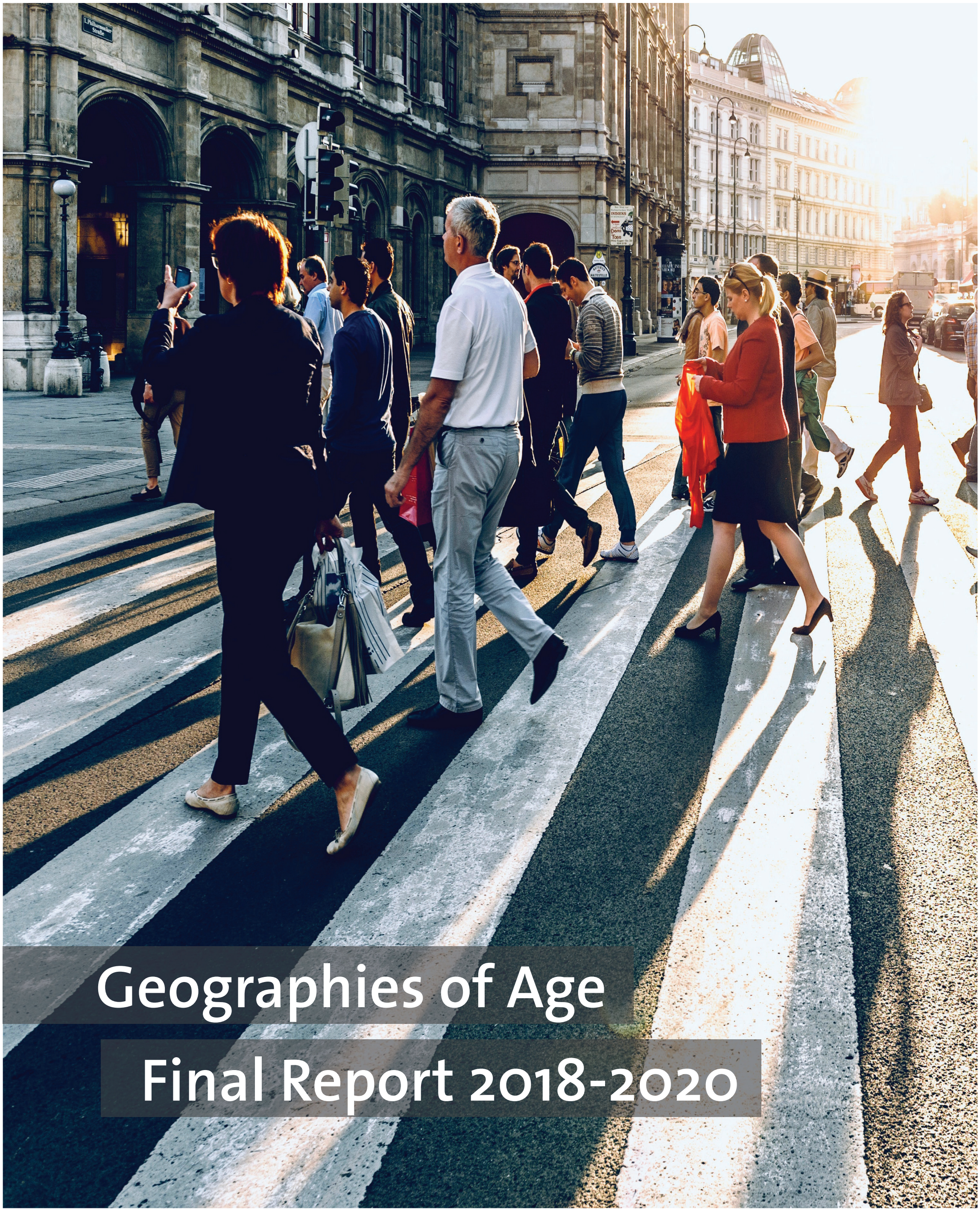

Geographies of Age
Final Report 2018-2020

This project has been funded by the KTH Centre of the Future of Places, Stockholm

Final report from the project

Geographies of Age

The text in this report has been written by the research team in the different cities of Stockholm, Zürich and Vienna.
This final report is a compilation of various texts that have been produced during the project. The compilation and editing have been carried out by the project manager in Stockholm.

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Content

Introduction

KTH, together with the universities ETH in Zürich and TU in Vienna, have during 2018 and 2020, been conducting research collaboration about old people and the city. The background is the demographic changes in the world. The overall question is “what kind of new need does the cities have to fulfil and how?
At the beginning of the 19th century the life expectancy in England was 36 years, in 1900 it was 48 years (Fogel, 2004) and today it is 79 years for men and 83 years for women (O. f. N. Statistics, 2019). The fact that more and more people are living long lives, mainly in the western world, is a great development and success for society's living conditions. This is mainly due to better food, health care and medical development. But at the same time, it creates problems that need to be solved. A life can now be divided into four ages: childhood, adolescence, working age and a period after working life that today has become so long for many that it is considered both the third and fourth age. The greater the proportion of the population who stop working and retire, the greater the burden on society as a whole.
To be able to handle this development, without having to sacrifice the quality of service and care, communities are looking for different ways to meet this resource issue. “Developed Countries must confront the changes arising from population aging, with its consequent impact on job markets and the demand for services, especially in health and extended care. These countries may have the institutional capacities to move forward, but most of them need to make significant adjustments to ensure the solvency of their social security systems.” (Vial, Barrabés, & Moreno, 2013) Raising the retirement age is a measure that most countries which has a high proportion of older people, will implement. In Sweden, this development has begun with a rising retirement age. Old people are no longer able to begin their retirement at the same age as before. Another measure that is being discussed and that will be implemented in Sweden is to spread the responsibility for care to a larger circle of people than today. Concepts such as “Close care”, is on the agenda, which means involving people in their own care. “Care needs to get closer to the patient. The development of close care is ongoing at local, regional and national level." according to The Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR).
The relationship between the working part of the population and the dependent part of the population is becoming increasingly skewed, the so-called "dependency rate". The world is in a Demographic Transition (DT) which according to Vial et al. (2013) began after the Industrial Revolution which meant an increase in prosperity and demographic revolution as well as an urbanisation. The DT began with a decrease in child mortality due to improved living conditions and higher hygiene standards. In the next step of DT the birth rates fall due to the fact that women enter working life. At the end of this phase of DT, the proportion of older people increases while the proportion of children decreases. It happens at different rates in the world depending on the country's development. For the economically well-developed countries, this is already going on, which means that the proportion of older people is constantly rising. In developing countries this will also happen, but it will not be until the latter part of this century (Vial et al., 2013).
In parallel young people spend more time in education than before and many spend a year or more traveling around the world to develop themselves. The entrance to the labour market is

therefore much later in life than before. Older people who retire are still in full vigour at retirement age, and many have the opportunity to enjoy their newfound freedom from both work and responsibility for children. The children have left the nest and the parents can now manage on their own. Much of the responsibility for old parents has been taken over by the society. Admittedly, it looks different in different societies - even within such a limited cultural circle as Europe. In southern Europe it is obvious too many to take care of and take responsibility for their parents' care and sometimes support, while in northern Europe it is far from obvious that the children of elderly parents think they should have to take responsibility for their parents. In northern Europe, society replace a personal responsibility with a societal. Deficits in capability is compensated by adaption of the home to make it possible to stay independent.
Being able to stay in your own home (aging-in-place) when you get older is a desirable relationship for most people who grow old, a lot of research show this. At the same time, aging-in-place is a motive for society to close down nursing homes and instead offer home care services. It works well for most people, but there are others who do not want anything better than to be able to come to a nursing home that can offer both simplifications in everyday life and security if you are alone. For many, the fear of being left alone in their home without the opportunity to call for help is a reality.
When the supply of housing is limited, those with the least resources suffer the most. This include both young people and seniors. This shows in the proportion of household income that families spend on housing and on how overcrowded people are in their homes.

The housing situation and in particular the availability of affordable housing looks different within the OECD. In Switzerland, a larger proportion (44,8%) of those with low incomes have to spend a large part of their income on housing, compared with both Austria (23,6%) and Sweden (41,9%). The proportion who are overcrowded in the low-income group is higher in Sweden (28%) compared with Australia (24,3%) and Switzerland (8,5%). House price indices in the three cities have also developed differently. In Stockholm and Zurich, the house price index has risen in much the same way by 6,5% in the third quarter of 2020 compared to the corresponding period a year earlier, 6,4%, respectively, while the index in Vienna has risen by 9,3% (OECD, 2021). According to the OECD, "Housing-related expenditure constituted the single highest household expenditure item in OECD countries in 2017, at an average of 22,3% of final household consumption expenditure." (OECD, 2021) In 2016-2017, the proportion of homeless was never more than 1% of a country's population. In Sweden, in 2017, 0.33% of the total population was homeless. In Austria, the proportion of homeless was 0.25% of the total population, for Switzerland there is no information. At the same time, it is difficult to make comparisons because countries define the homeless in slightly different ways.
Older people suddenly have more time than they had when they worked, while the contact with other people do not arise in the same way as when they worked. When there are no longer routines that mean that you leave your home and go out into the city and meet others, then another type of room for socialising without an agenda in the public space becomes important. The vision of age-friendly cities and ageing in place (which allows the elderly to stay as long as desired and possible in their familiar home environment) can be facilitated by digitalisation, urban renewal, new housing arrangements, services and so on. At the same time, it is partly the same factors as growth and renewal in the city, limited access to suitable housing, physical and social barriers to access to public spaces and services, family mobility and changing family patterns that contribute to reducing the quality of life for primarily older elderly people. This potentially increases the risk of isolation and loneliness.

For healthy ageing, participation in city life and meaningful activities are essential. There is a need for suitable housing opportunities and public urban areas, which offer a variety of barrier-free, attractive and cheap or free environments indoors and outdoors opportunities for social interactions.

Research project

Against this background, the "Centre for the Future of Places" (CFP) at KTH Stockholm and the ETH Centre for Research on Architecture, Society and the Built Environment (ETH CASE) in Zürich and the Interdisciplinary Centre for Urban Culture and Public Space at TU in Wien conducted a joint research project to try to compare how the different cities are adapted to demographic changes.
A comparison of the cities of Stockholm, Zürich and Vienna seems to be interesting because of their similarities (and differences). All three are located in ageing societies, they are hubs for economic, urban and social development. They are growing metropolitan areas with simultaneous pressure on the housing market and with a commitment to strengthen urban qualities and quality of life in the cities. Nevertheless, there are also differences, especially in the housing market and in the availability of housing, as well as in access to public spaces. It is both commonalities and differences that make the comparison meaningful and interesting, as the consequences of the results for public policy and other interventions may have a greater effect.
The project locates itself within the vision of age friendly cities. It has psychological, both social and spatial as well as economic implications. The goal is to propose options and requirements for the public policy of the cities as well as actors on the housing market to support and enhance age-friendly urban environments. In order to do so, the research focuses on two main interconnected areas of investigation and encompasses two modules and a dissemination phase:

1, The actual housing situation (location, type of housing, costs, mobility patterns) for older population groups in Stockholm, Zürich and Vienna. Access and obstacles to suitable housing alternatives are studied. (Modul 1)
2. Availability, quality, design and use of public indoor (facilities) and outdoor spaces for the elderly (access to urban life) are studied. (Modul 2)
3. Disseminations (Modul 3)

Background

There is a demographic change resulting from a rise in life expectancy and a decrease in birth rates at the same time. The proportion of the global population aged 60 will double from 11% in 2006 to 22% by 2050. Population ageing in many rural areas is even more accentuated as young people migrate to the cities.

This will lead to a major shift in the population structure that will affect different aspects of society. Consequently, there are a growing number of old people with normal declining functionality in many different abilities such as hearing, dexterity and memory. Some of the elderly will need more support than other to live an independent life. As one gets older one will

lose capacities and new needs for support will develop one after another. To get old is not being sick. But the need for support will be different depending on individual circumstances.

The industrialised world is facing this demographic development that within 15 to 20 years will put a great pressure on the society's resources with a growing population of older persons and a shrinking proportion of younger (Bowes A & G, 2006). Today people are living longer and continue to be active late into life. In the same time the "ageing in place" philosophy has developed which means that more nursing and care takes place in the home. It is accepted to move care from institutions to the home as a way to ease the societal burden.

For example, the rapid discharging of patients from hospital after the termination of the medical treatment means that aftercare has to be undertaken in their own homes (Papazissis, 2004). This development turns the home into a place for rehabilitation and care. In Sweden as in many other countries this has led to a growing prevalence of informal or family care (Koizumi et al., 2003). As a consequence of the locus of care being conducted in the home, there is a growing prevalence of the reliance on informal or family care (Glendinning, 2003) [2] as well as it puts new demands on the way the city is organised to support people with different deficits or impairments or just old people. Most caregivers are middle-aged women with multiple responsibilities, which mean that they also need as much "silent" support as they can get. Silent support is what the housing and the environment can offer in terms of a safe and secure living condition for the old, accessibility to service in the vicinity and a well organised surrounding that include old peoples' need. Up until now most attention has been focused on the apartment or the houses old people live in, but as more and more reports tell us about old people being alone the isolation and loneliness is identified as an issue to be dealt with and this includes the way the city is organised.

The responsibilities related to caregiving can have a negative impact on the caregivers' quality of life (Roca Roger et al., 2000). In fact, caregivers are at greater risk of mental health problems compared to the general population (Edwards & Higgins, 2009). The relatives of older people with severe diseases such as Alzheimer's disease or stroke are often burdened with a huge amount of caregiving work and are easily isolated from normal social activities (Annerstedt, Elmstahl, Ingvad, & Samuelsson, 2000; Georges et al., 2008; Gruffydd & Randle, 2006). Most family caregivers are worried and anxious when they care for a relative with Alzheimer and who want to take a stroll outside the home. The caregiver knows that the city isn't well prepared for people with dementia. As such, caregivers spend an increasing amount of time caring in the home as the diseases progress. In the late stage of the disease, dementia sufferers can require more than ten hours per day of care-related activities (Georges et al., 2008; Jarvis, Worth, & Porter, 2006).

The understanding of the different needs old people represents is important both when it comes to how houses are constructed with built in support (e.g. handrails attached to the walls) and how the close environment is built (e.g. park benches, visibility etc). The environment has a big impact on the abilities to move around for a person suffering from Alzheimer. When signs are changed or houses repainted in new colours the world is unrecognisable for these people. Changes in a city are inevitable but it is important to understand that this has a major impact on people with Alzheimer and can explain if a normally well-known place can be perceived as strange and insecure. Sometimes it is possible to save a token serving as a visible or tangible representation of a place even if big changes have been done.

Information technology (ICT) has long been regarded as a way to provide support for an independent living for both young patients and elderly with different kind of impairment in the home but outside the home there has not been as much new ICT solutions presented. This can partly be explained by the fact that assistive technology in the home can be subsidised by the municipality within the “home adaption”-program. This program gives people with difficulties to handle their daily activity (ADL) a possibility to make adaptions of the home and install different kinds of assistive technology. Patients with chronic diseases can get support at home by way of tele-medical equipment and receive monitoring and advanced help from specialised consultants at the hospital (Koizumi et al., 2005). Also, in order to minimise the need for recurrent hospitalisations of patients with chronic illness, the patient can get help and regular control by telemedicine at home complemented by a visiting nurse equipped with medical devices (Koizumi et al., 2005). To further facilitate chronic patients self-management and to reduce visits from the nursing staff, the patients can be equipped with either a patient-managed “Home Telecare System” with integrated clinical signs monitoring (Celler, Lovell, & Basilakis, 2003) or with educational and informational support to relatives (Magnusson & Hanson, 2005), based on ICT. Other systems are available which emit alerts if critical functions in the apartment are left on and the patient is going out or to bed. Very much the same could be offered as a service outdoors.

For the elderly and for people with different kind of impairments, a modified and adjusted apartment often gives them the possibility to stay at home (Renwick, 1996). It has also been showed that elderly do not hesitate to use new technology and they also appreciate Tele-care as a mean to stay longer at home (Levy, Jack, Bradley, Morison, & Swanston, 2003) All of these ICT systems aim to give the impaired support and assistance to live an independent life. There is nothing like this to support ICT solutions for outdoors activities. There are thou many areas where a digital support could help old people or people with impairment outdoors. It could be devices to find the nearest toilet, to get visual information that is broadcasted by speakers or as silent information at a bus or metro station. Many old asks today for social alarms that also functions outside the home or heart alert system that can be carried in the clothing and that can connect to a medical centre if some signal is alarming.

Some technology seems to prolong the independent stay at home for the elderly. The safety alarm is one example for such technology. Other kind of technology can ease everyday life, for the person staying at home. New technology today tries to empower the individual and aims to replace human care in situations where the human resource is only used for mechanical work and instead of personal interaction. But the focus on the apartment can eventually lead to a lonely person with no other contacts with the outside world than through those visiting the home. It is important to understand that independent life includes outdoor activities.

That the design of the external environment plays an important role in how we experience moving in it is not new. For the elderly this plays an important function in stimulating walking and outdoor living, but has not been as well known. The English research team I’DGO (Inclusive Design for Getting Outdoors) has in its research found that the most important reasons for the elderly to go out are "getting physical exercise and fresh air and contact with nature." (I’DGO) They have also noted that there are differences between those who live in their own homes and those who live in homes for the elderly. The latter group stays out a third as often as those who live in their own accommodation.

It is known that the elderly should exercise outside at least 5 hours a week to maintain their health. Physical activity in the form of walks makes you sleep better. Moving outside means that you get your circadian rhythm in order by experiencing the change of daylight and season.

It has been shown (E. Burton, Mitchell, & Lynne Mitchell, 2006) that the design of the external environment in terms of streets, parks, roads and open spaces plays a major role in how accessible and age-friendly the city is. About half of people over the age of 65 have problems getting out, mainly due to barriers in the outdoor environment. The main obstacles are the lack of public toilets and seating. For an elderly person, the lack of sufficient toilets or toilets that are not clean can be the reason why they cannot move outside. Another restraining factor is the lack of seats where you can rest for a while during your walk. Research has shown that the lack of benches also increases the risk of older people falling (E. Burton et al., 2006). The risk of falling also increases if the environment is poorly maintained (damage to the pavement, tiles sticking out, roots that cause the asphalt to bend), but also, the design of the outdoor environment can create confusion which in turn can lead to older people falling. As well as different patterns in the way you walk, or different materials that affect the feeling when you walk is regarded as indistinct and confusing. So-called tactile patterns in the street, for example, can be confusing for a person with dementia, while they are very helpful for a person with impaired vision. The design of streets and places is of course a balance between what benefits one group while it can be a difficulty for another. An environment that in different ways creates obstacles or barriers creates discomfort and lack of self-esteem in those who in this way feel that they cannot handle the outdoor environment in a way that makes it accessible (environmental confidence). It gives a feeling of not being able to manage on your own, which in turn can lead to you pulling yourself out to go out.

But it is not enough that it should be possible to get out, it should also be enjoyable. Research shows that the outdoor environments that are easy to reach and enjoyable to stay in clearly affect the elderly's tendency to go out and move in such places. The aesthetic experience is as important as the physical accessibility, and it is often in the small details that the difference between an environment that is appealing and one that is boring or disappointing is found. Care about how streets are designed is therefore essential (E. Burton et al., 2006). Benches should therefore not only be functional but also comfortable. In some environments, you can see examples of how deliberately the design of benches has been made so as not to invite to long sitting hours. Subways and bus stops are good examples of seats and benches designed to prevent people from lying on them or being uncomfortable to sit on for too long. In some cases, a bench is completely missing where it should be or with weather protection that does not provide sufficient protection to attract for a longer time than necessary. In Stockholm, the bus stops' windbreaks have a large enough gap between the roof and the wall protection so that rain and snow blow in a reasonably annoying amount so as not to be tempting to settle in (fig 1).

Figure 1 Bus stop with shelter

Access to open spaces and green spaces is of great importance for how people feel and for their quality of life. Those who live at a 10-minute walk from an open space are twice as satisfied with life as those who live at a longer distance from such a place (E. Burton et al., 2006).Planting trees in the surroundings makes the elderly feel better, and there is a direct correlation between how many trees there are in the surroundings and the well-being of the elderly! Here, research shows that the natural environment with green parks, trees and plantations constitutes a "Therapeutic environment" (Handler, 2014). When a city is densified, it often affects precisely these environments that have such an impact on the well-being of the elderly. It also turns out that older people are much more likely to be dissatisfied with their outdoor environment than with their home environment. This may be due to the fact that significantly more resources have been invested in understanding how a home environment should be designed to support one's own housing, compared with the interest that has hitherto been devoted to the external environment.

In the UK, the research group I'DGO has dealt with questions about the outdoor environment and they have studied how a green outdoor environment affects the well-being of the elderly. They work according to the concept "Inclusive outdoor design" and have written the report "Inclusive Design for Getting Outdoors: Do gardens matter?" (I'DGO, 2010). In that study, 770 people over the age of 65 were told about their outdoor habits. The researchers say that "We found that environments that make it easy and enjoyable to go out can have a crucial influence on older people's activity levels, general health and overall satisfaction with life." (I'DGO, 2010) A review was also made of the obstacles that the outdoor environments around housing contain by studying 200 neighbourhood environments. They found that the usual neighbourhood contains a lot of obstacles and difficulties for pedestrians. When examining the environments together with the elderly, it was found that there are certain characteristics that are of particular importance for the elderly to go out. It is about plenty of greenery, clear cycle paths that differ from pedestrians, a street network that does not consist of grids but where intersections rather consist of staggered T-intersections one after the other, and roads that are not straight but rather wave in the neighbourhood (E. Burton et al., 2006). They also found that people who did not think it was easy or enjoyable to go out, could end up in a vicious spiral that leads to poorer health, fewer social contacts with others and, in general, a poorer quality of life. It has been shown that the nature of the environment has a disproportionately large impact on the elderly's tendency to adopt it. In this context, the external environment includes streets, roads, parks,

squares, sidewalks as well as semi-private areas such as shopping centres, cafés, shops, department stores, communications and services.

Older people are more sensitive to changes in the outdoor environment than younger people and can be affected by such changes that a younger person does not even notice. There is talk of how "readable" or clear a street scene is (legibility). To make it easier for planners to design the environment in a way that supports rather than hinders the elderly, design recommendations have been developed for what is important to consider (E. Burton et al., 2006). There is mentioned, in addition to what has already been mentioned, among other things clear signage - to avoid putting too many signs on the same post is an example, or that the text contrasts against the background enough, that they would rather protrude from a facade than sit along the facade etc (E. Burton et al., 2006). By shaping the external environment in a way that considers that different ages have different needs that must be met to be able to move freely, the city can be age-friendly or otherwise create obstacles for certain groups.

In a theoretical review of how environmental issues and the elderly are treated, E. Burton et al. (2006) have found that there are at least five reasons why the neighbourhood plays a greater role in the well-being of the elderly than it does in the young. The five reasons are: older people spend more time in the neighbourhood than other groups, the relationship to the place by living in the same place for a long time, wanting to age where you live (aging-in-place) and what is called "the residual neighbourhood". Or the neighbourhood that remains, which is connected with the fact that as an older person you get an increasingly narrow radius of action, which makes the neighbourhood where you live increasingly important.

Aging in place has recently been questioned by some researchers, but there is research that shows that older people do not move as often as younger people. People over the age of 50 gain an increased sense of belonging by “staying at home” (Gilleard, Hyde, & Higgs, 2007). Gilleard et al. (2007) believe that even if an increased sense of belonging comes from living in the same home for a long time, it does not have to mean that the feeling of belonging is also directly correlated with well-being. People over the age of 70 reported a lower level of well-being than younger people, according to their material. This in turn may be due to the fact that in the older ages various functional impairments decrease well-being. According to a study conducted by the AARP Research group in 1995 and 2000, 83% of people over the age of 55 answered that they absolutely want to stay where they live now, and between the ages of 65 and 74, 92% answered that they wanted to stay and over the age of 74 years, 95% answered that they want to stay. Four out of five state that they want help at home if they need help rather than moving to a home with a care function (Bayer & Harper, 2000). This does not prevent there being those who absolutely do not want to stay at home because they feel physically trapped because they have difficulty getting out, or because they feel isolated and alone.

The physical design of the city is obviously important for how older people experience both security and well-being. For environmental reasons, today higher density in the city is often recommended in order to reduce the spread of built-up areas and to also be able to take advantage of investments already made in various types of infrastructure. There is also reasoning that for the elderly it is more advantageous to live in a dense urban environment in an apartment, rather than living in a detached house or residential environment. In the UK, there is a general perception that is also manifested in planning contexts that “older people need higher-density homes (usually apartments) in urban locations” (E. J. Burton, Mitchell, & Stride, 2011). It is

based on various assumptions, such as that the elderly wants less space and do not have to take care of large houses or gardens. By living in an urban environment, you get close to communication, service and care. There are also more opportunities for social exchange and stimulation. But E. J. Burton et al. (2011) wonders whether there really is a basis for these assumptions. In their own studies, they have found that in environments with a higher density, older people more often feel insecure in relation to cyclists and skateboarders (who use the sidewalks) compared to older people who live in areas with lower density, while older people in the denser urban environments also tend to to feel insecure in relation to crime (E. J. Burton et al., 2011).

Planners and politicians have been reluctant to embrace concepts such as Lifetime Neighbourhood (which is about accessibility, aesthetic appeal, security, local identity) compared to how they have embraced Lifetime homes. Research has also shown that planners do not have the knowledge necessary to be able to understand or create age-friendly outdoor environments. Urban planning is still more focused on short-term market effects than on the long-term effects that an increasingly older population will entail. It is an expression of the general tendency that cities are more focused on a completely different age group than the elderly.

There is also no interest or incentive to pay attention to the city impact on old people, because it is not in demand at the political or management level. Elderly issues are still considered less exciting than designing the city according to the non-existent normal relatively young city citizen. Older people are traditionally not included in the processes involved in the design of a city. But older people need to be included in the planning to be able to inform about what needs old people have instead of planners guessing and imagining what needs old people have. It is the elderly who spend the most time in the local neighbourhood, of all age groups. Not including their experiences and needs has been described as a civic paradox. The principle of "spatial justice" underlines the need to think about the urban environment in terms of its inhabitants. Old people also need to be able to influence the design of the city according to their own experiences and their way of using it.

Research theory and methods

Our theoretical fundamentals are based on inclusive design as a way to identify margin groups in the population that need special attention based on knowledge about those groups. E.g. children are one and old people another. We also use the definition of old person as someone 65 years or older since this is a common definition in most countries. We have been taken the approach of an “age friendly city” based on the WHO initiative. We have been combining urban planning knowledge with experiences from the field of housing for elderly.

The studies are based on qualitative methods such as workshops and open interviews with city planners and city officials or landlords. Since 2008 the majority of the world's population live in cities. Urban populations will continue to grow and the year 2030 it is estimated that around 60 % of the people on the earth will live in an urban area. The physical and social environments are key determinants of whether people can remain healthy, independent and autonomous long into their old age.

The WHO age-friendly cities guide highlights eight domains that cities and communities can address to better adapt their structures and services to the needs of elderly: the built environment,

transport, housing, social participation, respect and social inclusion, civic participation and employment, communication, and community support and health services. They all need to be considered as our cities continue to grow (WHO, 2007).

The term 'age-in-place' is about spending your independent life as old in your own apartment with a little help from friends, family or formal care providers. It includes the surroundings, the social relations and the city environment. The term 'age-friendly' encompasses the perspective of a link between the individual and their physical and social environment, and is defined as ageing initiatives which are based on the idea that places should enable elderly to participate in their community (Steels, 2015). Steels (2015) argue that the term 'age-friendly' consist of a relation between the physical and social environment and the individual. This could be regarded as the ecosystem of the individual. Ecological premises (e.g., there must be a fit between the older adult and the environment) suggest the need for a holistic and interdisciplinary research approach (Menec, Means, Keating, Parkhurst, & Eales, 2011). Such an approach is needed because age-friendly domains cannot be treated in isolation from age, gender, income, and functional status, and other levels of influence, including the policy environment.

With this perspective the individual's ecosystem must be in balance in every setting (e.g. at home and outdoor) to create an individual in harmony. This is a hypothesis that we would like to study more in detail. This could create a model to assess the living condition for an individual. For many old people the social network is shrinking, which means that the ecosystem might be unbalanced. The question is if it is possible to compensate a loss in social environment by strengthening the physic? A way to compensate for loneliness could be to stimulate social interaction by creating an environment that facilitate spontaneous meetings. Basically, the idea is that loneliness can be cured. If people are not alone, they won't feel lonely.

Being with others doesn't mean you're going to feel connected, and being alone doesn't mean you're going to feel lonely. It can, but usually we choose to be alone (Khazan, 2017).

Module 1

Module 1 is focusing on housing issues, such as where do old people live, in what kind of houses, when where they built, who owns the houses. The three cities have similarities but also differences. The main research question in module 1 is looking into the housing situation for people 65 years old or more, and what access they have to the housing market. Since the housing markets in the three cities are what differs most, this is an issue which will give different answers.

Research questions

- What are the differences in the housing markets between Zürich, Vienna and Stockholm with regard to the situation of older people? (Ownership vs. rental; types of institutional owners; vacancy rates; expenses for housing in relationship to income, etc.)

- What is the housing situation of different cohort groups of persons over 65 (ownership and rental; private apartments vs. age-specific housing settings i.e. senior citizen homes, nursing homes, other forms of housing with care; mobility rate and patterns). Are there neighbourhoods with significantly larger percentages of older persons?
- How accessible is adequate and desired housing for older age groups of different cohorts in the two cities? What are the challenges and difficulties? How are they addressed?

Research Methods

The research methods for Module 1 involve the collection and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data.

For the first two main research questions, existing statistical data on the demographics, the building stock, building ownership are collected. In addition, assisted housing options and housing options with different levels of care for senior citizens in the three cities will be explored, type, numbers in relation to older population, etc.

The statistical analyses focus especially on households of the age cohorts 65-74 (the young-old), 75-84 (middle-old) and 85+ (old-old) in the cities and relate them, where it's possible, to other demographic factors such as household types, gender, nationalities and income groups.

The different old-age households are, if possible, analysed furthermore regarding various types of housing (such as home ownership, rented apartments, housing cooperatives or municipal/ social housing; forms of communal or assisted living, nursing homes, etc), but also regarding the construction period of the respective houses and the location of the city districts they live in.

The third set of research questions outlined above addresses access and barriers to appropriate housing in the cities especially in the outdoor environment. In order to explore these questions for module 1, the qualitative method of focus groups with various experts is chosen, since it allows for different points of views by various actors knowledgeable about the questions to be addressed.

The three cities collected data about the *aging quotient* and *overaging quotient* at three different years: 2000, 2010 and 2016. The distribution is presented on maps over the cities. The *aging quotient* is composed by the relation between people 65 years or older, and people between 20 and 64 years old. The *overaging quotient* is the relation between people 65 years or more and young people between 0 and 19 years old. There is not much research done on this quotient and the only article found (Osterkamp, 2004) is using a slightly different quotient namely 65+ years/(0-14 years). The quote shows the balance between people 65 years and older, and the number of people regarded as the "provider" in terms of not yet living on pensions. Today the age group used as some kind of a definition of being old (at 65 year) is not that relevant as it has been. People in Sweden, Schweiz and Ostrich doesn't get retired at 65 years any more in the way they did just some decades ago. It all depends on what line of work you have been into. But the pensions are smaller than the income as active in the work force and this creates an incentive to go on working but maybe not in 100% of your working hours. Some do but the numbers of people continuing to work after they're retired is growing.

Module 2

In Module 2 the focus has been more to look into how old people actually use the cities and its resources.

Research questions

- What do the daily routines look like for individuals of different age cohorts, more precisely the young-old (65-74), middle-old (75-84) and old-old (85+)? What places and spaces do they use/visit outside of their home for what purposes? How does the range and type of activities and radius of movement change with age?
- What role do indoor and outdoor public spaces play for people of the different age cohorts? How do they use public space in different urban neighbourhoods?
- How do they participate in urban social and cultural life? And how is involuntary loneliness handled?

Research Methods

In order to generate meaningful findings about these complex questions, we are proposing a mixed-methods approach, involving both qualitative as well a quantitative date collection.

Based on the research questions, which concerns people's daily activities in places outside the home, the focus has been on issues such as where and when. What kind of places to old people prefer? What role does public spaces play in old people's life. The research has been performed in different ways in the three cities. In Stockholm the outdoor environment has been more important to focus on than affordable housing as this is not a subject raised by national organisations of pensioners. On the other hand, the housing situation in Stockholm is difficult and mostly it is a concern that hits young people when they try to find their first own place to live. The threshold to the housing market is high, but old people is, normally, already inside the housing market and might have a slightly different problem: living in an apartment that is too big but the incentives to move is low because of taxation regulations. They might also be living in an old apartment which is always cheaper than a new one.

The tenants in Sweden has a strong position on the housing market, as they also have in Ostrich. In Zürich the situation is more complicated as the tenants doesn't have the same strong position. Another difference between the cities is the relation between owning and hiring your apartment and how well balanced the housing market is in the city. In Stockholm it is unbalanced and the number of apartments for hire has shrunk as many rent apartments has been sold out by the city to associations of people living in the houses. In Zürich most people rent their apartment and if they would like to get a new one they have to be active on the rental market which is mostly on the Internet today. This is complicated for many old people. Vienna is the city with the best-balanced market of the three, and it is easier to get an apartment that suites your needs. Vienna has a strong focus towards public places.
In the report from the cities this explains the different focus the three cities' researchers have been involved in.

Results

The results from the project are presented here. It has been divided into two different sections representing Modul 1 and Modul 2 in accordance to the research approach. The results from each city are reported for themselves and in the discussion, there will be comparisons between the three cities. The presentation begins with Modul 1 and Stockholm followed by Zürich and then Vienna.

Modul 1

Stockholm

Demographic development

The context

The population structure in the world is undergoing change, with a growing aging population in most countries (WHO, 2020). This can also be seen in Sweden as more people live longer, leading to a larger proportion of older people (+65 years) in the population. At the same time, the proportion of children (7-15 years) is also expected to increase and the proportion of middle-aged (20-64 years) is expected to decline. In total, the total population in Sweden will increase by approximately three million by 2060 to 13 million (SCB, 2016). This is considered the greatest social change during the twentieth century, and is expected to have an impact on most sectors of society, such as transport, trade and labour (UN, 2015). The question is what effect this has on the city and whether urban planning needs to be changed to meet the growing and changing population composition.

Historically, the city has been a place for production and consumption of goods and services, and this is designed according to the needs and thus also the needs of people of working age, where children and elderly are often omitted.

UN has developed 17 global goals for sustainable development (UN, 2020) and the third of these means ensuring sustainable life and promoting well-being for all, at all ages. Children and old people are two age groups with needs that in some ways are different compare to the age group in the middle of production and work. The persona that represents the planner's perspective doesn't cover children and old people. Previous studies from KTH suggests that the elderly perspective in Swedish urban planning has not been a priority issue, on the other hand, it appears that the child perspective has gained increasing focus in recent years.

Geographical distribution of elderly in the city of Stockholm

There are approximately 950.000 people in Stockholm 2017. Of these, about 15% are over 65 years old and 4% over 80 years of age. It is approximately the same proportion of women as men in the city. There were 49% men and 51% women respectively. In the older groups, however, there are slightly more women than men. For people 65 years and older, the proportion of women was 16% and men 13%. In the ages of 80 years and over 5% were women and 3% men. Of the total population, approximately 37% live in the inner city. The proportion of elderly in the inner city is 17%, while in the outer city they account for 13%. On the other hand of all

inhabitants 65 years and older 37% lives in the inner city so most elderly lives in the outer part of the city.
The inhabitant prognoses for Stockholm until 2027 shows very small changes (see table 1). The city will grow by 100 thousand. People 65+ will grow slightly and children between 6 to 15 year will go down a little.

Table 1 Inhabitant prognose for Stockholm

Age	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027
1-5	6%	6%	6%	6%	6%	6%	6%	6%	6%
6-15	11%	11%	11%	11%	11%	10%	10%	10%	10%
16-19	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
20-64	63%	63%	63%	63%	62%	62%	62%	62%	62%
65-79	11%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%
80-	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	5%

The ageing of Stockholm follows a pattern of when the different areas were built. The suburb districts on the maps illustrates the metro lines going out from the inner of the city. The longer from the city you get the younger the area is. The so called “Million program” for instance can be seen as a yellow area on the left side of the inner city where young families moved in during the 70’s. Also, on the left side but below the Mälaren sea is a green district at the outmost on the metro line. In the inner of the city there was a reconstruction of the buildings and apartments during the 70’s which meant that elderly was moved out of the city to provide them with modern but still not too expensive apartments.

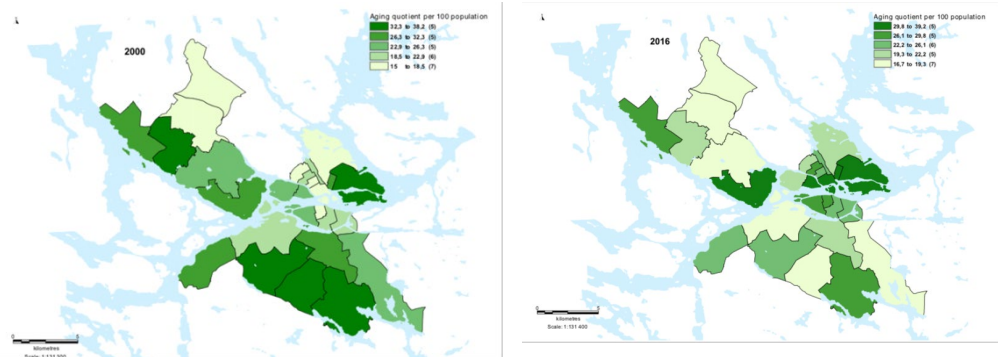

Figure 2 Stockholm Aging quotient Year 2000 and 2016

It can be noticed that there are no places in Stockholm which is especial populated with old people. The city has a well-balanced population over the city in this respect.

The research about elderly has many different aspects such as medicine (dementia), assistive technology (AAL), economy (the burden of the demographic changes), housing and urban planning to mention some. Many of these different aspects have one thing in common: the

housing and living. But what has not been so obvious is the fact that housing is not only about the apartment it is also about the surroundings and vicinity of the home.
As already mentioned, a strong focus has for many years been on assistive technology as a mean to provide an independent living for elderly despite of different impairment or deficits (van Hoof, Kort, Rutten, & Duijnstee, 2011). Not so much attention has been put on the surroundings or external conditions - even thou the need of outdoor visits for elderly is well understood. The city of Stockholm has for many years been working hard with the accessibility of both home and public places. The metro stations always have an elevator, the sidewalk is bevelled at the crossings and the buses are easy to enter.
In Stockholm and in Sweden as whole, the available beds in nursing homes has been reduced in favour for social home care and informal caregiving by relatives and friends. Behind this is an economic calculation; social home care is much cheaper than nursing homes. Many of those were old and needed to be refurbished. With Age-in-place the beneficiary provides their home as a place for caregiving and it is today possible to receive advanced medical treatment in your own home - for example cytostatic treatment. The policy behind this is the Age-in-place philosophy and is supported by Swedish municipalities. The concept of Age-in-place has also been discussed so often that it has been something taken for granted. From time to time the voice of an old person unable to get out of his or hers home and without any company tells a story of entrapment. No elevator, living on 2nd floor and living alone. Impossible to get out without help.
The introduction of the WHO initiative "Age friendly cities" might change the focus and bring about other important issues regarding ageing in place and the policy. The elderly department at Stockholm city (äldreförvaltningen) has a clear view on the need of collaboration between their expertise and the city planners in Stockholm city. There have been several attempts to bring some kind of collaboration on the table but so far nothing has really happened. The elderly department is aware of the fact that the city can be built in a way that reduces the need for some of the assistance they now have to provide for some of the elderly. And public places are one important issue. In our research the public space is comprised by somehow very different places: the open square surrounded by shops or cafés, the path between the home and the municipality transportation system (metro, bus, cab on call), the metro station as such, the park in the vicinity of the home, the shopping mall, the theatre, the cinema and so on. Each public space has its own boundary and possibilities.
Demiris (2004) notes that "*attachment to place is a set of feelings about a geographic location that emotionally binds a person to that place as a function of its role as a setting for experience".* This binding is important when the meaning of a public place is studied in a well-defined context. Is the binding to a place such as an open square surrounded by shops often visited in the middle of the city, as strong as the binding to a local shop in the vicinity? Or is it the quality the different places represent more important? The local shop might be a mediocre shop only visited for complementary things of just some basic stuff. Or it could be the place where small chat take place every day.
Especially for older people the attachment can be of significant importance. Attachment to key former places is one way of sustain a feeling of continuity (Rubinstein & Parmelee, 1992). Even if there are strong individualistic feelings that may be unique to specific people, these feelings are embedded in a cultural milieu (Low, 1992) meaning that where you have spent a big or important part of your life gives stronger feelings and create ties to the place.

Swedish housing policy 1920-2020

One hundred years ago, Sweden had a very poor housing standard - significantly worse than in other European countries.
At the beginning of the 20th century, housing relations began to become a political issue and some efforts were made to solve the worst problems. However, the measures were limited in time and focused only on resolving acute crises. Of course, since more than half of the population lived in rural areas, the housing situation of agricultural workers was at least as important to politicians as the living conditions of workers in the rapidly growing industrial cities. Support was established for farm workers to build their own homes and the municipalities leased land cheaply. However, industrialism led more and more people to move to the cities and to factory work. Private builders-built barracks for the workers to live in.
The first housing bill in Sweden in 1914 showed that overcrowding and rents were high, and workers lived worse than in other industrialised countries. Housing for the poor was built mainly through philanthropic activities. But these homes were still too expensive for workers to live in, so they were instead inhabited by the middle class.
During the First World War, there was a shortage of all necessities and the contradictions in society grew. Riots took place in Stockholm and the revolution in Russia did not feel far away. The politicians realised that the situation for the workers needed to be improved, but the war meant that construction costs rose sharply, which drove up rents. The state decided in 1917 that the municipality and state would support housing construction. This was done by state subsidies for the construction of small apartments with a maximum of 1 room and kitchen (rok) and a temporary rent regulation.

After the war, Sweden was hit by a deflationary crisis that caused the price of goods to fall by 20-30%, which also led to a fall in wages and a rise in unemployment. The municipalities created emergency housing both by building simple housing but also by using different premises as temporary housing, such as gymnasiums in schools.
In 1922, housing subsidies were abolished at the same time as construction costs rose. The Rent Regulation Act, which was introduced in 1917, was abolished in 1923. The rent increases and evictions that followed led to the tenants organising themselves in the Tenants' National Association. During the latter part of the 1920s, housing supply was almost entirely managed by individual construction companies and financed on the regular credit market.
The rental barracks in the industrial cities were not a successful solution to the workers' housing issue. As early as the 1920s, new planning and housing types were proposed. But it was not until the 1930s that these ideas were implemented and narrow long houses were built where the apartments had rooms and windows on both sides of the house.
In the 1930s, the most common type of housing in new construction was a 1 room and kitchen. The tenants' situation was difficult in several ways. They lived in crowded places and they could in principle be fired at any time. In 1930, the tenants received protection against sudden dismissals in the form of a so-called possession protection. The housing market of the 1930s also showed that credit institutions had to be freed from risk-taking, which had limited access to credit, which in turn affected housing construction.
In 1933, therefore, a "Social Housing committee" (SOU, 1935, 1945) was appointed, which came to have great significance for Sweden's housing policy for several decades to come. The

committee was tasked with proposing measures to deal with the worst housing shortage. It would also provide proposals for a long-term and sustainable housing policy. Around the same time, a social engaged couple Myrdal, with connections to the government and the establishment wrote a debate book called "Crisis in the population issue" (Myrdal & Myrdal, 1935) which also had great significance for how housing policy would develop. They believed that poor housing conditions could harm the children and this made the Social Housing committee in 1935 presenting a proposal for so-called “Barnrikehus” (Big family houses). Those houses were for families with low incomes and many children, and the committee concluded that the provision of housing was an issue in which society had to make massive financial contributions.

In 1939, just over 58% of the dwellings in cities were apartments with a maximum of 1 rok. Almost 8% of households were overcrowded. Among families with 3 or more children, the overcrowding was over 32%. Overcrowding was a problem in Sweden.

The housing policy of the 1940s aimed to eliminate the housing shortage and raise the housing standard. In the first place, they want to raise the standard of families with children. This was done by a couple of different actions. New subsidies for housing was introduced, it was decided that 2 room and kitchen would be the smallest size for a family apartment, the municipalities was allowed to run their own housing companies, so-called public housing companies (“allmännyttiga bostadsföretag”) that should operate without a profit interest. The private industry regarded this as an unfair competition from the municipalities, but it was a way to avoid social housing.

An important change in housing policy was the state's intervention in the housing market. In the past, the state has made specific efforts on various occasions to resolve a crisis situation. The war caused fuel and material prices to rise, which in turn reduced housing production. There was also a shortage of labour. At the beginning of 1942 there were signs that rents would rise significantly. Therefore, a new rent regulation law was introduced with the aim to keep rents from rising too sharply due to the war. The Rent Regulation Act continued to apply until the end of the 1960s when a new system was introduced. In 1946, the Swedish parliament made a housing policy decision which meant that a higher standard would be created but without increases in the rent, and that the rent for a home would not exceed 20% of a normal industrial worker's salary. However, this did not mean that the workers could afford to acquire a modern 2-room apartment as there was a housing shortage and insufficient housing production.

In 1933, just over 20% of the workers could afford an apartment with 2 rooms and a kitchen. In 1939 about 30% could afford such a home and in 1945 almost 60%. The Social Housing Committee led to several changes in Swedish housing policy. They proposed the creation of municipally owned public housing companies, a new authority - the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning with responsibility for housing issues, state loan subsidies and several innovations in the housing area.

To ease the living conditions in the cities, the authority wanted to move people and jobs from the overcrowded industrial cities with a low housing standard. This led to a discussion about “the neighbourhood” following international models. The architect and professor CF Ahlberg developed the idea of neighbourhood in a debate article in the end of 1940th. The big cities "provide too little basis for a sense of belonging" (Ahlberg, 1950). It would be better if people could meet the everyday needs for work, service and leisure in one and the same district. Within each district there would be a district centre in connection with bus and suburban train. Closest around the centre would be the denser buildings with apartment buildings, and in the periphery of the district the sparser single-family houses. In Stockholm, Farsta is the best example of this neighbourhood idea. Farsta was built in the 50's as an “ABC city”. Work, Housing and the

Centre, Fig 3. The figure shows the commercial services in the centre surrounded by multi story buildings, rowhouses a bit further from the centre and with places of work to the right. The metro passes through the ABC-area with a station in the middle of the centre.

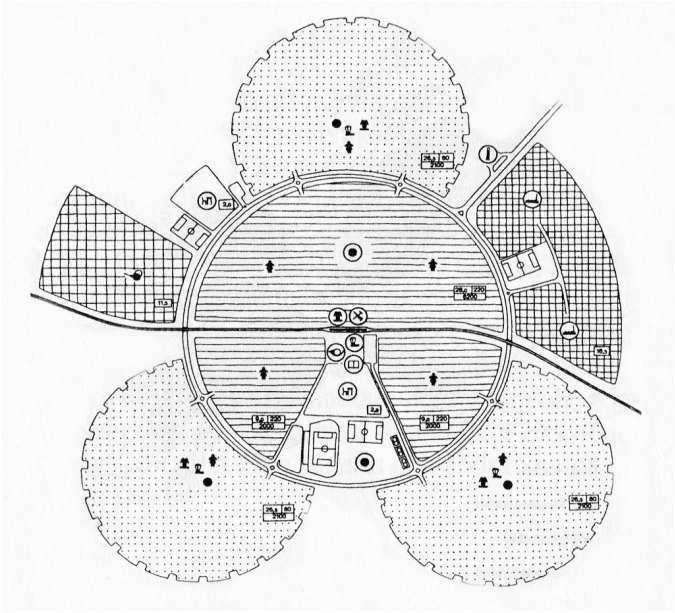

Figure 3 Basic plan of the ABC city (Stockholm, 1952)

After the Second World War, a build-up phase begins in the Swedish housing supply, institutions established during the end of the war now become permanent. Government lending became a housing policy tool. At the same time, a major urbanisation of the country began. In the 50s, 50% of Swedes lived in cities, something that the Englishmen did already 100 years earlier. During the 1960s, the record-breaking cohorts of children during the war years began to reach adulthood with high demand for housing. At the same time, the housing shortage became an increasing political burden for the Social Democratic government. In a TV hearing before the 1966 election, the Prime Minister had to answer the question of how a young couple who wanted to start a family could get a home in Stockholm. The Prime Minister's response "they may well stand in the housing queue" (Alsing et al., 2012) was considered proof that the government did not conduct housing policy well. The queue for a home was at that time 10 years. In the same time the problems with the housing policy was well known. As early as 1964, the Social Democratic Party Congress decided to create one million new apartments. Something that was later on implemented as the “Million program” by the government.
The 1966 debate is considered to have affected the Social Democrats' poor election results in the same year. This led the government to increase quotas for housing production because the failed housing policy was considered to be behind the election result. Capital and labour were directed to the housing sector. The government succeeded in implementing the Million program a lot thanks to the institutions they had created since the 1940s.
As the state was able to control housing production by investment support and requirements for house types, equipment, housing sizes, it succeeded in producing housing with a high standard and at reasonable rents, thus largely eliminating the social housing misery that previously plagued society. The municipalities were required by law to provide for the citizens' housing. The municipalities also gained a so-called planning monopoly, i.e., full control over land use in

the municipality, even if the municipality did not own the land. Swedish housing policy was now largely based on public housing rights. During the 10 years between 1965 and 1975, 1 million homes were built - the Million program - which when it was finished meant that there was suddenly a large surplus of homes.
Since the end of the 1940s, housing policy in Sweden has aimed to improve housing conditions, but the housing supply of the 1960s is characterised by large-scale: Large projects were favoured and the housing sector was characterised by economies of scale and professionalism.

In the Government's budget bill in 1967, the then housing policy received its portal formulation: "the entire population shall be provided with healthy, spacious, well-planned and appropriately equipped housing of good quality at reasonable costs." (Government, 1967).

Housing policy was also characterised by rent regulation, which entailed a restriction on the freedom of contract in the housing market in order to limit rent levels and prevent market rents. Sweden has never had social housing in the way that most other countries in Europe have. The idea was that the municipally owned housing companies, without a requirement for profit, together with the rent regulation and housing allowance for those with the worst finances should guarantee that everyone has the opportunity to rent a home.

How rents were to be determined was a recurring issue for the housing market. They wanted to change the old rent regulation law from 1942 and in 1963 an inquiry was appointed into a new rent legislation. The purpose was to create a more market-adapted rent regulation. The directives to the inquiry stated that "the review aims at a radical simplification of the rent regulation, which seems to be able to work in the direction of a normalisation of the rental market."

Five years later, in 1968, a new law and a new way of controlling rents in new production, the so-called use-value-rent (“Bruksvärdeshyra”), was introduced.

The law would both protect the tenants through a security of tenure and enable a transition to a more market-adapted development of the rents. It was then considered that the public housing companies would guarantee a restrained rental development because they were dominant and built at close to cost price. The value in use for private properties would be set by comparing with equivalent housing in the public utility.

Towards the end of the 1960s, a social critique emerged in which urban construction and the suburbs were in focus. It happened at the same time as the big Million program was coming to an end. It was during the Million program that the new big suburbs were created that later became the subject of the suburban debate. The core of this debate was that the Neighbourhood was looked upon as something good and vivid, full of joy and active people. This was threatened in the new society that emerged. The suburb was now associated with passivity and isolation and it was poor. The opposite of the suburb is the neighbourhood, where you feel warmth and care, in the suburbs one feel loneliness and boredom. The effects of the suburban debate can still be felt, especially as several of the large residential areas built during the Million program later became segregated.

In the early 70s, the market changed. Demand slowed down and in several municipalities’ apartments were empty. Instead, construction of single-family homes increased. People had gotten better in the 60s and those who could left the large-scale residential areas in the suburb and moved to their own single-family homes. Thanks to generous tax rules and inflation, single-family home ownership became a very good deal. Later, immigrants moved into the empty apartments in the Million program areas.

In the general housing discussion, the focus began to be on the external environment and on giving the residents greater influence. Criticism of the large-scale housing areas that were a result of the Million program grew. They were now interested in administrative issues that were part of both environmental issues and influence. The construction industry was also converted to reconstruction instead of new building. The central cities with old building with in many cases low equipment standards would be reconstructed and get high standard.

In order to put a certain focus on the previously so politically difficult housing issue, a Ministry of Housing was established in 1974 to give the subject its own place in the government and to coordinate these issues within a unified organisation. In the same year, the parliament decided (Government, 1974) that housing construction subsidies would be permanent.
Different forms of housing should be treated equally in terms of taxes and subsides, and the rent in all private apartment buildings should be decided by negotiation based on equivalent apartments in the municipalities housing.
The tenant influence and democracy in their own living environment was also a new and important part of the housing policy. During the renovation of the inner of the cities, the tenants felt ruled over with no saying in terms of how extensive the reconstruction should be. The tenants regarded their apartment as something they should have the right to decide over when it comes to big decisions such as renovation. When an old apartment building was to be renovated, all tenants had to move, but with the right to move back when finished. But a lot of those who had previously been living cheap in an apartment with somehow low equipment standard, was now facing a much higher rent and with a standard they didn't appreciate. Old cabinets, once built on site, with solid wood in all parts, where now replaced by standardised modern cabinets with much lower quality in design. Cultural heritage is a highly controversial field (Bengtsson & Bohman, 2020). At least this was the impression by many tenants. Some couldn't afford to move back and had to adapt to a new environment and many made a case to the rent tribunal (Bengtsson & Bohman, 2020). The demand for tenant influence was a priority on the political agenda in housing policy.
In 1982, the right-wing government introduced a law aimed at letting tenants buy the property they lived in and turn it into "co- operative apartments". A year later, the Social Democratic government introduced requirements for an acquisition permit from the municipality to convert rental housing into condominiums. The law therefore did not immediately lead to rental apartments being converted into condominiums or "tenant-ownership" (Bengtsson & Bohman, 2020). But the voice of the tenants is still very weak in cases of renovation (Wetterberg, 2016).
A growing housing policy concern was the rapidly growing housing subsidies. It could not continue in the same way but it was a politically sensitive issue.
The right-wing parties had long criticised the Ministry of Housing for centralising housing policy. When there was a right-wing government in Sweden in 1991, a change in housing policy began, which in practice led to its abolition. Already in the same year, the Ministry of Housing was abolished and the year after 1992, the housing policy objective, which has been largely unchanged since 1967, was changed to emphasise freedom of choice and an influence over one's own situation. The state housing subsidies were removed and the Housing Supply Act was repealed together with a couple of other housing policy laws. A liberalisation of the housing issue began, which led to housing increasingly becoming a commodity.
In order to be able to carry out a complete reorganisation of housing policy, the special role of public housing companies must be changed and the rental negotiation system with use-value-rent be transformed. The existing system to decide the rents was not considered to include the value

of the location between different properties. An apartment in the less attractive suburb could have a higher rent than a much more attractive home in central Stockholm's inner city.
They also wanted to reduce the tenants' association's dominance. To do so, the Rental Bargaining Act was amended in 1994 by removing a ban on tenants in one and the same house having several different bargaining arrangements. The tenants were also allowed to stand outside the collective bargaining system, which until then had been mandatory. They could now make agreements with their landlord themselves. The public housing companies lost their special financing and tax conditions, but had to retain their role as rental leaders within the value-in-use system.
During the 2000s, the conversion of tenancies into condominiums or "tenant-ownership houses" gained momentum by removing the special acquisition permit requirement that existed for the right to convert public housing. In 2002, a new law on cooperative tenancies was introduced. It was not so important but has been used by senior associations which, by renting blocks of entire properties, have been able to arrange housing for seniors.
From 2006, the rent for the newly built property can be exempted from the system of rent assessment. The rent is instead considered reasonable if it is determined by a collective bargaining agreement. In the autumn of 2016, the government introduced investment support for new rental housing and housing for students.
In 2017, the "Housing Crisis Committee" presented a report (Eklund, 2014) in which current problems in the housing market were discussed. They also put forward proposals for measures that should be implemented. The "Housing Crisis Committee" was an association of Sweden's property owners and some chambers of commerce in the big cities. Their conclusion was that mobility in the housing market must be increased, and rental regulation reformed so that rents better reflect supply and demand. At the same time, the tax system should change. Planning and building rules must be simplified and the municipality's ability to block constructions removed. For social reasons, housing should be created in different price ranges (Eklund, 2014).
Since the change in housing policy in the 1990s, all housing subsidies for new construction were removed. The state has now limited its commitment to regulations and some investment support that is given a certain amount of money per year.
The Government decided in December 2019 that the investment support for rental housing and student housing would be reintroduced in a more efficient form from 1 February 2020. The changes meant that the government wanted a mix of both large and small apartment. At least 10 percent of the apartments must be small with a maximum of one room and kitchen or equivalent. The municipality must be offered to rent or mediate every eighth home for social contracts and for young people and young adults. Based on the local need, the municipality must assess how the apartments should be used.
The subsidies should be divided into one for the metropolitan regions and one for the rest of the country. The support should be based on the housing shortage and the need for construction in each region type.
Permitted rents must be indexed in step with the development of costs in society. The enumeration shall take place on the basis of regional conditions. Unlike the previous subsidies from the 1960s, which threatened to slip away, this subsidy is designed so that a certain amount of money is set aside each year. When the money runs out, no one can receive support during that year. This guarantees that the government have control over how much money is invested each year by the state in housing production.
Housing production has varied greatly during the period early 1900s to 2020. Statistics from Statistics Sweden show that 50% of all apartment buildings were built during the period 1951-1980, i.e., for almost 30 years over a period of just over a hundred years. See Fig. 4.

Sweden's total housing stock amounts to almost 5 million dwellings divided into single-family houses and apartment buildings. The number of apartments in apartment buildings is approximately 2.9 million, of which the largest proportion (approximately 70%) consists of apartments between 2 rooms and a kitchen and 3 rooms and a kitchen. In other respects, about 15% are smaller than 2 rooms and a kitchen and about the same proportion is larger than 3 rooms and a kitchen. The average home size is 68 sqm. The number of detached houses is 2.1 million with an average size of about 122 sqm.

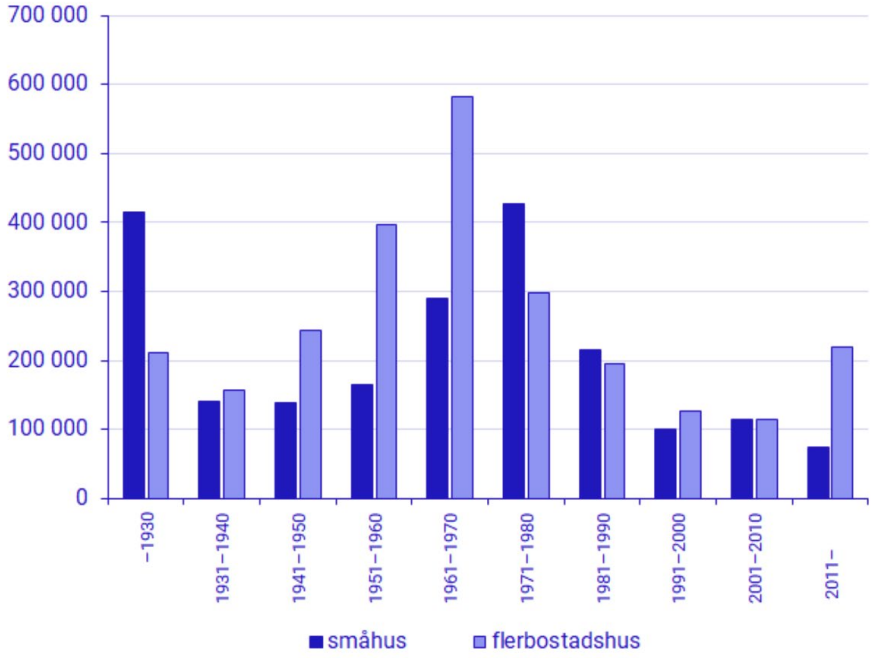

Figure 4 Housing production in Sweden during the period 1900 to 2020

(Source: Statistics Sweden)

In 2020, there will be a housing shortage in 73% of Sweden's municipalities. The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, which has presented these figures, says that the shortage of housing mainly affects young people, students and immigrants, but to some extent also the elderly who want or need to change homes. At the same time, the deficit on housing for the elderly in special forms of housing has decreased, which is due to the fact that there has been an increase in the construction of special housing in recent years (Boverket, 2020). Housing in a nursing home is on average 39 sqm, while a student dwelling is on average 28 sqm.
In 1900 there were 5.1 million people living in Sweden, in 2020 there are 10.4 million. The construction of housing has not kept pace with population development in recent years and therefore the country again has a housing shortage.

Existing housing stock in Stockholm

The housing stock in Stockholm ranges from approximately 1880 to 2016. The old city (“Gamla stan”) is an exception where all houses are built somewhere between 1300 up until 1700. Apart from the old city the older buildings are situated in the inner of the city (“innerstan”). And as a

general pattern the houses get younger as one move out from the central of the city. The city is since the 50's expanded through and around the metro system. All metro lines meet in the central city at "T-centralen". There are no circle lines instead there is a web of bus lines covering the city and also the region of Stockholm which act as a unified area. The county council takes care of the region's infrastructure for metro and bus communication. In that way the region is intended to have an overarching planning of the housing market. The region consists of 26 different municipalities. Stockholm is the biggest with about 1 million inhabitants whereas the region as a whole has 2,3 millions of inhabitants. The region has estimated the need of new apartments during the time between 2010 to 2030 to be 9000 -16000 apartments each year. The prices of an apartment in the city of Stockholm has raised with 85% the last 10 years. In 2017 the housing market stagnated and there was instead shrinking price pattern with a few percent. The state introduced new requirements on housing mortgage that made the housing market halt. The new regulations have a high impact on young people who wants to enter the housing market and has made it much harder for them to get their first apartment.

In Stockholm city there were 2017 totally 483,100 apartments and 949,100 inhabitants. That is 1,96 residents per apartment on average. Of these apartments, approximately 188,000 are in the inner city, which means that 39% of the Stockholm apartments are in its inner part. In the inner part of the city, condominiums constitute about 66%, ie a majority of the housing in the inner city of Stockholm consists of apartments that you have to buy to have access. In the outer city, condominiums constitute 47% of all homes. This means that there are more rental houses in the outer part of the city compared to the inner city. An important reason for this is that there has been a transferring of rental apartments owned by the municipality during many years now. This transfer is most pronounced in the inner of the city since the inner city has a higher status in peoples view.
The changes in distribution of sizes and rent in the rental sector over the year is illustrated in table 2.

Table 2 Rental apartments between 1940 and 2013 and average rent (2014 value) in Stockholm

Year	-1940	1941 -1950	1951 -1960	1961 -1970	1971 -1975	1976 -1980	1981 -1985	1986 -1990	1991 -2013	Totalt
					Area/apartment m2					
Inner city	63	61	71	69	71	83	64	81	64	**65**
South suburb	56	64	72	76	70	74	68	95	66	**65**
West suburb	52	61	65	74	66	67	77	87	77	**68**
Whole city	**59**	**63**	**71**	**73**	**69**	**76**	**69**	**86**	**67**	**66**
					Rent, kr/ apartment					
Inner city	80 120	73 985	80 601	80 662	85 841	99 665	87 196	109 550	107 712	85 295
South suburb	64 268	68 696	71 437	77 366	74 457	78 965	80 029	100 175	97 551	73 223
West suburb	62 184	68 551	66 746	68 941	66 446	67 927	85 156	106 130	107 895	72 628
Whole city	**72 266**	**69 384**	**71 896**	**74 791**	**77 695**	**84 894**	**83 847**	**106 744**	**103 545**	**77 037**
					Rent, kr/ year and m2					

Inner city	1 361	1 299	1 244	1 204	1 259	1 215	1 408	1 365	1 736	1 372
South suburb	1 186	1 091	1 014	1 037	1 110	1 081	1 205	1 068	1 495	1 147
West suburb	1 235	1 162	1 045	946	1 042	1 009	1 124	1 216	1 444	1 106
Whole city	**1 280**	**1 139**	**1 051**	**1 045**	**1 163**	**1 119**	**1 263**	**1 263**	**1 584**	**1 211**

The sizes of the rental apartment were until 1980th slightly bigger in the inner city compared to rest of the municipality. The sizes were also increasing in size until the 1990th when it started to shrink to approximately the size of the 1940th. The rent of the apartments was higher in the inner of the city compared to the rest of the municipality. From the 1980th the rent in the inner of the city was almost equal to the rent in the western part of the city. In the western part of the municipality there are big areas of rental houses built during the end of the 60Th and the beginning of the 70th and there has been a discussion about the fairness of rent level in these houses compared to the inner of the city where there is much more service of all kind.

Housing conditions of elderly in Stockholm

The house market is acting on its own. That means that there is no overarching control or assessment to secure housing for elderly. Every municipality has a social care policy that promote service in the old person's apartment as long as possible. There are also some kinds of "in-between-housing" system. This is houses where you have your own apartment and where there is limited social service, but also shared spaces for mutual activities arranged by the tenants themselves. For the vast majority of elderly, living in older days is about staying in the regular housing market, usually in a dwelling for a long time (Abramsson, 2015).
For the elderly, there is no convention as it is for the children's perspective. On the other hand, there are United Nations Principles for Older People since 1991, The five principles are independence, participation, dignity, care and self-fulfilment, which together include 18 precisions. These are encouraged to be used by governments as often as possible. In 2016, a proposal for a parliamentary resolution on a motion for a UN Convention on the Rights of the Elderly was submitted, which meant that Sweden would work for the UN to draw up such a convention. Convention would work for the elderly to live a good life and not to be discriminated against, but the motion was rejected.
Another organisation that has taken the initiative for the elderly is the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2007) who repeatedly raised this issue and in various ways. Among other things, in the preparation of the Active Ageing report, which raises questions like how to maintain the quality of life for the elderly, how to be independent of others and the active the older they become. This in view of the fact that the elderly population is getting bigger and bigger each year in relation to the rest of the population and that people live longer. WHO has therefore developed the active ageing concept and defined as "Active ageing is the process of optimising opportunities for health, participation and security to achieve quality of life when people grow older". Active aging shifts planning from having a need-based planning to legal-based planning, in other words, the shift is shifted from seeing elderly people as passive goals, to seeing that they have equal opportunities and attitudes. Furthermore, the claims that active aging should not only be linked

to the elderly, but instead, it should be seen as a lifelong process (WHO, 2007). Then there are many different groups that can benefit from planning, for example, making areas safer or streets with fewer barriers.
With only 5% of the population over 65 years of age in special housing, most old people live in the ordinary housing market (Abramsson, 2015).
The population is getting older indicating that the need for housing that suites elderly will increase in the future. Results from several studies show that the most crucial factors for older people are changes in households, ie that you are living alone. The moves made are mostly to a smaller residence and often to a rental one. Abramsson (2015) writes: “It is clear that the preferences the elderly state regarding their housing, changes with increasing age from factors usually associated with single-family houses, such as larger living space, garden, own care etc to factors consistent with housing in apartment in tenancy, ie. less housing space, increased availability, reduced maintenance and balcony instead of garden. If one look at the housing stock in Stockholm the distribution of apartments one can sees that the relation between numbers of apartment that are asked for by elderly (1 - 2 room and a kitchen) is unchanged between 2013 and 2017. There was just a small number more of bigger apartments compared to smaller apartments built during this period in Stockholm.
If the accommodation needs to be adapted to the elderly's functional impairments, the municipality can contribute to the entire adjustment cost if it is motivated by the disability and if a physician or paramedic certifies the need. Contributions can be made for adjustments in the accommodation to the elevator in a common stairwell.
If a multi-family house with tenants needs to be rebuilt, which now is in question for houses from the 60's and 70's, the tenant has a strong possession protection. The tenants can be denounced if the house needs to be reconstructed and the rules for termination of a lease apply equally to all, elderly people constitute no exception.
In case of demolition or major rebuilding, possession protection is violated if it is not unreasonable for the tenant to move. If the tenant can easily find a new dwelling or if the landlord arranges for an acceptable replacement apartment, the tenant must move. Replacement mode should, in principle, correspond to the former in terms of mode, standard and more. However, the rent does not need to be equivalent, which means that the tenant must accept a rent increase.
When rebuilding, the tenant may remain in place if it can be done without the need to make the renovation easier or more expensive.
After the refurbishment, the tenant can move back, if possible. If a court called “rent tribunal” tests a termination due to a major rebuild, the rent tribunal should address the question of the tenant having the right to move back.

Living in nursing home

The number of elderly living in a nursing home 2018 has gone down since 2014 (Socialstyrelsen, 2019) both among people 65 years and older as well as among those 80 years or older (fig 5).

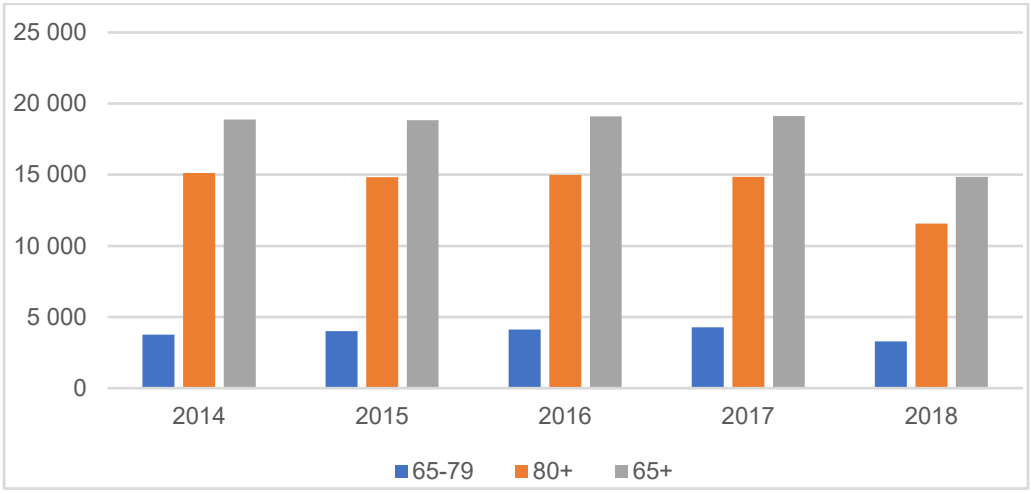

Figure 5 Number of people in Stockholm living in a nursing home

This is a tendency that can be found in Sweden as a whole (fig 6).

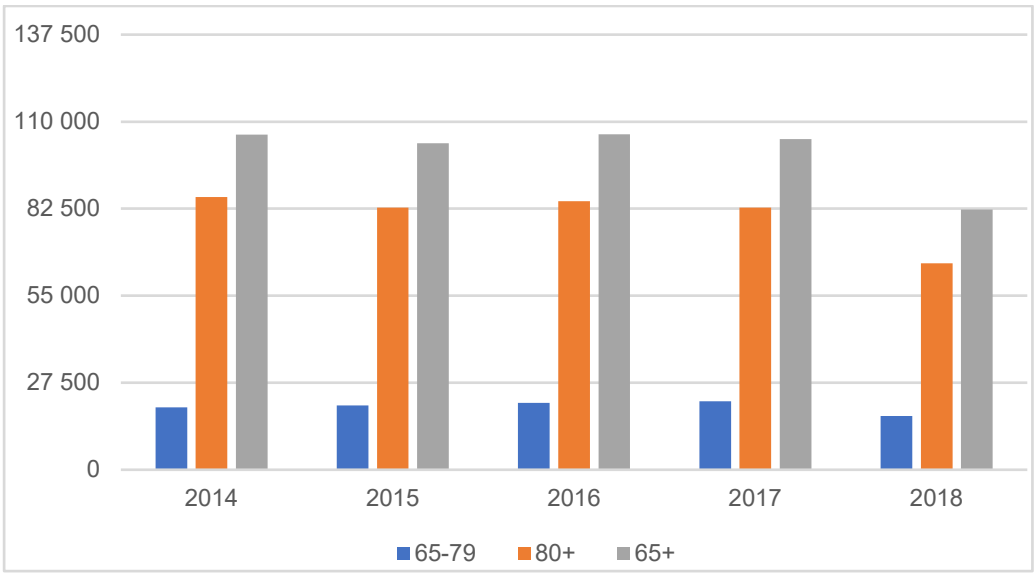

Figure 6 Number of elderly livening in a nursing home

The policy "Age-in-place" is one explanation another is the refurbishment of old nursing homes where up to 4 persons were sharing the same room. That does not comply with today standard requirement. This development might run into difficulties within a decade when the city of Stockholm is expecting to have a much bigger number of old people and especially old old people that will need service in the end of their life.

Challenges and opportunities for Ageing in place in Swedish cities

Both Sweden and the rest of the world are expecting changes in the population in the coming years, with a growing population. It is mainly the number of children and elderly that will increase, and the middle ages are expected to decline. At the same time, children and elderly is not the prime focus for today's planners. The question then becomes for whom cities is being

planned, since the fundamental in planning is to plan for all while taking special interests in to account, for example children and old people’s need.

Zürich

Demographic development in Switzerland

Switzerland is aging with the median age 42.2 years in 2015, the number of people over 65 years will rise from 1,5 million in 2015 to 2.2 million in 2030 to 2.7 million in 2045 (BFS, 2015). By then. the median age will be 47.5 years[1]. Since 1980, the number of people over 80 years has increased by more than 85%[2].

The city of Zürich is proceeding into a quite different direction. As booming economic centre, Zürich attracts a large number of well-educated younger people; both from within Switzerland and from abroad. With the effect that the city of Zürich is getting younger[3].

Its median age is declining and so is its aging quotient. In spite of this the number of persons over 65 years will grow also in Zürich (by +43% until 2033) as will the number of people over 80 years (by +29%). Against this background, the questions of *where* and *in what way* elderly people are living and residing now and in the near future, pose urgent social and economic challenges also for Zürich (Althaus, Hugentobler, & A., 2017).

Aging in Switzerland

Compared to earlier generations, elderly people in Switzerland today are healthier and keep their autonomy and good health much longer (Pardini, 2018). They benefit of unprecedented economic prosperity and stability. While living and housing situations always mirror individual family histories and life experiences, gender is also an important factor. With age, differences between men and women become visible and increase. Women are typically younger than their partners (average: three years). Therefore, men benefit more of the demographic changes. The Federal Statistical Office reports that couples in Switzerland live together longer than ever before, despite high divorce rates. The increasing life expectancy also extends this stage of life. Thanks to the help and care of their wives or partners, elderly men in Switzerland live less often alone or in a nursing home.

In 2000, every second man between 85 and 89 years lived in a two-person household («married couples without children»).

By contrast, the share of women living alone increases significantly from the age of 55 years. In total, 97 per cent of the 65- to 79-year-old lived at home, and three quarters of the group over 80 years (BFS 2005:6-7). From 85 years onwards. the probability of moving into nursing homes increases significantly. As women tend to live alone earlier from a younger age, mainly women of this age live in nursing three quarters are women (BFS, 2005).

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[1] See «Switzerland: Median age of the population from 1950 to 2050», on: www.statista.com (04.07.2018).
[2] See «Jede sechste Person ist älter als 65 Jahre», on: www.interpharma.ch (05.07.2018)
[3] «The group of persons 30 -39 is the future of the city of Zurich: every 5th person belongs to this age group, half of it them were born outside Switzerland.», see also «ZRH 3039 – Eine Altersgruppe im Fokus», link: https://www.stadt-zuerich.ch/prd/de/index/stadtentwicklung/stadt-der- zukunft/zrh3039/webartikel.html, (04.09.2018)

Persons over 80

Interestingly, the number of people over 80 years is expected to remain stable until 2020 (Stadt_Zürich, 2012). From then onwards and until 2035, this age group is expected to grow by 20%. By 2035, a contemporary imbalance will reduce.
Today, 76 to 85 year-old women are over-represented amongst the residential population. From the age of 55 years, there exist more women than men in the city of Zürich (Schwierz, 2014). Until 2035, the life expectancy of men however is expected to meet the one of women which will eventually lead to a more gender-balanced and growing number of people over 80 years (Schwierz, 2014).

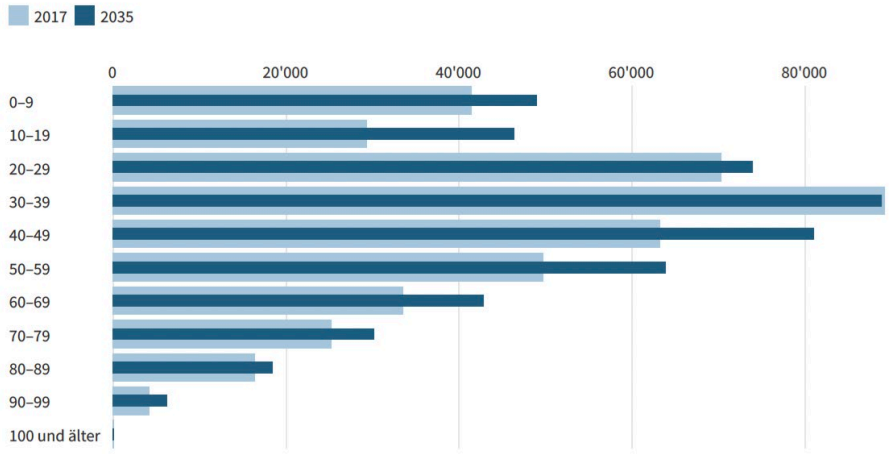

Figure 7 Population growth by age cohorts 2017-2035 (Tagesanzeiger 2018[4])

Today, the distribution of households reflects the existing imbalance pertaining to gender.

Distinct generations of elderly

Today, two generations of elderly can be distinguished in Switzerland. Those of high-age (over 75 years) typically experienced poverty, hunger, and crises when they were young. In Switzerland. many grew up in rural or small-town environments. Hard physical labour then was very common. It generates specific physical health issues at higher age. Especially women were furthermore excluded from higher education and, therefore, well-paid jobs. As a result, their pensions are particularly small. By contrast, the living situations of the «new old» are more diverse. Born into the economic boom period after the Second World War, with its high birth rate, the so-called «baby boomers» benefited of a flourishing economy and fast social change, along with previously unknown opportunities for personal development, education and employment (Stadt_Zürich, 2012). These new opportunities were however not equally

[4] See «Medianalter seit 1993», on www.stadt-zuerich.ch (04.07.2018)

distributed. In a society marked by increasing social differentiation and inequality, a large number of people continued to have physically demanding jobs and also experienced job insecurity and poverty despite growing prosperity (Stadt_Zürich, 2012). Therefore, there exists a substantial number of elderly people today who are forced to live in humble circumstances in Switzerland.
These two distinct generations of elderly do not only differ in terms of income and accumulated wealth. and what concerns education or affinity towards the use of technology. They also have distinct expectations towards old age and they differ in their housing needs (Stadt_Zürich, 2012). Their values. ways of life and expectations on living together are highly diverse (Althaus et al., 2017). Nevertheless. the breaking up of traditional family structures, shrinking family sizes. and growing job mobility are trends that concern all elderly persons: Today, fewer pensioners can rely on family support; with children living at a distance and a large number of women working.

Growing number of elderly people with immigrant background

A growing number of non-Swiss citizens is amongst those of high age. Since the 1990s. their situation has been the focus of research projects and interventions (Johner-Kobi & Gehrig, 2015). Since long. Switzerland depends on the labour of migrants, most stemming from other European countries (80%). Many migrants worked in low-income jobs and carried out physically demanding labour in factories or in the construction sector. Historically, Germany and Italy. as well as France and Austria were the most common countries of origin. The economic boom after the Second World War led to steep labour demand: Between 1951 and 1970, the number of immigrants increased and the spectrum of source countries diversified; while the majority still came from Italy and many from Germany, a large number now arrived from Spain. This group of migrants never expected to remain in Switzerland. They were not actively integrated. Remaining within their own circles and in addition to it, pursuing very strong social networks, many do not speak (Swiss-) German even after decades which brings with its specific challenges at high age (Johner-Kobi & Gehrig, 2015)[5].
In the 1970s and 1980s. labour demand and thus immigration stagnated. The changing economic conditions in Italy and Spain later made it necessary to look for labourers in other countries. When labour demand increased its momentum. the trend of diversification thus continued. In the early 1990s. many migrants arrived from Portugal and (due to the war) from former Yugoslavia. later also from Somalia and Sri Lanka[6]. These distinct social groups not only have specific expectations towards old age and living conditions but often are particularly disadvantaged when it comes to accessing affordable housing and information on available support and services.

Demographic development in Zürich

By 2016 the city of Zürich had a permanent residential population of 415 682 persons and of these 32% did not have a Swiss passport and of these 80% stemmed from a European country. The home canton of a little more than every second Swiss citizens was Zurich. Looking at the

[5] Senada Haralcic, «In Zürich alt warden wie am Mittelmeer», 2014, on: www.limmattalerzeitung.ch (26.06.2018).
[6] See «Die Schweiz, ein historisches Einwanderungsland für ihre Nachbarn», on: www.swissinfo.ch (26.06.2018).

distribution of the different age groups, two groups stand out: Children and youths below 19 years and persons over 65 years. They account for a similar share of the residential population (16,5 and 14,8%). The ageing quotient or old age dependency ratio was 23,2%. This is the ratio of the number of persons over 65 years to the number of people between 15 and 64 years (BFS, 2017; S. Zürich, 2017b). This is a comparatively low value.
The growing attractiveness of the city of Zürich for younger age groups has led to a decline of both ageing quotient and over-ageing quotient. Similarly, the median age declined: From 41,7% years in 2000 to 38,2% years in 2016, 37,6% in 2017. Compared to the national demographic development, Zürich heads in the opposite direction (BFS, 2017; S. Zürich, 2017b).
With the exception of the group between 20 and 39 years, all age groups are expected to grow in the near future. In the medium growth scenario, the city of Zürich adds 80 000 people and reaches a population of over 500 000 by 2035.
Two age groups are expected to grow comparatively more: Children and youths below 19 years and adults between 40 and 69 years.
On one hand this reflects the current baby boom[7] in the city of Zürich and on the other hand the city's role as economic power house. While the group of persons between 40 and 69 years will grow by 28%, the number of persons between 10 and 19 years will even grow by 58%.
As a result, the average age in the city of Zürich will further decrease as will the aging quotient. What concerns the other age groups, the number of children below 10 years will grow by 18% and the one of persons between 20 and 39 years will stagnate or shrink.

Table 3 Ageing quotient and over-ageing quotient of Zürich (Data: Statistical office. City of Zurich)

Year	Aging quotient (%)	Over-aging quotient (%)
2000	28	114
2010	23	101
2016	22	90

Immigrant background in Zurich

The statistical office of the city of Zürich expects a growing number of elderly persons amongst the migrant population until 2025. In their data. the statistical office distinguishes Swiss citizens and other citizens. There is no third category which indicates that a person of foreign origin acquired Swiss citizenship. This means the actual number of elderly migrants is underestimated. Especially persons stemming from Italy, Spain and Greece and increasingly also from former Yugoslavia. Somalia and Sri Lanka are amongst the growing number of elderly people in Zürich (Stadt_Zürich, 2012). At average, the share of women amongst the elderly is 56% for the age group between 65 and 79 years, and 67% for those over 80 years. Amongst those with Swiss citizenship, these shares deviate marginally. Amongst those without Swiss citizenship, they are 48% and 58%. Elderly persons without Swiss citizenship thus are more often male than those with.

[7] The share of women between 25 and 39 years has increased, and many women have their children later and they have more children. See «Neue Bevölkerungszahlen: Baby-Boom in der Stadt Zürich», on: www.bfs.admin.ch (05.06.2018).

Structure of the housing market in Switzerland and Zürich

Construction periods

The migration to Zürich corresponds with the production of housing stock in the city of Zürich. It mainly stems from three periods: Firstly, the period of industrialisation in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century (1893-1930: 22,9%); secondly, the period of economic boom after the Second World War (1951-1970: 24%); and thirdly, the period of economic growth since 2000. In the past two decades, the construction of new housing stock often involved the re-development or refurbishment of the existing housing stock[8] Between 2000 and 2014, every fifth apartment was renewed. The majority of these dwellings were refurbished (83%), one-sixth was broken down and redeveloped (17%). Refurbishment is the strategy of choice mainly for buildings of the 1970s while housing stock of the 1940s is often re-developed. On the one hand these figures point at a key problem of elderly residents: typically living in building stock that was constructed before 1971, they are frequently affected by redevelopment projects.
What prevents the construction of sufficient housing stock is the lack of building reserves (especially land). There is also a political blockade what concerns facilitating genuine densification. A critical issue is how to tax the potential surplus that is generated if the city allows higher densities. Meanwhile, it is the redevelopment of the existing housing stock that drives urban population growth within the boundaries of the municipality.

Table 4 Housing stock by building period in the city of Zurich, 2016 (Data: Statistical office, City of Zurich)

Housing Stock	-1893	1893-1930	1931-1950	1951-1970	1971-1980	1981-1990	1990-2000	2001-2010	2011-	Total
Total	10 640	50 380	37 209	52 866	19 758	11 714	8 410	13 791	15 182	**219 950**
Share	4,8%	22,9%	16,9%	24,0%	9,0%	5,3%	3,8%	6,4%	6,9%	**100,0%**

While the housing production is thus somewhat kept on hold, the current process of redevelopment and refurbishment is bound to stimulate social change: Newly constructed apartment buildings typically attract solvent social groups with higher education levels, who work in highly qualified and well-paid jobs, and many families with young children. Between 2000 and 2014, the share of persons with tertiary education increased from 25% to 42%. Concurrently, the share of persons with highly qualified jobs (senior staff, academics) grew by 9%. At the same time, only two age groups increased in size: Children below 10 years (+1%) and persons between 30 and 60 years (+2%)[9].

Housing stock and tenure situation

In 2016, the housing stock of the city of Zürich comprised 219 950 dwellings. The vacancy rate remained very low with 0.22%. Despite steep demand the housing production remains limited.[10] Private individuals (which includes groups of heirs) own the major share of the housing stock in

[8] Stadt Zürich, 2017
[9] Stadt Zürich, «Bauliche Erneuerung und sozialer Wandel», 2016, on: www.stadt-zuerich.ch (28.03.2018).
[10] Beat Metzler, «Die Schweiz baut an der Nachfrage vorbei», 2018, auf: www.tagesanzeiger.ch (25.06.2018).

the city: 101 942 dwelling units (46,4%). Private societies are the second most important ownership category. 42 470 units (19,3%) formed part of their portfolios in 2016. While pension funds claimed 10 192 units (4,6%) their own, 10 917 dwellings belonged to trusts and foundations (5%). Housing cooperatives finally are the third most important owner category. They rented out 39 004 dwellings (17,7%); at cost rent. While 13 963 units (6,4%) were property of the city of Zürich or a municipal trust, 904 units were owned by other public authorities. Finally, churches accounted for 558 units.[11]

The majority of households concurrently is tenants. In 2015, 86,6% of the housing stock were rental units (188 000 dwellings). Out of these, about one fifth was owned by housing cooperatives. The majority of tenants accordingly rent at market rates (70%). While the housing stock further comprised 20 000 condominiums and 10 000 single family houses, the city of Zürich reported a home ownership rate of 9,9%. This is very low compared to the canton of Zürich (2013: 28,6%) and to Switzerland (2013: 37,5%). The majority of home owners in the city of Zürich live in condominiums (2015: 9 000 units), one quarter in single family houses (2015: 5 000 units) and less than one quarter in apartment buildings (2015: 3 000 units). Zürich's booming real-estate market is highly attractive to investors, especially in the current context of negative interest rates. Therefore, not all condominiums and single-family houses that are owned by private individuals actually are owner-occupied. These dwelling often serves as investments. Owners lived only in 79% of the 6 000 privately owned single-family houses and in only 57% of the condominiums. Vice-versa, 5% of the flats in private apartment buildings were owner-occupied.[12].

Very interestingly, housing cooperatives finally own 34% or about 3 000 single-family houses in Zürich (Schwierz, 2014). Typically, households with children live in single-family houses. While only 4,8% of all households in Zürich live in this typology, 13.1% of all married couples with children do so. Single households by contrast are the exception. In single-family houses owned by cooperatives, the prevalent household typology are couples with children and single parents with children (55 and 15%). In this way, it is possible to distinguish distinct social segments in the different residential typologies (Schwierz, 2014).

As noted. most residents of Zürich are tenants living in privately owned apartment buildings. In 2015, the home ownership rate reached 9,9% (2000: 7,1%). The increasing popularity of condominiums in the city slightly raised it[13]. Furthermore, housing cooperatives owned 17,7% of the total housing stock, or about 30% of the rental housing stock. At average. 19,5% of the residents in the city of Zürich lived in housing cooperatives in 2009. This means, about 70% of the residential population rented at market rate (Heye, Spörri, & Willi, 2011).

What concerns the situation of elderly tenants, there exists a positive correlation between age and membership in housing cooperatives: Elderly tenants are slightly over-represented amongst the members of housing cooperatives in the city of Zürich (Heye et al., 2011). In 2009, 12,8 %were between 65 and 80 years old compared to all age groups: 10% in 2011 and 6,5% were over 80 years (all age groups: 5% in 2011; compare also Seifert and Schelling 2012). This over representation can similarly be identified when looking at the distribution of household types. Elderly couples generally are over-represented (13,3 vs. 7,8%/ 21 vs. 17,6%). Elderly singles either slightly under represented, 13,7% compare to 14,6% among all single households. Or over represented (22,4% vs. 20,4%).

[11] Stadt Zürich, «Tabellensammlung zur Publikation Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Zürich 2017», Zürich 2017.
[12] Stadt Zürich, 2015
[13] Stadt Zürich, 2015

The canton of Zürich furthermore affirms a positive correlation between age and home ownership. With age, the ratio increases. It peaks between 66 and 75 years. Half of the persons of this age cohort are home owners in the canton (Craviolini, 2017).
This age group furthermore predominantly lives in buildings which were constructed between 1966 and 1990. The ratio of home ownership then drops for persons over 75 years. This age group mainly resides in housing stock that was built between 1956 and 1980 (Craviolini, 2017). One reason is that people of higher age often sell their housing property; they exchange single-family houses for condominiums. Secondly, before 2000, condominiums were still rare and the ratio of home ownership was generally low. Both explains why persons over 75 years are less frequently home owners in the canton (Craviolini, 2017).
At city level, these trends are confirmed. Firstly, there exists a positive correlation between household size and home ownership as well as what concerns membership in housing cooperatives. Indirectly, this allows drawing conclusions on the relevant age cohorts. Married couples without children — *which is one of the dominant household types of the 65 to 79-year old* (Schwierz, 2014) — have the highest ratio of home ownership in the city of Zürich: about 18%. They are also more frequently members of housing cooperatives, compared to single households and households with children: about 28% (Schwierz, 2014).

Table 5 Residential population in the city of Zürich by origin. gender and age group. 2016 (Stadt Zürich 2017:32)

Age group	Residental population			Swiss citizen			Foreign citizen		
	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
65 - 79	40 166	22 474	17 692	33 482	19 241	14 241	6 684	3 233	3 451
80	21 064	14 048	7 016	19 175	12 956	6 219	1 889	1 092	797

Slightly different figures are secondly presented by one study which specifically analyses the housing and living situation of elderly people in Zürich in 2011 (Seifert & Schelling, 2012). It is based on thematic household surveys which the city of Zürich regularly carries out. While these surveys may not be representative for all age groups and social segments. the authors equally confirm the described trends (see table 3). While the home ownership ratio is higher amongst older age groups, it peaks in the age group of 70 to 79 year old persons and declines at the age of 80 years. Concurrently, the ratio of membership in housing cooperatives consistently climbs and is highest amongst the oldest age groups.
The authors however suggest that owning a Swiss passport is more important than age: «Elderly persons with Swiss citizenship are more often home owners than persons of the same age group without (19.1% vs. 9,2%). Furthermore, persons over 60 years without Swiss citizenship are less often members of housing cooperatives (17,7% vs. 24.1%) (Heye et al., 2011; Seifert & Schelling, 2012). Generally. foreign citizens are under-represented in housing cooperatives in the city of Zurich. In 2009, 31,7% of the residential population were foreign citizens and only 22,4% among the members of housing cooperatives. This imbalance particularly applies to persons stemming from northern or western Europe; South-Europeans are not under-represented. There are furthermore hardly any differences across the different precincts. The same cannot be said for non-members of housing cooperatives; in their case. there exist huge differences across the precincts. The share of Swiss citizens is particularly high in two of the neighbourhoods which are marked by over aging. *Witikon* and *Höngg* (Heye et al., 2011; Seifert & Schelling, 2012).

Table 6 Housing tenure situation by age groups (Seifert & Schelling, 2012)

Type of tenure	18 - 29 years	30 - 59 years	60 - 69 years	70 - 79 years	Over 80 years	All respondents
Owner (house/condo)	9,9%	12,2 %	17,4 %	18,1 %	15,9 %	13,5 %
Tenant (Market rate)	67,6 %	64,5 %	59,6 %	58,3 %	49,7 %	62,7 %
Tenant (cooperatives)	21,3 %	22,8 %	21,6 %	22,4 %	26,8 %	22,7 %
Other	1,1 %	40 %	1,3 %	1,2 %	7,6 %	1,2 %

Social group and origin hence are factors that must be taken into account when analysing, in-depth, the living and housing situation of elderly people in the city of Zürich. It is also critical to consider the differences that can be observed across the different precincts. Of course, these are linked to the specificity of the housing stock and the historical patterns of socio-spatial differentiation; which finds expression for example in the types of residential buildings and in local ownership patterns. The median taxable income in the different precincts affirms these patterns indirectly.

Household form and size

In the city of Zürich the majority of elderly persons live in private households (Seifert & Schelling, 2012). Only 4,4% of the 65 to 75-year old live in institutional forms of housing (see Table 5; compare (Pardini, 2018).
Half of the 95-year old live in nursing homes. The average age for a person to move into a retirement or nursing home is 85 years (Seifert & Schelling, 2016). The median age of nursing home residents is 87 years (Zürich, 2016) .
Accordingly, the city of Zürich adjusts the number of beds in municipal nursing homes according to the number of people over 80 years (Stadt_Zürich, 2012). In this context. it is important to keep in mind that mainly elderly women live in single households.

Table 7 Share of persons living in multi-person households (Seifert & Schelling, 2012)

Age group	Total numbers of persons	Share multi-persons households
65 to 75 years	28 248	4,4 %
80 to 94 years	20 738	25 %
95 + years	845	59 %

In 2011, the residential population over 80 years was 21 576 persons. Out of these. about three quarters managed their own private households. Two thirds did so without professional help while less than one third relied on ambulatory care («SPITEX»).

Table 8 Forms of living of over-80-year-old persons in Zürich (Zürich, 2012)

Housing forms	Number of persons
Multi-person household (institution)	5 124

Municipal nursing home	**1 735**
Municipal nursing home — intense care	**1 177**
Other private nursing homes	**2 212**
Individual household (private)	**16 434**
Without ambulatory care	**10 573**
With ambulatory care	**4 879**
Municipal (serviced) flat	**982**
Total	**21 558**

The remaining quarter (5 124 persons) relied on institutional forms of living. While one third (1 735 persons) lived in municipal nursing homes, about one fifth (1 177 persons) required intense care nursing homes. Less than half (2 212 persons) preferred other (private) forms of assisted living (Pardini, 2018; Stadt_Zürich, 2012). Only a minority (982 persons) resided in special dwellings which the city provides to senior citizens («Alterswohnungen»).

Tenant or owner

In urban cantons and especially in cities, the rate of home ownership is considerably lower than the national rate. In Zürich less than 10% of the population are home owners (S. Zürich, 2017a). Ownership also varies considerably with age. While only 26,2% of young and middle-aged households (25-64) owned their home, ownership rate among older households (65+) was 48,2% (S. Statistics, 2016).
While the Swiss rental housing is primarily owned by private landlords or institutional investors such as pension funds and insurance companies, non-profit housing cooperatives account for only 5.1 % of all rental housing. In cities, however, the share is much higher. Particularly in Zürich this type of housing stock makes up almost one-fifth of all rental housing (S. Statistics, 2016).
Before and after the 2008 subprime crisis, which barely affected the Swiss housing market. demand for housing was high.
This continuous high demand has resulted in persistently low vacancy rates particularly in urban regions. Prerequisite for a functioning housing market is a vacancy rate of no less than 1%. In Zürich it was in 2017 even as low as 0.21% (S. C. o. Zürich, 2017).
In Switzerland housing prices differ greatly not only between cities and surrounding suburban communities, but also among cities. Costs for an equivalent apartment in Zürich were twice as high than in the more remote city of La Chaux- de-Fonds, a comparison of monthly rental costs for apartments advertised between January 2013 and March 2015 showed. Housing prices are highest in Zürich and Geneva. In 2015, rental costs in Zürich amounted to 30 Swiss Francs per square meter and month (Comparis.ch., 2015). These figures do not include additional costs for heating, water, electricity and maintenance. On average they account for 12% of the rent and are added to the monthly payments. In older housing stock heating makes up about half of these additional costs.
The high price of new housing is also due to increased floor space consumption per capita, a result of changing household compositions, affluence and changes in lifestyles.

In 2013, floor space consumption the per capita was 41 square meter in Zürich which represents a rise of 40% since 1970 (Zürich, 2013). The floor space consumption per capita was at the same time 45 square meter nationwide.

Access to the housing market

Access to housing

Recent Swiss Statistics scenarios predict that metropolitan areas such as Zürich and Geneva will show a continuing above-average growth rate. In contrast to many other European countries. Switzerland does not have a national or cantonal policy for the provision of affordable, so-called social housing. Hence finding appropriate housing is left to the people themselves and largely depends on local programmes and options in cities where the housing market is tight (Glaser, 2017).
Disadvantaged groups on the housing market are typically represented by lower-income immigrant groups, students, some elderly people with small pensions, the physically disabled and other persons with psychological and physical health or social problems as well as families and single-parent households with below poverty line incomes (Bochsler et al., 2015).
A large part of these households is living in old urban housing stock that can be cheap, especially if the inhabitants have lived there for a long period of time. Tenant protection legislation stipulates that rents cannot be arbitrarily increased, unless major renovations have been carried out. It is common that commercial private owners, focused on short-term revenue, show little interest in improving their multi-family housing units. Rents thus remain cheap and profits are high, especially due to the very low mortgage interest rates. If necessary, renovations are implemented and rents, in turn, are raised, which makes renovated apartments unaffordable for some households. Often tenants are forced to move out if a building is to be substantially renovated, and finding a replacement apartment at a similar price (and standard?) is often impossible. Very tight housing markets entail the risk of some owners.
In housing markets such as Zürich with extremely low vacancy rates. access to housing has also become a challenge for moderate and middle-income households.
Eurostat 2012 figures indicate that the housing cost overburden rate (households with more than 40% of disposable household income devoted to housing) seems to be low in Switzerland. However, the perceived burden also depends on the level of household income. In 2000. Swiss households with an income below 3.680 €/month paid on average of 33% of their income in rent. The Swiss Federal Housing Office argue that housing costs exceeding 25% of the income prevent other basic needs from being met.
The affected middle-income households move out the city to the growing agglomeration communes where they can still find housing within their budget. In most cases, they then face the problem of non-existent or poorly developed service facilities and having to commute long distances (Glaser, 2017).
Accessing the housing market in Zürich is a huge challenge for elderly people who want to or who are forced to move house. 40% of all apartments are not advertised when tenants move. They informally change hands. The second most important way to access a new apartment is the internet. In one-third of all cases, on-line ads are used to find a new tenant. Additionally flats are sometimes advertised in newspapers, and housing cooperatives typically manage lists of interested persons (Ilg & Zimmerli, 2014). These lists may, however, be closed to non-members. Those who neither has a functional network of social contacts nor has access to the internet or who does not know how to navigate the internet is therefore disadvantaged on the housing market of Zürich (Althaus et al., 2017).
The steep demand for affordable accommodation further makes it critical to respond quickly to advertisements. At average, flats are advertised for only 15 days (Ilg & Zimmerli, 2014).

Decisive factors are location, price and number of rooms. There also exist huge differences amongst the different precincts (Ilg & Zimmerli, 2014). Barrier-free apartments are particularly sought of, as are smaller flats and cheaper dwellings; especially those with monthly lease between CHF 1 000 and 1 500. Experts estimate that most persons over 65 years are looking for a 2 or 3 room apartment in the city of Zürich, with a monthly lease rate of between CHF 1 500 and 1 800.

In this segment, there exists fierce competition[14] and it only takes between seven and ten days to find a new tenant (Ilg & Zimmerli, 2014). Very often, apartments have been allotted before persons over 70 years even made the first phone call. Elderly persons, particularly those with a small budget, thus are immensely challenged to find new, affordable and appropriate apartments in the city of Zürich.

The urgency of this topic crystallised in the huge audience at an information evening organised by the organisation of tenants in Zürich in April 2018. According to the organisation, elderly tenants are over-represented amongst those who lose their apartment due to refurbishments. This is a problem specifically associated with private sector rental housing; which comprises the major part of Zürich's housing stock or 70%. The city of Zürich reports a growing number of refurbishment projects of the private sector. In every third project, proprietors cancel the existing lease contracts of all tenants (S. Zürich, 2017a). As a consequence, tenants have to leave the apartment within three months. Especially for elderly persons, an impossible thing to do.

This is why the organisation encourages elderly tenants to immediately refute the cancellation. When tenants get organised, it is possible to gain valuable time (up to one or even two years); sometimes it is even possible to convince the owners of the building to adapt a different, tenant-friendly strategy. Thanks to their large housing stock, housing cooperatives (like the city of Zürich) can more easily provide tenants alternate apartments in case of refurbishment or redevelopment. There are however encouraging cases that demonstrate that it is possible, also for private owners, to carry out building refurbishments in stages, and to provide temporary solutions to longstanding tenants[15].

Housing providers in the city of Zürichare in the comfortable position to choose new tenants from amongst a large group of interested persons. Therefore, tenants have to prepare well for apartment-hunt. In order to apply for a flat, they have to write a letter of introduction, fill out forms, personally visit the flat and talk to the landlord, organise an excerpt of the debt collection register and, ideally, also a letter of support of the existing landlord or housing manager. Without adequate support, these tasks easily over-whelm elderly persons.

Housing managers carefully select their new tenants to avoid frequent flat changes (time, money). Apart from their impression of the person, they pay attention to the habits of the applicants – do they play an instrument, do they have pets, what is the existing living situation? Will they match their neighbours? How urgent is it for them to find a new place? Can they afford the monthly lease rate, is it less than one-third of their monthly gross income? Do they have debts? While some housing managers, especially among cooperatives, do not exclude applicants with debt, *per se,* this is a tricky issue for many poor persons on apartment-hunt. Recently, the need for practicable solutions has been recognised. To these belong rental deposits for households in need. Specialist agencies and social services are furthermore required to not only help poor households find a new apartment but also to keep it (Bochsler et al., 2015).

[14] SVIT Senior Zürich, auf: www.svit.ch

[15] MV Zürich, «Aber was macht Zürich?», 27.06.2018, auf: www.mieterverband.ch (29.06.2018).

Housing and living situation of people over 65 years in the city of Zürich

Age has clear implications on household size, however it does not so much influence in what type of residential building elderly persons live in Switzerland.
The reason for the prevalence of older housing stock amongst the elderly is their typically long period of residence: At average, persons over 65 years stay in their dwellings for 21 years and persons over 80 years for 40 years. Some therefore argue that aging in place actually starts from the age of 45 years (ibid). Such long periods of residence are both problematic and beneficial: Elderly persons often benefit of longstanding lease contracts. Their monthly rent, in this case, is far below the market rate; particularly when they are members of housing cooperatives.
This is one important reason why elderly persons prefer to stay in their dwelling, even if it is too large for them to take care of it and if the living environment is not barrier-free. Moving house is seldom voluntary amongst the elderly. They do not want to leave their neighbourhood and precinct which they know inside out. Delimiting factors typically are multiple health issues and growing fragility as well as financial problems (Althaus et al., 2017). This is confirmed by the literature: «Becoming disabled, having neither spouse nor child, having a low income. all make moving to a nursing home more likely» (Angelini & Laferrère, 2008). While most elderly postpone moving to a barrier-free living environment or institutional form of living until the last moment, elderly residents of Zürich (especially those with small pensions) are immensely vulnerable to rent increases — a side effect of redevelopment and refurbishment projects.

Affordability of rental housing

Closely linked to the question of the level of income of households in the city of Zürich is the affordability of rental housing for elderly people. In Switzerland, access to adequate housing is achieved for most residents. However, affordable and adequate housing remains challenging for Switzerland's poorest households or those living in financial insecurity (Bochsler et al., 2015). There exists no unified definition of poverty or standardised poverty line in Switzerland SKOS, (Sozialhilfe, 2015).
The Swiss Conference for Social Welfare (SKOS) however defines a minimum subsistence level which marks the threshold of *economic vulnerability* — this threshold has been fixed at a level to guarantee basic social participation. In 2015, it was CHF 2 600 for individuals and CHF 3 700 for couples without children (Sozialhilfe, 2015).
It is important to note: To calculate the individual need for social benefits, institutions use different models and, therefore, different poverty lines exist in practice which takes into account local variations pertaining to basic expenses (*e.g.* health insurances, rents). The *median poverty line* however attempts to measure poverty at a more general level and is therefore somewhat theoretical (Sozialhilfe, 2015). Households are considered as *poor* if their income is 50% of the median income, and as *threatened by poverty* if it is 60% of it. *Financial insecurity* refers to incomes which are not more than 20% above the SKOS-defined median poverty line (Bochsler et al., 2015). Poverty in Switzerland is most prevalent among single parents and elderly persons. In 2012. 7,7% of the total residential population was deemed as poor; the ratio was 16,4% for people over 65 years (Bochsler et al., 2015).

Median taxable income in the city of Zürich

In 2013, the median taxable income in the city of Zürich was CHF 42 800 for individuals (basic rate) and CHF 75 800 for married couples. Since 1999, the median income in the city of Zürich

has increased by over 20%[16]. Many new-comers to Zürich work in highly qualified jobs and earn more than the existing residential population[17]. In the on-going process of societal differentiation, the disparity of incomes is increasing, and the gap is widest among persons over 80 years (Stadt_Zürich, 2012). In this age group, the median taxable income is 20% below the median of all age groups. The poorest quarter of this age group is even further below this level.

Prevalence of poverty amongst pensioners

The income situation of the poorest quarter amongst the elderly in the city of Zürich follows a national trend: Irrespective of gender, one-fourth of all pensioners in Switzerland have less than CHF 2 600 per month at their disposal[18].
One-third only has a minimal pension (Bochsler et al., 2015). At the same time, a substantial number of elderlies over 80 years is able to live from savings rather than consuming pension funds. Also, what concerns assets, the gap is wide. The poorest quarter has less than CHF 30 000 (singles) or CHF 102 000 (married couples) on their bank account.

Accommodation costs

While one quarter of the 80-year-old and over are living in financial insecurity or poverty, excessive accommodation costs are a significant financial burden. Among the elderly in Switzerland, 30,5% spend more than one-third on housing; in case of poverty, the ratio climbs to a whopping 82,6% (Bochsler et al., 2015). Women form an important sub-group amongst them. Many receive only very low pensions. The «Gender Pension Gap» conceptualises the fact that, at average, their pensions are 37% below men's. This deficit accumulates to about CHF 20 000 per annum (Federal Council 2016)[19].
At average, Swiss households spend only 14,7% of their gross income — or 21% of their disposable income (*i.e.* after deducing social insurances, taxes and health insurances) — on housing. In comparison to other European countries, they spend less on housing than households for example in Germany, Denmark or Netherlands[20]. However, the bottom 20% are forced to spend 31% on housing. This ratio consistently increased since 1998. In practice, the «golden rule» of limiting housing costs to one-third of monthly spending is therefore broken in the case of many of the poorest households in Switzerland. To these clearly belong many elderly persons over 65 years.

Many elderly people live modestly. Whilst they are able to stay in their existing apartments, benefiting of favourable leasing rates due to longstanding contracts, they financially manage. If their building is refurbished or re-developed, their fragile financial situation is destabilised. Even small increases in monthly accommodation costs can over-burden elderly tenants. In Switzerland, proprietors are allowed to impose between 50 and 70% of the costs of

[16] Stadt Zürich, «Steuerbares Einkommen und Vermögen", 21,06.2017, on: www.stadt-zuerich.ch (18.06.2018).
[17] Stadt Zürich, «Einkommen in der Stadt Zürich steigen», 29.08.2017, on: www.stadt-zuerich.ch (18.06.2018).
[18] Fabienne Riklin, «Das Schweizer Vorsorgesystem verzeiht nichts: Wenn die Rente zum Leben nicht reicht», März 2017, auf: www.aargauerzeitung.ch (20.06.2018).
[19] Colette Nova, «Grosse Differenzen zwischen den Altersrenten von Frauen und Männern», Der Bundesrat, auf: www.admin.ch (20.06.2018).
[20] Andrea Martel, «Ist Wohnen in der Schweiz zu teuer», Neue Zürcher Zeitung, on www.nzz.ch (28.05.2018).

refurbishment on tenants. This applies to refurbishments which lead to substantial improvements for the residents (*e.g.* more comfort due to highly insulated windows, a new kitchen or bathroom)[21]. If elderly tenants have to find a new apartment, their situation is even more dire. A structure survey of the federal statistical office revealed that, currently, a two-room apartment in the city of Zürich costs between CHF 850 (cooperative housing) and CHF 1 775 (market rate) a month (Stadt Zürich 2015)[22]. Such accommodation expenses easily exceed the critical one-third of a small pension. Even if living in housing cooperatives, moving into a new dwelling can be financially challenging for a tenant of the relevant age group (Althaus et al., 2017). Housing cooperatives often take care and provide suitable apartments to their members in case of re-development. Still, monthly housing expenses inevitably climb. Compared to refurbishment, monthly accommodation costs climb by another 20 to 30% in case of re-development[23].

[21] Thomas Müller, «Für Renovationen zahlt am Ende der Mieter», 2014, auf: www.tagesanzeiger.ch (27.06.2018).
[22] Stadt Zürich, «T_1 Mietpreise (in Franken) nach Stadtkreis, Wohnungsgrösse und Eigentumsgruppe», Zürich 2017.
[23] Peter Schmid, «Von wegen teure Wohngenossenschaften», 2016, auf: www.tagesanzeiger.ch (27.06.2018).

Vienna

Demographic development

Austria – an ageing society

In Austria the share of people aged over 65 years has been increasing over the past decade. While there were 16,4% of the total population of Austria aged 65+ in 2006, this number has risen to 19,3% by 2016 (Statista, 2018). Forecasts[24] indicate a further increase of this trend in the upcoming years (see Fig. 8).

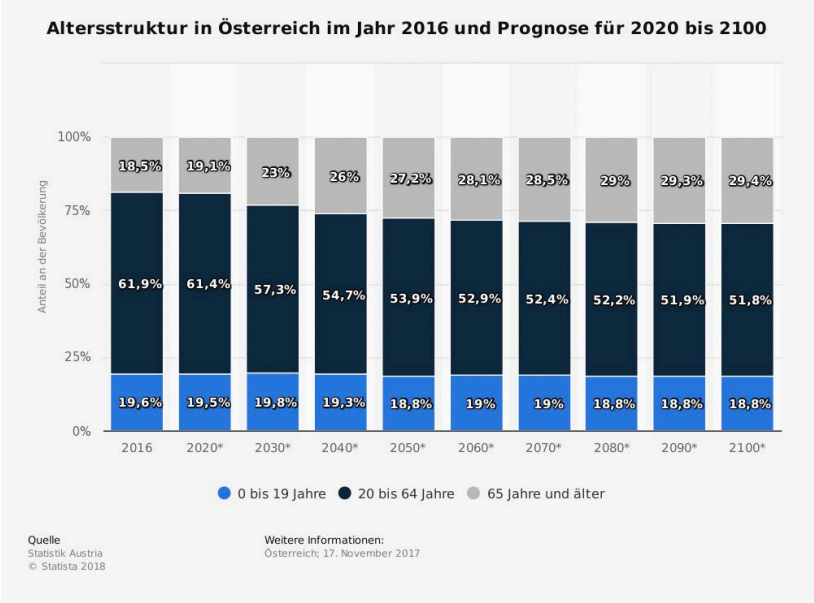

Figure 8 Age structure in Austria in 2016 with forecasts for 2020-2100 (main scenario) (Statistik Austria 2016a)

The topic of ageing affects all domains of an individual's life such as socio-economic circumstances with retirement or health and health care. The importance of these domains is visualized through statistical data on poverty rates among people aged 65 and over in different European countries, which can be considered as low compared to other population groups such as families with kids (see fig. 9).

[24] The figure visualizes the main (medium) variant of the prognostics. To feed this model various assumptions on fertility, mortality and migration have to been developed. The most important results beyond population figures are also the future development vital statistics (births and death) as well as migration flows. To explain uncertainty beside main (medium) variant other scenarios with different sets of assumptions are calculated. (Statistik Austria 2016b)

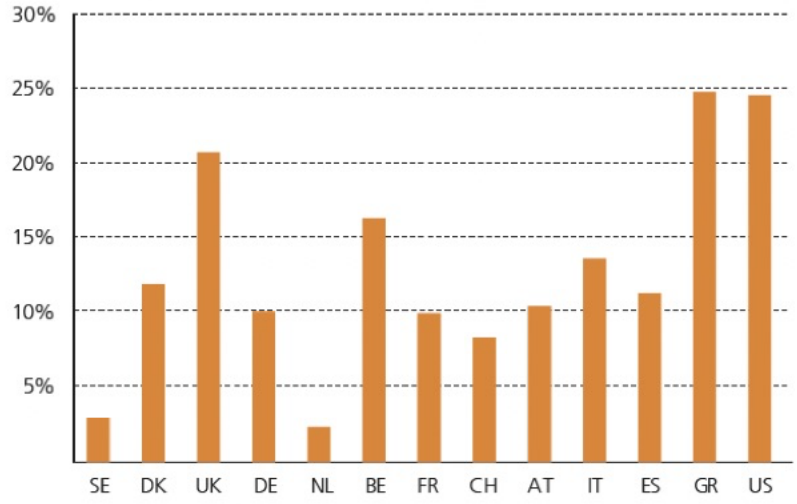

Figure 9 Poverty rates among people aged 65 and over (Börsch-Supan et.al. 2005, 15)

With the level of pension benefits being mainly dependent on contributions paid by the beneficiary, the Austrian pensions scheme varies distinctively from pension schemes mostly funded by taxes or by individuals. The income in old age is primarily determined by the level of income and the years of employment accrued. Regarding the income situation of the elderly population arising from this pension scheme, several circumstances have been observed. Persons above the age of 75 are, however, more at risk of poverty than persons 65+ (Megyeri, 2016). A substantial and increasingly researched phenomenon furthermore, is the gender pension gap. With a gap of 39% in Austria, the amount of pension received is distributed highly unequally amongst the sexes, exposing women above the age of 65 to poverty to a significantly higher extent than men in this age group[25] (Bettio, Tinios, & Betti, 2015). This phenomenon can primarily be explained by the same factors contributing to the gender gap in income (unequal wages, interrupted careers and part-time work), which seem to be aggravated by the pension schemes' principles.

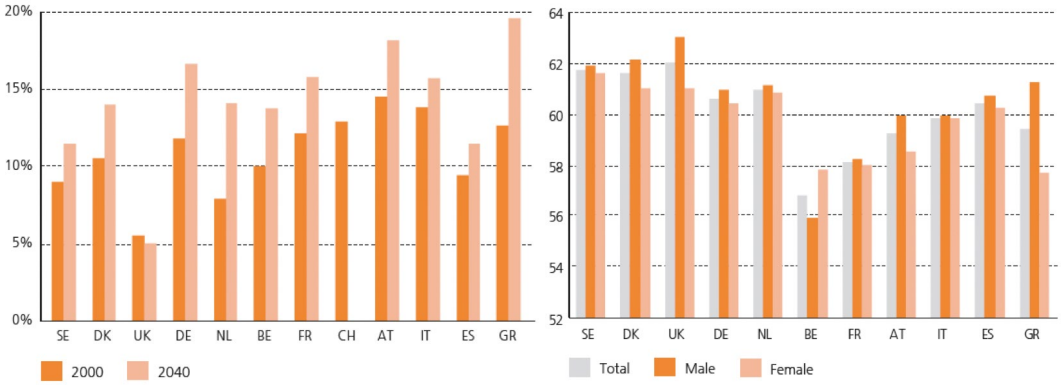

Figure 10 Public pension expenditures of GDP (Börsch-Supan et.al. 2005, 13) Figure 11 Average exit age from Labour force (Börsch-Supan et.al. 2005, 13)

Furthermore, in several EU states household size has been identified as relevant factor, with persons living alone generally being exposed to a poverty risk to a larger extent than persons living in bigger households (Megyeri, 2016)[26].

[25] Risk of poverty above the age of 65 (2009): women 18,7%, men 10,4% (Bettio et al. 2015, 77)

[26] This phenomenon has not been ascertained for Austria in specific.

Challenges and opportunities for ageing in place in Austrian cities

In terms of ageing in place the demographic changes are affecting the structure of the tenant population and thus of demand. These changes do not only include ageing, but other aspects that are partly related to this such as single-person households, new family constellations, flexible labour markets, increasing migration and new types of (transnational) migration. Although the demand from housing has changed in these aspects, the supply through different modes of housing however, not responded.
On part of the housing market, there is critique (Reinprecht, 2014) of the generalist nature of the Austrian subsidized housing system and the fact that housing subsidies favour the middle classes, particularly given increasing social (and housing) inequalities. In relation to inequalities in housing is the gender pension gap, which discriminates especially older age women on the housing market in Austria[27].

Demographic development in Vienna

For years, the city of Vienna has been in a phase of demographic growth that is foreseen to continue within the next decades. This scenario is based on the high level of immigration – in contrast to low but stable positive birth rates (Wien, 2017). If the high level of immigration continues -which to a large percentage determines population growth- Vienna is expected to reach a population of more than 2 million inhabitants by 2024. A slightly stronger increase until 2024 is offset by weakened population gains by 2034. The demographic forecast for the City also foresees an increase of elderly aged +75 years by 37% while at the same time 60-74 year olds will grow by 5% (see fig. 10). These last figures of the forecast indicate a strong impact on the research in terms of the study of the two cohorts and their access to housing.

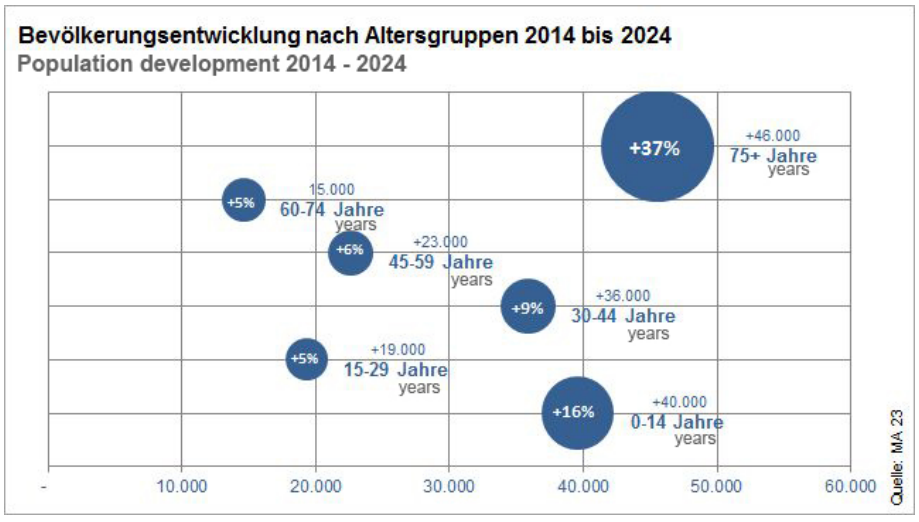

Figure 12 Population development (Source: City of Vienna, MA 2

[27] This is just one aspect, on which research was done. Other aspects such as ethnic discrimination in aged population has not been researched on in the Viennese context.

Table 9 Ageing quotient and Over-Ageing quotient in Vienna (Source: Statistik Austria (2017)

Year	Total	Age						
		0-19	20-64	65+	75+	Aeing quotient	Total quotient	Over-ageing quotient
2000	1 551 236	304 101	995 121	252 014	127 584	25,3%	55,9%	82,9%
2010	1 695 590	330 391	1 077 788	287 411	125 363	26,7%	57,3%	87,0%
2016	1 853 140	356 155	1 189 000	307 985	140 063	25,9%	55,9%	86,5%

Compared to the development of the past 18 years, it shows that the ageing quotient has been relatively stable since the year 2000, whereas the overageing quotient has increased substantially in the first decade and since then been stable.
According to the City of Vienna different challenges derive from these demographic developments. In the "City of Vienna's Care and Support Strategy Paper 2030" (Pflege und Betreuung in Wien 2030, (Wien, 2016b) the increase of older age persons requires more formal care services due to the increasing life expectancy. An increase in one-person households is also related to an increase in demand of formal care services (provided by state institutions or social organizations), since informal care (non-paid care work, e.g. within family households) is decreasing due to a higher percentage of women's employment, higher retirement age, new lifestyles and more mobility etc. For more detail see: (Wien, 2016b).
The identified challenges in terms of care services for older age groups according to the Strategy Paper (Wien, 2016b) are related to:

- Increasing individuality,
- new target groups: people with disabilities getting older, new mobility and new health conditions of the elderly?
- technological progress: acceptance problems, ethical issues (monitoring), financial issues (maintenance),
- increasing number of older migrants,
- changes in unemployment and incomes (former precarious working conditions mean less
- pension income, health disadvantages due to unemployment),
- decline in informal care (increased mobility in society and flexibility in the labour market).

Housing conditions and access to housing in Vienna

The housing market in Austria is traditionally based on a well-controlled and regulated housing system with historically rooted tenancy laws, a complex subsidy regime and the strong role of limited- profit housing companies. But the housing market has come under increasing financial pressure through neoliberal tendencies with new protagonists surfacing, such as for-profit companies and international investors (Reinprecht, 2014).
Austria is a country that has traditionally had a large rental sector with 43,1% of the housing stock being rented and 47,8% in owner occupation and the rest in other tenures (Statistik-Portal, 2016a). Statistics on a regional (federal state) level reveal that Vienna[28] holds a unique position

[28] Vienna is federal capital of Austria and holds the federal state (Bundesland) status among nine federal states in Austria.

in this respect with 78,2% share of the rental sector and a low ownership rate of 19,1% (see fig. 13).

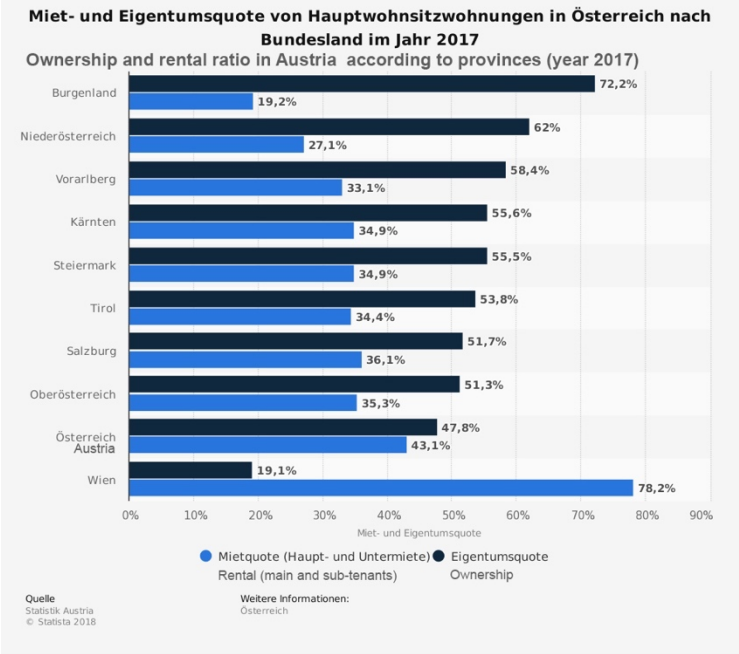

Figure 13 Ownership and rental ratio in Austria according to Federal States (Statistik Austria 2017b)

In Austria, nearly 80% of new residential construction, from single-family homes to multi-storey apartment blocks, benefits from some public (direct or indirect) subsidies (Reinprecht, 2014)[29]. There is no official definition of social housing, but the subsidies scheme reveals a complex system of interactions between "the federal government which defines the legal framework for social housing, the nine regional governments, which are responsible for housing policy, municipalities, limited-profit housing companies, banks and special housing financial institutions – and tenants"(Reinprecht, 2014). In new construction projects as well as in managing existing housing stock the subsidized sector is of key importance in Austria, and particularly in Vienna. Around one third of new construction is carried out by non-profit or limited-profit housing organizations. Within the existing stock 5-6% is being refurbished every year within the subsidized housing sector of limited profit organizations and "Gemeindebau"(Reinprecht, 2014). The diverse schemes of social housing in Austria have different target groups, though traditionally the priority focus of municipal housing ("Gemeindebau") was on the "working class" and low-income people which today is inhabited with 30% with low income, whereas the non-profit housing companies mainly focused on the middle class and therefore having only 11% with low income today (Reinprecht, 2014). Generally, the social structure of tenants in subsidized housing is not too different from the private housing sector. In private rental there is 23% of tenants have low incomes (Reinprecht, 2014). Nonetheless, difficulties for groups with weak social status to enter the housing market in general and the subsidized housing specifically has "significantly grown because of the increasing gap between housing costs and financial resources" (Lévy-Vroelant & Reinprecht, 2014). This is reflected in longer waiting lists for subsidized housing, increasing number of applications for direct allowances for rent and homelessness (Lévy-Vroelant & Reinprecht, 2014). In terms of demographics and age, the municipal sector (in Vienna "Gemeindebau") accommodates the highest percentage of over-65s (17%), while in private renting the figure is much lower (9%) (Reinprecht, 2014).

[29] Although indirect (bricks-and-mortar) subsidies are dominant, individual housing and rent allowances become more important. Indirect subsidies such as tax incentives make up less than 15% (Reinprecht 2014).

Beyond the task of housing provision, social housing sector in Austria and specifically in Vienna fulfils a leading role in terms of quality standards in environmental issues, such as advanced systems of thermal isolation and energy standards, and social cohesion. Focusing on solutions such as themed housing with focus on car-free, gender- sensitive, inter-generational, socially innovative and intercultural housing. "The social housing sector is thus responding to publicly defined goals and principles such as economic, ecological and social sustainability. Although these terms are not clearly defined, public authorities employ them as targets for real estate developers, or in the context of property developer competitions" (Reinprecht, 2014). Despite this important position of the social housing in Austria and the better preservation than in many other European countries, it is clearly visible that the sector is undergoing significant structural changes in the face of demographic and economic challenges as well as of the recent political shift with its implications on the former strong political regulation of the housing market.

Housing in Vienna

The specificity of Vienna's housing market derives from its historical development starting from the massive construction of social housing ("Gemeindebau") in the 1920s[30]. By today, the City of Vienna owns 220.000 apartment units out of approx. 959.000 existing units (Wien, 2016c), based on microcenus 2012). In addition, 21% of the total housing stock is subsidized housing managed by limited-profit housing companies ("Wohnbaugenossenschaften") or other developers bound to the regulatory frame of subsidized housing in Vienna[31]. This means that almost half of the Viennese housing stock is either subsidized or municipally owned. The rental sector accounts for more than two thirds of the total housing stock in Vienna (Wien, 2016b), where in most cases the Tenancy Statute (Mietrechtsgesetz 1982, MRG) applies with almost exclusively mandatory norms that minimize the freedom of contract significantly in favour of the tenant (for more information see: Hofmann, n.y.). Apart from the rental sector, 19.1% of housing units are owner occupied housing units (Statistik-Portal, 2017b).
In order to access municipal housing and subsidized housing by limited-profit companies, different requirements need to be met. That is Austrian citizenship or equal status (EU), two years residency in Vienna and max. income limits. In terms of income limits, a high percentage of the population is eligible for subsidized housing (80-90%, subsequent salary increases are not considered in rental prices). The access to the two forms of subsidized housing (by municipality or limited-profit companies) does not differ so much in terms of income limitations[32] as of priorities for special housing needs for access to municipal housing (priority given to people living in situation of overcrowding, young adults living with their parents or +65 year-olds receiving care allowance or living e.g. in a house without elevator) and a down payment to contribute to the construction and land costs of subsidized housing projects ("Eigenmittel").
The focus on people with low and middle-class income in the overall Austrian social housing scheme complicates access for the socio-economically marginalized households and for migrants especially of non-EU member states to housing. These groups find accommodation in the private rental sector with problems of quality standards, rent levels and the security of tenancy.
"Because of urban renewal and modernisation of the old housing stock, the number of such dwellings is shrinking rapidly (Reinprecht, 2014). People with acute housing need in Vienna have access to so-called emergency dwellings (mostly within the municipal housing stock), while for homeless persons there are a number of specific programmes and institutions (to a

[30] For a detailed overview see Reinprecht (2014) and for a historical overview see Abele & Höltl (2007) and Novy (1993, in German).
[31] Wiener Wohnbauförderungs- und Wohnhaussanierungsgesetz, WWFSG
[32] E.g. for municipal housing as well as for subsidized housing the max. net income for one person is 45.510,00 Euro/year or for a two person-household 67.820,00 Euro/year.

large part run by non-profit and publicly financed welfare organisations) (Lévy-Vroelant & Reinprecht, 2014).

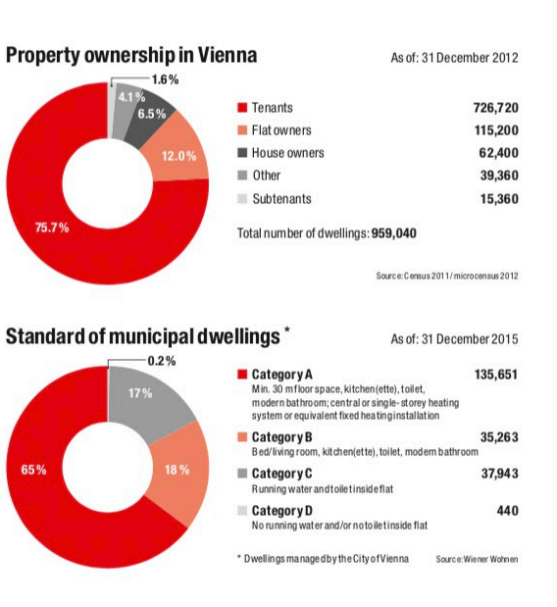

Figure 14 Property ownership Vienna (state of data: micro census 2012). Standard of municipal housing (data 2015) (City of Vienna 2016).

Existing housing stock in Vienna

In terms of building stock, Vienna is characterized by a large building stock constructed before 1919, which accounts for more than 30% of apartments in the overall building stock. Other construction periods are more or less equally distributed with shares between 6% for example constructions between 1991-2000 and 12%, for example constructions between 1961-70[33] (Wien, 2016b). About 180,000 people live in Vienna - that is, 10% of the population - in census areas that are characterized by single-family homes and allotment gardens (types 1 and 2, for definition of types see table 10). Nearly 700,000 people (38%) live in the Gründerzeit[34] areas (types 3 to 5). About 80,000 people (about 4%) live in census areas, which were characterized by the residential construction of the municipal housing of the interwar period. More than one-eighth of the population of Vienna lives in residential areas that are dominated by the housing construction of the past three and a half decades (types 11 to 13). Nearly 17% of Viennese live in one of the three "mixed types" areas, that is, areas characterized by residential construction of different construction periods.

[33] MA 18 – Stadtentwicklung und Stadtplanung 2016
[34] Gründerzeit“: Engl. “founder’s period“ approx. 1850-1914 (for architecture / building types)

Table 10 Housing types, Vienna 2016

Nr	Housing type
1	Single family houses and allotments
2	Single family houses and allotments with significant share of apartments buildings
3	Founders period, High structural density and population density over 425 inh/ha
4	Founders period and old town, High structural density and population density over 425 inh/ha
5	Founders period, Low structural density
11	Construction period 1981-2000
12	Construction period from 1981 - mixed building age
13	Construction period from 2001
14	Almost uninhabited

While there is no significant concentration of elderly in specific city districts (Reinprecht & Rossbacher, 2014), the comparison of maps of "Population development prognostics" and a "Housing types/typologies" map allows the identification of specific residential buildings according to its housing typology and construction period with an above-average age. In the map fig. 15, the locations which resulted out of superimposing the "Population development prognostics" map over the "Housing types/typologies" map are marked with cyan circles.

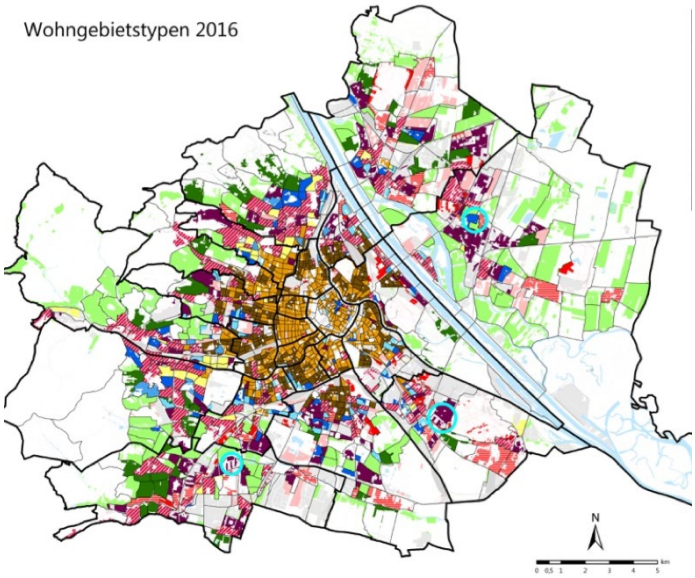

Figure 15 Housing types/typologies (2016) on the scale of census area (MA 18 – Stadtentwicklung und Stadtplanung 2016).

Accordingly, the selective locations that can be observed are, for example, in homogeneously populated residential housing projects (mostly municipally owned or subsidized housing blocks for rent) and, for the peripheral areas, the housing type which corresponds to an increasing

population of 65+ is single-family homes or allotment garden houses (ownership or long-term lease). In the centre, the majority of the housing stock is from pre-WW1 periods (Gründerzeit and Altstadt, rent or ownership) – which counts with an above average age, but does not show in forecast map, as especially relevant for the age group 65+. Some examples of this comparison/superimposition of building stock typologies and population development prognostics are stated below and categorized in "single-family houses or allotment gardens" and "subsidized and municipal housing."

a) Single-family houses or allotment gardens (type 1)
The comparison of a map of average age of population in Vienna, with housing types/typologies of Vienna (fig. 15) also shows a concentration of old age groups in low density areas with single-family houses or allotment gardens. For the selection of areas with single-family houses, socio-economic selection criteria would have to be specified since it varies substantially according to the location in different city quarters. Allotment gardens usually differ in Vienna according to the right for all-season dwelling and the ownership of the plot. If the plot is not owned by the inhabitant, it is usually leased on a long-term basis from the land owner.

Examples:

- Nordrandsiedlung with adjacent allotment gardens (original construction 1934-1935, with high degree of contemporary extensions)
- Siedlung Schwarzlackenau (1922-)

b) Subsidized (Genossenschaftsbauten) and municipal housing (Gemeindebau)
Based on the maps "Vienna Housing typologies_2016" and "Vienna_Map population development age_2014-24" specific housing projects with high percentage of 65+ age groups have been identified. The historical development of Viennese policies of social/subsidized housing is reflected in the outcome of this comparison, since the following sites all meet the criteria of social/subsidized housing and rent.

Examples:

- Plattenbausiedlung "Mitterweg" (construction period 1968-1971),
- Settlement Am Freihof (construction period 1923-1927),
- Housing Complex Alt Erlaa (construction period 1973 – 1985).

Questions related to the examples and the approach are: Can this be linked back to the time when these settlements came into being? Is it due to generational shift in settlements of the city that have been populated by similar age groups at the same time, or not? And questions for further methodological steps might be: Can this finding be set in relation to the share of this type of dwelling units among the whole number of dwelling units in Vienna? Does it, in reality, only relate to a small portion of the elderly and their geographies, and are bigger portions of the elderly e.g. not specified through this approach of mapping as they might vanish in the abstract figures on which these maps are based?
Through these questions some of the limits of this approach are surfacing. In order to detect the possibly large spectrum of Geographies of Age and also question the limits of a categorization according to housing typologies/types more in-depth research is needed.

Housing conditions of elderly in Vienna

In terms of housing conditions of elderly, the following review is taken from the study of Reinprecht & Rossbacher (2014) "Housing for the Elderly: A potential analysis of the spatial distribution of the elderly in Vienna" which gives insight into housing conditions of elderly in Vienna since the year 2004 from a sociological perspective. The study distinguishes between three cohorts: younger elderly (50-64), seniors (65-79) and old age (80+). For the purpose of the "Geographies of Age" research, the following aspects have been narrowed down to the two age groups cohort 1 "seniors (65-79)" and cohort 2 "old age (80+)" of our study. The study of "Housing for the Elderly" touches different thematic subjects related to housing, such as types of housing where elderly reside and also inner-city migration of the cohorts.

The question of where older people in Vienna reside, is in a first step discussed in the study through a division of private and non-private households. The statistical data of the study of Reinprecht & Rossbacher (2014) distinguished between private (including privately rented, owned or subsidized housing) and non-private households (e.g. in geriatric homes). In Vienna, living in non-private households is almost exclusively limited to cohort 2 with 14,2% of the total age group in comparison to 1,6% of cohort 1 (Reinprecht & Rossbacher, 2014). 74% of all persons receiving care allowance in Vienna are cared for in private households, 58% of the services related to at-home-care are provided by the City of Vienna (Wien, 2016a).

Relating to inner-city migration, the mobility of both cohorts is limited. The relatively increasing migration of cohort 2 compared to that of cohort 1 can be explained by the change from private to non-private households, which means the transfer from home to a geriatric home[35]. In 2013 just 1,2% in cohort 1 moved, in cohort 2 it was 2,3% that moved. (Reinprecht & Rossbacher, 2014). Migration within districts is even scarcer, with 0,7% of cohort 1 and 1,3% of cohort 2 changing their place of residence (Reinprecht & Rossbacher, 2014). Migration from and to abroad in cohort 1 was 0,5% arriving to Vienna and 0,6% leaving. For cohort 2 it was 0,2% and 0,4% respectively. Reinprecht & Rossbacher (2014) conclude that the data outlines, that elderly generally tend to stay where they already are. "Conversely, it can be assumed that those who look back on a flexible or changing housing biography tend to be more mobile. Mobility in relation to housing is aggravated not only by psychological factors, but also by the considerable costs and financial risks associated with a change of residence, which also manifest the social impermeability and exclusion tendencies of the housing market" (Reinprecht & Rossbacher 2014).

Another large-scale survey in Vienna has been monitoring the quality in housing and social equality for different household groups in the years 1995-2013 (Hacker, Hoser, & Mayerl, 2014). Though not exclusively focusing on elderly, one of the selected "households" has been "older Viennese" (aged 65 and older). Generally, this group has a large share in living in municipal housing as well as in tenancy -privately let, (see fig. 16) (Hacker et al., 2014).

[35] in German "Alters- und Pflegeheim"

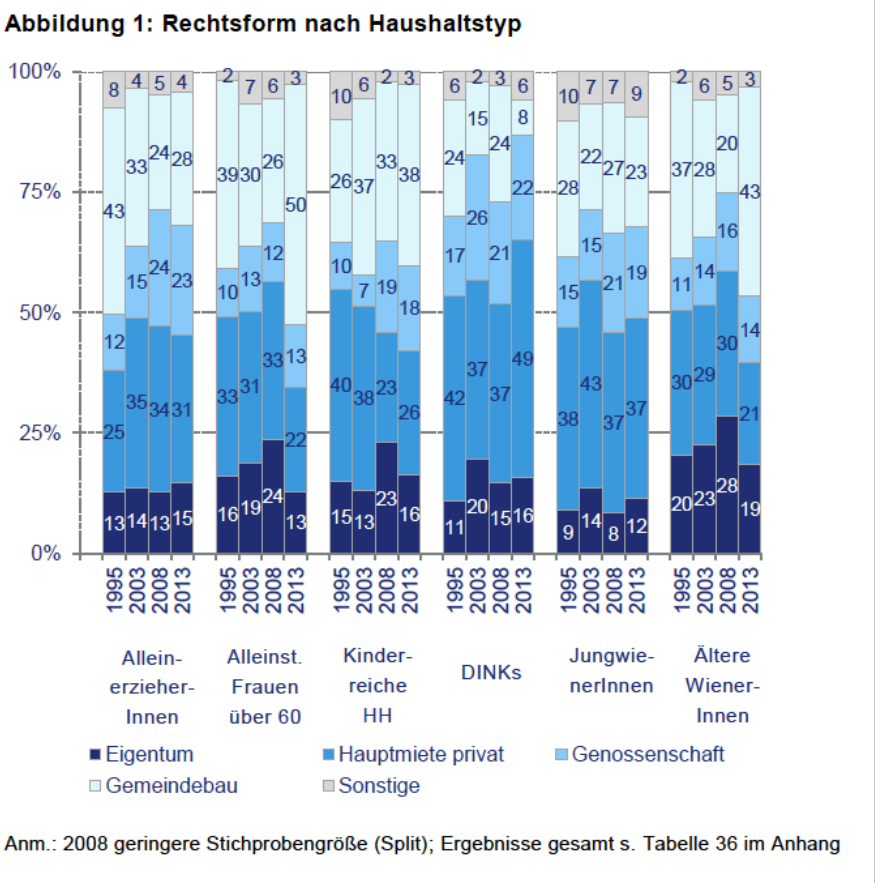

Figure 16 Household types according to ownership (dark blue), main rent (blue), limited-profit housing (light blue), municipal housing (lighter blue) and other (grey) (Comment: In 2008 there was a smaller sample (split)) (Hacker et.al. 2014).

The study also revealed through statistical data and interviews, that in the observation period single- households with women over 60 years gained an average of 6 sqm per person of floor space in apartments (with almost no problems in overcrowding), whereas other groups such as single-parent households and large families did not receive more floor space (for more details see Hacker et.al. 2014). In terms of housing costs, the household group of older tenants had the lowest increase. The increasing problem of temporary rental contracts in Vienna was not specific for elderly either (Hacker et al., 2014).

Housing support for old age groups in the City of Vienna

Material support to adapt housing conditions to the needs of the elderly

Based on "Strategy concept for the care of older people in Vienna" (Wiener Geriatriekonzept, 2004) and its follow-up strategy "City of Vienna's Care and Support Strategy Paper 2030"[36] (Stadt Wien 2016) the City of Vienna provides different types of support in terms of housing for older age groups (see, Housing service Vienna 2017[37]). Among these services is direct financial support for any reconstruction of apartments in order to adapt them to challenges and limitations of older age groups: "Viennese aged 65 and over can easily submit funding for renovations that increase the accessibility of their own four walls. The city promotes this with a non-refundable subsidy of up to € 4,200. This is provided to both tenants and home or allotment owners." (Housing service Vienna 2017) Special institutions -Competency centre for barrier-free planning, construction and dwelling[38]- advise about possible reconstructions and requirements for the

[36] Pflege und Betreuung in Wien 2030
[37] Wohnservice Wien 2017
[38] MA 25, Kompetenzstelle barrierefreies Planen, Bauen und Wohnen

funding. Another service is Action 65+ which facilitates the moving of persons of age 65+ into smaller and barrier-free apartments within the municipal housing stock. The service is aimed at all Viennese aged 65 and over who have been living in a municipal apartment of at least 65 square meters for ten or more years.

Intergenerational living

Within the frame of architectural and urban design projects, a focus of subsidized housing called "Generational dwelling"[39] aims at providing subsidized housing with a special focus on multi-generation housing. Also, elderly who wish to form a flat-sharing community are provided with advice from planners and experts through the service in English called "Actively – together – for each other"[40]. Assisted living projects aim at providing barrier-free housing, mobile services such as an emergency call service, cleaning, shopping and care services offered by subsidized housing developers in cooperation with a social service provider. Finally, senior residences[41] are aimed at providing formal care for older age groups such as cohort 2. A survey and strategy paper of 2004 ("Strategy concept for the care of older people in Vienna"[42]) is the basis for the continuous construction of senior residences financed by the City of Vienna's housing funds and budget (Leeb, 2009; Wien, 2016a).
The "Strategy concept for the care of older people in Vienna" (2004) aimed at the decentralization of social and health facilities, which - both on an outpatient and inpatient basis - accompany acute crises and support persons in all phases of their lives, create a network of small- scale offers distributed in the urban area, which are integrated into existing and newly created housing structures (Feuerstein & Leeb, 2014). Since then the healthcare and nursing sector has developed into a segmented market with different, new providers and offers. The concept was evaluated and its results included into the current "City of Vienna's Care and Support Strategy Paper 2030" (Stadt Wien 2016). In recent years, initiated by various actors, both in existing and new buildings, many projects have emerged, dealing with very different approaches, such as flexibility or adaptability in floor plan design, possibilities of multiple uses. The projects also differ in the form of their organization. For example, there are neighbourhood-oriented projects, various forms of housing, community-oriented housing groups, but also various cooperation projects between housing developers and service providers (Leeb, 2009). Some of the projects also offer everyday services and/or a needs-based support (Feuerstein & Leeb, 2014).

Modul 2

With increasing age and restricted physical mobility, a person's radius of action tends to decrease. Consequently, neighbourly relationships and possibilities for interactions within the neighbourhood increase in importance during the later years of life (Buffel et al., 2012). The positive effects of social networks have been widely documented (Cornwell & Schafer, 2016). Not only strong ties such as those with family and friends but also the weak ties with neighbours, for example, are important (Granovetter, 1983). Studies have shown that informal neighbourhood networks also form an important social value within the living environment (A. Seifert & Schelling, 2012).

[39] Generationenwohnen
[40] Aktiv - Miteinander – Füreinander
[41] Pflegewohnheime
[42] Wiener Geriatriekonzept

Especially at a very advanced age and with impairments, participation in the neighbourhood can substantially contribute to a sense of well-being (Oswald & Wahl, 2016). In view of the fact that informal encounters usually occur in the public sphere (Lofland 1998), the current study focuses on meeting spaces out- side of the home. Meeting spaces exist at the interface between everyday life and the built environment. They are characterised by various shades of the publicness.

Stockholm

To understand the relation between the inhabitants in old age and the city we arranged a series of meetings with retired people in both a suburb of Stockholm and in the centre of the city. In our meetings with these people our focus was on how they used the city and its resources. We started with an invitation presented on the information board in the public library. This meeting gathered about twenty interested older persons. We told them about the project and the cooperation with Zürich and Vienna and the demographic background. We painted a picture of limited resources in the future since we are getting older and older in both the country and in the city of Stockholm. We asked for some voluntaries to sit down and talk about the outside environment and how they used the city's different possibilities for outdoor activities. What is important, what makes a city age-friendly, what kind of public places do they frequently visit and enjoy? We asked those who were interested in meeting us to sign up for a list.

One week later we invited those who had signed up as interested to a meeting. We used email and phone calls. Unfortunately, many said that they did not have time right then, or that they did not think they had anything to add to our study.

We ended up with all together four meetings with a small group of individuals. It was a big difference between how many that initially signed upp as interested and the few we did meet. It is a problem to get participants to this kind of research and informal meetings but we got a couple of four persons coming to talk with us.

To meet old people in the city we asked the district administrations in the inner of the city if they could put us in contact with a nursing home or senior housing. One of the district gave us a positive respons which led us to the nursing home called Pilträdet in Kungsholmen.

The following is a compilation of the discussions we had with the people in Farsta.

Farsta a suburb of Stockholm

We started talking about how long they had been living in Farsta and then went on to talk about different environments that they appreciated in Farsta. We talked to three people who all three had different relationships to the neighbourhood. One had lived there since he was little, one had moved from the inner city and one actually lived in a neighbouring district but spent most of his time in Farsta.

Farsta is a district that was built in the 1950s as an independent enclave where you could both live and work and make your purchases. It was called the ABC City. Two such areas were built outside Stockholm at that time. The other is located west of Stockholm's inner city and is called Vällingby. Farsta is a highly vibrant district with a rich range of services and communications. The travel time to the city centre by metro is about 25 minutes and many people cycle to work in the city centre. A woman who moved from the inner city to Farsta said that what she missed most was a special bath in Hornstull which is like a bathhouse on the water in Lake Mälaren. However, she had found herself well-adjusted and now appreciated the bathing hall in Farsta, which she thinks is nice and well-kept, but not as intimate as the one in town. During the

conversation with these senior people who were between 69 and 80 years old, we found that they could list a lot of different public spaces that they used extensively. It was about everything from promenades to the churches' lunch activities. One person was an artist and often visited the city's museum, all of which are located in the inner city. It was really the only thing missing in Farsta. "I often go to museums and look at art, I feel at home in that environment." Another of our participants said that he especially appreciated the Mediterranean Museum because there you could sit and drink coffee in peace and quiet with a good friend. It was a meeting place that, unlike other cafes, was not so messy or full of people. But the others pointed out that the café in the library in Farsta was very good and appreciated, and at the same time calm and nice. In general, it was easy to find cafes and restaurants in Farsta that they liked. The churches' lunches were activities that were offered in the middle of the day and combined with a small lunch concert after the meal. For example, Centrumkyrkan said one of the participants, "they have soup lunch on Thursdays for SEK 50 and for that you can to choose between a vegetarian and another soup", which included bread and cheese or ham. After the meal, coffee and a small cake were served. ″They serve lunch at 11:30 and at 12:30 the participants who wants goes to church and listens to some music. It can be performed by a music class from a gymnasium or established musicians. Very nice. I do not go to church otherwise, but I think this is extremely nice." When asked if they go into the city to shop or go to a restaurant, they largely agreed that everything needed was in Farsta. "I do not go into town and run from store to store when I can find the same thing in the centre facility in Farsta." When it came to lunch and dinner, it was absolutely excellent, they said. Someone mentioned a restaurant where they had "a delicious seafood stew". All three went to Farstahallen an exercise facility a stone's throw from the centre itself, where they participated in gymnastics and previously one of them had played handball there but after a leg injury it was no longer possible.

Farsta offers both many outdoor activities and social events. When they together listed public places that they appreciated in Farsta, it ended up in about twenty different places. In addition, there are the museums, which are located in the centre of the city. It is obvious that Farsta has something to offer to those who are active and curious and who want to be social and meet people or who want to move around. "Stockholm has a fantastic number of nice hiking trails," said one of the participants. "I walk every week and the other day I walked 10 kilometers!" The person is over 80 years old and has been hiking all his life. It even happens that one of Sweden's hiking trails starts not far from Farsta in Björkhagen, the so-called Sörmlandsleden and it was considered an attractive excursion destination. "There is also a wooden bridge over Magelungen," said someone, "it is only a couple of minutes from here and it is so beautiful when you come across the lake to Farstanäset. Then you are basically out in the countryside. Farsta also has Drevviken nearby within walking distance. There are also beautiful areas to walk and have a picnic with you, for example you can walk along the water at Sköndal to Talludden or to the churche "Sköndals Stora Kyrka" which also has soup service some days. There is also the "Kristinahuset" which houses a café "but it is not so strange" someone said. There are several churches in the area that they like to visit to hear at a concert or have a (cheap) lunch. But other places in Farsta's vicinity also offer music. A facility called Farsta gård is located in a beautiful environment according to the participants. It is a farm that was laid out in the 15th century and is located on prehistoric land; nearby are burial mounds from the Late Iron Age (400-1000s). Nearby is also a runestone from the 1000s.

In something called Ladan, jazz is played every Wednesday between 13 and 15 in the afternoon, the last Wednesday of the month you have a jazz club in the evening where you can eat and drink while listening to music. In the summer, you can have fun going to Parkteatern's performances, which are completely free and out in the open. At Fanfaren, what was once a large

cinema, in the 1960s Stockholm's largest, you can now watch eight films for SEK 100 a month. The cinema is no longer as big but smaller and is run as a culture house. Theatre is also shown there and lectures are given, among other things by the university. This is something that is appreciated by all three of our participants. "They show great movies and you have earned the monthly fee for a movie." There you can also go and listen to authors.

There are some older people who are looking for cheap and preferably free activities and there are plenty of them in Farsta. One such is the activity house Tuben. Various activities are conducted there for both young and old. The pensioners' organisations can have meetings there and whoever wants can just slip in and drink coffee and maybe bump into some acquaintances or get new ones. They have a manager who arranges various entertainment for seniors and the elderly and the level of activity is high. Among other things, dance is offered twice a month and one of the participants said that it was "almost like when I went and danced at Nalen" (a famous dance hook in Stockholm's inner city). "The old men offer just like at Nalen".

The grocery stores in Farsta centre were also discussed. There are several different ones and one of the participants thought that Coop was the nicest because it was "not that big and there is plenty of space to move around and the staff is both nice and knowledgeable." However, the subway was not particularly appreciated. ″It is crowded and people do not have respect for each other but are pushed and pushed to get there. I avoid the subway.” Similar reactions were found in a nearby district "Kärrtorp" where a master's student (Blyth, 2019) did a study among the elderly. One person in that study said he was afraid to walk on the subway platform. Afraid of being pushed down on the rails. It was the same instinct for care and respect that that person described.

It is obvious that there is an enormous amount to do in Farsta for those who want to. It is an inviting district that has a lively and rich market life with a market trade that is not far behind the one that is located in the centreof town on Hötorget. Older people can both find nature experiences and entertainment that suits in Farsta's vicinity.

The inner city of Stockholm

The people we spoke to in Farsta all lived in their own homes and were active people who took advantage of many of the opportunities offered in Stockholm municipality. Everything from hiking trails to jazz clubs or a lunch in the church together with a moment of music relaxation. From Farsta we then went to Kungsholmen which is part of Stockholm's inner city. There is, among other things, the town hall and the city's planning administration, - however, the municipality's elderly administration is in Farsta!

Unlike those we met in Farsta, everyone we met lived on Kungsholmen in a senior or elderly home. In total, we talked to eight elderly people who all live in the same house called Pilträdet. Unlike most ordinary homes that are located at a street address, you often orientate yourself to nursing homes via the name of the neighbourhood they are located in. They are always designed with some kind of meeting point where you can sit and talk for a while, which also differs from how it is in ordinary residential buildings. We therefore had our conversations at the nursing home in Stockholm's inner city, on Kungsholmen.

Everyone had lived in Stockholm most or at least later part of their lives before they moved to this accommodation. The reasons why they moved varied. For some, the previous home was not appropriate in relation to the mobility difficulties they now lived with. It could be that they lived high up in an apartment building without a lift, which made it difficult for them to get out, and in

that way also difficult to cope with their everyday life. Going to buy their food became a problem, getting to a care facility became a problem and meeting friends became a problem if they did not meet in the person's home. In short, the living environment became a factor that required municipal efforts for the person to be able to live an independent life. By coming to this nursing home, the person was now able to manage completely independently. At Stockholm's elderly administration, we have on several occasions in our contacts with them heard them say that by designing the city in a way that supports independence for people with disabilities, they avoid the need for support in daily life from the elderly administration.

The fact that the people we spoke to move to this nursing home did not mean that the circle of friends was automatically extended to others who live in the same nursing home. The old friends and the old social context lived on as before for most but it could work on independent terms.

One of our interlocutors told us that it was lonely to live in this nursing home, even though there are so many people you come across in the entrance or in the dining room or in the coffee room. That person also participated in various meetings arranged by other residents: for example, joint dinners that were prepared together in the home's kitchen. But loneliness can be something that is deep in a person, we were told, and that cannot be cured by new acquaintances or friends filling a void left by an old friend. Since loneliness is an issue that interests us, we tried to find out more about it. "Can't a home like this still be a help in breaking loneliness and isolation?" we asked. The answer was that "of course it can break isolation, but it cannot always cure the feeling of loneliness!" It also meant that the person thought that the accommodation here at the nursing home was an improvement over the previous accommodation. For example, it was about being closer to service when you needed help and it was convenient because it is modern and that there are elevators that are spacious enough to easily manoeuvre a walker.

However, one of our interlocutors did not find anything that was good about the current accommodation. It was not really due to the home itself but to the fact that the person was promised their own exercise program in the house to rehabilitate themselves after a stroke. The training had never been offered and instead this person now felt abandoned and forgotten. The stroke had affected the speech and also led to a hemiplegia. When we talked to the person, we could not notice any speech difficulties or signs of paralysis. But long walks were unthinkable for this person and a disappointment that the training had not been completed which made the person sad and disappointed.

For the others, it was the previous home that was the reason why they moved to this nursing home.

We could therefore state that these people represented three different motives for why they had moved to the nursing home: 1) The home was not suitable, 2) Health reasons and 3) A disability made it necessary to move to a more accessible home.

We asked everyone to make a small list of places they thought were important to them. Together it became a list of both places and people. At the top of almost everyone's list were children and grandchildren. Meeting them was one of the most important situations in their lives. When we asked about places, they thought of places they liked to visit, and whether it was at home with a child or a grandchild, the place also became synonymous with these children and grandchildren. The children and grandchildren acted as a kind of proxy for different places that were unknown to us but known and important to those we spoke to. Other places that were included on the list were hospitals and transport services (which also became a proxy and in this case for medical places). For one person, Djurgården was a popular place to visit regularly. (It’s a green island in the centre of Stockholm.) There are beautiful areas and beautiful walking paths, but for one of

the people who included it on his list, it was also a place that he had previously lived, before the nursing home. In other words, it was visits to old known environments and social contexts that were important to that person. For another, it was the place itself: Blockhusudden and Thielska art gallery.

For another, Södermalm, one of the inner parts of the city, was instead an important environment because that person had his previous life there and there were still some friends and places that brought memories to life. Another place that could be connected to memories was the harbour. The person who mentioned the port had spent a large part of his professional life at sea and being able to go to the port was therefore a journey in memories and contact with a familiar environment.

Places were also mentioned that were not directly connected to memories or friends or thoughts about a past life. Several mentioned something as close as their own balcony as an important place. Or the view from the kitchen. From the kitchen, they could see the city and the city life on the street, which seemed to create a sense of participation in the ongoing bustling life of the city - even if you could only follow it from a distance. From there, they could follow the city rhythm with people walking to work in the morning, going out to lunch in the middle of the day or having a coffee at a nearby cafe. And towards the end of the day, the people returned home after their work day. Since they themselves did not participate in various activities outside the home or house in the way that the people we met in Farsta did, observing the city's pulse became a way to still be involved. Comparing with the people we met in Farsta is in a way skewed. Those we met in Farsta where out in Farsta's common room, where they participated in various associations and activities, so these people belonged to a more active part of their age category.

The balcony in the inner of the city offered different experiences for its owner depending on which direction it was located. If it was towards the courtyard, it was also towards the south, which provided sun for a large part of, the day in particular, in the summer, while those facing north could only offer a view of the city and the traffic around the houses. If it was facing the courtyard, on the other hand, you could not see the city but had to make do with the small courtyard that the house largely embraced.

The courtyard side was quiet and peaceful while the street side was livelier and could sometimes be noisy. It all depends on when it was during the day and the year.

It was also one of our interlocutors who expressed that "my home" is the most important place - even though we meant places outside the person’s own home. But because the balcony was perceived as so important, and for those who have difficulty moving, it is of course an important place, and then the home also becomes an important place. A balcony is also part of the built environment and in that way also becomes relevant if we consider it a city plan issue, which is our main focus in this work. Gardner also speaks of the balcony as a transitory zone (Gardner, 2011) which in a way has the same meaning as what is called the third places. Third places are located outside the first place (home) and the second place (work). Gardner believes that both third places and transitory zones are part of the natural neighbourhood "natural neighbourhood" (Gardner, 2011).

Several of our people mentioned the store they used to go to, such as Coop or Pressbyrån that were nearby, as important places on their list. The Coop grocery store is a couple of hundred meters away and the road there goes via major streets and is not always an attractive excursion

destination for smaller purchases. Someone said that there was no small convenience store where they could go and buy simpler goods and "ice cream". No one said they used to go out to a cafe or restaurant. There is both a café and a restaurant in the house they live in, but they were currently under repair, so at the moment there was no restaurant in the house. No one mentioned external cafes or restaurants as attractive places to go.

They live very centrally. The house they live in is basically in the middle of the central part of the city with the central station a couple of hundred meters away and with department stores and shops at the same distance. The person who had worked a large part of his life at the railway used to go to the central station to stay in his old environment and just enjoy watching the life going on at a railway station.

They move outside their homes to visit their friends or the children and grandchildren who live in the city. Likewise, getting to a rehabilitation centre, health centre or hospital is also part of visits outside one's own home and takes place through a transitory zone. This is always done with a travel service. The transport service is also part of the transitory zones. On the one hand, you can travel together with others in the same shuttle service bus. On the other hand, you can sometimes talk a little with the driver. The travel service is of great importance to everyone. Without the travel service, they would not have the same access to the places they want or need to visit. The transport service for the residents of this house is usually relatively cheap because the transports are normally quite short. They are close to most things. There is a big difference for those who live in the outer parts of the region and who use the same travel service. For them, travel becomes relatively expensive.

However, we wanted to know how the city was used by these people who lived so centrally. For example, no one mentioned a nearby park. It was only Djurgården, the harbour and in one case walking along the water that were important places for some.

For several, the balcony was important and that it was large was especially mentioned and all apartments are equipped with balconies. Some are facing the street but with a view, others towards the quiet courtyard and with sun in the afternoon. Someone even mentioned the view from his kitchen window. Being able to sit and look out over the city or life outside the house was an important quality for some, especially for those who did not have a balcony on the sunny side. We asked if the elevator was a place to meet and chat, but no one thought the elevator was of particular social value. "No, it's not a meeting place in any way. It runs so fast and you just want to get out of it again."

The entrance to the house is large and spacious and there are always people in the hall. Some arrives other leaves the house with a travel service. The staff is constantly moving in that space. There is a small reception and behind it an office where the staff come and go. There is also a seating area in the entrance hall and there we could sit and talk to our interlocutors. It's a place where there's always someone sitting. But even if it gives the opportunity for small talk, it does not seem to be where they make real acquaintances in the house.

Most of our interlocutors thought the house was a good place to stay and that it had been nice to get there. But they said that more activities should be arranged in a way that meant that "everyone in the house was invited to come and meet over a glass of wine just to socialise". A couple of the people in among our's interlocutors said that they participated in a food team or met some of the residents in their apartments over a glass. Not all of the inhabitants agreed that the social life in the house was promoted or supported by the house organisation or design. A

person sometimes went out with a friend in the house and when coming back, they used to sigh and say "Now we are going back to that house again!" It was not with joy that they returned.

The patio was considered by most to be an important part of the accommodation. It is a green and leafy courtyard where they can sit and eat when it is hot or just relax and enjoy the sun. The yard to the house was very well taken care of and when we asked if they themselves could be involved in the garden, the answer was always no "but it would probably be fun for some to be able to do it". Especially for those who have had their own garden and who feel good about clearing weeds or tinkering with the flower beds.

It turned out that none of them ride the subway. It's too messy and feels insecure. Someone told of an acquaintance who had fallen on the subway and been run over by the train and lost a leg. The experience of the subway was something they shared with those who live in Farsta. The metro platforms are not perceived as safe or secure places. "Everyone is in such a hurry, you can be pushed and fall on the track."

Several used a walker, which made it difficult to get on a bus. The best alternative for transport was therefore a transport service. One of the people, however, walked without a walker and could walk long distances along the seaside of Norr Mälarstrand, but that was the only one who could walk a longer distance. One of our interlocutors had previously used a permobile but currently had none but would soon get a new one. Someone else said that some permobiles are unstable because they only have three wheels and then they become a little unsafe and you can overturn. But still these small vehicles are convenient and easy to get around with so they are at good service for those who have difficulties to walk.

In comparison with those we met and talked to in Farsta, it was a much more introverted group of people that we met in town. They were also not as mobile because several of them used a walker, which none of those we met in Farsta did. The rich supply of services in the city was not primarily the importance of living in the middle of the city, it rather seemed important to recognise the neighbourhood when looking out over your immediate environment, which was important. Without an anchorage in the parts outside the city's inner core or central parts, individuals can feel hovering without any belonging at all. But even if you have previously lived most of your life outside the city, the central city gives a feeling of security, you can not be more surrounded by a city than being in the middle of its centre.

Zürich

The Zürich case study explored the question of where and how informal encounters do or do not occur in the public and semi-public spaces in the neighbourhood, as well as how informal encounters in the neighbourhood can be supported socially and spatially.
The proportion of older people, and especially those over 80 years of age, will increase in coming years in Switzerland. On the one hand, this is due to low birth rates and increasing life expectancy on the other (Höpflinger, 2019). The demographic change presents us with new social and societal challenges, raising the question as to where and how older people will live. Based on the previously conducted quantitative study of the geographical distribution of people aged 65 and over, two contrasting districts – Hard and Witikon – were selected for the case study. The research sites are as different from each other as possible when it comes to relevant aspects such as the demographic structure, building structure, home ownership rate, socio-economic status and proportion of foreign residents.

In order to assess the needs of older people, ten persons over the age of 75 who live in a private household were recruited in each of the two research sites as interview partners. On the one hand, the reason for focussing on older seniors is that the radius of movement tends to decrease with age and the neighbourhood becomes more important. On the other hand, especially people who are 75 years and older experience a proportional increase in those who are lonely or feel lonely because more and more members of their own generation are "dying off" (Schäffler, 2014). The average age of all respondents was 81 years, 70% of them were women.
Two interviews were conducted with each of the interviewees: The first step was a guided interview at their home; in a second step, a walking interview was conducted. In a walking interview one or two researchers accompany the interview partners while the participants present their perspective on what they immediately experience (Kühl, 2016). A total of 19 interviews were conducted with 10 persons[43].
At the same time, one focus group interview was conducted per research site with experts who – due to their function – have a good insight into the life of older district residents. The focus group included a doctor, a pastor, the head of a centre for seniors, a corner shop owner and Spitex (home care) employees.
Finally, dialogue workshops offered the interviewees and other interested older persons (75+) from the research site the opportunity to discuss age-friendly living environments in the city of Zürich and measures for the practice with the research team and decision-makers of the Zürich city administration. Some interview partners from the Hard district were not able to participate due to health reasons and were therefore not represented on the set date.
The method triangulation made it possible to illuminate the topic from various perspectives and still take an in-depth approach despite the relatively small sample, thereby achieving richer results.

Encounters in public and semi-public spaces within the neighbourhood

In order to investigate the question of where and how informal encounters in public and semi-public spaces do or do not occur in the neighbourhoods, the study focussed on meeting places that are located in an ever-increasing radius from the flat or the house. Based on a study by Gardner (2011) regarding the informal neighbourhood networks in old age, three spatial categories served as our analysis grid (Gardner, 2011):

- Encounters in the threshold space: These encounter spaces in the immediate living environment mark the transition between inside and outside, i.e. from the inside of a private flat to the outside of a public street. These include places such as stairwells, courtyards and laundry rooms.
- Encounters in the transitory space: These encounter spaces arise in places between places. They are located outside of the immediate living environment on the way to someplace. Examples for transitory spaces are supermarkets, bus stops or streets.
- Encounters in third places: The sociological term of the third place (Oldenburg, 1999) generally represents encounter spaces in which people gather and hang out. In contrast to the transitory and threshold spaces, these are specific neighbourhood destinations. They include places such as parks, squares, cafes, community centres, churches or libraries.

43 Unfortunately, it was not possible to conduct a walking interview with one of the interview participants in the Hard district due to health reasons. So a total of 19 instead of the stipulated 20 interviews were conducted.

Threshold spaces enable encounters in the immediate living environment

In view of the spatial proximity, most spontaneous encounters with neighbours occur in the threshold spaces. The majority of the interviewees have daily contact with their neighbours, whereby the intensity of the encounters ranges from visual contact to greetings to a simple exchange of words, depending on the situation. Even small non-verbal gestures contribute to a feeling of being recognised and integrated:

"Even if it's just a wave, this is very important to me. It means home and a sense of security to me.[44]

The type and use of the threshold spaces is differentiated according to the type of housing. For neighbourhoods in housing developments, there are many opportunities for encounters in the collectively used threshold spaces inside the buildings; for single-family houses, the neighbourly encounter zone is usually limited to the threshold spaces on the outside such as the street or the garden. Especially in the larger high-rise developments in the Hard district, a lively social exchange occurs within the building between a great diversity of residents and counteracts the frequently encountered prejudice about the anonymous life in a high-rise:

"Such a tower is anything but anonymous. I always say that I moved from the city to the countryside in a village by the name of Hardau. You meet people in the lift and laundry room, and you meet everyone. (...). You don't just stand in the lift and stare – you talk to each other. The social contact is very good. Let's just say that my Tagesanzeiger newspaper wanders through the entire building. Or someone gets it for me out of the letterbox and puts it in front of my door. And if I didn't pick it up by ten or eleven o'clock, they'd contact me. So that works very well. It's just like a village. But also with a village chief or police officer and so forth. There's everything. For example, this also applies in the laundry room. You might get there three minutes too early, before it's done, and there's always someone down there and you talk."[45]

The encounter zones in the threshold area **within the buildings** have proved to mainly be the staircases, lifts, laundry rooms and entrance areas. In the **outer areas***,* the balconies, terraces, gardens, exterior corridors, courtyards and development cafe's foster encounters.
The architecture and design of the buildings and developments have a strong influence on the possibilities for social interaction. The following spaces in the immediate living environment especially promote encounters:
Lifts: The lifts are important meeting zones, especially in high-rise developments, where the length of the ride is extended with the increasing height of the floor. When riding in the lift, residents almost always have a conversation. If several floors are passed while riding, a longer exchange of words often occurs.
Entrance areas: In the three medium-sized housing developments in the Hard district, entrance areas with their letterbox facilities have an important function as meeting zones. The built-in stone seating and shelf surfaces are used as informal exchanges for goods that are no longer needed or as seating. Many residents sit there and wait for the mail carrier. They use this as an opportunity to come into contact with other people. A number of chairs and green plants were recently placed in the entrance area of a development by the Zürich Foundation for Senior Housing (Stiftung Alterswohnungen der Stadt Zürich). This entrance area was a popular location for the residents to hang out, chat and greet other people as they went in and out. However, the chairs had to be removed for fire safety reasons and this is very much regretted by many of the residents:

[44] Interview participant, Witikon, personal communication, 28 March 2019.
[45] Interview participant, Hard, personal communication, 29 May 2019.

"This is stupid. You could sometimes sit down there. Now we sometimes sit on the platforms by the letterboxes, then we chat a bit, but there could actually be a little table and a few chairs – 2 or 3 chairs. I don't know why they took them away. It was good like that, and then you could chat."[46]

Nicely designed entrance areas are appreciated in smaller buildings as well. In a complex in Witikon, one resident set up a little seating area on her own initiative.
Exterior corridors: Exterior corridors provide access and connect individual flats on one floor level. Exterior corridors promote encounters within a housing development by leading the residents past the entrances to their neighbours' flats. For example, one of the interviewees' neighbour knocked on his kitchen window that faces the exterior corridor and greeted during the interview. According to the interview participant, the neighbour always does this when he passes by. This is also how they sometimes start conversations with each other.
Laundry rooms: Especially at the larger development's settlements, which have laundry rooms with up to 20 machines for common use, the residents meet when putting in and taking out their laundry. One interviewee would even like to have the laundry room equipped with a coffee machine to make the waiting times more attractive. During the walking interview, there was a brief exchange of words between the interviewee and her neighbour in the laundry room:

Interviewee: Hi Emma.
Emma: Yes, hello.
Interviewee: You got the Sunday newspaper, didn't you?
Emma: Yes, thanks.
Interviewee: And you'll also tell me when you want the Tagi... (daily newspaper)?
Emma. Yes, yes, yes.[47]

Housing development cafés: Two of the participants live in housing developments that run a cafe of their own. In one case, this is a cafe that is operated by volunteers within a cooperative. In the second case, this is a cafe in a housing development for senior citizens run by a non-profit foundation. This cafe borders on the inner courtyard of the housing development, which is centred on a goat enclosure, and is also open in the afternoons for outside visitors. Internal events such as a breakfast together or a "regular's table" on Friday evening are held here. These are organised by the caretaker, who performs additional social tasks and represents a very important reference person for the interviewee.
Inner courtyards are seen as threshold spaces that are prone to conflicts because the diverging use expectations of young and old can collide here. The interviews showed that the older residents can feel disturbed by noise from children. The echo effect that can occur in the inner courtyards is particularly pronounced in high-rise housing developments due to the vertical construction.
The interviews reveal that meetings with the neighbours in the threshold space are very important in the life of the respondents. All in all, they play a central role for them in ageing in place – not least in the form of small acts of assistance and "well-being checks" in everyday life. For example, we came across the widespread practice based on bringing the daily newspapers to the others in both districts. If the newspaper in the letterbox or in front of the recipient's door isn't picked up, people notice quickly that someone isn't feeling well.

[46] Interview participant, Hard, personal communication, 29 May 2019.
[47] Interview participant, Hard, personal communication, 12 June 2019.

Even if living together in the neighbourhood is experienced positively by all of the interviewees, it remains characterised by a certain friendly-cautious distance (Schönig, 2018). In addition, the establishing of new social contacts is considered rather difficult:

"Just because I feel lonely right now doesn't mean that I'd go over to ring the doorbell."[48]

This makes the spaces between the flat door and the pavement edge even more important because they can be seen as places for possible spontaneous and casual contacts.

Transitory spaces enable encounters en route in the neighbourhood

In addition to the threshold spaces in the immediate living environment, the transit areas have proven to be important for informal encounters in everyday life. All respondents leave the home daily or almost every day. The reasons for this are diverse and range from shopping, planned meetings, events, courses, working at clubs and as volunteers to doctor appointments and walks. While en route in the district, they have various types of spontaneous encounters. The interviewees often meet neighbours or acquaintances on the street, at the bus or tram stops, in squares or while shopping. Especially the contact with the staff in stores, cafes or supermarkets is very much appreciated as well. The respondents sometimes also go "shopping" when they actually don't need anything but so that they can be around people and have social contacts. The continuity of the staff in the stores, restaurants, etc. is important to the interviewees because this contributes to mutual recognition and trusting human relations over time.
In Witikon, going for a walk is a frequent activity among the older residents. This is closely related to the topographical location of the district. Situated on the outskirts of the city, the district is surrounded by forests and meadows. There are many footpaths through and around the district, which are appreciated and frequented gladly by the older residents. In contrast to other more purposeful activities, walks are rarely taken alone but together with acquaintances. In this respect, the network of footpaths in Witikon makes both joint activities and spontaneous meetings with other people on a walk possible.
In Witikon, bus stops and the space inside of the buses also have an important function as meeting zones in the transitory space. The extensive district is centred on a main traffic axis, which is primarily served by one bus line (bus line no. 31). The sometimes very steep hillside location of the district means that its older residents are dependent on the bus, which includes for doing their shopping.
In the Hard district, encounters mainly occur on the way to the Albisriederplatz square and back. The dense block edge of the district has no generous green spaces for walks. On the other hand, most distances in the district can easily be covered on foot. The Hard residents tend to go for walks outside of the district in places like the Uetliberg or Kaeferberg mountains or at the lake. What both districts have in common is that the encounters en route often occur on the paths to and back from the multifunctional district supply centres: the centre of Witikon and Albisriederplatz.
The extent to which encounters in public and semi-public spaces in the city are possible or not depends largely on issues of accessibility and mobility. The interview statements point out that neither time of day nor seasons but rather the weather plays a role in mobility. When there is a danger of icy conditions and rain, very few of the interviewees go outside. None of the respondents stay home for safety reasons. Instead, the lack of offers is given as the reason for staying home.
The interviewees travel on foot or by public transport. Therefore, a good connection to public transport is vital for being able to participate in urban life. The experts interviewed in the focus group interviews emphasise that those who have difficulties walking and have no access to

48 Interview participant, Hard, personal communication, 29 May 2019.

public transport – especially in the peripheral neighbourhoods in Witikon – are cut off from social life in a certain sense.

"It's impossible to get there if you have trouble walking. Because it's at the very back, more towards the edge of the forest, and nothing runs there.[49]

Within the scope of the dialogue workshop, the older participants from Witikon took up this topic time and again; they pleaded for smaller buses to be used at the edge of the district. In view of the increase in the number of people who still live on their own in old age, such an investment would be worth considering. The interviews made it clear that even 100 metres uphill between the shopping centre and the bus stop can be a problem for people who can't walk that well anymore or have heavy bags to carry. The result of this is that even ten-minute round trips with the bus are made happily in order to bridge this distance and be able to get out directly at the stop in question.
Finally, the study participants consider the placement of public toilet facilities at regular intervals to be important so that people of an advanced age can even walk for a certain distance. The background for this is that increasingly more restaurants and cafes that had been their meeting places have had to close and disappeared:

"And what is also missing are public toilets. Especially many female seniors will avoid a route if there is no toilet along the way. Then they say that they won't make it that far if there isn't a toilet on the route."[50]

Yet, a portion of the interviewees expressed inhibitions about using the public Züri WC facilities because the "steel boxes" seemed too "technical" and rather repulsive to them.

Third places enable encounters at meeting points in the neighbourhood

Third places not only have an important function as meeting points and hangouts but also as destinations in the district that make encounters possible in the threshold and transitory area on the way to reach them.
Both the Hard and Witikon districts have a broad offer of formal third places**,** which form the framework for organised activities of various types – whether these are church lunches for seniors or club events. Both districts also have a public library. In addition, there are socio-cultural facilities such as the community centre in Witikon and the neighbourhood room in Hard. However, the respondents rarely or never use them since they see these programme offers as oriented too much towards families and children.

In recent years, both districts have experienced how the local pubs have died out or undergone major transformations. In Witikon, the Elephant Restaurant has ceased operations, and the Cafe Lochergut in Hard has changed greatly due to a major gentrification trend: It no longer meets the needs of the older residents. The "Elephant," as the district residents call it, was the last among a series of restaurants in Witikon that had to close. The enormous significance of this event for the entire district can be clearly sensed in all of the interviews. All of the dialogue partners mourn the "Elephant," especially since it had been a central hang out for young and old, had many regular guests and with its long opening hours had virtually served as the "living room" for the district. It had been an important meeting place for clubs in the evenings and for single people, especially on Sundays.

"An old woman once said: "When the Elephant closes, then I'll just die."[51]

[49] Pastor in a focus group interview, Witikon, personal communication 13 May 2019.
[50] Spitex employee in a focus group interview, Witikon, personal communication 13 May 2019.
[51] Interview participant, Witikon, personal communication, 28 March 2019.

Furthermore, the "Elephant" had been a place that people would visit together after a spontaneous meeting in the neighbourhood. In this respect, it had a supportive effect on casual encounters in the transitory spaces.

"Then you met someone while shopping: "Do you have time? Should we make a quick visit to...? (...) I hope that this will happen again in the district –- that people will go somewhere together when they meet."[52]

The interviewed experts in Witikon reported that the closing of the Elephant Restaurant resulted in an increase of orders for meal services, which indicates that the older residents now leave the home less frequently and their exchanges with others is declining in regularity.
The recently opened HOCH3 Bistro in Witikon is a project by the congregation of the Reformed Church and aims to be a low-threshold meeting place in the district. According to the interview statements, it has not yet been able to replace the "Elephant." For this to happen, both the gastronomy offer and the opening hours would need to be expanded. For certain people without a relationship to religion or with different beliefs, this could also represent a barrier that the Church is behind the initiative as its organiser, according to some of the interviewees.

The urban Hard district is equipped with a high density of cafes and restaurants. The respondents occasionally visit the commercial gastronomic offers in the district.

"If I drink a coffee outside there – even when it's a bit cool, I don't like to sit inside – then I see neighbours walking by: "Hi" or "Hello"! This is like a second village square."[53]

However, this district also has too few affordable pubs that are attractive for older people. The Hard district is currently experiencing a social change and the gentrification tendencies have become visible. The rents are rising and a new "hip" segment is now moving into the former working class district. The gastronomic businesses have reacted with a culinary offer that is specialised in this direction. The prices are high and the staff is young. The older interview partners in the district do not feel that such an offer appeals to them. Instead, they have a problem with the noise and the informal "first-name" service culture.
Overall, a desire can be observed in both districts for pubs where people can meet and hang out in low- threshold meeting places. It is essential to the respondents that these pubs offer inexpensive, traditional cuisine and employ friendly, permanent staff. Longer opening hours in the evenings, also on Sundays, would be appreciated.
While Witikon has neither public parks nor squares, there are two public parks in Hard. On the one hand, there is the Bullingerwiese that the interviewees tend to experience as rather bare and is hardly used as a result; on the other hand, there is the Hardaupark that is primarily used by families and adolescents as a meeting place. Although the respondents experience Hardaupark as a lively and basically positive place where something is always going on, some of them do not feel a part of it because the park's use is oriented towards families and adolescents. If at all, the interviewees in Hard only use the seating in the park on their way from A to B. Witikon lacks a lively public square that invites people to stay a while.
The fundamental need for participating in urban life was expressed in various ways in the interviews. In both districts, the vast majority of respondents value being around other people and spending time in lively places. At the same time, it is important for them to participate in urban life without having to be actively involved. *"Because I like to be outside among people. Well,*

[52] Interview participant, Witikon, personal communication, 20 May 2019.
[53] Interview participant, Hard, personal communication, 24 April 2019.

without talking,"[54] is how one interviewee put it. For most of them, this means people-watching on a park bench or at a sidewalk cafe.
An interviewee from Witikon formulates this need within the context of future ideas on how he would like to live. He dreams of living at the centre of Zurich's old town because *"something is happening and you're in the middle of it. That would be an ideal life, just how I would like to have it.*[55] To what extent the desire to be right in the middle of things without having to actively participate is more pronounced in late life than in younger years cannot be clearly answered. However, we can assume that the possibility of staying for a longer time period in public or semi-public spaces becomes increasingly important with declining mobility.

"Participating. This is an important aspect. Sometimes they may not be able to participate that much on the physical level. But simply being a part of it. If there were such possibilities: Seats, roofs in certain places where the people could simply sit and stare. It doesn't require that much at all."[56]

The fact that financial disadvantages in old age can make social inclusion more difficult was brought up in various ways in the focus group discussions:

Spitex employee: "But we have major poverty among the elderly in Witikon. This must not be forgotten."

Pastor: "These are precisely the people for whom the offer isn't right. I run into this often: People who may have been well-off in their productive years and then are suddenly left with very little in their old age due to illness or other reasons. These people would like to participate in social life but can no longer afford to go to a restaurant. I have nothing against the HOCH3 per se, but this location should be further strengthened so that you can go there without having to consume something." (...)

Doctor: "And the problem of old-age poverty will increase even more in the coming generations. I think that you really must consider what these people can be offered."[57]

In order to ensure the social participation in third places, it is very important to offer meeting spaces without any compulsion to consume, in as far as this is possible, in view of the widespread risk of poverty in old age (Seifert & Pilgram, 2009).

Spaces alone are note enough

Older people are just as different from each other as individuals in every other stage of life. So, the extent to which meeting spaces are used and can be used also always depends on the personal resources, pre- conditions and preferences. In the current study, we have roughly classified three groups that show di- verging needs with regard to the use of meeting spaces.
While the **first group** uses the formal, organised offer (e.g. from churches or clubs) and simultaneously appreciates informal, spontaneous encounters, the **second group** does not take advantage of an organised offer but maintains informal social contacts. In turn, the **third group** has difficulty in using the existing offer or even spontaneously meeting other people due to various reasons. Directly affected members of the third group were not represented in the study. However, according to the interviewees of the individual and focus group interviews, there are quite a few older people who belong to this group. On the one hand, a portion of the older

[54] Interview participant, Hard, personal communication, 29 May 2019.
[55] Interview participant, Witikon, personal communication, 24 April 2019.
[56] Those responsible for the socio-culture of a foundation for senior residences in a focus group interview, Hard, personal communication, 2 May 2019.
[57] Focus group interview, Witikon, personal communication, 13 May 2019.

respondents reported about neighbours who hardly ever leave the home and to whom they had unsuccessfully tried to establish contact. On the other hand, the experts in the focus group interviews frequently have professionally based contact with older people who are lonely, live in isolation and are difficult to reach:

"I do think that we have many lonely people, but they are the ones who no longer go out and aren't active any more. They also don't schedule their doctor appointments but have us take them there. Those are the ones who really need help"[58]

The question arises as to how to reach the people who unwillingly lead a secluded life and are affected or endangered by loneliness:

"For me, one of the main problems is motivating precisely the people who need it the most. Those who want to will find the offers or even organise them on their own."[59]

In these cases, social measures are necessary to help the affected persons become aware of offers or establish contacts in the neighbourhood. The provision of meeting spaces is not enough since they must also be activated. In the focus group interviews, there was consensus that additional outreach offers were needed to better pick up the involuntarily isolated and network them with each other. Since the church currently plays the most central role in outreach work for the elderly, the interviewees think that older people with no connection to the church have an even greater risk of loneliness. One Spitex employee told of how she "coincidently" brought together three women who were doing individual walking training with the result that they now meet on a regular basis and organise among themselves for mutual walking training. Some of the respondents in the focus group interviews have had the experience that support is required from outsiders for successfully networking and activating older people:

"An initial spark is needed"[60]

In one of the individual interviews, the significant role of the caretaker in a non-profit housing development for the elderly become quite apparent. This caretaker is not only responsible for maintaining operations but also organises a great variety of activities that range from breakfast together to day trips for the older residents. Above all, he is an important contact person in everyday life who is present on site and has an eye for the residents' needs. The idea that caretakers with additional social responsibilities can play a central role for ageing in place is becoming increasingly accepted. One example of this is a project by the municipality of Horgen in which development and housing assistants advise elderly residents in issues related to ageing; they make home visits and activate networks. According to the initiators, the outreach support provided by a local contact person and confidant has proven to be successful (Wenger, 2017). A recent study by the ETH Wohnforum – ETH CASE also points out the as yet untapped potentials and op- tions for action by those involved in housing management (caretakers, rental and management experts) to support ageing in place (Althaus & Birrer, 2019).
If spaces alone are not adequate and the downside of the self-determined living is social isolation, socio- spatial investments and measures for the activation of networks and use of properties are additionally required (also see van Wezemael, 2014).

[58] Spitex employee in a focus group interview, Witikon, personal communication, 13 May 2019.
[59] Doctor in a focus group interview, Witikon, personal communication, 13 May 2019.
60 Doctor in a focus group interview, Witikon, personal communication, 13 May 2019.

Discussion and measures

The study has shown that the residential neighbourhood is very important as the centre of life in old age. Furthermore, the informal and spontaneous encounters in a variety of public and semi-public spaces play a large role for the sense of well-being in late life. From simple greetings in the hallway to little chats in the bus to conversations in the pub, the casual relationships develop a unifying power. Taken on their own, the many spontaneous encounters in the living environment and the districts may seem insignificant; however, they especially develop their potential in the sum total. The American urban researcher Jane Jacobs (1993) once described this as follows:

"Most of it is ostensibly utterly trivial but the sum of all contacts is not trivial at all. The sum of such casual, public contact at a local level (...) is a feeling for the public identity of people, a web of public respect and trust, and a resource in time of personal or neighbourhood need" (Jacobs, 1993).

Threshold spaces in the immediate living environment have proven to be especially important for facilitating encounters. In view of decreasing mobility as people grow older, these spaces will become more important. In addition, local pubs have proved to be important "social places" (Lager, van Hoven, & Huigen, 2015) that have institutionalised themselves over long periods of time as third places. So, they cannot be so easily replaced by new socio-cultural offers.
The study shows that participation in social urban life is given a strong priority in the later years of life and should be ensured through offers with thresholds that are as low as possible. Special attention should be paid here to unobstructed access in the financial, physical and social sense. For active older people who are already on the move, encounter spaces of all types are very valuable. But these spaces are inadequate for lonely people who hardly leave their homes. Instead, they need external impulses that promote life with others and networking.

Vienna

Summary: Empirical focus of phase 2

In summary of the premises of phase 2, the common theoretical focus of our research was based on (1) lived space as an analytical field, (2) critical approach to social/spatial practices with regard to active ageing and (3) aging as a process as well as a marker of difference. The three focus points align with our selection of sites in the City of Vienna that are characterized as "socially innovative"[61] in order to investigate how individuals aged 65+ actively engage in housing production and public space appropriation, and at their interface.
Based on the research design for phase 2 developed during the Interim-Workshop we carried out a number of activities on four different sites related to ageing, housing and public space in Vienna. These activities were a thematic seminar at the Faculty of Architecture and Spatial Planning at TU Wien during the summer term, site visits of case study sites and expert interviews, walking interviews at two of the selected sites and a dialogue workshop with inhabitants and actors related to ageing in Vienna.
The selected case study sites were:

- Multigeneration housing "Oase 22": site visit, walking interviews and expert interview
- Casa Kagran and Casa Sonnwendviertel: site visit, walking interviews and expert interview
- Frauen-Werk-Stadt II: site visit and expert interview
- LiSA – Co-housing project: site visit

During the seminar, students and lecturers carried out eight walking interviews at Oase 22 and at Sonnwendviertel. The walking interviews had a duration between 30 minutes and two hours with very heterogeneous routes and distances. In addition to audio recording of the interviews, maps were developed to illustrate interrelations between daily practices and the built environment. In June, participants of the walking interviews and interested inhabitants aged +65 were invited to discuss salient issues of the interviews with actors from different institutions and organizations related to age(ing) in Vienna in a so-called Dialogue workshop. The workshop was set up as a world café with three tables as thematic focus.
Following the dialogue workshop, the walking interviews as well as the workshop discussions are currently being analysed with a structured content analysis with a subsequent team discussion of the salient categories (preliminary results: see below).

Reflections on research design and methods

Whereas the overall research process is showing relevant insights into age(ing) at the interface of housing and public space, some limitations of research design were observed during the empirical data collection.
In two instances, the selection of case study sites revealed major difficulties of recruiting elderly inhabitants for the walking interviews. Whereas in Oase 22 and in Sonnwendviertel the

[61] Social innovation seen as a concept of that identifies a critical type of innovation beyond technological innovation.

recruiting process via intermediary agents (Caritas Stadtteilarbeit, care taker) and the distribution of information leaflets with a call to participate was fruitful, in Frauen-Werk-Stadt II and LiSA no interested persons could be reached. In the case of Frauen-Werk-Stadt II it was the lack of intermediary agents on site that hindered contact to inhabitants[62]. At the co-housing group of LiSA, possible intermediary agents such as the housing association as well as the care provider organization emphasized the health issues of the seven elderly inhabitants impeding a participation in walking interviews. Additionally, out of the four selected case studies the low number of dwelling units designed for "age-friendly dwellings" within each housing complex explains the difficult recruiting process. Eventually, the eight conducted walking interviews suggest a certain bias of sample, with more actively engaged and physically well-off inhabitants even though participants used walking aids and one wheel-chair.
Despite the limited number of participants, the walking interviews can be generally considered as positive in terms of the rich data received. The transcribed interviews show a heterogeneous picture in these so-called "socially innovative" neighbourhoods and age-friendly dwellings.
The dialog workshop with the World Café format succeed in connecting different actors engaged with age-friendliness and matters of ageing with inhabitants. The heterogeneous age-mix of elderly, young students from the seminar and mid-age professionals enriched the discussions on the content level with a broad range of personal experiences. There was positive reaction from most organisations to our invitation to participate in the workshop. Limitations for participation might have emerged especially for elderly participants of the walking interviews due to the scattered case study sites in Vienna and the impracticality to choose a workshop venue close to all case study sites.
For the possibility of a dialogue workshop to serve as facilitator for (spatial) co- production this research approach establishes a good basis for further actions. In order to get deeper insights into the practice of co-production as well as to support the design of "opportunity structures" to achieving activity-based living the research process would require an extended set of methods and additional time resources.

Preliminary findings

In this current of data analysis, some key aspects of Geographies of Age at the specific sites of social innovative housing in Vienna can be observed.
The two sites where the walking interviews were conducted are characterized differently in terms of location and infrastructure services. While Sonnwendviertel is located centrally adjacent to Vienna Main Station and an established city district with suffice infrastructure, the Oase 22 is located in a more peripheral district and in an area with former industrial use, which is currently being developed together with infrastructural services. These specific characteristics are reflected in the interviews in the form of complains or statements of a missing pharmacy close to home or the lack of more (cheap) supermarket chains to choose from in the area of Oase 22. At the same time, in Sonnwendviertel interviewees emphasized the broad range of infrastructure services. Nonetheless, all interviewees stated that they (or other elderly neighbours) arrange themselves with the existing conditions fine as long as they (or other elderly neighbours) have no (physical) crisis such as illness or falls.
In terms of mobility, there were no clear patterns of daily routes or preferred modes of transport visible. Rather, the interviewees had their very individual preferences related to their mobility biography. This means, the daily routines were based for example on the visit to cafes or shops rather far from their current home in order to have continuity in terms of long-established

[62] The care-provider did not offer any social activities on site of the housing complex. Inhabitants have to go to the geriatric home of the care-provider two housing blocks away, to take part in any social activities or for further services. The care-taker of the housing complex informed us about the lack of community activities and engagement among elderly inhabitants.

acquaintances (in their former city quarter) or customer/patient relations (preferred doctors or shops). In general, all interviewees stated the importance of walking in their daily routine as a means to stay fit. The modes of transport chosen varied from public transport via taxis to their own cars. Generally, satisfaction with mobility was expressed through the ability to choose from an abundance of transport modes and effective connections. The analysis suggests that this abundance allows for flexibility when it comes to ruptures in daily routines because of illness or other handicaps.
The mobility mode of walking also revealed some importance of (short) encounters in public space or on the street for interviewees. While loneliness was not discussed as a personal issue in the interviews, it was suggested that some elderly neighbours do not 'show up a the weekly cafés', 'don't get involved in self-organization' or 'always stay at home'. While the sample has a certain bias towards more active people taking part in the walking interviews, this showed how central services from care-providers such as the "Senioren Café" are for the inhabitants of these housing estates apart from encounters in public space or in the open spaces of the housing complex. Also, in one case an interviewee engaged in a self-organized mode with elderly neighbours through the organization of collective activities such as dinner on each birthday. These activities were mostly done outside the home, e.g. in restaurants and cafés. Also, in this respect a variety of cafés or locations to choose from with different price range and characteristics seemed important.

Discussion

The project has been conducted in three different cities in Europe that have both similarities and differences. The population is about the same in the three cities, they are all three central nodes for education and business, which attracts many young people and which in turn means that the aging of the cities is slower than elsewhere.
The project has shown that housing is of great importance for life as an elderly person. The reduced mobility also makes the role of housing even more central in relation to younger, more mobile age groups. The elderly has often lived in their homes for several decades and a forced relocation due to extensive renovation or demolition, has greater consequences for the elderly than for the younger ones. Some environments in the city may be perceived as dangerous or less attractive. Among other things, the metro can be perceived as dangerous due to congestion, which creates a fear of falling on the tracks.
The social network is in the immediate area and even without major changes in the home itself, there are constantly changes in the social environment; friends die or are forced to move, shops close, restaurants and cafés that are important meeting places change - become modern - or close due to poor profitability or changes of ownership. The home and the local environment are more important for the elderly than for the younger ones because the younger ones are constantly moving in the city based on work and family situations: the children go to kindergarten, school, etc., while the elderly have all this behind them and instead live with reduced physical mobility. affect movements outside the immediate area. Informal and spontaneous meetings in various public and semi-public spaces play an important role in the well-being of the elderly. From simple greetings in the hall to small conversations on the bus to conversations in cafes or at the church's soup lunch, the loose relationships form a unifying force. All in all, the many spontaneous meetings in the residential area and in the neighborhood seem insignificant, but together they constitute an important potential for well-being.
However, the elderly are not a homogeneous group but, like all other age groups, extremely heterogeneous and characterized by commitment, interests and social relationships. The project

has also shown how great opportunities are offered to those who can take advantage of these, and who also apply to the meeting places that exist. Most of the elderly also manage on their own without help at an advanced age. However, it is important that the city when it is built further takes into account that there is an increasing number of people who need quiet public oases with places to settle down, to walk and to meet people. Elderly people like to avoid busy roads if possible, and appreciate parks whether they live in the central parts of the city or in the more peripheral or suburbs. Housing for the elderly should also be located close to communications and shopping areas. For those who may not be able to get out so easily, the sight of the pulsating life is already an important and stimulating sight.

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