INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS: THEORY, CO-HOUSING, LATER LIFE

INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS IN LATER LIFE: THEORY, CO-HOUSING, AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS

By STEPHANIE HATZIFILALITHIS, B.Sc., (Hons), M.Sc.

A Dissertation Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements For

the Degree Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University

McMaster University DOCTOR OF PHILSOPHY (2022) Hamilton, Ontario (Social Gerontology)

TITLE: Intergenerational Relations in Later Life: Theory, Co-housing, and Social Dynamics

AUTHOR: Stephanie Hatzifilalithis, B.Sc. Hons (International Faculty of the University of Sheffield), M.Sc. (University College London)

SUPERVISOR: Professor Amanda Marie Grenier

PAGES: xvi, 228

Lay abstract

The aim of this dissertation is to understand how contemporary conditions, such as population aging, may influence intergenerational relations. In this dissertation, I examine conceptual understandings, social influences, and people's experiences of intergenerational co-housing. In the first section of this dissertation, I suggest a new language to discuss the 'intergenerational' and highlight the importance of critical gerontological perspectives. I then examine how participants of an intergenerational co-housing program experience their living arrangement against a backdrop of contemporary change through a critical realist lens. I then turn to an autoethnographic account of managing an intergenerational co-housing project that sheds light on features of contemporary society that impact intergenerational realities. Finally, this research suggests ways to better discuss and debate intergenerational ideas and how they are related to aging, the field of gerontology, and older people.

Abstract

With the rise of intergenerational programming (e.g., intergenerational co-housing) across Canada and a demographic shift whereby the number of people 65 years and over is expected to almost double from 13.2% to 24.5% by 2036, mechanisms supporting intergenerational relations are crucial. Intergenerational landscapes (IL) is a term I use to describe all that is across, between, and within generational cohorts. The conceptual understandings of intergenerational landscapes and how they could be beneficial (or detrimental) in later life require revisiting in gerontological research. This dissertation uses a multi-method qualitative design to examine conceptual frameworks, experienced relations, and contemporary dynamics of IL. I am investigating IL at diverse locations of experience emphasizing the voices of both older and younger people. This includes, a conceptual review of intergenerational knowledge (Paper One), the intersections of intergenerational dynamics in a co-housing setting (Paper Two), and an autoethnographic account of managing an intergenerational co-housing project (Paper Three). This dissertation focuses on conceptual models, how paradigms of IL are reproduced in practice, and how contemporary dynamics are experienced in a Canadian context. This dissertation aims to initiate a meaningful dialogue on how current theorizing requires revisiting, given the contemporary landscape. This dissertation supports the advancement of academic knowledge, programming, and public policy in aging research.

Acknowledgments

I would like to first express my appreciation and gratitude to The Department of Health, Aging and Society, The Wilson Leadership Foundation, The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, McMaster School of Graduate Studies, The Margery Boyce Award, The Ronald Bayne Award, The Gilbrea Centre for Studies in Aging, The Keith Leppmann Teaching Assistant Award, The McMaster Research Institute on Aging, and The Canadian Association of Gerontology - for the financial support to pursue my passion and complete my doctoral studies.

A sincere thank you to my advisor - Professor Amanda Grenier. For the past five years you have challenged me every step of the way. You exemplify what it means to have discipline and resilience. I will always be immensely grateful for the knowledge and opportunities you provided me with throughout my PhD. Thank you. I would also like to extend this sentiment to my committee members, Professor Gavin Andrews and Professor Rachel Heydon and my external examiner, Dr. Vivian Puplampu. You have provided valuable insights and guidance and have shaped the work of my dissertation. Thank you for sharing your time and expertise.

At McMaster I have benefitted, both intellectually and personally, from several colleagues who I now call friends: Jonelle Ward, Blessing Ojembe, Daniel Cursio, Peter DeMaio, and plenty others. I have been fortunate and grateful for stimulating conversations, close relationships, and guidance by fiercely brilliant humans such as Dr. Meridith Griffin, Dr. Nicole Dalmer, Dr. Anju Joshi, Dr. Chelsea Gabel, Dr. Geraldine Voros, and Dr. Yvonne Leblanc. A special thank you to Dr. Lydia Kapiri who chaired my comprehensive exams and provided thoughtful and engaging feedback to continue my scholarly journey. It should go

without saying that this appreciation extends to the faculty in the Health, Aging, and Society department, Dr. Mark Norman, Prof Jim Dunn, Prof Michel Grignon, and Dr. Matt Savelli, it was a pleasure working with and learning from all of you. I extend this gratitude to MIRA, the Wilson Leadership Scholar Award, Dr. Liz Koblyk and Audrey Patocs, including the trainees with whom I have shared this journey. Thank you for the many opportunities to collaborate and engage in fruitful discussions. I would also like to acknowledge the administrative staff in our department who played a vital role in getting me to this point. Lori and Kristine – you are utmost deserving of recognition and gratitude. I am immensely grateful and would have been completely lost without you. You are absolute gems.

Heaps of thanks to my cool beans – Eirini Tsoumou, Leandro Peraro, Maria Troupkou, Katerina Pappa, Stefania Cerisano, Equity Burke, Kelsey Harvey, Rachel Weldrick, and last but not least, Natasha Tsakiris. I could write a dissertation for each and every one of you. Just know that this bruh-ha-ha of a thing - wouldn't be possible without you, your kindness, or your hilarity. You all mean the absolute world to me. I would also like to thank Channel 4, Netflix, the NBA, Premier League, chicken nuggets and Oreos for their valuable support over the years.

To my μπαμπά – who installed carpets for over 30 years so I can sit in a comfy chair and type on a computer. To my mamacita - for reminding me to breath. To my three sisters, Melanie, Marika, and Vicky. You humans. You taught me perseverance, unconditional love, and have supported me physically, mentally, financially, and spiritually. You have kept me sane, housed, and well fed – you always pushed me to keep going even when all I wanted to do is open a beach bar in Greece. Most importantly, you made sure I never let my academic pursuits

come in the way of what really mattered in life – having fun. To my little humans: Leandro, Matthaio, Paris, and Andriana – thank you for ensuring Saia was pampered with your love, giggles, and kindness– it got me through the worst of it. Thank you for also prolonging my want to procreate. Nichole, my bean. You're the least annoying person to walk on this floating rock. Thank you for taking care of my body, mind, and spirit. I cannot thank you enough for managing this tornado of a human on a daily basis. You make every single day better. Σ' αγαπώ πολύ.

I am indebted to each and every person who participated in this research. The most rewarding part was being in the community and listening to your experiences and stories. Thank you all for volunteering your time to support me and to support this research. I hope that this dissertation does justice to your voices and can only hope that in some way the findings can provide insight to improve the state of our social landscapes.

Oh - last but not least, a special thank you to my 12th grade Physics teacher. You assured me - and my parents - that finishing high school would be my greatest achievement, thank you for the fuel.

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to social serendipity, physical touch, and those whose lives were taken in Long Term Care homes due to COVID-19. A true reflection of our collective moral compass – I promise we will do better in the future.

Preface

This dissertation is presented as an alternative style of doctoral dissertation, including submitted material, in accordance with the protocol set out by McMaster University. The three manuscripts included in this dissertation, indicated as Chapters Four, Five, and Six, have been written for submission for publication in peer-reviewed journals. All three papers report findings of original research. The first manuscript (Chapter Four) is submitted for publication in the *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships* and is currently at revise and resubmit stage. The second manuscript (Chapter Five) is to be submitted to the *Canadian Journal of Aging*. The third paper (Chapter Six) is to be submitted to the *Journal of Aging and Environment*. Chapters Two and Three comprise the integrating preceding material required for this dissertation format: a comprehensive introduction providing context and rationale of the research, and a methods chapter. The word length of these chapters combined is 15,060, excluding references. At the end of each Chapter, there is a list of references that includes preceding material, as per McMaster University guidelines. Each manuscript written for publication also has its own reference list. Chapter Seven comprises the discussion and conclusions section required after the manuscripts. It is 5,370 words long and includes its own reference list. At the end of the dissertation is a single, comprehensive list of all appendices mentioned throughout the dissertation.

Table of Contents:

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter Two

Chapter Three

Chapter Five

Chapter Six

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter Three

Chapter Four

Chapter Five

Chapter Six

Declaration of Academic Achievement:

I, Stephanie Hatzifilalithis, am responsible for this program of research and dissertation in its entirety. I designed the research plan in consultation with my supervisor, Prof Amanda Grenier, and solely collected, analyzed, and interpreted the data. As befitting their roles, my dissertation supervisor, Prof Amanda Grenier, and my committee members, Prof Gavin Andrews, and Prof Rachel Heydon supported my writing process by providing feedback on earlier versions of the papers comprising dissertation. Their roles have been acknowledged in each individual manuscript as appropriate.

Chapter One

Introduction

Many relationships central to social sustainability are inherently intergenerational: teacher-child, grandparent-child, and caregiver-adult. With the rise of intergenerational programming across Canada (e.g., intergenerational co-housing) and a demographic shift whereby those aged 65+ is expected to almost double, increasing from 13.2% to 24.5% by 2036, mechanisms supporting intergenerational relations are crucial (Statistics Canada, 2015). Intergenerational landscapes (IL) is a term I use to describe all that is across, between, and within generational cohorts. Grounded in developmental frameworks that don't always account for changing demands and/or dynamics experienced in contemporary society (Newman & Hatton-Yeo, 2008), the conceptual understandings of intergenerational landscapes and how they could be beneficial (or detrimental) in later life require revisiting. This dissertation investigates intergenerational landscapes at diverse locations of experience (i.e., intergenerational co-housing), emphasizes the voice of both older and younger people and includes my own experience of managing an intergenerational project. This dissertation aims to initiate a meaningful dialogue that speaks to how current understandings of intergenerational landscapes requires revisiting, given the rapidly changing nature of Canada's demographic.

Growing evidence shows that loneliness, isolation, and social exclusion in later life are comparable to the health risks caused by smoking (Leigh-Hunt et al., 2017), physical inactivity (Robins et al., 2018) and obesity (Crewdson, 2016). Social exclusion refers to the

separation of individuals and groups from mainstream society and is receiving growing attention within the field of gerontology (Moffatt & Glasgow, 2009). Crucial for well-being and inclusion, intergenerational relations are often suggested to mitigate loneliness (de Jong Gierveld et al., 2015), strengthen intergenerational bonds (Warburton et al., 2013), and bolster social unity (Börsch-Supan et al., 2015). Therefore, with new programming being suggested to combat these challenges (e.g., intergenerational co-housing), there is a need to investigate and understand experiences, underlying mechanisms, and theoretical paradigms of intergenerational learning, practice, and relations (Roussey, 2018). The literature indicates that current theorizing may overlook or downplay novel contemporary tensions across generations, such as the 'silver' housing market (Druta & Ronald, 2017), increasing provisions of care, and concerns over the financial sustainability of pension programs (Davis & Lastra, 2018). These ideas of 'generational conflict' permeate our cultural expectations about youth and aging and are suggested to lead to the intensification of negative stereotypes across age groups (Bengtson & Oyama, 2010). Such dynamics may also be experienced, both by younger and older adults, as social exclusion and/or social isolation (Beekman et al., 2000). Further, age homogeneous locations such as retirement homes or universities, which remain structurally and spatially segregated, may limit opportunities for exchange, and further reinforce 'generational conflict' and/or ageism (Song, 2015; Phillipson, 2003).

Several policies and programs aim to address the challenge of intergenerational conflict, isolation/exclusion, and loneliness. On an international level, in a European Union issue on activities of the United Nations, the emerging importance of intergenerational solidarity and social cohesion at a global level were dully noted. In the same way, there is no

shortage of mention of intergenerational solidarity in the political spheres of the European Union – from Copenhagen (1995) for the International Year of Older People (IYOP), to Madrid (2002) for Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing (MIPAA), to Berlin (2002) for Regional Implementation Strategy (RIS), and in León (2007) for a review of the aforementioned strategies. The World Health Organization (2008) released a report on the social determinants of health that included the importance of social sustainability and intergenerational solidarity, including multiple communications from the European Commission, the Lisbon Treaty (2009) as well as the EU 2020, all highlighting intergenerational contact and social sustainability as important components to the 'active aging' process.

Intergenerational relations are of growing importance across Canada, reflected across provincial frameworks such as '*Aging in Place*' and '*Age-friendly City'* initiatives (Government of Canada, 2020). Ontario outlines their commitment to make Ontario a place to *'Age with Confidence'* providing opportunities for intergenerational engagement (Ontario's Action Plan for Seniors, 2017). British Columbia (BC) added '*Intergenerational Communication*' to their '*Active Aging'* federal initiative offering information regarding intergenerational learning programs with emphasis placed on one key NGO called i2i, that advocates for the integration across age groups. Specifically, the i2i Intergenerational Society hosts materials and information on their website regarding intergenerational learning programs and its goal is to build bridges through a collaborative process.

Intergenerational relations are suggested to be vital in a divided social climate and provide hope for strengthening intergenerational solidarity. Despite the proclaimed positive

effects of intergenerational relations, intergenerational programming and policies often operate on taken for granted assumptions. Research on intergenerational relations is often focused on program evaluations with participant's experiences and interpretations often unaccounted for in the literature and/or policy debates. Scholars call for an improved understanding of the micro-level processes that underlie intergenerational relations since research in this field holds a practice-oriented tradition (Jarrott, 2011). Intergenerational interaction is considered beneficial. However, researchers must critically review understandings, mechanisms, and mediations through which larger patterns are translated into face-to-face social interactions. This dissertation aims to generate knowledge, examine theoretical frameworks, and investigate intergenerational landscapes in a shifting social context. A more careful consideration of the experiences and intricate conceptual frameworks that inform and shape intergenerational relations could have relevance for better policies and practices in Canada and other countries. This dissertation directly addresses these theoretical and practical limitations with regards to intergenerational landscapes.

Research Context and Questions

This dissertation uses a multi-method qualitative design to understand the common profiles of experience in an intergenerational co-housing context. This study critically evaluates the conceptual frameworks, understandings of co-housing, and how these are situated in our contemporary setting. While intergenerational dynamics have recently started to attract more attention by media and research (Roussey, 2018), this study will address a gap in our current knowledge and practice, providing strong evidence to support the enhancement of programs, services and, policies regarding intergenerational relations in

Canada. This includes for example, questions about interactions between generations, models of learning, and ideas about age integration as an end goal.

This dissertation is situated at the intersections of intergenerational frameworks, co-housing as a model of intergenerational practice, and the generational dynamics that occur between younger and older people in the context of co-housing. The first paper aimed to examine conceptual foundations of intergenerational knowledge, learning, and practice. The second study was grounded in a critical realist case study that examined both older and younger people's understandings and negotiations of intergenerational relations in the context of co-housing. The third study employed an autoethnographic case study approach comprised of my personal involvement in the management of a co-housing program, on-site observations, and one-on-one interviews with a total of 21 participants. As such, it serves to understand intergenerational landscapes in theory and in practice and incorporates participant perceptions and experiences. It identifies common themes, key commonalities and/or disruptions of living in co-housing and draws attention to how experiences relate to larger frameworks and social and/or cultural expectations. This includes challenging existing assumptions about intergenerational knowledge and the reasons and processes by which older and younger people come to these models of housing. This study directly addresses the need for greater conceptual and theoretical understandings of how intergenerational relations are constructed and culturally mediated to provide suggestions for policy and programs in Canada.

The aims for the dissertation are to:

1. *Critically evaluate the ideas, theories, and contexts of intergenerational landscapes in order to strengthen conceptual foundations*
2. *Investigate relationships through encounters that are hinged upon intergenerational solidarity to deepen knowledge of intergenerational landscapes*
3. *Explore intergenerational relations in a contemporary context to uncover social conditions influencing intergenerational landscapes*

The guiding questions to achieve these aims are:

Q1. What are the underlying conceptual assumptions and guiding frameworks of intergenerational knowledge?

Q2. What are the perceived benefits/challenges of intergenerational relations and how do these vary/endure across social locations and contexts (such as age group and place)?

Q3. How do contemporary dynamics influence intergenerational interaction and what ideas can be developed across generations to inform policy and programming?

Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of seven chapters that address the aforementioned questions and aims. The second chapter, 'Review of Relevant Concepts', provides an overview of the intergenerational literature and background knowledge for the reader before engaging with the three main papers. The third chapter, 'Introducing Theory, Methodology, and Methods', offers an exploration of my theoretical orientation and the methods and methodology used through the dissertation. This allows for a broader contextualization of the methods used in the three papers to follow. Paper One, Chapter Four, takes steps toward

better understanding the conceptual and theoretical knowledge of intergenerational learning and practice. Paper Two, Chapter Five, examines an intergenerational co-housing project– one of the programs that is promoted to connect older and younger people– to better understand the mechanisms of intergenerational relations. Paper Three, Chapter Six, details an autoethnographic account of leading the project alongside observations from two key informants. Each of the three papers aims to address a different set of research questions and objectives and contains an overview of literature germane to their respective foci. To avoid repetition, literature specific to intergenerational knowledge will be covered in the introduction section and more so in Chapter Four and Chapter Five. Likewise, literature regarding co-housing and other interventions will be overviewed in Paper Two and Paper Three.

Paper One presents an evaluation and review of the intergenerational literature. The aim of this paper was to provide a foundation for my initial research proposal prior to beginning field-based data collection. This paper investigated the conceptual understandings of intergenerational knowledge, learning, and practice in the field of gerontology. It aimed to uncover the frameworks that shape intergenerational knowledge with regards to later life, by situating intergenerational learning and practice in Social Gerontology. I provide an overview of the three dominant conceptual models that underpin ideas of intergenerational practice (Erikson's Life Span Approach, Contact Theory, and Theory of Social Distance), and later turn to a critical analysis that challenges how current models may retain age and stage-based assumptions, sustain polarizing notions of 'decline' and 'activity', and/or reinforce ideas of conflict. Building on this, the analysis considers approaches such as 'Intergenerationality' and

'Intergenerational Landscapes' (See Chapter Four) as pathways for sustainable discourse and social relations. These results, indicate a strong need for future research that builds critical perspectives into conceptual understandings.

Paper Two presents a qualitative case study of older and younger people living together in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. This paper examined factors, dynamics, and non-tangible aspects of place, as they relate to intergenerational relations. Using an in-depth qualitative design, this study investigated how older and younger people understood and responded to their experience of intergenerational co-housing in Hamilton, Ontario. Data included one-on-one interviews with 19 older and younger people. This study uncovered how living alongside a student/older person shaped understandings of intergenerational relations. Findings revealed how older and younger people experience co-housing in complex ways, both consciously and unconsciously co-opting the notion of intergenerationality on an individual and collective level. Drawing on critical realism, the analysis demonstrates a complex interrelationship between older and younger people's deliberations about their experiences and normative assumptions about intergenerational relations. Understanding the implications of co-housing has important implications for the development of an effective multi-faceted approach to building sustainable intergenerational landscapes that consider aspects of contemporary life, including structural and/or societal interpretations.

Paper Three presents an autoethnographic account of co-housing. This paper sheds light on the dynamic experience of intergenerational co-housing by applying an autoethnographic approach to weave together experiences of two key informants (n=2) and my personal experience of managing an intergenerational co-housing project in a small community in Canada. Data were analyzed to reveal how identities interact with the co-

housing project goals and aims. It outlines motivations to participation; challenges/critical obstacles, and how to effect change using perspectives from the inside. Overall, this paper aims to resist and transform the discourse that defines what it means to connect as individuals, embody intergenerational relations, and provides implications for practice in contemporary society.

Chapter Seven, the conclusion chapter, summarizes the main points addressed within the three empirical papers and details contributions to the gerontological literature. It concludes with opportunities for future research and suggestions for research, practice, and policy development.

References

Aging with Confidence: Ontario's Action Plan for Seniors. (2017). Ontario.Ca. https://www.ontario.ca/page/aging-confidence-ontario-action-plan-seniors

Bengtson, V. L., & Oyama, P. S. (2010). Intergenerational solidarity and conflict. In *Intergenerational Solidarity* (pp. 35-52). Palgrave Macmillan US. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230115484_3

Börsch-Supan, A., Kneip, T., Litwin, H., Myck, M., & Weber, G. (Eds.). (2015). *Ageing in Europe-supporting policies for an inclusive society*. Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110444414

Crewdson, J. A. (2016). The effect of loneliness in the elderly population: A review. *Healthy Aging & Clinical Care in the Elderly*, *2016*(8), 1-8. https://doi.org/10.4137/HACCE.S35890

Davis, E. P., & Lastra, R. M. (2018). Pension provision, lifetime financial sustainability, care, and dignity in old age: legal and economic issues. *The Home: Multidisciplinary Reflections*, 144. https://doi.org/10.4337/9781786436573.00019

De Jong Gierveld, J., Keating, N., & Fast, J. E. (2015). Determinants of loneliness among older adults in Canada. *Canadian Journal on Aging/La Revue 10oncept10ne du vieillissement*, *34*(02), 125-136. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0714980815000070

Druta, O., & Ronald, R. (2017). Young adults' pathways into homeownership and the negotiation of intra-family support: A home, the ideal gift. *Sociology*, *51*(4), 783-799. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038516629900

Government of Canada (2020). *Government of Canada — Action for Seniors report – Canada.ca.* Government of Canada. https://www.canada.ca/en/employment-social-development/programs/seniors-action-report.html

Jarrott, S. E. (2011). Where have we been and where are we going? Content analysis of evaluation research of intergenerational programs. *Journal of Intergenerational relationships*, *9*(1), 37-52. https://doi.org/10.1080/15350770.2011.544594

Leigh-Hunt, N., Bagguley, D., Bash, K., Turner, V., Turnbull, S., Valtorta, N., & Caan, W. (2017). An overview of systematic reviews on the public health consequences of social isolation and loneliness. *Public Health*, *152*, 157-171. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.puhe.2017.07.035

Moffatt, S., & Glasgow, N. (2009). How useful is the concept of social exclusion when applied to rural older people in the United Kingdom and the United States?. *Regional Studies*, *43*(10), 1291-1303. https://doi.org/10.1080/00343400903002697

Newman, S., & Hatton-Yeo, A. (2008). Intergenerational learning and the contributions of older people. *Ageing horizons*, *8*(10), 31-39.

Phillipson, C. (2003). Globalisation and the future of ageing: Developing a critical gerontology. *Sociological Research Online*, *8*(4), 144-152. https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.868

Robins, L. M., Hill, K. D., Finch, C. F., Clemson, L., & Haines, T. (2018). The association between physical activity and social isolation in community-dwelling older adults. *Aging & mental health*, *22*(2), 175-182. https://doi.org/10.1080/13607863.2016.1242116

Roussey, K. (2018) "Why these university students love living with seniors". https://www.cbc.ca/news/health/student-senior-university-mcmaster-housing-co-generational-1.4811115

Song, Y. I. K. (2015). Intergenerational Gaps: Collaborative Projects for Social Studies Curricula. *Global Journal of Human Social Science: A Arts & Humanities – Psychology. 15(9)*

Statistics Canada. Demography Division. (2015). *Population projections for Canada, provinces, and territories, 2009 to 2036* (91-520). Retrieved from Statistics Canada website: https://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-520-x/91-520-x2010001-eng.pdf

Warburton, J., Ng, S. H., & Shardlow, S. M. (2013). Social inclusion in an ageing world: introduction to the special issue. *Ageing & Society*, *33*(1), 1-15. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X12000980

WHO - CSDH (2008). Closing the gap in a generation: health equity through action on the social determinants of health. Final Report of the Commission on Social Determinants of Health. Geneva, World Health Organization.

Chapter Two

Review of Relevant Intergenerational Concepts

It is important to clarify definitions and concepts relevant to intergenerational relations, learning, and practice before reading the rest of the dissertation. At present, there is a limited conceptual understanding of the notion of 'intergenerational' in gerontological research. Despite decades of constructive research that spans across disciplines of education, psychology, and family relations, there is no clear consensus on what is 'intergenerational'. In the outset of my research, I was intrigued by current understandings of intergenerational relations and the evolution of the topic in the context of gerontology. I was hopeful that I could potentially integrate critical gerontological perspectives showcasing the complexity of developmental models, breaking down assumptions of homogeneity across groups, and provide an opportunity to shed light on the linkage of these traditions to heteronormative assumptions of the nuclear family. What you will read, and what I noticed, is that by not acknowledging the complex dynamics of what it is to 'do' or 'be' intergenerational in the context of later life, our nascent understanding of later life as fluid and transitional could be absent from the intergenerational debate.

Throughout the dissertation, I engage with several concepts to address my research questions. These concepts are drawn from various disciplines such as Social Gerontology, Education, Geography, and Sociology. To guide the reader, I have provided a review of these concepts below. This section aims to provide clarity with regards to intergenerational concepts in the field of Social Gerontology and their contributions to the studies of aging and generational relationalities. This chapter broadly outlines understandings of generations,

as a category of experience but also as a social tool and organizing principle across the life course. It then discusses the concepts of intergenerational conflict and the importance of solidarity that is often situated as a solution to conflict, and the intentions to create and foster intergenerational bonds. I then provide a snapshot of other frameworks used to understand conflict and solidarity such as ambivalence and generational intelligence. Later, this section appraises how age-segregation and age-based assumptions are broadly constructed, including how they shape the ideas surrounding conflict, solidarity, and ambivalence, and are an essential part of our understandings of intergenerational knowledge. I then turn to discuss ageism as an example of the challenges that can arise from an age-stratified or age-and stage-based structure for aging and how one's life course can be influenced due to structural-social segregation. I then reference important historical lineage and the conceptual uses of intergenerational learning, practice, and programming to elucidate a greater understanding of the current literature. Finally, I discuss intergenerational relations and situate them in our contemporary context to set the stage for the rest of the dissertation.

Language: Seniors, Older People, Later Life

For the purposes of this dissertation, the identification and conceptualization of an "older person" has been traditionally tied to the age at which an individual enters retirement. Even though 65 is broadly accepted in Canada as an age marker for the "senior" population, this value is not universally accepted. Considering the "thirty-year gain in longevity since the beginning of the twentieth century" (Ristau, 2010, p. 39), 65 may no longer be universally considered to be old, and it is increasingly difficult to come to an agreed definition of what is old or senior. This is compounded by the influx of babies born in the 60s who are

considered to redefine age. Anecdotally, in conversation with members of the community, I recall having discussions and was asked to explain why I would use the term older person or people in later life to describe people over the age of 65. Several people noted that they bestow and uphold the term 'Senior'. It was further explained to me that this provided them with social status they deemed important. While this information has always been informally provided to me outside of the context of this research study, I would be doing the people in my study a disservice by not considering or including their suggested or chosen form of self-identification. Given the heterogeneity in life circumstances amongst age groups and people above the age of 65, there are certain limitations in the language used to describe individuals within the broad spectrum of 'senior'. In this dissertation, I will use senior, older person/people, and later life interchangeably with the same intended definition, someone above the age of 65.

Generations

The term generation has itself been referred to as a 'packed social concept' (Lowenstein, 2007). Simply add an 'inter' and you will find over 25 different concepts which range from intergenerational learning, relations, practice, intergenerational mobility, intergenerational transmission, intergenerational trauma. Although these terms are related, this dissertation will focus more so on those related to relations, learning, and programming. The notion of generation is widely used in the everyday world to make sense of similarities and differences between age groupings in society and to locate individual selves and other persons within historical time (Biggs, 2007). The Oxford English Dictionary (2019) defines generations as: (noun) "*All of the people born and living at about the same time, regarding collectively*" as well as "*the average period, generally considered to be about thirty years in which children grow up, become adults, and*

have children of their own". The term is borrowed from human reproductive biology (Duffy, 2021). In a kinship structure, parents and their siblings constitute "the older generation"; offspring and their cousins are "the younger generation". In our species, according to human biologists, the time for the younger generation to become the older generation is traditionally around thirty years (Duffy, 2021). The idea was that people born within a given period, usually thirty years, belong to a single generation. There is no sound basis in biology or in anything else for this claim, but it gave scientists and intellectuals a way to make sense of social and cultural change. A key point is that it is now used as an organizing principle for life and the life course, and inter-generational is suggested to be the idea of "*relating to, involving, or affecting several generations*" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2019).

A range of disciplines and approaches study and evaluate generation. Psychology, Criminology, Political Science, Environmental Studies with perhaps Sociology being the most prominent. In sociological studies involving age, the distinction between age, cohort, and generations guides the methodology of most research. Generations are considered to reflect common experiences or values. Populations are divided into generations with common features, such as shared historical viewpoints and are intended to share a collective social imaginary. There is an assumption that the rhythm to social and cultural history maps onto generational cohorts, such that each cohort is shaped by, or bears the imprint of, major historical events (e.g., 9/11, or COVID-19). However, young people are also considered to develop their own culture, their own tastes and values, and this new culture displaces the culture of the previous generation.

Even within sociology, however, there are marked differences in the understanding of generations and cohorts (Bengston & Settersten, 2016). The sociologist Karl Mannheim, in his influential essay published in 1928, used the term "generation units" to refer to writers, artists, and political figures who self-consciously adopted new ways of doing things. Mannheim was not interested in trends within the broader population. As the major proponent of generations, he viewed generations as historical units and suggested that there is substantial within-generation variation in responses to historical contexts that might give rise to concept (Mannheim, 1952). Mannheim's (1952) analysis helped understand that shared experience along biological or historical lines is probable, but not determined. Drawing on this, social gerontologists suggest that one cannot solemnly attribute differences between people of different ages to generational or cohort characteristics and vice versa (Bengston, 2016). Further, it is considered that generational models may be problematic because they reinforce divisions between younger and older groups, as well as overlook the differences that may exist at social locations of gender, class, and race. As noted by Grenier (2007), people must understand where the divisions of generation are drawn, how they shape different processes and outcomes, and how individuals and societies interpret the boundaries. The definition and use of the concept of generation thus raises questions about how divisions based on generation may create the potential for connection/solidarity or conflict among groups of older people who share periods and/or historical circumstances. That is, there is a need to understand, how these separations contract and constrict understandings of age throughout the life course and the growing difference in transitions across generational groups.

Conflict, Solidarity and Ambivalence

Conflict

Current models of solidarity, conflict, and ambivalence provide insight into how generations can be understood and built into intergenerational realities. Historically, the idea of 'generational conflict' made its way into pop culture in the 1960s, posing a strong argument about the existence of a generational gap. This trend came to light as the younger generation (The Baby Boomers; born between 1943-1960) were considered to experience tension with older generations (The Silent generation; born between 1925-1942) over musical, cultural, economic, and political views (Bengston, 2016; Palmore, 2005). Such ideas of conflict were then extended in the 1980s with the political shift toward conservatism in the Thatcher (UK), Reagan (USA) and Mulroney (Canada) years. This period brought about a marked reform and curtailing of public expenditure throughout several Western industrialized nations. This conservative social and political context sparked debate about the "contract across generations", the potential inequities between age groups including economic advantage and intergenerational equity (Bengston & Oyama, 2007; Foot & Venne, 2004).

While the influence of such debates can still be seen, contemporary debates tend to situate ideas of intergenerational conflict in the context of family relations and the work environment (Woodman, 2020). For example, research shows the new challenges of work collaboration between three different generations: the Baby Boomers (1943-60), Generation X (1961-1981), and Generation Y (1982 - present) all of whom are reported to have different frames of reference and/or working styles and different insecurities and risks in the contemporary conditions (Tempest, 2003; Woodman, 2020). Contemporary conditions

including technological advancements, the presence of ageism, availability of housing stock in large cities, cost containment, and concerns over the financial sustainability of pension programs, for example, situate risks as individual and expand the possibility of intergenerational conflict (Woodman, 2020). This helps us see how the conflict or suggested gap is not simply about age; generations are large cultural fields, politically embedded in ways that assign meaning to life-course experiences. In other words, a 'boomer' is not a boomer because of their 'age' but according to how insecurities, advantages, and risks have (or have not) accumulated within their generational field.

Critics, however, argue that ideas of intergenerational conflict and the generational conflict debate is a "symbolic battle" created and disseminated by the mass media and political interests (Binstock, 2010; Williamson et al., 2003). As Duffy (2021) details in "*The Generation Myth*", events and aging interact with birth cohort to explain differences in racial attitudes, happiness, suicide rates, and political affiliations. Duffy's over-all finding is that people in different age groups are much more alike than generation conflict narratives suggest and proposes that industry creates symbolic conflict. He states that, in 2021, firms spent seventy million dollars on generational consulting. As an example, he details how attitudes about gender in the North America correlate more closely with political party than with age and are used to fuel culture wars. Ultimately, they suggest that characterizations based on generational cohort ascribes meaning to birth dates, that is, in reality, about changing contemporary conditions.

While the idea of generational conflict could well be another creative way to generate profit, contemporary conditions including the demographic shift (population aging),

technological advancements, the presence of ageism, shortage of housing, and the financial sustainability of pension programs, beg the question of the possibility of tensions (Walker, 2012). In the context of investigating intergenerational connections on various fronts, understanding, and examining intergenerational conflict, symbolic or not, is crucial.

Solidarity

Many scholars and researchers have argued for the importance of solidarity in systems, policies, and practices in relation to 'solving' intergenerational conflict. Solidarity is often defined as "*unity or an agreement of feeling or action, especially among individuals with a common interest*" or "*as mutual support within a group*" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2021). Solidarity usually focuses on shared values, normative obligations of care, and bonds between generations, and has been considered central in family relations, family cohesion, and social cohesion in later life (Lowenstein, 2007). Solidarity is claimed as a solution to conflict and aims to foster intergenerational bonds in policy (Bengston, 2016; Duffy, 2021). These claims include reference to family dynamics since members generally have positive emotional bonds across generations. Intergenerational bonds are framed to ensure that support is offered between generations, although the type of support is suggested to vary depending upon the generation and ages involved. The counter argument to conflict is thus based on if there is solidarity among intergenerational relations within families, it will have a profound influence on wider social attitudes.

Solidarity is often articulated as a solution across a range of settings in response to the debate on generational conflict. Bengtson and Oyama (2007, 2010) have argued strongly for a model of intergenerational relations based on solidarity. Bengston and Omaya (2007, 2010) emulate the familial solidarity model and advocate for its integration into the wider public

sphere by pointing to the functional value of solidarity. Solidarity acts to hold intergenerational relations together by avoiding conflict and thereby stabilizing the otherwise potentially hostile social systems. The argument of Bengston and Omaya (2010), is that familial intergenerational solidarity might hold the potential to solve key social issues since family relations move across public and private boundaries of society. They argue that this framework can have great effects on age-relations at the macro level, which can be used by governments to make decisions about resourcing the needs of different age groups. While this model provides a link to understanding macro-level structures and advocating for policy intervention, it has been critiqued for having little to say about people without families, gender relations, and contains an inherent ambivalence that maintains power relations embedded within the family (Biggs & Lowenstein, 2013; Connides & McMullin, 2002).

Ambivalence and Generational Intelligence

Other suggestions to understand conflict that is said to occur across generations, are ambivalence and generational intelligence. From a critical perspective, Connides and McMullin (2002) propose that an ambivalence model can be viewed as a brokering concept between solidarity and conflict. That is, they suggest that ambivalence can be seen as the place where solidarity and conflict intersect. They draw on Freud (1913) and Merton (1976) to articulate how ambivalence may be relevant to understanding intergenerational relations. For example, Freud used ambivalence to interpret the psychodynamics between son and father within family drama. He interpreted the son as both loving and hating his father, both seeking his advice and resenting parental control. Freud then went on to widen the perspective as a cultural phenomenon in which positive and negative feelings are present simultaneously. In reading Merton's (1976) analyses of sociological ambivalence, they suggest

that ambivalence is increasingly apparent when the social structural arrangement mitigates attempts to negotiate family relationships. For example, when women have societal pressures to care, they are more likely than men to experience ambivalence. Thus, women must negotiate and renegotiate their situations; ambivalence is created by competing demands on their time to manage work, family, and caring. According to Connides and McMullin (2002) intergenerational familial relations are inherently ambivalent and contain both solidarity and conflict.

Another concept used to articulate generational solidarity and conflict is "*Generational Intelligence*". Biggs & Lowenstein (2013) coin the concept "*Generational Intelligence*" to generate discussion and awareness around the social, economic, cultural, and political values of different generational cohorts. They discuss how different forms of information are available and can be collected to make sense of the world. Biggs and Lowenstein (2013) elaborate on two ways of using the term 'intelligence'. In the context of generations, the first use may include the expectations about generation-related behavior and the cultural shortcuts that are used to make sense of age and generational distinctions. In other words, intelligence about age and generation are a guide to interpreting age-appropriate conduct. The second use of generational intelligence is to work 'intelligently' with the data observed or researched. Biggs suggests seeing intergenerational relations 'intelligently' to draw out how social imaginaries have been generationally constructed (Biggs et al., 2011, p. 12). Ultimately, Biggs & Lowenstein (2013) argue for the need to build "*Generational Consciousness*" to mitigate conflict, enhance solidarity, and strengthen private (family) solidarity.

While these ideas have not been widely empirically tested they offer constructive insight into new and innovative ways to discuss intergenerational relations. This helps provide a

backdrop to the debate and provides insight into the tensions, understandings, and experience of the imagined and unimagined realities of intergenerational conflict/solidarity. They highlight the complexity and ongoing discussions needed in relation to intergenerational relations, a key facet and component of this dissertation and something examined further in Paper One (Chapter Four).

Age Stratification, Age and Stage-Based Assumptions, Ageism

This section appraises how age-segregation/stratification, age, and age-based assumptions are broadly constructed, understood, and intersect with intergenerational relations. These set of ideas are crucial, as they shape the ideas surrounding conflict, solidarity, and ambivalence. These ideas are an essential part of understanding intergenerational knowledge and the rest of this dissertation.

Age Stratification

Riley's (1972) Age Stratification Theory suggests that relations between older and younger people in society changes social relationships and produces inequities between these 'strata'. Though it may seem obvious now with our awareness of ageism, age stratification theorists were the first to suggest that members of society might be stratified by age, just as they are stratified by race, class, and gender. Because age serves as social grouping, different age groups will have access to social resources at varying degrees, and this includes political or economic influence. Age segregation, stratification, and spatial segregation by age occurs when individuals of different ages do not occupy the same space and hence cannot engage in face-to-face interaction (Hagestad & Uhlenberg, 2005). A version of spatial segregation occurs in intentionally age-homogeneous locations, such as nursing homes, assisted living facilities, retirement homes, and retirement communities. Additionally, colleges or

universities are typically very age-singular places. Institutional and spatial separation by age is reflected and reproduced in cultural contrasts. Within societies, behavioral age norms, including norms about roles and appropriate behavior, dictate what members of age cohorts may reasonably do (Riley et al., 1972). For example, it might be considered deviant for an older woman to wear a bikini because it violates norms denying the sexuality of older people. These norms are specific to each age 'strata', developing from culturally based ideas about how people should 'act their age' (Griffiths et al., 2017). Ideas about aging and late life are thus understood in Social Gerontology to be socially constructed (Estes et al., 2003). The idea of age and stage-based assumptions bring forward social expectations/assumptions based on health, illness, and function.

Construction of Age and Age/Stage-Based Models

Age categorization is a characteristic that society, policy makers, and individuals use to make judgments, for example the right to vote and passage to adulthood, retirement, and pension benefits (Bytheway, 2011). This creates and fosters what Townsend (1981) refers to as structural dependency. This idea outlines that the dependency is manufactured, through pension policies and the removal from labour markets. As noted by Bytheway (2011) and Baars (2010), chronological age and time are used to separate a person's ability/position in society and become deeply embedded in our understanding of age and later life. The life course and the transitions through which experiences are understood to unfold are marked by age and stage assumptions that could create expectations and sociocultural assumptions of later life. Age and stage-based models have been challenged on several fronts, including the complex relationships between the body, psychological, social, and cultural aspects of aging over time (Grenier, 2012). Social categories such as chronological age are considered to have

cultural effects that require revisiting the vast heterogeneity of age groups in a contemporary context.

Ageism

Ageism is an example of the problems or conflicts that can arise from an age-stratified or age-and-stage based structure for aging and the life course. In 1989, Butler defined ageism as "*A systematic stereotyping of discrimination against people because they are old, just as racism and sexism accomplish this with skin color and gender*" (Butler, 1989, p. 139). Butler went on to state that older people were "*Categorized as senile, rigid in thought and manner, old fashioned in morality and skills*" (Butler, 1989, p. 139). They also noted that the younger generation saw themselves as different, and that "*They subtly cease to identify with their elders as human beings*" (Butler, 1989, p. 139). Butler's original definition referred to discrimination experienced by older people and often alluded to it being enacted by younger people, referencing tensions across age groups. However, the literature since, outlines that ageism is not confined to one group of individuals, nor was limited to conflict between the young and old. Palmore (1990) stated, for example, that although many definitions referred to older people, ageism can occur across the lifespan.

Bytheway and Johnson (1990) developed a systems-level definition, which drew on structure alongside the more traditional knowledge of discrimination on the grounds of age and perceptions of later life. They stated: *"1. Ageism is a set of beliefs originating in the biological variation between people and relating to the ageing process. 2. It is the actions of corporate bodies, what is said and done by their representatives, and the resulting views that are held by ordinary ageing people, that ageism is made manifest" (*For full definition see Bytheway & Johnson, 1990, p. 14*).* This definition

moved away from age categorization and divisions between young and older groups, to systems, relationships, and interactions. The notion of institutional ageism was supported by Palmore (1990), and it was hypothesized that institutionalization of age was threaded throughout society (Levy & Banaji, 2004; Nelson, 2005).

The concept of ageism is multifaceted, complex, and concerned with origins in evolutionary ideals, prejudice, culture, systems, structure, appearance, physical, and cognitive decline, and age. Issues of ageism have been considered at social, cultural, and institutional levels. Researchers have argued that ageism is exacerbated by 1) social policy (Biggs, 2007; Bytheway & Johnson, 1990), 2) the obsession with youthful appearance (Allen, Cherry & Palmore, 2009), 3) cultural attitudes towards age (Gullette, 2004; Calasanti, 2008) and 4) cultural behaviours (Calasanti et al., 2007). Where Bytheway (2011) would note that age-based assumptions produce and sustain ageist beliefs, Gullette (2004) would argue people are 'aged by culture'. Calasanti (2007) analyzed websites that depicted anti-aging products and found that the sites allowed the legitimatization of ageism, based on the visible characteristics of aging, and found the power of being young was emphasized and aging was a 'disease'. Predominately used by younger generations, social media has been found to play a critical role in promoting ageism (Higgs & Gilleard, 2015). Older people can internalize ageist beliefs and begin to believe and behave as though they are no longer 'independent', 'healthy', and 'vibrant' people (Levy, 2009). Older people exposed to negative age stereotypes in laboratory studies demonstrated worse memory, handwriting, and self-confidence and have appeared to age instantly— moving in a stereotypically older manner (Levy & Banaji, 2004; Meisner, 2012). These are examples of stereotype embodiment (Levy, 2009), which propose that ageist

stereotypes are internalized across the life course, influence older adults' self-perceptions of aging, and are embodied, often unconsciously, in their behavior, functioning, and health.

Ageist beliefs are commonplace today and seem like the last acceptable form of prejudice and discrimination. Calasanti (2007) has suggested that this is due, in part, because ageism is expected or natural. Something that isn't intended to be questioned. All prejudice relies on 'othering', and difference rather than sameness. Yet, in the case of ageism, the 'other', is everybody. If fortunate enough, all individuals will be old. These ageist narratives raise concerns about the creation and reinforcement of intergenerational conflict with intergenerational learning programs called to provide a setting for mediation, renegotiation, and bonding. Aging has been traditionally dominated by the 'biomedical model' and has been viewed through the lens of decline, disengagement, disease, and illness or as Higgs and Gilleard (2010) refer to as the 'Alzheimerization' of aging. Scholars have argued that these narratives tend to act and are viewed as personality homogenizers, as though at some point people lose their individuality and fall into a single category: old. In addition to these elements, in the field of aging, age-based divisions are most known as the third age (65-75) and the fourth age (75 and over). These were used in a way to combat homogenization and to differentiate between a 'younger' subgroup (characterized by 'health', activity, deny 'signs of aging') of the older population than those that are slightly 'older' (characterized by 'expected decline, focus on adaption' illness and disease). Rowe and Kahn's work (1998) sought to combat myths of aging with their 'Successful Aging' framework that suggests a minimization of declines in physical and cognitive health, or in social connections—ultimately arguing that "*changes in lives and changes in social structures are fundamentally independent*"

and thus neglecting "*the dependence of successful aging upon structural opportunities*" (Rowe & Kahn, 1998, p. 151). Although embraced as an optimistic approach to measuring life satisfaction and as a challenge to ageist traditions based on decline, 'successful aging' has also invited considerable critical responses around ideas of individual choice and lifestyle, and inattention to intersecting issues of social inequality, health disparities, and age relations (Katz & Calasanti, 2015). Despite the academic and practical challenges of chronological age, intergenerational knowledge and practice continue to be rooted and conceptualized in age- and stage-based thinking through generational cohorts and design.

As noted by Baars (2010), the issue at stake is not whether chronological time, generation or age should be abandoned, that would ultimately neglect the role it has to play in every empirical study, also of the aging processes. They suggest that an overemphasis on chronological time is what leads to ageism; he argues that the precision of chronological time would not in itself give a solid foundation to the study of aging. The question as Baars (2010) and Bytheway (2011) suggest, is how to approach these themes to get a better understanding of the aging process. This section of this chapter has outlined the background knowledge surrounding how general ideas of conflict/solidarity, age-based assumptions, language, and ageism, inform intergenerational landscapes and consequently the rest of this dissertation.

Intergenerational Learning, Programming, and Practice

In this section I will discuss ideas and definitions of intergenerational learning, including the importance of intergenerational contact that inform several practices, programming, and policies (e.g., "*Aging in Place"* and *"Age-friendly City*" initiatives, Government of Canada, 2020).

This section also focuses on situating the intergenerational relations in learning and practice, with hopes to provide a general understanding of the state of the literature.

Intergenerational Learning

Intergenerational learning refers to "the way that people of all ages can learn together and from each other; where the generations work together to gain skills, values and knowledge" (Newman & Hatton, 2008, p. 31). Newman and Hatton Yeo (2008), main proponents of intergenerational learning with a focus on later life, define intergenerational learning as:

> Intergenerational learning could arise in any range of contexts in which young people and elderly people come together in a shared activity...it takes place within programs…when - At least two non-adjacent generations learn together about each other; two different age groups share learning experiences and training activities; is – bi-directional …empowering…and must be reciprocal. (p. 32)

In a first phase of research on intergenerational learning carried out in the 1980s and 90s, the focus of intergenerational learning and knowledge was on transfer within the family. A concept of 'genealogical generations' was applied to learning processes among parents, grandparents and children. In accordance with that line of research, educational programs were conceptualized to prepare grandparents for their learning and teaching duties within the family (Barranti, 1985). During the 1990s, a theme emerged in educational gerontology concerning learning and training across the individual lifespan, which eventually became known as the concept of lifelong learning. Within this framework pioneers such as Glendenning (1991, 1997, 2000, 2001) and Formosa (2002, 2012), focused on attempts to develop theory in educational gerontology and modes of learning, often referring to the perils of intergenerational learning and its value in understanding relations. In the field of

youth and child development, Kaplan et al., (1998), Kenner et al., (2007), and Kuehne & Melville (2014) have also viewed the concept of intergenerational learning as being highly related to lifelong learning since it enables individuals to access learning experiences throughout their lifespan and build on intergenerational relations.

Intergenerational learning has been discussed and authors often amalgamate intergenerational learning with practice and situate intergenerational learning as a phenomenon that only occurs across two non-adjacent generations (Kuehne & Melville, 2014). They further elaborate on their reasoning that non-adjacent generations are the most likely to have the least contact and most conflict due to age and spatial segregation (Kuehne & Melville, 2014). For the purposes of this dissertation, when referring to intergenerational learning, the transmission of formal and informal social, behavioural, and educational knowledge among generations is considered.

Programming and Practice

In North America, the term 'intergenerational programming' is used to refer to activities or programs which Kuehne & Kaplan, 2001 coin as:

Increase cooperation, interaction, and exchange between people of different generations enabling them to share their talents and resources and support each other in relationships that benefit both the individual and their community. (p. 1)

Many intergenerational programs aspire to lessen negative stereotypes prevalent in our youth-oriented culture while simultaneously promoting 'active aging' within community organizations (Ayala et al., 2007; Mannion, 2012). The National Council on Aging defines these intergenerational practices as "activities that increase cooperation and exchange between any two age groups" (Kuehne & Melville, 2014). They typically involve "interaction

between the old and the young in which there is a sharing of skills, knowledge, and experiences" (Chamberlain et al., 1994, p. 197 as seen in Kuehne & Melville, 2014). Generations United adds that such programs are "the purposeful bringing together of different generations in ongoing planned activities designed to achieve the development of new relationships as well as specified program goals" (Short-DeGraf & Diamond, 1996, p. 468 as seen in Kuehne & Melville, 2014). The most common of these practices and topics is digital literacy; ICT is seen as a domain of the younger generations, also addressed as 'digital natives' (Hatton-Yeo, 2007). Teaching older generations how to use computers or the Internet seems to be a widespread aim of an intergenerational learning program.

More recently, intergenerational co-housing has become more widely known as an example of intergenerational programming and has been suggested to hold similar properties to co-housing for older people. According to Puplampu et al., (2020), "*Co-Housing is an intentional community and a private living arrangement jointly planned, developed, built, owned, and managed by the residents to meet their living needs*" (p.14). Co-housing has been shown to improve quality of life and suggests that older people experience various emotional, social, and physical benefits (Puplampu et a., 2020). There is no clear definition as to what *intergenerational* co-housing is, other than 'older adults who live in communities that promote ties with younger generations' (Suleman & Bhatia, 2021, p. 171) Several intergenerational programs exist worldwide and reviews/ meta-analyses on the topic of intergenerational housing and programming are limited, one systematic review compared seven studies on intergenerational programs, five of which showed mixed or positive outcomes for older people and described that loneliness can be alleviated, through increased intergenerational socialization (Suleman & Bhatia, 2021, p. 171).

The concept of learning is embedded within practice creating challenges in defining intergenerational relations. Intergenerational learning is more than just a facet of intergenerational relationships. Definitions written above, describe learning within a program, suggesting that intergenerational learning only occur in formal practice settings i.e., intergenerational learning only occurs when an activity is present, such as ICT. However, intergenerational learning occurs on many occasions, within and without formal activities. On the one hand, practice enables the intergenerational transmission of knowledge, skills, competencies, attitudes, and habits across age groups (Baily, 2009). On the other side, intergenerational learning opens space for generational consciousness and intelligence (Biggs & Lowenstein, 2013). Therefore, intergenerational learning is related to intergenerational relationships in different ways: as relationships of generations that form these learning environments and their interaction as learners, and as those that can be changed through the learning processes. These ideas will be explored further in the next section of this chapter and in Chapter Four (Paper One).

Intergenerational Relations, Encounters, and Relationality

In this section I will evaluate how relations, experiences, and their intersections are explored in the literature. The ideas laid out here shape most of our understandings around intergenerational knowledge in the context of Social Gerontology. I discuss intergenerational relations and frame relations and encounters in our contemporary context.

Intergenerational Encounters and Relations

Scholarship in recent years has turned to concepts such as intergenerational relationships, encounters, and relationality to better understand interactions between generations and ideas of conflict and solidarity (Lowenstein, 2007). Intergenerational relationships are broadly

defined and intersecting with various other concepts across the field of Social Gerontology. In its simplest form, Hopkins et al., (2011): "Intergenerational relations refer to the ties between individuals or groups of different ages"(p. *5)*. Two major theoretical traditions inform the scholarship on intergenerational relations. One assumes conflict and is dominant in psychodynamic thinking and in European sociology (Biggs, 2007). The other arises primarily from North American studies of the family that began with an assumption of solidarity between generations (Lowenstein, 2007; Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997). Specifically, Bengtson and his colleagues (Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997) suggest a multidimensional construct of solidarity as the theoretical framework within which to view intergenerational relations. While the two concepts interact, there is an ongoing debate between both models and the existence of inherent ambivalence as mentioned in the previous section (Bengtson et al., 2002; Bengtson & Oyama, 2012; Connidis & McMullin, 2002). Although solidarity, conflict and ambivalence have been major proponents of how relations have been understood, they have been primarily conceptualized with reference only to family models.

Stemming from debates in Social Gerontology, Biggs & Lowenstein (2013) with their work on *Generational Intelligence*, attempt to understand relations between adult groups of different ages, in the context of social problems such as solidarity, ageism, conflict, and elder abuse. Their work highlights the psycho-social relations between generations, defined as the ability to be reflective and develop conscious awareness about one's position in the life course, awareness of other generations in the family, and awareness about cohorts and the social climate within which one is embedded in (Biggs, Haapala & Lowenstein, 2011). The *Generational Intelligence* lens (discussed in the context of conflict and solidarity in the previous

sections) is also described as a means of interpreting the degree of empathy arising between generational groups (Biggs et al., 2011, Biggs & Lowenstein, 2013).

Aging Relationalities

The need to understand how interpersonal and extrafamilial characteristics influence intergenerational relationships, learning, and practice is becoming increasingly evident. Research into different aspects of intergenerational realities continues to develop at a considerable pace as the benefits for individuals, for communities, and for society in general become more apparent (Biggs, 2007; Bengston & Oyama, 2010; Lowenstein, 2007). Biggs and Lowenstein's (2013) ground-breaking work focused on intergenerational encounters, learning, and practice, and has implications for public intergenerational ties that extend beyond the meso level of family. For example, research on ageism in the workplace documents negative views and conflict about older workers as well as discriminatory behavior toward them, through harassment and withholding opportunities in the workplace, expulsion (lay-offs, job loss, forced retirement), or exclusion (favoring younger workers when hiring) (Tempest, 2003).

As Findsen and Formosa (2011) have pointed out, although intergenerational encounters have enormous potential for the future of aging research in the light of global demographic trends, several challenges remain. One, being the shortage of conceptual understandings and specialized evaluations of developing programs and two, the acknowledgment of different experiences of relations which may be vastly different. Even though the idea of bringing different generations together in a program sounds like a great idea, the broad range of scenarios given the label 'intergenerational' comes with highly diverse challenges. The definitions and conceptualizations as presented are often entangled in its applied form with

both practice and relations. Thus, mapping out the development of intergenerational contexts across relations, learning, and practice would make an important contribution to aging landscapes. If the dynamics of these interactions are called to combat ageism and redefine generational cohorts, then conceptual understanding of intergenerational connection could be essential in our contemporary climate. In the next section, I will detail how, in a contemporary context, intergenerational encounters and relations have increased tremendously. The suggestion is that it is now time to take advantage of this growing capacity and to use it to engage in (re)constructing our understandings of intergenerational knowledge.

Contemporary landscapes

There is a need to better understand intergenerational conflict and solidarity in a contemporary context of neoliberal policies, the decline of public social commitments, non-traditional family structures, gender disparities, ageism, and migration (Grenier et al., 2017). For example, marriage and families have been "deinstitutionalized," and the social norms that once governed the expectations and obligations of individuals and families have weakened and/or changed (Connides, 2014). The "traditional" long-lived nuclear family is but a small part of the larger picture. The wide variety of family (and family-like) configurations and relationships today is driven by myriad factors, including serial divorces and remarriage across generations, non-marital childbearing among others (Connides, 2014). Moreover, the geographic mobility of immediate family members due to globalization create new challenges for families regarding the maintenance of structure and function (Bernard & Scharf, 2007). Thus, there is more diversity in culture, dominant societal norms, and

narratives in place, that can obscure from the classic familial solidarity/conflict model. More specifically, there is shift away from heteronormative nuclear families (Binnie & Klesse, 2012). Grandparents, for example, stereotypically conjure up images of kind, gray-haired people who exist solely to dote on their grandchildren (Kenner et al., 2007; Martinsons & Minkler, 2006). For many, however, nothing can be further from the truth. Due to the contemporary climate, Grandparents may be doing paid work or giving up paid work to help care, so that the parents can work. Conversely, geographical distances and increased family separation may mean that some grandchildren experience little or no relationship with their grandparents. Grandparents may not want to become child carers and vice versa, even if they can (Kenner et al., 2007; Martinsons & Minkler, 2006; Palmore, 2005; Tarrant, 2010).

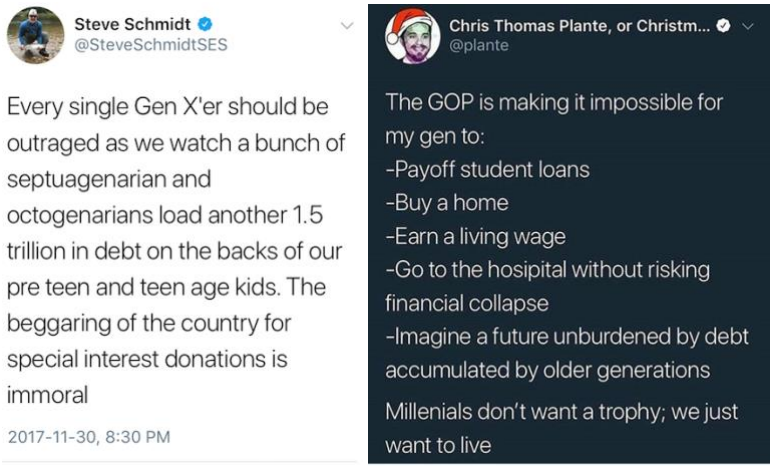
The whole notion of intergenerational conflict —the "baby boomers stealing our money"—plays well in popular press discourse (Macnicol, 2015; Mason, 2015). As Moody (2007) noted "The notion of generational equity and…conflict become prominent at those

times in history when the fate of future generations appear to be at risk" (p. 126). The 'generational conflict' has been discussed in the press and has even been the subject of discussion across the world (See Figure 1& 2). Even in the context of COVID-19, there have been numerous encounters of narratives of conflict or attempts to bate older people against younger people (WHO, 2021). With the 'win' vs. 'lose' mentality (i.e., old take from young and vice versa) advertising companies and marketing teams maximize and exacerbate such differences (Duffy, 2021; Elliott, 2022; North & Fiske, 2012). Mirroring 'the ageing enterprise' (Estes, 1993), the mass media and the government have thus a vast commercial interest in maintaining conflict, for example, through magazines and television programs that target specific age groups and emphasize their distinctiveness. On the same note, by

reinforcing 'conflict' the debate and provision of intergenerational equity gets shifted towards and among cohorts rather than state provision. Thus, 'pinning' one cohort against the other places less accountability on government bodies (Elliott, 2022; Walker, 2012). However, the importance here is that the contemporary popular imagination, reflected in the news and social media, has accepted this concept of intergenerational conflict, and is acting on it (Elliott, 2022). The investigation on negativity and tension between generations is thus timely since it could have an impact on active citizenship and participation (Elliott, 2022).

Intergenerational knowledge hails the task to encourage membership and participation and serve to build solidarity, equity, mutual dependence, understanding, and cooperation. Importantly, it gives rise to a more mutual approach to intergenerational encounters and is a reflective and consciousness building idea. Current understandings of conflict, solidarity, and ambivalence require revisiting and a more reflexive understanding of how modern society has evolved and is ever changing intergenerational landscapes.

Figure 1. & Figure 2: Examples of Conflict



Moving Forward

Amidst a global demographic shift resulting from increasing longevity and low birth rates, life spans have nearly doubled in the last century due to advances in science, sanitation, and safety. If people are living longer, with even more 'adult' years, and if the adult developmental process involves change, then it is possible that the concept of what it is to 'do' or 'be' intergenerational will need to be revisited. For forms of intergenerational knowledge to be fully understood, it is necessary to consider factors relating to the nature of the individuals themselves and the structures within which they operate (Biggs, 2007). There is a call to further evaluate models of development and integrate ideas that account for dynamic shifts, heterogeneity, and conceptualizations. In alignment with Ettarh's (2018) concept of vocational awe, where libraries as institutions are believed to be inherently good and sacred, and therefore exempt from critique, in a similar way, scholarship on intergenerational relations tend to be laudatory rather than critical. In Chapter Four, and the papers to follow, I will be moving towards an integrated evaluation of the current understandings of intergenerational knowledge. I will suggest a new language and theoretical orientation for understanding the vast field of intergenerational knowledge, something that hasn't been done comprehensively before. By investigating the intricate theoretical frameworks of intergenerational knowledge and further integrating critical perspectives from Social Gerontology, I will synthesize an overarching conceptualization to initiate conversations on how challenges experienced in contemporary society can influence our understandings of relations, encounters, and intergenerational knowledge. In the next chapter, I will explore the theories, methodology, and methods used in this dissertation. The intent of the next chapter is to provide a broader view of the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of the chapters and papers to follow.

References

Allen, P. D., Cherry, K. E., & Palmore, E. (2009). Self-reported ageism in social work practitioners and students. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, *52*(2), 124-134. https://doi.org/10.1080/01634370802561927

Ayala, J. S., Hewson, J. A., Bray, D., Jones, G., & Hartley, D. (2007). Intergenerational programs: Perspectives of service providers in one Canadian city. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, *5*(2), 45-60. https://doi.org/10.1300/J194v05n02_04

Baars, J. (2010). Time and ageing: Enduring and emerging issues. In D. Dannefer, and C. Phillipson (Eds.), International Handbook of Social Gerontology (pp. 367-76). New York and London: SAGE Publishers. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446200933.n28

Baily, C. (2009). Reverse intergenerational learning: a missed opportunity?. *Ai & Society*, *23*(1), 111-115. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00146-007-0169-3

Barranti, C. C. R. (1985). The grandparent/grandchild relationship: Family resource in an era of voluntary bonds. *Family Relations*, 343-352. https://doi.org/10.2307/583572

Bengtson, V., Giarrusso, R., Mabry, J. B., & Silverstein, M. (2002). Solidarity, conflict, and ambivalence: Complementary or competing perspectives on intergenerational relationships?. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 568-576. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2002.00568.x

Bengtson, V. L., & Oyama, P. S. (2007). Intergenerational solidarity: Strengthening economic and social ties. *New York: United Nations Headquarters*. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230115484_3

Bengtson, V. L., & Oyama, P. S. (2010). Intergenerational solidarity and conflict. In *Intergenerational Solidarity* (pp. 35-52). Palgrave Macmillan US. https://doi.org/10.1891/9780826129437

Bengtson, V. L., & Settersten Jr, R. (Eds.). (2016). *Handbook of theories of aging*. Springer Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.46692/9781847422392

Bernard, M., & Scharf, T. (Eds.). (2007). *Critical perspectives on ageing societies*. Policy Press.

Biggs, S. (2007). Thinking about generations: Conceptual positions and policy implications. *Journal of Social Issues*, *63*(4), 695-711. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2007.00531.x

Biggs, S., & Lowenstein, A. (2013). *Generational Intelligence: a critical approach to age relations*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203827918

Biggs, S., Haapala, I., & Lowenstein, A. (2011). Exploring generational intelligence as a model for examining the process of intergenerational relationships. *Ageing & Society*, *31*(7), 1107-1124. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X10000978

Binnie, J., & Klesse, C. (2012). Solidarities and tensions: Feminism and transnational LGBTQ politics in Poland. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, *19*(4), 444-459. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506812466610

Binstock, R. H. (2010). From compassionate ageism to intergenerational conflict?. *The Gerontologist*, *50*(5), 574-585. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnq056

Butler, R. N. (1989). Dispelling ageism: The cross-cutting intervention. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *503*(1), 138-147. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716289503001011

Bytheway, B. (2011). *Unmasking age: The significance of age for social research*. Policy Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt9qgkqj

Bytheway, B., & Johnson, J. (1990). On defining ageism. *Critical Social Policy*, *10*(29), 27-39. https://doi.org/10.1177/026101839001002902

Calasanti, T. (2007). Bodacious berry, potency wood and the aging monster: Gender and age relations in anti-aging ads. *Social forces*, *86*(1), 335-355. https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2007.0091

Calasanti, T. (2008). A feminist confronts ageism. *Journal of aging studies*, *22*(2), 152-157. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaging.2007.12.009

Calasanti, T., Slevin, K. F., & King, N. (2006). Ageism and feminism: From" et cetera" to center. *NWSA journal*, 13-30. https://doi.org/10.2979/NWS.2006.18.1.13

Canadian Cohousing Network. (2017). *Building community with cohousing*. Retrieved from http://cohousing.ca//

Canada, E. A. S. D. (2020). *Government of Canada — Action for Seniors report – Canada.ca*. Government of Canada. https://www.canada.ca/en/employment-social-development/programs/seniors-action-report.html

Connidis, I. A. (2014). Age relations and family ties over the life course: Spanning the macro–micro divide. *Research in Human Development*, *11*(4), 291-308. https://doi.org/10.1080/15427609.2014.967050

Connidis, I. A., & McMullin, J. A. (2002). Sociological ambivalence and family ties: A critical perspective. *Journal of marriage and family*, *64*(3), 558-567. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2002.00558.x

Duffy, B. (2021). *The generation myth why when youre born matters less than you think*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Elliott, R. (2022). The 'Boomer remover': Intergenerational discounting, the coronavirus and climate change. *The Sociological Review*, *70*(1), 74-91. https://doi.org/10.1177/00380261211049023

Estes, C. L. (1993). The aging enterprise revisited. *The gerontologist*, *33*(3), 292-298. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/33.3.292

Estes, C., Biggs, S., & Phillipson, C. (2003). *Social theory, social policy, and ageing: A critical introduction: Critical perspectives*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).

Ettarh, F. (2018). Vocational awe and librarianship: The lies we tell ourselves. I*n the Library with the Lead Pipe*. Retrieved from http://www.inthelibrarywiththeleadpipe.org/2018/vocational-awe/.

Findsen, B., & Formosa, M. (2011). Rationales for older adult learning. In *Lifelong Learning in Later Life* (pp. 89-101). SensePublishers. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6091-651-9_8

Foot, D. K., & Venne, R. A. (2004). Awakening to the intergenerational equity debate in Canada. *Journal of Canadian Studies*, *39*(1), 5-22. https://doi.org/10.3138/jcs.39.1.5

Formosa, M. (2002). Critical gerogogy: Developing practical possibilities for critical educational gerontology.

Formosa, M. (2012). Education and older adults at the University of the Third Age. *Educational Gerontology*, *38*(2), 114-126. https://doi.org/10.1080/03601277.2010.515910

Freud, S. (1913). Le début du traitement. *La technique psychanalytique*, 80-104.

Glendenning, F. (1990). What is the future of educational gerontology. *Ageing & Society*, *11*(2), 209-216.

Glendenning, F. (1997). Why educational gerontology is not yet established as a field of study: some critical implications. *Education and Ageing*, *12*, 82-91. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X00004013

Glendenning, F. (2001). Education for older adults. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *20*(1-2), 63-70. https://doi.org/10.1080/02601370010008255

Glendenning, F. (Ed..). (2000). *Teaching and learning in later life: Theoretical implications*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company.

Glendenning, F., & Battersby, D. (1990). Educational gerontology and education for older adults: a statement of first principles. *Australian Journal of Adult and Community Education*, *30*(1), 38-44.

Government of Canada (2020). Intergenerational Connections – Province of British Columbia. Retrieved 11 October 2019, from https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/family-social-supports/seniors/health-safety/active-aging/intergenerational-connections

Grenier, A. (2007). Crossing age and generational boundaries: Exploring intergenerational research encounters. *Journal of Social Issues*, *63*(4), 713-727. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2007.00532.x

Grenier, A. (2012). *Transitions and the Lifecourse: Challenging the Constructions of'growing Old'*. Policy Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1t89dvf

Grenier, A., Phillipson, C., Rudman, D. L., Hatzifilalithis, S., Kobayashi, K., & Marier, P. (2017). Precarity in late life: Understanding new forms of risk and insecurity. *Journal of Aging Studies*, *43*, 9-14. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaging.2017.08.002

Griffith, K., Evans, L., & Bor, J. (2017). The Affordable Care Act reduced socioeconomic disparities in health care access. *Health Affairs*, *36*(8), 1503-1510. https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2017.0083

Gullette, M. M. (2004). *Aged by culture*. University of Chicago Press.

Hagestad, G. O., & Uhlenberg, P. (2005). The social separation of old and young: A root of ageism. *Journal of social issues*, *61*(2), 343-360. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2005.00409.x

Hatton-Yeo, A. (2007). Ageing and social policy: a report for volunteering in the third age.

Higgs, P., & Gilleard, C. (2010). Generational conflict, consumption, and the ageing welfare state in the United Kingdom. *Ageing & Society*, *30*(8), 1439-1451. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X10000425

Higgs, P., & Gilleard, C. (2015). *Rethinking old age: Theorising the fourth age*. Macmillan International Higher Education. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-38400-3

Hopkins, P., Olson, E., Pain, R., & Vincett, G. (2011). Mapping intergenerationalities: the formation of youthful religiosities. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *36*(2), 314-327. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2010.00419.x

Kaplan, M., Kusano, A., Tsuji, I., & Hisamichi, S. (1998). *Intergenerational programs: Support for children, youth, and elders in Japan*. SUNY Press.

Katz, S., & Calasanti, T. (2015). Critical perspectives on successful aging: Does it "appeal more than it illuminates"?. *The Gerontologist*, *55*(1), 26-33. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnu027

Kenner, C., Ruby, M., Jessel, J., Gregory, E., & Arju, T. (2007). Intergenerational learning between children and grandparents in East London. *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, *5*(3), 219-243. https://doi.org/10.1177/1476718X07080471

Kuehne, V. S., & Melville, J. (2014). The state of our art: A review of theories used in intergenerational program research (2003–2014) and ways forward. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, *12*(4), 317-346. https://doi.org/10.1080/15350770.2014.958969

Kuehne, V., & Kaplan, M. (2001). Evaluation and research on intergenerational shared site facilities and programs: What we know and what we need to learn. *Generations United background paper. Project SHARE. Washington, DC: Generations United*.

Levy, B. (2009). Stereotype embodiment: A psychosocial approach to aging. *Current directions in psychological science*, *18*(6), 332-336. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8721.2009.01662.x

Levy, B. R., & Banaji, M. (2004). Implicit ageism In Nelson TD (Ed.), Ageism: Stereotyping and prejudice against older persons (pp. 49–75).

Lowenstein, A. (2007). Intergenerational solidarity: strengthening economic and social ties. *Background paper, Department of Economic and Social Affairs Division for Social Policy and Development. New York: United Nations Headquarters.*

Mannheim, K. (1952). The problem of generations. *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 276-322.

Macnicol, J. (2015). Intergenerational Equity: historical reconstructions. In *Challenges of Aging* (pp. 229-249). Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137283177_12

Mannion, G. (2012). Intergenerational education: The significance of reciprocity and place. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, *10*(4), 386-399. https://doi.org/10.1080/15350770.2012.726601

Martinson, M., & Minkler, M. (2006). Civic engagement and older adults: A critical perspective. *The Gerontologist*, *46*(3), 318-324. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/46.3.318

Mason, L. (2015). "I disrespectfully agree": The differential effects of partisan sorting on social and issue polarization. *American Journal of Political Science*, *59*(1), 128-145. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12089

Meisner, B. A. (2012). A meta-analysis of positive and negative age stereotype priming effects on behavior among older adults. *Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, *67*(1), 13-17.

Merton, R. K. (1976). *Sociological ambivalence and other essays*. Simon and Schuster.

Moody, H. R. (2007). Justice between generations: the recent history of an idea. *Critical perspectives on ageing societies*, 125-137. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt9qgpgh.15

Nelson, T. D. (2005). Ageism: Prejudice against our feared future self. *Journal of social issues*, *61*(2), 207-221. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2005.00402.x

Newman, S., & Hatton-Yeo, A. (2008). Intergenerational learning and the contributions of older people. *Ageing horizons*, *8*(10), 31-39.

North, M. S., & Fiske, S. T. (2012). An inconvenienced youth? Ageism and its potential intergenerational roots. *Psychological bulletin*, *138*(5), 982. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0027843

Oxford University Press. (2019) *Generational. Oxford English dictionary.* https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/258346?redirectedFrom=generational#eid

Palmore, E. (1990). Ageism: Negative and positive, Springer. *Series on Adulthood and Aging*.

Palmore, E. (2005). Three decades of research on ageism. *Generations*, *29*(3), 87-90.

Puplampu, V. A., Matthews, E., Puplampu, G., Gross, M., Pathak, S., & Peters, S. (2020). The impact of cohousing on older adults' quality of life. *Canadian Journal on Aging, 39*(3), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0714980819000448

Puplampu, V. A., Peters, S., & Chipanshi, M. (2020). A scoping review on the impact of cohousing on older adults' quality of life. *Perspectives: The Journal of the Gerontological Nursing Association, 41*(2),14–27. http://search.ebscohost.com.libproxy.uregina.ca/login.aspx?direct=true&db=rzh&AN=14 7865292&site=ehost-live

Riley, M. W., Johnson, M., & Foner, A. (Eds.). (1972). *Aging and society: A sociology of age stratification*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Ristau, S. (2010). People do need people: Social interaction boosts brain health in older age. *Generations*, *35*(2), 70-76.

Rowe, J. W., & Kahn, R. L. (1998). Successful aging. New York: Pantheon. *Social Networks*, *167*.

Silverstein, M., & Bengtson, V. L. (1997). Intergenerational solidarity and the structure of adult child-parent relationships in American families. *American journal of Sociology*, *103*(2), 429-60. https://doi.org/10.1086/231213

Tarrant, A. (2010). Constructing a social geography of grandparenthood: A new focus for intergenerationality. *Area*, *42*(2), 190-197. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2009.00920.x

Tempest, S. (2003). Intergenerational learning: A reciprocal knowledge development process that challenges the language of learning. *Management learning*, *34*(2), 181-200. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350507603034002002

Townsend, P. (1981). The structured dependency of the elderly: a creation of social policy in the twentieth century. *Ageing & Society*, *1*(1), 5-28. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X81000020

Walker, A. (2012). The new ageism. *The Political Quarterly*, *83*(4), 812-819. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-923X.2012.02360.x

Williamson, J. B., McNamara, T. K., & Howling, S. A. (2003). Generational equity, generational interdependence, and the framing of the debate over social security reform. *J. Soc. & Soc. Welfare*, *30*, 3.

Woodman, D. (2020). Generational change and intergenerational relationships in the context of the asset economy. *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory*, 1-15. https://doi.org/10.1080/1600910X.2020.1752275

World Health Organization. (2021). Global report on ageism. https://apo.org.au/node/311614

Chapter Three

Introducing the Theories, Methodology, and Methods

This chapter presents an overview of the theories, methodology, and methods of this dissertation. This dissertation uses a multi-method qualitative research design to examine older and younger people's understandings and negotiations of intergenerational relations in the context of co-housing. As such, this chapter provides the methodological background for participants perceptions and experiences, common themes, and commonalities or disruptions in individual interpretations. Each paper in this study outlines different methods that correspond with the overall study. At this point, I will provide a brief overview of the methods used in each paper. Chapter Four (Paper One) is a form of critical analysis of the conceptual frameworks that inform intergenerational knowledge. It synthesizes the foundational models with which intergenerational knowledge is understood, and which have come to inform the basis for policy and practice. Chapter Five, (paper two) consists of 19 semi-structured in-depth interviews. I used the interviews to explore older (n=10) and younger peoples (n=9) perceptions and experiences of intergenerationality, their understanding and negotiations of co-housing and intergenerational interaction. Chapter Six, (Paper Three) is based on my personal experience of managing an intergenerational co-housing project that also includes two (n=2) one-on-one interviews with key informants, my notes from interviewing participants, and my immersion into this community project. As there has been little research into the complex collective challenges surrounding co-housing, it was important to inquire more deeply into my own experience and two other members of

the same intergenerational co-housing project. The approach I take in this article can therefore be broadly characterized as 'autoethnographic'.

In this section, I explain the main premises of my positionality and theoretical framework with a focus specifically on critical realism that informed my research design (Archer, 2003). This chapter provides more information with regards to process, ontology, and positionality, that extends beyond Paper Two and Three. Following this, I outline the case study approach that facilitates the exploration of intergenerational co-housing by using multiple data sources within one project. I used a case study approach to gather data from one site and had a total of 21 participants. I conducted one-on-one interviews to incorporate participants perceptions and experiences, and to identify common themes, key commonalities and/or disruptions in individual interpretations. I then move on to describe the autoethnographic technique (Chang, 2013). An autoethnographic approach was used to expand on the stakeholder experience to investigate intergenerational relations in social context. I provide a profile of the project site, outline the procedures, and processes, recruitment, ethical guidelines and address my efforts to achieve theoretical saturation. This was crucial in understanding how broader social conditions framed experiences and how people understand intergenerational landscapes (See Chapter Four for further information on language related to intergenerational landscapes). I outline the data summary, the interview processes, the profiles of participants, and critically reflect on my position as a researcher, including the measures I took to ensure validity and reliability. Finally, I consider my positioning and include my past experiences, reflections on fieldwork, and power imbalances that arose during interviews—to provide a reflexive account of the research process. As I argue throughout this chapter, critical realism enabled me to develop rich conceptual

understandings of participants' experiences of co-housing and negotiations of intergenerational relations. The use of multiple methods increased my opportunity to recognize participants as active agents of their experience whilst understanding the broader contextual and structural dynamics at play. Darbyshire, MacDougall, and Shiller (2005) advise that multiple methods can result in more data than necessary and can be more challenging to manage. This was indeed the case with this dissertation, as discussed in Chapter Seven, the conclusion section of the dissertation. The benefit of employing these methods, however, provided a greater breadth of data and detail to analysis than would have otherwise been unavailable if employing a singular method.

As stated in the introduction, the questions that guided the study were:

> *Q1. What are the underlying conceptual assumptions and guiding frameworks of intergenerational knowledge?*
>
> *Q2. What are the perceived benefits/challenges of intergenerational relations and how do these vary/endure across social locations and contexts (such as age group and place)?*
>
> *Q3. How do contemporary dynamics influence intergenerational interaction and what ideas can be developed across generations to inform policy and programming?*

Research Design: A Critical Realist Case Study

Positionality: Critical Realism

Critical Realism (CR) is a stream of philosophical thought associated with the work of the British scholar Roy Bhaskar (1978, 1986). Critical realism is a meta-theory uniquely suited to investigate the complex nature of intergenerational landscapes given its unique approach to causality. Causality is conceptualized as being generative and contingent on the interaction

between structural (material), cultural (ideational), and personal (agentic) emergent properties (Archer, 2003). In critical realism, neither structure, culture, nor agents possess an intrinsic capacity for constraint; their properties may or may not result in particular outcomes since whether they do (or not) is always dependent upon the right spatial, temporal, and material interactions and conditions (Archer, 2003). In this sense, a causal mechanism is the interrelationship of emergent properties and their tendencies in a particular context. Causal mechanisms may exist independently and irrespectively of whether they produce an event or outcome that can be empirically experienced or observed. Critical realism holds that structure and culture condition human agency because the circumstances confronted by individuals are not of their own making (Grigorovich & Kontos, 2019). However, structure and culture are always considered to be the result of interaction. While structure and culture shape the situations that individuals encounter they do not predetermine their course of action. In critical realism, individuals are considered to generate novel, creative, and spontaneous responses to deal with structural and cultural constraints in the context of their engagement in specific projects that have personal value to them (Archer, 2003).

Retroduction is the central tool of critical realist inquiry. It means asking observed phenomena the question 'what must be true for this to be the case?' before abstracting potential causal mechanisms and seeking empirical evidence for the abstractions (Bhaskar, 1986). Smith and Elger (2014) note how scholars with a critical realist orientation acknowledge the importance of meaning construction and communication among people, "both as a topic of investigation and as an essential medium of research and theorizing" (p. 111). While this does mean the critical realist approach shares some similarities with social constructionism, they go on to note that its focus on the search for pre-existing structures

and an understanding of their impact on people suggests important differences. These responses can serve to reinforce or transform structure and culture. For this reason, 'internal conversations' – what Archer terms the reflexive interior dialogues through which agents reflect on and clarify their beliefs, deliberate their concerns, and construct schemes for future dialogue or action – are significant for the effects they produce (Archer, 2003). Critical realism is favoured over other philosophical approaches because it seeks to chart a course between the inherent empiricism of positivism and the discourse analysis found in social constructionism. Such an orientation is particularly important for gerontological studies and intergenerationality more specifically, seeing how focusing on just empiricism and/or discourse overlooks the fundamental need to explore both, a fluid and unstructured interaction of structure and agency (Grigorovich & Kontos, 2019).

This dissertation draws on critical realist approach. Easton (2010) has outlined how critical realism is a relatively new orientation that has been taken up in many disciplines including Sociology (Sayer, 2000; Layder, 1990), Criminology (Pawson & Tilley, 1997), Geography (Proctor, 1992; Yeung, 1997), Linguistics (Nellhaus, 1998), Social Work (Houston, 2001), Media studies (Lau, 2004), and Interdisciplinary Science (Dickens, 2003). In the case of intergenerational co-housing, critical realism offers insight into how older and younger people may navigate policy and programming, and in particular, the tension between agency and structural constraint. As Kontos and Poland (2009) argue, using critical realism to elucidate the complexity of the conditions of practice would help to successfully embed interventions, thereby ensuring greater impact and sustainability. It would also inform evaluation efforts in terms of analysis of how the interconnection of structural, agential, and

intervention elements facilitate and/or impede action or inaction related to research uptake (Kontos et al., 2011; Kontos & Poland, 2009).

Case Study Approach

This qualitative case study is an approach that facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data sources. This ensures that the topic is not explored through one lens, but rather a variety of lenses which allows for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood. There are two main approaches that guide case study methodology: one proposed by Robert Stake (1995) and the second by Robert Yin (2003, 2006). Both seek to ensure that the topic of interest is well explored, and that the essence of the phenomenon is revealed, but the methods that they each employ are somewhat different (Hafiz, 2008). Crabtree (1999) has noted that this paradigm:

> Recognizes the importance of the subjective human creation of meaning but doesn't reject outright some notion of objectivity. Pluralism, not relativism, is stressed with focus on the circular dynamic tension of subject and object. (p. 10)

One advantage of this approach is the close collaboration between the researcher and the participant, while enabling participants to tell their stories (Crabtree, 1999). Through these stories the participants can describe their views of reality, and this enables the researcher to better understand the participants' actions (Lather, 1992; Robottom & Hart, 1993). Stake (1995) uses three terms to describe case studies: intrinsic, instrumental, and collective. Stake (1995) would suggest that a collective case study is imperative when more than one case is being examined. The knowledge claims of case study research are often attacked on the

grounds of lack of generalisability. Yin (1989), in the first edition of his book on case research, suggests:

> The short answer is that case studies, like experiments, are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes. In this sense, the case study, like the experiment, does not represent a 'sample', and the goal is to thus expand and generalise theories (analytical generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization). (p. 21)

According to Yin (2003) a case study design should be considered when: (a) the focus of the study is to answer "how" and "why" questions; (b) you cannot manipulate the behaviour of those involved in the study; (c) you want to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant to the phenomenon under study; or (d) the boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and context. A case study of a co-housing program was chosen as the means to understand intergenerational interaction in the context of co-housing. It sought to determine the types of processes, experiences and interpretations made by people in this setting and the factors that influence them to take part. The case study approach became the methodology for exploring intergenerationality in co-housing from a critical realist perspective. As such, a co-housing project in Hamilton, Ontario provided the context and setting, or case, for understanding relationships and learning. It would have been impossible for to have a true picture of intergenerational relations without considering the context within which they occurred.

Establishing the Case Study of Co-Housing: Binding the Case

Binding the case ensured that the study remained reasonable in scope. Established boundaries helped ensure there was a concise definition of intergenerationality and co-housing. The boundaries indicate what would and would not be studied in the scope of this dissertation. The establishment of boundaries in this case study design is similar to the development of inclusion and exclusion criteria for sample selection in a quantitative study. The difference is that these boundaries also indicate the breadth and depth of the study and not simply the sample to be included. Creswell (2003) and Stake (1995) discuss how to bind a case which include: (a) by time and place (Creswell, 2003); (b) time and activity (Stake, 1995); and (c) by definition and context (Hafiz, 2008; Miles & Huberman, 1994). The process of 'binding the case' was crucial to exploring how participants came to the decision to be co-housed, how the participants are living, how they are making these decisions, and the period that they engaged in the process. This study focuses on one single case in Hamilton, Ontario, it holds potential relevance for understanding intergenerational relations in the context of co-housing.

Description of the Case Study Site

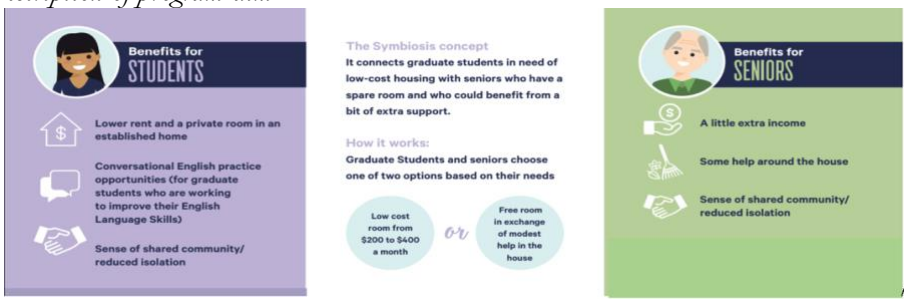
Symbiosis: An Intergenerational Co-Housing Project

The Symbiosis co-housing project started in 2016 by Dr. Soumeya Abed, a then post-doctoral fellow at McMaster University. Dr. Abed was inspired by her intergenerational co-housing experience in France and thought this type of program should exist in Canada. I joined the Symbiosis team in March 2018 after being approached by the lead of the project to take on the management and facilitation of the program while they were on leave. From

May 2018 to March 2020, I was tasked with coordinating the program. This provided me with the opportunity to understand co-housing in action, and to understand how intergenerational relations functioned within co-housing.

The stated objective of the program is to support a dynamic, collective intergenerational co-housing initiative that, in part, aims to enhance the social inclusion of seniors in the Greater Hamilton Area. The programs aim is to "connect students with seniors for a mutually beneficial co-housing relationship" (Symbiosis, 2018). The target population of Symbiosis is Hamilton seniors who have a spare, furnished room, with a want to share their space. It is aimed at both urban and rural Hamilton seniors and primarily graduate students at McMaster University. Although the program saw interest from undergraduate students, the size of the staff of Symbiosis meant that the program had to be targeted to a manageable group of graduate students. For older people, Symbiosis was intended to provide companionship, help around the home, support the inclusion of older people, and provide opportunities for seniors to 'age in place'. In this program, students offered basic help (company, grocery shopping, dog walking, meal preparation, etc.) in exchange for lower rent. Symbiosis aims to build social inclusion and give people the ability to age in place, it was also suggested that this program can cultivate empathy and understanding across generations, counter ageism, and foster intergenerational inclusion (see Figure 1).

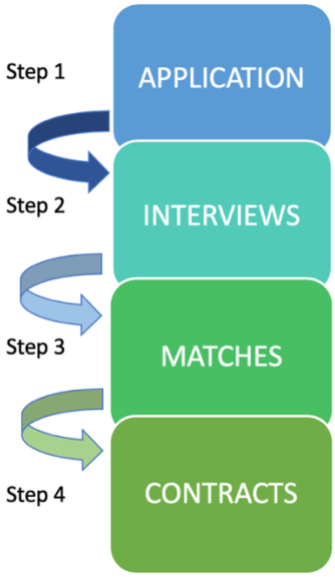
Figure 1: Description of program aim



The program processes

The program procedures of Symbiosis were relatively straightforward (see Figure 2). The team had created a detailed application form for both seniors and students that can be seen in Appendix One & Two at the end of the dissertation and is detailed below. The program was listed on the McMaster Graduate Association website, the McMaster Off-Campus housing website, and other community-based websites such as the Gilbrea Centre for Studies in Aging, Aging together in the Community and the Hamilton Council on Aging. Interested parties of seniors and students began by completing an application that identified motivating factors for participation. This form was sent to potential participants once they came into contact with the program via email, phone, or reference. Applications could be sent via email or could be completed over the phone or by means of a scheduled appointment. At this stage, program directors and liaisons (including myself) met one-on-one with both parties individually to provide a detailed program overview. The team ensured that needs and expectations were clear and mutually understood. Needs that were important to them, including: what gender people were comfortable co-housing with, proximity to the university, amount of rent, types of services students were expected to provide, or which services they needed. Expectations surrounding activities, such as scheduling dinner or how many meals are intended to be made together were also made. The team then scheduled a home visit with the senior. Once both parties have submitted application forms, have been interviewed, and a home visit has taken place, the team would review all data carefully and initiates a potential senior/student match.

Figure 2: Description of program process



The intent of the program was to facilitate an ideal match that met the desires and living habits of each participant. An ideal match isn't something standardized or measured, rather evaluated by the team on how well two or more people would co-live together. People who match and tick the same boxes, literally and figuratively. Once a potential match between senior and student was identified, the team organized a meeting wherein they discussed their potential co-housing relationship. If both parties decided to proceed, the team made final arrangements with each of the individuals in the potential match. An email would then be circulated or printed, with the finalized agreements and once approved – was signed by the potential match and a member of the team. At this stage, background checks, including vulnerable sector police background checks and a commercial and general liability insurance were completed and secured. Once these were in order, a legally sound agreement (see Appendix Three for example) was signed by the senior, the student, and a witness (typically the team member facilitating the match). After that, the program provided ongoing support for pairs and planned social events for participants and collaborators so that older people

and students could share their experience. Between 2018 and 2020 there were 126 applications, and 20 pairs were successfully matched (40 of the 126 applications). The team's motto was "to establish a good match - not just any match, quality vs quantity." Even though there may have been a willing/wanting students/seniors to co-house, if the team didn't deem their motivations to be in line with the moral of the program (e.g., not purely for financial purposes etc.) they were not matched. In a similar way, applications were received from older people who lived further away from the University. These situations were deemed unsuitable to the program because no student was willing or wanting to commute. The reasons for not matching participants were on a case-by-case basis. I was the project liaison of the project for over 22 months, during my time as a volunteer I conducted over 130h of observations that included participation in meetings with liaisons from various locations (e.g., University, Community Groups, Municipal, Provincial and Federal government).

Data Collection and Analysis

Dual Role

During my tenure as a project liaison, I was simultaneously completing my doctoral studies in this realm of research. I was co-leading a photo-story project on breaking down age-based stereotypes at the time (Seniors of Canada), involved in other intergenerational projects (e.g., Digital Literacy programs) and was intrigued by the growing attention related to community projects focused on intergenerational relations. This uptick in interest in aging related projects including the growing relevance of intergenerational co-housing at McMaster, and the Hamilton area, was something I encountered often. Program managers, media outlets, and research centres, all inquired about my potential participation in the co-

housing program since it combined all my interests; intergenerational relations, community engagement, and the ability to use creative solutions to wicked problems. Before agreeing to take on the role of project liaison as an already overcommitted graduate student, I asked myself if my participation would benefit the community, the program, and how I could be in service? After several months of taking on this project, I was given the opportunity to reflect on how this project could inform my doctoral work and how my research questions could be elucidated by this program and how it possibly effect the program as well. That is when this project came to life. This section focuses on the process of data collection and analysis for the purposes of the PhD project, separate from the function of the program itself.

Autoethnographic Approach

This dissertation offers autoethnographic insights into intergenerational interactions through co-housing in Chapter Six (Paper Three). That is, it offers my insights as a student researcher who was facilitating an intergenerational program of co-housing whilst also simultaneously studying intergenerational relations. The aim of an autoethnographic approach was to identify and analyse my own experience as a facilitator of an intergenerational co-housing project within the political (the ongoing tensions in the housing market), social (dynamics of global population aging), and cultural (an uptake in an intergenerational conflict narrative) contexts. My purpose was to open up my experience to critical reflection and analysis and to generate rich case-study data that provokes research on intergenerational knowledge. To clarify, I did not live in an intergenerational co-housing setting but was the facilitator and co-manager of the program. Between 2018 and 2020, I hosted community events, conducted presentations, wrote grants, led meetings, interviewed

seniors and students, carried out home visits, evaluated the living spaces, facilitated the pairing of matches, drafted contracts, and followed pairs through their contracts.

Before outlining what is meant by autoethnography, I briefly situate ethnography as the main tradition within which this approach is embedded. Ethnography is a method of research which enables the examination of a singular set of experiences as data. For example, in this case it is a of myself, a doctoral student learning, teaching, and researching gerontology, within a broader social and institutional context. Hammersly (cited in Granger, 2011) describes ethnography as "a research method useful for producing 'theoretical', 'analytical' or 'thick' descriptions... [that] remain close to the concrete reality of particular events [while revealing] general features of human social life"(p. 27).

Autoethnography offered a valuable methodology for addressing the project aims and research questions. It refers to a form of ethnography which focuses on the narrative experiences of the researcher as data and, working within the social science tradition, combines this with cultural analysis and interpretation to develop rich understandings of the topic being researched (Chang, 2013). Hughes et al., (2012, p. 212) emphasise that autoethnography begins with the comprehensive formulation of social problems and Muncey (2010, p. 28) suggests that it is one of the ways in which researchers seek to express the complexity of personal experience within the 'messiness' of social science research. Autoethnography differs from traditional ethnography because it embraces and foregrounds the researcher's subjectivity rather than attempting to limit it, as in some empirical research. Autoethnography makes possible the simultaneous examination of an individual case or event and the social, political, or cultural contexts in which this individual case is situated and

shaped. It thus weaves back and forth between the personal and the social by examining individual representations of social and cultural worlds through reflective and analytical processes, with differing emphases. Granger, (2011) suggested that it can be defined as:

> ...the study of a culture, cultural group, community, or institution, such as education, by a "full insider". It (re)position[s] the researcher as an object of inquiry who depicts a site of personal awareness; it utilizes the self-consciousness...to reveal subjectively and imaginatively a particular social setting... By turns both autobiographical and ethnological, it may emphasize one or more segments of its tripartite name: the research and writing process, the culture or institution being examined, or the individual engaged in it. It connects the personal and the social through narratives that illuminates relations between them. (p. 31)

Autoethnography also enables the examination of the voice and experiences of the researcher to become central to the research. As such, it departs from traditional ideas of researcher as outside of, and objective from, the research (Granger, 2011). Autoethnography contests typical ideas of researcher and subject as distinct from one another, as well as the notion that interpretation is a neutral exercise producing transparent knowledge and objective truth (Granger, 2011, p. 33). Autoethnographic inquiry attempts to enable ways of representing the object of research as it is being experienced by the researcher that it is "both an incomplete and an interested account of whatever is envisioned" (Brodkey as seen in Granger, 2011, p. 33;). Autoethnography interweaves perspectives and reveals rich descriptions of a niche or singular experience which, in turn, generates interpretations which may have meaning and relevance for the intergenerational field. This method does not aim

for generalisability as traditionally understood. However, this does not negate relevance, which may be achieved due to the originality of experience and the framing of new insights, questions, and ways of analysing the experiences in the context of intergenerational landscapes.

Observations, Visual Mapping, and Field Notes

In line with autoethnographic approach, mapping and field notes were used to document the observations and make sense of conversations, interviews, and dynamics. I drew eight maps of spaces during my interviewing process, these involved asking participants about the space they shared (if any). At each interview I would broadly map out the house and living space. All information was collected during the interviews in person and at home over the course of seven months (September 2019 – April 2020). The creation of a map for each of the sites provided a context for the analysis and allowed me to understand perceptions of relationships with visual space. I followed the lead that a map of the social and physical environments proved valuable in other studies of dynamics and perceptions of environments (Morrow, 2001, 2003). In this study, mapping encouraged my understandings of the dynamic experiences and enabled me to portray the places and spaces of the participants lives. Each map serving to visually locate the cases of each match within their home and social environment and perhaps expand on their verbal accounts. After this, I recorded notes on the context of the interview, any challenges, or positive experiences I had during the interviews, and how I felt my presence shaped the interview process. I also noted the assumptions I would sometimes make after entering a participant's home—for example, I sometimes assumed that participants of upper-class backgrounds, who sometimes lived in

what I considered to be pleasant environments, might be differently motivated to participate in co-housing. I took brief notes during the interaction that helped build my understandings and kept field notes of contextual information that helped frame the study in a time, place, or population. For example, the built environment surrounding the home, pertinent information about cultural practices that might affect interpretations of the co-housing agreement, or even something as simple as the time of year as guided by the method outlined by Phillippi & Lauderdale (2018). Field observations were reviewed after every site visit as were the recordings of interviews to identify categories of information, and to explore any gaps in information collected.

One-on-One Interviews

A total of 21 qualitative semi-structured interviews were held with older and younger people participating in the Symbiosis program in Hamilton Ontario. These in-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with people aged 65-95 years old and younger adults 19-42 years of age (See Chapter Five, Paper Two) and took place at one program setting (Symbiosis). There were 40 participants in the program, information about the research project was sent out to all participants and 19 responded. The sample size in one-on-one interviews is indicative of previous studies using similar methodologies (Duvall & Zint, 2007; Guest et al., 2006; Mason, 2010; Tong, Sainsbury & Craig, 2007). One-on-one interviews gave each participant the ability to share their personal experiences and opinions. Establishing rapport and a sense of trust is necessary to gather rich data on participants' personal experiences. The interview enabled participants to share their stories, and some commented that the interview provided an important opportunity for social interaction.

Interviews were intended to understand the dynamics of older and younger people and the experiences, interactions, and learning, across social locations. The interviews focused on participants' experiences and negotiations of intergenerationality (see Chapter Four, Paper Two). Throughout the interviews, I tried my best to treat participants as experts of their own experiences, and to privilege participants' understandings of their arrangements. In my interview questions, I asked participants to tell me about their experience of intergenerational interaction and to discuss openly their life and what brought them to where they are (See Appendix Four for interview guide). Where appropriate I probed further; for example, I asked participants how they got along with the people who they lived with; if there were ever challenges; if they think intergenerational programming is important; if there were things they wished they were getting more help with; and if there were specific reasons why they engaged in this experience. In line with a critical realist approach, these questions and probes enabled me to ground my analysis and findings in participants' everyday experiences and realities. More detail on this will presented in Chapter Five (Paper Two), and Chapter Six, (Paper Three) of the dissertation.

Recruitment, Ethical Guidelines, and Informed Consent

There were a number of specific procedures given my dual role as project liaison and doctoral researcher. My role as project liaison was to coordinate all administrative tasks related to the project including managing the budget, social media, producing reports, events, assist in grant writing, coordinating, and communicating with the graduate school, and interviewing and facilitating potential student and senior candidates. As the researcher but also project liaison for Symbiosis, the participants might have felt obliged to participate in my

research study. This could have posed as a perceived conflict of interest but also affect the participants decision-making processes and interview. To preserve and not abuse the trust of my professional relationships, I was fully cognizant of my dual role. Their rights and responsibilities were at the forefront. I managed this potential conflict through detailed attention to the processes of recruitment and informed consent. In this case, I did my best to safeguard information that was entrusted to me and to the best of my capabilities did not wrongfully disclose information and secured it in an efficient manner. When I obtained information with a promise of confidentiality, I assumed an ethical duty that was central to respect for participants and the integrity of the research project. I was fully aware that breaches of confidentiality may harm the participant, the trust relationship between myself and the participant, other individuals, or groups, and/or the reputation of the program (See Chapter Five, Paper Two for more detailed information on this).

The approach to recruitment was an important element in assuring that participation was voluntary. How, when and where participants are approached, and who recruits them were important elements in assuring (or undermining) voluntary participation. I was mindful of how issues of influence, coercion or incentives could inhibit the voluntary nature of a participant's consent to participate in my research. I was accustomed to paying particular attention to trust and dependency in research and professional relationships and these relationships could impose undue influence on the individual in the position of dependence to participate in my research project. In effort to minimize coercion in the decision-making process, I did not personally ask participants to take part in the research study. Instead, an email was sent out on behalf of the organization to the mailing list that included all participants and community members etc. (who have accepted to be sent more information,

updates, and potential research opportunities when they subscribed). This form of communication was in place in the program prior to me commencing my tenure as project liaison. Participants who were not paired also received these emails and forms of communication. The email stated that there is a researcher interested in speaking to participants about their experiences with intergenerational co-housing. If they were interested, they could contact the project and only then would they be put in touch with me. If/when these potential participants were connected, they would be walked through the screening questionnaire. If deemed eligible, I would inform them that I would be conducting the study and if they still wanted to participate, I would include information regarding my role the study. This was never an issue or challenge, often, most participants felt relieved and happy to participate because they already had a close connection with me.

Participants who expressed their interest in taking part in the study were given my details and my contact information was disclosed. On contact via email or phone, I outlined my role and the potential power dynamics that might be experienced both verbally and in the consent form. I provided to prospective participants full disclosure of all information necessary for them to make an informed decision to participate, and outlined real, potential, or perceived conflicts of interest on the part of myself and Symbiosis. I described that participation does not influence status, agreement, or collaboration with the program, I outlined participants' right to withdraw from the study, and clearly stated that any decision to withdraw from this study at any point in time would have no influence on their status, agreement or collaboration with me or the program. To protect the confidentiality of individuals, roles, and incidents in a project, complete confidentially was promised to the participants both verbally and in writing.

Participants were asked to sign the approved informed consent form approved by the McMaster Research Ethics Board. The form explained the purpose, procedures, benefits, duration, confidentially, incentives, right to ask questions, and participation in the study. Participants were informed of the responsibility of the researcher to protect the rights, safety, and welfare of the participants in the study. If a participant decided to not participate, they were free to withdraw consent and stop participation at any time. All participants were informed that their information would be kept confidential using assigned numeric codes and secured in a locked safe. Three years after the study was completed, all transcripts and recordings will be destroyed by deleting all data and shredding all paperwork with regards to the participants.

Summary of the Observation and Interview Process

Site observations and interviews were collected during the period of September 2019 to April 2020. In keeping with critical realism methodology (Fletcher, 2017), I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with all 21 participants either in person or by phone at the convenience of each participant and in line with COVID-19 restrictions. Interviews took place in participants' homes, except for seven, that were conducted by telephone due to COVID-19. Interviewing people in their homes gave important context for data because it enabled me to directly observe the spaces where participants negotiate relationships. Most homes were single detached homes with separate bedrooms and floors, or semi-detached homes with separate bedrooms and floors, including two condo/apartments. I used the interviews to explore older (n=10) and younger peoples (n=9) perceptions and experiences of intergenerationality, their understanding and negotiations of co-housing and intergenerational interaction.

Demographic information was also collected for descriptive purposes (e.g., age, profession). In Table 1 you can see this information for older people (also included in Paper Two), Table 2 for younger people (also included in Paper Two), and Table 3 for key informants (also included in Paper Three). To further explore, key informants (n=2) an autoethnography was used to critically reflect and provoke further questioning about intergenerationality. Mapping and field notes were also conducted of 14 participants during their interactions within their home (e.g., dining, social interaction). Field notes were affected largely due to COVID-19. Observations were systematically recorded in field notes, which included mapping of the space where participants lived and descriptions of the setting, the actions and interactions of participants, and emotions expressed. As an interviewer, I conducted a total of 32h interviews and field notes with participants over the course of seven months. Two audio recording devices were used to record participant interviews. Interviews were then transcribed by a professional service and were later reviewed for accuracy and edited accordingly. The 21 interviews that form the basis for this study lasted between 16 minutes and two hours, with the average length being 44 minutes. With participants' consent, each interview was audio-recorded and professionally transcribed. Immediately following each interview, I copied recordings to my password-protected computer and then deleted them from the audio-recorder. I shared the interviews with a professional transcriptionist, but she had no access to participants' personal information.

Table 1: Demographic Information: Older People

Older People														
Pseudonym	***Participant Code***	***Gender***	***Age***	***Marital Status***	***Student***	***International***	***Primary Language***	***Highest level of Education Completed***	***Living Arrangment***	***Identifies as a woman***	***First Nations***	***Visible Minorty***	***Person with a disability***	***LGBTQ+***	***Trans+***
Gustav	P1	M	62	Divorced	No	No	English	Graduate Degree	Lives with students	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
Iris	P2	F	68	Divorced	No	No	English	Community College	Lives with Student	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Remy	P4	F	75	Widowed	No	No	English	Graduate Degree	Lives with students	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Matisse	P5	F	95	Divorced and Widowed	No	No	English	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Student	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Artemisia	P8	F	75	Widowed	No	No	English	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Student	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Hypatia	P12	F	82	Divorced	No	No	English	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Student	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Ophelia	P13	F	82	Divorced	No	No	English	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Student	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Florence	P15	F	87	Widowed	No	No	English	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Student	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Holly	P17	F	68	Widowed	No	No	English	High School	Lives with Student	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Deeyah	P19	F	81	Widowed	No	Yes	English/ Urdu	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Student	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No

Table 2: Demographic Information: Younger People

Younger People															
Pseudonym	***Participant Code***	***Gender***	***Age***	***Marital Status***	***Student***	***International***	***Primary Language***	***Highest level of Education Completed***	***Living Arrangment***	***Identifies as a woman***	***First Nations***	***Visible Minorty***	***Person with a disability***	***LGBTQ+***	***Trans+***
Ivy	P3	F	36	Married	Yes	Yes	English/ Fren	Graduate Degree	Lives with Senior	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
Ginoux	P6	F	28	Single	Yes	Yes	English	Graduate Degree	Lives with Senior	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
Claude	P7	M	25	Single	Yes	No	English/ Urdu	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Senior	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
Frida	P9	F	35	Living with Partner	Yes	Yes	Portugeuse	Graduate Degree	Lives with partner	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Dalen	P10	F	25	Single	Yes	Yes	English/Mandarin	High School	Lives with Senior	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Vincent	P11	M	23	Single	Yes	No	English/Hindi	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Senior	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Noemi	P14	F	22	Single	Yes	No	English/ Vietnamese	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Family	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Yayoi	P16	F	45	Married	Yes	No	English	Graduate Degree	Lives with Senior	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Paul	P18	M	25	Single	Yes	Yes	English / Shona	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Senior	No	No	Yes	No	No	No

Table 3: Demographic Information: Stakeholders/Key Informants

Stakeholders															
Pseudonym	***Participant Code***	***Gender***	***Age***	***Marital Status***	***Student***	***International***	***Primary Language***	***Highest level of Education Completed***	***Living Arrangment***	***Identifies as a woman***	***First Nations***	***Visible Minorty***	***Person with a disability***	***LGBTQ+***	***Trans+***
Camden	PS1	F	22	Single	Yes	No	English/ Korean	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Family	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
Cecilia	PS2	F	56	Common Law	No	No	English	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Partner	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No

Analysis

Following a critical realist tradition (Fletcher, 2017), Paper Two and Paper Three (Chapters Five and Six, respectively) follow critical grounded theory technique (Denzin, 2000) as a form of data analysis that included abduction and retroduction to identify structural, cultural, and personal emergent properties, and how these influenced perceptions of intergenerational co-housing. Specifically, in Paper Three, data was reviewed using the conventions of critical grounded theory adapted to an autoethnographic context (Anderson 2006; Bullough & Pinneager, 2001; Creswell 1999). These patterns are presented in the respective papers with examples recorded in the data or drawn from recollection. In this section, I will outline the traditions and backdrops of these forms of analyses and the reasons for selecting them. I will start by reviewing grounded theory as a methodology that provides a steppingstone to discuss and understand critical grounded theory.

Critical Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is a research methodology whose purpose is the systematic development of theory. Originating with the work of Glaser and Strauss (1967), it is now one of the most widely used qualitative methodologies in the social sciences (Strauss & Corbin, 1997). While there are significant differences in how grounded theory has evolved under different epistemological paradigms, all approaches share core characteristics. Grounded

theory aims to develop new theory inductively through a process of concurrent data collection and analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Part of the process is that the researcher immediately analyses and codes incoming data (Glaser, 1978) and, in a process called theoretical sampling, chooses new data sources for their potential to develop emergent analytical insights. The requirement to avoid the use of theoretical frames and prior inferences suggests that when operationalised there should be an evaluation everything related to the situation under study. In even the smallest research setting this is not feasible. The practical difficulty in applying the grounded theory approach is that even if attempts are made to keep the initial approach as unbiased and open as possible the data collected cannot emerge independently of the researcher's personal ideological and theoretical stance–- data can never be neutral but will depend on researcher's ontological assumptions and the specific language of the world view from which the researcher resides sciences (Strauss & Corbin, 1997). Grounded theory provides an opportunity to understand individual agency, thoughts, and motivations, which are often elicited through unstructured interviews to allow maximum opportunity for participants to tell their truths, ultimately seeking participants' theories and beliefs, and not just their stories.

Critical grounded theory (CGT) is a methodology designed to operationalize theories underpinned by critical realism. It critically reworks grounded theory to render it compatible with the ontology and epistemology of critical realism. CGT invites the researcher to 'go places' and 'talk to people' to investigate what people actually do with discourses in particular settings and processes before working this grounded data up into critical grounded theory (Oliver, 2012). CGT is a coherent methodology stringing ontology, epistemology, and method together to provide a flexible, albeit rigorous, framework (Oliver, 2011). Honouring

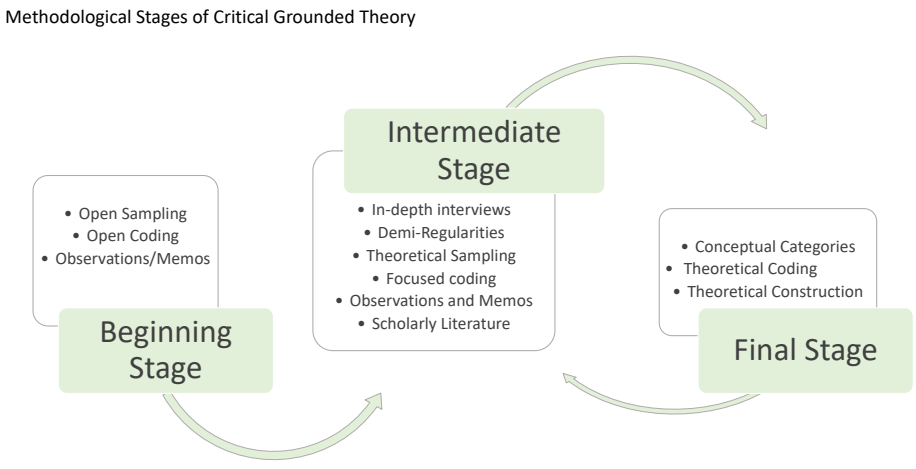
both theory and practice, individual agency, and social structure, it enabled the pursuit of my dissertation. It offers to produce knowledge that is relevant to practitioners by grounding findings in the experiences of those it seeks to inform. It explores the socially constructed while meeting the proponents of evidence-based practice for methodology and allows for the emergence of conclusions (Barth, 2008; Oliver, 2012). A critical grounded theory approach has the potential to produce theory that portrays fullness of experience, reveal taken-for-granted meanings (Charmaz, 2005), and has the 'grab' (Glaser, 2002) to help me feel as though I can explain what I see. The goal of critical grounded theory as noted by Danermark et al., (2002, as seen in Oliver, 2012) to seek contextualised explanations achieved by:

First describing and conceptualizing the properties and causal mechanisms generating and enabling events...and then describing how different mechanisms manifest themselves under specific conditions. (p. 76)

This fits with grounded theory's analytical process whereby dimensions of conceptual categories are developed through attention to context and constant comparative analysis. Grounded theory has long produced types of 'plausible accounts' (Charmaz, 2006) whose intent is to have practical consequences by providing a language for joint action (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). This methodology moved my position as the researcher beyond the 'rich description' and 'giving voice' typical of other methodologies that only hold up a mirror to the experiences of others. It presents the act of conceptualisation as potentially transformative as "…a theory can alter your viewpoint and change your consciousness. Through it you can see the world from a different vantage point and create new meanings of it" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 128). Therefore, CGT embodies the relationship between theory and practice envisaged by critical realism: "the practical importance of theory is that a theory can

reform a practice. Theory is the growing point of a practice" (Collier, 1994, p. 15). To my knowledge, this study is the first to apply critical realism in an exploration of intergenerational landscapes in the context of co-housing. By illuminating the causal generative mechanisms of intergenerational practice, this form of analysis has the potential to generate knowledge that will challenge models and understandings of intergenerational knowledge. In contrast to classical grounded theory (Glaser, 1992; Glaser & Strauss, 1967/2010), the critical grounded theorist begins with critical observations and/ or experiences of the critical issues prior to the study and seeks to enact change—the field research in CGT is always intended to be emancipatory. In CGT, theory can be further developed or modified as new data are gathered. Hence, why CGT is well suited to achieving greater conceptual clarity and to the refinement and reconstruction of existing theory (Belfrage & Hauf, 2017; Hadley, 2015). In terms of its application, the stages can be outlined in Figure 3 and more specifically in each respective study (Chapters Five, Six).

Figure 3: Methodological Stages of Critical Grounded Theory



Reflexivity

In this section, I outline the importance of reflexivity in the project, data collection, and analysis of project results. Reflexivity can involve "(1) full explanation of how analytic and practical issues were handled; (2) examination of the researcher's own background and its influences on the research; and (3) reflections on the researcher's own emotions, worries, and feelings" (Olesen, 2007, p. 423). In this section I will outline some key issues related to reflexivity in my study, including my decision to study intergenerational landscapes; the ways I experienced and negotiated power differentials during interviews; and my own reactions and emotions throughout the research process.

My decision to study intergenerationality is based in part on personal experience. My grandfather played a major role in my upbringing but also my decision to enter the field of gerontology. "Personal struggles and experiences offer an important touchstone for academic theorizing" (Twigg, 2004, p. 62). Through first-hand experience, I observed the kinds of benefits to familial intergenerational relationships that can developed between my grandfather and myself. He was a devout advocate for his family and managed to harness his passion for community-building later in life, shattering glass ceilings for migrants and older people. He taught me the importance of being in service of others and doing things with '*Meraki*' (μεράκι). '*Meraki*' is a Greek word without direct translation and can be described as always putting 'something of yourself' into what you're doing, to do it with passion, absolute devotion, and undivided attention. His passing, our relationship, and legacy influenced my interest to investigate later life and intergenerational relations. My reflections on my own experience would influence my awareness of intergenerationality and the issues that emerge as well as the potential benefits, conflicts, and challenges that can arise across individuals.

Housing is a topic near to my heart; as someone who has lived in precarious housing circumstances, as well as unhoused, the value and importance of a home, hits home.

Additional Reflections on Power and Process

Intensive interviewing can be emotionally demanding, and our emotions can impact our research experiences (Grenier, 2007). In the context of COVID-19, discussions tended to delve into directions that were outside of my control, and in some ways slightly different than the subject at hand or plans for this study. In some cases, I had overlooked the emotional impact of conducting interviews, and how these could be emotionally upsetting for me and for the participants as they shared difficult life experiences, including histories of abuse, deaths of family members, current challenges, and worries about the future. While I could not offer solutions to these struggles, I listened sympathetically and supportively, which I hope put the participants at ease when they shared their experiences. In other cases, it was truly heartening to hear about the long lives well-lived, strong family connections, happiness in the past and present, and optimism about the future. These reactions and emotions were recorded in my interview log and field notes throughout data collection.

One of the more poignant lessons from the study was about power. Relative differences in power and 'status' are implicated in the relationship between researchers and participants (Charmaz, 2006, p. 27). In my research, participants were in a relatively different position because I, as a young, able-bodied researcher entering their homes, was in a position of relative power. Power differentials also arose due to class positions: I am a well-educated, white, cis-gendered queer woman, while some of my research participants were from lower-

class backgrounds. It was possible that some participants felt somewhat intimidated during the research due to these differences. Other participants, however, were very comfortable taking part in the interview because they were familiar with the nature of research, and some (from varied class backgrounds) had participated in research studies before. To mediate imbalances in power with all participants and to ensure that participants did not feel as though they were talking to someone who held authority, I clearly positioned myself as a student. I strove to make it clear to participants that they were experts in their own experiences and that *I* was learning *from them* throughout the interview. As Charmaz (2006) writes, "strong bonds build trust and foster open conversations with research participants about areas ordinarily left unspoken" (pp. 112-113). While participants generally openly and willingly shared their experience with me, I often found that it was easier to establish rapport and develop a sense of trust with those I had met in person prior to conducting the interview and had known for months. Building trust was sometimes more challenging when I had not met participants before the interview, simply because we had not yet had the opportunity to develop a relationship. In these cases, I found that it was helpful to have an informal conversation with participants before I gave them the informed consent form. This enabled us to develop a greater sense of comfort as I conducted the interview. My interactions with participants became complicated in the small number of cases where participants asked my advice as a key informant; for example, on what kinds of agreements they should have in place with their student or how to receive more or less money. Such "researcher role conflict" is common in research with people who are immersed in their field (Locher et al., 2006, p. 160). When this occurred, I explained to participants that I was a student researcher

and was not participating as a project liaison in that specific context. Where appropriate I provided participants with information with contact to the program setting directly.

This chapter provided a more in depth look at the theories, methods, and methodology of this dissertation with regards to my positionality, the process, ontology, and epistemology. In this next chapter, Paper One, I bring together the conceptual foundations and frameworks in the context of intergenerational learning and relations and detail how models, theories, and frameworks operationalize intergenerational programing and practice.

References

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso

Archer, M. S. (2003). *Structure, agency, and the internal conversation*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139087315

Barth, R. P. (2008). The move to evidence-based practice: How well does it fit child welfare services?. *Journal of Public Child Welfare*, *2*(2), 145-171. https://doi.org/10.1080/15548730802312537

Bhaskar, R. (1978). On the possibility of social scientific knowledge and the limits of naturalism. *Journal for the Theory of social Behaviour*, *8*(1), 1-28.

Bhaskar, R. (1986). Scientific Realism &. *Human Emancipation*, 24. books. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.1978.tb00389.x

Bullough Jr, R. V., & Pinnegar, S. (2001). Guidelines for quality in autobiographical forms of self-study research. *Educational researcher*, *30*(3), 13-21. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X030003013

Chang, H. (2013). Individual and collaborative autoethnography as method. *Handbook of autoethnography*, 107-122.

Charmaz, K. (2005). Grounded theory in the 21st century: A qualitative method for advancing social justice research. *Handbook of qualitative research*, *3*, 507-535.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. sage.

Collier, A. (1990). Critical Realism. *International Studies in Philosophy*, *20*(2).

Crabtree, B. F. (1999). *Doing qualitative research*. sage.

Creswell, J. W. (1999). Mixed-method research: Introduction and application. In *Handbook of educational policy* (pp. 455-472). Academic Press.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). A framework for design. *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*, 9-11. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-012174698-8/50045-X

Darbyshire, P., MacDougall, C., & Schiller, W. (2005). Multiple methods in qualitative research with children: more insight or just more?. *Qualitative research*, *5*(4), 417-436. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794105056921

Denzin, N. K. (2000). Aesthetics and the practices of qualitative inquiry. *Qualitative inquiry*, *6*(2), 256-265. https://doi.org/10.1177/107780040000600208

Dickens, P. (2003). Changing our environment, changing ourselves: critical realism and transdisciplinary research. *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews*, *28*(2), 95-105. https://doi.org/10.1179/030801803225010395

Duvall, J., & Zint, M. (2007). A review of research on the effectiveness of environmental education in promoting intergenerational learning. *The Journal of Environmental Education*, *38*(4), 14-24. https://doi.org/10.3200/JOEE.38.4.14-24

Easton, G. (2010). Critical realism in case study research. *Industrial marketing management*, *39*(1), 118-128. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.indmarman.2008.06.004

Fletcher, A. J. (2017). Applying critical realism in qualitative research: methodology meets method. *International journal of social research methodology*, *20*(2), 181-194. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2016.1144401

Glaser, B. G. (2002). Conceptualization: On theory and theorizing using grounded theory. *International journal of qualitative methods*, *1*(2), 23-38.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. (1967). L. (1967). The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research. *Chi cago: Aldine*.

Glaser, D. (1978). *Crime in our changing society* (p. 555). New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690200100203

Granger, C. A. (2011). Silent Moments in Education: An Autoethnography of Learning. *Teaching, and Learning to Teach. Toronto, Toronto University Press.* https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442695641

Grenier, A. M. (2007). Crossing age and generational boundaries: Exploring intergenerational research encounters. *Journal of Social Issues*, *63*(4), 713-727. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2007.00532.x

Grigorovich, A., & Kontos, P. (2019). A critical realist exploration of the vulnerability of staff to sexual harassment in residential long-term care. *Social Science & Medicine*, *238*, 112356. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2019.112356

Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How many interviews are enough? An experiment with data saturation and variability. *Field methods*, *18*(1), 59-82. https://doi.org/10.1177/1525822X05279903

Hafiz, K. (2008). Case study example. *The qualitative report*, *13*(4), 544-559.

Houston, S. (2001). Beyond social constructionism: Critical realism and social work. *British journal of social work*, *31*(6), 845-861. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/31.6.845

Hughes, S., Pennington, J. L., & Makris, S. (2012). Translating autoethnography across the AERA standards: Toward understanding autoethnographic scholarship as empirical research. *Educational Researcher*, *41*(6), 209-219. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X12442983

Kontos, P. C., & Poland, B. D. (2009). Mapping new theoretical and methodological terrain for knowledge translation: contributions from critical realism and the arts. *Implementation Science*, *4*(1), 1-10. https://doi.org/10.1186/1748-5908-4-1

Kontos, P. C., Miller, K. L., Mitchell, G. J., & Cott, C. A. (2011). Dementia care at the intersection of regulation and reflexivity: A critical realist perspective. *Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, *66*(1), 119-128. https://doi.org/10.1093/geronb/gbq022

Lather, P. (1992). Critical frames in educational research: Feminist and post-structural perspectives. *Theory into practice*, *31*(2), 87-99. https://doi.org/10.1080/00405849209543529

Lau, R. W. (2004). Critical realism and news production. *Media, Culture & Society*, *26*(5), 693-711. https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443704045507

Layder, D. (1990). *The realist image in social science*. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230374171

Locher, J. L., Bronstein, J., Robinson, C. O., Williams, C., & Ritchie, C. S. (2006). Ethical issues involving research conducted with homebound older adults. *The Gerontologist*, *46*(2), 160-164. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/46.2.160

Mason, M. (2010, August). Sample size and saturation in PhD studies using qualitative interviews. In *Forum qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: qualitative social research* (Vol. 11, No. 3).

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. sage.

Morgan, M., Gibbs, S., Maxwell, K., & Britten, N. (2002). Hearing children's voices: methodological issues in conducting focus groups with children aged 7-11 years. *Qualitative research*, *2*(1), 5-20. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794102002001636

Morrow, V. (2001). Using qualitative methods to elicit young people's perspectives on their environments: some ideas for community health initiatives. *Health education research*, *16*(3), 255-268. https://doi.org/10.1093/her/16.3.255

Morrow, V. (2003). "No ball games": children's views of their urban environments. *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health*, *57*(4), 234-234. https://doi.org/10.1136/jech.57.4.234

Muncey, T. (2010). *Creating autoethnographies*. Sage Publications. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446268339

Nellhaus, T. (1998). Signs, social ontology, and critical realism. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, *28*(1), 1-24. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-5914.00060

Olesen, V. (2007). Feminisms and qualitative research at and into the new millenium. In N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln, *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks CA, Sage: 215-255.

Oliver, C. (2012). Critical realist grounded theory: A new approach for social work research. *British Journal of Social Work*, *42*(2), 371-387. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcr064

Pawson, R., Tilley, N., & Tilley, N. (1997). *Realistic evaluation*. sage.

Phillippi, J., & Lauderdale, J. (2018). A guide to field notes for qualitative research: Context and conversation. *Qualitative health research*, *28*(3), 381-388. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732317697102

Proctor, H. C. (1992). Sensory exploitation and the evolution of male mating behaviour: a cladistic test using water mites (Acari: Parasitengona). *Animal Behaviour*, *44*(4), 745-752. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0003-3472(05)80300-8

Robottom, I. M., & Hart, E. P. (1993). *Research in environmental education: Engaging the debate*. Deakin University.

Sayer, A. (2000). For postdisciplinary studies: sociology and the curse of disciplinary parochialism and imperialism.

Smith, C., & Elger, T. (2014). Critical realism and interviewing subjects. *Studying organizations using critical realism: A practical guide*, 109-131. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199665525.003.0006

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. sage

Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. M. (1942). (Eds.)-(1997). *Grounded theory in practice*.

Tong, A., Sainsbury, P., & Craig, J. (2007). Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative research (COREQ): a 32-item checklist for interviews and focus groups. *International journal for quality in health care*, *19*(6), 349-357. https://doi.org/10.1093/intqhc/mzm042

Twigg, J. (2004). The body, gender, and age: Feminist insights in Social Gerontology. *Journal of aging studies*, *18*(1), 59-73. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaging.2003.09.001

Yeung, H. W. C. (1997). Critical realism and realist research in human geography: a method or a philosophy in search of a method?. *Progress in human geography*, *21*(1), 51-74. https://doi.org/10.1191/030913297668207944

Yin, R. K. (1989). Interorganizational Partnerships in Local Job Creation and Job Training Efforts: Six Case Studies. Final Report.

Yin, R. K. (2003). Design and methods. *Case study research*, *3*(9.2).

Yin, R. K. (2006). *Case study research: Design and methods* (Vol. 5). sage.

Chapter Four

Paper One: (Re)Constructing intergenerational landscapes: Perspectives from critical gerontology

The first paper in this dissertation is submitted to the *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships and* with a request to Revise and Resubmit. As such, it is formatted to their guidelines (e.g., blocked text).

Paper One provides a foundation for the subsequent papers comprising this dissertation. The aim of this paper was to ascertain the conceptual foundations and the literature on intergenerational knowledge. This paper sought to uncover the state of intergenerational learning and practice. Three dominant frameworks were identified : 1) Erikson's theory of Life-Span Development, 2) Contact Theory, and 3) Theory of Social Distance. This paper highlights how models of practice retain age/stage-based assumptions, polarizing discourses of decline and activity, and ideas of 'conflict' showing little evidence for theoretical frameworks that are interconnecting the nuances and complexities of our contemporary climate. Finally, this paper suggests that researchers engage with the concept of intergenerationality to unhinge definitions and conceptual understandings from normative principles to help (re)construct intergenerational landscapes.

Paper One

(Re)Constructing intergenerational landscapes: Perspectives from critical gerontology

Stephanie Hatzifilalithis[a,b]*& Amanda Grenier[c,d,]

[a]*Department of Health, Aging, and Society, McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada*

[b]*Gilbrea Centre for Studies in Aging, McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada*

[c]*Factor-Inventash Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada*

[d]*Rotman Research Institute, Baycrest Hospital, Toronto, Canada*

Corresponding Author: Stephanie Hatzifilalithis, MSc, PhD Candidate, Department of Health, Aging, and Society, McMaster University, 1280 Main St. W., Kenneth Taylor Hall 203, Hamilton, ON L8S 4M4

Submitted to the Journal of Intergenerational Relationships

Abstract

The models and merits of intergenerational learning that take place between older and younger people remain under-researched and under-theorized in the field of gerontology. Through a critical gerontological lens, this paper outlines three theoretical frameworks of intergenerational learning: Erikson's theory of Life-Span Development, Contact Theory, and Theory of Social Distance. We highlight how models of practice retain age/stage-based assumptions, polarizing discourses of decline and activity, and ideas of 'conflict'. We then engage with the concept of intergenerationality as a means to unhinge from normative principles and (re)construct intergenerational landscapes.

Keywords: Intergenerational Learning, Contemporary Dynamics, Theoretical Frameworks, Intergenerationality, Intergenerational Landscapes

Introduction

Demographic trends and changing social patterns call for a deliberate focus on how to best address the social engagements and relationships within, between, and across generations. In this context, intergenerational learning is often suggested as a means to mitigate loneliness (de Jong Gierveld, Keating & Fast, 2015), strengthen solidarity and intergenerational bonds (Bengtson, & Oyama, 2007, 2010) and bolster social unity (Biggs, 2007). Following this, social policies, social programs, and organizational practices for older people are often organized around the idea of intergenerational interaction as a positive exchange. Yet, the theoretical models that underpin ideas about intergenerational relations, the benefits of intergenerational policies and practices, and the learning between older and younger people, remains under-researched and under-theorized (VanderVen, 1999, 2004, 2011). While health and social benefits may indeed derive from intergenerational relations, the presumed benefits operate as a taken-for-granted assumptions across policy and practice in studies of aging and in Social Gerontology.

Over the last twenty years, frameworks and approaches to aging have shifted in the context of social change, amidst new definitions and lifestyles of aging, and against the backdrop of global population aging (Grenier et al., 2017; Skinner, Andrews & Cutchin, 2017; Twigg & Martin, 2014). Features such as longevity, changes to normative patterns of work and retirement as well as 'disruptive technology', mean that the once firmly established age and stage-based transitions have become more fluid, both in terms of timing, and as fixed entry and exit points across the life course (Grenier, 2012; Wellin, 2018). In this context, the renewed focus on intergenerational issues and programming may be a part of an attempt to explain contemporary encounters between older and younger people, and/or part of a mechanism to

locate and encourage solidarity, in contexts where these are perceived to be diminishing. For example, the World Health Organization (2008) released a report on the social determinants of health that included and linked notions of social sustainability and intergenerational solidarity as recommended guidelines for achieving health and well-being in late life. Similarly, communications from the European Commission such as the Lisbon Treaty (2009) and EU 2020 (2010) highlight how life-long learning and social sustainability are important to the 'active aging' process and in 2017, the Canadian province of British Columbia included intergenerational contact as part of their active aging programming. Yet, in Social Gerontology and in the policies and practices related to aging, the presumed benefits of intergenerational exchange operate without attention to how the contemporary challenges as noted above may affect relationships, understandings, and encounters between younger and older people. It is therefore imperative to understand the foundations of intergenerational practice, where they are rooted, and what conceptual challenges they raise for the future of gerontological policy and practice.

This paper begins by situating intergenerational learning, relations, and practice in Social Gerontology. It then provides an overview of three dominant conceptual models that underpin ideas of intergenerational learning as guiding frameworks for research, policy, and practice for older people. The paper then discusses the three main theoretical frameworks that inform the knowledge base around intergenerational relations and intergenerational learning: Erikson's Life Span Approach, Contact Theory, and Theory of Social Distance. It then turns to a critical analysis of the underlying ideas within these approaches as relevant to aging, namely, the key assumptions made, and challenges that include how models may retain age and stage-based assumptions, sustain polarizing notions of 'decline' and 'activity', and/or reinforce

ideas of conflict. Building on this, the analysis turns to consider concepts and approaches such as 'intergenerationality' that create pathways for appropriate social relations and sustainable intergenerational landscapes.

Situating intergenerational learning, relations, and practice

There is no one definition or application of what it means to be *intergenerational*. The Oxford English Dictionary (2019) defines intergenerational as an adjective that means "*relating to, involving, or affecting several generations*". Writing in Social Gerontology, Newman, and Hatton Yeo (2008), define intergenerational learning as:

> "*Intergenerational learning could arise in any range of contexts in which young people and elderly people come together in a shared activity... it takes place within programs…when- at least two non-adjacent generations learn together about each other; two different age groups share learning experiences and training activities; is –bi-directional…empowering…and must be reciprocal"* (p. 32)

In practice, intergenerational programs are considered a social vehicle to facilitate an exchange of knowledge and resources between older and younger generations and are by nature (due to life span development and design) presumed to be a benefit for both groups (Kuehne & Kaplan, 2001). In a policy and practice context, most applications evoke the idea of intergenerational learning or relations as positive interactions between younger and older people that take place—or are encouraged—within particular programs or settings. The National Council on Aging in Canada defines intergenerational initiatives as "*activities that increase cooperation and exchange between any two age groups*" (Kuehne & Melville, 2014). Programs typically involve "*interaction between the old and the young in which there is a sharing of skills, knowledge, and experiences*" (Chamberlain, Fetterman, & Maher, 1994, p. 197 as seen in Kuehne & Melville,

2014). Generations United adds that such programs are "*the purposeful bringing together of different generations in ongoing planned activities designed to achieve the development of new relationships as well as specified program goals*" (Short-DeGraf & Diamond, 1996, p. 468 as seen in Kuehne & Melville, 2014). Although countless examples exist, the ideas evoked in policy frameworks and social programs can be summarized as including cooperation, sharing, and a purposeful linkage, as well as earlier mentioned notions of solidarity, participation, interaction, and success (Bengston & Oyama, 2007; Biggs, 2007; WHO, 2008).

A historical overview of the subject reveals that attention to intergenerational learning and relations in Social Gerontology began around the 1980s and 90s and moved through three phases. The first phase focused on the relationship between generations, intergenerational learning, and the transfer of knowledge within the family. Bengston and colleagues (1992, 2002) for example, shed light on the importance of familial intergenerational solidarity and the impact these relationships had in later life. The tendency in this field at this time was to view intergenerational learning as highly related to lifelong learning, and individual access to learning through intergenerational relations over the lifespan (Kaplan et al., 1998; Kenner et al., 2007; Kuehne & Melville, 2014; Hertha, 2014). As noted by Hertha (2014), in much of this work, the concept of 'genealogical generations' was applied to learning processes across parents, grandparents and children and, in accordance, research and programming was conceptualized as preparing grandparents for their learning and teaching duties within the family.

In a second phase, beginning in the 1990s, the idea of intergenerational learning and the merits of intergenerational programs were brought into Social Gerontology through the work of Glendenning (1985, 1990, 1997) and later, Formosa (2002, 2005, 2012). Their work, framed as 'educational gerontology', was concerned with the study of learning and training

across the individual lifespan, and with a focus on articulating the application of their ideas of intergenerational practices. This eventually became known as the concept of lifelong learning. More recently, in the third phase occurring since roughly year 2000, Biggs & Lowenstein (2013) developed conceptualizations of 'intergenerational relations' as part of broad work on generational intelligence, and an attempt to understand social and interpersonal relations between adult groups of different ages in the context of social problems and related concepts such as solidarity, conflict, and elder abuse. Our work extends this third phase to consider how underlying assumptions about intergenerational relations shape understandings of aging and late life.

While the focus of scholarship differs between these stages, the field has been characterized by a relatively limited theoretical base for intergenerational learning and practice (VanderVen, 1999; 2004; 2011). In a two-part review of intergenerational practice, Kuehne and Kaplan (2001) highlighted how research was often tentative and weakly supported because it was "*based on anecdotal information… without a clear conceptual framework and [used] a variety of methods that range[ed] from very informal to quite systematic... (p. 6).* In a content analysis on intergenerational practice, Jarrott (2011) found that 39% of the identified articles made no reference to theory, 35% referred to one or more theory, and although sometimes implied, 26% did not name a theory to guide the research or approach. When theories were mentioned, the articles tended to be informed by at least one of three frameworks: Erikson's theory of Life Span Development (e.g., Barton, 1999), Contact Theory (e.g., Hannon & Gueldner, 2008) and/or the Theory of Social Distance (Kidwell & Booth, 1977). Several criticisms have been mounted in the field of education, psychology, and family relations. These include the lack of complexity of developmental models, the assumption of homogeneity across groups, and the linkage to

heteronormative assumptions of a nuclear family (Cronin, 2006; Kropf, & Greene, 2017; Lin, 2017). However, gerontology seems to have inherited the ideas and assumptions that operate in earlier traditions without critical question (An & Cooney, 2006; Merrill & Fivush, 2016; Rossi, 1980; VanderVen, 1999, 2004, 2011). Yet, given that the three paradigms provide the foundation for policy frameworks and guide practice, reflection on the conceptual traditions of these practices is overdue.

Three Dominant Conceptual Traditions

This section outlines the main contributions of three approaches that underpin intergenerational learning and practice based on the findings of Jarott's (2011) content analysis. Starting with Erikson's Theory of Life-Span Development, moving to Allport's Contact Theory, and finally Park's Theory of Social Distance, our aim is to outline the key contributions of each, and how these theories inform and shape understandings and approaches of intergenerational relations and programming for older people and in Social Gerontology. As such, this section sets the foundations for the analysis of taken for granted ideas and practice in the policy and practices related to aging and late life.

Life Span Development

The first dominant conceptual tradition that shapes ideas of intergenerational learning and practice is Erikson's theory of Life-Span Development. Attempting to bridge psychological and sociological theory, Erikson (1963, 1982) maintained that personality develops in a predetermined order of eight stages of adult development. Erikson's model outlines developmental stages whereby the individual experiences a psychosocial 'crisis' that involves individual psychological needs (i.e., psycho) that conflict with the needs of society (i.e., social). As the crisis or major task of the stage is accomplished (or not), each stage can

produce a positive or negative outcome (Erikson, 1982). According to this theory, the successful completion of each stage results in a healthy personality and the acquisition of basic virtues, defined as characteristic strengths which the ego can use to resolve subsequent crises. Where early stages are characterized as '*identity vs. role confusion'* (ages 12-18), and *'intimacy vs. isolation'* (18-40), late life stages are characterized between '*generativity vs. stagnation*' (40-65) and '*integrity vs. despair*' (65 - death).

Three of the main ideas that underpin intergenerational learning, relations, and practice from Erikson's theory are interdependence, integrity, and generativity. Erikson's model and later stages (7th and 8th) focus on interdependence and interactions with younger generations through 'generativity'. At the same time, it also defines the failure to achieve this stage 'stagnation' (Slater, 2003). Erikson articulated generativity as: *"primarily the interest in establishing and guiding the next generation or whatever in a given case may become the absorbing object of a parental kind of responsibility. Where this enrichment fails, . . ." there is "a pervading sense . . . of individual stagnation and interpersonal impoverishment*" (1950, p. 231). In a similar way, the notion of integrity assumes that through reflection people come away with either a sense of fulfillment from a life well integrated and socially enriched, or a sense of regret and despair over a life misspent.

In applications of this thinking, Erikson's seventh and eighth stage fits well with an intergenerational approach given that it provides older people with an opportunity to connect with the next generation, provide guidance, and feel that they are giving back—a central tenant of the seventh stage (Kuehne & Kaplan, 2001; VanderVen, 1999). As such, intergenerational knowledge and practice were based on the expectation that intergenerational practice would create opportunities for generativity, integrity, and the development of meaningful relationships among older and younger people (George, Whitehouse, & Whitehouse,2011).

Contact Theory

The second theory that shapes ideas about intergenerational learning, relations and practice is Contact Theory, developed to understand prejudice between groups, and in particular, majority and minority groups. In its early articulation, Gordon Allport (1954), a psychologist focused on converging the social and psychological foundations of conflict, suggested that under appropriate conditions, intergroup contact can effectively reduce disparities with regards to racism. In Allport's work in "The Nature of Prejudice" (1954) he discussed how "[*Prejudice] may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom, or local atmosphere), and provided it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups."* The idea of this theory is that the suggested conditions could mitigate the perceived group threat that drives prejudice and discrimination, and ultimately promote positive contact. These ideas appear in subfields of criminology, psychology, and sociology, with contact between disparate groups described as one of the best ways to improve relations among groups in conflict (Pettigrew, Christ, Wagner, & Stellmacher, 2007; Lamont & Molnár, 2002). As such, the argument is that properly managed contact between groups should reduce negative stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination that commonly occur between rival groups, and in turn, lead to better intergroup interactions.

The emphasis on intergroup interaction that is embedded in Contact Theory informs understandings of intergenerational relationships, intergenerational programs, as well as training and materials, program scheduling, and activities (Jarott, 2011). Over time social scientists expanded the contact hypothesis to reduce prejudice in relation to disability, gender,

and age (Paluck & Green, 2009; Pettigrew, Christ, Wagner, & Stellmacher, 2007). In the context of intergenerational learning and practice, it is chronological age that is identified as the key dimension of disparity and difference, and the differences around which social contact and encounters must be organized. As such, in the conceptual understandings of Allport's (1954) theory, intergenerational learning and practice is a result of the need for conditioned contact between older and younger age groups that will foster '*common humanity'*.

Theory of Social Distance

The third theory to shape understandings of intergenerational learning, relations and practice is the Theory of Social Distance. Similar to Contact Theory, the Theory of Social Distance describes the distance between different groups in society. Robert E. Park defined social distance theory in 1924 as "*an attempt to reduce [social interaction] to measurable terms, the grade and degrees of understanding, and intimacy, which characterizes personal and social relations generally*" (p.257). The theory of social distance is based on the idea that the different groups mix less than members of the same group and includes attention to different groups that are now often referred to as social locations of social class, race/ethnicity, gender, or sexuality, and more recently age. The theory of social distance was developed to conceptualize the nearness or intimacy that an individual or group feels towards another individual or group in a social network or setting, including the level of trust one group has for another, and the extent of perceived likeness of values or beliefs.

Ideas about social distance are deeply engrained in the field of intergenerational learning, and in policy, programs, and practice applications. Programs and practices are often explicitly framed around the assumption of social distance, and the idea that there are few opportunities for natural interaction and/or real or perceived proximity between older and younger people.

As such, intergenerational practice inherently situates older and younger people in social opposition and stresses the need to foster and strengthen bonds across age and generational cohorts. When used in relation to intergenerational practice, social distance theory suggests that even if members of two groups interact frequently, they will not always feel as 'close' as they would to members of their age group (in this case). The suggestion and proposition of intergenerational relations, when viewed from social distance theory is that there is a need to bolster solidarity by avoiding conflict and that stabilizing otherwise conflicting social systems provides a means to solve key issues across public and private boundaries of society.

A Critical Perspective

We now turn to a critical perspective on aging and late life to consider the taken-for-granted ideas and assumptions that operate within intergenerational policy and practice. Critical gerontology describes a broad spectrum of theoretical interests. The field aims to understand the relationship between structure and experience (Baars & Phillipson, 2013; Grenier, 2012), social relations, political, and economic conditions (Estes, Biggs & Phillipson, 2003; Estes, 1993), the interpretive (Cole, Ray & Kastenbaum, 2010), and cultural interpretations of aging and late life (Katz, 1996; Twigg & Martin, 2014. The primary concern of critical gerontology is that aging is a process influenced by social, economic, political, cultural, and relational dimensions. This perspective has been used to explore taken-for-granted assumptions, ideas that operate in the popular social imaginary, and how interpretations and responses to aging may enable and/or constrain the lives of older people (See Biggs, 2007; Grenier, 2012; Hendricks, 2004). Drawing on a critical perspective, this section outlines three taken-for-granted assumptions that are embedded in conceptual foundations which drive intergenerational practice. These include age and stage-based

assumptions, a polarization of activity and decline, and an assumption of conflict. Table 1 outlines the key assumption on the left, with examples of how each of the three foundational theories enacts this assumption on the right. Each assumption is then briefly discussed in the following paragraphs.

Table 1. Assumptions, Theories, and Critiques

Overarching Assumptions	Theory	Critique
Age and Stage Based Assumptions	1. Erikson's Theory 2. Contact Theory 3. Social Distance Theory	a) Assumes linear normative transition b) Assumes older and younger occupy different physical and social spaces c) Minority and majority have now changed
Polarization of Activity and Decline	1. Erikson's Theory 2. Contact Theory 3. Social Distance Theory	a) Concept of activity and success are embedded in understanding stages b) Separation of 'younger/healthier' and 'older/ill' c) Active/decline as a predictor or assessor of integration
Assumption of Conflict	1. Erikson's Theory 2. Contact Theory 3. Social Distance Theory	a) Individual conflict (the self) b) Conditions of interaction (simulation) c) Physical and social distance

Age and stage-based thinking

Reviewing the foundational theories of intergenerational relations and learning from a critical perspective reveals the inherent assumptions of chronological age, and the normative assumptions about stage and generational cohorts that operate with regards to intergenerational practices and aging. Erikson's (1982) model is formulated according to

chronological or generational categorizations whereby adult development is expected to occur (or not) roughly according to birth year and/or developmental period. As such, it retains expectations associated with chronological age (e.g., decline) that can overlook the socially constructed nature of age, and/or the negotiation of age via lifestyle or subjective interpretations (Baars, 2010; Featherstone & Hepworth, 1991; Gilleard & Higgs, 2002). Organized around age and stage, the foundational theories leave little space for navigating stages earlier or later than predicted, or in a non-sequential/linear order. Nor do they reflect how "normative expectations" can shift over time and may no longer hold true between for example the 1970s and the 2000s. Further, they may be deficient where the experiences of diverse populations are concerned.

The distinctions between '*generativity vs. stagnation*' (ages 40-65) and '*integrity vs. despair*' (ages 65 - death) also bring assumptions of a linear and normative life course trajectory to intergenerational programming and practice. Such assumptions overlook how contemporary patterns may differ from normative expectations, how events may happen earlier or later than expected (see Neugarten, 1974, 1975 on 'on or off time' events), or how expected life stages may be altered by patterns of extended longevity and more adult years (or cut short as a result of disadvantage). Similarly, Social Distance and Contact Theory also rely on differences between groups based on chronological age, and normative expectations. Social Distance Theory for example, assumes that older and younger people occupy distinct social and physical spaces. As such, the use of chronological age as a predictor of integration into society or social groups can serve to retain distinctions based on age. Likewise, in Contact Theory, interpersonal contact as the suggested means to reduce prejudice between majority and minority groups overlooks how groups may have opportunities to interact in some settings (but not others),

and that points of connection may be around social locations, geography, or activities rather than age. Further, it overlooks complex social dynamics whereby minority groups may shift into a majority position or vice versa.

Polarization of Activity and Decline

A critical focus on the foundational theories of intergenerational relations and learning reveal how dichotomous ideas of activity and decline may be problematic where aging and intergenerational policy and practice are concerned. All three foundational theories contain an inherent separation of 'younger/healthier' and 'older/ill' people that is often the subject of critique in critical gerontology (see Katz, 2000). The dominant idea to separate groups based on 'activity' and 'decline', reinforces socio-cultural ideas about the devaluation of age, through who can and/or should engage in intergenerational practices. The concept of activity as success is deeply embedded in Erikson's developmental model as one 'successfully' moves through stages of development and psychological maturation, with remaining in a particular stage considered stagnation or failure. Contact and Social Distance Theory also link the idea of 'younger people as active and healthy and older people as inactive' and in decline, with this distinction operating at the very heart of the rationale for intergenerational interaction. In employing the dichotomy of activity/decline as both a precursor for involvement and an assessment of integration, intergenerational programming overlooks diverse realities, and in particular that disability or impairment are not indicative of failure (Goodley, 2001). They also neglect the importance of relationships formed around social locations or points of connection, and in particular, the heterogeneity within groups that are both young and old.

Assumption of Conflict

A critical perspective reveals the extent to which intergenerational scholarship rests on the assumption of individual and collective conflict between different age groups. Erikson's theory is founded on conflict that occurs within the self (i.e., generativity vs stagnation, integrity vs. despair; a conflicting self) and becomes a normative position of existence. As such, this model fosters an individualized narrative of success/failure rather than focusing on the external conditions that impede or facilitate development and maturation. Social Distance Theory situates older and younger people in opposition as a result of age, and the ways in which groups remain segregated because of age through the built environment, and the configuration of social spaces. The assumption is that conflict is an inherent truth across generational cohorts with little room for negotiation around the structural conditions within which conflict operates. In a similar way, the basis of Contact Theory suggests that under the appropriate conditions, disparate groups will be able to facilitate positive connection and ultimately foster intergenerational solidarity.

It is important to note that difference, however, does not necessarily mean there is conflict. The notion of conflict involves interactions between parties, the possibility of interference by an opposing party, and perceptions of incompatibility between parties. As described by Stohl and Cheney (2001), conflicts are clashes that produce discomfort between groups such as generations in this case, and which require management. Although not always the case (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011) the assumptions within foundational sets of ideas about intergenerational relations could position social groups of different chronological age in need of intervention.

Intergenerational futures: Thinking through Intergenerational Landscapes and Intergenerationality

The foundational models against which intergenerational relations can be understood, and which have come to inform the basis for policy and practice, are largely rooted in chronological age, polarization of activity and decline and grounded in assumptions of conflict. Yet, despite the academic and practical challenges to chronological age (e.g., fundamental to social provisions, systems, roles, and identities) intergenerational knowledge and practice continue to be conceptualized according to such models and assumptions and have yet to break out of these deterministic ideals. In sociological studies, the distinction between age, cohort, and generation are important methodological debates which attempt to make sense of the differences between age groupings in society and to locate individual selves and other persons within social and cultural frames as well as historical time (Biggs, 2007). Yet, age and staged based distinctions continue to be used with regards to intergenerational relations and practice.

As identified throughout the paper, the foundations of intergenerational knowledge and practice raise challenges related to the assumptions of chronological age, and social expectations and divisions based on function and impairment. Intergenerational ideas and practices remain deeply embedded in the dominant polarization of activity and decline, the successful completion of stages, and associations of activity and developments as the positive and gold standards of healthy aging. As such, intergenerational practice is linked, by association to the ideas of individual choice, participation, and lifestyle without attention to variations that may exist, nor to structural barriers related to inequality, health disparities, and disadvantage. As it stands, the models that guide intergenerational ideas and practices thus become a similar

expression to that of 's*uccessful aging'* (see Rowe and Kahn, 1998) whereby intergenerational models serves to constrain individuals to either move through life 'actively' through engagement with younger groups, or unsuccessfully by means of continued and sustained age, generational, and cohort segregation. Further, the shadows of the foundational theories and traditions sustain and reinforce ideas of conflict and social distance between age groups in theorizing and planning for intergenerational relations. The idea of generational conflict is not new to intergenerational discourse; it was expressed in 1960s with the Baby Boom generation (1943-60) who were considered to come into conflict with the Silent generation (1925-1942) over musical, cultural, economic, and political views (Palmore, 2005). Such ideas of conflict re-surfaced in the 1980s, within the context of the "social contract" and inequities between age groups in the distribution of economic resources (Bengston et al., 2010). The political climate and discussions of scarce socioeconomic resources will likely exacerbate the challenges that are said to exist between groups and may cause debates about conflict between age groups to resurface, with 'win' vs. 'lose' framing emphasizing the divisions and 'gaps' between older and younger people (Serpe, 2019; Woodman, 2019). How the political and economic conditions spark and fan the flames of conflict narratives between generations, and shape intergenerational landscapes, is to be seen.

To address these shortcomings and begin to think of a pathway for intergenerational futures, we first turn to conceptualize intergenerational encounters and relations as an ever-shifting landscape, and second, to suggest a language to signal the process, relationships, encounters, and experiences that take place within and across older and younger groups.

Situating Intergenerationality and Intergenerational landscapes

Building on the above analysis, we now extend this discussion around relations, to a set of landscapes that exist within the contemporary context. Specifically, we use intergenerational landscapes to describe the broad physical and social geographies of intergenerational realities. We employ intergenerational landscapes to help frame and broaden the analysis of intergenerational relations. For example, on a social or structural level, when set against neoliberal or austerity policies, the increase in longevity calls for attention to social sustainability and intergenerational relations (Holleran, 2020; Hoolachan & McKee, 2019). In a similar way, the discourse surrounding the shortage of public resources and measures which reduce public services are often couched or legitimated through appeals to younger or future generations (Wallmeier, Helmig & Feeney, 2019). These contemporary conditions of population aging and debates about the allocation of resources such as income, housing, and social supports call for attention to their effects on intergenerational landscapes (Saraceno, 2019; Wong, 2019). Intergenerational landscapes can help provide us with a greater understanding of complex forms and help sketch an opening of possibilities for the transforming boundaries of intergenerational relations and practice.

On an individual level, these broader shifts, changes to the individual life course, expectations surrounding roles in later life (i.e., grandparenthood), require attention to how these are experienced. Within the frame of intergenerational landscapes, we propose 'intergenerationality' as a way of being/thinking. Drawing on language outside Social Gerontology, we propose the term 'intergenerationality' as an umbrella term that provides a flexible means to account for diverse realities and the complex processes of individuals, groups, and encounters between them. A relatively new concept to the field of gerontology, we use the

term intergenerationality to describe all that is across, between, and within generational cohorts. This includes, but is not limited to familial relations, non-familial relations, conflict, notions of solidarity, equity, social mobility, trauma, learning, and programming. As such, we use the term intergenerationality to refer to, for example, the temporal space and place of intergenerational interaction, the existence but also the ongoing transformation of intergenerational relations, the application of an intergenerational program, or the transfer of trauma across generational cohorts. The suggestion being made is for a new language of 'intergenerationality' as a means to engage in debate and describe the shifting intergenerational landscapes.

In the field of human geography, intergenerationality has been used and suggested to understand 'relational geographies of age' and to ultimately provide a constructive critique of disciplinary concerns of age - both 'childhood' and 'old age' (Andrews et al, 2007). While the concept being proposed seems to offer new possibilities to intergenerational relations and practices in Social Gerontology, it is not without challenges. Intergenerationality is currently subject to debate in geography due to the embedded problematic notion of 'generation' and the inability to account for an individual's identity as it is consistently performed, interpreted, and negotiated (Andrews et al, 2007). We also recognize that there may also be a concern with the loss of valuable understandings made possible through groups' or cohorts' comparison. That said, the use of intergenerationality as a fluid and diverse view that is inclusive of a range of intergenerational landscapes is intended to shed light on the factors relating to individuals themselves, and the structures within which they operate. What intergenerationality offers is a way to move thinking away from age and stage-based assumptions, the polarizing activity decline position, and the framing of intergenerational relations as characterized by conflict.

(Re)Constructing Intergenerational Landscapes through Intergenerationality

The suggestion being made is that reframing the analysis of intergenerational relations via a focus on intergenerational landscapes and intergenerationality permits greater fluidity into understandings. Although such ideas are new to gerontology, applications do exist in other fields. For example, Tarrant (2010) discussed intergenerationality within the context of identity and grandparenthood, and Withnall (2017 drew attention to the international literature demonstrating how people change, biologically and psychologically, as they grow older. Such examples focused on identity and change over time provide fruitful directions for the development of intergenerationality and intergenerational landscapes. In a similar vein, George, Whitehouse, and Whitehouse (2011, p. 392) outline the notion of 'intergenerativity' as a concept that can help bring together groups through *"conversations among any domains of discourse…interdisciplinary, interprofessional, intergenerational, and even international*." More recently, Böstrom & Schimdt-Hertha (2017) highlighted the utility of using lifelong learning to understand the formal and informal places within which intergenerational learning can occur. Together these nascent scholarly movements speak to the importance of integrating different and divergent perspectives of later life to redefine intergenerationality and construct intergenerational landscapes.

Crucially, the intergenerational community needs to engage with Social Gerontology in reflection and reconsideration, to bridge the lag between past approaches and contemporary realities of aging and late life. These efforts are intended to shed light and bring together the social gerontological community with the intergenerational one. The intent is to bring important developments being made in the field of critical gerontology surrounding age relations (Phillipson, 2003), third and fourth age (Gilleard & Higgs, 2010), critiques of

successful aging and the ongoing discussions surrounds the blurring lines of generational cohorts (Katz & Calasanti, 2015). Intergenerationality can be used as a jumping off point to start providing a common language to build on disciplinary efforts made in the field of gerontology, education, and geography to influence intergenerational landscapes. The increasingly heterogeneous realties of later life, and the new dynamics experienced across generational fields, diverse social locations, and the disparities with regards to care (particularly among women) for example, call for updating what it means to be 'intergenerational' in theory and practice. Using intergenerationality does not suggest a complete disintegration of the current models or age categories—rather, it represents a revaluation of the traditions and expectations of the foundations upon which intergenerational practices are built and enacted. Understanding intergenerationality as a fluid and ongoing process rather than crystalized interactions between disparate groups based on age, can help us understand the intergenerational landscapes that characterize contemporary relations.

This re-interpretation of intergenerational landscapes through intergenerationality intends to bracket normative assumptions and consider new research strategies that can shape academic knowledge and intergenerational practice that are not intentionally normative in nature. It helps pair together and disentangle the discrepancies between our definitions of relations, learning, programming and opens the field to debate and discussion shifting normative frames, to encounters and dynamics, and relationships that occur within and between places/spaces. For example, drawing on intergenerationality in the context of rethinking intergenerational landscapes asks questions about what 'generativity' means now, what assumptions it holds, and how it is currently situated in academic debates. In this sense, the attention can shift from the divisions drawn around age and the assumption of conflict

between age groups, to points of connections, including how individuals and societies interpret the boundaries and shape processes, relations, and outcomes (see Grenier, 2007).

Drawing on intergenerationality, scholars can reflect on how activity and healthy progression, conflict, and solidarity are embedded and performed in understandings and practices, and what changes might need to be considered to alter the way the field thinks about and do intergenerationality in practice. For example, younger age groups can be influenced through anti-ageist workshops aimed to unhinge normative assumptions of age, through nuance and fluidity. These workshops can bring younger and older people from a diverse range of backgrounds together, to promote engagement and solidarity. Our hope is that practitioners could use the lens of intergenerationality as a pathway to discuss what it means to be older, experience encounters across age, as part of a larger effort to counter ageism. Intergenerationality can help researchers and planners reflect on the ways they construct, perform, and experience age and generational boundaries to ensure that the larger cultural context is acknowledged and addressed. For example, intergenerationality could be used to influence city planning and the built environment, to ensure spaces and places are inclusive. Doing so would open space for dialogue, ambiguity, nuance, and forms of exchange that may currently go un-noticed. In practice, the intent of intergenerationality starts a conversation surrounding intergenerational endeavours, by providing a language to initiate debate, and identify linkages and the ongoing transformative social dynamics experienced across generations. We hope that this paper, and papers to follow, help us understand the interplay and the complex dynamics that cross generational relations entail.

Conclusion

Contemporary features of life including increased longevity, neoliberal agendas that include the decline of government commitments, the geographic mobility of children, and extended working lives render current understandings of intergenerational relationships and practices in need of update. This paper has sketched the assumptions of intergenerational relations and practice within the foundational theories that inform intergenerational landscapes in Social Gerontology and pointed to shortcomings in the field. We found that despite challenges with regards to social identity, ageism, and generational based assumptions, intergenerational knowledge and practice continue to be rooted in age and stage-based thinking which reflect dualities of activity and decline and depend on a conflict narrative. Based on this analysis, the suggestion made is that a holistic approach to intergenerational landscapes through the lens of intergenerationality can reframe discussions and approaches to relationships across generations. More specifically, this approach can shift scholarship from existing assumptions about aging and later life, into the complex dynamics of intergenerationality and fluid and transitional theories that cross generational relations. This could be achieved for example, through understanding intergenerational transfer of wealth and social mobility or through understanding how frameworks such as 'active aging' inform intergenerational assumptions and practice. This paper provides a jumping off point to reconsider popular assumptions and discourse surrounding intergenerationality and suggests pathways to new methods and theories that can help to define, modify, and refine approaches to intergenerational landscapes given the ever-growing disruptions in society.

References

Allport, G. W., Clark, K., & Pettigrew, T. (1954). The nature of prejudice.

Andrews, G. J., Cutchin, M., McCracken, K., Phillips, D. R., & Wiles, J. (2007). Geographical gerontology: The constitution of a discipline. *Social Science & Medicine*, *65*(1), 151-168. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2007.02.047

An, J. S., & Cooney, T. M. (2006). Psychological well-being in mid to late life: The role of generativity development and parent–child relationships across the lifespan. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *30*(5), 410-421. https://doi.org/10.1177/0165025406071489

Barton, H. (1999). Effects of an intergenerational program on the attitudes of emotionally disturbed youth toward the elderly. *Educational Gerontology*, *25*(7), 623-640. https://doi.org/10.1080/036012799267503

Baars, J., & Phillipson, C. (2013). Connecting meaning with social structure: theoretical foundations. *Ageing, meaning and social structure: Connecting critical and humanistic gerontology*, 11-30. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt9qgtp6.6

Baars, J. (2010). Time and aging: Enduring and emerging issues. *International handbook of Social Gerontology*, 367-376. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446200933.n28

Bengston, V. L. (1993). Is the «contract between generations» changing? Effects of population aging on obligations and expectations across age groups. *The changing contract between generations. NY Aldine de Gruyter*. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2002.00568.x

Bengston, V. (1992). The New and Emerging" Contract" between Generations. In *Conference on Chronic Illness, Formal/Informal Care, and Medical Problems among Chinese and American*

Elderly. Academia Sinica: Institute of European and American Studies, Taipei, Taiwan. https://doi.org/10.1891/9780826129437

Bengtson, V. L., & Oyama, P. S. (2007). Intergenerational solidarity: Strengthening economic and social ties. *New York: United Nations Headquarters*.

Bengtson, V. L., & Oyama, P. S. (2010). Intergenerational solidarity and conflict. In *Intergenerational Solidarity* (pp. 35-52). Palgrave Macmillan US. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230115484_3

Bengtson, V., Giarrusso, R., Mabry, J. B., & Silverstein, M. (2002). Solidarity, conflict, and ambivalence: Complementary or competing perspectives on intergenerational relationships?. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *64*(3), 568-576. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2002.00568.x

Bengtson, V. L., & Settersten Jr, R. (Eds.). (2016). *Handbook of theories of aging*. Springer Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1891/9780826129437

Boström, A.K., & Schmidt-Hertha, B. (2017). Intergenerational Relationships and Lifelong Learning. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships. 15*, 1–3. https://doi.org/10.1080/15350770.2017.1260408

Biggs, S. (2007). Thinking about generations: Conceptual positions and policy implications. *Journal of Social Issues*, *63*(4), 695-711. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2007.00531.x

Biggs, S., & Lowenstein, A. (2013). *Generational Intelligence: a critical approach to age relations*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203827918

Cole, T. R., Ray, R. E., & Kastenbaum, R. (2010). A guide to humanistic studies in aging: what does it mean to grow old?.

Cronin, A. (2006). Sexuality in gerontology: A heteronormative presence, a queer absence. *Ageing and diversity: Multiple pathways and cultural migrations*, 107-122.

de Jong Gierveld, J., Keating, N., & Fast, J. E. (2015). Determinants of loneliness among older adults in Canada. *Canadian Journal on Aging/La Revue canadienne du vieillissement*, *34*(02), 125-136. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0714980815000070

Estes, C. L. (1993). The aging enterprise revisited. *The gerontologist*, *33*(3), 292-298. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/33.3.292

Estes, C., Biggs, S., & Phillipson, C. (2003). *Social theory, social policy, and ageing: A critical introduction: Critical perspectives*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK). https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X00009405

Estes, C. L., Swan, J. H., & Gerard, L. E. (1982). Dominant and competing paradigms in gerontology: Towards a political economy of ageing. *Ageing & Society*, *2*(2), 151-164.

Erikson, E. H. (1950). *Growth and crises of the" healthy personality*.".

Erikson, E. H. (1963). *Childhood and Society. revised and enlarged*. New York.

Erikson, E. H . (1982). *The life cycle completed*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

EU 2020, (2010) Tilford, S., & Whyte, P., *The Lisbon scorecard X: The road to 2020*. London: Centre for European Reform.

European Union, (2019). The Treaty of Lisbon | Fact Sheets on the European Union | European Parliament. Retrieved 11 October 2019, from http://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/5/the-treaty-of-lisbon

Featherstone, M., & Hepworth, M. (1991). The mask of ageing and the postmodern life course. *The body: Social process and cultural theory,* 371-389. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446280546.n15

Findsen, B. (2006). Social institutions as sites of learning for older adults: Differential opportunities. *Journal of Transformational Learning*, *4*(1), 65 – 81. https://doi.org/10.1177/1541344605282429

Formosa, M. (2002). Critical gerogogy: Developing practical possibilities for critical educational gerontology. *Education and Ageing*, *17*(1). https://doi.org/10.1007/s12126-005-1023-x

Formosa, M. (2005). Feminism and critical educational gerontology: An agenda for good practice. *Ageing International*, 30(4), 396 – 411. https://doi.org/10.1080/03601277.2010.515910

Formosa, M. (2012). Education and older adults at the University of the Third Age. *Educational Gerontology*, *38*(2), 114-126. https://doi.org/10.1080/03601277.2010.515910

George, D., Whitehouse, C., & Whitehouse, P. (2011). A model of intergenerativity: How the intergenerational school is bringing the generations together to foster collective wisdom and community health. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, *9*(4), 389-404. https://doi.org/10.1080/15350770.2011.619922

Gilleard, C., & Higgs, P. (2002). The third age: class, cohort, or generation?. *Ageing & Society*, *22*(3), 369-382. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X0200870X

Gilleard, C., & Higgs, P. (2010). Aging without agency: Theorizing the fourth age. *Aging & mental health*, *14*(2), 121-128. https://doi.org/10.1080/13607860903228762

Glendenning, F. (1985). Education for older adults in Britain: A developing movement. In F.Glendenning (Ed.), *Educational gerontology: International perspectives* (pp. 100 – 141). Beckenham, Kent, UK: Croom Helm. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429457784-5

Glendenning, F., & Battersby,D. (1990). Why we need educational gerontology and education for older adults: A statement of first principles. In F. Glendenning & K. Percy (Eds.), *Aging, Education and Society: Readings in Educational Gerontology* (pp. 219 – 231). Keele,Staffordshire, UK : Association for Educational Gerontology.

Glendenning, F. (1997). Why educational gerontology is not yet established as a field of study: some critical implications. *Education and Ageing*, *12*, 82-91.

Grenier, A. (2007). Crossing age and generational boundaries: Exploring intergenerational research encounters. *Journal of Social Issues*, *63*(4), 713-727. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2007.00532.x

Grenier, A. (2012). *Transitions and the Lifecourse: Challenging the Constructions of'growing Old'*. Policy Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1t89dvf

Grenier, A., Phillipson, C., Rudman, D. L., Hatzifilalithis, S., Kobayashi, K., & Marier, P. (2017). Precarity in late life: Understanding new forms of risk and insecurity. *Journal of Aging Studies*, *43*, 9-14. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaging.2017.08.002

Goodley, D. (2001). 'Learning difficulties', the social model of disability and impairment: challenging epistemologies. *Disability & Society*, *16*(2), 207-231. https://doi.org/10.1080/09687590120035816

Government of Canada (2017). Intergenerational Connections - Province of British Columbia. Retrieved 11 October 2019, from https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/family-social-supports/seniors/health-safety/active-aging/intergenerational-connections

Hannon, P. O., & Gueldner, S. H. (2008). The impact of short-term quality intergenerational contact on children's attitudes toward older adults. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, *5*(4), 59-76. https://doi.org/10.1300/J194v05n04_05

Hendricks, J. (2004). Public policies and old age identity. *Journal of Aging Studies*, *18*(3), 245-260. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaging.2004.03.007

Hertha, B. S., Krašovec, S. J., & Formosa, M. (Eds.). (2014). *Learning across generations in Europe: Contemporary issues in older adult education*. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026120916121

Holleran, M. (2020). Millennial 'YIMBYs' and boomer 'NIMBYs': Generational views on housing affordability in the United States. *The Sociological Review*, 0038026120916121. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098018775363

Hoolachan, J., & McKee, K. (2019). Inter-generational housing inequalities: 'Baby Boomers' versus the 'Millennials'. *Urban Studies*, *56*(1), 210-225. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098018775363

Intergenerational. *(2019).* In Oxford English dictionary online (2nd ed.), Retrieved from: https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/american_english/intergenerational

Jarrott, S. E. (2011). Where have we been and where are we going? Content analysis of evaluation research of intergenerational programs. *Journal of Intergenerational relationships*, *9*(1), 37-52. https://doi.org/10.1080/15350770.2011.544594

Kaplan, M., Kusano, A., Tsuji, I., & Hisamichi, S. (1998). *Intergenerational programs: Support for children, youth, and elders in Japan*. SUNY Press.

Katz, S. (1996). *Disciplining old age: The formation of gerontological knowledge*. University of Virginia Press.

Katz, S. (2000). Busy bodies: Activity, aging, and the management of everyday life. *Journal of aging studies*, *14*(2), 135-152. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0890-4065(00)80008-0

Katz, S., & Calasanti, T. (2015). Critical perspectives on successful aging: Does it "appeal more than it illuminates"?. *The Gerontologist*, *55*(1), 26-33. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnu027

Kenner, C., Ruby, M., Jessel, J., Gregory, E., & Arju, T. (2007). Intergenerational learning between children and grandparents in East London. *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, *5*(3), 219-243. https://doi.org/10.1177/1476718X07080471

Kidwell, I. J., & Booth, A. (1977). Social distance and intergenerational relations. *The Gerontologist*, *17*(5_Part_1), 412-420. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/17.5_Part_1.412

Kropf, N. P., & Greene, R. R. (2017). Erikson's eight stages of development: Different lenses. In *Human Behavior Theory* (pp. 75-92). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351327527-5

Kuehne, V. S., & Melville, J. (2014). The state of our art: A review of theories used in intergenerational program research (2003–2014) and ways forward. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, *12*(4), 317-346. https://doi.org/10.1080/15350770.2014.958969

Kuehne, V., & Kaplan, M. (2001). Evaluation and research on intergenerational shared site facilities and programs: What we know and what we need to learn. *Generations United background paper. Project SHARE. Washington, DC: Generations United*.

Lamont, M., & Molnár, V. (2002). The study of boundaries in the social sciences. *Annual review of sociology,* 28(1), 167-195. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.28.110601.141107

Lin, N. (2017). Building a network theory of social capital. In *Social capital* (pp. 3-28). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315129457-1

Merrill, N., & Fivush, R. (2016). Intergenerational narratives and identity across development. *Developmental Review*, *40*, 72-92. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dr.2016.03.001

Neugarten, B. L. (1974). Age groups in American society and the rise of the young-old. *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, *415*(1), 187-198. https://doi.org/10.1177/000271627441500114

Neugarten, B. L. (1975). The future and the young-old. *The Gerontologist*, *15*(1_Part_2), 4-9. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/15.1_Part_2.4

Newman, S., & Hatton-Yeo, A. (2008). Intergenerational learning and the contributions of older people. *Ageing horizons*, *8*(10), 31-39.

Palmore, E. (2005). Three decades of research on ageism. *Generations*, *29*(3), 87-90.

Paluck, E. L., & Green, D. P. (2009). Prejudice reduction: What works? A review and assessment of research and practice. *Annual review of psychology*, *60*, 339-367. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.60.110707.163607

Park, R. E. (1924). The concept of social distance: As applied to the study of racial relations. *Journal of applied sociology, 8,* 339-344.

Pettigrew, T. F., Christ, O., Wagner, U., & Stellmacher, J. (2007). Direct and indirect intergroup contact effects on prejudice: A normative interpretation. *International*

Journal of intercultural relations, *31*(4), 411-425. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2006.11.003

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2008). How does intergroup contact reduce prejudice? Meta-analytic tests of three mediators. *European journal of social psychology*, *38*(6), 922-934. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.504

Pettigrew, T. F., Tropp, L. R., Wagner, U., & Christ, O. (2011). Recent advances in intergroup contact theory. *International journal of intercultural relations*, *35*(3), 271-280. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2011.03.001

Phillipson, C. (2003). Globalisation and the future of ageing: Developing a critical gerontology. *Sociological Research Online*, *8*(4), 144-152. https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.868

Roberts, R. E., & Bengtson, V. L. (1990). Is intergenerational solidarity a unidimensional construct? A second test of a formal model. *Journal of Gerontology*, *45*(1), S12-S20. https://doi.org/10.1093/geronj/45.1.S12

Rossi, A. S. "Life-span theories and women's lives." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 6, no. 1 (1980): 4-32. https://doi.org/10.1086/493773

Rowe, J. W., & Kahn, R. L. (1998). Successful aging. New York: Pantheon. *Social Networks*, *167*.

Saraceno, C. (2019). Retrenching, recalibrating, pre-distributing. The welfare state facing old and new inequalities. *Structural Change and Economic Dynamics*, *51*, 35-41. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.strueco.2019.07.010

Serpe, N. (2019, May). Beyond Generational Politics: Do Millennials Constitute a Political Category?. In *New Labor Forum* (Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 8-15). Sage CA: Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications. https://doi.org/10.1177/1095796019838835

Skinner, M. W., Andrews, G. J., & Cutchin, M. P. (2017). Introducing geographical gerontology. In *Geographical Gerontology* (pp. 3-10). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315281216-1

Stohl, C., & Cheney, G. (2001). Participatory processes/paradoxical practices: Communication and the dilemmas of organizational democracy. *Management Communication Quarterly*, *14*(3), 349-407. https://doi.org/10.1177/0893318901143001

Tarrant, A. (2010). Constructing a social geography of grandparenthood: A new focus for intergenerationality. *Area*, *42*(2), 190-197. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2009.00920.x

Twigg, J., & Martin, W. (2014). The challenge of cultural gerontology. *The Gerontologist*, *55*(3), 353-359. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnu061

VanderVen, K. (1999). Intergenerational theory: The missing element in today's intergenerational programs. *Child & Youth Services*, *20*(1-2), 33-47. https://doi.org/10.1300/J024v20n01_04

VanderVen, K. (2004). Intergenerational theory in society: Building on the past, questions for the future. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, *2*(3-4), 75-94. https://doi.org/10.1300/J194v02n03_07

Vanderven, K. (2011). The road to intergenerational theory is under construction: A continuing story. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, *9*(1), 22-36. https://doi.org/10.1080/15350770.2011.544206

Wellin, C. (Ed.). (2018). *Critical Gerontology Comes of Age: Advances in Research and Theory for a New Century*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315209371

Withnall, A. (2017). Intergenerational relationships and lifelong learning: Missing links. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, *15*(1), 4-13. https://doi.org/10.1080/15350770.2017.1260393

Wallmeier, F., Helmig, B., & Feeney, M. K. (2019). Knowledge construction in public administration: A discourse analysis of public value. *Public Administration Review*, *79*(4), 488-499. https://doi.org/10.1111/puar.13005

Wong, M. T. O. (2019). Intergenerational family support for 'Generation Rent': the family home for socially disengaged young people. *Housing Studies*, *34*(1), 1-23. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2017.1364713

Woodman, D. (2019). Why are our politicians talking about their generation?. *Ethos*, *27*(1), 12.

World Health Organization (2008). Berkman, L. F., & Sivaramakrishnan, K. WHO Commission on the social determinants of health: a bold new venture. *European journal of public health 18*(6) 547. https://doi.org/10.1093/eurpub/ckn104

Chapter Five

Paper Two: "I like hearing the door close": A critical realist case study of intergenerational co-housing

Paper two is a critical realist case study written as a Journal article for the *Canadian Journal on Aging*. As such, it is formatted to their guidelines (e.g., blocked text). This paper has not yet been submitted and will undergo further revisions prior to publication.

Paper Two is the first of two empirical papers in this dissertation. Following the first paper, which investigated the depth and breadth of scholarly literature on intergenerational knowledge, this paper reports the results of qualitative interviews focused on how 19 older and younger people understood and responded to their experience of intergenerational co-housing in Hamilton, Ontario. Findings reveal how older and younger people experience co-housing in complex ways, both consciously and unconsciously co-opting the notion of intergenerationality on an individual and collective level. This paper contributes to the scholarship on intergenerational knowledge by elucidating the ways in which broader challenges are conceived and interpreted differently by both older and younger people. Theoretically, from a critical realist perspective, this paper argues that there is a complex interrelationship between older and younger people's reflexive deliberations about their experiences and normative assumptions that underpin intergenerational co-housing.

Paper Two

"I like hearing the door close": A critical realist case study of Intergenerational Co-Housing

Stephanie Hatzifilalithis[a,b]*& Amanda Grenier[c,d,]

[a]Department of Health, Aging, and Society, McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada

[b]Gilbrea Centre for Studies in Aging, McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada

[c]Factor-Inventash Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada

[d]Rotman Research Institute, Baycrest Hospital, Toronto, Canada

Abstract

Despite the widely held view that intergenerational co-housing can offer answers to a range of problems facing modern societies including alienation, social isolation and sustainable living, limited research has explored the dynamics and relationships experienced in the context of intergenerational co-housing. This study investigates how older and younger people understood and responded to their experience of intergenerational co-housing in Hamilton, Ontario. Data included interviews with 19 older and younger people. Findings reveal how older and younger people experience co-housing in complex ways, both consciously and unconsciously co-opting the notion of intergenerationality on an individual and collective level. Drawing on critical realism, our analysis demonstrates a complex interrelationship between older and younger people's reflexive deliberations about their experiences and the normative assumptions that underpin intergenerational relations. Understanding the implications of co-housing holds important learnings for the development of an effective multi-faceted approach to building sustainable intergenerational landscapes.

Keywords: Case Study, Intergenerational Co-housing, Intergenerationality, Critical Realism, Intergenerational Relations

Introduction

Changing social patterns and an aging population, call for a deliberate focus on how to best address relationships within, between, and across generations (Carrere et al., 2020). Social policies, social programs, and organizational practices for older people are often organized around the idea of intergenerational interaction as a positive exchange. It is suggested that having seniors in regular contact with younger people promotes intergenerational connection, provides invigorating new stimuli, and creates new connections (Carrere et al., 2020). Studies point out that loneliness is high in adolescence and young adulthood, declines through middle age, and rises again in old age (Hawkley & Cacioppo, 2007). Pairing younger people with seniors in an intergenerational home sharing arrangement is suggested to be beneficial to both parties and something that tackles the problem of loneliness and isolation in later life (Carrere et al., 2020). It is also suggested that living together also has the potential to impact the sustainability of the entire Canadian housing economy by boosting housing inventory without requiring any additional construction (Lewis & Donald, 2010). Health and social benefits may indeed derive from intergenerational relations; however, the presumed benefits operate as a taken-for-granted assumptions across practice in studies of aging and in Social Gerontology. Social Gerontology has yet to deliberately focus on how intergenerational co-housing is experienced across the life course—especially in relation to social constructs and intergenerational dynamics.

This study draws on older and younger peoples experiences of co-housing to theorize these dynamics at the intersections of age, space and place, and connection. Co-housing has been addressed within housing literatures (Droste, 2015), urban research (Tummers, 2016), and social work (Beck, 2020). Each of these domains present insights for understanding

intergenerationality, however, the powerful intergenerational dynamics experienced during co-housing have yet to be explored. This paper begins by outlining the resurgence of co-housing and the context within which it has been heavily popularized. We then focus on the results of 19 one-on-one qualitative interviews to understand both younger and older people's perceptions of their experience of co-housing through a critical realist lens. The results and discussion, situate findings in broader social and environmental influences (e.g., need for housing) and help elicit suggestions for improving policy and practice.

Intergenerational Co-Housing: Canadian and International Landscapes

The literature is clear in promoting 'aging in place' for older people as leading to physical, mental, and emotional health benefits (Chum et al., 2020). For instance, a recent AARP study found that 69% of people 65 and older and 77% of people 73 and older strongly wanted to stay in their home if possible, and that 64% of older respondents strongly wanted to stay in their current community (Herbert & Molinsky, 2019). Other studies have echoed the desire older people have to stay in their homes for the sense of attachment and feelings of security (Jeste et al., 2016; Wiles et al., 2012). Additionally, even if a home is not completely appropriate for a person's physical needs, it can still provide for their mental and emotional needs through a sense of comfort, security, and meaning (Herbert & Molinsky, 2019). Such ideas can also be found in policy contexts, expressed through preferences to age-in-place instead of in institutions, given that it is generally significantly cheaper (Wiles et al., 2012).

On the other hand, there are many challenges for seniors who hope to age in their homes. These include environmental barriers such as design (e.g., stairs), which can limit seniors' ability to perform everyday tasks (Russell et al., 2019), and the difficulties of maintaining a home, especially for homeowners who have full responsibility for their yards and the exterior of their

dwelling (Herbert & Molinsky, 2019). Studies have noted that aging in place can require significant community support, that necessary services (such as help with running errands) are not available in all communities, and that the scarcity could become more glaring as the country's populace ages (Jeste et al., 2016). Participating in a co-housing program, however, is suggested to help older people address some of these challenges, such as home maintenance and difficulty running errands (Puplampu et al., 2020). According to Puplampu et al., 2020, "*Co-housing is an intentional community and a private living arrangement jointly planned, developed, built, owned, and managed by the residents to meet their living needs*" (p.14). Co-housing has been shown to improve quality of life and suggests that older people are comfortable with their peers because of the similarities in their experiences and the validation they receive in their mutual experience (Puplampu et al., 2020). Co-housing comes in different forms and structures, there are multiple versions of co-housing, including but not limited too, units that are within a condominium, clustered housing (e.g., smaller houses grouped closely around a common house), mixed use co-housing where some co-housers will share their land with public space and businesses, and intergenerational co-housing (Canadian Co-Housing Network, 2017)

In recent years, a renewed interest in intergenerational living has emerged based on the success of similar programs in Europe. For several years now, countries like the Netherlands, France, Finland, Spain, and Germany have implemented university-sponsored retirement communities as a means of increasing the stock of housing for students and providing seniors with companionship (See Appendix Five). The promoted success of these programs has been profound, with participants reporting mutual benefits across ages. Older hosts are suggested to report an appreciation for the extra income and often a renewed energy in their life simply because of being around a younger person (Pedersen, 2015). On the other hand, the younger

group of people appreciate having an affordable place to live and a potential friend or mentor that they can connect with. After capturing the attention of several scholarly institutions, the concept of intergenerational living has re-emerged resulting in numerous pilot programs popping up across North America. Canadian programs such as Symbiosis in Hamilton Ontario, the Toronto Homeshare Pilot Project, based out of the University of Toronto, or Nesterly out of Boston, recruit hosts with spare bedrooms and pair them with younger guests who require affordable housing. Although programs vary from one context to the next, they most commonly recruit seniors living alone at home as hosts and pair them with student guests looking for affordable accommodations. So far, home sharing projects have shown promise, and the demand from the Canadian public for the expansion of these programs is high (Roussey, 2018).

The concept of intergenerational co-housing is not new. Historically, Canada has embraced intergenerational living since the mid 1800s, when the average household size being 6.2 people per home (Bradbury et al., 2014). This number often included kids, parents, grand-parents, and even great-grandparents, all living together under one roof (Bradbury et al., 2014; Bengston, 2017). Since that time, there has been a slow and steady decline in average household sizes to 2.5 people per household in 2011, where it remains (Bradbury et al., 2014). At the same time, one in every six adults in Canada lives alone (Statistics Canada, 2016).

Affordable living space including the high prices of housing across many Canadian cities makes it difficult for young adults to find affordable housing. In fact, one recent study suggests that Canada has the least affordable housing prices in the world (Wetzstein, 2017). The demand for affordable housing among Canadian students is high and rental housing supply has not kept up with that demand, especially in larger urban centres. Data from the Canada

Mortgage and Housing Corporation indicates that the average rental vacancy rate is just over 2% nationwide, leading to long wait times, high rents, and renters who are forced to accept substandard living conditions just to find a place to live (Tranjan & Aldridge, 2021). Intergenerational co-housing offers an attractive housing option for students, providing prices below the average rental costs and a furnished room in a quiet established home. In some cases, student renters can reduce their rent by contributing to tasks around the house. And although the rental prices are reduced for guests, hosts report enjoying the extra income they receive for a room they otherwise would never have rented out (Pedersen, 2020).

The Role of Intergenerational Relations in Co-housing

Studies have shown that there are several intangible benefits to intergenerational living participants that go well beyond the monetary benefits (Pedersen, 2020). Key among those, is tackling social isolation epidemic among Canada's aging population and even among today's youth. For older people, intergenerational living is suggested to offer a way to socially connect with others. It is well-documented that a strong social support network can offer both physical and mental health benefits (Chou et al., 2006), and that these effects are particularly pronounced for older people. According to Statistics Canada, about 20% of seniors don't participate in regular social events and can go over 4 weeks without socializing (Moody & Phinney, 2012). In recent years, especially in the context of COVID-19, the problem of social isolation among older people in Canada has grown to a point where care facilities and non-profit organizations like the Hamilton Council on Aging, The Canadian Red Cross, the Sinai Health System, and the Saint Elizabeth Foundation are setting up companionship programs to provide seniors with social contact. In the UK, a government strategy to combat loneliness among seniors has postal workers going door to door to check on people and provide

companionship (Anderson, 2021). In the same way as the visiting postperson, intergenerational co-housing is suggested to help seniors 'age in place' whilst simultaneously tackling loneliness by breaking up the age silos that many older Canadians are suggested to live in.

Every spare room that is offered is one less person that requires their own space. According to the 2016 Canada census, about 31% of bedrooms in Canada sit empty. In Canada's two biggest cities, Vancouver, and Toronto, 18% and 16.6% of bedrooms sit empty, respectively. Montreal's empty bedroom rate is on par with Vancouver at 18.1%, and Calgary has a much higher empty bedroom rate at 31.6% (StatCan Census, 2016). A report by the Canadian Centre for Economic Analysis estimates that over half of the population of Ontario is over housed and that there are over 5 million empty spare bedrooms in Ontario alone. That is equivalent to 25 years' worth of construction (2017).

Housing has an important role to play in demographic aging due to the shifting demographics and housing market demands, so much so that it is one of eight key dimensions of the World Health Organization's Age Friendly Cities initiative (2007). Intergenerational living has attracted policy makers and government officials because it can potentially serve as a tool to mitigate impending increases in health care costs. For the nearly 90% of seniors who would like to age in their homes, intergenerational co-housing can also be a tool to help them 'age in place', by providing seniors with extra assistance with day-to-day tasks. It is suggested that living at home also reduces the costs associated with care facilities, in-home assistance programs, and potential visits to the hospital, since some of these activities could be handled by a student co-houser (Pedersen, 2020). Limited research however has explored in depth the relations that are experienced in these contexts.

The Present Study

This study brings together information gathered in a case study of experiences living in intergenerational co-housing in Hamilton, Ontario. This paper focuses on experiences of intergenerational co-housing and intergenerationality more broadly — a term we use to describe the temporal space and place of intergenerational interaction, the existence but also the ongoing transformation of intergenerational relations, the application of an intergenerational program, or the transfer of trauma across generational cohorts (Hatzifilalithis & Grenier, 2019). We use the term to engage in debate and describe the shifting landscapes of intergenerational relations and practice (Hatzifilalithis & Grenier, 2019).

This paper examines two primary research questions: 1) *What are the perceived benefits/challenges of intergenerational relations and how do these vary/endure across social locations and contexts (such as age group and place)?* and *2) How do contemporary dynamics influence intergenerational interaction?* In doing so, the study aims to add two primary contributions to the existing gerontological literature. First, it investigates the dynamics of intergenerational relations to shed light on critical approaches that are missing in the intergenerational literature and practice. Second, by drawing connections through a critical realist lens it contributes to the emerging body of conceptual work on intergenerationality and as it relates to broader ideas about contemporary shifts, co-housing, aging, and later life. This next section outlines the theoretical orientation, methodology used to investigate intergenerational co-housing and intergenerationality.

Methodology and Methods

This study examines older and younger people's understandings and negotiations of intergenerationality in the context of co-housing. We used a case study approach to gather data from participants, one-on-one interviews to understand participants perceptions and experiences, and identify common themes, commonalities, and disruptions in individual interpretations. Ethical approval was obtained from the research ethics boards of McMaster University. All participants provided informed consent (e.g., written, verbal) to participate. In the context of student/senior interactions no identifying information was recorded for individuals who did not provide consent/assent to participate.

Theoretical Framework: Critical Realism

Critical realism is a meta-theory uniquely suited to investigate the complex nature of intergenerational co-housing given its unique approach to causality. Causality is conceptualized as being generative and contingent on the interaction between structural (material), cultural (ideational), and personal (agentic) emergent properties that can only have potential causal powers (Archer, 2003). Critical realism holds that structure and culture condition human agency because the circumstances confronted by individuals are not of their own making (Grigorovich & Kontos, 2019), However, structure and culture are always considered to be the result of interaction, and while structure and culture shape the situations that individuals encounter, they do not predetermine their course of action. Such an orientation is particularly important for studies of intergenerationality and more specifically co-housing. Focusing on empiricism and/or discourse only overlooks the fundamental need for a fluid and unstructured interaction of structure and agency (Grigorovich & Kontos, 2019). As Kontos and Poland (2009), argue, using critical realism to elucidate the complexity of the conditions of practice

would help to successfully embed interventions in practice. It would also inform evaluation efforts to better consider the interconnection of structural and agential elements in relation to research uptake (Clegg, 2005; Kontos & Poland, 2009).

Operationalizing Critical Realism through Critical Grounded Theory (CGT)

CGT is a methodology designed to operationalize theories underpinned by critical realism. It critically reworks grounded theory to render it compatible with the ontology and epistemology of critical realism. CGT invites the researcher to 'go places' and 'talk to people' to investigate what people actually do with discourses in particular settings and processes before working this grounded data up into critical grounded theory (Oliver, 2012). CGT is a coherent methodology stringing ontology, epistemology, and method together to provide a flexible, albeit rigorous, framework (Oliver, 2012). It honours both theory and practice, individual agency, and social structure, to produce knowledge that is relevant to practitioners by grounding findings in experience. CGT is user-friendly and compatible with critical realist tenets. To my knowledge, this study is the first to apply a critical grounded theory analysis in an exploration of intergenerationality in the context of co-housing. By illuminating the causal generative mechanisms of intergenerational practice, critical realism has the potential to generate knowledge that will challenge ill-fitting models that constrain intergenerational practice.

A Case Study of Co-housing

This qualitative case study is an approach that facilitates exploration of intergenerational relations within co-housing, utilizing a variety of data sources. This ensures

that the issue is not explored through one lens, but rather a variety of lenses which allows for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood (Stake, 1995; Yin 2003, 2006). According to Yin (2003) a case study design should be considered when: (a) the focus of the study is to answer "how" and "why" questions; (b) you cannot manipulate the behaviour of those involved in the study; (c) you want to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant to the phenomenon under study; or (d) the boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and context. In line with Creswell (2003) and Stake's (1995) description of sound case study practice, researchers established boundaries that helped ensure there was a concise definition of intergenerationality and co-housing (a) by time and place (Creswell, 2003); (b) time and activity (Stake, 1995); and (c) by definition and context (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Similar to inclusions and exclusion criteria, this ensured that the researchers had to indicate how the participants are living, how they are making these decisions, and the period that they engaged in the process (e.g., within six months of starting graduate school or six months of co-housing). This study contains more than a single case and therefore required a multiple case/collective studies approach. Although collected from one site, the context is different for each of the cases. A multiple or collective case study allowed us to analyze within each case and across the program setting.

Data collection

Data were collected between September 2019 and April 2020. In keeping with critical realism methodology and critical grounded theory analysis (Fletcher, 2017), I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with 19 participants either in person or by phone at the convenience of each participant and within COVID-19 restrictions (See Appendix Four for interview guide). Interviews took place in participants' homes, except for seven that were

conducted by telephone due to COVID-19. Interviewing people in their homes gave important context for data because it enabled me to directly observe the spaces where participants negotiate relationships. I used the interviews to explore older (n=10) and younger peoples (n=9) perceptions and experiences of intergenerationality, their understanding and negotiations of co-housing and intergenerational interaction. Demographic information was also collected for descriptive purposes (e.g., age, profession, etc.) see Table 1.

Mapping and field notes were completed for 14 participants during the in-home visit (e.g., dining, social interaction, etc.), with field notes for the other 5 affected by COVID-19. Observations were documented in field notes, which included mapping the space where participants lived, describing the setting, actions, emotions, and interactions of participants. The lead author conducted a total of 32 hours of interviews and field notes with participants. The 19 interviews lasted between 16 minutes and two hours, with the average length being 44 minutes. Two audio recorders were used to record each interview to ensure recording was saved. Interviews were then transcribed by a professional service and reviewed for accuracy and 'cleaned' accordingly.

Table 1. Descriptive information

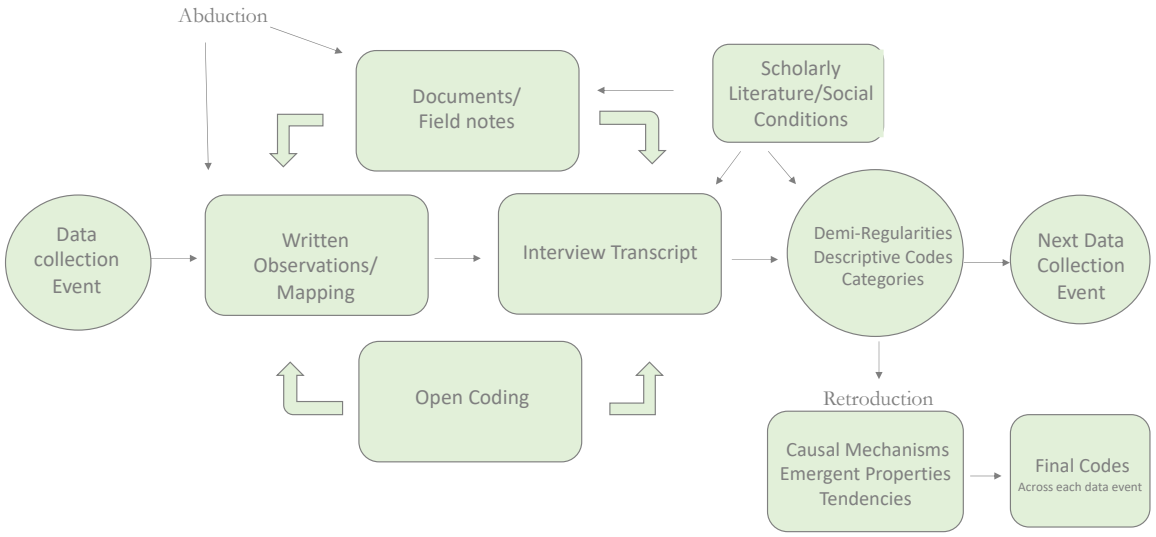
Pseudonym	Participant Code	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Student	International	Primary Language	Highest level of Education Completed	Living Arrangment	Identifies as a woman	First Nations	Visible Minorty	Person with a disability	LGBTQ+	Trans+
Gustav	P1	M	62	Divorced	No	No	English	Graduate Degree	Lives with students	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
Iris	P2	F	68	Divorced	No	No	English	Community College	Lives with Student	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Ivy	P3	F	36	Married	Yes	Yes	English/ French/	Graduate Degree	Lives with Senior	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
Remy	P4	F	75	Widowed	No	No	English	Graduate Degree	Lives with students	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Matisse	P5	F	95	Divorced and Widowed	No	No	English	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Student	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Ginoux	P6	F	28	Single	Yes	Yes	English	Graduate Degree	Lives with Senior	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
Claude	P7	M	25	Single	Yes	No	English/ Urdu	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Senior	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
Artemisia	P8	F	75	Widowed	No	No	English	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Student	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Frida	P9	F	35	Living with Partner	Yes	Yes	Portugeuse	Graduate Degree	Lives with Senior	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Dalen	P10	F	25	Single	Yes	Yes	English/Mandarin	High School	Lives with Senior	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Vincent	P11	M	23	Single	Yes	No	English/Hindi	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Senior	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Hypatia	P12	F	82	Divorced	No	No	English	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Student	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Ophelia	P13	F	82	Divorced	No	No	English	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Student	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Noemi	P14	F	22	Single	Yes	No	English/ Vietnamese	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Family	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Florence	P15	F	87	Widowed	No	No	English	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Student	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Yayoi	P16	F	45	Married	Yes	No	English	Graduate Degree	Lives with Senior	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Holly	P17	F	68	Widowed	No	No	English	High School	Lives with Student	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Paul	P18	M	25	Single	Yes	Yes	English / Shona	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Senior	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
Deeyah	P19	F	81	Widowed	No	Yes	English/ Urdu	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Student	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No

Data Analysis

Each interview was audio-recorded and professionally transcribed (with consent). They were then reviewed for any errors or inconsistencies. Immediately following each interview, files were copied to a password-protected computer and deleted from the audio-recorder. Documents collected from online sources and participants were treated as textual data sources (i.e., just as transcripts, fieldnotes). Analysis of all data was iterative and reflexive throughout the data collection phase (Denzin, 2000) and followed critical grounded theory principles that are inspired by widely accepted versions of grounded theory methodology (See Figure X). Field observations and recordings of interviews were reviewed after every site visit, to identify preliminary themes or categories of information, and to explore any gaps in information collected. Following critical grounded theory techniques (Denzin, 2000), analysis included abduction and retroduction to identify structural, cultural, and personal emergent properties, and how these influenced their experience of intergenerational co-housing. Step one began

with abduction, an open coding process where the lead author read and re-read all the data (e.g., field notes, observations, interviews and documents) to identify key concepts and to search for patterns, or what critical realists' term 'demi-regularities', within and across each data source (Fletcher, 2017).Then, descriptive codes were then assigned to text segments corresponding to key concepts (e.g., description of age-appropriate behaviour), and then grouped into broader topic-oriented categories (e.g., generational awareness). The next step was followed by retroduction – the theoretical development of causal explanations (i.e., causal mechanism) for observed empirical patterns. This involved the identification of structural and cultural emergent properties and their tendencies (e.g., students need for housing) and how these are mediated (i.e., resisted, or reinforced) by personal emergent properties and their tendencies (e.g., affordable housing needed). Once the final codes and their meaning were decided upon , the data were entered into NVivo 11 (QSR International Pty Ltd, 2015) – a qualitative software - to facilitate the organization and retrieval of the data (see Figure 1). Researchers used different methods of data collection in order to enhance the rigor and credibility of information obtained and for triangulation purposes (Guba & Lincoln, 1988). The lead researcher kept a trail including fieldnotes, transcribed interviews, and coding schemes and consulted with the dissertation committee during the duration of their studies in order to be guided in the interpretation of findings to ensure consistency in the study.

Figure 1: Reoccurring Analytic Process in CGT



Results

To respond to the guiding questions: 1) *What are the perceived benefits/challenges of intergenerational relations and how do these vary/endure across social locations and contexts (such as age group and place)?* Themes one and two speak to the contradictions in older and younger people's relationships and the complex responses that are mediated by various factors such social location. In answering question 2) *How do contemporary dynamics influence intergenerational interaction?* The second and third themes constitute the mediatory process between the participants in each individual co-housing setting and agency, they capture the nexus of personal assumptions and actions, the contingent nature of co-housing, and the ways in which it reproduces understandings and normative frames of reference. For example, the first theme, *"More than just roommates?*" identifies the general understanding of why participants were drawn to the program, as well as their understandings of chores and commitments around the house. The

theme, "*Space, place, and loud silence*" captures the ideas surrounding the contexts and experiences of loneliness and the factors underpinning it. Finally, the last theme, "*Generational Awareness*" further captures emerging ideas, with a focus on perceptions of age as well as their reasoning of generational categories and intergenerational relations. Findings are organized as themes/demi-regularities followed by an exploration of participants responses. At times this could also coincide with their corresponding match. A match is considered two or more participants that have been partnered together. An older and a younger person coming together in a co-housing experience (See Table 2).

Table 2: Description of Matches

Match 1	**Participants**	**Length of Stay**	**Living Configuration**	**Currently Co-Housing**
	P2 Iris	1 year 8 months	Same floor/all shared space	Yes
	P3 Ivy			
Match 2	**Participants**	**Length of Stay**	**Living Configuration**	**Currently Co-Housing**
	P4 Remy	9 Months	Same floor/all shared space	Yes
	P11 Vincent			
Match 3	***Participants***	***Length of Stay***	**Living Configuration**	***Currently Co-Housing***
	P4 Remy	1 Year 11 months	Same floor/all shared space	Yes
	P6 Ginoux			
Match 4	***Participants***	***Length of Stay***	**Living Configuration**	***Currently Co-Housing***
	P8 Artemsia	1year 2 months	Different floor/ no shared space	Yes
	P7 Claude			
Match 5	***Participants***	***Length of Stay***	**Living Configuration**	***Currently Co-Housing***
	P12 Hypatia	9 months	Same floor/all shared space	No
	P10 Dalen			
Match 6	***Participants***	***Length of Stay***	**Living Configuration**	***Currently Co-Housing***
	P13 Ophelia	9 Months	Same floor/all shared space	No
	P9 Frida			
Match 7	***Participants***	***Length of Stay***	**Living Configuration**	***Currently Co-Housing***
	P15 Florence	1 year 2 months	Different floor/ no shared space	No
	P18 Paul			
Match 8	***Participants***	***Length of Stay***	**Living Configuration**	***Currently Co-Housing***
	P17 Holly	12 months	Different floor/ some shared space	No
	P16 Yayoi			
Match 9	***Participants***	***Length of Stay***	**Living Configuration**	***Currently Co-Housing***
	P19 Deeyah	***6 months***	Different floor/ some shared space	No
	P13 Noemi			

Theme One: More than just roommates?

This theme speaks to the (in)formality of having people living together, including the motivations to participate in this type of program; how participants interpret their living

configuration as well how they experienced relations and interactions. Some participants mentioned that it is relatively convenient for them to have someone around the house and as such, it is easier to ask for help, have a chat, and undertake activities together that they otherwise would not. Most older participants showed that the main advantage of their co-housing was the company and the bit of help around the house. For more than one third of total participants, this was also the main reason they chose to live in a co-housing setting whilst stating that they were more than 'just roommates.' Most respondents, especially seniors appreciated the sense of coziness and belonging that co-housing offered. This was important for given that most of their circle of friends and relatives had shrunk, they were not as physically mobile as they used to be, or they had anticipated their change in circumstances. Participant Ophelia, described the value of having such company and a sense of belonging nearby, while Ivy noted the value of interaction, and Dalen appreciated the value of sharing day to day conversation:

"I think it's the help around the house, but I think it's also company. I'm not as mobile as I used to be. I really think so many women are living alone now, and I began to realize that I needed to get more company in a way that I could do it without venturing out a lot."

Ophelia, 82

"So, when you live alone, you're like, "Okay, I don't want to interact with anyone." If you make the choice of living with some people, I guess that you also expect a kind of interaction of "roommate life"…but this was more than just roommates."

Ivy, 36

"I see her mostly like a friend, but sometimes I see her like my grandma [Laughter]. Well in a normal day, she's like my roommate, just a normal roommate… but she's also a friend. We talk to each other, and we share about our days and share about what things interest us too. Like for example, she watched a movie and then she'll share with me, and I'll also watch it and we talk about it."

Dalen, 25

Participants spoke to the importance of having a bit more help around the house as well as family vocal support in taking part in a co-housing project. They spoke to how their decision to partake was to *not just* having someone to do chores or provide services as outlined in their agreement, but also offered security and a sense of having someone around if needed. Remy and Ophelia both detail their experiences in this context:

"He helped, he wanted to help me. He put these two smoke detectors up or [pointing to the ceiling] that one up, and then he cut the grass. He did things for me without question and that felt more like family."

Remy, 75

"I'm not so lonely. [Laughter] She does things that hurt my back. She empties the dishwasher. She takes the garbage out. She does things that she sees needs doing. She just sees things that need doing and does them… not your typical roommate."

Ophelia, 82

Similarly, Hypatia draws upon the call from her family to have someone around the house to facilitate or lend a helping hand if needed or required:

"*My daughters knew that I was needing more help around the house. But I've always had two women that come in, vacuum, and clean the bathroom floors and that sort of stuff. I've done my own shopping, and don't need much but I've had several bad falls and ended up in a hospital one time for broken ribs. My daughters just said, "Please, have someone around" They were so uneasy with me being alone."*

Hypatia, 85

Paul discussed the importance of having someone around the house and in the community as an international student:

"I think if someone who was coming to Canada for the first time…no family here. it's convenient. makes settling down…a little easier because there are people around…who can give me advice…[Seniors} have all that knowledge that I'm supposed to know... It is a very positive choice which I made, for like the community and the senior citizen."

Paul, 25

These findings support evidence in the existing literature on co-housing. Recent studies have found that help around the house and company are strongly associated with the want and need to co-house (Rusinovic, Bochove & Sande, 2019). Our findings support this existing literature, as participants in this study clearly expressed the importance of company while simultaneously expressing the importance of help with household tasks. Students and seniors held similar views in relation to the commitment and adherence to the contract 'rules' but with an eye on flexibility and leniency that allowed for flexibility in the type of relationships they

went on to develop. Noemi (22) recalls the instances where she would help her match, Deeyah (81), pick up some grocery items from the store, outlining how similar it is to living with family:

> *"She didn't really need me that much, but sometimes I would drive her to Walmart…or drive her to Shoppers…Sometimes she'd ask me to get milk and I'd be like, "Yes, no worries. I'll get you milk." It was friendly but also kind of familial. I felt like we were family. Even when she came back from [vacation], she bought me a scarf and stuff, and whenever her family visited, I have dinner with her family, and we'd eat together. We hung out; she'd cook food for me. I cooked food for her, helped her around with the chores and stuff, and it was chill because it was a huge house, and it was just me and her"*
>
> *Noemi, 22*

When speaking about joining or participating in co-housing the results were quite varied. Most older participants spoke about the importance of company, having someone around the house or to help (as is evident above), and being aware of the difficulties experienced in the community with regards to affordable housing. Students, however, spoke relatively unanimously to the need and want for affordable housing. For students, the problem is even more severe as affordability and proximity to campus are directly correlated. Students often compete for cramped, unmaintained accommodations in the rental buildings and houses near campus. Dalen and Noemi express their motivation to partake in intergenerational co-housing as a result of the difficulties they experienced in their search for suitable for housing along the way:

"It's really expensive to rent a place right now. Even in Hamilton, I can see every year the rent is going up. Even before starting school, in the first day of school, I was still looking for a place to stay. I drove to [the university] and then drove back to my sister's house in Toronto same day because I couldn't find a place. Then someone in the Facebook group suggested me this cohousing program."

Dalen, 25

"I was trying to find housing; it was so hard to find housing. I've tried a lot of avenues to find proper housing. I tried all the things on the websites. I tried all the Facebook groups I could look at. I was searching with a friend for months…we couldn't find anything. Then he sent me a link to the program [co-housing]"

Noemi, 22

Indeed, a testament to the 'studentification' of the neighborhood is the conversion of residential houses into multi-tenant homes, with each room or floor being occupied by different tenants (Prada-Trigo, Nieto & Quijada, 2020). Yet even as the neighborhood adapts, its rate of transformation is far outpaced by enrolment at the universities. These demographics have led to intense competition in the housing market as potential tenants bid above the asking rent price to gain an edge over their competitors. Such conditions could place students from low-income backgrounds at a major disadvantage. Students detailed their experiences to finding housing:

"*I have difficulty to find a place to live…it's so difficult to find a place close to [the university] with affordable price and I ended up actually live in the mountains that's kind of far from [the university] but wasn't the only problem…There's a lot of fights in the house and the landlord began to act inappropriately with me. The situation was horrible, and I asked [the university] to help because I needed to find a place to move… they suggested the co-housing program, so I applied and got in thankfully."*

Frida, 35

"I didn't even know the [co-housing] program existed until much later into my housing search here. But when I saw it, I just thought it was a really good opportunity for learning in general about different demographics than myself, and also just again, the mutual benefits like the cheaper rent.. being able to study alone without roommates – so yes, the mutual benefits of being able to help somebody but the cheaper rent is super nice."

Paul, 25

One student described their experience of previous living conditions before they moved into a co -housing program:

"I finished my undergrad and wanted to go to medical school which has its own cost and tuition cost and living cost…For me, really it was financial reasons that motivated me to seek better housing. In my first year, I was living with students…but students are students…there's a lot of issues that took place with having ten in a three-story house, three rooms each floor, nine rooms in total and then one room had two shared people. Actually, in another room, we had shared people as well, so 11 guys..."

Claude, 23

He then goes on to detail how if given the opportunity he would choose to live independently compared to co-housing:

> "*The way I see it is if everything was actually the same and the financial is also the same…that would be like a dream come true. Because independence is independence, it has nothing to do with different ages…it's just having that sense of independence is nice. If I'm being honest, I would lean towards that.*"

Claude, 23

Ginoux, elaborated on their motivation to join co-housing and discusses how the simple availability of utensils and the flexibility of the agreement were a factor in her decision to partake:

> *"I needed to find housing for two years…this was a cheaper side of renting…so as a grad student you don't have a lot of money and with whatever amount they're giving you, you'd rather have leftover money than too little.. one of the reasons why I chose co-housing is because of my budget, I didn't have to buy cutlery, beddings etc. whenever you move around, and the contracts were beneficial for me. That was another key thing because it's a little bit more flexible than an annual lease."*

Ginoux, 28

Even for some older people, who even though were homeowners, noted the growing expenses they were accumulating. They also described the difficulties experienced by students with regards to expenses:

"Even though I'm doing fine, this month alone, I've had $6,000.00 of extra expenses [medical]. The mutual support financially... was really alluring... it could be very advantageous to single people who need to be housed. I was really quite interested in that to start with, and then hearing that it was students who needed a place to stay, having met a lot of students who needed a place to stay in the past, I thought that was something I could offer."

Mattisse, 95

"Our society need to - we need housing for people…We, older people, may have more space than we need, and it's also very helpful to have somebody else there... if we have problems they can help us with."

Remy, 75

"I have a home, I had a room, I had a bathroom. I know how hard it is for students financially… so, it's a little extra for me and it definitely helps them as well. I have a whole area of my house that nobody was using."

Holly, 68

Multiple participants detail their 'more than just roommates' narrative in different ways. As seen above, many were inclined to co-opt the terms 'family' or simulate familial environments to describe the relations they experienced. Some mention the absence of family, or the presence of family as something they desire, and in some cases often project onto their match/configurations. This could suggest that although not explicit in their narratives, this intimacy was felt, rather than explicitly processed. While programs like co-housing may help patch up the consequences of housing unaffordability and the impact of housing costs that

exceed the means of students, this will only manifest in the long run - in terms of cumulative disadvantage. Meanwhile, there is a lack of effort to address the immediate financial and housing needs of the students and older people. The lack of investment in affordable housing is apparent in the data presented in this study. While intergenerational co-housing is an initiative that aims to bring younger and older people together to strengthen bonds, the motivations to participate, when conveyed around company and cost, do not necessarily align with policy and practice frameworks rhetoric of intergenerational connection.

Theme Two: Space, place, and loud silence

Theme two points to how home and the making of a home is not solely based on a roof or a structure, but also a feeling or a sense of being among others. This was overwhelmingly the case for most participants. More often than not, seniors described their interest in co-housing as stemming from needing company, in order to combat a sense of loneliness. This section outlines the analysis of how connections to the material or the aesthetic of a place/ space have impacts on the well-being and/or the level of connection between co-housers. Research suggests that well-being can be enhanced, for example, through the shared experiences of places and spaces, and to strengthen wellbeing through connection, closeness, or reducing feelings of loneliness (Jennings & Bamkole, 2019). When asked about if/how things have changed since starting co-housing, some participants, and especially older people, explicitly spoke to the value they placed on having someone present in their space, or their match filled or changed the emptiness of a space. For example, both Holly and Remy whose life-partners died just under three years ago, discuss the importance of space occupied:

"She was here, she was in my home. I was doing my thing…she's doing her thing, and it worked. It worked for us. It wasn't so much as like I wanted someone here to be with me or watch television

with me or do things together. Just the fact that someone else in the home at night when I would go to bed, that I'm not alone, it took that alone feeling away."

Holly, 68

"*It's very lonely in this house. It's a very big house and I've got space, and why not have somebody use it?... I think it's a waste of space and I like hearing doors close. I just like hearing people come and go. So, that's what it is…She always says hello and goodbye. She always says goodbye to me when she leaves in the morning and I do the same, if I go out, I let her know I'm going out. I think that's the most important thing."*

Remy, 75

In their own way, seniors felt that the presence of the student alleviated feelings of loneliness, something that wasn't necessarily the case for students. Consistent with the literature older people tend to accumulate a greater total risk of loneliness than younger people (Nicholson, 2012). For example, living alone, and the loss of spouse is considered one of the most significant risk factors for higher levels of depression, cognitive decline, and anxiety (Kobayashi, Cloutier-Fisher & Roth, 2009; Nicholson, 2012). A home is more than the material construction of a house or physical space. It also denotes a complex set of social and personal meanings that are interwoven with material structures. It is associated with a place 'one can always return to', that offers protection from a dangerous and complex outside, a place where one can find rest, be free, be oneself, and/or have a reassuring degree of control over one's social and material surroundings. This links up with a long-standing theme in the literature on the 'meaning of home' (e.g., Nasreen & Ruming, 2021). 'Home', therefore, is an indispensable concept to understanding shared living since it brings to the fore questions of the importance

of the meaning of home. From a different perspective, a similar case was recently made by Nasreen and Ruming (2021), who emphasized the importance of examining practices of 'home-making' and 'home-unmaking' in the context of co-housing. In other words, the capacity to link housing processes to the lived experience of co-housers are important to understand how people unmake space, place, and home, as well as how it may or may not contribute to their understanding of an intergenerational connection.

Understanding the meaning and making of home in the context of co-housing is important for various reasons. The experiences within places and spaces of co-housing can affect the co-housing experience through emotional processes that distract, or provide distance from everyday stresses, roles, or responsibilities. This relates to the capacity places and spaces have to allow for solitude as well as encourage connection with others. In this way, participants spoke about these as processes of distraction, such as cooking together, saying hello to each other or even the sound of a door closing. These are crucial insights to understanding how people make and unmake co-housing. The following quotes by Frida and Remy speak to this:

> *"I wait for her - I arrive at the house, first thing I open the door and go take my shoes and now is like, "Hi. Hi, there, I'm here," just that simple thing and begin to talk…"Oh, my day is like that." I make this effort to talk. When I live with the other students, sometimes, I just get inside the house, go to my room straight and don't see anyone."*
>
> *Frida, 35*
>
> *"I like having somebody. I guess, I am just missing [my husband]. I miss that, it's nice to have somebody with an intellect around the house… half the time Ginoux tells me what she does..I don't*

understand it…but she goes into a lot of detail, but I just love to hear those things… something my husband used to talk to me about."

Remy, 75

In a practical sense, the person in the home not only provides reassurance but also provides family (many who live far away) with peace of mind:

"Because I was out by myself, my daughter was worried about me because…I had a heart surgery. She was worried because I'm living out by myself. I had a problem with my neck. I cannot drive anymore. My daughter was worried about me. She said, "No, I don't want you to be alone. You have to have somebody there with you."

Deeyah, 81

Another dimension participants outlined was the importance of a space that people feel confident and safe in and where they will not be exposed to physical or emotional harm. This dimension refers to the challenge presented by spaces that can create or reinforce harm but also safe spaces that are free from bias, criticism, prejudice, discrimination, harassment, and threatening actions (Mallett, 2004). Safe spaces allow people to feel comfortable to discuss or reflect on sensitive issues. A safe space can facilitate honest, open, transparent, and authentic experiences. For example, consider this senior's response to the question of whether she feels close to the student she is co-housing with:

"Well, we haven't actually locked any doors since [the student] moved in."

Artemisia, 75

For some participants however, it was often a challenge to negotiate the physical and emotional space within which the participants were inhabiting. This involved learning how to

respect each other's boundaries or how to come to an understanding of what is needed and required beyond the formal agreement made in their matching process. Ivy, discusses this dimension in an internal negotiation:

> *"So, in a lease, let's say that you are renting a place, or you are living with someone, and you have a formal lease with the rent…so you have clear guidelines. Everything is clear; it's black or white. However, in this program, and again, it's different from living with a family member, it's an in between where you also have a contract, but there are somehow some unclear lines because you interact with this person daily though you are somehow considered as half a tenant, half a companion, half a student, [Laughter]…the program says it's living together, breaking loneliness, either for the students or even the senior, but how far do you go with talking to the person, trying to entertain the person, trying to, thinking that this person is lonely, to try and reduce this loneliness? These are unclear things. I ended up, I guess…talking too much, and one day this person made a comment that I talked too much.[Laughter] For me, it was like, 'Okay, since I am here to help, to break this loneliness, and this…I should always be talking, making things interesting.' So, when they made that comment I was like, 'think that I went over [Laughter] what I was supposed to do.'"*
>
> *Ivy, 36*

It was primarily students who felt that the concept of intergenerational co-housing was idealistic and that it could lead to points of tension rather than connection. For example, Frida discussed how she struggled with Ophelia, her match, to feel as though the space she occupied was her own or come to an understanding about the significance some material objects may have in the making of a home:

"I think I struggled a little bit because…the house is also not yours. You have everything shared… Everything in the house is it's like her things. It's 'Oh, don't do this. Oh, this use.' So, it's a lot of rules and, 'Oh, these cups I like to be here like this way.' It's not because of the age I think, it's because you're going to someone's house."

Frida, 35

Overall, theme two suggests the need to revisit taken-for-granted assumptions about intergenerational co-housing and the meaning of space, place, and the making of home. Theme two speaks to the benefits and challenges of intergenerational co-housing, the dynamics experienced across ages, and how this plays a role in their interaction and experience of intergenerationality. While co-housing and intergenerational living is desirable for some, theme two suggests that it may also contribute to blurring of feelings of loneliness, and the need to investigate how feelings of home are made, how relations are maintained, and how daily interactions and space configurations can lead to connection. This theme raises critical considerations about home, ideas about 'aging-in-place', and how social configuration, when not purposively designed to support the needs of older people, can have detrimental effects on well-being. This is most evident where challenges related to companionship and /or empty spaces are concerned (Smith, Bondi & Smith, 2009).

Theme Three: Generational Awareness

Theme three sheds light on the notions of generational categories, perceptions of age, and age-based assumptions in the context of intergenerational co-housing. It brings together the voices and ideas that are tied in with broader challenges experienced in our contemporary context including the presence of ageism (e.g., OK BOOMER trending on social media), the

shortage of available housing stock in large cities, and concerns over the financial sustainability of pension programs. Most participants across age groups and social locations, articulated how living with another generation was something novel, out of the ordinary, and often something people in their familial environment did not understand or, on the other hand, was something to be applauded. In part, this speaks to the social narrative regarding later life, social exclusion, age segregation, and the notions of intergenerational relations. In this context, participants alluded to the perceived differences, or the sameness experienced across generational categories. Noemi, discussed her fear of interacting with someone above a certain age or part of a specific generation when entering the program:

> *"At first, I was worried about if [my match] would have biases. It's social phobia kind of stuff, like if she is, what is it, racist or always worry about those things because I'm kind of like this minority group. Both sexual and racial. We're definitely different people, and it seems like with each generation, there's a different set of values, cultures, and expectations a society kind of imparts on people of a certain generation. But one's values can be spread along different generations, right?"*
>
> *Noemi, 22*

Some participants went as far to describe conflict, and generational differences. Claude, Vincent, and Paul expressed their feelings and perceptions on how there would be quantifiably more commonalities with someone from the same generation, or similar in age:

> *"I could speak with her [his match] indefinitely, but then there are parts that you feel more comfortable speaking with someone your own age or own generation. Someone who knows you in a different light."*

Claude, 25

"I think ideas, interests between various generations are quite divided, especially with things like climate change and ethical questions of responsibility for the planet. There's a lot of conflict [across generations] going on, and I think the divide…is kind of contributing to that and it's furthering that kind of conflict that's going on."

Vincent, 25

"I think it would be very different from living with someone my own age, I guess, in terms of conversation. When we those, it would be slightly different because of the generational differences. Yes, if we're like in the same generation, I guess like we can open into the same level of helping each other around. Because if you're in the same generation, you can get that. They'd be the same capacity in a way."

Paul, 25

On the other hand, when asked whether their experience would be different if they were co-housing with someone their own age, responses varied. Two participants, Frida and Dalen, mentioned that it wouldn't change much or that age was not a factor:

"Well, I don't know because also it could be different experience with another senior. But I think it depends more on the person than the age, I think. So, I think it's more about the person than the age. If I live with another student, it could be something good also. It could be something like terrible...I don't know."

Frida, 35

"I treat every person almost the same, like the same. Well right now, my roommate is a senior, but I still respect others, even if they are not a senior. I respect everyone unless the person is not respecting [me]."

Dalen, 25

Older participants did not often refer to the age of younger participants nor did they describe age categories or generational identities. Florence, an older participant noted that despite the potential differences, this as an opportunity to learn:

"They have different opinions than we [older people] do so it's nice to meet another young person along the way."

Florence, 87

On the other hand, several older participants and one student mentioned notions and of forms of age denial, or of age expectations. For example, Remy and Yayoi, who aren't matched together, describe how their age and notions surrounding age would influence them:

"I don't want to live with another adult woman my age. I think women [my age] are set in their ways and even my best friend, there's an unequal, I didn't want to live with her. Even my second other best friend, I don't know, she's too bossy and it's just, it's nice to live with [students], because you have control. It is your house, you can set your own rules, have some leverage."

Remy, 75

"*As a mature student….someone who might be younger than me living in a co-housing scenario, sometimes might not think outside of themselves. Whereas, I'm very mindful of being 'okay', and*

observe and watch…see her routines and patterns in what she does and being mindful to just integrate"

Yayoi, 45

Theorists in the field of gerontology have long argued that older people maintain younger subjective age identities as a form of cultural negotiations and/or a defensive denial by which they can disassociate themselves from the stigma attached to growing old (Calasanti, 2005; Katz, 2000; Peters, 1971; Ward, 1977). In contrast, the experiences of younger participants different from their age category or generational identity is relatively novel. To date, most of the existing literature has focused on ageism as it affects older adults, but these same issues, have not been adequately explored in relation to children, young adults, and/or middle-aged people. This blind spot concerning the potential impact of ageism among younger people represents a knowledge gap worth exploring. In this study, some participants in the younger age groups expressed some hesitancy about staying with someone their own age or their own generation. In the quotes to follow, several students mentioned that they don't think people their age are mature enough, will likely clash more often, and don't prioritize their work in the same way:

"[being with people] Younger or a little bit older has become hard because…I feel that this is where you constantly explain your choices in life, your principles, your philosophy and this can lead to some clashes depending on the person that you are interacting with. If those people also stick to their values, principles, and they are not open enough to understand also where you come from, and how are your principles being shaped, and values, and how you also respect them, this

can be a clash. So, I have realized that mostly with my friends…and now sometimes when we spend a lot of time together, we can clash because of these things."

Ginoux, 28

Ginoux then discusses how she restructures her position and sheds light on her experience, revealing how her cultural background positions older people in a place of respect and authority, something that alters her behaviour in the presence of her older co-houser:

'*Probably that's why with a senior, [Laughter] I would put myself in a learning mode, I would say, I am ready to listen. A learning and respectful mode…I am willing to listen, I am being respectful, and whatever this person would say or do to me won't affect me as much as what a person of my generation…as much as what a person of my generation would…So, it's as if I am putting myself a little bit lower to try and understand this person, follow this person, learn from this person, without bringing conflicts or clashes.*

Ginoux, 28

In a similar way, Ivy elaborates how as a member of a minority group, she has learned to adapt to situations and people via switching social codes. She discusses how she employed this practical knowledge in her co-housing experience with her match, an older divorced white woman:

"So, what was challenging especially was to again learn the codes for older white people. You know in any culture…race…there are codes. When you speak with a person, you probably need to know how, what words to use. Even in your behavior, your daily interaction, there are some codes,

or some things, or some limits that you can't…that you can't, how do you call it, overstep…or offend."

Ivy, 36

Overall, theme three details how social interaction, dialogues, collaboration, and tensions, that takes place between matches in everyday life, when dining together, co-existing, carrying out tasks, and showcases their perceptions of age and their interpretations of generational categories. Cultural, gender, and age dynamics occur in this context, and includes feelings of having to navigate situations differently due to social categories. This theme emphasises important distinctions between the understandings and experiences of connection and/or disconnection by virtue of age/generation. Participants experiences at times, detail perceptions of embodied stereotypes for younger people, which could be interpreted in two ways. First, that stereotypes and generational categories are embedded across age groups and identities, and generational imaginaries (e.g., Millennials are demanding). Second, the young people who self-selected to participate in this type of program are different in some way, both in how they differentiate themselves from their peer group, and in their affirmation that they are mature or 'beyond their years'. Critically, Worth (2016) described different strategies by young women to cope with the intersections of ageism/sexism in the workplace, explaining that they employ conscious strategies to be 'taken seriously' through dress, small talk, and taking on stereotypical traits of masculinity to be recognized as competent. In a similar way, younger people could have been 'masking age' to relate to their older counterparts or appease to perceived standards and milestones of chronological age.

Discussion

This study explored how older and younger people experienced intergenerational co-housing. Older and younger people's experiences challenge current understandings of intergenerational co-housing on several levels. Their experiences and actions reveal how intergenerational co-housing is different from typical conceptualizations—challenging the form, location, and spaces of intergenerationality. The importance of history, generational location, physical and non-physical space challenge our understandings of co-housing and of the relationships that occur in this context. Intergenerationality is located within the social imaginary but also within the privacy of a home. Older people's experiences elucidated a greater interconnection between age, place, and the growing experiences of loneliness. Younger people's experiences detailed an ongoing negotiating of structural issues, such as affordable housing and the need for a quiet space, as contributing factors to their participation. Intergenerational co-housing is called to act as a panacea to what is described and understood as broad structural challenges. The results reveal how intergenerationality can be personal, but also not. That outcomes are not as straightforward as one would expect, both older and younger people expose how powerful space is (occupied or vacant) and how far more nuanced intergenerational relationships are.

Gender was a key facet that is notable in this study. Most, if not all, participating older individuals and students in the co-housing program identified as women and most were either single, divorced, or widowed. Most of the literature points to the loss of a spouse or intimate relationship as a strong determinant of both loneliness and social isolation (de Jong Gierveld, 1998; Havens, Hall & Sylvestre, 2003; Paúl & Ribeiro, 2009). It becomes apparent in the

literature that studies point to women as being more at risk for loneliness and isolation than men (Dupois, Weiss & Wolfson, 2007). This in part could help further understand the overwhelming participation of women in co-housing. However, this may not be entirely accurate because of the interactions of loneliness with other risk factors that disproportionately affect women. Women are more likely than men to be widowed, to live alone, to be unable to access transportation (Dupois, Weiss & Wolfson, 2007), to be concerned about issues of personal safety, to be dependent on other people and to be the caregivers for other people (Hall & Havens, 1999). Critically, according to Grenier et al., (2020) women's later life status reflects their path throughout the life course, including their experience in the labor market, as well as care provision. Raising children and providing care for their parents has a huge impact on women in fulltime employment (Evandrou & Glaser, 2003; Milan, Keown & Urquijo, 2011). As such, periods of caring for children, spouses, or relatives could have had negative implications on later life stability (Berger & Denton, 2004; Dentinger & Clarkberg, 2002; Ginn & MacIntyre, 2013), making more of a case for their overwhelming participation.

This study is the first to demonstrate the new dynamics and contingent nature of intergenerational connections in co-housing. The emergent properties we have identified are by no means exhaustive. The findings suggest a need for several vital next steps in research, practice, and planning. In terms of research, we recommend the continued refinement of theoretical understandings of intergenerational landscapes. Future theoretical and conceptual work should build upon these findings by theorizing and investigating understandings of macro-level processes at micro-level interactions (Hatzifilalithis & Grenier, 2019). In terms of practice and planning, we recommend providing both seniors and students with a clear image

of what these programs entail; how they are constructed; and a realistic view of their outcomes and goals, including the role of macro-level factors that influence motivations to participate. Broadening the exploration of emergent properties in other contexts could also expand our understanding of causal mechanisms of intergenerationality. Together, these findings provide important preliminary data and a strong rationale for including both younger and older people's experience and voice in intergenerational research and efforts for strengthening intergenerational bonds.

The study findings provide ideas for research, practice, and planning. In terms of research, the narratives and voices need to be better integrated in the understandings of co-housing and intergenerational relations. It is crucial to refine the conceptual frameworks and models of intergenerational landscapes to fully understand intergenerationality in different contexts. For example, in the context of same age co-housing, mutual decision making is a requirement and is not something that is outlined by design and nature of this program setting. As noted by Puplampu et al (2020), co-housing offers the opportunity to be part of daily decisions influencing their lives and student's don't always have these options accessible to them. This study provides valuable contributions regarding how perceptions of age and generation may be implicated in the experience of co-housing. These findings can be used to further combat understandings of ageism, exclusion, and isolation — particularly for seniors. We recommend that future research build upon this study and take a critical lens to better understand how co-housing shapes our understandings of intergenerationality and challenge notions of aging alongside develop intergenerational relations. As well as a revisiting of the definitions of co-housing and the main principles that guide practice. However, whether and to what extent these findings can be generalized to other intergenerational program settings remains

unknown. Intergenerational co-housing and the experiences described are subjected to the boundaries of project type, location, including the broader social and cultural context they occurred in. It may also be that the effects of COVID-19 and the limitations that occurred during the data collection inhibited a more extensive evaluation of the dynamics across matches' and participants' interpretation of intergenerational landscapes.

Conclusion

While intergenerational co-housing has become a popular solution to a multiplicity of challenges, there is still much to untangle in relation to the understandings of intergenerationality, the dynamics experienced across age groups and the ideas of solidarity and union that accompany these programs. This study provides a jumping off point to critically evaluate the overarching narrative associated with intergenerational programming which includes the claim of transforming relationships across age groups. The findings bring life to the discussions that happen behind closed doors in the context of intergenerational co-housing. Critical realism, taken up in future research in intergenerationality, can significantly inform the cumulative and systematic development of knowledge to inform the areas of public policy and program interventions. We hope that we can continue to shed light and give space to peoples voices to share their experience of living in what believe will be a growing configuration of living in the years to come.

References

Anderson, J. (n.d.). *The UK is sending postal workers door to door to combat loneliness*. Quartz. https://qz.com/1424127/the-uk-is-sending-postal-workers-door-to-door-to-combatloneliness/#:~:text=The%20UK%20is%20sending%20postal%20workers%20door%20to%20door%20to%20combat%20loneliness,-Reuters%2FHannah%20Mckay&text=Dubbed%20%E2%80%9CSafe%20and%20Connected%2C%E2%80%9D,those%20willing%20to%20answer%20them.

Archer, M. S (2003). *Structure, agency, and the internal conversation*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139087315

Beck, A. F. (2020). What is co-housing? Developing a conceptual framework from the studies of Danish intergenerational co-housing. *Housing, Theory and Society*, *37*(1), 40-64. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2019.1633398

Bengtson, V. L. (2017). *Families and faith: How religion is passed down across generations*. Oxford University Press.

Berger, E. D., & Denton, M. A. (2004). The interplay between women's life course work patterns and financial planning for later life. *Canadian Journal on Aging/La Revue canadienne du vieillissement*, *23*(5), S81-S95. https://doi.org/10.1353/cja.2005.0029

Bradbury, M., Peterson, M. N., & Liu, J. (2014). Long-term dynamics of household size and their environmental implications. *Population and Environment*, *36*(1), 73-84. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11111-014-0203-6

Calasanti, T. (2005). Ageism, gravity, and gender: Experiences of aging bodies. *Generations*, *29*(3), 8-12.

Canadian Centre for Economic Analysis. (2017). Understanding the forces driving the shelter affordability issue: A linked path assessment of housing market dynamics in Ontario and the GTHA. Retrieved from: https://www.cancea.ca/sites/economic-analysis.ca/files/Affordability%20Phase%202%20-%20final%20report.pdf

Canadian Cohousing Network (2017). *Building community with cohousing.* http://cohousing.ca//

Carrere, J., Reyes, A., Oliveras, L., Fernández, A., Peralta, A., Novoa, A. M., ... & Borrell, C. (2020). The effects of cohousing model on people's health and wellbeing: A scoping review. *Public health reviews*, *41*(1), 1-28. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40985-020-00138-1

Chou, K. L., Ho, A. H. Y., & Chi, I. (2006). Living alone and depression in Chinese older adults. *Aging and Mental Health*, *10*(6), 583-591. https://doi.org/10.1080/13607860600641150

Chum, K., Fitzhenry, G., Robinson, K., Murphy, M., Phan, D., Alvarez, J., ... & McGrath, C. (2020). Examining community-based housing models to support aging in place: A scoping review. *The Gerontologist*. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnaa142

Clegg, S. (2005). Evidence-based practice in educational research: A critical realist critique of systematic review. British Journal of Sociology of Education, 26(3), 415–428. https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690500128932

de Jong Gierveld, J. (1998). A review of loneliness: concept and definitions, determinants, and consequences. *Reviews in Clinical Gerontology*, *8*(1), 73-80. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0959259898008090

Dentinger, E., & Clarkberg, M. (2002). Informal caregiving and retirement timing among men and women: Gender and caregiving relationships in late midlife. *Journal of Family Issues*, *23*(7), 857-879. https://doi.org/10.1177/019251302236598

Denzin, N. K. (2000). Aesthetics and the practices of qualitative inquiry. *Qualitative inquiry*, *6*(2), 256-265. https://doi.org/10.1177/107780040000600208

Droste, C. (2015). German co-housing: an opportunity for municipalities to foster socially inclusive urban development?. *Urban Research & Practice*, *8*(1), 79-92. https://doi.org/10.1080/17535069.2015.1011428

Dupuis, J., Weiss, D. R., & Wolfson, C. (2007). Gender and transportation access among community-dwelling seniors. *Canadian Journal on Aging/La Revue Canadienne Du Vieillissement*, *26*(2), 149-158. https://doi.org/10.3138/cja.26.2.149

Evandrou, M., & Glaser, K. (2003). Combining work and family life: the pension penalty of caring. *Ageing & Society*, *23*(5), 583-601. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X03001314

Fletcher, A. J. (2017). Applying critical realism in qualitative research: methodology meets method. *International journal of social research methodology*, *20*(2), 181-194. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2016.1144401

Ginn, J., & MacIntyre, K. (2013). UK pension reforms: is gender still an issue?. *Social Policy and Society*, *12*(1), 91-103. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746412000504

Grenier, A., Hatzifilalithis, S., Laliberte-Rudman, D., Kobayashi, K., Marier, P., & Phillipson, C. (2020). Precarity and aging: A scoping review. *The Gerontologist*, *60*(8), e620-e632. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnz135

Grigorovich, A., & Kontos, P. (2019). A critical realist exploration of the vulnerability of staff to sexual harassment in residential long-term care. *Social Science & Medicine*, *238*, 112356. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2019.112356

Hall, M., & Havens, B. (1999). *The effect of social isolation and loneliness on the health of older women*. Aging in Manitoba Study, Department of Community Health Sciences, University of Manitoba.

Hall, M., Havens, B., & Sylvestre, G. (2003). *The experience of social isolation and loneliness among older men in Manitoba*. Veterans Affairs Canada. https://doi.org/10.1037/e624492012-001

Hatzifilalithis, S., & Grenier, A., (2019) (Re)Constructing intergenerational landscapes: Perspectives from critical gerontology. (Manuscript *Submitted, Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, Revise and Resubmit*).

Hawkley, L. C., & Cacioppo, J. T. (2007). Aging and loneliness: Downhill quickly?. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *16*(4), 187-191. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8721.2007.00501.x

Herbert, C., & Molinsky, J. H. (2019). What can be done to better support older adults to age successfully in their homes and communities?. *Health Affairs*, *38*(5), 860-864. https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2019.00203

Jennings, V., & Bamkole, O. (2019). The relationship between social cohesion and urban green space: An avenue for health promotion. *International journal of environmental research and public health*, *16*(3), 452. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph16030452

Jeste, D. V., Blazer II, D. G., Buckwalter, K. C., Cassidy, K. L. K., Fishman, L., Gwyther, L. P., ... & Feather, J. (2016). Age-friendly communities initiative: public health

approach to promoting successful aging. *The American Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry*, *24*(12), 1158-1170. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jagp.2016.07.021

Katz, S. (2000). Busy bodies: Activity, aging, and the management of everyday life. *Journal of aging studies*, *14*(2), 135-152. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0890-4065(00)80008-0

Kobayashi, K. M., Cloutier-Fisher, D., & Roth, M. (2009). Making meaningful connections: A profile of social isolation and health among older adults in small town and small city, British Columbia. *Journal of Aging and Health*, *21*(2), 374-397. https://doi.org/10.1177/0898264308329022

Kontos, P. C., & Poland, B. D. (2009). Mapping new theoretical and methodological terrain for knowledge translation: contributions from critical realism and the arts. *Implementation Science*, *4*(1), 1-10. https://doi.org/10.1186/1748-5908-4-1

Lewis, N. M., & Donald, B. (2010). A new rubric for 'creative city' potential in Canada's smaller cities. *Urban studies*, *47*(1), 29-54. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009346867

Mallett, S. (2004). Understanding home: a critical review of the literature. *The sociological review*, *52*(1), 62-89. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2004.00442.x

Milan, A. M., Keown, L. A., & Urquijo, C. R. (2011). *Families, living arrangements and unpaid work* (p. 21). Ottawa, ON, Canada: Statistics Canada.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. sage.

Moody, E., & Phinney, A. (2012). A community-engaged art program for older people: Fostering social inclusion. *Canadian Journal on Aging/La Revue canadienne du vieillissement*, *31*(1), 55-64. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0714980811000596

Nasreen, Z., & Ruming, K. J. (2021). Shared room housing and home: Unpacking the home-making practices of shared room tenants in Sydney, Australia. *Housing, Theory and Society*, *38*(2), 152-172. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2020.1717597

Nicholson, N. R. (2012). A review of social isolation: an important but underassessed condition in older adults. *The journal of primary prevention*, *33*(2-3), 137-152. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10935-012-0271-2

Oliver, C. (2012). Critical realist grounded theory: A new approach for social work research. *British Journal of Social Work*, *42*(2), 371-387. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcr064

Paúl, C., & Ribeiro, O. (2009). Predicting loneliness in old people living in the community. *Reviews in clinical gerontology*, *19*(1), 53-60. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0959259809990074

Pedersen, M. (2015). Senior co-housing communities in Denmark. *Journal of Housing for the Elderly*, *29*(1-2), 126-145. https://doi.org/10.1080/02763893.2015.989770

Peters, G. R. (1971). Self-conceptions of the aged, age identification, and aging. *The Gerontologist*. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/11.4_Part_2.69

Rusinovic, K., Bochove, M. V., & Sande, J. V. D. (2019). Senior co-housing in the Netherlands: Benefits and drawbacks for its residents. *International journal of environmental research and public health*, *16*(19), 3776. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph16193776

Russell, D., Oberlink, M. R., Onorato, N., Feinberg, J. L., Bowles, K. H., & Szanton, S. L. (2019). Identifying barriers in the home environment among urban community-dwelling older adults with functional difficulty: a multi-method pilot study. *Activities,*

Adaptation & Aging, *43*(4), 315-333. https://doi.org/10.1080/01924788.2018.1542247

Smith, M., Bondi, L., Smith, M., & Davidson, J. (2009). *Emotion, place, and culture* (Vol. 1). Surrey, Reino Unido: Ashgate.

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. sage.

Statistics Canada Census. (2016) Retrieved from: https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/index-eng.cfm

Tranjan, R., & Aldridge, H. (2021), Rents keep going up, pandemic or not, Retrieved from Monitor Magazine: https://monitormag.ca/articles/rents-keep-going-up-pandemic-or-not

Tummers, L. (2016). The re-emergence of self-managed co-housing in Europe: A critical review of co-housing research. *Urban Studies*, *53*(10), 2023-2040. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098015586696

Ward, R. A. (1977). Services for older people: An integrated framework for research. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 61-70. https://doi.org/10.2307/2955397

Wetzstein, S. (2017). The global urban housing affordability crisis. *Urban Studies*, *54*(14), 3159-3177. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098017711649

Wiles, J. L., Leibing, A., Guberman, N., Reeve, J., & Allen, R. E. (2012). The meaning of "aging in place" to older people. *The gerontologist*, *52*(3), 357-366. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnr098

World Health Organization. (2007). *Global age-friendly cities: A guide*. World Health Organization.

Worth, N. (2016). Who we are at work: Millennial women, everyday inequalities, and insecure work. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *23*(9), 1302-1314. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2016.1160037

Yin, R. K. (2003). Design and methods. *Case study research*, *3*(9.2).

Chapter Six

Paper Three: An autoethnographic account of intergenerational co-housing

The third, and final, paper in this dissertation is prepared for submission to the *Journal of Aging and Environment* and is formatted to their guidelines. This paper has not yet been submitted and will undergo further revisions prior to publication.

Paper One introduced the concept of intergenerationality to engender inclusivity and nuance in the context of intergenerational landscapes. However, from the standpoint of the findings revealed in Paper Two on co-housing across generations, current frameworks, and understandings of intergenerational relations may not be sufficient to understand intergenerational landscapes. Paper Three presents the findings of the autoethnographic portion of this research. It provides an in-depth analysis of the intricacies of managing a co-housing project whilst also studying intergenerational relations and intergenerational landscapes more broadly. Findings speak to the need to understand the complexity of intergenerationality in the context of co-housing based on my experiences as a project liaison.

On one hand, intergenerational programs are expected to be beneficial for all. However, a critical lens, reveals the need for stakeholders and key informants to better understand and appreciate the taken for granted assumptions of intergenerational programming. Including how sociocultural ideals of aging (e.g., new interpretations and lifestyles, and/or participation) are enacted in the design and context of intergenerational programming and co-housing. Paper Three reveals how co-housing can be fraught with contradictory ideas about relations, motivations, and opportunities. Far from being the project or idea that

'solves' the challenges of a demographic shift, co-housing may also create tensions when cultural imperatives such as successful aging and active aging take hold. Understanding intergenerational programing and the participant process, however, can provide insight into the experience and intergenerational connection in a manner that fosters greater inclusivity and solidarity.

Paper Three

"An autoethnographic account of intergenerational co-housing"

Stephanie Hatzifilalithis[a,b]

[a]*Department of Health, Aging, and Society, McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada*

[b]*Gilbrea Centre for Studies in Aging, McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada*

Abstract

Intergenerational co-housing is seen as a promising model for housing and most empirical work reports supportive evidence in this model to create affordable living environments and to support 'aging in place' (Chum et al., 2020). However, intergenerational co-housing involves individuals fostering connections between larger entities comprising different private, semi-private, common, or even public interpretations of intergenerational landscapes. This paper applies an autoethnographic approach that weaves together two key informants and one project liaison's experiences of navigating an intergenerational co-housing project within a small community in Canada. It offers an analysis of how identities interact with the project goals and aims and sheds light on the dynamic experience of intergenerational co-housing. This paper outlines participant motivations, challenges, and critical obstacles in managing a co-housing project and provides suggestions for change. The intention with this paper is to document, resist, and transform what it means to embody closeness, intergenerationality, and practice.

Keywords: Intergenerational Co-Housing, Relations, Intergenerationality, Autoethnography, Gerontology

Introduction

While demographic change can be viewed as positive development and a signal of humanitarian success, discussions of urban aging often focus on the 'burdens' older people place on healthcare, public pension, and housing (Hebb, Hamilton & Hachigian, 2010). Loneliness, exclusion, and social isolation are suggested to be among some of the major barriers to senior well-being. Shifting demographics, increasing senior isolation, and the constrained housing market provide fertile ground for surge and popularity of programs such as intergenerational co-housing (Chum et al., 2020). Co-housing, a tested model of living across the globe (See Appendix Five), has the potential to target these issues directly through intergenerational collective impact. These programs are committed to ensuring that seniors and students benefit from and contribute to the quality of life in and around their homes.

In contemporary western societies, home is a private place. It is a place for a person's daily routines, rest, relationships, and a space for expression of one's identity and their individual interpretations of home. While older people express the desire to age in their current homes, many common barriers exist, including fixed and/or limited incomes, home maintenance costs, rising property taxes, and declining social networks (Hebb et al., 2010; Little, 2016; Shan, 2010). LGBTQIA+ seniors who are part of the long battle against discrimination and who've been 'out' for years are now worried they'll have to hide their sexual orientation as they face the need to move into long-term care facilities (Purdon & Palleja, 2018). Parallel to this, the shortage of appropriate and affordable housing for students is growing across north America and densely populated university cities (Kalinowski, 2018). Intergenerational co-housing has been suggested to allow people to stay at home longer,

increase their quality of life, and ultimately promote and foster social inclusion in local communities (Arrigoitia et al., 2018).

Today, shared living represents a spectrum of different types of housing, from entrepreneurial co-housing units to climate-friendly ecovillages and casual private lodging arrangements. In different fields of research, co-housing has been explored as a reflection of a societal challenges such as climate change, urban segregation, and detachment and loneliness in late modern societies (Eräranta et al., 2009; Krokfors, 2017; Lang et al., 2018). Co-housing is poised to play a pivotal role in urban settings. However, little is known about the experiences or understandings, and benefits/challenges of intergenerational co-housing.

This paper begins by detailing an autoethnographic account of one project liaison's experiences and two perspectives from key informants managing an intergenerational co-housing project. It situates the findings in their experience and attempts to describe their accounts of intergenerationality. Intergenerationality is a term we have coined to describe the temporal space and place of intergenerational interaction, transformation of intergenerational relations, intergenerational programs, or the transfer of trauma across generations. We use the term to engage in debate and describe the shifting intergenerational landscapes (Hatzifilalithis & Grenier, 2019). We then move to discuss key informants' insights in the context of co-housing through an autoethnographic approach to expose the complexities of motivations and challenges of co-housing. Finally, relations in all its shapes, including the construction and deconstruction of intimacy and closeness and their implications on intergenerationality are examined.

Data in my autoethnography

The aim of my research is to reveal paths forward and identify and analyse my own experience as a facilitator of an intergenerational co-housing project within the political, social, and cultural contexts. The purpose is to open my experience to critical reflection and analysis against a background of scholarship, and to generate rich case-study data that provokes further questioning and research in search of understanding intergenerationality in a contemporary context. The aim is to produce a body of work of critical and reflexive information to learn from my varied experiences as a facilitator and to grow beyond these experiences as a gerontologist.

The approach I take in this article can therefore be broadly characterized as 'autoethnographic'. Such an approach is based on highly personalized, revealing texts in which researchers tell stories about their own lived experiences, with the aim of providing a deeper understanding of the way in which the 'personal' relates to the 'cultural' (Richardson, 2000: p. 11). Autoethnography is also sometimes described as 'critical autobiography', which, as is described in the following quote by Church (1995), locates the personal firmly within the social world:

> *"Critical autobiography is vital intellectual work . . . The social analysis accomplished by this form is based on two assumptions; first, that it is possible to learn about the general from the particular; second, the self is a social phenomenon. I assume that my subjectivity is filled with the voices of other people. Writing about myself is a way of writing about these others and about the worlds we create/ inhabit . . . Because my subjective experience is part of the world, the story which emerges is not completely private and idiosyncratic."(p. 5)*

With this approach, emphasis is placed on the process, of interaction. For this reason, people conducting autoethnographic work and delving into their life stories are encouraged to choose a topic they feel comfortable with and/or are already familiar with. It has been suggested that one of the criteria to be used in evaluating the validity of this kind of autoethnographic approach is 'evocation' (Ellis, 1995). Talking of evocation as a criterion for judging her own story about her relationship with a partner who died of a critical illness, Ellis argued that the 'validity' of storytelling is best judged by whether it evokes in the reader a feeling that the experience described is authentic, believable, and possible (see also Sparkes, 2000). Rather than 'generalizability', the impact of the story is best judged by whether it speaks to the reader about their own or others' experiences. Little research exists on examining the complex cultural, emotional, and collective challenges surrounding intergenerational co-housing, I felt, as a first step, it was important to inquire more deeply into my own experience and two other team members of the same intergenerational co-housing project. Materials from a co-housing program in Ontario, sketches, notes, memos, and interviews form part of the data source for this analysis. The operative research questions were: *1) What features of intergenerational co-housing influence participation*? and, 2) *How do social conditions influence or facilitate intergenerational connection and how can we inform policy and programming* ? Interviews were collected during the period of May 2019 to April 2020. I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with both participants by phone in line with COVID-19 restrictions, to further explore key informants reflections and thoughts about intergenerationality and intergenerational co-housing (See Appendix Six for interview guide). Demographic information was also collected for descriptive purposes (e.g., age, profession). In Table 1 you can see this information for key informants who were former volunteers for the co-housing program. Two audio recording devices were used to record

participant interviews. Interviews were then transcribed by a professional service and were later reviewed for accuracy and edited accordingly. The two interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 90 minutes. Immediately following each interview, I copied recordings to my password-protected computer and then deleted them from the audio-recorder. I shared the interviews with a professional transcriptionist, but she had no access to participants' personal information. During these interviews I made it clear that I was a researcher in this context and not a project liaison. I emphasized that in this circumstance *I* was learning *from them* throughout the interview and the co-housing experience. This enabled a greater sense of understandings of their interactions with older and younger people, alongside their ideas and understandings of intergenerationality. Data was reviewed using the conventions of critical grounded theory adapted to an autoethnographic context (Anderson 2006; Bullough & Pinneager 2001; Creswell, 1999). Field observations and recordings of interviews were reviewed after every site visit, to identify preliminary themes or categories of information, and to explore any gaps in information collected. Analysis included abduction and retroduction to identify structural, cultural, and personal emergent properties, and how these influenced their experience of intergenerational co-housing. Step one began with abduction, an open coding process where the lead author read and re-read all the data (e.g., field notes, observations, interviews and documents) to identify key concepts and to search for patterns, or what critical realists' term 'demi-regularities', within and across each data source (Fletcher, 2017).Then, descriptive codes were then assigned to text segments corresponding to key concepts, and then grouped into broader topic-oriented categories. The next step was followed by retroduction – the theoretical development of causal explanations (i.e., causal mechanism) for observed empirical patterns. This involved the identification of structural and cultural emergent properties and

their tendencies (e.g., students need for housing) and how these are mediated (i.e., resisted, or reinforced) by personal emergent properties and their tendencies (e.g., affordable housing needed). Once the final codes and their meaning were decided upon , the data were entered into NVivo 11 (QSR International Pty Ltd, 2015) – a qualitative software - to facilitate the organization and retrieval of the data. While autoethnography holds its own tradition with regards to analysis, utilizing CGT adequality addressed the questions I was interested in and set out to understand. Specifically, this study draws on my own perspective and my experiences required analysis in line with my (the researchers) positionality, an autoethnographic approach was used as an inductive design, a way to frame my experience and research questions, and critical grounded theory was as a general strategy for performing the analysis of my experience, including the key informants.

Table 1: Demographic Information: Key Informants

Stakeholders															
Pseudonym	*Participant Code*	*Gender*	*Age*	*Marital Status*	*Student*	*International*	*Primary Language*	*Highest level of Education Completed*	*Living Arrangment*	*Identifies as a woman*	*First Nations*	*Visible Minorty*	*Person with a disability*	*LGBTQ+*	*Trans+*
Camden	PS1	F	22	Single	Yes	No	English/ Korean	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Family	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
Cecilia	PS2	F	56	Common Law	No	No	English	Bachelors Degree	Lives with Partner	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No

As with any qualitative study, the analysis is intended to provide in-depth insight into one person's (in this case, three) experiences. The impetus for this study derived from my desire to understand this social, cultural, and economic phenomenon of intergenerational co-housing. Mapping and field notes were used in line with an autoethnographic approach, and allowed me to understand perceptions of relationships, the interpretation of dynamics of space visually. A map of the social and physical environments has proved valuable in other studies of dynamics and perceptions of environments (Morrow, 2001,2003). Mapping also encourages

the researcher to visually situate the cases within their home and social environment to deepen the understandings and verbal accounts. At each interview I would broadly map out the house, living space, and keep detailed contextual and field notes which were subsequently discussed, confirmed, and distributed among the research team.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity can involve "(1) full explanation of how analytic and practical issues were handled; (2) examination of the researcher's own background and its influences on the research; and (3) reflections on the researcher's own emotions, worries, and feelings" (Olesen, 2007, p. 423). In this section I will outline some key issues related to reflexivity in my study, including my decision to study intergenerationality; the ways I experienced and negotiated power differentials during interviews; and my own reactions and emotions throughout the research process. My decision to study intergenerationality is based in part on personal experience. My grandfather played a major role in my upbringing but also my decision to enter the field of gerontology. "Personal struggles and experiences offer an important touchstone for academic theorizing" (Twigg, 2004, p. 62). Through first-hand experience, I observed the kinds of benefits to familial intergenerational relationships that can developed between generations. My reflections on my own experience, would influence my awareness of intergenerationality and the issues that emerge as well as the potential benefits, conflicts, and challenges that can arise between and among individuals.

Intensive interviewing can be emotionally demanding, and emotions no doubt impact researcher experiences. In the context of COVID-19 pandemic, discussions tended to skew in

certain directions that were outside of my control. In some cases, conducting interviews was emotionally upsetting as they shared difficult life experiences, including histories of abuse, deaths of family members, current challenges, and worries about the future. While I could not offer solutions to these struggles, I listened sympathetically and supportively, which I hope put participants at ease when they shared their experiences. In other cases, it was truly heartening to hear about the lives well lived, strong family connections, happiness in the past and present, and optimism about the future. I kept notes throughout data collection, recorded notes on the context of the interview, and jotted down any challenges or positive experiences I had during the interviews including the ways in which I felt my presence shaped the interview process.

The Research Process

During the production of my autoethnographic text, I experienced persistent anxiety about how I was representing myself. It was important to me to reflect the identity and self-understanding that I had established in my life. This included an understanding of myself as a partnered queer cis woman, my family as a non-nuclear family, both in appearance and in function, and my former relationship with my grandparents now deceased. I wanted to present myself authentically. As I read the intergenerational literature and compared the experiences, concepts, research findings to my own experiences with managing a co-housing project, I reacted to the ways that was not captured by the findings. I wanted to preserve my raw initial and unmediated responses to the literature and, at the same time, demonstrate that I was open minded and willing to learn something new about my experience.

In an era in which intergenerational co-housing is lauded as an important strategy to address the needs of older and younger people, I wondered how acceptable it would be for me to say that I did not co-house. This was seldom part of my consciousness in my experience managing the project. The more I read, however, the more my problem of representation grew. I began to understand different perspectives, circumstances, and, thus, the enormity of one's decision to open their homes or to sleep three meters away from a stranger. I was afraid that others would think I wasn't a supporter if they knew what my living arrangement "really" was. This created tension in how I might reconcile my discomfort from own position with a new awareness of their experience. On the other hand, how could I confess that my perspectives about co-housing were altered by what I had seen? Would I be admitting that I had been wrong? Would my colleagues or readers think that I had changed my position? Would I be criticized for my skepticism? Could I really put any of these thoughts down on paper? What if I changed my mind later? I began to see how "reducing a person's story to words on a page robs it of complexity" (Kraus, 2003, p. 284). Ellis (1999) has acknowledged the vulnerability experienced by the autoethnographer in revealing themselves, of not being able to take back what has been said, of not having control over how readers will interpret what is said, and of feeling that their whole life is being critiqued. Although the 'whole concept of authenticity, of identity as coherent' has been challenged (Lovell, 2005), it is very difficult to reconcile this theoretical assertion with the practicalities of writing about personal experience.

Looking back, my engagement with intergenerational co-housing was serendipitous. After a successful run with an intergenerational community engagement project aimed to break down age-based stereotypes through pictures and stories, my help was requested, and I became involved with another intergenerational project. At the time, the person facilitating the project

was going on leave and needed someone to manage the project. While time was not a currency I had in bounty, I needed to be a member of this project for various reasons. As a budding gerontologist, I was interested in the idea, the innovation, and could see the potential as it goes against the consumer/consumption narrative and brings back ideas of collectivism and community. As someone raised in a collectivistic culture, this was something I could support and hopefully bring to more people.

The Project Process

As a project liaison, I had the opportunity to engage and interact with many seniors and students throughout my two years of co-leading the project. I was facilitating meetings, meet, ups, matches, coordinating collaborations. I also had the opportunity to evaluate prospective participants and discuss needs, wants, and motivations from co-housing. I read over 100 applications from students and seniors in their attempt to enter this co-housing program and diligently evaluated their motivation for wanting to enter the program as well. The procedures in place necessary to take part are relatively straightforward. The founder of the project had created detailed application forms for both seniors and students based on their experience with co-housing. Interested parties begin by completing an application that identifies motivating factors for participation, followed by a one-on-one with both parties to provide a detailed program overview. At this time, the team ensured that needs and expectations were clear and mutually understood. Items from written applications were examined and clarified. This is also when members of the team would conduct a home visit with the senior. Once both parties have been interviewed our team reviewed all data carefully and initiated a potential senior/student match. The team would always have the aim for an ideal match in every sense.

Once the team would pair a senior with a student, a member of the team facilitated a meeting wherein they can discuss their potential cohousing relationship. If both parties decide to proceed, the team helped make final arrangements. At this stage, background checks (including Vulnerable Sector police background checks and a commercial and general liability insurance is secured) were completed and – once agreement is final – a legally sound contract (see Appendix Three for example of contract) was signed by the senior, the student, and a witness. The program aimed to make the best possible match to ensure harmonious cohabitation and with 126 applications and successfully matched over 20 pairs. The program provided ongoing support for pairs and planned social events for participants and collaborators so that older people and students could share their experience.

Key Learnings

Intention to Participate

Starting out with the project, my motivations were situated around making an impact, bringing generations closer together, and breaking down age-based stereotypes. When looking back through my field notes, interviews, and personal experience, I remember thinking if this was often the case for participants and key informants of the program. I observed that motivation for participation of seniors was often companionship and/or a push from family who lived far away. While this didn't come out prominently in my interviews with seniors, it was often the case that we would receive emails from adult children that feared isolation and the impact it could have on their parents. In further discussions with the adult children, I found that this was often fueled by fearful media accounts of isolated seniors, or recent health concerns that left the families feeling helpless and with need to take care of their parents. In

one case, I remember doing a home visit with a senior and her daughter. I can recall the senior speaking very little and having the daughter, who lived about an hour away, asking and answering all the questions about the program. I remember another participant noting that '*it would put my daughter at ease to know someone is here'*. While genuine care and concern are admirable attributes, in some instances it almost came off as demeaning. There was this sense of a lack of acknowledgment of the senior's agency or personhood. I recall a daughter taking out a checklist in a meeting with the prospective student and listing the things the student would have to do in the house for their mother (e.g., taking the garbage out every Thursday, ensuring the sidewalks were shoveled, locking the doors, and setting the alarm at night). The student was listening and taking notes intently, but I couldn't help thinking if this is what we advertised as a program. I remember asking myself if this was the vision of our intergenerational co-housing program. The idea was to bring seniors and students together to build intergenerational bonds and break isolation, it started to seem like a pixelated version of the initial aims and goals of the program. In discussion about the motivators for seniors and students to participate, both key informants discussed their experiences and perceptions of motivation:

> *"I could see the student wanting to have reduced rent in exchange for helping out…a lot of the students were really experiencing social isolation too, and that for them was equally important that they have company and companionship and not have to feel alone..."*
>
> *Cecilia, 56*

When asked to comment on what they believe were the motivations behind an intergenerational co-housing project, both key informants alluded to broader contextual issues such as:

> *"I think in the modern world, connections between everybody have suffered not just the intergenerational ones…I don't go outside and knock on my neighbor's door...that's something that's really changed. It's harder to make connections and there's less community support and peer support than there used to be."*
>
> *Camden, 23*

In a similar way, Cecilia notes:

> *"I believe that as a society, we have strayed from the power of those connections that we've lost all of the magical things that can be handed down – and both given and received by each generation. I really feel like it's important to build bridges, that there used to be solid connections and bridges between generations that I feel like those have been weakened."*
>
> *Cecilia, 56*

In one case, I remember one of the oldest participants in the program had been married several times and lived a full life travelling. They collected art and spoke about the importance of environmental sustainability. Her motivations to participate were not to foster intergenerational connection rather to have someone live in the basement her brother used to live in (See Figure 2). She needed a bit more extra income and her daughter who lived in another country felt at odds with her mother living alone, 'just in case'. This 'just in case' is something most families mentioned in encouraging their parents or grandparents to participate in co-housing. It was always 'just in case you fall', 'just in case you need something', 'just in

case something happens', 'just in case you need help, and nobody is there'. The lack of agency or voice of older people was evident in my experience of managing the program. This was evident in one of the senior's assertations about not wanting to co-house and then eventually agreeing to appease her daughter's plea. On the other hand, students' motivations were more economic in nature, they were situated more on the side of need rather than want. This was evident in their applications as well as our ongoing interaction throughout the program as Camden recalls:

> *"I did get the feeling that older people wanted to be a part of it. I mean for various reasons but a big motivator… coming from younger people more focused on housing, more focused on affordable housing rather than the intergenerational aspect."*
>
> *Camden, 23*

As my time with the project went on, my concern was that we used intergenerational co-housing as a band aid to fix or delay a bigger challenge of unaffordable housing for students and lack of companionship and care options for seniors. Intergenerational co-housing is often portrayed as a panacea that will solve all issues surrounding the health and well-being of both seniors and students, rather than focusing on the systemic issues at hand that lead people to participate. As a graduate student myself, I can attest to the economic struggles and overwhelming lack of decent and humane housing. A quiet place to study, to think, to have a conversation, or to get a good night's rest have all become rare commodities. In my experience this was evident in the type of students who would approach this program. Often, they were international students who paid a heightened tuition fee, lived far away from family, and who often sent money back home. While it isn't surprising that these students were seeking

affordability, it didn't necessarily align with one of the main visions of these programs: building intergenerational connection. It appears motivations tend to paint a different picture, one based on 'just in case' scenarios and another based on financial need.

These motivations were reinforced by universities, news outlets, and municipalities who 'jumped on the bandwagon'. The program hits buzzwords associated with later life such as isolation, aging in place, connecting in a disconnected world etc. The media was/is extremely infatuated with intergenerational co-housing. While great for popularity and growth of the programs, it seemed performative at best. One key informant notes that:

> *"Co-housing in general is really taking off - I think seniors cohousing together is really taking off as an idea, and I think the intergenerational cohousing is perhaps an off-shoot of that. It's getting some reflected light, I guess, from the renewed interest and spark in co-housing and just alternative ideas around housing in general."*
>
> *Cecilia, 56*

In part, it could be the perceived novelty of the concept. It served as this social oxymoron. A senior and a student coming together was considered, well, interesting. This speaks to western societies' ability to segregate age groups so discretely that simply having two members of different generations come together is viewed as novel.

Critical Obstacles and Challenges

One of the biggest challenges for seniors who wanted to co-house outside of the intergenerational program was the fear and insecurity of bringing someone into their homes without facilitation by a formal organization such as the university. They would always note

how the vetting process and intricate details made them feel more secure about co-housing. This formalized process somehow made parties feel at ease and the structure provided security. This didn't necessarily mean that the participants would get along or that the match would flourish, and solid intergenerational bonds would be created, rather, if it were to go awry, both parties would have a formal agency to run towards. Mostly women participated in this co-housing project, women who were either widowed or divorced. Throughout my time as project liaison, I would often pick up on the subtle hints and nudges about being alone and fear of having no 'protection' around the house. This, however, did not translate in their explicit requests to have a man co-house with them. They felt 'safer' to be at home and sharing space with a woman. However, the intimacy of sharing space with a perfect stranger was still a challenge observed:

> *"...some of them were nervous about sharing their private space and sharing their home with somebody they didn't know…There was some concern on the senior's part about fear of the unknown and this intimacy of inviting somebody to live with you and share your space and live in your home.*"
>
> *Cecilia, 56*

Cecilia continued to note that they were surprised that it didn't run deeper than that and that it was:

> *"An initial concern that was expressed and then usually, through meeting the student, those fears were just – dissipated"*
>
> *Cecilia, 56.*

If we are matching strangers in, what I would suggest, one of the most intimate experiences such as living together, the matching process tends to read inadequate, procedural, and ultimately lacking integral components of connection. At times during my tenure, I would struggle with the whole idea of matching and would often relate it to parents trying to arrange a good marriage for their child. "Oh, this participant likes scrabble and this one loves to read, they must be a good fit!" These were the times where I would question the foundations of co-housing as a facilitator of intergenerational connection and intergenerationality more broadly. I would often think, how is intimacy formed? How are relationships ultimately constructed? Are they based on familiarity or likeliness of the same things or ideas? After this experience, I would disagree. You can have commonality and commonality can play an important role in bonding, but is that what makes a connection? Are these the building blocks that form bonds, closeness, and support meaningful connection? Are these programs that are coming to be the foundation of intergenerational relations adequate for the motivations of solidarity and unity?

Another challenge was the stigma and age-based stereotypes associated with seniors that we as a team had to combat. One's that are stereotypical in nature and place older people in the light of dependent, physically frail, vulnerable, and in need of aid. At the outset of the matching process, we would ensure that this point was made clear to both seniors, family, and students. I remember I would often repeatedly say, 'the seniors don't need you' to the students. We would also explain to seniors and their families that students are not healthcare professionals or their assistants. One of the key informants spoke about how co-housing with seniors was seen as charity work:

"I think both people get a benefit from it and it's almost…dehumanizing to make it seem like charity work when it shouldn't be. It is always focused on the help or the assistance that seniors

will be receiving. Going into it with the attitude of saving someone. I hate that. Unfortunately, I think it's becoming a bit of a trend as well… If you're not aware of how to make people feel like people and not just charity cases. I just think that can be really harmful and in intergenerational programming becomes like a trendy thing to do. I just think that's a real scary thought."

Camden, 23

In the context of intergenerational co-housing, another challenge and question I would be confronted with as a someone who didn't always have a home or access to basic needs such as shelter or food was, who has a home to provide? Who has extra space that is not occupied? Who can forgo money for rent simply for safety purposes or for peace of mind? In the context of the widely publicised 'need' for intergenerational connection, who gets to experience that? Who has the time to focus on non-familial relations? Who is accessing leisurely activities as such? Camden, also discussed the inaccessibility of programs like these, in terms of language and socio-economic background:

"Certain minorities or the socio-economics status or language status can make it more difficult for people to participate and I see there being very much a lack of diversity in this realm and that's difficult for me to see. To especially given – my grandfather doesn't speak English except his first language. He isn't in the place to participate in the ways that I see other people participating."

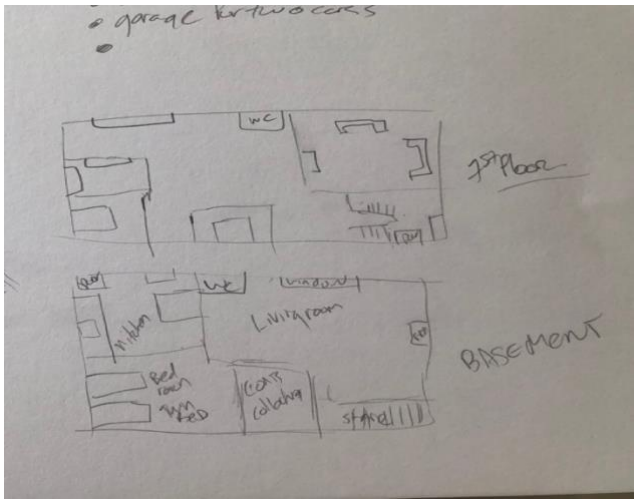
Camden, 23

What I learned throughout this process is that we need to be mindful of access when creating and promoting programming that intend to blur generational categories, break down stereotypes, and promote inclusion.

Why Intergenerational Co-housing?

One of the ongoing questions as a gerontologist or as someone interested in the aging experience throughout this process was if it really mattered that co-housing occurred between a student or someone from a different generation. To elaborate on this point, in one co-housing match there was deliberate intent to not be in the same physical spaces (see Figure 1). The entrance to the one house was separate, making the match less willing to participate in social activities, less visible, and less present. However, the daily recognition in the form of small talk with or just a gaze from another co-houser was brought up as important social bricks these arrangements. For instance, one participant noted that she and her two co-housers rarely do things together, instead they communicate by "sending small affirmations" across the house in the sound of "I'm so hungry" from the hall, and a "Ah ... okay" from one of the bedrooms. These interactions can be thought of like a mirror: a passive object, not interfering but quietly reflecting—and thus confirming—what is in front of it. This comparison highlights how these "small affirmations" are a sign of a detached form of closeness. The same participant referred to the household and the presence of others as preventing her from falling into solitude and troubled thoughts. I remember her talking about her husband, who died under three years ago, about how having someone around was great because: '*Someone noticed you and ... this makes you come down to earth and feel good. As an everyday comfort I think this is the best, those small comments*'. The participant referred to moments when herself and the co-houser ended up at the same restaurant; she stated that they "*take each other for granted...we don't need to talk because it is like, we will meet later, it's a very special feeling...*" This "feeling," is taken for granted and in this case does not seem to emerge from emotion-intensive relationships, but from shared daily life made up by household chores and low-key affirmations. These ongoing comments made me reflect on how age may or may not impact closeness, connection, and intergenerational relations.

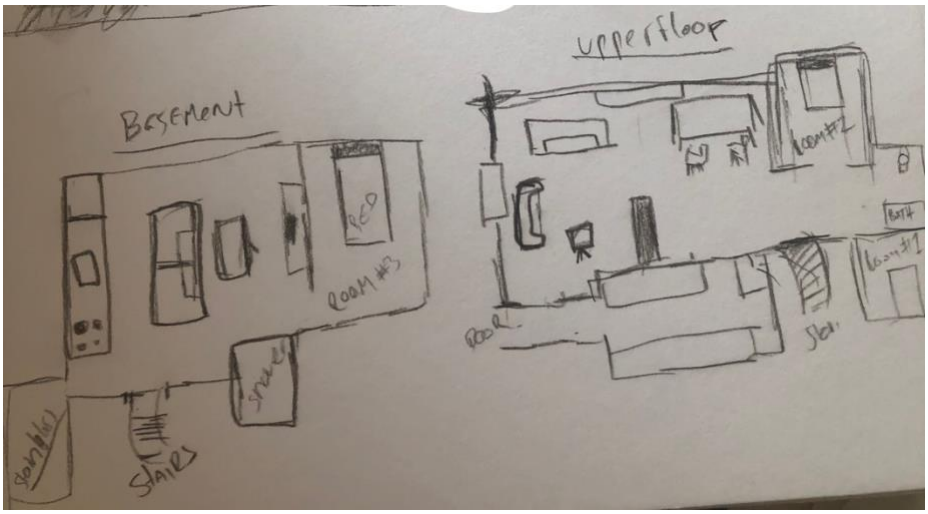
Figure 1: Visual sketch of layout (A)



In another instance, one senior, was motivated to participate in the program since she was a long-life caregiver. In all our interactions she spoke to the importance of this identity throughout her life. She took care of her daughter diligently due to multiple health challenges and when her daughter died, she needed to fill that physical and emotional space. It was never about finances; therefore, her student did not do much or pay much. They lived in a bungalow with a separate basement area that included a bath, bedroom, kitchen and living room (See Figure 2). In the beginning, the senior didn't want the student to be downstairs but wanted her student match to stay in the room on the same floor. In her mind, this would help the student and senior form a stronger bond. I recall how adamant the senior was about the student sleeping on the same floor in her child's room. She mentioned that if the student stayed downstairs, they wouldn't ever see each other or have dinner together. The student on the other hand wanted to stay in the basement but agreed to appease to the senior and get to know them a bit more. With time, the senior realized that the student was interacting with them as much as they could and eventually let her stay in the basement for the remainder their co-

housing agreement. Segregated by space or not, this didn't necessarily matter in the grand scheme of their co-housing relationship. The senior needed another younger person to take care of and the student provided them with that opportunity.

Figure 2: Visual sketch of layout (B)



My ideas and thoughts around intergenerational co-housing evolved. I continued to question if it really made a difference if seniors were co-housing with someone their own age? If yes, why, if no, why not? While not detailed in this paper, there were findings from one-on-one interviews with seniors and students (Hatzifilalithis & Grenier, 2021). The findings revealed that co-housing is often about the person, power, companionship, and not their age. Other seniors mention that a big factor in having a student was the power and control they had in their environment. They didn't want to forgo this in their own private space. They feared that if they had someone their own age, they would come with a list of demands or wants and needs that a student wouldn't necessarily have or be able to assert. I started to question why age has something to do with one's ability to set boundaries or control their space? Was it the fact that most seniors participating have been/are parents and continue to

need to carry on the role or the identity of a parent/grandparent as they continue throughout the life course? Was it something about gender that drew women to these programs? Or was it simply because women tend to outlive men. Or is it their lifelong socially prescribed narrative of being a caregiver, or caretaker that drove them to participate? I would often wonder if there was something more to be understood rather than the want to 'give back' through the depictions of Erikson's developmental model of generativity (often cited as the key motivating factor for older people engaging in intergenerational connection, see Hatzifilalithis & Grenier, 2019).

Working with this program, my belief is that people's motivations did not always closely align to these interpretations or past research. My inclination is to believe that facilitating an intergenerational co-housing match did not 'do much'. I think it could have been anyone. It didn't have to be a student, it didn't have to be someone younger, it didn't have to be someone part of a different generation. It just had to be somebody. For the senior, it had to be someone who didn't necessarily have a lot of power and offered companionship, and, for the student, it had to be someone who offered a decent and affordable living space. In interviews, when prompted to discuss if they think this program would be different if the participants were from the same generation one key informant noted:

> *"They're complete strangers, they're different ages, they may be from completely different socioeconomic backgrounds, they may be a good match on paper [Laughter] but may not necessarily be a good match in other ways…if you're starting out with somebody who's a same [generation] you might already have a lot more in common."*

Cecilia, 56

Another key informant spoke to this issue in their own way questioning whether it was necessary to have a senior and a student co-house to see the benefits of companionship:

"Is absolutely necessary? I don't know. I think they're definitely beneficial. I think learning from each other is always beneficial. If we're willing to listen to each other and work with each other and work with each other and learn from each other's experiences and be willing to learn new things. I just think that's always a positive…I think that intergenerational connections or relationships are just really beneficial for everybody involved and I think that especially when it comes to combatting ageism, being able to connect younger people with older people helps everyone to understand the position and perspective of the other. However, that might be."

Camden, 23

Discussion

Understanding contemporary intergenerational dynamics is in fact dynamic; they are closely related to the structures and norms of society. If this program was investigated in the 1960s, we may have had different results. Perhaps a bit more targeted at forming connections and bonds rather than individual interpretations. Intergenerational co-housing adds to a long-lasting sociological debate on the relation between the organized and the intimate, the public and the private, as well as the relation between strong and weak ties. While the domestic context places intergenerational co-housing at a distance from workplaces and formal organizations, intergenerational co-housing marks a divergence from conventional western interpretations of home. Intergenerational co-housing is bound to manage a combination of demands within a social context made up of people who often had no relation to each other

beforehand, and therefore calls for more routinized and formalized decisions that relate to the foundations of these practices. According to Puplampu et al., 2020, "*Co-Housing is an intentional community and a private living arrangement jointly planned, developed, built, owned, and managed by the residents to meet their living needs*" (p.14). This is where cohousing or intergenerational co-housing in this context differs greatly, in cohousing buildings one of the key philosophy is consensus in decision making. Also, in co-housing occupants tend to own their units, so no party is seen as vulnerable (Puplampu et al., 2020). Unlike this program of intergenerational co-housing, students may be vulnerable because of their financial challenges and social conditions. There are moves needed for the students who need to have a say or equal power in the relationship in order for connection or healthy relations can occur. Although intergenerational co-housing does not always meet the criteria of an "intergenerational connection", intergenerational co-housing represents a new layer of intergenerational relations and a new social form that is shaped by power, structure, and decisions around casual activities like preparing dinner.

Instead of drawing more attention to the home as a continuous site for traditional family life, intergenerational co-housing exposes a form of living that destabilizes the notion of domestic spaces as a singular infrastructures. It showcases how transition and depersonalized relations live side-by-side with accounts of existential and financial security. As argued throughout the paper, this is not necessarily contradictory evidence but rather two sides of the same coin. At work, like in co-housing, people normally do not choose their relations. This turns out to play a constructive role in making possible close and regular interaction. Somewhat similar to how soccer players orient themselves, not necessarily toward individual players but to the flow of the game. Co-housers are, ideally, drawn together by an imposed orientation toward their individual needs. Thus, this program captures a common directedness and joint

conditions whereby people direct themselves simultaneously toward a shared place and a set of joint motivations. Connection can flow, in homes as well as on soccer fields, and brings about the importance of the constructions that bind people together. Translating this into a general conceptualization, intergenerational relations are highly situational. In terms of a housing configuration, it directs people toward a set of functions, needs, practices, and materialities embedded with an incentive. It is through the everyday structure, the household chores, and daily routines that intergenerational co-housers relate to each other. This helps uncover that there can be connection, however, intergenerational relations cannot be defined by the formation of strong relationships, but instead could be conceptualized as a social phenomenon encompassing various forms of relational situations.

Intergenerational co-housing, in a way, exemplifies a counter-case to what Berlant (2000), labels "hegemonic intimacy." This social form emerges not primarily in exclusive dyads, such as traditional love relations or parent–child bonds, but in larger inclusive groupings. It refers to closeness that is not limited in nature but that grows in the slow repetitive rhythm of everyday life, thus constituting a form of togetherness with existential bearing (Berlant, 2000). This intimacy involves autonomy and is not informed by long-lasting co-housing relationship. Rather, it implies an orientation that evaluates personal gains — the mundane and the existential — in relation to a collective goal (Berlant, 2000). While embedded with an individualist ethic, this form of connection is deeply entwined with the social context and is marked by routines to the point that the program itself becomes part of the connection. This can be seen in instances with participants who 'loved' the proximity to campus, more than their co-housers. It also shows that most intergenerational relations 'die' when co-housers move out. This implies that connection in intergenerational co-housing could be experienced

but are almost invisible, simple signs of attention could alleviate loneliness and establish a sense of belonging. What I noticed is that it rarely comes with large gestures or from an experience with a person from another generation, but rather displays through mundane affirmations, such as when the door closes, when people say good morning and goodnight as they go about their day, or when they silently watch a movie together. The ability to cover a silence that was once filled with sound. Either that be footsteps in the hall, or a simple nudge when they fell asleep on the couch to remind them to go upstairs. This form of connection is ultimately about embodying the same space and time, about co-presence, and daily small acts of attention, not necessarily intergenerational connection.

Conclusion

Drawing on my own personal experience of managing an intergenerational co-housing project and two other key informants' perspective, this paper has attempted to deepen understandings of the way in which, in recent years, intergenerational co-housing is increasingly inculcated as a silver bullet to a multiplicity of issues. Co-housing reflects a contemporary movement toward alternatives to individualism and loneliness and reveals the intimate imprints of intergenerational connection. This account unfolds the intriguing benefits and challenges of everyday interaction and how intergenerationality can be fraught with contradictory ideas about relations, motivations, and opportunities. Far from being the project or idea that 'solves' the promoted and suggested challenges of a demographic shift, it may have the ability to become more of a 'normalized' experience, especially when co-existing with other cultural imperatives such as successful aging and active aging take hold. The findings of this study may thus be important, not only to the field of co-housing and the growing stream of intergenerational research, but also to the broader aging field.

Intergenerationality is a concept that aims at theorizing relational complexity and people's experiences of intergenerational co-housing. The concept of intergenerationality expands not only to various types of families or program settings, which is often the focus within the intergenerational research field, but also to a more diversified set of relations such as how connections form while serving diverse needs. While the social architecture of intergenerational co-housing diverges from conventional kinship bonds, they partly serve somewhat similar emotional and social needs. In that respect, these households recall other forms of attachments that bridge functions and feelings. Although this way of living is often used as a trope to epitomize the radical seventies, intergenerational co-housing offers an emotionally low-cost and yet connected way of living together with others. It reflects societal trends of diverse intimacy in which relations are lived in various spheres and with different degrees of closeness. The relations found in these settings potentially become more prevalent as societies are further marked by individualization and neoliberal policies. A hallmark of societies that are continuously in flux, with ongoing transitions, searching for community and ultimately some form of connection.

I am left with a multitude of questions. I undertook this project, not because I wanted to indulge myself but it was important for me to share my insights into intergenerationality and co-housing. The fact that I learned something new in the process was a bonus in addition to making a scholarly contribution. By exploring present and future forms of intergenerational connection that blur the boundaries between the private and the public, familial and the non-familial, strong, and weak ties, the relations between the organized and the intimate, I now have a glimpse of an understanding of what home, intergenerationality, and intergenerational co-housing could mean.

References

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso books. https://doi.org/10.1080/17406315.2019.1690274

Arrigoitia, M. F., West, K., & Peace, S. (2018). Towards Critical Intersections of Ageing, Housing and Well-Being. *Home Cultures*, *15*(3), 209-221.

Berlant, L. (2000). An abortive abstract. *Transformations: Thinking Through Feminism*, 33.

Bullough Jr, R. V., & Pinnegar, S. (2001). Guidelines for quality in autobiographical forms of self-study research. *Educational researcher*, *30*(3), 13-21. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X030003013

Chum, K., Fitzhenry, G., Robinson, K., Murphy, M., Phan, D., Alvarez, J., ... & McGrath, C. (2020). Examining community-based housing models to support aging in place: A scoping review. *The Gerontologist*. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnaa142

Church, K. (1995). *Forbidden narratives: Critical autobiography as social science*. Routledge.

Creswell, J. W. (1999). Mixed-method research: Introduction and application. In *Handbook of educational policy* (pp. 455-472). Academic Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-012174698-8/50045-X

Ellis, C. (1999). Heartful autoethnography. *Qualitative health research*, *9*(5), 669-683. https://doi.org/10.1177/104973299129122153

Ellis, R. D. (1995). *Questioning consciousness*. Benjamins. [NN]. https://doi.org/10.1075/aicr.2

Eräranta, K., Moisander, J., & Pesonen, S. (2009). Narratives of self and relatedness in eco-communes: Resistance against normalized individualization and the nuclear family. *European Societies*, *11*(3), 347-367. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616690902764757

Hatzifilalithis, S., & Grenier, A., (2019) (Re)Constructing intergenerational landscapes: Perspectives from critical gerontology. (*Manuscript Submitted, Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, Revise and Resubmit*)

Hebb, T., Hamilton, A., & Hachigian, H. (2010). Responsible property investing in Canada: factoring both environmental and social impacts in the Canadian real estate market. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *92*(1), 99-115. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-010-0636-5

Kalinowski, T. (2018, April 27). *GTA millennials look farther afield after new mortgage rules*. Thestar.Com. https://www.thestar.com/business/real_estate/2018/04/26/gta-millennials-look-farther-afield-after-new-mortgage-rules.html

Kraus, C. W. (2003). On hurting people's feelings: Journalism, guilt, and autobiography. *Biography*, *26*(2), 283-297. https://doi.org/10.1353/bio.2003.0047

Krokfors, K. (2017). Towards diverse and resilient housing production: on conditions of invention. In *Ways of Residing in Transformation* (pp. 199-219). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315545738-10

Lang, R., Carriou, C., & Czischke, D. (2020). Collaborative housing research (1990–2017): A systematic review and thematic analysis of the field. *Housing, Theory and Society*, *37*(1), 10-39. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2018.1536077

Little, W. (2016). Aging and the elderly. *Introduction to Sociology-2nd Canadian Edition*.

Lovell, S. (2005). Seductive whisperings: Memory, desire, and agency in auto/biography. *thirdspace: a journal of feminist theory & culture*, *4*(2).

Morrow, V. (2001). Using qualitative methods to elicit young people's perspectives on their environments: some ideas for community health initiatives. *Health education research*, *16*(3), 255-268. https://doi.org/10.1093/her/16.3.255

Morrow, V. (2003). *Improving the neighbourhood for children: possibilities and limitations of 'social capital'discourses* (pp. 180-201). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203167236-14

Olesen, V. (2007). Feminisms and qualitative research at and into the new millenium. In N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln, *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks CA, Sage: 215-255.

Purdon, N., & Palleja, L. (2018). We're going back into the closet": LGBTQ seniors wary of being 'out'in long-term care facilities. *CBC News*.

Richardson, L. (2000). New writing practices in qualitative research. *Sociology of sport journal*, *17*(1), 5-20. https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.17.1.5

Shan, H. (2010). Property taxes and elderly mobility. *Journal of Urban Economics*, *67*(2), 194-205. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jue.2009.08.004

Sparkes, A. C. (2000). Autoethnography and narratives of self: Reflections on criteria in action. *Sociology of sport journal*, *17*(1), 21-43. https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.17.1.21

Twigg, J. (2004). The body, gender, and age: Feminist insights in social gerontology. *Journal of aging studies*, *18*(1), 59-73. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaging.2003.09.001

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

The intent of this dissertation was to better investigate later life and intergenerational landscapes in a contemporary context. The three main papers comprising this dissertation employed different approaches and methodologies, and thus, findings offer diverse and wide-spread insights into intergenerational landscapes. The first paper presented as part of this doctoral dissertation investigated the theoretical underpinnings of intergenerationality and provided suggestions for new modes of examining intergenerational landscapes. The second paper applied a critical realist lens to unmask the contextual factors that contribute to the understandings of intergenerationality in the context of co-housing. The third paper articulated how intergenerational co-housing reflects a contemporary movement toward alternatives that counter individualism and loneliness and revealed the intimate and social imprints of intergenerational connection. These three papers uncovered findings that push forward the field in different ways that will be examined more thoroughly below. This section of the dissertation brings these papers together to highlight and reiterate key findings and contributions, acknowledge the limitations of this dissertation, and suggest future areas of research.

Summary of Key Findings

Paper One addressed research question one, *What are the underlying conceptual assumptions and guiding frameworks of intergenerational knowledge?*. Within the scope of this paper, three major conceptual foundations came into focus for analysis. Our analysis utilized findings from the critical gerontological literature to identify potential contributions to the field. This critique

found that most theoretical underpinnings foster crystalized ideas and understandings with regards to aging and later life. This paper created a foundation for the papers to follow and a new language to discuss and debate intergenerational landscapes. While these findings are contested and debated, they nonetheless contribute to the literature in several ways that will be described in later sections.

This paper was limited by the exclusion of the vast literature on intergenerational knowledge (e.g., intergenerational trauma). It also remains unclear whether and to what extent these terms and ideas (e.g., intergenerationality) can or will contribute to our social dialogue or our understandings of intergenerational landscapes. It may also be that other factors at the conceptual level (e.g., interdisciplinarity,) make it more difficult to adopt terms and definitions that shape experience or a sense of identity.

These findings provide a steppingstone for future research by reporting this conceptual work and reinforce the need to directly define and investigate the intricate components that are associated with intergenerationality in a contemporary context. Moving forward, it is important for future research to build conceptual understandings and critical frameworks surrounding intergenerationality to better synthesize and discuss intergenerational landscapes.

Paper Two broadly addressed research question two, *What are the perceived benefits/challenges of intergenerational relations and how do these vary/endure across social locations and contexts (such as age group and place)?* This paper examined an intergenerational co-housing project through a critical realist lens. That is, a program that is studied and promoted

to connect older and younger people in a mutually beneficial co-housing arrangement. To better understand the mechanisms through which intergenerationality is experienced and understood, this study provided insights into dynamics, and non-tangible aspects of places, as they relate to intergenerationality. Using in-depth and semi-structured interviews, it uncovered aspects of how space and place shaped understandings of closeness, bonds, and intergenerational relations. Findings revealed how older and younger people experience co-housing in complex ways, both consciously and unconsciously. Drawing on critical realism, the analysis demonstrated a complex interrelationship between older and younger people's deliberations about their experiences and normative assumptions underpinning these types of programs.

It remains unclear, however, whether and to what extent these findings can be generalized to other intergenerational program settings. Intergenerational co-housing and the experiences described are subjected to the boundaries of project type, location, including the broader social and cultural context they occurred in. It may also be that the effects of COVID-19 and the limitations that occurred during the data collection inhibited a more extensive evaluation of the dynamics across matches' and participants' interpretation of intergenerational landscapes.

Understanding the implications of co-housing has important implications for the development of an effective multi-faceted approach to building sustainable and suitable housing, and in hand, presents fertile grounds to further examine intergenerational landscapes. The results of this study can provide a starting point for discussing experiences of intergenerationality in a contemporary context (e.g., including structural and/or societal aspects), and the impacts for those in later life. This paper provides valuable contributions of

perceptions of age and generation and the importance of a critical lens to better understand how co-housing shapes our understandings of intergenerationality and could challenge notions of aging whilst developing intergenerational landscapes.

Paper Three broadly answered question three, *How do contemporary dynamics influence intergenerational interaction and what ideas can be developed across generations to inform policy and programming?* Drawing on my own personal experience of managing an intergenerational co-housing project and two other key informants' perspective, this paper deepened our understanding of intergenerational co-housing as part of intergenerational landscapes. This paper showcased how co-housing reflects a contemporary shift, which offers alternatives to individualism and loneliness and revealed how ideas and imprints of collectivism can cast a light on contemporary tensions. This paper revealed the intriguing benefits and challenges of an everyday intergenerational interaction has, and how intergenerationality can be fraught with contradictory ideas about relations, motivations, and opportunities that inform policy and programming.

While the understandings of managing an intergenerational co-housing project are crucial, findings could have been supported by narratives of other co-housing project managers. Though autoethnographic research demands that the investigator prioritize and amplify their own voice, my social location may not have spoken to the required nuances of researching one's community, especially in a context where the intersections of aging, practice, and intergenerationality are at play.

Moving forward, these findings reveal that the challenges these type of programs are promoted and suggested to solve (e.g., strengthening intergenerational bonds, senior

isolation) hold structural limitations. One of the strengths of intergenerational co-housing is that it focuses on solutions tailored to suit the needs of specific communities, unlike the one-size-fits-all approach of centralised market-led or top-down housing solutions. This paper highlights the shortage of evidence related to these programs in a Canadian context. The findings of this study may thus be important, not only to the field of aging and the growing stream of intergenerational landscapes, but also to the broader housing field.

Implications for Research, Practice, and Policy

In this section, I will first reflect on the process of the dissertation, then speak to the ways in which 'intergenerationality' can serve as both theory and research tool to (1) better address and integrate complex macro systems with everyday experiences of aging, and (2) deepen an understanding of the interlocking ideas that exist at the intersections of relations, learning, and practice. I then turn to outline how my selected methods and methodology can influence and provide knowledge for more empirical work in this field. I then discuss implications for intergenerational practice and suggest specific ways program operators might engage in critical practice across institutional and community settings to improve understandings of intergenerational relations and the communities. Finally, I conclude with general musings and future research ideas.

Reflecting Back

In writing this section of the dissertation I ran into several challenges. Reflecting upon my work, it is safe to say that I was very much a hesitant researcher. I was worried about — well, just about everything — but primarily about my ability to produce a 'good' piece of research and being competent enough to do the participants' stories justice. I kept wondering if I have

done enough with the experiences that I have been privileged to listen to. Have I left out too many details and particular ideas? Have I done justice to the complexities of their stories? At the same time, I also wondered how to pull this section together - How can I possibly conclude five years' worth of work? Do I focus on what I have learned, the contributions to the field, the challenges of writing, and/or the implications for practice? Without making any claims about the quality of this completed project, I now believe that my self-consciousness was an advantage. Being vigilante and aware, enabled me to be more perceptive of those same feelings in others. My ongoing hesitancy to trust in my own singular interpretation resulted in the consistent consideration of multiple interpretations.

Though all graduate students are faced with major challenges at the outset of their PhD, I find a greater challenge at the end. How do I possibly add a period to something that always felt like a semi colon? Throughout this process, I have certainly gained confidence in my skills as researcher and writer. However, and perhaps more importantly, I have also learned to embody my beliefs that no researcher is privy to an ultimate truth – and that humility in any research approach is beneficial to both the researcher and those being researched. For now, I will focus on myself as a researcher and the implications based on findings in these studies. I cannot anticipate the way readers have interpreted this dissertation in light of their own positionality, however, I will share some of the ways that I have made meaning of the account on both personal and professional levels. I will attempt to make the connections between the experiences shared and the meaning this may have for the field Social Gerontology.

Theoretical

In discussing the theoretical implications of my findings for the fields of Social Gerontology, I would like to revisit my use of the term 'intergenerationality' and 'intergenerational landscapes'. Throughout my dissertation, I have used the term 'intergenerationality' to characterize the nuance that should be considered when referring to 'all that is intergenerational'. In Chapters Two and Four, I introduced these terms to acknowledge, redefine, and reconstruct the academic literature that doesn't necessarily frame 'intergenerationality' or provide a term to discuss intergenerational landscapes. Rather, as described in Chapter Two and Chapter Four (Paper One), literature has focused on different typologies about relations, learning, programming, trauma, solidarity, but has never been provided a language to be able to discuss and debate this vast field of research. The suggestion being made is that reframing the analysis of intergenerational relations with a focus on intergenerational landscapes and intergenerationality permits greater fluidity into understandings.

This dissertation suggests the intergenerational community and those in disciplines of Education and Psychology engage with Social Gerontology as a means to bridge the gap between past approaches and contemporary realities of aging and late life (as described in Chapter Four, Paper One). The intent is to bring important developments being made in the field of critical gerontology surrounding age relations (Phillipson, 2003), the third and fourth age (Gilleard & Higgs, 2010), the critiques of successful aging, and the ongoing discussions about the blurred lines of generational cohorts (Katz & Calasanti, 2015) to bring together the social gerontological community with the intergenerational one. The intention is for 'Intergenerationality' to be used as a jumping off point to start providing a common language

to build on disciplinary efforts made in the field of Gerontology, Sociology, Education, and Geography. Drawing on intergenerationality, scholars can reflect on how activity, healthy progression, conflict, and solidarity are embedded and performed in understandings and practices, and what changes might need to be considered to alter the way we think about intergenerational landscapes. The challenges and obstacles raised within this dissertation with regards to the conceptual foundations of intergenerational landscapes, add to the debate on the potential of intergenerationality as an analytical tool. In its simplest form, a new conceptual framing would open space for dialogue, debate, ambiguity, nuance, and forms of exchange that may currently go unnoticed. This may assist our understanding of the lived experience of aging, along with the fluidity of aging relationalities and the relationships across generations as they develop in a contemporary context.

This dissertation has provided comprehensive insights into people's perceptions and experiences of intergenerational landscapes within the context of life history, current life stage, and the everyday. It has taken the first step in considering how intergenerationality is achieved (or not) across the life course, and – ideally – will inspire further enquiry into people's lived experiences of aging in response to the challenges that are encountered throughout life. In doing so, it has argued for the relevance of the idea of 'intergenerationality' and intergenerational landscapes to offer ways to navigate the complexities and nuances of moving across academic space - one discipline to another, including the different convergences of meanings across the life-course and in Canadian society. The implications for policy and practice that arise from these theoretical contributions will be discussed later in this section.

Methodological

This dissertation has made a case for qualitative research using novel methods, different types of inquiry, and multiple forms of data analysis to investigate intergenerational landscapes. This dissertation was called to generate insight into the complexity of intergenerationality and the social function of intergenerational co-housing. This is rarely done within the context of intergenerational research. My dissertation centers on the development of a methodology that addresses the challenges of agency and structure. To the best of my knowledge, this study is the first to utilize a critical realist lens to examine intergenerational co-housing. Utilizing critical realism through Critical grounded theory (CGT) (a methodology designed to operationalize critical realism) provided me with the opportunity to investigate structural and agential processes underlying experiences of intergenerational co-housing. Critical realism is a meta-theory and doesn't necessarily have a strong guiding method of analysis yet, but it has been suggested that critical grounded theory can operationalize critical realism effectively (Hadley, 2011). CGT embodies the relationship between theory and practice envisaged by critical realism: "the practical importance of theory is that a theory can reform a practice. Theory is the growing point of a practice" (Collier, 1994, p. 15). In this thesis, it offered to produce knowledge that is relevant to practitioners by grounding findings in the experiences it seeked to inform (e.g., intergenerational practitioners. It explores that which is socially constructed while meeting the demand made by the proponents of evidence-based practice for methodology that allows for the emergence of other than foregone conclusions (Barth, 2008). It was uniquely situated to address the questions that I wanted to ask, stringing ontology, epistemology, and method together to provide a flexible, albeit rigorous, framework. The richness in this approach helped to

understand how participant voices can lead to the discovery of the workings of contemporary social conditions, such as affordable housing. CGT does not provide a magic bullet resolving all issues arising from disputes between constructionism and realism. But provides the ability for reflecting on what people actually do in particular settings and processes and how social conditions influence them. This approach can thus be more readily reproduced and used in evidence-based research that aims to addresses structural concerns regarding intergenerational landscapes. The notions captured in my autoethnographic approach further clarified the discrete social forces at play in the context of intergenerational co-housing. For example, what are the key influences, challenges, opportunities, and practices that were most likely to arise out of intergenerational co-housing. These factors allowed me to situate my experience as a researcher and became central to my research and departed from traditional ideas of a researcher as being outside of, and objective to the research and challenged this paradigm of objectivity (Granger, 2011).

Another methodological implication that may be taken from this dissertation, is the potential to view our lives through storytelling. Frank (2012) writes that "stories reshape the past and imaginatively project the future." (p. 33). As such, stories, my story, and the participants stories, have the potential to see beyond words and situate people and relationships in time, context, and space (Frank, 2012). By appreciating and seeing our lives as stories we can more deeply understand what kinds of scripts we have been socialised into, and what narratives could replace or accompany them. Thus, understanding my perceptions and experiences of intergenerationality, may allow for opportunities of change – and occasions for re-storying our perceptions of what might lie ahead in the field of

intergenerational co-housing. The methodological information in this dissertation is thus important and relevant and be used as a resource in establishing innovative approaches to understanding intergenerational landscapes that are productive, methodologically sound, and future orientated.

Practice and Policy

My intent is to leverage the results of this research to inform best practices and policies about how we construct, think about, experience, and practice intergenerational landscapes. This study showcases how policy makers must consider the intersectional impact of intergenerationality and the diverse, heterogenous, and ever transforming lives of older people. This would allow policy makers to account for the ways in which institutional and structural processes mutually reinforce ageism or generational tensions. For example, thinking about the impact of intergenerational programs in tandem with older people as diverse as any other age group offers a unique opportunity to better address the economic vulnerability of students and the new forms of social exclusion that older people face. I pose three main ways forward: 1) through programming 2) through more dedicated research and 3) through policy work.

First, I strongly believe in the importance of creating more inclusive environments for all people, especially those in later life. Municipalities can increase community spaces to promote 'natural' intergenerational interaction. On a more local level, these spaces could incorporate younger age groups participating in anti-ageist workshops aimed to challenge normative assumptions of age. Workshops could also bring younger and older people from a diverse range of backgrounds together, to promote engagement. By using the lens of

intergenerationality as a pathway to discuss what it means to be older, these spaces and workshops could effectively challenge current practices and encourage intergenerational connection. If intergenerational practices are centered around youth-related activities such as digital literacy, older people might feel less welcome to participate. Intergenerationality could help practitioners reflect on the ways they construct, perform, and experience age and generational boundaries through their work to ensure that the larger cultural context is acknowledged and addressed. Practice would be enriched by research investigating the lived experience of intergenerational relations in a program setting. A primary concern of intergenerational programming is to facilitate individuals to realise their potential for physical, social, and psychological wellbeing (WHO, 2002). In practice, the intent of intergenerationality is to start a conversation surrounding intergenerational endeavours by providing a language to initiate debate and identify linkages within the ongoing transformative social dynamics experienced across generations. These findings can assist with the planning and implementation of interventions within specific contexts by bringing into focus intergenerationality (e.g., nuanced approach to later life) that may be relevant to the experience of loneliness, exclusion, and social unity.

Second, community advocacy groups across society, media, and academia will be imperative in creating, promoting, and implementing programs targeted towards suitable intergenerational landscapes. It is imperative to ensure strategic funding of research, projects, and programs that create spaces for more intergenerational dialogue. These could make specific references to older people and to a 'pact' across generations including monitoring and evaluating the implementation of such programs in municipal, provincial, and federal policy. This could help increase public recognition of the contribution older people give to

society, including combatting ageism, exclusion, and intergenerational tensions in public discourse. Through intergenerational research, the intertwining academic, political, and cultural factors that encompass intergenerationality and the multidisciplinarity of intergenerational landscapes could illuminate the multiple streams of knowledge, structures, and power relations required to create change. This dissertation highlights the lack of evidence in place with regards to intergenerationality. The lack of 'evidence' supporting the importance of intergenerational connection and social sustainability could reflect the focus of most intergenerational research on the effectiveness of programs. To gain insight into the complexity of intergenerationality, theoretically informed and methodologically innovative research that considers a variety of voices and settings within which they take place is needed. Future research needs to consider the key fields within which intergenerational work is naturally occurring (e.g., such as work) to understand intergenerational landscapes. My hope is that this research acts as an impetus to further explore the lived reality of intergenerational connection in the context of aging and contemporary context.

Third, knowledge in this area will expand only through a detailed exploration of how intergenerationality is negotiated across the life course in a range of settings that are identified within social policy as integral to social sustainability. Policy makers must seek to understand the needs of both younger and older people, including the push and want to 'age-in-place'. It is crucial that we critically examine the foundations of policies that bring together all co-housing programs as one. It is crucial to ensure that there is an ongoing evaluation of intergenerational programming, for example, of intergenerational co-housing aligning itself with 'co-housing' but not adhering to the set of regulations set out by co-housing scholars, to ensure the safety and equality of power across all participants. We must remain vigilant in the

promotion of models such as co-housing that place responsibility on the individual and continue to seek understandings of motivations behind the support and implementation of programs. Intergenerationality could also be used to influence city planning and the built environment, to ensure spaces, and places are built for everyone, inclusive in their structure and function.

Recent work from the World Health Organization (2021) and their global report on ageism instills urgency with regards to the detrimental effects of age-based discrimination and the importance of meaningful engagement across generations. More specifically, intergenerationality could help expose intergenerational roots of ageism and problematize current individual interpretations or biases of ageism. Policies related to combatting ageism could emphasize the importance of understanding intergenerational dynamics and how they influence (or not) understandings of age, generation, and notions of conflict. In a similar way, practitioners can engage with intergenerationality as a reminder to confront normative ideas of conflict across generations and shed light on the corporate interests in maintaining tensions. This lens could start a meaningful and timely conversation about one of the last acceptable prejudices in today's society. I am hopeful that this dissertation will inform the work of community agencies, policy makers, and programmers when possible. Scientists and policy makers have much to gain from understanding the subjective experiences of people who have lived the reality of aging over time and how they have responded to life change in relation to intergenerational landscapes.

Limitations

This study was situated in a particular place and time and can only be regarded in that context. One notable limitation of this study is the homogeneity across participants. Older

participants in this study were, with few exceptions, Caucasian, educated, and middle to upper-middle class. While the student breakdown reflected higher diversity in ethnic background and socio-economic status, the notable absence of diversity in other social categories bears attention. Due to this, I was unable to explore economic, or ethnic-specific or cultural factors that might influence someone's decision to co-house; hence, any findings cannot be generalised outside this demographic. Future research could take an intersectional approach and/or try to incorporate case studies of social formations that include people from different social backgrounds and social locations. I was not able to report all relevant findings in this dissertation given the time frame challenges of completing a doctoral dissertation during a global pandemic. Ideally, it would have been beneficial to include a comparative analysis of the case matches including a focus group across matches, to complete the observations, field notes, interviews, and mapping. Indeed, Paper Two illuminates findings from all participants, yet some of the experiences could have been teased out in more detail if analysed as 'matches'. I was also unable to discuss data related to culture, gender, family history, physical space, and ageism. I intend to continue to publish from this data and further develop the ideas and understandings of intergenerational landscapes. Thus, conclusions should be interpreted with some caution, noting that the scope of the data represented in this dissertation are somewhat limited.

Rigour

The benefit of employing multiple methods provided a greater breadth of data and detail to analysis than would otherwise have been available if employing a singular method. This helped provide more concrete evidence to support the findings and the triangulation of

data and substantiated evidence throughout (Carter et al., 2014). My training and previous experiences, personal connections to topic, access to the study population, and funding sources ensured a sound understanding that enhanced the credibility of findings. The description of sampling factors such as: geographical location of the study, number and characteristics of participants, and the timeframe of data collection and analysis all contribute to the credibility of findings and potential readers' determination of transfer to their and other contexts. By reducing or at a minimum explaining my role as a researcher and engaging in reflexive practices, such as meetings with my supervisor, dissertation committee, triangulation, and peer review, all assisted in enhancing rigour. Finally, by 'closing the loop and linking research questions, study design, data collection and analysis, and interpretation of results with findings confirmed that the theoretical implications are effectively discussed, including guidance for future studies. As well, limitations and issues of reflexivity are clearly and explicitly described.

Future Research and Concluding Thoughts

Collectively, the papers comprising this dissertation support that intergenerational landscapes require further examination and attention. Findings of this dissertation suggest that intergenerational learning, programing, and relations in the present-day are more fluid and less concrete than what we had assumed in the past. These are topics that require a nuanced approach and more holistic understanding, missing in present research. As a budding social gerontologist my interest inherently lies with the experiences and perceptions of later life and older people. More inclusive understandings of intergenerationality are needed for private, public, and social narratives to see and expand the cultural narratives that

go beyond a doting grandparent. Therefore, it could be that intergenerational connection, in all its forms, could benefit or be of interest to some older people, but not necessarily all older people. It requires a revaluation of the once firmly established understandings of what it means to 'do' or be 'intergenerational'.

This section details closing reflections on how this dissertation has transformed my ongoing development as a social gerontological researcher. As I critically reflected on this project – its conception, its methods, and its outcomes to date – I am still eager to discover the unknown. I have spent the past five years working to make advancements in this field by conducting research, participating in conferences, collaborating with other scholars on various publications and projects. I have led multiple community-based intergenerational projects, and while it has been incredibly rewarding, the more I learn - the more I feel there is more to learn. Particularly as a 'younger' person conducting work with 'older' people, I feel this process has been valuable and insightful in ways that extend far beyond the research.

My social location as a white, young, queer, cis-gendered, first-generation student, and second-generation Canadian woman, raised important questions about how to negotiate my roles as a researcher and community member. Though autoethnographic research demands that the investigator prioritize and amplify their own voice, there are few explicit guidelines that speak to the nuances of researching one's community work, especially in a context where the intersections of aging, practice, and intergenerationality are at play. While I found very good critical guidelines for incorporating personal reflections, interviews, participant observations, and analysis to center the lived experiences of my participants, I constantly found myself thinking about how my implicit and explicit understandings of aging and

intergenerational programming guided my data collection and analysis. I searched for methodologies that acknowledged my liminal status (Grenier, 2012) but was, and continue to be, an insider with some knowledge of the aging process and later life and an outsider as a younger woman. In practical terms, this means that I arrived at the research from a social location that differed from my participants. My outsider status is also relevant to the critical realist investigations in that my age and social position are likely to have influenced how I conceived of the research and how I brought it into practice. I raise this because it has been posited by critical scholars that age has the potential to impact all aspects of intergenerational research encounters (Grenier, 2007). It is likely that these encounters impacted me as well. I have grown as a person throughout this project and have learned a great deal about what it means to negotiate aging relationalities. These learnings have risen out of years of engagement with the community, and discussions with people that I am - and will forever be - grateful for.

In the future, I hope to investigate and understand relations in a more intimate way, either that be through more intergenerational work or general relations. I am interested in the context of intergenerational co-housing, who has a home to provide? Who has extra space that is not occupied? Who can forgo rental income because they want to be part of a structured program? In the context of the widely publicised 'need' for intergenerational connection, who gets to experience that? Who has the time to focus on non-familial relations? Who is accessing leisurely activities as such? In practice, should value be placed on meaningful interaction across generations? If so, how do you possibly implement opportunities like these and how do you measure them? Should you measure them? In the

context of co-housing, what does that look like? A minimum of cooking together once a week? Meeting each-others family in a virtual or non-capacity? Have one deep and intense conversation at least once a month? Do you integrate these components or opportunities for meaningful connection or opportunities for solidarity in these programs? What role does place and space play in the dynamics of relations? How does intergenerational connection fulfill or challenge perceptions of later life?

Ultimately, one the main aims of these programs is to bring together seniors and students to bridge a gap that is, according to media outlets, evident. Throughout this process, and through some of my autoethnographic work, I started to question whether the 'gap' exists. What if the gap (simply put) is a small piece of a bigger puzzle that has a different image than the one imagined? If the motivation behind the premise of intergenerational solidarity is that there is conflict across generations. Is this truly the case? This was not as evident in my research. The motivations for participation were often more focused on companionship, finances, ease, and safety. The need or want to foster intergenerational solidarity was not explicitly stated as a motivation for most. While I do believe that intergenerational solidarity is important on various fronts, I do not know if intergenerational co-housing is all that it presents to be. Especially if it is covering up for a broken economic and social system that leaves those experiencing economic hardships or heightened feelings of loneliness with no other option. The questions I am interested in now as I move forward, are focused how intergenerationality can be further developed as an analytic tool and how our policies and practices shape intergenerational landscapes. How can we leverage intergenerationality to understand age and generational relations as flexible and not a flashy headline worthy of generating more media attention or political bait.

In this chapter, I have drawn my strands of thinking together in relation to the theory, methods, data, and interpretations of intergenerational landscapes. In doing so, I have aspired to highlight the empirical, methodological, and theoretical reflections that have emerged from this research journey. Intergenerational landscapes are (evidently) not a neat cohesive research topic and discussing the field may lead to generalisation, contradictions, and missing nuances. Still, intergenerationality, can offer a lens to see that fluid understandings of age and inclusive environments offer communal/collectivist solutions to social challenges. Moving forward, my hope is that this dissertation will inspire and push future research that is linked to our ever-changing social landscapes. I hope that this study serves as a starting point for future researchers interested in intergenerationality to consider broader trends and structures in the thinking, execution, and implementation of programming, with hopes to (re) construct ways of understanding the complex nature of intergenerational landscapes, and the implications for later life.

References

Carter, N., Bryant-Lukosins, D. A., Blythe, J., & Neville, A. J. (2014). The use for triangulation in quantitative research. *Oncology Nursing Forum, 41*(5), 545–547. http://www.10.1188/14.ONE.545.547

Frank, A. W. (2012). Practicing dialogical analysis. In J. A. Holstein & J. F. Gubrium (Eds.), Varieties of narrative analysis (pp. 33-52). London, UK: Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781506335117.n3

Gilleard, C., & Higgs, P. (2010). Aging without agency: Theorizing the fourth age. *Aging & mental health*, *14*(2), 121-128. https://doi.org/10.1080/13607860903228762

Granger, C. A. (2011). Silent Moments in Education: An Autoethnography of Learning. *Teaching, and Learning to Teach. Toronto, Toronto University Press*. https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442695641

Grenier, A. (2007). Constructions of frailty in the English language, care practice and the lived experience. *Ageing & Society*, *27*(3), 425-445. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X06005782

Grenier, A. (2012). *Transitions and the Lifecourse: Challenging the Constructions of'growing Old'*. Policy Press. Interdisciplinary Journal for the Social Study of Health, Illness & Medicine, 10 (4), 421-440. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1t89dvf

Katz, S., & Calasanti, T. (2015). Critical perspectives on successful aging: Does it "appeal more than it illuminates"?. *The Gerontologist*, *55*(1), 26-33. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnu027

Phillipson, C. (2003). Globalisation and the future of ageing: Developing a critical gerontology. *Sociological Research Online*, *8*(4), 144-152. https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.868

World Health Organization. (2021). Global report on ageism. Retrieved from: https://apo.org.au/node/311614

Appendices

Appendix One: Matching Chart - Seniors

Matching Chart – Seniors

Name:_____

Date: _____

Taken by:_____

Please note that any information you provided during this interview is voluntary, and you do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to. Information collected during this interview will be shared with potential matches. Please do not hesitate to ask any questions you may have at any time.

I accept the above disclaimer: YES NO

Preferred rental arrangement • Low rent, few services provided _$____ _____ • No rent, more services provided **services do not include conversations and socialization*
Student preference • Male • Female • Couple •No preference
Distance from campus • < 20 mins • 20-30 mins • No preference • Other_____
Room furnished • Yes • No • Comments _____
Diving status • Walking • Bus • Drive • Comments _____
Pet environment • Pets • No pets Comments: _____Cat – poppy _____
On-site washer and dryer • Yes • No

Internet access • Yes • No
Basement unit • Yes • No
Parking available • Yes • No
Smoking environment • Smoking • Non-smoking • Either • Comments _____
Alcohol consumption • Never • Daily • Weekly • Monthly • Socially
Services that I am willing to provide • Housekeeping outside of common areas – vacuum, mop, dust etc. • Snow removal • Lawn care • Gardening • Grocery shopping • Meal preparation (dinner) • Driving to appointments/activities • Support with technology – using email, social media, etc. • Hospital visits if needed • Language learning – for seniors with English as a second language • Shared activities – board games, card games etc. • Other: ___Can't carry stuff so help with my paper chase, books, _____
Support services received • Yes _ _____ • No
Kitchen habits • Average number of hours spent cooking per week _____ _ • Things I like to cook __ _____ • Allergies/Dietary restrictions:
Cleaning habits • I am a neat freak • A little dust is okay • I detest housework I rather be reading
I entertain visitors • Never • Daily • Bi-Weekly • Monthly Comments _____

The student may have visitors over • Never • In the daytime only • Overnight • Weekly Comments:_
My professional background
Please indicate any family, friends and other loved ones who are involved in your care or decision-making
Hobbies, interests, professional background
Describe your ideal student guest
Please indicate any health issues that you may have
Room furnishings • Bed • Dresser • Desk • Other _____
Additional storage available – bikes, luggage, tires • Yes • No • Comments_____
Preferred move in date _____ _____
I am able to commit to a co-housing arrangement from X to X • Yes • No Comments _____
Other comments

Appendix Two: Matching Charts

Matching Chart – Students

Name:_____

Date:_____

Taken by:_____

Please note that any information you provided during this interview is voluntary, and you do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to. Information collected during this interview will be shared with potential matches. Please do not hesitate to ask any questions you may have at any time.

I accept the above disclaimer: YES NO

I must give my current landlord _____ days notice prior to moving out of my current unit
Current rental cost _____
Senior preference • Male • Female • Couple • Either
Distance from campus • < 20 mins • 20-30 mins • No preference • Other_____
Preferred mode(s) of transportation • Walking • Bike • Bus • Drive • Comments _____
Preferred rental arrangement • Low rent, few services provided • No rent, more services provided **services do not include conversations and socialization*
Pet environment • Pets • No pets Comments: _____
On-site washer and dryer • Yes • No
Internet access

• Yes • No
Basement unit • Yes • No
Parking • Yes • No
Smoking environment • Smoking • Non-smoking • Either
Alcohol consumption • Never • Daily • Weekly • Monthly • Socially
Services that I am willing to provide • Housekeeping outside of common areas – vacuum, mop, dust etc. • Snow removal • Lawn care • Gardening • Grocery shopping • Meal preparation (dinner) • Driving to appointments/activities • Support with technology – using email, social media, etc. • Hospital visits • Language learning – for seniors with English as a second language • Shared activities – board games, card games etc. • Other: _____
Willing to dine with senior – eating at the same table • Yes • No Comments_____
Kitchen habits • Average number of hours spent cooking per week _____ • Things I like to cook _____ • Allergies/Dietary restrictions _____
Cleaning habits • I am a neat freak • A little dust is okay • I detest housework
I am willing to forgo entertaining guests during the day and overnight in the senior's home • Yes • No Comments_____

Please specify any large items that you need to bring with you: • Desk • Bed • Bikes • Luggage • Other _____
Hobbies and interests
Describe your ideal senior host
How people describe you
Preferred move in date _____
I am able to commit to a co-housing arrangement from September 2017 to May 2018 • Yes • No Comments _____
Other comments : *Is there anything else a potential homeowner should know about you that has not been covered?*

Appendix Three: Example of Housing Agreement

STUDENT/SENIOR HOMESHARE AGREEMENT

Symbiosis is a housing project that connects students and seniors in the McMaster community for a mutually beneficial housing relationship. It connects students who need low cost housing with seniors who have a spare room and who may benefit from extra-support and companionship. Seniors may also benefit from help around the house (e.g., Housekeeping, snow removal, shared activities, language learning…), in exchange of a discounted rent.

This cohabitation is intended to be friendly, without any subordination between the two parts.

Symbiosis is aiming to:

- Connect students and seniors to enhance community engagement
- Offer an affordable housing solution to students (money saving)
- Students will benefit from established members' experience
- Prevent senior's isolation and loneliness
- Prevent student's isolation and loneliness
- Offer an extra income to seniors
- Offer to seniors help around the house in exchange of a discounted rent, which will help the senior to overcome potential challenges that he/she might face daily (e.g., reduced mobility, language barrier, social isolation, etc.).

We offer low cost housing options for students with the caveat of building a relationship with the senior and offering some help in the house. Tolerance and mutual understanding are keys for a successful cohabitation.

Students are asked to be friendly with their host and to respect the house rules. They are also asked to share daily tasks around the house.

The student is not responsible for providing care to the senior (Toilet, dressing, medication administration) and under no circumstances will the student take up nursing duties or senior's caregiver's responsibilities. The student's responsibility is limited to be present in the house overnight, share some tasks around the house (e.g., housekeeping, conversation with the senior, groceries help, snow removal, etc.).

Adhering to Symbiosis implies adhering to its vision and the terms of this Symbiosis Student and Senior Homeshare Agreement (the "Agreement").

Before starting a mutually beneficial relationship, seniors, and students, by signing this Agreement, agree to all the terms and conditions. They are both asked to familiarize themselves with their responsibilities and rights, stipulated in the present Agreement.

Preamble

Here are some helpful hints to be mindful of when co-housing, for both the student and the senior:

- Be positive
- Be respectful
- Communicate often
- Be clear about expectations, needs and wants
- Say thank you
- Be flexible
- Ask questions when you are unsure of something
- When problems or issues arise, take time to consider how to manage them and come up with some solutions in a collaborative way
- Be realistic
- Listen well
- Remember to have fun

Article 1

Symbiosis organize in-person meetings with seniors and students, they will be matched based on their respective needs. Once we match a student to a senior, we will set up an appointment at senior's residence so that the student and the senior can discuss together their rights and obligations regarding each other. This meeting is aiming to discuss the future cohabitation rules between the two parts.

Article 2:

The senior must offer a decent furnished accommodation at the disposal of the student and ensure an adequate environment for studying. The senior must ensure the residence is in good condition and must make any necessary repairs. The senior confirms there are working fire alarms and carbon monoxide detectors in the home with no blocked doors or exits.

The student agrees to respect the terms of their preliminary interview, this Agreement, and the attached Schedule "A" Rental Agreement. The student must have a peaceful use of the premises and respect the tranquility of the elderly and neighborhood. They also must maintain the common space in a good shape (kitchen, bathroom...) keep their room clean, replace, refund, or repair any degraded material.

Symbiosis will regularly check with its members with respect to the terms of this Agreement and the common agreement between the student and the senior.

Article 3:

The senior is advised to have home protection insurance. The student must have Content and Liability Insurance.

To be eligible to Symbiosis program, the student will have a valid McMaster University student card as well as a clear criminal record (background check for vulnerable sector).

The student confirms insurance qualifications have been met with the insurance company for the period of September to April, or longer where the Agreement is extended, and the student confirms the following details for Student's insurance:

Name of student's insurer: _____

Policy number: _____

Policy period: _____

Waiving the Insurance Requirement (optional)

Student's acknowledgement and consent to waive content insurance requirement:

Should the student choose to waive the requirement of having their own content insurance coverage for their belongings inside the senior's home (ex., laptop, cell phone, clothing, any other personal items), they are required to sign below and initial above.

I _____[Student Name] herby acknowledge that no coverage will be provided for loss or damage by the university nor the senior.

Signature of student _____ Date: _____ (also initial above).

Article 4:

The rent range is between $200.00 to $400.00 monthly. The student will provide first and last month's rent on the day of move-in. The rental amount agreed to between the senior and student will be as listed in the Schedule "A" Rental Agreement.

A further discounted rent requires providing some help to the senior in the house, as described in this Agreement. In both cases, student engages to build a respectful and friendly relationship with the host.

Article 5:

The Agreement duration is 8 months (from September to April). Students may stay over the summer (from September to September), with senior's written agreement.

Student's vacation is defined as follows:

Two-weekends/ month
2 reading week/ year
1 week in Christmas
2 weeks in Summer (from June to August)

Article 6:

When Things Are Not Working Out As Expected

From time to time you may find that there is conflict and issues that arise in a cohousing living arrangement.

The following key steps are ones to consider in the event of a conflict:

1. Be calm and be respectful: Conflict can arise at any time. Conflict is a normal part of everyday life and having a process on how to deal with it can help turn potential disagreements into suitable solutions that both parties can live with. Be aware of your emotions and body language and how you may appear to others.
2. Be proactive: Being aware of concerns and addressing them early on can prevent problems from getting out of hand. If something is bothering you, it is important to address it in an assertive, respectful manner.
3. Try to understand all sides of the issue: Ask questions. Allow the other person to talk and listen without interrupting. Focus on the issue and express feelings without blaming the other person. Don't jump to conclusions or make assumptions
4. Be flexible: Be open to suggestions and ideas Be accepting of differences of opinion Focus on areas of agreement and common interests Stay away from negativity and blaming Look at all possible solutions and seek to come to an agreement that you can both live with
5. Reflect on the situation and what you have learned: Reflecting on the situation is a key element in maintaining the positive relationship you have in your living arrangement. What have you learned? What can you change in the future to prevent similar situations from happening? What were the positive aspects of this experience?

Article 7:

In the event of issues or concerns between the parties, the representative of Symbiosis will act as conciliator, verify compliance with the terms of this Agreement and any agreements reached by the parties and try to find a mutual agreement.

In case of non-conciliation, the accommodation will end:

• At the end of one month's notice (except winter break)

• Within 24 hours for a serious act

The disagreement with the same adherent, demonstrating that they do not have the qualities to participate in our project, will result in his or her definitive exclusion from the program and thus the breakdown of the accommodation arrangements.

The same shall apply to any breach of the Agreement or the undertakings given.

Article 8

The student and the senior understand that while Symbiosis is coordinating this arrangement, any issues, disputes, or liabilities are between the student and the senior. The student and the senior agree to release, defend, indemnify, and hold harmless Symbiosis, McMaster University, its Board of Governors, officers, employees, or agents from and against any and all claims, damages, or liability of any kind, including any and all claims and losses accruing or resulting to any person, firm or corporation as a result of the housing arrangement and/or the terms of this Agreement. This term shall survive the termination or expiration of this Agreement.

The student and the senior have reviewed, understand, and accept the terms of this Agreement.

_____ _____

Student Signature Date

Print Name:

_____ _____

Senior Signature Date

Print Name:

_____ _____

Signature Date

Print Name:

McMaster University
School of Graduate Studies

Schedule "A" Rental Agreement

PARTIES

1. THE RENTAL AGREEMENT IS MADE IN DUPLICATION BETWEEN:

_____, THE SENIOR, NAME(S)

ADDRESS POSTAL CODE TELEPHONE

AND:

___ _____
NAME(S)
THE STUDENT(S),
TELEPHONE

PREMISES

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT

2. THE SENIOR WILL RENT TO THE STUDENT AND THE STUDENT WILL RENT FROM THE SENIOR A ROOM AT THE FOLLOWING RESIDENTIAL PREMISIS:

_____
STREET NAME AND NUMBER UNIT#

_____
CITY OR TOWN POSTAL CODE

TERM

3. MONTH TO MONTH TERM:

THIS AGREEMENT IS TO BEGIN ON _____ OF _____, _
DAY MONTH YEAR

AND END ON THE _____ OF _____, __
DAY MONTH YEAR

RENT

4. THE STUDENT WILL PAY THE FOLLOWING RATE: $ _____/MONTH

THE FIRST PAYMENT OF THE RENT IS DUE ON THE _____ OF

_____, _____.

AND THEREAFTER ON THE _____ DAY OF EACH MONTH.

THE STUDENT WILL ALSO PROVIDE THE FOLLOWING SERVICES (CHECK ONE ONLY)

☐ IN ADDITION TO THE RENT

OR

☐ IN LIEU OF THE RENT: _____

_____

_____

_____

SERVICES/FACILITIES

5. THE RENT MENTIONED ABOVE INCLUDES THE PROVISION OF AND PAYMENT FOR THE FOLLOWING SERVICES AND FACILITIES (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY):

☐ Heat
☐ Telephone
☐ Cable tv
☐ Internet
☐ Parking for ___ cars
☐ Furniture (list items)

_____
_____

☐ Hot water
☐ Washer
☐ Dryer

☐ Dishwasher
☐ Electricity
☐ Other (specify)
_____
_____

☐ Use of all common areas including kitchen, living room, backyard. Exceptions:
_____
_____

LAST MONTH'S RENT

6. CHECK ONLY ONE OF THE FOLLOWING:

☐ LAST MONTH'S RENT IS NOT REQUIRED

☐ LAST MONTH'S RENT IS REQUIRED (TO BE PAID ON THE SAME DATE AS FIRST MONTH'S RENT)

METHOD OF PAYMENT

7. RENT WILL BE PAID BY THE FOLLOWING METHOD:

☐ CHEQUE

☐ CASH

☐ E-TRANSFER

☐ OTHER (SPECIFY)_____

RECEIPTS WILL BE GIVEN FOR EACH MONTH PAID.

ADDITIONAL CONDITIONS

7. THE STUDENT PROMISES TO COMPLY WITH THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL CONDITIONS SET OUT BELOW:

SIGNING OF HOMESHARE AGREEMENT

SIGN THREE COPIES OF THIS AGREEMENT, ONE FOR THE SENIOR, ONE

FOR THE STUDENT, AND ONE FOR THE SYMBIOSIS MCMASTER TEAM.

_____ _____

DATE SIGNATURE OF SENIOR(S)

_____ _____

DATE SIGNATURE OF STUDENT

_____

WITNESS (OPTIONAL)

Appendix Four: Interview Guide

DATE: _____

Appendix L
Interview Guide

Contemporary Dynamics and Intergenerational Learning Paradigms: Implications for Social Unity

Stephanie Hatzifilalithis, PhD Candidate
Health, Aging and Society – McMaster University

I am interested in your experiences of intergenerational learning, as you understand them. In the interview, I will ask questions about your life, everyday experiences, and the challenges or opportunities you encounter in your everyday life. Please answer in a way that best reflects your experience. Take the time you need, please ask for clarification if needed.

Instructions to interviewer: Interviews are intended as open-ended narratives.
The following is intended only as a guide

1. Could you tell me about yourself and how you came to be who you are today?

2. Thinking about your life as a whole, how would you say that your life has changed over time?

    a. Were there particular moments that changed the way you live your life?
    b. What are the key transitions you have experienced in our life?

3. Could you tell me about your experience of [intergenerational learning setting]?' How has this been for you? [probe- would this be different if was with somebody of the same generation]

4. Could you tell me about your experience specifically with a different generation?' How has this been for you?

5. What drew you to take part in the [intergenerational learning setting]? (probe – specific details about setting and relationship]

6. Could you tell me about your experience of 'growing older'? Could you walk me through a typical day in your life?

7. In your opinion has there been a lasting impact of your relationship with another generation at [intergenerational learning setting] ?

8. As a contrast, does anything stand out as different lately? Have there been any changes in your daily life?

9. Thinking about your experience as (someone who is involved in intergenerational learning), are there particular challenges that you face?

    -probe as needed- I would like to understand this experience a little more. Can you walk me through how this has affected/affects you?

10. In thinking about some of these challenges, what gaps or barriers in services/programs/resources (?) have you encountered? (probe if needed- willingness to participate, monetary funds) Can you tell me about these? What would have helped you to meet your needs?

11. Have you connected with any organizations to get assistance? What have those experiences been like?

12. What suggestions would you make for improvement for people who have had similar experienced to you? And/or general supports for people as they age?

13. Could you tell me about what you think needs to be done in the future to sustain intergenerational relationships?

14. Is there anything that we haven't covered that you would like to add?

Appendix Five: Different types of co-housing across the globe

(From the Intergenerational Housing Blog, 2018)

Purpose built intergenerational housing		
Country	**Programme**	**Description**
Germany	St Anna Foundation	25 developments across Germany ranging from 13 to 80 units, all handicapped accessible, where 2/3 of residents are aged 60 or over and 1/3 below. There are plenty of common spaces and a part time social worker to help residents organise common activities. Mix of owners and renters.
Spain	Municipal project for intergenerational housing and community services in Alicante	Addresses the specific housing needs of low-income older persons and young people through the provision of 244 affordable, intergenerational housing units in central urban areas. The project not only provides decent, accessible housing but also works to create a supportive, family-like environment and sense of belonging among residents, enabling older residents to maintain their independence and stay in their own homes as they age. A range of services is provided to the wider community and the project has contributed towards the regeneration of the surrounding areas. Young people are involved on a voluntary basis in the communal organisation of everyday life in the buildings and neighbourhood, and in particular in cultural and recreational activities which take place in communal spaces. On the basis of a 'good neighbour agreement', each young person is in charge of taking care of four older people in the building, offering a few hours of their time each week to spend with the older residents.
Austria	Generationen Wohnen am Mühlgrund	As part of a developer competition, architects and developers planned living arrangements that took into account the housing needs of older people and strengthened social cohesion between the generations. Altogether there are three residential house systems with 149 residential units, a community centre, space for gardening as well as a shared kitchen and community area. All of these units are barrier-free accessible and planned and build in order to enable easy adaptations if necessary. This innovative project represents an attempt to create a built and social environment offering people of various ages a co-living space as well as opportunities to jointly engage in urban life.

Intergenerational assisted apartments		
Country	**Programme**	**Description**
Spain	Intergenerational housing in Valladolid	Since 1997, the University of Valladolid (UVa) has been developing a program of intergenerational cohousing in collaboration with the City Councils of Valladolid, Segovia, Soria, and Palencia (Castilla y León Region, Spain). The aim of this project is to provide students with the opportunity of living rent-free with an older adult as an exchange of mutual help rooted on preventing social isolation. There are 14 apartments for older people and 3 apartments for college students. This can benefit both seniors and students: the seniors can expand social relationships and can count on support, and the college students because they can obtain a cheaper accommodation in exchange for social support to their older neighbours. This support can take various forms, from leisure and cultural activities to simple domestic activities. The basis for determining the duties of the students and how to select them, is a task carried out by the University. The majority of students who have been selected to participate are very trained, almost all graduates, many of them carrying out a Phd, and they are all from different countries.
Students living within nursing / senior homes		
Country	**Programme**	**Description**

Netherlands	Humanitas, Deventer	Started in response to the growing cost of seniors care in the Netherlands and because the students would offer a social return on investment against loneliness for the senior In exchange for 30 hours of volunteer work per month, students can stay in vacant rooms free of charge with some of the 160 senior who live there, doing things the professional staff can't always do, such as just hanging out. They may prepare meals for the senior or offer them activities according to their interests such as watching sports or celebrating birthdays. There is no obligation for the senior to take part in the activities. Students can have friends over for drinks and there is no curfew as long as the students are reasonable. Ratio of 6 students to 160 residents. Vibrant ground floor that is open to the public.
Finland	The House that Fits scheme	Pilot project run by the City of Helsinki. People under the age of 25 will be provided with cheap accommodation inside the city's Rudolf Seniors Home for one year. The young people are expected to volunteer a minimum of between 3-5 hours per week to spend with senior residents. The idea is to prevent homelessness and help young people find their feet with reasonably priced accommodation. It also aims to bring social benefits to the seniors in the home.
Homeshare schemes		
Country	**Programme**	**Description**
Spain	Viure i Conviure (Living and Living Together)	Helps college students in Catalonia find a room with a senior in return for some company during the evening and a reassuring presence at night. One of the distinctive aspects of this homeshare program is that social workers and counselors are integrally involved in all aspects of the program, from making the matches, to following up with all parties to make sure they are comfortable with their housing and living situations. Quantitative and qualitative evaluation has demonstrated the programme's capacity to foster the practice of associative (i.e., contact), affectual (i.e., sentiments), and functional (i.e., mutual support) solidarity.
France	Le PariSoldaire	Provides a personalised service to help connect young people looking for accommodation in Paris with senior citizens who want company or additional income.
France	ESDES inter-générations	Pairing system between international students and older people who want to offer accommodation in return for their presence in their home and help with everyday chores. The association selects students and arranges for them to meet the older people. Pairs are then decided. Both parties sign an agreement that sets out the details of the exchange as well as the conditions for leaving and a list of the reciprocal duties of each. The association monitors the pairs to ensure good relations and to prevent and manage any difficulties arising from living together.
France	At Home Crochus, Orleans	Pairing system between young people and older people who want to offer accommodation in return for their presence in their home and help with everyday chores.
Belgium, Netherlands, and Scandinavia	e.g., Molenbeek kangaroo houses	Matches seniors who have a home that is too big for them with young couples or families who are experiencing difficulties finding reasonably priced housing. The aim of these house-share schemes is to prevent the senior from feeling isolated and to re-establish a sense of intergenerational solidarity for the young adults as well as the older adults.

Intergenerational neighbourhood centres with co-located services		
Country	**Programme**	**Description**
Germany	Mehrgenerationenhäuser	Part of the German federal government's ageing population strategy. Around 450 community centres designed to be places where people of all ages and backgrounds can meet and mix. These houses are set up by local authorities, non-profit-organisations, social centres, or churches, often in partnerships. The federal state provides financial support (employees, equipment, furniture, maintenance), handles communication and assesses the programme. There are a variety of services for both old and young, including day care services for older people, services for children and young people,

		advice centres, cafes, and joint activities. The intention is to foster a sense of community and instil value of cooperation and mutuality in local residents. However, 'it is unclear as to whether or not the houses really strengthen intergenerational links. A visiting journalist from the Guardian described them as follows: "Pensioners volunteer to read books to the children and run a "rent-a-granny" service to relieve exhausted parents. In return, teenagers offer to show senior people how to use computers and mobile phones". But according to some researchers, there is a lot of friction between children and seniors and not all older people want to be surrogate grandparents. An assessment of the first programme revealed that when they spoke of their desire to meet others in the house, they were mainly referring to those within their own age group'.[1]

Purpose built intergenerational housing		
Pomona, California	Pomona intergenerational village	Pomona Intergenerational Village is a 6.3 acre community made up of 63 senior apartments and 27 low to moderate income family townhomes. The project is a result of a partnership between Shield of Faith Economic Development (and Christian Center), the Related Companies and the city of Pomona's Redevelopment Agency. Building designs promote intergenerational living by meeting the distinct design requirements specific to townhomes and senior apartments. The senior apartment floor plans offer a universal approach to accessibility and adaptability to accommodate the health of residents as they age. Family townhomes offer space and privacy unavailable in similarly priced apartment communities. The recreation areas are central to the site to encourage nurturing relationships between generations.
Regina, California	Orange Tree Village	Located in Regina's Harbour Landing, Orange Tree Village blends families, children, seniors, students, travelling professionals, community members and staff, embracing intergenerational living into one village. It fosters a village-like environment, where generations aren't segmented from one another, but form an integrated community that learns, thrives, and finds purpose together. While intergenerational programming brings different age groups together through scheduled activities, intergenerational living increases opportunities to form deep and meaningful relationships amongst generations, as it seamlessly integrates people of all ages to share life under one roof. Programming, centred around the unique needs community members, residents, and learning centre children is intentional in facilitating relationships across generations, enriching both the young and old through meaningful experiences and connections. A variety of living options are available including short term stay, affordable housing, specialised memory care, supportive living and a la carte homes aimed at all ages.
Palo Alto, California	Moldaw Residences at T aube Koret Campus for Jewish Life	Intergenerational community comprising a Jewish Community Centre, the Moldaw Residences (for retirees), a preschool and early education centre, and a few cafes and shops organised like a town square around green space.

Seniors living alongside students		
Where	**Development**	**Description**
Chicago, Illinois	The Laboure House / St Vincent de Paul Center	Congregate living residence for older adults and college students that is housed in a former convent. Sixteen rooms are available for seniors and seven rooms for college students. Each resident has a private bedroom, and the remainder of the space is designed for shared activities like daily meals, watching television and movies, playing board games and card games, and informal and planned intergenerational events and conversations.
Seattle, Washington	Merill Gardens and the Corydon	Couples senior housing and market rate housing adjacent to a university. Outdoor amenity space is shared by residents of both buildings and hosts events such as outdoor movie nights, bocce ball tournaments and University of Washington band performances.

New York, New York state	University of New York Homestay program	In response to soaring housing costs, NYU is rolling out a pilot program that will let students live in the spare bedrooms of local senior citizens. Students who opt in to the "home stay" program would slice their $14,000-per-year housing bill in half. The initial program will consist of 10 mature juniors, seniors, or grad students. NYU will partner with University Settlement, a Lower East Side nonprofit that provides social services to low-income seniors.

Grand-family schemes		
Where	**Development**	**Description**
Boston, Massachusetts	Grandfamilies House	Established by Boston Aging Concerns Young and Old United (BAC-You) in 1998 after four years of research, planning, and collaboration with other organizations. It was the USA's first housing service centre designed to meet the needs of elderly grandparents raising grandchildren. Drawing from the results of a study of 50 parenting grandparents, conducted by BAC-YOU, that showed significant health problems and concerns about the difficulty raising children in isolation, this facility was designed to be accessible for older adults (e.g., grab bars in the bathrooms), safe for children (e.g., protective covers over outlets and playgrounds viewable from apartment windows), and to provide space for intergenerational activities.
Phoenix, Arizona	Grandfamilies Place of Phoenix	Grandfamilies Place of Phoenix is a unique, affordable housing development tailored to the needs of seniors, specifically grandparents raising their grandchildren. A mixture of 56 two- and three- bedroom units provide safe, comfortable, and affordable In addition, apartments include washer & dryer, private patios, storage space and fauxwood floors. Pets are allowed.
Baton Rouge, Louisiana	Grandparent's House	Grandparent's House consists of three buildings — each two-story with 10 units – that are not part of a larger family or elderly complex. The units are two bedroom, one-bath. Grandparents of any age are allowed, and they are not required to have a legal relationship to the grandchildren. Other caregivers, such as aunts or uncles, may lease an apartment, but grandparents have first priority. There is 750 square feet of community space. The Grandparents Raising Grandchildren Information Centre is located onsite, and services are provided at the House. Although there is currently no outside space, the developers have acquired the neighbouring lot and will be building a playground and recreational area.
Hartford, Connecticut	CRT Generations	Multi-bedroom townhouses for grandparents with legal custody of their grandchildren. Children get services that help growth and learning. Educational activities are held after school and on weekends. Mentors, tutors, and a full computer lab help children succeed in school. Caseworkers support grandparents as they handle daily parenting and meet family needs. Workshops and social activities help grandparents help their children. To apply, Grandparents must: be income qualified, be U.S. citizens, national or eligible non-citizen, have legal custody of their grandchildren and grandchildren must be under the age of 18
Kansas City, Missouri	Pemberton Park for Grandfamilies	Pemberton Park for Grand families is the first development in Kansas City designed specifically to serve grandparents raising their grandchildren. It includes 36 spacious two, three and four-bedroom apartments, with units that are fully accessible or adaptable for those with disabilities. Apartments are ully equipped with all appliances, including a full-size washer and dryer. The site features a playground, large community room, grandparents lounge, computer learning centre, craft room, and social work office. Staff includes a Service Coordinator who organizes programs and activities for grandparents and grandchildren throughout the year.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin	Villard Square Grandfamily	Villard Square consists of one-, two-, and three-bedroom apartments that feature air conditioning, in-unit laundry facilities, high ceilings and study spaces. Villard Square has a modern movie theatre, beauty salon, roof top play area, fitness room, community room and a business centre. There is an on-site supportive services liaison that links residents to local, state, and federal benefits and services. Residents at Villard Square have easy access to a Milwaukee Public Library branch which is conveniently in the same building. Professional on-site staff and 24-hour emergency maintenance service create a peaceful and relaxing atmosphere. There are several apartment homes reserved at reduced rents.
Seniors living alongside at-risk families		
Where	**Development**	**Description**
Madison, Wisconsin	Hope and A Future	Under development: Currently houses four seniors plus a single mother and two children. Plans are underway to develop a total of 12 housing units - 8 for healthy seniors interested in an outwardly focused retirement and the security of a caring community along with 4 housing units for young, at-risk families. This phase of development includes community spaces that will include a large, multi-purpose room capable of seating 100 people at tables, a stage, kitchenette, two guest rooms, accessible bathrooms, a small library/reading space, a day-care room, a small private room for counselling and education, and office space. Community fundraising will take place to continue design work.

Appendix Six: Key Informant Interview Guide

DATE: _____

Appendix J
Key Informant Interview Guide

Contemporary Dynamics and Intergenerational Learning Paradigms: Implications for Social Unity

Stephanie Hatzifilalithis, PhD Candidate
Health, Aging and Society – McMaster University

I am interested in your experiences of working in intergenerational settings, including but not limited to co-housing, digital literacy. The interview is semi-structured and will include questions about your knowledge of the specific needs of this group, your work with this population, gaps in services, and the challenges you have encountered. Please feel free to ask for clarification on any questions.

1. Please tell me a little about your work with…[intergenerational learning setting]
2. As you know, I am interested in exploring and understanding intergenerational landscapes and the impacts our modern climate has on relationships across generations. Can you tell me a little about this issue from your perspective?
3. Could you describe a typical day in your position? How does the work that you do (with your program) address intergenerational learning and or foster intergenerational relations?
4. Can you walk me through some of the challenges faced by the older people that you work with? Or can you walk me through an example from your work that was particularly difficult?
5. What changes have you seen over the years? Has the situation changed? If yes, how so? (probe- Demographic ageing patterns, ongoing economic instability, and the susceptibility of ageing cohorts to increasing inequalities)
6. What are the major gaps or barriers in services (i.e., willingness, monetary funds)?
7. How has (your setting) responded to these issues/challenges? Do you know of any best practices or other models that might have potential in addressing intergenerational solidarity?

8. What population do you find more willing/ wanting to take part in your [intergenerational learning setting]?
9. What suggestions would you make for improvement, if any?
10. Is there something you would like to add, that we may have left out?
11. Is there anyone that you think I should speak with to get more information about the issues older people?
12. Before we end the interview, would you mind if I write down some demographic information that will help me to understand your perspective?