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Title: From Environmental Stress to Spatial Expulsion – Rethinking Concepts of Socio-Spatial Exclusion in Later Life

Accepted for the special issue: OLD AGE EXCLUSION: THEORETICAL, CONCEPTUAL AND CRITICAL POLICY CONTRIBUTIONS

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Abstract: Gerontology has a longstanding tradition of researching the relationship between older adults and their socio-spatial environments. However, environmental gerontology often shares a positivistic understanding of space as either ‘prosthetic’ or a stressor, and consequently searches for the “best fit” between a person and their environment. In this paper we argue for a stronger theoretical corpus on social and territorial exclusion in later life by exploring concepts from urban and environmental sociology, as well as their usefulness for gerontological thinking., In doing so, we go discuss trans-European research traditions beyond the hegemonic body of Anglo-Saxon literature. In conclusion, we discuss how gerontology and sociology might exchange to build a stronger theoretical background on the relations between age, space and exclusion.

Keywords: environmental gerontology, spatial exclusion, urban sociology

1. Introduction

Urbanisation and demographic change constitute two of the major developments of the 21st century. In 2014, 73 % of Europe's population lived in urban areas (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division 2015), and by 2030, at least a quarter of that percentage will be aged 60 and over (Handler 2014). In this process, older urban residents are becoming more ethnically and socio-economically diverse (Koceva et al. 2016), but attention is also called to better understanding how physical and social environments influence ageing in rural and remote communities (Keating, Eales, & Phillips, 2013). Hence, there is a need to systematically discuss the relations between age, space and exclusion (Moulaert, Wanka, & Drilling, 2018).

In reference to Walsh, Scharf and Keating, spatial exclusion can be understood as

“a complex process that involves the lack or denial of [spatial] resources, rights, goods and services as people age, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people across the varied and multiple domains of society. It affects both the quality of life of older individuals and the equity and cohesion of an ageing society as a whole (adapted from Levitas et al. 2007)” (Walsh, Scharf, & Keating, 2017, p. 83).

To understand and counteract the risk of spatial exclusion in later life, we need to strengthen theory in gerontology in general (Estes, Biggs, & Phillipson, 2003), and, more particularly, in the specific domain of spatial exclusion in later life (Walsh et al., 2017). In fact, a long-standing tradition of research on spatial living conditions and place perceptions of older adults does exist in gerontology. Over the past 50 years, environmental gerontology has especially emerged as a distinct subfield of

gerontology that focuses on the description, explanation and optimisation of the relationship between older adults and their socio-spatial environments (Wahl and Weisman 2003). The growing popularity of this field is not least due to the attention that the policy concept of 'ageing in place' has received since the 1990s. The notion of ageing in place suggests that older people should stay in their familiar environments despite the potentially arising needs for care and that they should not be forced to move into retirement homes. In line with supporting independence and autonomy in older age, one major argument for this policy is that it decreases costs for the healthcare system (Wiles et al., 2012).

Despite having emerged from a care-focused discourse, ageing in place has ignited a debate about age-friendly cities and Phillipson has called for a new "environmental gerontology" that would put at the forefront of its research agenda the changing realities of the urban experience (Phillipson, 2004). The focus on cities here can be explained by the fact that the older population is growing more rapidly in urban areas, but also by the finding that differences between urban and rural areas persist in regards to informal and family care-giving. For instance, older adults in rural environments are still more likely to be taken care of by their social networks and are less likely to be admitted into an institutional setting (McCann, Grundy and O'Reilly 2014). The focus on cities might also illustrate what has been termed a "spatial turn" across disciplines (Warf & Arias, 2009).

The World Health Organization (WHO) thus launched a number of policy initiatives in age-friendly cities throughout the 2000s, with active ageing as the core element (Buffel, Phillipson, & Scharf, 2012). In 2005, they initiated the "Global Age-friendly Cities" project with 33 cities, producing a "Global Age-friendly Cities" guide (WHO 2007) which has been used as a flexible, yet influential checklist for policy-makers

(Plouffe, Kalache, & Voelcker, 2016), which contrasts with the critical interpretation of a “static” vision of age-friendliness (Keating, Eales, & Phillips, 2013). Even though literature analyses suggest that the age-friendly cities framework of the WHO is only one model that appears among a variety of potential (Lui, Everingham, Warburton, Cuthill, & Bartlett, 2009), even if it has been applied in different forms and with different foci (Moulaert & Garon, 2016), the main idea of promoting active ageing through age-friendly environments has spread throughout various policies. However, it is not only the urban population in general that is becoming more diverse, but also the older population in particular. For researchers and policy-makers alike, a few questions that arise from age-friendly guidelines and standards for cities remains: do concepts of age-friendly cities consider all older individuals? Can they cater to the diversification of older age? Which new mechanisms of socio-spatial exclusion emerge against the backdrop of these developments?

In this paper, we argue that environmental gerontology can learn a lot in regards to theory from other disciplines and regional research traditions. Many disciplines other than gerontology - ranging from sociology to human geography - have advanced theories about the environmental aspects of social exclusion.

Hence, this paper is organized into three parts: in the first parts we discuss theoretical concepts from gerontology (2) and sociology (3) that can be – or have been – made fruitful for the analysis of later life exclusion. Subsequently, we discuss what gerontology and sociology can learn from each other in regards to socio-spatial exclusion.

2. Socio-spatial exclusion from gerontological perspectives

Environmental gerontology has a long tradition of describing, explaining and – with gerontology being a historically applied field of science, this must be emphasised – aiming to optimise the relationship between older adults and their socio-spatial environments. Beyond emphasizing the role of the physical environment (which had been, by then, more or less neglected by behavioural sciences), it acknowledged the entanglement of physical, social, organizational, and cultural aspects of environments.

In their reflexive literature review of environmental gerontological research, Wahl and Weisman (2003) differentiate between gerontological theories that research i) maintenance of, ii) stimulation through and iii) support of the environment (based upon Lawton's three basic functions of environments, 1989). However, it might be due to the still widespread deficit-oriented image of ageing that the most influential body of research in this field focuses on the support function of environments. In 1964, Lindsley coined the term 'prosthetic environment' and in 1973 Lawton and Nahemow set up their competence-press model. Its 'environmental docility hypothesis' says that people are more independent from their environments when they have more resources at their disposal. Socio-personal and socio-spatial resources thus complement each other, ideally holding a balance like a pair of scales. This assumption accounts for basically every age group. It does, however, gain importance in older age due to the loss of socio-personal resources that the authors assumed to come with age. In older age, so the hypothesis goes, the 'environmental press' increases. Environmental press is thus a relational concept, considering both environments and personal capacities. Interestingly, this increase in press does not only imply effects on the quality of life; it also influences behaviour. A certain degree of press, particularly when equipped with sufficient resources, can lead to positive affect and adaptive behaviour, whereas too much press in relation to

competences triggers negative affect and maladaptive behaviour, such as withdrawal. Similarly, the concept of person-environment-congruence (Kahana, 1982; Carp, 1987) departs from the idea of a different level of congruence between a person and an environment, depending on the resources and competences. Exceeding Lawton's model, congruence is not only based upon competences, but also preferences and perceptions.

Today's environmental gerontologist research is still heavily based upon these 'classics' – or, as Wahl and Weisman put it: "it is not easy to identify much innovation in recent EG research" (Wahl & Weisman 2003: 621). Wahl and Oswald might be among the most influential in continuing Lawton's legacy. In 2006, Wahl and Lang developed the Social-Physical Places Over Time model (SPOT), combining both the notion of physical, outside and social, affective space with a life course perspective¹. The SPOT model claims that social-physical agency decreases throughout the life course, due to decreasing personal competences, but social-physical sense of belonging increases. This model was further developed by Wahl and Oswald (2010) into the concept of person-environment fit (PE). PE describes the relationship between place valuation, belonging and attachment on the one hand, and spatial agency, behaviour or appropriation on the other hand, with identity, autonomy and wellbeing (Figure 1).

¹ A similar model is used by Keating and her colleagues to discuss the large varieties of ageing in rural areas (Keating, Eales, & Phillips, 2013).

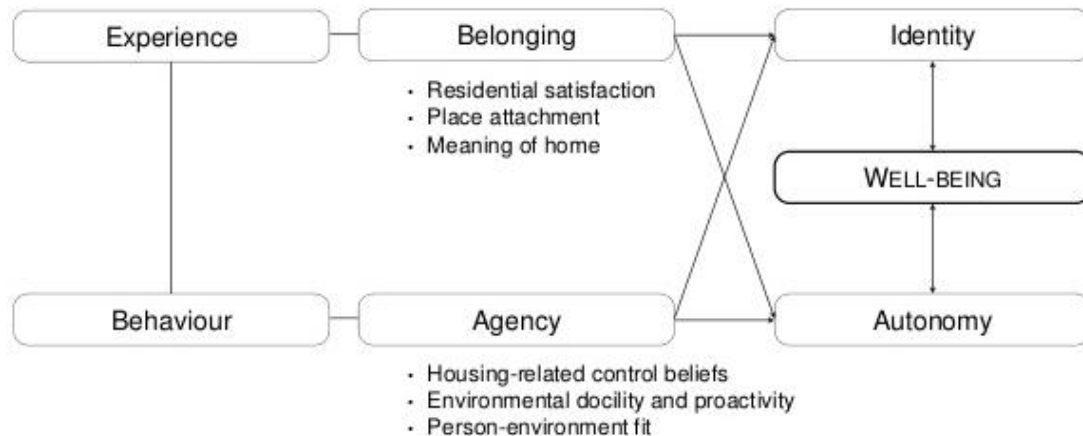


Figure 1: Person-Environment-Fit. Source: Wahl & Oswald, 2010

In contrast to early environmental gerontologists, they emphasise the significance of subjectivity and personal meaning of an environment for a person (or group) and the role of personal agency to intervene and act on one's environments. This thus 'empowers' older adults and frees them from their role of 'victims' of their environments, reacting to the post-positivist critique on most environmental gerontologist models to be overly functional. A lot of research has been done on both the dimension of belonging or spatial agency already, but Wahl and Oswald try to bring both perspectives together. However, despite their consideration of the subjective assessment of one's environment, such model approaches tend to stay positivist and have been criticised for trying to explain, but not to understand, the relationship between older people and their environments.

Research on spatial belonging or place attachment emphasises exactly these on internal (cognitive, affective, perceptual) processes that lead to a subjective feeling of being included or excluded from one's environment. Much of it stems from the field of developmental psychology and approach the topic of place attachment from a

perspective of cognitive, affective and perceptive development. However, various concepts do consider agency, behaviour and active coping strategies. One of the earliest representatives is Havighurst (1976), who framed the establishment of a satisfactory physical living arrangement as one of six central developmental tasks in late maturity (60 years and older). Similarly, Rowles and Watkins (2003; 2013) conceptualised a life course model of environmental experience. In their experiential phenomenological research they analyse the dynamic nature and the development of the person-environment relationship across the life course and how the development of this relationship entails the formation of new competences. One of the core competences for building relationships with places is the ability to 'make places', which evolves and changes across the life span (Rowles & Watkins, 2003).

Whereas Rowles and Watkins see a positive assessment of one's living environment as the outcome of successful place making practices (or successful flexibility in Havighurst's perspective), Golant (2015) frames appraisal processes as influencing factors for coping strategies in his model of residential normalcy. Assimilative (cognitive) coping can thus not be separated from assimilative (action) coping. Successful coping then leads to successful ageing.

These scientific understandings, although based upon sophisticated research, reveal the underlying norms of environmental gerontology: going outdoors is 'good', as it is beneficial to one's health, and staying at home is 'bad' and, hence, can hardly ever be voluntary. All activities suggested by seminal gerontology (Havighurst, 1954, p. 311) implicitly need going out, be it either for women ("a discussion group for a housewife whose large family has grown up") or for men ("a men's brotherhood in the church for a man who has worked on a lathe"). Motivations for staying at home are hardly ever researched, making Künemund and Kaiser (2011) reason that staying at

home is only then legitimate when a person is physically impaired, or bound to the home by care obligations, or hindered from going out by physical barriers.

Beyond person-environment fits, spatial agency and place attachment, some research in environmental gerontology also considers environmental justice.

Environmental justice research focuses on the intersectionalities between age and socio-economic status (and, sometimes, gender and ethnicity; cf. Wanka, 2018b) and how they lead to a multiple jeopardy (cf. Norman, 1985) in regards to socio-spatial exclusion. Aiming to understand social inequalities in relation to space, many ethnographic and qualitative studies have adopted a neighbourhood approach, choosing case sites based on their level of deprivation (e.g. Scharf, 2002; Day, 2010; Buffel, Phillipson, & Scharf, 2012; Holland et al., 2007). These studies depart from a socio-economic, sometimes political understanding of exclusion as a starting point, and research how older adults deal with and live in deprived neighbourhoods. Some of the most sophisticated research in the field of gerontological environmental justice research stems from Chris Phillipson and colleagues who had early on called for a “new environmental gerontology” that puts urban areas at its centre (Phillipson, 2004). He critically discusses how dichotomies are produced in cities, dividing older adults into the “elected” who benefit from globalisation, and the “excluded” who suffer from rejection and marginalisation in this process (Phillipson, 2007; Buffel, Handler and Phillipson, 2018). However, focusing on urban areas, such perspectives neglect the fact that globalisation affects not only cities but a wide variety of regions and risks to unintentionally neglect ageing in suburban (Marchal, 2017) or rural areas (Keating, Eales and Phillips, 2013).

More recently, gerontologists working in this field have also considered processes of gentrification from an environmental justice perspective (cf. Wiles et al., 2012).

Gentrification can be defined as “the process by which higher income households displace lower income residents of a neighbourhood, changing the essential character and flavour of that neighbourhood” (Kennedy & Leonard, 2001). Keating and colleagues argue that similar replacement processes also take place in rural areas. “The history of Robertsville [a bucolic village] illustrates how a changing place can exclude long-term residents while at the same time attracting those for whom aging in a new place is a preference” (Keating, Eales, & Phillips, 2013, 329). While place is the location of exclusion, the process of exclusion is a dynamic of the personal and the environment. However, whether it’s in such a rural area or in a deprived urban neighbourhood, a recurrent aspect of ageing is the long-termed stay of some inhabitants.

How do these different strands of environmental gerontological literature understand the relationship between age, space, and exclusion? Gerontological literature on the support function of the environment frames age as a particularly vulnerable stage of life in which people tend to lose resources and are, thus, more dependent upon their environment. Space, in this regard, has the function of a ‘prosthetic’ (Lindsley, 1964) or a stressor (Lawton & Nahemow, 1973): if it works as a prosthetic, older adults can stay autonomous and satisfied; if, instead the environment puts additional barriers in their way, their quality of life will decrease. A certain level of environmental stress can lead to positive adaption; too much of it, however, will lead to maladaptive behaviour, such as withdrawal. This definition of space resembles that of the ‘container model of space’, “able to be emptied, filled, and rearranged with an infinite variety of materials” (Sack, 1988, p. 653) and arguing that “humans cannot construct anything without being first in place - that place is primary to the construction of meaning and society.” (Cresswell, 2004, p. 32). Exclusion, from this perspective, would be the result of an

impossibility to autonomously use or be part of a certain environment, e.g. move around in it, and hence equal withdrawal from this place.

Gerontological literature on environmental justice, similarly, frames age (or, more exactly, duration of residence) as a risk factor and the environment as a space of possibilities, which puts older adults at lower or higher risk of being socio-spatially excluded. This literature broadens the perspective on exclusion from the direct use of the environment to manifold dimensions, like exclusion from social relationships, exclusion from important infrastructures, exclusion from participation in political processes, and so on.

Gerontological literature on place attachment, finally, is concerned with the subjective feeling of exclusion from one's environment. From this perspective, coping - both practical and cognitive - with environmental change is seen as crucial for spatial inclusion and exclusion in later life (Golant, 2015). A person can, however, be able to use a place but still feel excluded from it (cf. Wanka, 2018a). From this perspective, age and space are co-constitutive, with space being subject to human 'place making' practices, the ability of which evolves across the life course (Rowles & Watkins, 2003).

When contrasting these gerontological approaches, we can conclude that socio-spatial exclusion is framed by environmental gerontology as

- i) Relative: resulting from a lack of capacity to use places due to age-related decline in resources.
- ii) Structural: resulting from a lack of access to important infrastructure.
- iii) Subjective: based on personal assessment.

In the next section, we discuss literature from (urban and environmental) sociology by questioning how they understand age, space and exclusion. Finally, we will contrast both perspectives in order to see what gerontology can learn from sociology when researching socio-spatial exclusion in later life and vice versa.

3. Socio-spatial exclusion from a sociological perspectives

Space has been of concern to sociological enquiry for a long time now, and it has a particularly long research tradition when it comes to cities. One of the most influential early scholars, Simmel, highlighted the significance of urban life for forming the social character of its inhabitants as early as 1903 (Simmel, 2010). Urban and environmental sociology is concerned with how socio-spatial relationships are formed, how spatial inequalities develop and how places shape the identities and lifestyles of their inhabitants.

Sociological research on the person-place relationship and socio-spatial exclusion has focused on the following areas of research: i) socio-spatial segregation, ii) environmental effects on identity-building, and iii) the production of space.

Research on socio-spatial segregation has its roots in the early Chicago School, in which cities were perceived as 'integration machines', but today they are mainly said to have lost this function (Geiling, 2003). Social segregation, replacement and even expulsion (Sassen, 2014) have taken its place in today's cities. The 'spatialisation' of social inequalities points to the phenomenon that disadvantaged populations tend to live in disadvantaged areas, and vice versa (Savage, Warde & Ward, 2003). This spatialisation, in turn, affects the life chances of those populations, reproducing social inequalities (Häußermann & Siebel, 2000). Residential segregation defines all those processes that eventually lead to internally

homogenous spaces that can be based on different social criteria such as socio-economic status or ethnicity (L ow, Steets & Stoetzer, 2007) – however, in a free housing market, income plays an essential role in distributing people across the city (Keim & Neef, 2000).

Much of the early sociological and geographical works make use of the container model of space. For instance, a ‘vicious circle’ between socio-economic and spatial deprivation can be portrayed as follows: Persons with little income move to areas where rent is low, and the rent is most likely low because little public (i.e. green spaces, care facilities) and market infrastructure (e.g. shops) exists in these areas. If the residents of an area have little income, even less infrastructure (e.g. shops) will be provided by the market, which again can lead to a selective outflow of people (Friedrichs, 1988). Gentrification research has stressed the role of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2015 [1992]) in addition to economic capital, but the ‘container thinking’ has been preserved.

Research about cultural factors in socio-spatial segregation lead to the relationship between one’s residential environment and one’s identity – and opened up the container thinking to a more post-positivist perspective. From a general sociological or geographical perspective, the neighbourhood is a key element of identity (Authier, Bacqu e, & Gu erin-Pace, 2006). Taking the case of a French suburban neighbourhood, Marchal (2017) refers to the work of Di M eo to clarify the concepts of space, territory and place (Di M eo, 2007; Di M eo & Bul eon, 2005). At a macro level, space refers to anonymous and globalized trends; at a meso level, territory offers opportunities for collective action and identities; at a micro level, place consists of informal, experienced and sensitive personal aspects.

Through these levels, whenever (more or less) homogenous groups form, they must set up borders. The same is true for the spatial dimension. While this can be done by material means - actual walls or fences can be found in gated communities - it can also be done by symbolic means. The case of Villa Vermeil de Biscarrosse (South West France), a private gated community for seniors inspired by the American model of retirement communities, is of particular interest here. The community had to open its gates to younger generations in order to counter housing vacancies. In day to day routines, older inhabitants had to accept younger ones moving in. However, they considered such imposed intergenerational cohabitation as a betrayal of their original choice to come there (Vuailat & Madoré, 2010). Gerontological segregation research from the US has also focused on 'gated communities', however, not as a means to analysing social exclusion (cf. Townsend, 1979; 2002) but as a place to create and experience collective solidarity and the same activities like in a trailer park (Hoyt, 1954).

The symbols that are being used to evoke identification or alienation help to include and exclude groups on a more subtle level, but nevertheless produce and reproduce inequalities. One example is the use of local gossip as a form of distinction between "the established" and "the outsiders" through the process of civilisation using "we-images" (Elias & Scotson, 1994). Such staging processes can also facilitate place identity and place attachment among those that are included; however they evoke feelings such as alienation among those excluded. Conversely, Sampson (2009) highlights the psychological effects of symbolic segregation through visible disorder, deploying Goffman's (1986 [1963]) concept of stigma together with Kelling and Wilson's (1982) broken windows theory of urban decline. Werthman and Piliavin (1967) were two of the first urban sociologists to use the concept of stigma in a socio-spatial way. Their 'ecological contamination hypothesis' implies that the stigma of a

neighbourhood can stain persons and their identities – they are being identified with their area by themselves and by others. Similarly, Wacquant elaborated on an analytic framework termed ‘territorial stigmatisation’ that weds Goffman’s concept of ‘spoiled identity’ with Bourdieu’s theory of ‘symbolic power’, constituting ‘advanced marginality’ in the dualising metropolis. The framework of territorial stigmatisation aims to describe how spatial taint affects its residents and how they cope with it (Wacquant, Slater & Pereira, 2014). Wacquant has also analysed coping strategies of residents of disparaged neighbourhoods. He differentiates between strategies that submit to and reproduce, or even rebel against spatial stigma (Wacquant, 2011). Which strategy is being adopted by who depends on the position and the trajectory in social and physical space, therefore varying with class, age, life course, housing tenure and duration, ethnicity, etc. (Figure 2).

Table 1. Distribution of strategies designed to cope with territorial stigma (source: Wacquant, 2011b).

Submission ←	→ Recalcitrance to resistance
1—dissimulation	6—studied indifference
2—mutual distancing and elaboration of microdifferences	7—defense of neighborhood (individual or collective)
3—lateral denigration	8—stigma inversion (hyperbolic claiming)
4—retreat into the private (family) sphere	
5—exit	

Figure 2: Strategies to cope with territorial stigma; Wacquant, Slater & Pereira 2014.

One of the strategies that is particularly important to discuss is the retreat into the private sphere. Pereira and Queiros (2014), for example, found this strategy to be deployed by residents of a public housing estate in Porto, Portugal. They found that residents react to the stigma of their living environment by restricting their public relationships and limiting outdoor activities to subsistence activities, calling this

strategy 'subsistence sociability' and 'focused avoidance'. Even if not referring himself to Wacquant's framework, Marchal explains how a typical French suburb in the northeast of France is experienced as a "village in the city", in reference to the Young and Willmott ethnography of *Bethnal Green*, London (Young & Willmott, 1957). While housing is often considered as a central element of identity for older persons, Marchal demonstrates that the identities of older residents are more linked to their neighbourhood than to their personal housing. The territorial stigma is transformed here from a "retreat into the private sphere" to the "defence of neighbourhood". Avoiding the neutral/impersonal concept of "space", Marchal prefers the notion of "territoire" as a place for shared and lived experience, collective identities based on inhabitants initiatives and/or informal routines situated in a clear manner (at the chemist's, on the corner shop, etc.; Marchal, 2017)². We can thus see that territorial stigmatisation is not a condition, but rather a form of "action through collective representation fastened on place" (Wacquant, Slater & Pereira, 2014, p. 1278), thereby advancing the empirical understanding of its role in producing urban inequality and marginality.

Beyond segregation and identification, spatial exclusion is concerned with the production of space itself. According to Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1991), space is produced through spatial practice, representational space, and representations of space. Spatial practice refers to the everyday practices and perceptions with which ordinary people encounter and use space. It comprises the daily routines and ways older people take within their action scope, the places they avoid and the ways they appropriate places and attach a feeling of home to them. Representational space refers to the passively, instead of actively, experienced space – the way people

² The french notion of 'territoire' could be, very carefully, compared with some understandings of 'community' vehiculated into the Age-friendly movement. However, 'territoire' also concerns institutional policies of local areas.

subconsciously read and understand the signs and symbols in space (for example through signs of disorder that might symbolise crime in a certain area; cf. Kelling & Wilson's 'broken windows hypothesis', 1982). Representations of space are, finally, the conceptualizations of space made by planners, scientists, and policy stakeholders. They may take on physical form in terms of maps, plans, models and designs. Such representations are laden with ideologies and have a substantial role and specific influence in the production of space. In regards to ageing, concepts of age-friendly cities, from WHO or elsewhere (Lui et al., 2009), would constitute a variety of cases for representations of space.

Lefebvre's (1991) claim that all citizens should have a "right to the city" implies that all people should participate in the production of space in all three dimensions. They should be able to appropriate space both practically and cognitively, and they should be allowed to participate in decision-making and in the representation of space (Purcell, 2003).

How do these perspectives from sociology understand age, space and exclusion, and how does this differ from gerontological concepts? Sociological research on socio-spatial segregation bases exclusion on the spatialisation of social inequalities, i.e. the processes that lead to disadvantaged populations living in deprived areas (Savage, Warde, & Ward, 2003). Space, in this conceptualisation, is viewed as a 'container', but at the same time as dynamic: it changes with the people who live in it. These processes can generally be traced back to socio-economic inequalities. Hence, wealthier people can afford to live in areas with better infrastructure, wealthier neighbours, less crime and a better 'image'. Whereas research has proceeded from merely looking at economic inequalities to also considering, for example, ethnicity, age is hardly ever considered by sociologists. Urban and environmental sociology still

seems to be age-blind. However, this strand of research has influenced gerontological research on environmental justice in particular (cf. Scharf, 2002), as well as research on the displacement of older, economically deprived persons through gentrification processes (cf. Wiles et al., 2012).

Sociological research on environments and identities has emphasised how living in deprived areas may lead to stigmatisation and hence 'spoils' identities (cf. Wacquant, Slater & Pereira, 2014; Wertman & Piliavin, 1967; Sampson, 2009). In this sense, exclusion refers to a cultural status of disesteem based upon the image of a person's residential area. Space matters in its perception and representation – however, not primarily by the people living in it, but particularly by those living outside of it, as Elias and Scotson (1994) express by distinguishing "the Established", and "the Outsiders". Again, age is not particularly considered in these approaches. However, by applying general logics of stigma to later life, it can be assumed that the 'stains' of an environment are more intense the longer a person has lived in this environment. Inspired by sociology, such an argument is recurrent in Phillipson's perspective about cities in a globalised world (2007), and is also described in rural areas (Keating, Eales & Phillips, 2013).

Research on the production of space, finally, stresses the notion that space is constituted through spatial practice, representational space and representations of space. Space is, from this perspective, not something that pre-exists, both something that is constantly co-constructed by various actors with varying levels of power. It draws attention to the questions regarding which places are used and not used by whom, how they are perceived by whom and who represents them in which way. Exclusion is, from this perspective, multi-dimensional, comprising the use, perception, and representation of space. Anyone who is excluded is hence neither

able to actively or passively appropriate space, nor to take part in the decision-making and representation of space. The latter, in particular, entails an emphasis on power relations that unfold in spatial mechanisms of social exclusion. Even though age has not been considered in Lefebvre's theoretical concepts, his call to the "right to the city" has been taken up by gerontologists as a flagship (cf. Phillipson, 2010; 2011; Buffel, Phillipson & Scharf, 2012). However, critical gerontologists did not consider the three-fold and complex Lefebvrian conception of space (Moulaert et al., 2018) but prefer to focus on "giving a voice" to "the most excluded" in promoting participative methods in social sciences (Buffel, 2015) and in urban planning and design (White and Hammond, 2018).. However, representations of space not only comprise decision-making, but also spatial conceptualisations made by planners, scientists, or policy stakeholders, that shape representational spaces (images and perception of environments) and therefore occupy a crucial role in the production of space and spatial exclusion. If older people should be able to appropriate space both practically and cognitively, and be allowed to participate in the decision-making and representation of space (Purcell, 2003), such an agenda would support the WHO model of "age-friendly cities" by promoting "social participation" of older people. This has been translated into multiple ways for consulting older people, including seats in local or central steering committees reserved for seniors, and many authors call for intensification of such participatory approaches supporting a "citizenship- and rights-based narrative of ageing" (Buffel, Handler and Phillipson, 2018, p. 288). However, one may doubt their real access to power, their capacity to make a decision change or to impose a contradictory position in the administrative staffs and local elected officials implied in local cases. Even if we can consider ourselves as inspired by "public sociology" when observing and supporting local "age-friendly" practices (Moulaert and Garon, 2015), we, as researchers, must ourselves be careful in how to

represent age, space and socio-spatial exclusion, particularly when we use existing representations like age-friendly cities.

Summarising urban and environmental sociological perspectives, we can conclude that socio-spatial exclusion is framed as...

- i) based upon socio-economic status: resulting from income inequalities and leading to socio-spatial segregation.
- ii) cultural: resulting from the reputation and labelling of an environment and leading to stigma and spoiled identities.
- iii) multi-dimensional: comprising active and passive appropriation, as well as participation in the representation of space.

4. Conclusion: What can gerontology and sociology learn from each other about socio-spatial exclusion?

In the two previous sections we tried to show how gerontology and sociology have conceptualised the relationship between age, space, and exclusion thus far.

Both sociology and gerontology have longstanding traditions of researching the spatial mechanisms of social exclusion. The most obvious differences between them might be that theoretical concepts from urban sociology hardly ever consider age explicitly, nor do they adopt a life course perspective, and much (though not all) of gerontological accounts neglect power relations. However, there are also some connections to be made between the two disciplines. In particular, we can find (infra-) structural definitions of exclusion in both disciplines, pointing to lack of (access to) important infrastructure in certain residential areas. This lack may particularly affect older adults, as their action scope tends to be smaller than that of younger adults,

and they usually spend more time in their immediate residential environment (cf. Wahl, Mollenkopf & Oswald, 1999). Whereas sociological concepts of socio-spatial segregation often do not consider age, environmental justice accounts from social gerontology depart from a socio-economic understanding of exclusion as a starting point, but then focus on older adults and how they deal with living in deprived neighbourhoods. In doing so, they – in accordance with sociological accounts – also extend the notion of exclusion to comprise service exclusion, exclusion from social relationships, economic exclusion, and civic exclusion. The latter is often linked to the call for a “right to the city” (Lefebvre, 1991) and used to legitimise research on how older people are able or unable to participate in decision-making processes, thus ultimately affecting their residential environments (cf. Buffel, Phillipson, & Scharf, 2012).

This leads to the preliminary conclusions that we can draw from both disciplines, namely that (1) inequalities are intersectional, and that (2) exclusion is multi-dimensional and (3) processual. Intersectionality refers to overlapping systems of advantage or disadvantage, or as Crenshaw (1989) puts it, systems of oppression and discrimination, which certain groups face based on their location at the intersection of gender, age, ethnicity, sexuality, economic background and so on. This intersection is, using the words of sociologist Emile Durkheim, ‘greater than their sum’. Both gerontology and sociology have considered such intersections, for example in concepts like ‘double jeopardy’ (c.f. Dowd & Bengtson 1978; Baykara-Krumme, Schimany & Motel-Klingenbiel 2012) - mostly, however, from a deficit perspective. Often, such accounts ask about how intersecting personal attributes that are defined as risk factors lead to an increased risk of socio-spatial exclusion. Enriching such accounts with notions of ‘territorial stigma’ (Wacquant, Slater & Pereira, 2014), however, allows for treating one’s environment as an additional

attribute, and might re-shape such questions to ask how – for example – being an older migrant woman living in a deprived area affects identity-building processes and images of ageing for this group of people. On his side, Marchal illustrates how ageing in a suburb can come with increased risk of exclusion only under certain circumstance like missing interaction between people and their neighborhood, i.e. the “territoire” as the meaning of place or the shared experience of the place. Indeed, for older widows, with little help from neighbours, and on the upper hill while shops and transports are ‘only’ 200 meters below, we thus understand how space become a process of exclusion.

Using analogy, we can frame socio-spatial exclusion as being multi-dimensional, and these dimensions can also intersect. In its most basic form, spatial exclusion may refer to the lack of access to a certain place. However, socio-spatial exclusion can comprise a lack of access to certain shops and services, such as public transport – for either infrastructural reasons or reasons of economic affordability - but can also comprise a lack of access to relationships with friends and neighbours – both face-to-face and online, depending on online infrastructure - and can also entail barriers to civic participation within or concerning the neighbourhood. These dimensions of socio-spatial exclusion can intersect, but do not have to. For example, in her analysis of a deprived area in Vienna, Austria, Wanka (2018a) has shown how very economically disadvantaged older residents have hardly any access to local infrastructure like shops or cafés, but may be well integrated into neighbourhood communities and may also participate in political activism regarding their neighbourhood. We can, hence, understand socio-spatial exclusion rather as a dynamic continuum than as a fixed status. Such a perspective results in a differentiating look at exclusion, both in terms of quality and quantity. Hence, some older adults might be ‘more excluded’; however, this does not necessarily equal

being excluded in more dimensions. This might also suggest using other terms than ‘exclusion’, which place more emphasis on its gradual nature, like deprivation.

Beyond its gradual nature, exclusion is also processual. It is particularly Lefebvre’s theory of urban development that elaborates on the dynamic and co-constructive processes that ‘make places’, involving everyday practices of spatial appropriation, cognitive perceptions of space and its (powerful) representations. Again, we can borrow the notion of intersectionality to speak of an intersection between practices of place appropriation, place perception and representation at which different forms of socio-spatial exclusion are constructed, reproduced or destructed. Following this account calls for reflexivity in one’s own research practice, questioning one’s own approaches, methods, and implications, but also challenging notions dominant in one’s scientific field.

Table 1: A future research agenda for environmental gerontology

	Agenda	Examples
Research	How do intersections of age with income, education, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, health, and residential conditions relate to different forms and degrees of socio-spatial deprivation?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Which intersectionalities are behind different socio-spatial segregation processes (e.g. like gentrification)? Which role does age play in them? ii. How does the intersection of age and territorial stigma influence old-age identities and images of self? iii. Under which conditions do which dimensions of socio-spatial exclusion intersect, and where can we find spaces of possibility?
Reflection	In how far does our own research contribute to the construction, reproduction or destruction of socio-	iv. Which groups, social situations and life-worlds do we make visible and invisible through our concepts, questions, methods and samples? How do we portray, label, and – potentially –

	spatial exclusion?	stigmatize them? v. Which implications do the concepts we use, and their theoretical traditions, have? Do they, for example, impose criteria for successful or active ageing, and hence implicitly devalue those who do not meet these criteria?
Implementation	Which practical implications can we draw without constructing new or reproducing 'old' forms of socio-spatial exclusion?	vi. How can we cater for the housing needs of, for example, gay men, in later life? vii. Which concepts can we develop beyond age-friendly cities to establish planning ideas for demographic change?

Finally, what kind of research agenda can be derived from a social-constructionist, processual and intersectionalist perspective on socio-spatial exclusion? Sociologists working in the field of ageing studies, like Chris Phillipson (2004, 2007), have shown how such a critical and reflexive research agenda on socio-spatial exclusion in later life may look with their critical discussion of “age-friendly cities” (Buffel, Phillipson and Scharf 2012; Buffel, 2015). In their recent ‘manifesto’ for change, Buffel, Handler and Phillipson (2018), they demand to intensify participation of older adults, stakeholders, and multidisciplinary research teams to further develop the age-friendly agenda. Acknowledging the call for a ‘participatory turn’ in the practice of the age-friendly movement, our complementary approach calls for a ‘reflexive turn’: Hence, we propose to intensify not the involvement with the practice of age-friendly cities and communities, but its theorizing, and, to go even deeper into sociological theory, critique and reflexivity. Such an agenda might touch upon research, its reflection, and – as gerontology has always been an applied discipline – implementation, and entail a range of questions, as portrayed in Table 1. To follow such an agenda, a new

generation of environmental gerontologists might deploy theories from different disciplines and regional research traditions, thus broadening the horizon for understanding mechanisms of socio-spatial exclusion in later life. This paper suggests some avenues, borrowed from (urban/environmental) sociology. Other perspectives from geography, history, anthropology might also bring salient perspectives. Finally, social work's interest for community and collective action might be a similar to gerontology applied sciences. Community building and community organizing (Minkler, 2012) are, for example, an essential but implicit factor of Age-Friendly Cities and Communities by WHO. Taking such element as "taken for granted" as it appears in the last phrases of the "manifesto for change" by Buffel and her colleagues (2018) centred on "values of equality, community empowerment and spatial justice" ~~might be problematic~~ is, however, not a global evidence; in France, for example, community building is very little known and discussed. Forgetting this issue might provoke the misunderstanding of actions run by this program.

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