 + years) and the elderly (65 + <).

I have examined five municipal plans: Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim, Fosnes and Mosenes. For this examination, only the societal section was looked at.

Life-course stages	Main area of policies
Children and teens (0-17 years)	Upbringing Eduction
Actice adults (18-60 ≤ years)	Employment Housing
Elders (60≤ years)	Health care

Fig. 2

Method

The selection of words and terms were chosen based on asking who the policies are meant for or who were the most likely target groups. In particular, words which suggested age-targeted strategies and policies were of interest. Some words were more obvious than others, thus the possibility of certain words having been left out.

In order to gain a balanced sample pool, smaller municipalities were included. The inclusion was also intended to portray the whole country as a whole and to see whether small municipalities had a different approach to age and generations compared to the bigger areas. The two smaller municipalities included are also suffering from depopulation, prompting the initial belief of uncovering unknown aspects of age and generations in planning policies. Accompanying the findings below is an appendix of all the phrases and relevant policies uncovered.

Hope in children

For minors, from the ages of 0-18 years of age, the main policy areas were about upbringing and education, featuring safety and leisure. Both upbringing and education are spatial policies as it concerns space and form. Part of upbringing conditions are having places and services that cater to leisure, exercise opportunities and safety. While education is place-specific location where they spend the majority of their time. The overall tone, or perception of this age group can be said to be future-oriented, but also care. All policies are aimed at creating the best environment for minors to fare well into the next life-course stage, to prepare and equip them with the necessary skills. The following words were used more than others in the discussion about this generation: "safety"[4] , "inclusive"[5] , "opportunity"[6] , "good upbringing conditions"[7] and "education"[8] .
From this pool of words, it is suffice to conclude that the overall narrative regarding this group is positive and optimistic.

[4] Trygghet
[5] Inkluderende
[6] Mulighet
[7] Gode oppvekstvilkår
[8] Utdanning

Care and concern

Care and concern
The tone and words being used for those over 60 years old changes drastically in these planning documents. Where the younger generations had a narrative exuding positivity, the tone towards the elders is more serious and in some cases even somber. Gone is the hope, taking its place is concern. While young people have "upbringing conditions" as a recognizable tag, the elder population has "care" as its allocated main policy. Care as in healthcare; the necessary care a welfare state must provide its citizens. All the examined municipalities emphasized care with a heavy reassurance of the welfare services that they can deliver to their elderly residents.

All the municipalities mentioned the challenges of a sharp increase of elders in the population in the coming future.

This topic is often discussed with a tone of concern. The concern revolves around issues such as changes in residence preferences, capacity in terms of elderly care and how to physically plan for these scenarios. Words and descriptions often used in relation to this particular generations are: "health"[9], "sickness"[10], "capacity"[11], "healthcare"[12], "loneliness"[13], "challenges"[14], "pressure"[15] and "increase service costs"[16].
An example from Bergen read:

"a big increase in retirees will result in an increasement of public costs, and an increase in elders will increase the need for municipal services.

These are challenges that will lead to the need of new ways of living and services to elders, but also opportunities for jobs, innovations and cooperation between public and private sector"[17]
(Bergen kommune, 2015, p. 8).

[9] Helse
[10] Sykdom
[11] Kapasitet
[12] Helsetjenester/eldreomsorg
[13] Ensomhet
[14] Utfordringer
[15] Press
[16] Økt tjenestesbehov
[17] "Stor økning i antall pensjonister vil gi økte offentlige utgifter, og økning i antall eldre vil øke behovet for kommunale tjenester. Dette er utfordringer som vil medføre krav til nye boformer og tjenester for eldre, men også gi nye muligheter for arbeidsplasser, innovasjon og samarbeid mellom offentlig og privat sektor"

These descriptions and words, paints a well-used stereotype about the elder population as being a big societal cost and the reduction of this group to their physical and mental capacities; a translation to nothing but a burden. This particular view is also something several studies on intergenerational practice has observed (Pain, 2005), (Springate, Atkinson & Martin 2008) and (Granville, 2002). The "burden" narrative was found in all of the municipal plans. Being old is perceived as a burden and a challenge. In order to juxtapose this gloomy narrative, phrases such as "care"[18] , "active"[19] and "safety"[20] are also included in policies aimed at elders.

Not all discoveries about the elder population was gloomy. Bergen was the only municipality that expanded policies aimed at elders to include more than just healthcare. In their program it says:

"In Bergen, we are investing in lifelong learning, and facilitates for personal development, also for the municipality's elderly residents"[21]

(Bergen kommune, 2015).

In the same plan, the municipality also reassured that elders would be counted as part of Bergen's resource pool:
 "the older part of the population is a resource and an enrichment for us as a society"[22] (Bergen kommune, 2015). Resourcefulness, or resource are words that are usually aimed at active adults, and not the older population.

[18] Omsorg
[19] Aktiv
[20] Trygghet
[21] "I Bergen satser vi på livslang læring, og legge til rette for personlig utvikling også for kommunenes eldre befolkning"
[22] "Den eldre delen av befolkningen er en ressurs og berikelse for oss som samfunn."

Some age-targeted words or phrases had more than one intended generation as a target. This would usually pertain to issues of care, health and safety, and is primarily aimed at children, teens and the elderly. The most common words within this category was: "age-friendly"[23], "care", "volunteering"[24] and "public health"[25].

Volunteerism can be considered as a form of care as it is someone offering their free time for others. When volunteerism is mentioned in plans, it often has to do with measures concerning creating leisure activities for children, teens and the elderly. Very rarely were volunteerism mentioned aiming at active adults as the recipient, rather they are the ones volunteering.

It has to be said that volunteerism in Norway has no age limits as Norwegians are early-on taught that this is something everyone should participate in, or "dugnad" as it is called.

The promising future
As opposed to the stages of minors and the elderly, active adults do not have the usual "tags" or obvious policies such as "care" and "upbringing". Active adults are addressed far more nuanced than the other age groups; it encompasses the active and seeking aspects of life. Words often used with active adults in mind were concentrated in the following themes or policies: higher education, economic growth, business, jobs and housing. The words found were not as obvious as it was in the cases of minors and elders.

Instead, they are hidden in bigger concepts with more complex setup. One example is the word "innovation". At first glance, it does not appear to be age-specific or seem targeted with age group in mind. However, if one asks who is doing the innovation, the age aspects reveals itself. Innovation is rarely mentioned with children nor elders in mind in these plans, at least not as actors, perhaps as recipients. Innovation requires certain conditions to establish itself, such as infrastructure, facilitation for businesses to set shop at a particular location and manpower, just to mention some. All these things are normally decided and executed by active adults, not minors and elders.

[23] Aldersvennlig
[24] Frivillighet
[25] Folkehelse

Minors and active adults were frequently perceived and mentioned with an optimistic tone and future-oriented language. In order to attract the active adults, cities use "coded" phrases we often connotate with optimism and economic growth. All the big municipalities had branding slogans that could be interpreted as age-targeting. "The creative city" and "the knowledge capital" are a few examples of this practice. Trondheim for example, have chosen a branding centered around knowledge because of the university there. In the very opening of this particular planning document, the mayor, states:

"in 2020 Trondheim is the city of knowledge, the city of environment and the city of welfare" (Trondheim kommune, 2010).

But the main take from this plan is that Trondheim is investing its resources to attract and keep knowledge-based skills in their municipality and city. The word "attractive" or variations of it appear 12 times. An example is: "In 2020 Trondheim is the most attractive city for students and scientists" [26] (Trondheim kommune, 2010). Oslo is also branding itself as a place of knowledge and an attractive location for this purpose, the aforementioned word appears 15 times throughout the plan.

There were no regional differences in how the different age groups were perceived or mentioned, perhaps with the exception of Bergen. The smaller municipalities are also pitching themselves as an "attractive" location for desired groups. Active adults with children are wanted because they are perceived as resourceful and can guarantee income to the state, hence a language aimed at attracting these particular groups.

[26] "I 2020 er Trondheims den mest attraktive by for studenter og forskere."

Age-targeting words and phrases from municipal plans (societal section)

Children and teens	Active adults	Elders
Safety Inclusive Opportunity Good upbringing conditions Education	Entreprenør Research Income Knowledge capitol Jobs Commuting Value creation Traffic Active Innovation Businnes Creatingn city Housing construction	Care Health Healthcare Sickness Capacity Healthcare Loneliness Challenges Pressure Increase service costs Care Active Safety

Fig. 3

3.4.2 Real estate ads

Most real estate ads on finn.no have the same set-up; there are photos of the apartment/house's exterior, the interior, floorplans and basic information about the property. A lot of the real estate listings also include pictures of the neighborhood and the amenities there. Another interesting feature from these finn.no ads, is the "recommend" section where it lists the age groups that would fit in or could enjoy living the neighborhood in question. The categorization of the age groups on finn.no are more specific than what can be observed from the language used in laws and policies. Finn.no has more sub categories such as: students, singles, families with children, new couples[27] , "prime-age"[28] and elders[29] .

Depending on the area, the ads goes even further by providing a short demographic analysis of the neighborhood. This analysis comprise of a breakdown of the age groups in the area and the percentage of the populations' marital status. Included are categories such as single people, divorced, partnerships and widowed.

[27] Etablerere
[28] Godt voksen
[29] Eldre

Aldersfordeling

Barn (0-12 år)

Ungdom (13-18 år)
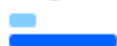
Unge voksne (19-34 år)

Voksne (35-64 år)

Godt voksne (Over 65 år)

An area demographic analysis of an apartment for sale in Carl Berner (Innbydende & flott 2-roms med herlig balkong på 6 m2 - Separat kjøkken med mye plass - Sentralt & attraktivt! I FINN. no, 2021).

Nabolaget er spesielt anbefalt for

Enslige
Studenter
Etablerere
Godt voksne

Hva mer mener de lokalkjente?

Sivil status

Oslo og omegn

● 76% er ikke gift
Oslo og omegn: 56%

● 15% er gift / registrert partnerskap
Oslo og omegn: 31%

● 8% er separert
Oslo og omegn: 9%

● 1% er enke / enkemann
Oslo og omegn: 3%

Fig. 4 An area demographic analysis of an apartment for sale in Carl Berner (Innbydende & flott 2-roms med herlig balkong på 6 m2 - Separat kjøkken med mye plass - Sentralt & attraktivt! I FINN.no, 2021).

I looked at 15-20 real estate ads for houses and apartments all over Oslo, both city center locations and further out. Further, photos of the neighborhoods and the language used were also examined, to see if the same patterns from the plans emerged here as well. To address the photos first. There is a lot to be said about the use of these photos, such as the identical styled apartments with the editorial shots of living rooms and the close-ups of fresh baked goods. One interpretation is how this is a sales tactic. The aim is to make the object on sale look more appealing. It is the same method used to sell other lifestyle items. In addition, I would argue that these photos are used to sell a certain type of life-style or at least ignite certain associations, which could be read as age-targeting. Consciously or not, the subtle hints in the form of known objects such as designer lamps or a famous cookbook, signals something to those groups who recognize these items, it says something about belonging, identity, but also a marker of the life-stage one is at.

There are two types of neighborhood photos in these ads. The first one are those of the amenities such as public transport, cafés and parks. These photos are more common in inner-city neighborhoods such as Grünerløkka. Ads containing photos of parks and cafés indicate a highly active social life. Which, if one were to use the previous age group categories from the plans, the targeted group would be active adults. The other category is the vicinity to nature such as skiing tracks, water, parks and woods. These photos are more likely to appear in the outskirts of city center such as Grefsen.

The life style depicted here is still active, just more focus leisure activities in nature as this is good for the health and great for kids to be around. It signalizes a de-escalation from a previous life-stage in terms of social activities outside of the family.

Fig. 5, Fig. 6, Fig. 7 and Fig. 8. Typical photos seen in real estate listings for homes located in inner and central Oslo. This was taken from an ad for an apartment in Grünerløkka. (source: Innbydende & flott 2-roms med herlig balkong på 6 m2 - Separat kjøkken med mye plass - Sentralt & attraktivt! I FINN.no, 2021)

43

Fig. 9, Fig. 10, Fig. 11 and Fig. 12. A contrast to the restaurants and shops. photos Real estate listings in outer Oslo has more focus on outdoor leisure opportunities. This was taken from a listing from Grefsen. (source: Toppleilighet med stor balkong I Spektakulær utsikt I Nytt bad I Garasje m/lader I Enkel adkomst I Peis I FINN.no, 2021)

44

A typical apartment with an inner-city location with the following attributes: ca. 50 m2, close vicinity to public transport, shops, cafés and parks is targeted towards single people, students, young couples and adults in their prime age (Innbydende & flott 2-roms med herlig balkong på 6 m2 - Separat kjøkken med mye plass - Sentralt & attraktivt! | FINN. no, 2021).

While those ads with photos depicting leisure activities in nature, have a different age group in mind. An apartment put up for sale on Grefsen which had the aforementioned photos, was targeted towards families with children, young couples, adults in their prime age and elderly (Toppleilighet med stor balkong | Spektakulær utsikt | Nytt bad | Garasje m/lader | Enkel adkomst | Peis | FINN.no, 2021).

These findings were consistent based on the sample pool of real estate listings. In terms of language there are some patterns detected. Words and phrases such as: "popular"[30], "everything close by"[31] and "central"[32] were mostly found in ads located in the inner-city areas. While words such as "great view"[33], or in that essence and anything pertaining to great solar conditions[34] are more often found in the properties aimed an older age group and often with more money to spend.

A lot of the sentiments found in laws and policies were also found in this brief examination. The real estate ads aimed at active adults, especially the younger ones, tends to be more exciting, optimistic about the future. This was represented through photos depicting viral urban environments consisting of recreation opportunities and trendy interior choices. The words promised accessibility, popular and attractive neighborhoods. While listings for objects aimed at older groups, or a life-stage where children are involved, had a strong focus on secure and good environments for bringing up children and great views. Elders where rarely mentioned in these ads. Very few of the listings included elders as a potential interest-group. And when they were mentioned it was often in relation to security and universal design matters, which is in accordance to the findings from the municipal plans. In other words, the view or ideas about age groups seen from the law and policies are reproduced in more informal arenas such as the real estate market.

[30] Populær
[31] Alt i nærigheten
[32] Sentralt
[33] Fantastisk utsikt
[34] Solrik

45

3.4.3 Urban projects

Would these sentiments, or the narratives, found so far, also be found in urban projects proposals? In order narrow down the search, I decided to only focus Oslo Science City and Ulven, two different urban projects under development in Oslo. One is an innovation district and the other a big housing project. Of particular interest are the language used and the rendering illustrations provided by the offices behind the projects.

Oslo Science City
Oslo Science City is an urban project proposal that aims at becoming Norway's first "innovation" district. It will connect the areas of Gaustad, Ullevål, Campus Radium Hospital, Blindern, Marienlyst, and Majorstua together with science and innovation as the theme

(Halvorsen, 2020) (Pettrém, 2020). Oslo Science is part of Campus Oslo, a strategy voted for by the city council where the aim is to further develop Oslo as a city of knowledge with international competitiveness (Oslo kommune, 2018).

I have used the materials from the official Oslo Science City website. Words such as "innovation"[35] , "business"[36] , "skilled jobs"[37] and "knowledge"[38] stands out as familiar words, and clearly express an age-targeted strategy in addition to being a branding profile. According the to the city council, they want Oslo to become a "leading and attractive city of knowledge and business region in Europe[39] (Oslo kommune, 2018).

One of the measures they have identified as important in order to achieve success, is: "to attract competence through international profiling and being a good host"[40] (Oslo kommune, 2018).

Without explicitly mentioning age, this formulation does express a desired age group in the same manners seen earlier from the other municipal plans. The age specific strategy is further strengthened by the city council's argument on how Oslo is already a good candidate for such a project, due to its highly educated population and that the city has a lot of skilled jobs.

[35] Innovasjon
[36] Næring
[37] Kompetansearbeidsplasser
[38] Kunnskap
[39] "Ledende attraktiv kunnskapsby og næringsregion i Europa".
[40] "A1: tiltrekke kompetanse gjennom internasjonal profilering og godt vertskap"

Oslo Science City is an urban project that aims to do several things; it wants to attract the international scene and their investors, it wants to be seen as the capital of knowledge, and an attractive one as such. It wants all of these elements to result in "increase value creation, innovation, reset for a zero-emission society and more jobs"[41] (Oslo kommune, 2018). This strategy aims at people with resources and knowledge to make this happen, and this group is most likely active adults.

Ulven

Ulven is a housing project by OBOS[42] (Oslo Housing savings cooperative). Located in Oslo, the goal is to construct about 3000 apartments. For this particular project, I examined written texts on OBOS' website and illustrations.

The very first sentence from OBOS about Ulven is: "On Ulven, you will live in a modern, green borough with close vicinity to great hiking areas and the city center"[43] (OBOS, no date). Ulven promises future buyers a modern place where one can live and work. Ulven, according to OBOS will have it all: restaurants, cafés, recreation opportunities, green pockets of nature and it will only take an Ulven resident 10 minutes with the subway to reach the city center. Its affiliation to Hovinbyen, a borough also in development, will result in a total 40 000 housing units

and accompanying this is the promise of 100 000 jobs (OBOS, no date). From the municipal plans, we have seen how housing and jobs are policies often aimed at active adults, and it appears that this is also the case here.

[41] "Økt verdiskapning, innovasjon, omstilling til nullslippssamfunnet og flere arbeidsplasser"
[42] "Oslo Bolig- og Sparelag
[43] "På Ulven bor du i en moderne, grønn bydel med nærhet til både flotte turområder og til sentrum."

Supplementing this argument, are the rendered illustrations of how life in Ulven could be. The illustrations are filled with able-bodied, skinny and western-looking active adults with their children. There appears to be no intergenerational interactions in any of the illustrations that are not of a familial nature, nor the presence of any elders. The written sales pitch paired with the illustrations demonstrates quite clearly who OBOS' intended buyers group should be.

Fig. 13, Fig. 14
(Source: OBOS, no date)

Fig. 15 and Fig. 16.
Illustrations of how of how life in Ulven could be. Notice the absence of intergenerational interactions that are not of a familial nature. Nor the presence of any elders. The text paired with the illustrations demonstrates the intended age groups: active adults. .
(Source: OBOS, no date)

3.5. Generations in a spatial context

In what way does age segregation manifest itself in a spatial context? This chapter will disseminate how these age-specific spaces can contributes to the sub-division of the population. Places for examination follows the chronological events of a life-course: kindergarten, school, university, the office and housing.

Kindergartens
Most kindergartens follow the same recipe. There is a building with one or several wards for the different age groups. There is also an outdoor space for activities. This is usually supplemented by elements such as a sandbox and other playground equipment. The building is designed to cater to small children's needs, such as space to play, eat and nap.

Kindergartens are always fenced for the safety of the children, often accompanied with a sign telling caretakers to close the gates properly. Kindergartens are an age-specific location with limited access. Only the children who has been granted a spot are allowed to stay there. The only adults that are granted access are the employees and the caretaker of the children. Any person diverging from these groups are denied access into the kindergarten's premises and would appear suspicious if they were to do so. The employees and the parents, are most likely the only adults these children see the most of during this phase of their lives. Depending on the location of the kindergarten, they might be able to catch a glimpse of other age groups through the fences during playtime outdoors. Interactions with strangers from the fences are discouraged, most children

are told not to talk to strangers. It is not customary for an adult without kids in a kindergarten to seek out a random child there. It may be met with suspicion and it is deemed as unsettling behavior.

Kindergartens are under the municipalities' jurisdiction. They are carefully regulated in municipal plans, laws and guidelines. Such the kindergarten law from 2005 (Lov om barnehager (barnehageloven), 2005), the Planning and Building Act and supplementing building regulations. It exist an official guideline from the department of education which provides a blueprint for how to design and plan for kindergartens. On the choice of location, the document argues that because children spend so much time in these places, they should be regarded as important locations for upbringing.

Hence why kindergartens should be placed in a good plot because children's development and health should be prioritized (Hageselskapet, 2006). What these suggestions and the accompanying laws are expressing is the need to protect and make sure that kindergartens will be a space where children can be safe and where their rights will be respected.

Schools – the formal years

Laws and regulations for building and starting school resembles the process seen in kindergartens, with some adjustments. The same logic from above regarding which adults and access to the premises applies here. The only major difference is that the schools are more tailored towards learning which means that the traditional classroom setup with desks and chairs are the dominant features inside.

As the child gets older and proceeds to higher grades, the outdoor space also changes. Gone are the fixed playground structures instead taking its place is ball-games structures, benches and perhaps some form of structure to encourage movement.

Minors spend the majority of their time at school together with their peers. They also spend time with their peers after school as it is customary for most children to attend after-school activities. For primary school kids, there are after-school care services that they can apply to. Here they can occupy themselves with a range of different activities, such as homework, or outdoor activities. These places are also age-specific and a upbringing space, which means it is obligated under laws and regulations to provide a safe environment for kids.

In Norway, high school is not mandatory (Utdanningsdirektoratet, no date), but if they choose to, they attend class with people in the same age group. High schools are also age-specific spaces. Depending on which major one chooses, you spend two to three years with people in the same group with a difference of three years between.

Universities and colleges

Life from the ages of 0 to 18 is characterized by spending the majority of one's time with people from the same age group. University and college is perhaps the first place where one encounters other age groups than one's own and the relation to older adults are different than the other stages. Universities as a space is more open than kindergartens and formal-years schools in that it rarely is fenced in.

Not in the same manner seen in kinder-gartens and primary schools. As a space, universities can be said to be more age group diverse and the public have access to the premises during office hours.

Universities and colleges are for some the first space one encounters as an active adult. Although the main directive is to attain a degree, there are opportunities to pursue other activities that are not forced upon one. The campuses are also sites for leisure activities such as interest clubs like choirs. Due to the vast span of ages in such places, individuals are free to choose how they want to spend their time at campus, seen apart from mandatory attendance.

In a spatial context, these venues cater to active adults group and the amenities on these sites reflects this, as it is not uncommon to find gyms, convenient stores, cafes, restaurants, bars and medical offices in these spaces.

The office
Continuing from one space designed for active-adults to the other. Similar to universities workplaces are also spaces where one are exposed to other age groups. Most workplaces have a rather diverse age range, typically 25-60+. Though a lot depends on sector and field. A workplace, discounting the education and healthcare sectors, are spaces where children or elders are not visible. Occasionally, someone has to bring their kids with them to work, but these spaces are not tailored for children as it lacks amenities children needs and

wants. Some places have the option of an office kindergarten, but this is usually located at a separate location, often nearby. As a space, the office is formed with the aim of facilitating the right conditions for the employees to work. A regular office, consist of desks or working stations with one or several computer screens. Bigger offices might have several conference rooms or small rooms for making phone calls. Some offices have labs or workshops. It is normal for offices to have a small kitchen and or a canteen. As opposed to educational institutions, there are rarely outdoor spaces for offices. Some do, but it is not something that is regulated as with the other cases.

In planning documents, jobs are one of the main policy areas. It is also important when it comes to big development projects, the placement of businesses are often used to attract investors and home buyers to a particular area or neighborhood. In a spatial context, the office is a space where there is an absence of other groups but the active-adult group. Not only is it being presented as such politically, but physically and functionally there are no indications of other groups belonging in these spaces.

Housing

Though most people have a home, housing as a spatial policy is oddly very age-targeted. As demonstrated earlier from the municipal plans and the urban projects, housing as a product is mainly aimed at active adults. However, it exists alternative housing projects where older adults are the main targeted customer, such as gated communities in the US and a few in Norway such as the Doyén apartments. They specialize in housing for rich active seniors over fifty.

Housing has historically always been age-specific. OBOS' history, which in many ways coincides with the housing history of Norway demonstrates this. OBOS started their collaboration with Oslo municipality in 1935. Instead of developing housing themselves, the municipality outsourced it to OBOS. The housing situation in Norway back then was in a dire state. There was a scarcity in housing and the existing standards were of subpar quality (Kronborg, 2014, p.10)

Apartments for families

Most of OBOS' projects up to 1958 was aimed at couples and families. Apartments with separate kitchens and bedrooms were only for families and couples. However, a trial project in Lambertseter was finished in 1958. The apartment complex consisted of single-room apartments, or studio apartments and 22 dorms. Back then, it was believed that single people did not need features such as lawns and parking spaces, as opposed to families. What they needed, according to the architects Rinnan & Tveten was near vicinity to public transport in order to commute to work and services such as restaurants and cinemas (Kronborg, 2014, p. 128). Not unlike what we saw on finn.no.

The scarcity of housing combined with high demand forced the government to make difficult priorities, resulting in single people having to resort to less than ideal housing solutions. Until the ban was lifted, single people faced a tough housing situation, such as tiny dorms, renting expensive rooms and places in such dire conditions (Kronborg, 2014, p. 128).

As the 60s approached, single people unionized with the aim of requesting the right to home ownership. Their efforts led to fruition and resulted in changes in leasing and buying requirements. As the economy grew stronger, as did the financial status of this group. This group made up a new buyer group and a market for apartments for single people emerged. The housing market was not equal for all until 1983 (Kronborg, 2014, p. 138-141).

The glorious 60s

Omitting OBOS' Ammerud project from 1966 would be to neglect the zenith of Norway's welfare system (Kronborg, 2014, p. 177). In many ways, one could describe the Ammerud plan as the poster child of the welfare state. Designed by Håkon Mjelva and Per Norseng, this satellite city was not just going to be filled with many housing units. It was to contain "schools, kindergartens, retirement homes, parking garages and some grocery stores" (Kronborg, 2014, p. 177). Ammerud would have all the structures and facilities to take its inhabitants through all stages of life, all in one place.

Deregulation

The regulation of the housing market was dismantled by the end in the 80s. After the deregulation everyone could buy whichever apartment they desired, homes were no longer built to cater solely to families. The market opened up for more than one type of homebuyers. This shift also coincides with the age where individualism gets a stronghold. The nuclear family structure gets challenged by individualism due to factors such as gender equality, women started to remove themselves from the "carefully" designed kitchens from the 40s into factories and offices and generally increase in wealth.

CHAPTER 4

Intergenerational relations in pop culture

The sub-dividing of the population has not the only impacted our organization of society and life-course, it has also normalized how we regard different age groups and the ideas about age mixing. As lamented earlier, the sub-division of the population into age groups has made age mix encounters outside of the family sphere difficult. Because it is not visible it may be regarded as something unusual. This chapter aims to explore this notion of what is perceived as normal and abnormal in the context of intergenerational relations by using portrayals from pop culture.

4.1 Why include popular cultural references?

Popular culture's use may be multifaceted. Pop culture can be used to portray an alternative reality, perhaps a better version than the one we live in now. The concept of utopia comes to mind. Associated by Sir Thomas More, who coined the term with his book with the same title, where he wrote about his take on a perfect society. The word was composed by combining the Greek word ou meaning no or not and topos, meaning place (Merriam Webster, no date a). Utopia can thus be translated as a place that does not exist. Nevertheless, it is commonly applied in the same fashion as More;

describing a perfect or ideal place. In this context, pop culture serves visions one may strive for or conversely; show an undesirable alternatives (dystopias). However, it is not just about utopias. Another dimension of using pop culture is to prove a point or showcase something. In this case it is used to challenge our notion of normality when it comes to interactions and relations across different generations. What we perceive as normal, pop culture can turn that notion upside down, as some of these examples will demonstrate.

4.2 What is considered normal?

In real life there are set ideas about normal and abnormal relations when it comes to age mixes. Mixes that are acceptable in one setting might change in another. For example, an older adult male being friends with a young woman is considered abnormal. It has certain unfavorable connotations to it, which prompts such relations to be considered as borderline inappropriate or strange. The same logic can be applied by reversing the genders. Intergenerational friends of the opposite sex often find that they have to explain themselves to others. Even more frowned upon is an adult male and a minor which has even darker taint to it as it has strong connotations to perversity. However, if these were related to each other, all doubts are removed. These ideas are deeply embedded in how we perceive age groups and intergenerational relations, that when it is challenged in popular culture it is often portrayed as something comic or novel. Ridiculing less visible social phenomena, is not uncommon. An example is the portrayals of LGBTQI people in pop-culture. The documentary Disclosure (2020) chronicled how pop culture has depicted transpeople throughout time. It could refence to decades with cheap jokes and disseminating damaging ideas about these groups. Luckily, the representation of these minorities are becoming better as they have been granted space to tell their stories to a wider audience, such as the shows Pose and RuPaul's Drag Race. This long diversion is to emphasize the ideas we have of normality and how pop culture can both contribute to maintain embedded ideas but also challenge these notions and alter them.

4.3 Generations in pop culture

Age and generations have been explored and portrayed a lot in popular culture and it extends intergenerational relations to outside of the family context. Although depictions of relations within the family is still the most common portrayals in popular culture. This chapter will examine two Scandinavian children show and a Wes Anderson film. In the examples examined, the age span of different generations interacting with each other ranged from 6 to 70+ years old. A common trait found in all these interactions was the absence of a third party organizing these interactions, as we have seen in intergenerational practice. In the examples examined, these relationships occurred more or less organically and are portrayed as genuine.

4.4 Emil and Alfred

In the Swedish show Emil i Lønneberget, we meet Emil, a mischievous boy around the age of 6. Based on the tools and fashion seen in the show, the show was most likely set in the early 1900s. Emil often gets into trouble by doing shenanigans and being too curious. It is mostly Emil's father who is the victim of Emil's carelessness and he often reacts with anger. When this happens, Emil has to hide in a shed. This shed is where Emil reflect and repent over his actions while doing some woodwork. His preference is carving wooden sculptures. Something we would never let a six-year-old do alone today.

He often seeks solace and company with Alfred, an adult who works and live in the farm Emil's family owns.

Alfred is unmarried and about 30-40 years old. Alfred always makes time for Emil. He is the one Emil prefers to socialize with. A running catchphrase throughout the show is Emil telling Alfred: "you and I, Alfred" (Du och jag, Alfred), and Alfred would respond back: "you and I, Emil" (Du och jag, Emil). In an episode ("Grisen er gal!" Hellbom, 1975) Emil reflects over who matters the most to him and Alfred was ranked on top. This sentiment is demonstrated in the episode "The big blizzard" (Hellbom, 1975a) (Den store snøstormen) where Alfred becomes really ill. The blizzard made it hard to use the horses and the carriage, so the trip to the doctor was postponed. Emil who feared the worse, took matters into his own hands, and strapped his own horse (which he procured through hustling a rich man a few episodes back) to take his friend to the doctor. Throughout this whole ordeal, Emil is seen to be very upset and worried about Alfred. One never gets a sense that this relationship is of a paternalistic character, but rather a genuine friendship where both are equal in terms of power and position. The two mostly talk, but they also go swimming and fishing. In many ways, Emil i Lønneberget depicts a lost time where kids had more autonomy and were in more control of their time and who they wanted to be with. The Swedish countryside seemed absent of danger for children.

What this universe considers normal would be disputed in today's society. Just the fact that an adult is hanging out with a young kid is considered strange and even suspicious according to today's standards. For instance, very few would let their young son go out for a skinny-dipping session with the farm employ-

ee. But in the show, this is not problematized. It is portrayed as the most natural thing. No one on the farm or in the village questions Alfred's motifs or "intentions" with Emil. They are being regarded as friends by everyone. Emil is never seen asking his parent's permission to take off with Alfred or when he decides to wander off by himself and in turn, his parents never asks him where he is going or what he is doing.

In many ways, Emil in Lønneberget can be read as idealizing not just the autonomy of the child, but also intergenerational relations, here in the form of two best friends. It is worth mentioning that Emil seems to be a kid who rather enjoys spending time with adults. In one episode, he is seen in a place where poor people congregate and it is told that he sometimes comes there to read to them. It did not appear that someone told him

to do this, nor was this a program where kids had to read out loud to poor analphabets. Throughout the show, Emil is interacting with adults on his own terms with no censorship, either it is telling Alfred how much he cares for him or negotiating with adults to attain various of farm animals. None of these things are considered normal taken out of this context, but in this universe it is considered as something natural.

Fig. 17 (Source: (Hellbom, 1975a)

4.5 Hagen and Big Tony

Another children's show that depicts intergenerational relations is the Norwegian show Lillys butikk. The setting is Oslo during the 90s. It follows a flower shop owner and her neighbors in Grünerløkka. Throughout the show, different families are introduced, but some characters are reoccurring. Such as Mr. Hagen and Big Tony, who happens to be one of the more interesting relations depicted in the show; an elderly retired man and a teenage boy. The two did not start out as friends, but as neighbors. Mr. Hagen used to run the kiosk that is now the flower shop. From the show, it appears that Hagen has lived in Grünerløkka his whole life. In the first episodes, he is depicted as a grumpy old man who hates change, especially Lilly and her flower shop until he realizes she was a kid who used

to hang out with him back in the days. After this realization Hagen turns all his negative energy to help her. It is during this mission that he really befriends Tony. Tony is a friendly teenager who knows all the kids on the block. Lilly's poor business sense, such as not understanding how to promote her shop and giving away free flowers, prompts her friends to help her. Hagen who badly wants to redeem his previous bad behavior, teams up with Tony to spread the word about the flower shop.

In the beginning, the two start hanging out over helping Lilly. It is often Hagen who asks Tony to meet with him under various pretenses such as strategy planning sessions. In one episode, the two is portrayed as having a good time as they do pranks together while baking buns for a cake sale, on Hagen's insistence

(Ramberg et al., 1996, aired September 19 1996). Hagen often display tough love towards Tony (and Lilly) like when he criticizes him for his bad whistling skills, but then he always offer to help. Later in the show, it is revealed that Tony has run errands for Hagen in the past like buying him groceries.

From a spatial context, it is interesting where and how these interactions occur in the show. They are often seen in Hagen's apartment but not Tony's, this is partially due to Hagen's bad back. Or they are seen in Lilly's shop as the two helps her out. But other contact zones are either the courtyard where Hagen's kitchen window is located and the pavements surrounding the shop and the block. These interactions outside are often short conversations as they pass each other on the streets.

Lillys butikk was a show that celebrated Oslo's multiculturalism and the neighborhood. It did not just depict families from Norway, but also families from places such as Pakistan and Vietnam. It portrayed these cultures in an authentic way at a time where many children with another ethnicity never saw themselves on TV or heard their mother tongue on national TV in a normal setting.

It was also a celebration of the tradition of neighbors keeping an eye on kids even if they were not their own. But in this case, they develop genuine friendships. It is a utopian depiction of life in the city. A way of life where all the neighbors know each other, where old people were not isolated and where kids could be outside alone because they could always rely on an adult to keep them safe. Such as the episode where Lilly finds a little boy out-

side her store who got lost (Ramberg et al., 1996, aired September 9 1996). Later in the show she is seen taking him to the park to meet other kids from the neighborhood. This could never happen in real life.

A stranger taking a kid she does not know to the park to meet other kids is unheard of and may even appear peculiar and unnatural in real life.

Fig. 18 (Source: (Ramberg et al, 1996)

It appears that Lilly believed she has a social responsibility towards her neighbors, hence the effort of introducing the little boy who was lost to the other kids in the neighborhood. In the universe of Lillys butikk it was common for people of all ages to come into her store and socialize, often without buying anything. She often cater to the different ages who visits her, either procuring a good lounge chair for Hagen or giving out hugs and sweet buns. This behavior is not questioned in the show, no one regard it as strange, but rather as a friendly gesture.

4.6 Max and Herman

Another universe that include intergenerational relationships is Wes Anderson's films. Anderson often include intergenerational relations in his oeuvres, both of within family and outside. Eccentric kids are often seen befriending older adults. This often occurs with a dysfunctional backdrop such as existential crisis, loneliness and depression, although with a tragi-comic hue to it.

In Rushmore, we meet Max Fischer, a talented 15-year-old boy who does everything, but study. Instead, he spends his time founding or heading the school's extra-curricular clubs. Max is seen to have several intergenerational interactions throughout the film. His chapel partner in school is Dirk, who is much younger (estimated age is ca. 10) and they have a

friendly tone outside of church services. Max is often seen talking to other students' parents, one of them is Herman Blume who he befriends. Blume's age is estimated to be ca 50 (Anderson, 1998). He is a depressed rich man with two sons who constantly disrespects him. In Max, Herman finds solace and company, although not in a paternalistic fashion. When they socialize they talk about the big questions in life such as the purpose of life, war and love. In one scene Max asks Herman "you were in Vietnam, if I'm not mistaken, weren't you? Were you in the shit?" to which Herman replies "yeah. I was in the shit" (Anderson, 1998). The conflict appears when they both falls in love with the same woman, a teacher at Rushmore, Ms. Cross, estimated age 25-30 and the friendship is put on trial. Both Herman and Ms. Cross refer to Max as their friend throughout the film and their

interactions with him are neither a nature of care of paternalistic, but rather as equal standing friends.

Nothing in Rushmore is regarded as normal in real life. Especially in the context of intergenerational relations. In one scene, Max, Herman, Ms. Cross and her friend go to a restaurant, to celebrate Max' new play. There are not many adults who would bring a moody drunk teenager they are not related to for an evening in a restaurant. But here this is portrayed as a normal thing. The only issue arises when Max is rude to Ms. Cross' friend because he is jealous. Max' age is seldom an issue, with a few exceptions such as when miss Cross rejects his advances. There seems that Max is often the one who initiates contact with these adults, like inviting them to his plays or planning activities for them.

Rushmore and other Anderson movies depicts an alternative reality where kids, often wunderkinds, befriend adults they can share thoughts and interests with and equally, adults find these kids fascinating and develops a friendship with them. Anderson's universe is an homage to kids who had more in common with adults than their peers, but also the normalization of these relations.

The adults in these movies, feel alienated and detached from their own generation. In kids such as Max, they found a connection. In Anderson's universe this is normalized, here there is nothing wrong with a depressed fifty-year-old man telling a fifteen year-old-boy how lonely he feels.

Fig. 19 (Source: (Anderson, 1998)

4.7 What can planning extract from pop culture?

All the examples mentioned above displays a universe where intergenerational interactions are normalized, but also to a certain degree idealized. The Emil example shows a childhood of autonomy and independence to befriend who they like. While Lilly displayed how one does not have to be lonely in the city and kids can rely on local adults for support and company. While Rushmore is a universe where kids and adults form friendships over the deeper questions about life. These examples were chosen to portray not only different milieus, but also different settings, ages and types of friendships. While Lilly would feel maternal to the youngest kids or the role of a caretaker, Herman considered Max as a good friend, perhaps only friend, and Emil would go to great

lengths to save Alfred's life because he is his favorite person.

The idealization lies in the simplicity of how nice it seems and the comforting aspects of these relations and interactions. But also in terms of the benefits these relations give, either it is sharing interests, helping each other out, or merely spending time with someone one find enjoyable to be with. If one compares how these pop cultural references has normalized intergenerational relations, to what planning considers as normal, a gap reveals itself.

From previous chapters, planning and its supporting structures have designed systems which have resulted in keeping age groups from each other, due to necessity. But in these pop cultural references, they have found a way around

these structures, and demonstrated how interactions across age groups can be regarded as something normal. In planning, the age groups are often treated as separate units with separate spaces with accompanying functions. In the references looked at, these lines are erased and relations and interactions are free to emerge. What these pop cultural references demonstrate is the value of sharing experiences across age groups and the opportunities that comes with these relations. Sure, pop culture cannot tell us everything, but it can tell us something. Could it be that planning has been too occupied with providing for material needs that it has neglected the social needs across ages? And where does this fit into planners' responsibilities? In the context of densification, was it a mistake to make these age segregated structures so rigid.

Or phrased differently, could it be a lost opportunity based on these examples in terms of density? Should planning be more imaginative in order to facilitate for these relations in the name of social sustainability? What can be extracted from a few children shows and a Wes Anderson movie are the many bene-fits of intergenerational relations, some of which are relevant to planning. The portrayals of alternative realities where normalcy is challenged offers possible solutions to issues such as loneliness and social cohesion.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS FROM CASES

For this project, three cases were studied; a neighborhood coffee shop, students who lives in a retirement facility and two individuals' upbringing in rural areas. The three cases also make up three different spatial settings: dwelling, spaces where leisure happens and workplace. The choice of including a case set in rural areas is to see whether the degree of density may influence intergenerational relations or not.

5.1 The workplace, the third space and the dwelling

5.1.1 Edvards

Edvards Kaffebar was a neighborhood coffee shop, in Grünerløkka. The area is characterized by blocks of apartments with shops on the ground floor. Edvards back in the day had visitors from all ages and all walks of life, according to an informant who used to work there. The little coffee shop had many regulars, the staff knew their names and often also their orders by heart,
"he would order a black coffee and a roll with brown cheese" (Informant 1, 2021).

What makes Edvards an interesting case for studying intergenerational relations in an urban setting, was how these relations did not only occur inside Edvards and during its operating hours. It continued outside the coffee shop and beyond its opening hours, which indicates the strength of the of these relations.

The informant from Edvards, a woman, then in her early twenties, worked as a barista there and she befriended some of the patrons and many of them were far older than she was. According to her, the oldest was in their eighties. The informant's relations and interactions with her older café friends existed both inside and outside of the context of patron and

barista relation. According to the informant, they would do activities such as visiting art galleries, make dinner and go on walks together.

Informant 1: And I have been to his house and made dinner.

Interviewer: oh wow

Informant 1: and like yeah, helped him with the apartment, did some cleaning and such.

(Informant 1, 2021)[44]

According to the informant, there were often more elderly men than women that would sit alone in Edvards, and other similar places. The informant has since moved on to another coffee shop, but could testify to the neighborhood coffee "phenomenon", where people in all ages meet for coffee and end up socializing outside of opening hours.

5.1.2 St Paulus

St. Paulus is first and foremost a retirement home for elderly who needs 24/7 care and assistance. However, it is also the site of a beer garden, a café, a co-working space, a rehearsal site for music and now a co-living place. The retirement and care-home was until recently under the administration of a Swedish health-care-provider Attendo Care, which is a new practice within the Norwegian welfare state. The Lovisenberg foundation has since bought the Attendo branches Velferd and Omsorg (NTB, 2020). Paulus is also located centrally in Grünerløkka. The entrance to the beer garden is located next to the river of Aker which is a popular destination for walks and recreation.

Paulus uses intergenerational relations as a method in their elderly care. This sets them apart from other retirement facilities as it has an extroverted approach to elderly care. This also makes Paulus is an interesting case for many reasons. To address their philosophy first. In addition to offer the residents legal obligated health care services, St Paulus also offer "cultural" programs which not only includes the residents, but also their loved ones from the outside and the neighbors. This manifest itself in cultural events they host in their café and biergarten.

44
Informant 1: så har jeg vært hjemme hos han og lagd middag
Intervjuer: jøss
Informant 1: og liksom ja, hjulpet han rundt med leiligheten, vaska litt og sånt.

The age-friendly neighborhood pub is a collaboration with a local café where they have styled the pub in a festival aesthetic that appeals to a younger crowd such as students and other active adults. The pub is also friendly to children as it has swings and a sand pit for kids. According to the staff, opening the care facility to the neighbors and loved ones, was something they believed was important in order to fight loneliness and improve mental health (Lovisenberg Omsorg, no date). Further, they believe the intergenerational approach brings some normalcy to the residents who desperately needs it because they are so isolated from the outside world due to their ailments. In this case, age-segregation is necessary for their survival.

According to a source at St. Paulus, they had been planning to rent out the top floor apartments for students, when a TV production team approach them with the same idea which became Prosjekt Kollektiv (2020). Due to the extraordinary circumstances of 2020-2021, field work at Paulus was impossible. This had huge implication for the documentary show in which the premise was students socializing with the elders. The two groups were isolated after a week of introduction. There were no possibilities of interviewing the elders, thus their views will mainly be based on what was displayed in the show. According to an insider at Paulus, who had intimate knowledge of the shoots, there were little to no directions in terms of what the participants said or did in the show.

The show can thus be described as a documentary series and for the purpose of this project be treated as such.

The informants from Paulus are two students who auditioned for the show. They both expressed the same motifs for joining the project; to get to know some elders and become friends with them. Of the informants, only one had intergenerational relations before entering the series. The aforementioned informant, had both younger and older friends. According to him, the age range of his friends ranged from sixteen to eighty. These are people he has befriended either through work or through friends. While the second informant reported that he would exclusively socialize with people from his age group.

The same informant said he did not know why it was like this, but that he would want to change this hence joining the show.

From the interviews, it was revealed that both informants had plans of becoming visiting friends at retirement homes. But this only remained an idea, until they moved into Paulus. Both students were curious about elders as a group. One informant said:

"I'm doing it partially to debunk it a little. What kinds of myths do I believe that might not be the case"

(Informant 3, 2021)[45].

[45] "Jeg gjør det litt for å debunke det litt. Hva slags myter er de jeg tror på som kanskje ikke stemmer."

The students lives on the top floor. The whole floor have apartments with kitchen, bathroom, living room and two bedrooms. There is a living room/hangout place for all the apartments.

First floor is reserved for dining, socializing and other services such as nail salon, café and the pub.

Fig. 21. A breakdown of where the different age groups lives and socialize with each other. Seen from the entrance from the Biergarten and on the other page, seen from the courtyard.

Fig. 22.
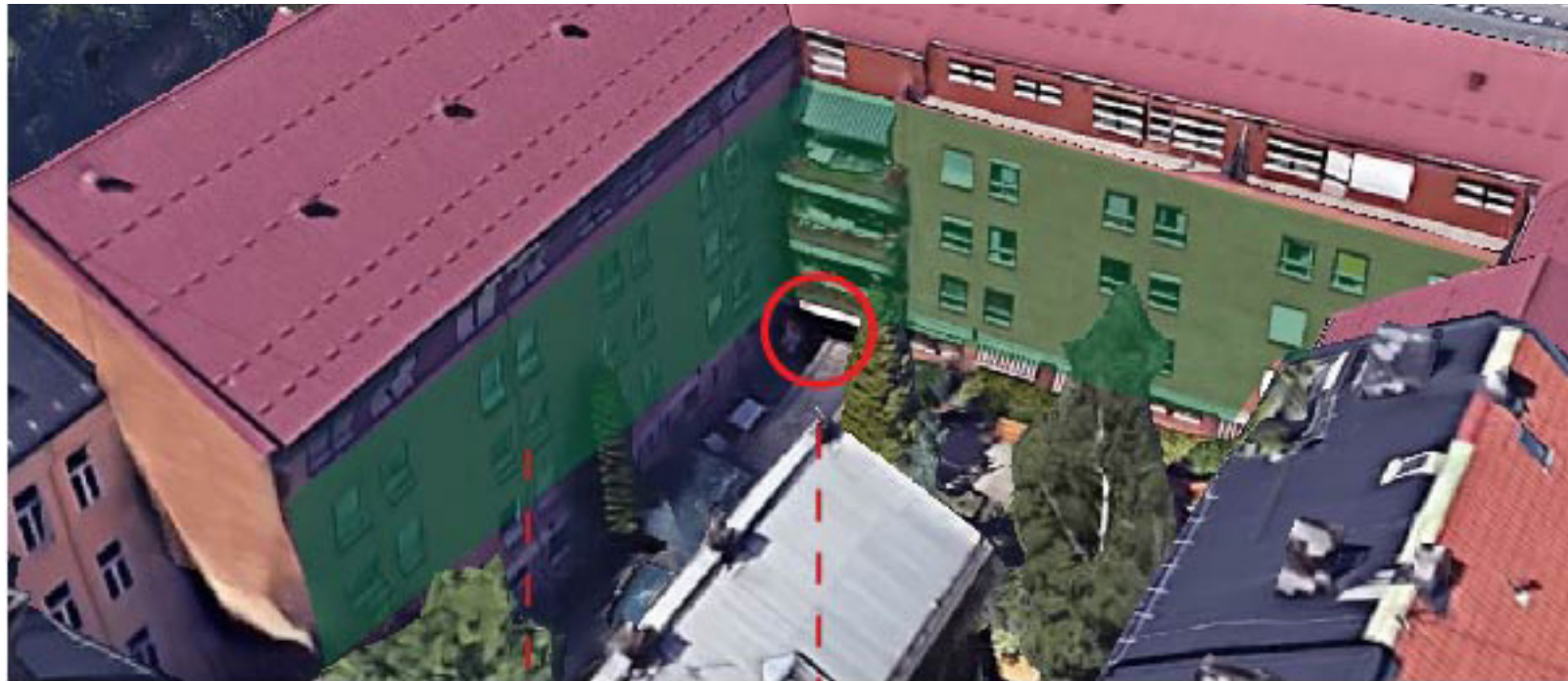
The residents of Paulus lives between the first and the top floors.

The entrance where the receotion is and the elevator to the other floors is located

As the retirement home had to isolate their residents from the world, one of the student found alternative ways of maintaining his friendship with this new older friend. Before he could be seen taking his friend on walks and cafés. But during the lockdown he found himself having to teach an eighty-year old man new digital technology. He taught his friend how to operate Facetime (a videoconference application on Apple devices) and send Snaps (an application that allows the user to send pictures and short videos that would disappear after opening). All this happened remotely, with the aid of the staff at Paulus. The use of apps and videoconference was the main source of communication between the students and the elders in the show. The old man seemed to enjoy receiving these small messages, normally consisting of a self-portrait of his younger friend with a short message. According to the same informant, the best conversations would happen off-camera and they could talk without thinking about censoring themselves. They would converse on phone approximately once a week according to informant 1.

5.1.3 Growing up in rural places

Two informants who grew up in Hedmark, now known as Innlandet a rural area, shared stories about a childhood where it was normal to knock on an elder adult's house and socialize with them.

The first informant from this case shared that she used to spend time with her older male neighbor as a child and that she would still visit him when she visits her family now as an adult.

She shared that they would hang out and talk about things. The informant said:

"... it's like a neighborly thing, you pop by... you drink coffee"
(Informant 4, 2021)[46].

According to this informant, not only was it far between other neighbors but there were not many children nearby, so it was natural to include him as a social relation since he was the closest human around. . This neighbor was a man who lives across the field and would often appear on the farm the informant used to live on, to either help out with errands or check on things.

46 "Men det er et naboskap at man går innom...man drikker kaffe på vei."

71

When asked to characterize this relation, the informant described it as:

"more neighborly – I have never seen in Oslo or other places that I have lived. You kind of have to care about each other."
(Informant 4, 2021)[47].

According to her, the dynamic of rural areas dictates the importance of togetherness or good social cohesion because it is necessary to their survival. Due to the vast distances, either between neighbors or important functions, it is in everybody's interest to care about each other.

The same informant also said that sharing and using each other's skills were also an important factor in how the social relations were formed as there were two adjacent farms, her family's and the neighbor's.

The second informant from Hedmark, also befriended her neighbor, a man who is now deceased. When they were friends he was approximately in his sixties. They were next door neighbors, sharing a bush between the properties. According to her, she used to visit her neighbor friend almost daily and would even bring her other kid-friends to come and play in this neighbor's house.

"No, he had a big house, so it was very nice to bring friends over and we could go on as we wanted to."
(Informant 5, 2021)[48].

She was there so often that her father and the neighbor decided to carve a whole in the bush between the properties so that she did not have to get out into traffic in order to visit her friend. The two would do activities such as watching TV and listening to music. The informant credit her old friend for learning her important life skills, such as reading, building a fire and driving.

[47] "Mer en naboskap. Jeg har aldri opplevd det i Oslo eller i andre steder der jeg har bodd da . Men man må liksom bry seg om hverandre."
[48] "Nei, han hadde jo et stort hus, et stor enebolig så det var jo veldig stas å ha med venner dit og vi fikk jo holde på egentlig akkurat som vi ville."

The neighbor's house

Informant 5's house

A hole the informant's father and her neighbor carved into a bush so that she could easily visit her friend
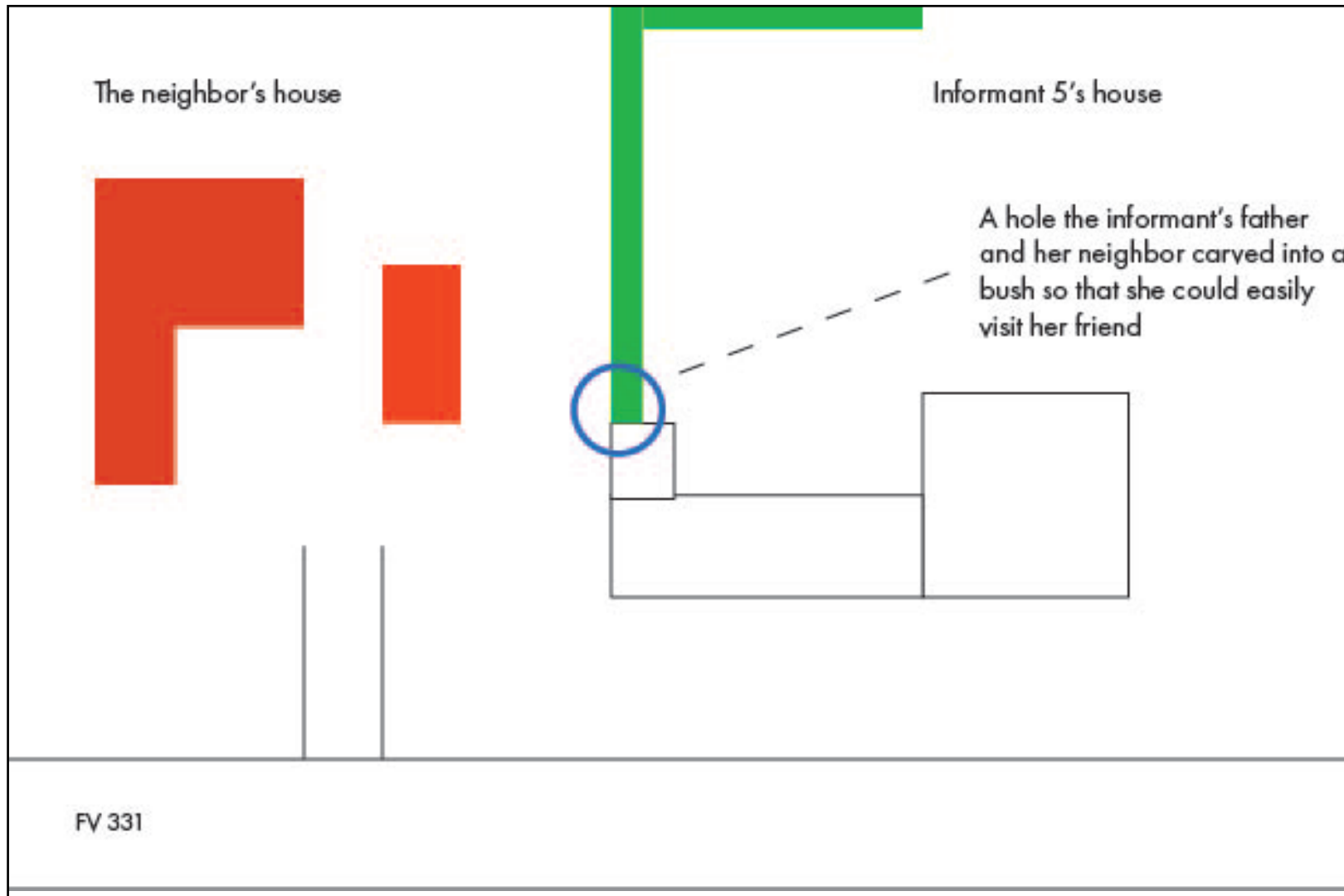
FV 331

Fig. 23
An illustration based on informant 5's sketch over the two houses and the hole in the bush.

The old neighbor lived alone when the informant befriended him and he enjoyed being around children since he at that point did not have his own grandchildren. The neighbor also had a good relationship to the informant's parents as he was an important figure in their lives when they moved there as young adults. When asked to describe the nature of their relationship, the informant said that he had the function of a grandfather figure, but he was free from the constraint of upbringing and discipline and thus could be more "fun" (Informant 5, 2021).

Although both informants grew up in Hedmark, they lived in different areas with different characteristics. One lived in an area characterized by farming and where it is was far between the neighbors. While the other one lived in a small rural area where it was denser between the neighbors although there were farms here as well. In many ways this affected how the two formed relations to their older neighbors and how they regarded these relations. In the first case, the informant described the relation as a good neighbor who would help the family on the farm. The second informant however, had more children around her, but the neighbor was close to her family and she enjoyed spending time with him. She had a closer relation with her neighbor compared to the other informant. Where the first relation was heavily influenced by necessity, but also good neighborship, the second relation was more familial, as she described him as a grandfather-like figure.

5.2 Spatial apparatuses – sites of intergenerational relations

What sorts of apparatuses creates or facilitates for intergenerational relations? From the cases above, these could be a neighborhood coffee shop, a housing collective and rural neighborhoods. Although different in nature and varying degrees of openness, they all represent spaces where intergenerational relations occurred and where it was fostered.

As an apparatus and a space, Edvards, the coffee shop, is both someone's workplace and others' third space. This affects the dynamic of relations. For instance, at work there are certain rules and norms that needs to be followed. The barista who befriended the patrons there had to stay professional.

She could be friendly towards her friends, but had to make sure she did not neglect other customers or duties while on the clock.

When you spend a lot of time at a place and you see the same people, sometimes bonds formed. This is was the case at Edvards. The informant worked at 60% capacity next to studying and got to know the regulars there. Edvards was a coffee shop where patrons could sit down with their orders, as opposed to coffee shops where you order to go. When you sit down at a place, and often at the same time over a significant period, you start noticing people, and them, you. What perhaps started out as coffee consumption developed into intergenerational relations for some, and it would surpass Edvard's opening hours (and existence) and interactions would continue outside of this particular location. Some patrons who frequented Edvards became friends with each other, according to the informant. The setting and space were well-suited for intergenerational relations for several reasons. Firstly, it was a public space where everyone could come in and most people drink coffee or other hot beverages. In other words, it was a low threshold to seek out. In addition, it was located close to where many people lived, with that comes exposure and contact zones. Without Edvards these intergenerational relations would perhaps not have happened, at least not with the same people.

The housing collective is another apparatus for creating intergenerational relations. Apart from those who work there, Paulus is in many respects a dwelling. Although the students live in apartments with bathrooms and kitchens, they could (before the pandemic) go downstairs and dine with the elders if they wanted to. At Paulus, there were several contact zones which made it easy to form contact with each other. The retirement home has several rooms for socializing such as a living room, library, church room, the court yard and the biergarten. But there are also other less obvious contact zones, such as the elevator, hallways or the mailboxes, where the residents could meet each other, if only for a quick talk. It is not just the residents who the students have contact with, the staff at Paulus are also people these students see every day and naturally interactions would occur.

Entrance to Biergarten and café

Entrance for residents

The yard is shared with those who lives there

Fig. 24. An aerial view of the different entrances and contact points at Paulus.

A third example of an apparatus for intergenerational relations are close-knitted neighborhoods, with the sub-category dwelling. The two cases from Hedmark showed how low density created a psycho-social situation where elderly neighbors became close with the children in the neighborhood. In both cases the neighbors was located quite close to where the informants' lived. The close vicinity allowed these relations to form, it created a low threshold for the kids to approach their elderly neighbors. Most interactions occurred inside the neighbors' homes, since the men lived there alone and the kids wanted to get out of their own houses. One informant said that one of the great things about visiting her older friend was how he let her choose the TV programs she wanted to watch, and the promise of receiving candy. As with the Paulus case, there are other contact zones where they could meet each other, such as the driveway, mailboxes or similar semi-public areas near the dwelling. Though Edvards and Paulus were in many ways public and semi-public, the Hedmark examples are private spheres. The home is a more relaxed and informal place, but it is also a very personal space. Not everyone is comfortable with inviting others over. Being let into someone's home is almost an act of trust in many respects. The degree of trust in these case made these relations genuine.

Other venues where intergenerational relations occurred
It happens that these interactions occurred outside the "main" spaces. One informant enjoyed attending art exhibitions with her older friends and having dinner parties at each other's homes.

Another informant liked to go on car rides with his younger friends. Being located so centrally in Grünerløkka it was also common for the residents and the students to socialize outside Paulus, like walking in the park. One informant from the rural cases, shared that her family and the neighbor would go on daytrips to his cabin.

The significance of the neighborhood
One thing stood out from the cases, namely the sense of neighborhood. Informant 1 believed that these intergenerational interactions would often occur in coffee shops placed near people's dwellings. Edvards was not special as a concept, but rather its' location with close vicinity to people's homes was a deciding factor. It was a contact zone for those who would visit the coffee shop.

The same informant said this also happened at another coffee shop where she used to work at. She noticed that this would not happen in areas where few people lived.

For the informants who grew up in the rural areas, the sense of neighborship seemed particular important, especially in the case with the woman who grew up on a farm. The other rural case, the neighbor man was a close family friend as the ties were established many years ago and they have witnessed each other's life-course stages.. For Paulus, the neighborhood is instrumental in their business model, as they consider themselves as a spatial actor due to their location, but also as someone who invites outsiders inside.

5.3 Patterns

A reoccurring observation from all interA reoccurring observation from all interviews were how all informants expressed how much they enjoyed the stories their older friends shared with them. Many formulated this to being let into a time and a piece of history they would otherwise never get to know this intimately. One informant said:

"He could tell the most funny stories because he lived during the war."

(Informant 1, 2021)[49].

Another informant said:

"... and I also got a lot of stories from him too, since he grew up near the Swedish border so they helped people flee to Sweden and that sort of thing."

(Informant 5, 2021)[50].

The act of being let into a moment in history by an individual who was there as a witness, is something that leaves a profound impression on the one being told the story.

[49] "Han kunne fortelle de morsomste historiene for han levde jo under krigen."
[50] "... og masse historier også fikk jeg fra han fordi han er vokst opp svenskegrensa så de hjalp folk til å flykte over til Sverige og sånne ting."

The stories aside, there were also a genuine appreciation from the informants about getting let into someone's life. As one informant put it:

"Yes, you really get to partake in somebody's life during that stage... I never knew someone who is like eighty."
(Informant 1, 2021)[51].

Related to past events, are perspectives one would otherwise not have been subjected to. Several of the informants appreciated being exposed to other perspectives. One informant lamented the importance of surrounding oneself with people from different age groups. He believed exposure to different age groups than his own, could impact the way he thought about things and mostly, how he

regards life. He said:
"it is very giving, and you get a bigger picture on life in general and what people goes through... you get a clue about what's to come" (Informant 2, 2021)[52].

Another discovery was the possible impact of missing elder figures growing up. Two of the informants shared the fact that they had been missing elder figures growing up, such as the absence of a parent or grandparents. One informant could share that he has always looked for an older role model due to the absence of a father. Although, he clarified that these older male friends were considered more as a big brother figure. Not that these older figures were necessarily substitutes, but there seems to be some comfort even though these relations were described as friendships.

5.4 Is it weird to hang out with an older person?

The normality/abnormality associated with intergenerational relations outside the family context was something several of the informants had reflected over. One female informant, said she is aware of how it looks, especially as a young female socializing with elderly men. This particular informant emphasized that she was only friends with these older male friends.

51 "Ja, man har virkelig fått ta litt del i noen andre sitt liv på et stadiet Jeg har aldri kjent noen som har vært åtti liksom."
52 "Det er veldig givende og du får et større bilde på livet generelt og hva folk går gjennom og du får en hint hva som er på vei til å komme."

But she did reflect over safety issues, she could share the following:

"oh yeah, definitely. And there were people who thinks "I wouldn't have done it". Or maybe it even feels scary too. "What does this eighty-year-old man, want with me". Nothing scary it turned out, but you are careful" (Informant 1, 2021)[53].

The same informant could also share that some of her acquaintances thought it was strange when she invited one of her older friends to her birthday party, but lamented that her closest friends did not share the same sentiments as intergenerational relations is considered normal in her network of close friends.

Another informant lamented that he did not seek out a retirement home earlier (before the show) because he felt he was imposing on someone. He also expressed that it felt difficult because things are so different now compared to before and this made it difficult to initiate contact, in addition to not have time. The feeling of not having things in common seems to be a hindrance for some of the informants. This particular informant lamented that taking the steps of contacting someone from another generation felt like a significant leap. He expressed that since intergenerational relations is not something "one has been introduced to doing in society" (Informant 3, 2021)[54]. Hence, breaking the norm feels uncomfortable and scary.

From this informant and other informal conversations, there seems to be an idea that establishing relations with generations or age groups outside of one's own is perceived as rather difficult and strange. He also expressed fear over being perceived as different or standing out and being accused of something. A possible reading of this sentiment, is that he fears being accused of being involve in an inappropriate relation, or the strange optics of it. This resonates with what informant 1 said, regarding her inviting the fifty-plus year old man to her birthday.

53 "Jaja, absolutt. Og det er det noen som syns «det ville jeg ikke gjort liksom». Eller kanskje kan føles litt sånn skummelt også. «oj, hva er det denne åtti år gamle mannen, vil med meg... liksom». Ikke noe skummelt, viser det seg, men selvfølgelig man er jo forsiktig liksom."
54 "Det har ikke blitt introdusert som en noe man gjør i samfunnet føler jeg"

5.5 The conditions for intergenerational relations

Intergenerational relations cannot transpire in a vacuum, it requires certain conditions to be present in order to form. From the three cases, I have identified six conditions, albeit there is a possibility that it might be more. Ranging from the most essential, these are: space, function, situations where intergenerational interactions occurs, facilitation and time and social and cultural factors.

Space
What these spaces are matters. Spatially, it is where these interactions and relations takes place. As the cases have shown, this could be in a dwelling, an art gallery or at someone's house. There has to be a space where the different age groups meet each other. The location of the space can also be a deciding factor. The interactions and relations seen at Edvards, could not have happened if Edvards was located somewhere else, like inside a train station, or in a big shopping mall. It is the location in an area where a lot of people lives and fares that made these relations possible. The patrons at Edvards dropped by often. This would not be the case if it was located inside a busy train station. Paulus on the other hand, is aware of its role as a spatial actor in its conscious strategy of involving their neighborhood in their model for care. They actively invite neighbors into their premises.

Function and situations where intergenerational relations occur
Function refers to the content of a space. For age mixing to have a chance of success, there needs to be a reason to seek out those spaces. The cases examined demonstrated several forms of functions which attracted different age-groups to these spaces. The coffee-shop offered hot beverages, which all ages can enjoy and the threshold to seek it out is low. Paulus, is an institution, a workplace, a third place and a home. While the neighboring homes catered to daily interactions between the kids and the neighbors.

Function is closely related to the third factor, which is the presence of a situation where intergenerational relations can occur. Albeit the function would attract different age groups, a particular setting or situation needs to occur for interaction to be initiated. At Edvards, the barista kept seeing the same people at the same time every day, thus it became natural to have conversations with these

people. At Paulus, the students wanted to seek out elders to become friends and in the rural areas the kids wanted to get out the house and meet others nearby. All situations depicted are organic, even Paulus with the incentives.

Density and Time

From the cases, the rural kids found it easy to approach an adult outside of their family. This prompts the following question: is there a correlation between the degree of density and intergenerational relations? Put differently, could it be that the denser an area is, the more difficult it is to form these relations? If so, then the relation between density and intergenerational relations is an enigma. One would assume that the denser an area is, the easier it is to form these relations. Firstly, there are more arenas for such meetings and interactions to oc-cur. Secondly, there are more people to choose from which means one is almost guaranteed to find someone. Perhaps the vast choices are the problem, in the sea of choices indecisiveness awaits. In the rural areas, there are often no other choice. But also due to necessity as we have seen. Are denser areas suffering from arrested development? An interpretation from the Hedmark cases, is that density is not as determining for intergenerational relations as first thought.

Discussing density without taking into account the role of time is a flawed discussion. Time refers to several things. Firstly, one of the reasons why it was easy for the people at Edvards and the women from Hedmark to form intergenerational relations has to do with the low rate of replacement of people. They saw the same people over a long period of time. In the rural case, the old neighbors lived there for years, and often experienced their neighbors' different life-stages.

With Edvards, it was the same people who frequented the coffee shop over a long period of time. Secondly, how much one sees each other is also an important factor. According to the barista, she became friends with some of the patrons because she spent a lot of time there, as opposed to someone else who worked less hours there. With Paulus, one student expressed concern about befriending someone so old, with the fear of them passing away. This says something about time, why invest time and energy on something so meaningful as a relation only to have it taken away after a short time. The frequent shift of people makes it hard to form relations, let alone main-taining it. Places such as neighborhood

cafes and rural neighborhoods are good spaces for intergenerational relations because seeing the same faces frequently helps forming relations.

Socio-cultural factors

Socio-cultural factors might influence whether someone is more or less likely to form intergenerational relations. From the interviews, it was clear that for some people, intergenerational interactions and relations came easier for some than others. Some of the informants had personalities which were more prone to being open towards new experiences and being inquisitive about people.

One informant come from a culture where it is normal to befriend their parents' friends and their friend's parents. The aforementioned informant has roots from a non-western country, and he experienced that these relations were somewhat easier with friends who shared somewhat of the same cultural background. Personality aside, it also appeared that the children who grew up in the rural areas had less difficulties befriending an older person. Whether or not this is due to personality or being raised in a rural area, is not to this project to decide or speculate on, other than to highlight that cultural factors might have a say in how and why intergenerational relations are established.

CHAPTER 6

AGE-MIXING IN PLANNING

In chapter three, I examined how age was perceived in municipal plan and how that reveals something about age-segregation. In this chapter, I seek to examine how relations between age groups manifests itself in plans, in particular in relation to planners' responsibility to social sustainability and how age-specific locations are discussed in plans. For this chapter, the municipalities' plans of Oslo, Trondheim and Bergen were studied, both the societal and spatial sections were examined.

6.1 The relation between societal and land-use plans

A municipal plan's content is stipulated according to the Planning and Building Act. It states that all municipal plans must consist of two main components, a section on society and a section on land-use. The societal section is a strategy document that addresses "long-term challenges, goals and strategies" (Lov om planlegging og byggesaksbehandling (plan- og bygningsloven) - Lovdata, 2008). This section is the superior commanding document for the municipality and it usually plans for several years ahead. The land-use section's prime directive is to translate the connection between future societal development and spatial use tied to this, which includes allocation and conditions for

new measures (Lov om planlegging og byggesaksbehandling (plan- og bygningsloven) - Lovdata, 2008). The different sections have their own directives, hence the variance in how age is treated from one section to the other. This often manifests itself in formulation. The different sections were examined with the following factors in mind: age in social mix, how age is discussed and social sustainability measures.

Oslo

There were two interesting findings from the societal section. One being age in social infrastructure, often in relation to capacity and secondly expanding the use age-specific locations to include other functions. The first observation is a common one as the municipality has a legal obligation to ensure the access to

certain services. A formulation from the current plan states:
"More children and teens require construction of kindergartens, schools, sports venues and cultural amenities."[55] (Oslo kommune, 2015).

Age-specific services and locations are in this section referred to as social infrastructures or sometimes also socio-cultural infrastructures, if leisure amenities are included such as sports fields.

As for the second observation, there was big emphasis on rethinking how age-specific locations could be used after hours and how they can function as meeting spaces for everyone, but also opening up for more flexibility in terms of use.

These spaces were also considered in a wider city planning context. Oslo wishes to use the investments in these infrastructures as part of repairing struggling areas. The following statement demonstrate this strategy:

"the municipality of Oslo shall use the municipal investments in green structures, social infrastructure (such as schools and kindergartens) cultural services, sports, art and attractions to mature market-weak areas where renewal and private initiatives are hard."[56]

(Oslo kommune, 2015, p. 74-75).

In terms of addressing social cohesion and intergenerational relations, the municipality wants to explore alternative co-housing schemes. It is natural to assume that age-mixing is part of this experiment, as it already exist a few similar co-housing projects in Oslo.

In comparison, the land-use section has more focus on the legal aspects. This comes in the form of stipulations concerning the standards for design and form of different age-specific locations.

[55] "Flere barn og unge krever utbygging av barnehager, skoler, idrettsanlegg og kulturtilbud"
[56] "Oslo kommune skal bruke kommunale investeringer i grønnstruktur, sosial infrastruktur (for eksempel skoler og barnehager) kulturtilbud, idrett, kunst og attraksjoner for å modne markedssvake områder hvor det er vanskelig å få til fornyelse og private initiativ»

The following excerpt is an example of this:

 "With regulations and application regarding measures, sufficient, good and sunny playground and schoolyard appropriate for physical activity for intended age and user groups, shall be assured and well-documented. "[57]
(Oslo kommune, 2015).

From the societal section, the age-strategy of using places such as schools after hours with more flexibility for other types of uses, is in the land-use translated as a legal stipulation.

It says:
"school buildings and larger kindergartens shall facilitate as a local meeting place, for example for culture, sports- and leisure in the local environment."[58] (Oslo kommune, 2015). In this example, there was little difference in how the theme was presented in the different sections.

Trondheim

A lot of the standard strategy for age and related services was also found in Trondheim's societal section. Also, they have a vision of being "a place for all". This is often formulated with words such as "inclusive" and "diverse". One formulation stated: "in order for the city's diversity to become a resource, it has to be facilitated for all, independent of age, ethnicity, religious belief, level of function, economic and social, to participate and experience the city as theirs."[59] (Trondheim kommune, 2010, p. 17).

Age-specific services in the spatial plan is called public services[60]. These are further regulated as spaces for public structures. The current spatial plan deals with the matter of age in terms of clear instructions and legal requirements for public service institutions.

[57] "Ved regulering og søknad om tiltak skal det sikres og dokumenteres tilstrekkelig, gode og solfylte leke- og oppholdsareal egnet for variert fysisk aktivitet for aktuelle alders- og brukergrupper"
[58] «Skoleanlegg og større barnehager skal tilrettelegges som lokal møteplass, for eksempel for kultur-, idretts- og fritidsaktiviteter i nærmiljøet»
[59] «For at byens mangfold skal være en ressurs, må det legges til rette for at alle, uavhengig av alder, etnisitet, trosretning, funksjonsnivå, økonomiske og sosiale forhold deltar og opplever byen som sin»
[60] "Offentlig tjenesteyting"

Bergen

Bergen had somewhat of a different take on how they treat age in their planning documents. Legal obligations aside, Bergen has a vision about using age-inclusivity as a method to develop areas and increase effectivity. This was also seen in the Oslo plan a certain extent.
Related to this strategy is age-inclusivity through emphasizing creating accessible meeting places. The idea of social mix and co-localization is not only present in the societal section, but also clearly expressed in the land-use plan. Below is a comparison of the societal section's formulation on age-friendly and the land-use plan's formulation. They are rather similar in vein.

Societal section:
"social meeting places can encourage meetings and create bonds between people. Safe outdoor areas and informal meeting places that invites stays and social contact can increase the sense of belonging to the local environment."
(Bergen kommune, 2015) [61]

Land-use section:
 «many people experience isolation and loneliness. Good city spaces which function as meeting places and places for staying gives the opportunity for social contact and informal meetings. It provides more activity and a stronger city life, and can contribute to the feeling of being included in society."
(Bergen kommune, 2015)[62]

[61] «Sosiale møteplasser kan oppmuntre til at folk treffes og knytter kontakt. Trygge uteområder og uformelle møteplasser som frister til opphold og sosial kontakt, kan øke følelsen av tilhørighet til nærmiljøet»
[62] "Mange opplever isolasjon og ensomhet. Gode byrom som fungerer som møteplasser og oppholdssteder gir muligheter for sosial kontakt, også for uformelle møter. Det gir mer aktivitet og et sterkere byliv, og kan bidra til at flere føler seg inkludert i samfunnet."

6.2 The spatiality of life

In planning documents, the course of life is spatialized in the form of where institutions and public services are localized. In plans these are often called social infrastructures, in more detailed planning documents such as the land-use section, these are regulated under the legal classification of "buildings and structures, sub-purpose: buildings for public and private services"[63] (Lov om planlegging og byggesaksbehandling (plan- og bygningsloven) - Lovdata, 2008).

Kindergartens and retirement homes
The age-specific services and institutions that the municipality offers are most prominent in the first phases of life and the last phases of life. This sub-chapter will focus on the spatiality of kindergartens and retirement homes.

In the welfare state, the government have a legal obligation to take care of their most vulnerable groups. On a municipal level and in terms of age, these are mostly children and frail elders. Both groups are dependent on some form of assistance throughout their everyday life, be it help with feeding oneself or healthcare needs. Hence the importance of the localization of these institutions. In bigger development projects, this is an important part that has to be adequately investigated before anything happens. These two age-specific sites, the kinder-

garten and the retirement home have clear official guidelines as to where they should be located and technical standards for construction.

[63] "Arealformål: Bebyggelse og anlegg, underformål: bebyggelse for offentlig eller privat tjenesteyting»

What determines where you end up?

Both public and private kindergartens fall under the municipality's jurisdiction. The process of applying happens through the three-step verification system of MyID (MinID). Where the child ends up depends on several factors such as age, the grade of priority and the availability of the wanted spots, in other words it depends on preference and availability. Some might prefer to place their children near their workplace if they have to commute far for work, while others prefer kindergartens close to where they live.

The process of applying for a stay at a retirement facility is more complex as health issues are involved. There is a differentiation between short-stay and long-term places. This section will focus on the latter. Within long-term health care facilities there are sub-categories to

further specialize care to cater for different ailments. The most known ones are ordinary[64] and retirement home[65]. The difference is how much assistance one requires (Oppholdstyper på sykehjem, 2021).

In Oslo, the process of applying for a place at an institution, starts with filling out a form. Here you state which borough you currently reside in and what kind of help and services[66] you need. The geography in the context of old age differ from kindergartens, as it is tied to the borough one resides in when one needs help. As with kindergartens, there are public and private options and all applications happens through MyID.

6.3 The localization of age-targeted institutions

Spatially speaking, mobility is a central factor in the localization of these spaces. Both age groups are more immobilized compared to teens and active adults. Hence the need to be close to public transport or localized in a well-integrated local walkway network that enable easy access to these spaces. There are several reasons why these places needs to be centrally placed. Firstly, in addition to being a place of care it is also a workplace.

[64] "Ordinærplass"
[65] "Aldershjem"
[66] "Hjelpebehov og tjenester"

It has to be accessible, and preferably with more than one option of getting there. Secondly, relatives and visitor friends needs to be able to visit their loved ones in a manner that encourage more visits and interactions. For caretakers, the placement of a kindergarten has to be practical as dropping off and getting the child can often be stressful as time is of an essence. Bergen's plan states quite explicitly, that retirement homes:

"has to be located in versatile living environments with close vicinity to necessary amenities such as shops, health care services and different meeting spaces and public transport."[67]
(Bergen kommune, 2015, p. 14)

Another dimension to the localization of these age-specific institutions, which concerns mobility/immobility is central locations. This make these places important spatial actors in a city. Some plans examined in this project has strategies to better integrate these spaces in the city scape. The reasons are multi-faceted. As densification is still the default way of developing cities, free spaces will become scarcer, hence the need to gather several functions together and take advantage "post-office"-hours. The idea of co-localization and co-use was detected in both the plans for Oslo and Bergen. Oslo wants kindergartens and schools to be used beyond regular opening hours, for other types of activities, essentially transforming these places into meeting places for other members of the city (Oslo Kommune, 2019, p. 35).

Bergen has a goal to create proximity and co-location of their services, with the argument of providing the users more effective services.

Another reason why this spatial strategy is being pursued is that the municipalities regard the central placement of kindergartens and retirement homes as part of a city's synergies. According to the municipalities, this should be exploited for development purposes and creating more spaces for informal meetings. The following formulation sums Bergen's strategy of co-location:

[67] "Slike boliger må plasseres i allsidige bomiljøer med nærhet til nødvendige funksjoner som butikk, hese og sosialtjenester, ulike møteplasser samt kollektivholdeplass»

"Schools, kindergartens, sports, health-care services and culture offers shall be placed in a way that strengthen the center structure and builds up under local environment qualities in a walk-way distance from the housings."[68]
(Bergen kommune, 2015, p. 18).

There is also a practical dimension, not only will co-location provide a better usage of square footage, but it will also reduce distances which means greater accessibility. Oslo shared some of the same ideas, although not as developed as Bergen, as Oslo are still "considering" co-locating services such as retirement homes, while this is a written spatial policy in Bergen.

6.4 Conditions for intergenerational relations

Co-location, co-use and multifunctionality as a spatial tool to plan and develop cities has a social mix dimension to it. Though in a softer approach as it merely offers spaces for social mix as opposed to area policies where social mix are enforced more systematic. However, as uncovered in chapter 5, simply having a site or a location is not sufficient to establish intergenerational relations. For this to happen, certain conditions must be present. Planning cannot influence all of the mentioned conditions. Of the conditions, space, function, facilitation and time are elements planning can impact.

Several points can be extracted from age mixing in plans. One being the understanding of spatial social context. Bergen has understood the undercurrents of these age-specific spaces as a potential spatial actor and saw their role in a wider sense when it comes to planning for central areas. However, as well-thought as the Bergen strategy for age-inclusivity may appear, it is necessary to point out that it merely facilitates for coexistence and not necessarily relations. Which leads to the second point, namely what the responsibilities of the municipality and planners. A small legal detour is necessary.

[68] "Skoler, barnehager, idrett, helse- og omsorgstjenester og kulturtilbud skal plasseres slik at de styrker senterstrukturen og bygger opp under nærmiljøkvaliteter i gangavstand fra boligene»

The notion of sustainability is foundational for planning as dictated by the Planning and Building Act. Social sustainability is understood to be covered under the aforementioned law, although it has a stronger presence in the law for public health (Folkehelseloven, 2011) (Bakke, 2018). From its purpose clause, public health work is defined as work that "lift the population's health, well-being, good social and environmental conditions and contribute to prevent mental and somatic illnesses, injuries or pain" (Lov om folkehelsearbeid (folkehelseloven), 2011). In other words, public health is social sustainability's gateway into the Planning and Building Act (Bakke, 2018).

This brings us back to the responsibilities that planners have. The social aspect, due to its complexity fits best within the societal section. The issues appear when these strategies, are translated into physical structures. What often happens is that these social goals gets lost in translation into the physical world, and often with an over-simplification of something that was originally complexed. Intergenerational relation could be said to be a significant part of social sustainability, but due to its complex nature the municipalities have to, for a lack of a better word, settle for multigenerational coexistence, because that is easier to translate into something physical.

6.5 What planners can learn from Paulus and Edvards

Edvards and Paulus are examples of understanding spatial social context. This is not to say that establishing more neighborhood cafés and innovative retirement homes is the answer to all the grievances in planning. The two examples demonstrates, the importance of understanding the mechanisms which facilitates for meaningful intergenerational interactions and relations. Edvards was a good space for establishing intergenerational interactions because it was placed in an area where many people lived and the patrons often frequented the establishment over a long period of time.

Paulus on the other hand, was conscious of their location. By opening up their space to people in the neighborhood such as establishing the biergarten, Paulus has demonstrated two things. Firstly, its awareness of location. They know what the population of Grünerløkka likes to do. They understood the mechanisms for attracting different age segments to their space. They have also realized how challenging it can be with social mix, hence their understanding of when and how to use incentives to encourage exposure but also interaction.

Concretely, what municipalities and planners can extract from these examples are the importance of understanding the significance of location and functions they program for city floor plans. Space, function and time are incremental in facilitating for meaningful interactions

across groups. In addition, the importance of understanding when incentives are required to encourage meaningful interactions and perhaps even relations.
.

6.6 Age segregation and intergenerational relations

Perhaps it is easier to answer, whether plans encourage intergenerational relations rather than if they are age-segregating in nature. The answer is not straight forward. They never explicitly encourage intergenerational relations actively. What is however encouraged is coexistence and interaction between age groups. This is manifested in plans through measures such as designing public spaces that are inviting for all groups. Universal design being the key word here. One formulation found in Oslo's plan stated the following:

«Oslo is an age-friendly city which is nice to reside and live in for all and where it is a focus on universal design.»[69]
('Kommuneplanens arealdel 2018', no date).

Bergen had their own version of this:

«The active city shall facilitate universal design for all age groups and people with reduced functional ability.»[70]
(Bergen kommune, 2015, p. 11).

[69] "Oslo er en aldersvennlig by som er trivelig å bo og leve i for alle og der det er lagt vekt på universelt utformede løsninger"
[70] "Den aktive byen skal tilrettelegges med universell utforming for alle aldersgrupper og personer med nedsatt funksjonsevne"

Cities want heterogenous composition for their population, although some groups are more desirable as we have seen, like families with children. However, all plans examined had spatial strategies to ensure the mix of generations (to various degrees) such as universal design, generational areas and the co-location of functions. Generational areas have the goal of creating places where people want to spend their whole life in. This strategy may be a way of addressing the rapid replacements of the population that some neighborhoods suffers from. Co-location, however, makes sure that different age groups are exposed to each other through spatial forms. This could be as simple as locating retirement homes close to a school, and make sure that there are amenities which both groups use to ensure not only expose but possible arenas for interaction.

As to the question if plans are age segregating, it seems unfair to characterize them as such as it is more complex. What can be said of these apparatuses, is that they were invented to solve efficiency issues, but as it solved one problem it created another. These mechanisms must bear some of the fault for creating age segregation which makes intergenerational relations outside of familial context both difficult and unfamiliar. The clearest trace of the attempt of age integration are the efforts of using social mix. This manifest itself in efforts towards exposure and facilitation for interactions *if* it happens.

.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION

The last four chapters has provided a significant pool of materials and insights. A lot could be discussed, but due to time constraints, I will limit myself to the following topics: age segregation within the following themes: spatiality, social responsibility, density, loneliness and the space of opportunity.

7.1 The role and understanding of spatiality

A running theme from the examination of the municipal plans and the cases, is how difficult the operationalization of social visions into practical planning is. Complex social issues often get lost in translation when translated into physical and spatial form. A typical scenario, which was found in all of the plans, is how to make a city more age inclusive. Most of the time the response to this was to make public meeting spaces more age-friendly through universal design and increase accessibility. Physical and spatial efforts such as these are being used as remedies for complex social issues and phenomena. A disconnect or insufficiency is bound to happen. This comes as no surprise as it is quite an operation to translate something so intricate as social processes and structures into something physical, despite the two do have interrelated effects on each other.

The plans often ends up with a watered-down result from what was originally planned. From wanting age inclusivity to settling for the mere possibility of interacting with someone outside of one's own age group, is the reality of operationalization of social objectives. How planners execute things matters greatly. In particular, the importance of the spatial dimension. From the cases, we saw the importance of space, but also how vital the understanding of each space's mechanisms is. In other words, space is the core of the issue. For planners this entails clarifying spaces and identify the different connections there.

7.2 The planner's responsibility

This brings us to planners' social responsibility. As mentioned, the social aspects are most visible and clearly stated in the societal sections. I would argue, based on the documents analyses, that the municipalities and planners have been more focused on creating coexistence rather than relations. The apparatuses are used to facilitate social mix for different age segments. Having universal designed parks does not create relations, let alone interactions. But for many municipalities, it seems like exposure to other groups and the potential of interaction between age groups is enough. Or perhaps what was considered most feasible to enforce by physical design.

I would also argue, on the basis of the observations, that the capacity to handle intergenerational relations between social and physical structures and process relies on a spatial approach to the issue as the conditions from chapter five demonstrated.

It was important for the municipalities that all ages are included in visions and strategies. However, intergenerational relations as a social dimension was difficult to identify in the examined plans. Which leads to the conclusion that it has not been considered as a possible method or solution. Another way to read this is how the welfare state is organized around providing its citizens with material needs, such as medical care and education.

But the social aspects often falls short, especially if the goal is merely coexistence. This is despite social sustainability's legal standing.

Age segregation was constructed as a necessity. It is an institutional arrangement that makes up the welfare state. In order to secure all citizens their material rights in an effective manner, age segregation had to be introduced. But as it solved a problem, it created another: the otherization of intergenerational relations outside of a family context. It has made such interactions and relations difficult to cultivate in cities. As space can segregate, it can also unite.

7.3 The conundrum of density

One of the main findings from the cases was the thought role of density. As it turns out, intergenerational relations do not need density as a condition to establish itself. This was demonstrated with the rural cases. It was the element of time that was defining in whether someone was more likely to form an intergenerational relation. Time had more to say than density.

One of the main reasons why it is harder to form intergenerational relations in areas with high density could be the frequent replacement of people. In Oslo, and other similar cities, it is no longer common to stay in one area for the whole life span. We move according to life-stages and economy. One way to mend the gap between density and age

segregation is to find ways of preventing the frequent replacement of people. Or facilitate for people to be able to stay in one place as long as they wish. If we fix the issue of frequent replacement of people, we solve the time conundrum which makes it easier to locate functions which attracts different age group over time, as with Edvards.

To make this happen, homes in denser areas has to become more affordable and it has to cater to different life-stages. This would not only ensure that people stay in their neighborhoods longer, but also long enough to establish relations with each other. Spatially, this also means that planners, architects and developers needs to have a conscious relation and understanding of the socio-spatial context of the area they are working with, as exemplified by the Paulus case.

7.4 Loneliness

Another reason why age segregation and intergenerational relations are important topics in planning pertains to public health, in particular mental health. Loneliness comes to mind as one of the gravest health issues cities struggle with. Loneliness in cities are an ever-increasing problem in our society. Defined as the state of feeling socially isolated, this state may occur even in the company of others (Cacioppo and Cacioppo, 2018). It can affect any group of society. England and Japan have even appointed special officials to tackle this public health issue (Sollien, 2021), (Walker, 2018), which speaks to the graveness of the situation. Oslo is the city in Norway with the highest percentage of one-person households with 18,3%, an increase of 0,3 points since last census (SSB, 2020).

As this type of household and the elderly population is increasing, two groups who are prone to loneliness, this has to be taken seriously.

Loneliness, aside from the actual devastating experience for the individual is not just a mental condition as it establishes itself into physical ailments. Loneliness has been proven to cause, or at least implicated in the following health conditions: "depression, impaired cognitive health, increased blood pressure and dementia" (Mihalopoulos et al., 2020). Although there has not been done extensive research on the economic costs caused by loneliness, there are indicators which implies the cost to be at a significant amount. The health conditions mentioned above, and certainly more, means greater pressure on the healthcare infrastructure. In addition, there are other societal costs such as welfare and criminal justice to include in the calculations. Another dimension is the loss of economic productivity (Mihalopoulos et al., 2020). Not that one should measure human worth and dignity in money, this was merely to demonstrate the severity of a state so easy to explain, yet it comes with repercussions so complex that it intersects health, society and economy.

7.5 Space of opportunity

What exactly are planners' space of opportunity here? From the cases we have identified conditions that need to be present for intergenerational relations to form. Out of those, five are within the power of planning to influence: space, function, facilitation and time. A better integration and understanding of these conditions can do more than facilitate for coexistence, it can expedite for intergenerational relations. Some plans already do this, to an extent, as we have seen with co-localization efforts, but this alone is not enough.

Based on the cases there are reasons to argue for a more conscious evaluation of how to better use intergenerational interaction and relations in planning. From the perspective of efficiency and cost, it is not unreasonable to conclude that introducing intergenerational relations as a method, could contribute to reducing the strain on public services. Could intergenerational relations be a tool against loneliness and with that reduce other affiliated illnesses? Could it even aid in offering support for people who are about to fall of the society's radar? Could it be used in enhancing belonging? If more elders had younger friends who could

help them out or just socialize as friends do, could this contribute to relieve the healthcare sector? These questions are the spaces of opportunity spatial actors to explore and experiment with.

The takes from this project is not to build more Edvards and Pauluses. The two cases merely illuminate uncharted dimensions when comes to the intersection of intergenerational relations, time, function and the consciousness of the different mechanisms a space can have. The cases also demonstrates the untapped potential of intergenerational relation and how we plan our cities.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

In examining age segregation and inter-generational relations in the city, I asked whether intergenerational relations is an ignored potential in planning. In order to answer that question, four sub-questions where supplemented with the attempt of identifying a possible methodology and to question what is at stake. Each chapter from part 2 attempted to answer each sub-question Below is a summary of the answers.

Chapter 3 answered sub-question 1: "what has created the sub-division of ages?" by examining the apparatuses which facilitate age segregation, such as laws and the municipalities' legal obligations. Age segregation, which manifests both in covert means and spatially, was created out of necessity and for effectivity as society became more specialized.

Chapter 4 used popular culture to address the opportunities of intergenerational relations and to find contrary evidence in terms of planning, answering sub-question 2. Through looking at two children shows and one feature film, the aim was to show alternative realities where age-mixing and intergenerational relations are possible and to show the benefits of such relations. Secondly, the aim of these examples was to highlight the perception of normality in society when concerning age-mixing.

For sub-question 3: "are there practices that challenges the traditional way of regarding generations?", three cases was examined. Not only did these cases display alternative practices, but they aided in identifying conditions for intergenerational relations. Through looking at three different locations with different contexts, the following factors were identified: space, function, situations where intergenerational relations occurs, facilitation, socio-cultural factors and time.

In answering sub-question 4 "what are the social benefits with intergenerational relations", chapter 6 attempted to see if there were any traces of this in the plans. Albeit, intergenerational relations are not mentioned with words, there was a consensus from the municipalities examined, that there are social benefits of creating age-inclusive spaces. The problem arises when intricate social conditions are translated into the spatial section, with some conditions being outside a planner's control.

Researching age segregation and intergenerational relations in the city is an uncharted territory, with that includes unmined potentials city planning may be able to use. As few has ventured into this, my project merely aims to make a starting contribution to the topic, with the notion that I have barely scratched the surface. What I can offer is data on the conditions intergenerational relations requires in order to form. From investigating age in planning documents and juxtaposing this with real life cases, I have identified which of the conditions planners can impact and work with in order to facilitate for intergenerational relations in the city. The possibility for the existence of more conditions is present. In addition, the conditions identified can further be developed in order to further strengthen the methodology.

The second discovery is the role of space and how the operationalization of practical planning, especially when it comes to social strategies is incredibly difficult. From the plans and from previous chapters, we saw how planners' social ambitions and the physical and spatial response to it, often disconnects. The conversion between the two forms are difficult because they are dissimilar in nature and in dynamics. The common denominator is space, both as the problem but also as the solution. The planner's role in this context, is to understand, but also be able to identify the connections and translate these into spatiality.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aftenposten (2019) 'St. Pauli Biergarten, Grünerløkka — Restaurantguiden fra Aftenposten'. Available at: https://restaurantguiden.

aftenposten.no/steder/st-pauli-biergarten (Accessed: 29 May 2021).

Anderson, W. (1998) Rushmore. Available at: http://www.dailyscript.com/scripts/rushmore.html.

Ariès, P. and Dyrvik, S. (1980) Barndommens historie, Barnebokinstituttet. Translated by K. O. Jensen. Oslo: Gyldendal (Fakkelbøkene

452). Available at: https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2007070600016 (Accessed: 7 February 2021).

Bakke, T. (2018) 'Sosial overflatefaktor – metodikk for å oppnå sosialt bærekraftig stedsutvikling - Plan', Plan Tidsskrift fir samfunns-

planlegging, regional- og byplanlegging. Available at: https://plantidsskrift.no/artikkel/sosial-overflatefaktor-metodikk-for-a-op-

pna-sosialt-baerekraftig-stedsutvikling/ (Accessed: 6 May 2021).

Bergen kommune (2015) 'Kommuneplanens samfunnsdel Juni 2015'. Bergen Kommune. Available at: https://www.bergen.kommune.no/

hvaskjer/tema/bergen-2030/kommuneplanens-samfunnsdel (Accessed: 7 January 2021).

Cacioppo, J. T. and Cacioppo, S. (2018) 'The growing problem of loneliness', The Lancet, 391(10119), p. 426. doi: 10.1016/S0140-

6736(18)30142-9.

Christensen, J. and Berg, O. T. (2019) 'velferdsstat', Store norske leksikon. Available at: http://snl.no/velferdsstat (Accessed: 19 February 2021).

Davis, M. (2008) 'Are the Terms Intergenerational and Multigeneration Synonymous?', Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 5(1), pp. 119–120. doi: https://doi.org/10.1300/J194v05n01_12.

Dekker, J. J. H. and Groenendijk, L. F. (2012) 'Philippe Ariès's discovery of childhood after fifty years: the impact of a classic study on educational research', Oxford Review of Education, 38(2), pp. 133–147. doi: 10.1080/03054985.2012.655033.

Eggesvik, O. (2018) '338 dager', Aftenposten. Available at: https://www.aftenposten.no/amagasinet/i/jPJyz0/338-dager (Accessed: 8 May 2021).

Granville, G. (2002) A review of Intergenerational Practice in the UK. UK: Beth Johnson Foundation. Available at: https://scottishmentoringnetwork.co.uk/assets/downloads/resources/intergenerational.pdf (Accessed: 20 January 2021).

Hageselskapet (2006) 'Veileder for utforming av barnehagens utearealer'. Kunnskapsdepartementet. Available at: https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/kd/vedlegg/barnehager/veileder/f-4225.pdf (Accessed: 4 August 2021).

Hagestad, G. O. and Uhlenberg, P. (2006) 'Should We Be Concerned About Age Segregation?: Some Theoretical and Empirical Explorations', Research on Aging, 28(6), pp. 638–653. doi: 10.1177/0164027506291872.

Halvorsen, B. E. (2020) 'Blir Majorstuen Norges nye sentrum for tech, forskning og innovasjon?', Aftenposten, 25 December. Available at: https://www.aftenposten.no/oslo/i/PRvxVz/blir-majorstuen-norges-nye-sentrum-for-tech-forskning-og-innovasjon (Accessed: 15 January 2021).

Hellbom, O. (1975a) 'Den store snøstormen', Emil i Lønneberget. NRK. Available at: https://nrksuper.no/serie/emil-i-loenneberget/FALS52009492/sesong-1/episode-12.

Hellbom, O. (1975b) 'Grisen er gal!', Emil i Lønneberget. Available at: https://nrksuper.no/serie/emil-i-loenneberget/FALS52009292/sesong-1/episode-10.

Informant 1 (2021) 'Interview with informant 1'.
Informant 2 (2021) 'Interview with informant 2'.
Informant 3 (2021) 'Interview with informant 3'.
Informant 4 (2021) 'Interview with informant 4'.
Informant 5 (2021) 'Interview with Informant 5'.

Innbydende & flott 2-roms med herlig balkong på 6 m2 - Separat kjøkken med mye plass - Sentralt & attraktivt! | FINN.no (2021). Available at: https://www.finn.no/realestate/homes/ad.html?finnkode=213102693 (Accessed: 3 April 2021).

Jarning, H. (2020) 'folkeskolen', Store norske leksikon. Available at: http://snl.no/folkeskolen (Accessed: 5 March 2021).

Kronborg, A.-K. (2014) OBOS 100 Borettslag 1929-2013. Forlaget Press.

Lindin, I.-K. (2020) Lå død i 428 dager før noen reagerte. Available at: https://www.tv2.no/a/11192048/ (Accessed: 8 May 2021).

Lov om barnehager (barnehageloven) (2005). Available at: https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/2005-06-17-64.

Lov om folkehelsearbeid (folkehelseloven) (2011).
Lov om planlegging og byggesaksbehandling (plan- og bygningsloven) - Lovdata (2008). Available at: https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/2008-06-27-71 (Accessed: 24 February 2021).

Lovisenberg Omsorg (no date) Paulus sykehjem | Lovisenberg Omsorg. Available at: https://www.lovisenbergomsorg.no/vare-sykehjem/paulussykehjem (Accessed: 24 February 2021).

Mehan, A. and Soflaei, F. (2017) 'Social sustainability in urban context: Concepts, definitions, and principles', in, pp. 293–299. doi: 10.1201/9781315226255-47.

Merriam Webster (no date a) 'Definition of UTOPIA'. Available at: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/utopia (Accessed: 11 April 2021).

Merriam Webster (no date b) 'Intergenerational', Intergenerational. Available at: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/inter-generational (Accessed: 20 January 2021).

Mihalopoulos, C. et al. (2020) 'The economic costs of loneliness: a review of cost-of-illness and economic evaluation studies', Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, 55(7), pp. 823–836. doi: 10.1007/s00127-019-01733-7.

Mordt, H. (2020) Mann lå død i leilighet i Oslo i ni år – Oslo og Viken. Available at: https://www.nrk.no/osloogviken/xl/mann-la-dod-i-leilighet-i-oslo-i-ni-ar-1.15337692 (Accessed: 8 May 2021).

Mouratidis, K. and Poortinga, W. (2020) 'Built environment, urban vitality and social cohesion: Do vibrant neighborhoods foster strong communities?', Landscape and Urban Planning, 204, p. 103951. doi: 10.1016/j.landurbplan.2020.103951.

NTB (2020) 'Lovisenberg overtar fem sykehjem', Dagsavisen. Available at: https://www.dagsavisen.no/oslo/nyheter/2020/06/02/lo-visenberg-overtar-fem-sykehjem/ (Accessed: 7 May 2021).

OBOS (no date) Livet på Ulven, OBOS. Available at: https://nye.obos.no/ny-bolig/nye-nabolag/ulven/livet-pa-ulven/ (Accessed: 7 April 2021).

Oppholdstyper på sykehjem (2021) Oslo kommune. Available at: https://www.oslo.kommune.no/helse-og-omsorg/omsorgs-bolig-og-sykehjem/sykehjem/oppholdstyper-pa-sykehjem/ (Accessed: 4 May 2021).

Oslo kommune (2015) 'Kommuneplan 2015, juridisk arealdel'. Oslo kommune. Available at: https://www.oslo.kommune.no/getfile.php/1374702-1599727170/Tjenester%20og%20tilbud/Politikk%20og%20administrasjon/Politikk/Kommuneplan/Tidligere%20kommune-plandokumenter/Kommuneplan%202015%2C%20del%202%3A%20Juridisk%20arealdel.pdf (Accessed: 21 April 2021).

Oslo kommune (2018) 'Campus Oslo - Strategi for utvikling av kunnskapshovedstaden'. Oslo kommune. Available at: https://tjenester.oslo.kommune.no/ekstern/einnsyn-fillager/filtjeneste/fil?virksomhet=976819853&filnavn=vedlegg%2F2018_12%2F1281595_1_1.pdf.

Oslo Kommune (2019) 'Vår by, vår framtid - Kommuneplan for Oslo 2018'. Oslo Kommune. Available at: https://www.oslo.kommune.no/getfile.php/13324093-1572596131/Tjenester%20og%20tilbud/Politikk%20og%20administrasjon/Politikk/Kommuneplan/Vedtatt%20kommuneplan%202018/Kommuneplan%20Oslo%20%E2%80%93%20utskriftvennlig.pdf (Accessed: 10 September 2020).

Pettrém, Maria. T. (2020) 'Dansk stjernearkitekt skal være med og utforme Oslos nye prestisjedistrikt', Aftenposten. Available at: https://www.aftenposten.no/oslo/i/KyyQy7/dansk-stjernearkitekt-skal-vaere-med-og-utforme-oslos-nye-prestisjedist (Accessed: 5 April 2021).

'Prosjekt Kollektiv' (2020). Discovery+. Available at: https://www.discoveryplus.no/programmer/prosjekt-kollektiv-aret-da-alt-endret-seg.

Ramberg, A.-C. et al. (1996) Lillys butikk. NRK. Available at: https://tv.nrk.no/serie/lillys-butikk.

Sollien, T. (2021) 'Verdens ensomste minister', Aftenposten. Available at: https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/kommentar/i/R9orRJ/verdens-ensomste-minister (Accessed: 8 March 2021).

SSB (2020) Flere bor alene, ssb.no. Available at: https://www.ssb.no/befolkning/artikler-og-publikasjoner/flere-bor-alene (Accessed: 8 March 2021).Statistics Norway (no date)

Barnearbeid i industrien 1870-1915 - Manden i Barnet må beskyttes, Barnearbeid i industrien 1870-1915 'Manden i Barnet' må beskyttes. Available at: https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/artikler/art-2000-09-13-01.html (Accessed: 18 February 2021).

The Constitution of the Kingdom of Norway - Lovdata (1814). Available at: https://lovdata.no/dokument/NLE/lov/1814-05-17 (Accessed: 24 February 2021).

Toppleilighet med stor balkong | Spektakulær utsikt | Nytt bad | Garasje m/lader | Enkel adkomst | Peis | FINN.no (2021). Available at: https://www.finn.no/realestate/homes/ad.html?finnkode=212503324 (Accessed: 3 April 2021).

Trondheim kommune (2010) 'Kommuneplanens samfunnsdel 2009-2020'. Available at: https://www.trondheim.kommune.no/globalassets/10-bilder-og-filer/10-byutvikling/byplankontoret/kommuneplan/kommuneplanens-samfunnsdel-trondheim/kommuneplanens-samfunnsdel-2009-2020.pdf (Accessed: 6 January 2021).

UN (2018) 68% of the world population projected to live in urban areas by 2050, says UN | UN DESA | United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Available at: https://www.un.org/development/desa/en/news/population/2018-revision-of-world-urbanization-prospects.html (Accessed: 7 March 2021).

Utdannings Forbundet (no date) Barns rettigheter. Available at: https://www.utdanningsforbundet.no/lonn-og-arbeidsvilkar/spors-mal-og-svar/barns-rettigheter/ (Accessed: 18 February 2021).

Utdanningsdirektoratet (no date) Videregående opplæring. Available at: https://www.udir.no/utdanningslopet/videregaende-opplar-ing/ (Accessed: 8 April 2021).

Walker, P. (2018) 'May appoints minister to tackle loneliness issues raised by Jo Cox', The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/jan/16/may-appoints-minister-tackle-loneliness-issues-raised-jo-cox (Accessed: 8 March 2021).

Wibe-Lund, T. (2015) 'Den ensomme døden', VG. Available at: https://www.vg.no/spesial/2014/en-verdig-dod/?chapter=0 (Accessed: 8 May 2021).

All illustrations by me, if nothing else is credited.

FIGURE LIST

Fig. 1
Fig. 2
Fig. 3

Fig. 4 (Innbydende & flott 2-roms med herlig balkong på 6 m2 - Separat kjøkken med mye plass - Sentralt & attraktivt! | FINN.no, 2021)

Fig. 5 (source: Innbydende & flott 2-roms med herlig balkong på 6 m2 - Separat kjøkken med mye plass - Sentralt & attraktivt! | FINN.no, 2021)

Fig. 6 (source: Innbydende & flott 2-roms med herlig balkong på 6 m2 - Separat kjøkken med mye plass - Sentralt & attraktivt! | FINN.no, 2021)

Fig. 7 (source: Innbydende & flott 2-roms med herlig balkong på 6 m2 - Separat

kjøkken med mye plass - Sentralt & attraktivt! | FINN.no, 2021)

Fig. 8. (source: Innbydende & flott 2-roms med herlig balkong på 6 m2 - Separat kjøkken med mye plass - Sentralt & attraktivt! | FINN.no, 2021)

Fig. 9 (source: Toppleilighet med stor balkong | Spektakulær utsikt | Nytt bad | Garasje m/lader | Enkel adkomst | Peis | FINN.no, 2021)

Fig. 10 (source: Toppleilighet med stor balkong | Spektakulær utsikt | Nytt bad | Garasje m/lader | Enkel adkomst | Peis | FINN.no, 2021)

Fig. 11 (source: Toppleilighet med stor balkong | Spektakulær utsikt | Nytt bad | Garasje m/lader | Enkel adkomst | Peis |

FINN.no, 2021)

Fig. 12. (source: Toppleilighet med stor balkong | Spektakulær utsikt | Nytt bad | Garasje m/lader | Enkel adkomst | Peis | FINN.no, 2021)

Fig. 13 (Source: OBOS, no date)
Fig. 14 (Source: OBOS, no date)
Fig. 15 (Source: OBOS, no date)
Fig. 16. (Source: OBOS, no date)

Fig. 17 (Source: (Hellbom, 1975a)
Fig. 18 (Source: (Ramberg et al., 1996)
Fig. 19 (Source: (Anderson, 1998)
Fig. 20 (Source: (Aftenposten, 2019)
Fig. 21
Fig. 22
Fig. 23
Fig. 24

APPENDIX

Oslo kommune, samfunnsdel (Oslo Kommune, 2019)

"Codes" words and phrases	Intended group(s)	Policy	Examples (EN)	Examples (NO)
Housing construction (Boligbygging)	Active adults	Housing	«It shall be built more homes so that everyone has a place to live.»	«Det skal bygges flere boliger slik at alle har et sted å bo.» p. 10
Municipal services (Kommunale tjenester)	Elderly	Healthcare	«More elders means that the municipalitiy's costs will increase, also because the municipality shall make these services for the elders better.»	«Flere eldre betyr at kommunens utgifter til eldreomsorg øker, også fordi kommunen skal gjøre tjenestene til de eldste bedre.» p. 11
Business (Næringsliv)	Active adults	Business	«Oslo shall be an attractive city for business.»	«Oslo skal være en attraktiv by for næringslivet.» p. 5
Capitol of knowledge (Kunnskapshovedstad	Active adults	Education and knowledge	«... the development of the city shall be administered in order for Oslo to further develop itself as a strong capitol of knowledge.»	"... byutviklingen skal styres slik at Oslo kan videreutvikles som en sterk kunnskapshovedstad." p. 5
Transportation (Transport)	Active adults	Infrastructure	«From car to public transit, bicycle and walk.»	«Fra bil til kollektiv, sykkel og gange.» p. 16
Research environment (Forskningsmiljø)	Active adults	Eduction and business	«... the contact between the research milieus and the local business has to be intensified.»	«... må kontakten mellom forskningsmiljøene og det lokale næringslivet intensiveres.» p. 10
Service offers(?) Tjenestetilbud	Elderly	Healthcare	«The fact that we are healthier for longer... may change the need for services from the municipality.»	«At vi er friske lenger... kan endre behovet for tjenestetilbud fra kommunen.» p. 11

Innovation (Innovasjon)	Active adults	Business	«Innovation and entrepreneurship.»	«Innovasjon og nyskapning.» p. 14
Commute (Pendle)	Active adults	Infrastructure	«Growth in population and workplaces in Os-lo... means increased pressure on the traffic... due to increased com-muting.»	«Vekst i befolkning og arbeidsplasser i Oslo... innebærer betydelig økt trafikkbelastning... på grunn av økt pendling.» p. 16
Public and personal transport (kollektiv og personbil) trafikk	Active adults	Infrastructure	«Better transportation network for public transport binds the region together»	«Bedre transportnett for kollektivtrafikken binder regionen sammen.» p. 13
Specialized services (Spesialiserte tjenester)	Elderly	Healthcare	«Since people are different, they will receive more specialized services.»	«Siden folk er forskjellige, vil de få mer tilpassende og spesialiserte tjenester.» p. 22
Upbringing (Oppvekst)	Children	Upbringing	«All children has a safe upbringing which contributes to equal opportunities.»	«Alle barn har en trygg oppvekst som bidrar til like muligheter.» p. 23
Age-friendly (Aldersvennlig)	Elderly Children	Social	«Oslo is an age-friendly city which is nice to reside and live in for all.»	«Oslo er en aldersvennlig by som er trivelig å bo og leve i for alle...» p. 23
Universal design (Universelt utforming	Elderly	Social Form	«Oslo is an age-friendly city which is nice to reside and live in for all and where it is a focus on universal design.»	«Oslo er en aldersvennlig by som er trivelig å bo og leve i for alle og der det er lagt vekt på universelt utformede løsninger.» p. 23

Care (omsorg)	Elderly	Healthcare	«Parents shall receive the support they need in order to be good... caregivers.» "... care services shall contribute to more elders being able to live safely." "Substance abuse care and rehabilitation shall provide better health and life."	"Foreldre skal få den støtten de trenger for å bli gode... omsorgspersoner." p. 25 «... omsorgstjenester skal bidra til at flere eldre mestrer å bo trygt.» p. 25 «Rusomsorg og rusbehandling skal gi bedre helse og liv...» p. 24
Facilitation (Tilrettelegging)	Elderly	Healthcare	«More customized housings and increased use of home-based health and care services.»	«Flere tilrettelagte botilbud og økt omfang av hjemmebaserte helse- og omsorgtjenester.» p. 25
Creating city (Skapende by)	Active adults	Education and innovation	«Knowledge and innovation is the key to future value creation and welfare.»	«Kunnskap og innovasjon er nøkkelen til framtidig verdiskapning og velferd.» p. 28
Value creation (Verdiskaping)	Active adults	Education, jobs and innovation	«Oslo is a leading and attractive city of knowledge and business in Europe, and an engine for value creation.»	«Oslo er en ledende og attraktiv. Kunnskapsby og næringsregion i Europa, og motor for verdiskaping.» p. 29
Smart city (Smart by)	Active adults	Education and innovation	«The smart city solves new challenges with the help of innovation, technology and new business models.»	«Den smarte byen løser nye utfordringer ved hjelp av innovasjon, teknologi og nye forretningsmodeller.» p. 10

Oslo science city	Active adults	Education and innovation	«Oslo Science City – an attractive and future oriented innovation district.»	«Oslo Science City – et attraktivt og framtidsrettet innovasjonsdistrikt.» p. 33
Jobs (arbeidsplasser	Active adults	Jobs	«Did you know that 2 out of 3 workplaces in Norway are created in newly established companies.»	«Visste du at 2 av 3 nye arbeidsplasser i Norge skapes i nyetablerte bedrifter. » p. 31
Knowledge centers (kunnskapsmiljøer)	Active adults	Education and innovation	«The city's businesses, unversities and colleges, students and other knowledge milieus has to a greater extent be made more visible and use as sources for creativity and innovation.»	«Byens næringsliv, universiter og høyskoler, studenter og andre kunnskapsmiljøer må i større grad synligjgøres og brukes som kilder til kreativitet og innovasjon.» p. 28

Trondheim kommune, samfunnsdel (Trondheim kommune, 2010)

"Codes" words and phrases	Intended group(s)	Policy	Examples (EN)	Examples (NO)
The city of knowledge (Kunnskapsbyen)	Active adults	Education and innovation	«In 2020, Trondheim is the city of knowledge, the city of environment and the city of welfare.»	"I 2020 er Trondheim kunnskapsbyen, miljøbyen og velferdsbyen." p. 3
Upbringing (Oppvekst)	Children	Upbringing	«Children's living conditions and environment of upbringing affects education and job opportunities.»	"Barns levekår og oppvekstmiljø påvirker utdannignsløp og yrkesmuligheter." p. 17
Aging (Alderdom)	Elderly	Healthcare	«... a good upbringing and a worthy aging.»	"... en god oppvekst og en verdig alderdom." p. 3
Education (Utdanning)	Active adults	Education and innovation	«... increase the possibilities to keep the candidates after finished education.»	"... øker mulighetene for å beholde kandidatene etter endt utdanning." p.17
Business (Næringsliv)	Active adults	Business	«Develop the local environment in the boroughs in tandem with the residents and businesses and volunteer organizations.»	"Utvikle nærmiljøet I bydelene sammen med innbyggerne, næringslivet og frivillige organisasjoner." p. 21
Society of knowledge (Kunnskapssamfunn)	Active adults	Education and innovation	«In a society of knowledge, the development of society is based on creativity and the ability of innovation.»	"I kunnskapssamfunnet er samfunnsutviklingen basert på kreativitet og innovasjonsevne." p. 8
Innovation (Innovasjon)	Active adults	Business and innovation	«... so that they can take advantage of the comptence in relation to product development and innovation.»	"... slik at de kan dra nytte av kompetansen I forhold til produkutvikling og innovasjon." p. 9

Attractive city (Attraktiv by)	Active adults	Education and innovation	«Facilitate for newly graduated candidates to regard the city as an attractive city to stay and live in.»	«Legge til rette for at nyutdannede kandidater ser byen som en attraktiv by å bosette seg i.» p. 10
Labor intensive business (Arbeidsintensiv virksomhet)	Active adults	Jobs	«Localize labor intensive businesses in the city center.»	«Lokalisere arbeidsintensiv virksomhet i sentrum.» p. 15
Living conditions levekår	Children	Upbringing	«Childen's living conditions and upbringing environment affects the course of education.»	«Barns levekår og oppvekstmiljø påvirker utdanningsløp.» p. 17
Loneliness and isolation Ensomhet og isolasjon	Elderly	Healthcare Social	«For most elders loneliness and isolation is a bigger concern than weak economy.»	«For de fleste eldre er ensomhet og isolasjon en større bekymring enn dårlig økonomi.» p. 18
Safety trygghet	Children	Upbringing	«In 2020, children and teens in Trondheim experienced safety in their homes, kindergarten, school and leisure."	«I 2020 opplever barn og unge i Trondheim trygghet i hjem, barnehage, skole og fritid.» p. 18
Volunteering frivillig	Elderly and children	Social	«Cooperate with the elders. Even volunteers, businesses...»	«Samarbeide med de eldre. Selv, frivillige, næringslivet...» p. 19
Labor arbeidskraft	Active adults	Jobs	«Mobilize the potential of labor in the region.»	«Mobilisere arbeidskraftpotensialet i regionen.» p. 22

Bergen kommune, samfunnsdel (Bergen kommune, 2015)

"Codes" words and phrases	Intended group(s)	Policy	Examples (EN)	Examples (NO)
Public health (Folkehelse)	Elderly and children	Public health Healthcare	«The local public health measures is about creating good upbringing condi-tions for children and teens.» "We have to build good living environments where most people can master their everyday-life, stay in their homes… adapting for a healthy lifestyle which will pro-vide better public health."	"Det lokale folkehelsear-bei-det handler om å skape gode oppvekstvilkår for barn og unge." p. 7 «Vi må bygge gode bom-il-jøer, der flest mulig kan me-stre sin hverdag, bli bo-ende i egen bolig… legge til rette for en sunn livsstil som gir bedre folkehelse.» p. 16
Upbringing conditions (Oppvekstvilkår)	Children	Upbringing	«Child services shall works towards providing vulnerable kids a safe and good up-bringing.»	"Barnevernet skal bidra til at de mest utsatte barna får en trygg og god oppvekst." p. 26
Education (Utdanning)	Children and young adults	Education	«… relevant and future-orient-ed course of education.»	«… relevante og fremtidsret-tede utdanningsløp.» p. 31
Income and work (Inntekt og arbeid)	Active adults	Jobs	«The social factors includes the access to material and social resources such as up-bringing conditions, educa-tion, income and work.»	"de sosiale faktorene omfat-ter tilgangen til materielle og sosiale ressurser som oppvek-stvilkår utdanning, inntekt og arbeid." p. 7
Increase public spending (Økte offentlige utgifter)	Elderly	Public services Healthcare	«A big increase in pensioners will result in increased public spending.»	"Stor økning i antall pens-jonister vil gi økte offentlige utgifter." p. 8

Municipal services (Kommunale tjenester)	Elderly	Public services	«... increase in the amount of elders will increase the need for municipal services.»	"... økning I antall eldre vil øke behovet for kommunale tjenester." p. 8
Jobs (Arbeidsplasser)	Active adults	Jobs	«we are the biggest municipality on the Vestlandet with many workplaces»	"vi er den største kommunen på Vestlandet med mange arbeidsplasser" p. 30
Innovation (Innovasjon)	Active adults	Business Innovation Jobs	«The active city stimulate innovation and entrepreneurship within business and culture.»	"Den aktive byen stimulerer til innovasjon og nyskapning innen næringsliv og kulturliv.» p. 10
Housing construction (Boligbygging)	Active adults	Housing	«The speed in housing construction has to be increased in order to keep up with the population development.»	"Takten i boligbyggingen må økes for å holde tritt med befolkningsutviklingen." p. 8
Business (Næring)	Active adults	Business	«The right localization of services and labor intensive businesses centrally in the region, will make it possible to continue the development on the right path.»	"Riktig lokalisering av servicetjenester og arbeids intensive næringer sentralt i regionen, vil gjøre det mulig å fortsette utviklingen i riktig retning." p. 29
Value creation (Verdiskaping)	Active adults	Business	«Commerce and travel are important businesses for Bergen and represent many workplaces and immense value creation.»	"Handelsnæring og reiseliv er viktige næringer for Bergen og representerer mange arbeidsplasser og stor verdiskapning." p. 50

Commuting (Pendling)	Active adults	Infrastructure	«Commuting between municipalities creates challenges for the transport system.»	"Pendling mellom kommuner gir utfordringer for transportsystemet." p. 9
Active city (Aktiv by)	Active adults	Branding	«The municipality's societal section has a vision that Bergen shall be an active and attractive city.»	"Kommunens samfunnsdel legger til grunn en visjon om at Bergen skal være en aktiv og attraktiv by." p. 9
Attractive city (Attraktiv by)	Active adults	Branding		
Universal design (Universell utforming)	Elderly	Age-friendly Age-inclusive Form Design	«The active city shall facilitate universal design for all age groups and people with reduced functional ability.»	"Den aktive byen skal tilrettelegges med universell utforming for alle aldersgrupper og personer med nedsatt funksjonsevne." p. 11
Urbanized city development (Urbanisert byutvikling)	Active adults	Urban development	«... facilitate for walking and biking... this lays the premise for a densified and urbanized city development.»	"... tilrettelegges for gange og sykkel...dette legger premissene for en fortettet og urbanisert byutvikling."
Future-oriented (Fremtidsrettet)	Active adults	Education Innovation	«An educated population is the foundation for a future-oriented Bergen region.»	"En utdannet befolkning er grunnlaget for en fremtidsrettet Bergensregion." p. 30
Entrepreneurship (Gründervirksomhet)	Active adults	Innovation	«We shall stimulate to innovation and entrepreneurship in the city center and in adjacent areas.»	"vi skal stimulere til nyskapning og grundervirksomhet i sentrum og i sentrumsnære."

Upbringing environment (oppvekstmiljø)	Children	Upbringing	«We shall have safe and good upbringing environment.»	"Vi skal ha trygge og gode oppvekstmiljøer." p. 31
Housing environment (Boligmiljø)	Active adults	Housing	«Diverse living environments with meeting places for different activities will reduce the need for municipal services.»	"Sammensatte boligmiljøer med møteplasser for ulike aktiviteter vil kunne redusere etterspørselen etter kommunale tjenester." p. 44
"All phases of life" (Alle livets faser)	Elderly	Care Healthcare	«The residents shall be secured good municipal services in all the phases of life.»	"Innbyggerne skal sikres gode, kommunale tjenester i alle livets faser." p. 42
Health (Helse)	Elderly	Health Healthcare Care	«This is in particular important for health- and care services where the elderly care is becoming more complicated with the expected population trajectory.»	"Dette er særlig viktig for helse- og omsorgstjenestene, der eldreomsorgen blir mer omfattende med den forventede demografiutviklingen." p. 19

Moskenes kommune, samfunnsdel (Moskenes kommune, 2020)

"Codes" words and phrases	Intended group(s)	Policy	Examples (EN)	Examples (NO)
Depopulation (Utflytting/utvandring)	Active adults		«Relocation and reduction in population rate.» «Netto immigration to the municipality in recent years has been negative.»	"Utflytting og reduksjon i folketall." p. 8 «Netto innvandring til kommunen har frem til de siste årene vært negativ.» p. 11
Attractiveness (Attraktivitet)	Active adults	Branding	«Strong identity and a good reputation are two central factors which im-pacts the attractiveness of a municipal-ity.»	"Sterk identitet og godt omdømme er to sentrale faktorer som påvirker attraktiviteten tile n kommune." p. 11
Housing construction (Boligbygging)	Active adults	Housing		
Upbringing conditions (Oppvekstvilkår)	Children	Upbringing	«Children and teens' up-bringing conditions are also important considerations related to this topic.»	"Barn og unge sine oppvekst-vilkår er også viktige hensyn knyttet til denne tematikken." p. 15
Care (Omsorg)	Elderly	Care Healthcare	«Towards 2025, will require more housing offers with 24-hour nursing and care… »	"Frem mot 2025 vil kreve flere botiltak med heldøgns pleie og omsorg…" p. 16
Services (Tjenestetilbud)	Elderly	Public services	«The care service offers to the chronically ill and elders.»	"Tjenestetilbudet til kronisk syke og eldre." p. 15

Living conditions (Levekår)	Children	Upbringing	«... a prerequisite in order to better the living conditions for children and teens.»	"... en forutsetning for å bedre levevilkårene for barn og unge." p. 16

Fosnes kommune, samfunnsdel (Fosnes kommune, 2013)

INTERVJU GUIDE

Er du fra Oslo?

Hvis ja, hvor i Oslo er du fra?

Hvis nei, hvor er du fra?

Hvor lenge har du bodd i Oslo?

Hvor lenge i dette nabolaget?

Studerer du?

Hvis, ja, hvor og hva?

Jobber du ved siden av?

Hva gjør du på fritiden?

Hva fikk deg til å melde deg på dette programmet? (bare for de involverte i «Prosjekt Kollektiv»)

Er du ofte ensom?

Har du vært gift? Er du skilt eller enke?

Har du nylig flyttet til Oslo/dette nabolaget?

Hva gjør du når du ønsker å treffe venner?

Har du venner som er eldre personer?

Har du venner som er barn? Ungdommer? Unge voksne? Osv.

Hvordan ble du kjent med dem?

Hvor gammel er din yngste venn?

Hvor ofte har dere kontakten?

Hva gjør dere når dere er sammen?

Hvordan møttes dere?

Hvor gammel er din eldste venn?

Hvor ofte har dere kontakten?

Hva gjør dere når dere er sammen?

Hvordan møttes dere?

Hvor mange "intergenerasjonelle" venner har du?

Omgås du i hovedsak folk på din egen alder, eller er det stor aldersspredning? I hvilket aldersskikt ligger hovedtyngden av ditt sosiale nettverk?

Hvor kjenner du hovedtyngden av din omgangskrets fra?

Hvor møter du mest bekjente? På jobb? I privatlivet?

Har du et stort sosialt nettverk i Oslo?

Når treffer du venner?

Får du være alene med dem?