

Envisioning Engaging Spaces for Youth and Young Adults in Tøyen

Mapping asset networks for targeted urban design interventions

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Preface

What attracted our interest with Tøyen and the subject of youth and young adults was how the situation of the neighbourhood was a seemingly complex one within an urban setting and not at least, it was interesting that it was in a Norwegian context. We were triggered to research how inequality can occur in one of the world's highest ranking countries regarding human development. The ongoing Tøyen 'Area-lift' gave a unique opportunity to study urban regeneration in progress and to examine whether there were opportunities for ripple effects and consequently added value to the result of the program - when striving for a socially just society.

We were motivated by the idea of how, through our master's thesis, we could contribute with the knowledge we have acquired throughout our studies to utilise urban design as an interdisciplinary field. We hope that through our process of evaluating the situation specific to Tøyen, same methodologies can also be used elsewhere - adding to the knowledge and understanding of a wide range of subjects that urban design constitutes.

Lars Dyve Jørgensen, Kent Olav Hovstein Nordby, Pablo Alberto Alejo Barros Aalborg, May 2018

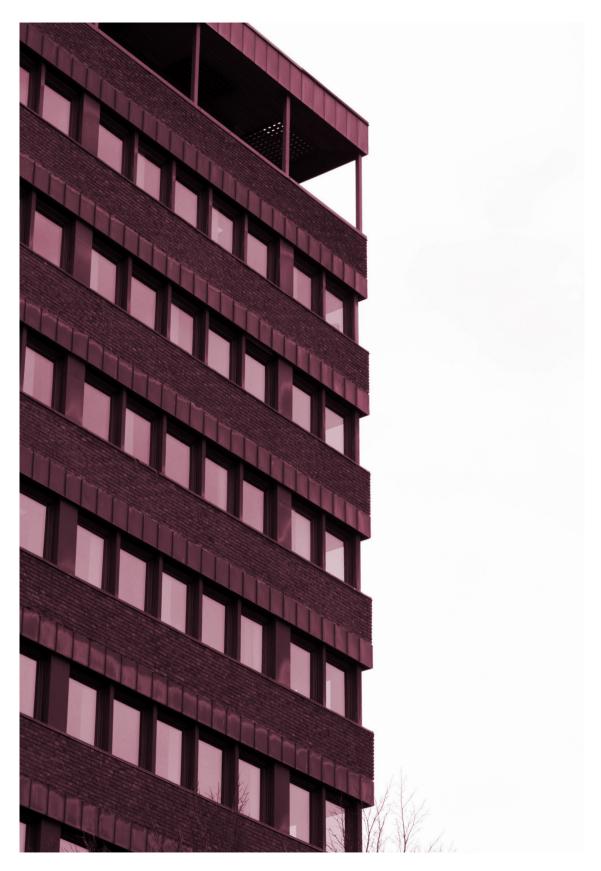


Figure IV.1: Facade Tøyen Torg

Abstract

Globalisation and migration cause fast changes in the urban environment which puts significant pressure on the social, cultural and economic relationships in urban neighbourhoods and on the inhabitants growing up there.

The project focuses the role of the youth and young adults (16-25) as an essential actor and asset of the disadvantaged neighbourhood of Tøyen, Oslo. Even though being a large group at a defining stage in their life, they tend to be left out the hegemonic process of urban development.

Tøyen has during the past five years undergone an urban regeneration process, dubbed the Tøyen 'Area-lift'. The thesis has its outset in how the process has influenced the opportunity space of 16-25's and how urban regeneration can afford possibilities of engaging youth through urban design - with an emphasis of counteracting the adverse effects of regeneration, such as gentrification.

By mapping the network of the local asset through literature research, interviews and field mapping, we sought potentials in the urban environment to help strengthen the neighbourhood and engage the youth in their community. The uncovering of many promising assets and programs led to a strategy of strengthening the physical connections in-between actors, by envisioning targeted urban design interventions that enhance communication, acceptability and curiosity amongst youth and the rest of the neighbourhood.

Using local assets of the neighbourhood as the base of the further development of Tøyen ensures that the community takes part in the change and strengthens the sociocultural relation. The strategy has a potential to be implemented in other neighbourhoods to ensure strategically placed urban interventions for development of the community from within.

Keywords:

Tøyen, neighbourhood regeneration, youth and young adults, asset network analysis, engaging spaces, targeted urban design interventions

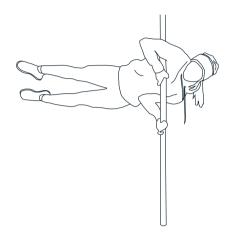
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Figure 1.1: View of upgrading of Tøyen Torg



Chapter 1

Introduction

introduction to problem domain research questions thesis structure

This chapter will serve as an introduction to the dissertation and present the focus of the thesis. Firstly, the chapter will present the purpose and the problem domain of the study. After the problem statement, we establish the aim of the research followed by the research questions, which lead the work process of the dissertation. In the conclusion of the chapter, the thesis structure will be elaborated to assist the reader with the understanding of the overall reading structure.

Introduction

The nature of our cities is changing. With increasing urbanisation and urban strategies such as compact city development, pressure builds on renewing and improving already urbanised areas to make our cities more habitable - often leading to processes of urban regeneration.

Urban regeneration are means of addressing spatially localised issues related to the personal circumstances of those living in a deprived neighbourhood or problems that arise from an area or neighbourhood itself (Musterd and Andersson, 2005; Lupton, 2004). Regeneration processes engage a set of urban "strategies to facilitate economic, social, environmental, cultural and historical (re)development" (Spandou, Garcia and Macario, 2010; Ramlee et al., 2015). Therefore, specific areas are targeted because of the characteristics of its place and people. With regeneration, contemporary neighbourhoods and local communities face risks of disruptive social change if the processes are not inclusive and embrace the development from the inside of communities. It is increasingly emphasised in the contemporary debates about regeneration and gentrification, that fixing a neighbourhood from the outside is an unjust form of developing, ultimately not fixing the "problems", but displacing them (Glass, 1969; Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015; and Munzner and Shaw, 2015). Furthermore, the mixing of new inhabitants with well-established ones can often create socio-economic segregation - a division of where inhabitants' reside according to their social and economic status (Tammaru et al., 2015). Adverse socio-economic segregation has an inherent potential to create polarised communities that even the most generous welfare regimes have a hard time to regenerate. As important as ensuring that a regeneration process is hegemonic to the local population, one must ensure that all social strata and groups can influence neighbourhood development.

Despite being substantial in numbers, youth are often not well positioned to make an actual impact on city development, community, and environmental planning (Tolstad, Hagen, and Andersen, 2017). The marginalisation of youth from the hegemonic dialogue in decision-making is a significant reflection of the broader perception of youth and their activities as problematic or inappropriate (Rogers, 2005).

The neighbourhood of Tøyen, Oslo, has for the past five years undergone an area-enhancement

program to counteract the relative deprivation of the area, and the program is scheduled to be terminated in 2018. Local research (Brattbakk and Andersen, 2017) shows that even though the living conditions and the environment has become better for many residents, youth and young adults, especially from a minority immigrant background (Tolstad, Hagen, and Andersen, 2017), feel that the program has failed to engage them in the development of the neighbourhood and to increase their opportunity space.

Lately, there has been put a greater focus on youth and young adults in Tøyen and their opportunity space (Tolstad, Hagen, and Andersen, 2017), with an increased effort to expose their current situation and how they utilise their neighbourhood.

As result of the area-regeneration, several related measurements have already been implemented, such as a local activity house, and an association for social-entrepreneurship targeted for youth and young adults. It appears that there would be an adequate network of assets dedicated to increasing the opportunity space of the group, but that the neighbourhood changes following the regeneration, could lead to an alienation of the 'initial' demographic groups.

The literature on the neighbourhood shows, among other things, that due to high rates of overcrowding, and few attractive meeting places, subjects of these groups seek to urban outdoor spaces making them especially receptive to neighbourhood effects. In particular, it may seem challenging to embrace the group when considering diversity, ethnicity, and age groups (development) needs. This then conjures frustration when the program fails to produce engaging physical results fast enough (Brattbakk et al. 2015; Tolstad, Hagen, and Andersen, 2017).

The thesis focuses on the relationship between the actors and assets that affect the lifeworld of youth and young adults in Tøyen, and how an interrelation network between these can be used to produce more targeted 'interventions' based on the characteristics of younger people. The results of the thesis are relevant within the domain of architecture, urban design and sociology, but also for specific communities, as we provide principles for utilising existing neighbourhood and community networks to guide localisation and parameters for an envisioning of engaging designs.

Based on the initial the perception of the situation in Tøyen, the network between actors and assets in Tøyen seems to be underutilised concerning the engagement of youth and young adults in the further neighbourhood development following the regeneration process. There can be potential in exploring possible activation of the space of interaction between the neighbourhood resources.

The research has aimed to determine how a local network of actors and asset can be utilised to localise and guide the design of targeted interventions for youth and young adults in Tøyen.

Research Questions

Through our research on youth and young adults in Tøyen, we have sought to answer the following research question(s):

MAIN QUESTION

How can we utilise asset-networks to design targeted interventions that engage youth and young adults [16-25's] in Tøyen to contribute to socio-economic development and legacy of the area renewal?

SUB-QUESTIONS

Through a critical review of relevant literature;

How can we understand an urban neighbourhood and its relationship to inhabitants?

What is the existing international and Tøyen-specific research and theories regarding youth and young adults as neighbourhood resources?

What are the most important factors for designing urban spaces that can engage youth and young adults in the neighbourhood?

.....

Through an empirical case study and analysis of Tøyen and the ongoing 'Area-Lift';

What are the current social implications of the regeneration program?

How can mapping of local assets for youth and young adults be used to evaluate community networks and localising potential locations for interventions?

.....

Through envisioning a design;

How can youth and young adults be engaged through a targeted intervention into the neighbourhood belonging and further socio-economic development of Tøyen?

Thesis Structure

On the Basis of these research questions, the discussion throughout the thesis seeks to develop the readers understanding about; 1) the current situation on what constitutes the relationship between urban regeneration and 16-25's; 2) establish the neighbourhood of Tøyen, Oslo as the case of the thesis; 3) development of a methodology to utilise neighbourhood assets for development of younger people and; 4) propose on basis of the methodology a strategic envisioning of an intervention for youth and young adult in Tøyen. The interconnected issues presented, offers a position from which to view the interstices between theoretical underpinnings, empirical data and critical analysis.

The next chapter following the thesis problem domain present the surveying of relevant literature related to youth and young adults place in processes such as urban regeneration, and inherent characteristics of the groups. The review serves a critical discussion for the further development of the theses. Here we will also present definitions and clarifications regarding key aspects of the thesis.

In chapter 3, we present the case of study, Tøyen, and an overarching construct of the neighbourhood concerning the ongoing enhancement program and how this can be used beneficially in the engagement of youth and young adults.

Chapter 4, present the development of a methodological frame based on the theoretical frame and understanding of the case. From the methods developed we build our empiric's.

Chapter 5, outlines the utilisation of the developed methodology in an analysis of the case. The chapter argues how the methodological approach can answer the research questions and how the considerations of the project that will guide the targeted design development.

We present the development of a design proposal for urban design interventions in Tøyen in Chapter 6. The work bases itself on the empirical findings of the previous chapters and the theoretical frame constructed in chapter 2.

Chapter 7, the last main chapter, will evaluate the results of the methodological work and the design proposal. The chapter aims to summarise the work of the study and to discuss the work process of the thesis through an evaluation of the research questions. The chapter will conclude with proposals for further research on the theme of designing for youth and young adults.

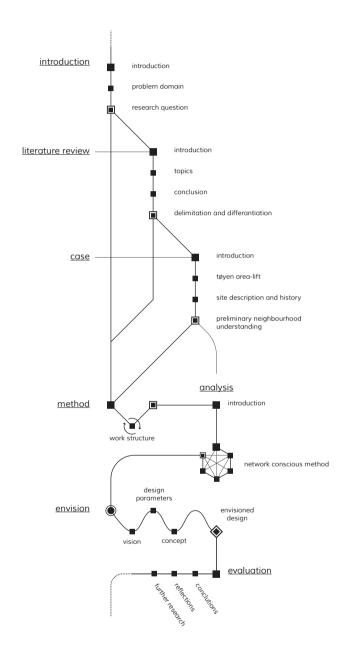


Figure 6.1: Thesis Structure



Figure 7.1: Vacant store fronts



Chapter 2

Literature Review

introduction definitions and clarification neighbourhood change youthful resources neighbourhood effects territorial thinking network thinking conclusions

This chapter will present a series of topics pertinent to the primary concerns related to the area of Tøyen and the study of engaging youth and young adults in urban development.

The literature review will through the introduction open up the significance of the research theme and discuss possible gaps that the topics present related to the theme of the thesis through urban trends on a global scale of migration and socioeconomic segregation and the processes of regenerating areas in decline. The following topics bases itself on the theoretical background knowledge of different sources that have been relevant within that fields of study. The theories are selected based on the input they can provide to the project and the possible application of the knowledge in the analysis of the problem and proposal. Further, the literature review will discuss the effects of neighbourhoods, and how renewal processes influence youth, a significant age group globally, and how they are taken care of in the planning process. Consequently, this brings us to the discussion of how an urban neighbourhood can be a difficult unit to analyse, how to better plan for youth and young adults and the relevance of utilising the networks within neighbourhood analysis.

The chapter concludes with the central findings from the literature review, followed by a field of research delimitation and differentiation.

Introduction

MORE PEOPLE ARE MIGRATING than ever before (UNFPA, 2015) and even the most egalitarian countries experience inequalities and segregation (Tammaru et al., 2015). As more people move into cities and the world faces the largest youth population to date (Tolstad, Hagen, and Andersen, 2017), pressure builds on the social, economic and cultural relationships in the urban neighbourhood, which significantly affects the ones growing up there (Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015; Brattbakk and Andersen, 2017).

Socioeconomic segregation, a division of inhabitants' location according to their social and economic status (Tammaru et al., 2015), creates polarised communities and friction in the urban space (Lupton, 2004; Hagen et al., 2016). Fast urban changes like this create challenges that even the most generous welfare regimes seem to have a hard time to regenerate (Tammaru et al., 2015).

NEIGHBOURHOOD RENEWALS

Through time there have been several attempts on neighbourhood regenerations. The process engages a set of urban "strategies to facilitate economic, social, environmental, cultural and historical (re) development" (Spandou, Garcia and Macario, 2010; Ramlee et al., 2015). Many of the processes focus on increasing the image of the city instead of the people that inhabit the disadvantaged neighbourhood (Lees, Slater and Wyly et al. 2008). The debate on gentrification argues that fixing a neighbourhood from the outside is an unjust form of developing, not fixing the "problems", but displacing them (Glass,1969; Munzner and Shaw, 2015; Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015), therefore a legitimate renewal process is critical in contemporary urban development.

To ensure the focus on the underlying problems of a neighbourhood, scholars acknowledge the presence of neighbourhood effects: that the place of residence affects the possibilities and chances in life (van Ham et al., 2012; Brattbakk and Andersen, 2017). Social capital, relative deprivation, local institutional resources, territorial stigmatisation and public intervention, are mechanics of this phenomenon. The undefined unit of a neighbourhood creates difficulties in stating their hierarchical relevance. Consequently, this opens the discussion of enriching the territorial thinking (Dupuy, 2006) with network thinking (Castells, 1996) justifying an analytical approach to interlinked communities, not only linked by physical space, but by networks.

RENEWAL OF TØYEN

Tøyen is the area of the latest attempt of urban renewal in Norway (Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015), which makes it a compelling area of analysis in a further debate about just urban design. The polarised neighbourhood has a large percentage of youth and young adults, which is a challenging group when it comes to making engaging designs (Hagen et al., 2016). Being the most impoverished neighbourhood in Norway (Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015) the socioeconomic challenges are significant and this type of regeneration has no "quick fix" (Munzner and Shaw, 2015). The researchers behind the site-specific academic work supporting the project has therefore focused on developing meeting places and outdoor spaces, combat poverty and crime, improve living conditions and the environment, as well as strengthen engagement, activism and volunteering (Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015). When reviewing contemporary literature on neighbourhood development, an emphasis is that urban regeneration should be a more 'sustainable', and more specified to the social dimensions of development. The research paints a detailed picture of economic, social and cultural layers of the city, creating an essential foundation for further work towards concrete strategies for socio-economically segregated neighbourhoods.

A SPACE FOR YOUTH

Nevertheless, site-specific research emphasises the lack of strategies designing stimulating spaces for youth and young adults in Tøyen (Brattbakk and Andersen, 2017) which can work as platforms for creating social, cultural and economic connections.

Youths are a large group in Tøyen and a user of urban space, but they feel unprioritised in the urban planning (Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015).

Through the rest of the review, we discuss how youth can be a more vital part of the neighbourhood process of change to both increases their life chances and sustainably develop the rest of the neighbourhood: Neighbourhood change and regeneration address the consequences of quick urban change and the measurements to counteract the socioeconomic segregation. Youth as neighbourhood resources will investigate the interests and considerations that urbanism must have when planning for this group. Neighbourhood effects present how the neighbourhood affects life chances. Further comes the discussion of neighbourhoods through territorial thinking and network thinking which shows complexity and ambiguity of its nature and the relevance of thinking through nodes and connections in today's urban planning.

Definitions and Clarifications

Throughout our thesis we will use some key terms and phrases; therefore we want to clarify the definitions as we understand them to create a comparative framework.

'REGENERATION', 'AREA-LIFT', AND 'ENHANCEMENT PROGRAM'

A critical contextual term for the neighbourhood in Tøyen is the 'area-lift'. The Tøyen 'Area-lift' is the current regeneration process it is undergoing. The process of regenerating areas has led to an association of the term to adverse effects (such as displacement) following many initiatives. As a result, synonyms like enhancement program, neighbourhood renewal, urban regeneration, urban revitalisation and urban redevelopment, have emerged.

The site-specific goal of the enhancement program in Tøyen is to assist the inhabitants to experience a safe, inclusive place making the population able and willing to stay (Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015). Through this thesis we understand a regeneration process through the Norwegian State Housing Banks (2013) explanation:

"Through physical and social measures, 'area lifting' will contribute to comprehensive, lasting and locally based development work in selected areas with special living conditions challenges." - The Norwegian State Housing Bank (2013) [Authors' translation]

The term 'Area-lift' is not an internationally established term. Through our review of literature, we have found only one translation of the Norwegian word 'områdeløft', being 'enhancement program' (Tolstad, Hagen, and Andersen, 2017)

The Tøyen 'area-lift' is based on the same definition as that of the Norwegian State Housing bank. For the sake of this thesis, we use regeneration, renewal, area-lift and enhancement program in this thesis interchangeably, we will still be referring to the same process which focuses on giving areas comprehensive enhancements, rooted in the community through physical and social measures.

'YOUTH AND YOUNG ADULTS'

A primary element of this thesis is 'youth' and 'young adults'. Different research papers advocate for age-based classifications of youth, adolescents, and young people, or argue for a more nuanced understanding, recognising both the fluidity and liminality of such categorisations when dealing with transcendent social groups(Bastien and Holmarsdottir, 2015). We would also like to stress that the nature of youth and young adults would not be thoroughly covered in such classifications, and could not do justice to the complexity of the groups. Changes within the groups such as citizenship have a potential impact on perceptions of and behaviour of the groups. The nature of youth and young adults will be addressed later in the thesis. All though, for a clarifying perspective, and also for this thesis we see a need for specifying our understanding of the groups.

Through the existing research on youth and young adults in Tøyen, 'youth' is defined as persons in the age group of 13 - 18 years, and 'young adults' in the age group of 20 - 26 years (Hagen et al., 2016). For this thesis, we adopt the same age-based classification of the groups as in the existing local research for comparability purposes across empirical studies, but with smaller alterations on the background of our empirical work. Despite this, we will use the conclusions and parallels to the previously established classifications. We understand on the basis of addressing a specific case within a Norwegian setting, and with comparison of local research; 'youth' as 16-19 year olds as a group between primary school and higher education, and; 'young adults' as 20-25's typically transcended from a childhood environment and home into a process of establishing an adult life through studies, work, and family. Common for both groups is the state of being between childand adulthood. We use the terms 'young people', '16-25's' or 'in-betweeners' interchangeable when we refer to both groups simultaneously.

'ACTORS' AND 'ASSETS'

When addressing the relationship between inhabitants and the resources of the neighbourhood we refer to the people as either actors or assets. It is therefore essential to know how we understand these terms.

An actor can refer to someone who takes part in an affair, a user of the urban environment, without necessarily giving something of value back. An asset, or assets, is described as "skills and talents of residents, as well as the capabilities available or possible through local organisations and institutions" (Beaulieu, 2002). Consequently, the actor can be perceived as a resource or asset to the society, not in the form of exploitation, but a valuable person or institution that can benefit the neighbourhood.

In this thesis, we will use the term assets when addressing actors that have great potential and ability to develop the community. These can, in the case of this thesis, be both local youth and young adults, but that in general, the assets mentioned throughout the thesis will cover actors that have the capability of influencing the opportunity space of these groups.

Neighbourhood Change and Regeneration

 T^{HERE} is a necessity stressed in many research papers studying neighbourhood change to differentiate and clarify; what within a neighbourhood that is changing and be clear on the different mechanisms affecting change (Lupton, 2004; Galster, 2014; Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015). To that effect, some concerns arise when studying changes in a neighbourhood.

APPROACHING CHANGE

Some researchers advocate for the clarification and separation of the dimensions that make the issue of neighbourhood change so complex ('spatially based attributes'), and to identify in the process evident possible aspects of studies to elaborate situations. By doing this, changes can be traced down to one specific dimension and studied further. Also, it allows for the recognition of influential circumstances from one dimension to another. The theory of neighbourhood change studies the causes and effects that take place when neighbourhoods go through changes. Given the complexity and multidimensionality of affairs associated with a neighbourhood, the processes that shape it and change it are also vast. Lupton (2004) recognises four main strands of study when approaching change:

- Community study; detailed understanding of particular neighbourhoods
- From Urban Geography and Urban Sociology; focuses on change within the context of a social or urban system
- Policy evaluation.
- Outcome of residents, through the role of neighbourhood characteristics.

COMMUNITY STUDIES AND URBAN

GEOGRAPHY

Any given neighbourhood will house some inhabitants that each have individual opinions and inputs (Lupton, 2004). There appear to be no such thing as a static perception of 'neighbourhood', rather the interpretation of it depends on the individual. Furthermore, these individuals as well as some external agents, have the potential to make changes that will alter the perceptions mentioned above. This behaviour of cause and effect is observed by Galster when he mentions that "the consumers

of neighbourhood can be considered the producers of neighbourhood as well" (Galster, 2014). He explains that just by choosing (whether willingly or forcefully) to occupy a dwelling, a person is contributing through individual decisions and attributes to the broader spectrum of the neighbourhood. More perceptual changes that individuals actively make can happen at a small scale (for example customisation of one's dwelling), or at large scale (social groups occupying or 'claiming' public space). In essence, what is essential is that interests of different resident groups may conflict. To be in the public space does not only bring comfort but friction as well (Hagen et al., 2016). According to Lupton (2004), a somewhat common kind of local conflicts usually occurs because of the different interests of youth and adults in the use of public space.

The last concern is that of the timescale in which neighbourhood change takes place. Generally, changes can take place at a slow pace (for example, the topography of a place), at a moderate pace (appreciation at generational level), or perceptions at a faster pace (urban regenerations, social movements). This notion is helpful when establishing causal links between particular events and the consequences intended, or unintended, down the road. A long-term observation, established over several years or decades, will deliver an understanding of broader causes and consequences of change than a short-term.

CRITICAL MOMENTS IN NEIGHBOURHOOD

TRAJECTORIES

Identifying these critical moments is crucial, as they have the potential for more significant changes that can tip the scales both positively and negatively. In the last decades of urban studies, these changes usually come in the form of urban regeneration. The concept of urban regeneration has been very relevant for cities from a social and economic point of view since the 1960's. A broad understanding of urban regeneration can be explained as the various strategies to restore profitability or repopulate areas of the city deemed to be in decline (Magalhães, 2015). This description lacks depth in understanding what sorts of changes take place in urban regenerations and what scale they have. The deconstructiveness adds to the fact that the goals and objectives of such processes vary depending on the geographical context and location or the time in the history of implementation (Magalhães. 2015). For this reason, there have been many other terms that are often similar to regeneration, such as 'urban renewal', 'urban reconstruction' or 'urban revitalisation'. Regardless of how these can have differing antecedents or goals, regeneration processes address at their core the idea that the problems of an area should be intervening the area itself (Magalhães, 2015). Such understanding sets a causal nexus between the bounding and characteristics of place and the social and economic problems that occur in it. Earliest regenerations had a strong focus on improving physical structure directly (new and renovated housing, bring business for jobs). The following consequence, often unintended, led to gentrification and spatial segregation. More recent practices of regeneration generally understand the fact that social cohesion (i.e. improving social capital through communal asset ownership, skill training) is a key element leading to a rift or disjuncture within regeneration practice dividing the ones focused on 'people' and the ones focused on 'physical' and 'profit'.

CONCLUSION

The neighbourhood inhabits a diverse collection of people with different meanings and needs, and all of these have the potential to contribute to a positive change in the neighbourhood. Slower changes such as in topography or ageing are more comfortable to tolerate from a population point of view, but faster changes, such as social movements and urban regeneration can cause friction in urban space, from a management and developer point of view. From the 1960s to now, there have been many regeneration processes known as urban renewal, urban reconstruction or urban revitalisation. The core idea of all these processes is to improve an area from within which combines the characteristics of the place with the social and economic challenges.

Nevertheless, the frequent conflicts, on-ground, in the urban spaces of a neighbourhood is often between different groups (between culture and age) disagreeing with the use of space. As mentioned earlier, such conflicts are fueled by rapid change or socio-spatial segregation.

The critical aspect of renewal processes is the balancing of priorities. Through regeneration often physical improvements are of the essence in the process of lifting, not only the infrastructure of a neighbourhood but also the inhabitants. A more general societal concern then is when the physical and economic development of the neighbourhood is priorities over the social construct of the residents, especially the more social vulnerable ones.

The next section will address youth and young adults place in this social construct, and what constitutes their nature.

Youthful Resources

Despite being substantial numbers, youth are not well positioned to make an actual impact on city development, community, and environmental planning (Tolstad, Hagen, and Andersen, 2017). The marginalisation of youth from the hegemonic dialogue in decision-making is significant as a reflection of the broader perception of youth and their activities as problematic or inappropriate (Rogers, 2005). Often when there is debate regarding youth and young adults, the discussions are taken without clear youth voices present.

Although youth have been to a large extent marginalised from development and decision making processes historically, the importance of their participation and placing them at the centre of sustainable and inclusive development is now often highlighted in many national development strategies. The rights of children and youth are now more often stated as key stakeholders and are to be included in development processes (Bastien and Holmarsdottir, 2017).

This emphasis, however significant, is challenged by 'moral panics' - the processes by which stylistically and morally distinct youth subculture are constituted as a threat to the normative civitas of advanced capitalism (Rogers, 2005). Such situations can lead to a sense of powerlessness, a state that constitutes the situation for many youth and young adults. This can be related to the fact that most "regular citizens have little if any, influence on regulations, planning and development" (Tolstad, Hagen, and Andersen, 2017). As of 2008, public participation has become a requirement in planning processes as part of the Norwegian Planning and Building Act (Hanssen, Hofstad and Saglie, 2015). Public participation in planning and design processes consists of involving people in management and creation of their built and natural environments. Public communal participation bases itself on the principle that the built and natural environments work better if citizens are active and involved in its creation and management, instead of being treated as passive consumers (Arnstein, 1969; Healey, 1997; Agger, 2007; 2015; Michels and de Graaf, 2010)

Should young people be thoroughly involved in their own and communal development, there should be a new interpretation of youth and young adults and their role in public space driven management - they must be perceived to be resources for development. 16-25's are continually negotiating a balance between formal contexts and habitual

experiences 'on the ground' (Rogers, 2005) and the very concept of youth and young adults as neighbourhood resources can in itself seem like a contradiction of what it means to be young. This becomes a determinant factor like any normative conceptual understandings of use - as well as wider 'official lines' on public acceptability.

THE NATURE OF

YOUTH AND YOUNG ADULTS

The majority of Norwegian youth and young adults identify themselves as part of the Norwegian dictum; 'the performance generation' - under pressure to perform through life and being evaluated continuously after their accomplishments (NOVA, 2015). Such situations are inevitable results of overall societal governance and norms, creating expectations, but also externalities. Such situations create potential reactions such as depression and frustration (Sletten and Bakken, 2016). The implications is the risk of having a societal situation where an already vulnerable group becomes more alienated from, or suffering under, the overall society - especially those with lower social capital.

In many ways, youth and young adults are the inevitable inheritors to society. If the institutional premises built over generations are to be maintained, one must secure inclusion of young people in the development and refinement of the very same premises. The social construct should be a negotiation underpinning that social organisation should be hegemonic;

"In the immediacy of links between groups, between members of groups, and between 'society' and nature, occupied space gives the direct expression – 'on the ground', so to speak' – to the relationships upon which social organisations is founded." (Lefebvre, 1974, cited in Rogers, 2005)

Youth groups are often delineated as subcultures and tribes with distinct identities and patterns of spatial activity. As Miles (2000) suggests young people are engaged in: "[... a delicate balancing act between the construction of individuality and relationships constructed in groups. In other words, lifestyles are not entirely individual in nature but are constructed through affiliation and negotiation, by active integration of individual and society [...]" (Miles, 2000, cited in Rogers, 2005).

The importance of lifestyle and perception of self is crucial in understanding how culturally embedded peer associations, such as status and style, inform 'other' associated entity distinctions. In developing the social construction of identity when being young, the display of difference and the perceived performance of activity are means of intentional, and indeed collective, separation and distinction of the individual from the normative 'mainstream'. For the sake of Tøyen, one can see that minority youth from lower-income households, identifies with the "outsider identity" of being non-white in a rather homogeneous society (Hagen et al. 2017).

URBAN ATTRIBUTES AND CHARACTERISTICS

The means by gathering the 'needs and wants' of the local populous, are often manifest through a combination of steering panels and direct consultation for specific redevelopment projects, from which the council remains somewhat distanced. 'Youthful Cities' is an initiative to uncover what constitutes the specific needs of younger people, examining how cities are serving their younger population. Since 2013, the organisation has survived over 30.000 'Millenials' from across the globe to explore what constitutes a 'youthful city' (Youthful Cities, 2016). Based on the cumulative responses, they produce a dual understanding of cities from a youth perspective; 'attributes' - defining what is important and how a city perform; and 'attitudes' - defining their perception of governance, cities and themselves (See, Table 1).

Attributes	The most important attributes for Millennials in Europe are; Transit, Health, Safety, Affordability and Education - likely aligned with the rest of the urban population.
Migration	Keeping Millennials in their current city will be challenging. 58% of Millennials say they will leave the city within the next ten years, just as they become a core tax base, workforce between 25-44-year-olds.
Urgent matters	Concerning urgent European priorities, millennials want cities to focus on Affordability, Employment and Environment.
Self-perception	Urban Millennials consider themselves to be generally happy, healthy and entrepreneurial but struggle to eclipse their parents financially. Youth believe they may not have the skills needed to succeed. They are fully ensconced in mobile and internet media as old mediums continue to lose relevance.

Table 1: Key findings from Youthful Cities Index 2016, (youthfulcities, 2016)

With many similar features from the survey of 'youthful cities', the research on youth and young adults concerning the local situation of Tøyen, Hagen et al., (2016) address key aspects that characterises the participation of youth and young adults in the usage of city parks and public space(See Table 2). It is a complex construct that when uncovered can help in specific design decisions when addressing youth and young adults, but also the understanding of what constitutes the nature of younger people is of essence itself.

The key findings and characteristics support already existing assumptions from works such as Hendry et al. (1993), and Galster (2014). The reactive nature of perception, from the point of view of youth and

Sensing and memories	Younger people understand places entirely different than official versions or than understood in the adult-related world.	
Competence and alternatives:	Points to the importance of how the city as a whole can be said to be a large and open opportunity space where different groups can self-define their niches, territories or places.	
Fellowship and cohesion	For the group, it is not necessarily that important what they can do in public space, and it does not have to be a specific activity they perform in a place, but the important thing is that it has to be a place in which they can spend time together with other people.	
A balance between excite- ment(thrill) and safety	In many cases, young people's lifeworld is determined by "adult" behaviour. The spaces should instead reflect the sublime nature of youth	
Change and engagement	When addressing youth and young adults, one often gets in a "cohort dilemma": the next generation wants something else before the previous generation's wishes are adopted. One solution can be to focus on temporal structures, another way of focusing on architectural qualities.	

Table 2: Characteristics of Youth and Young adults use of outdoor space, Hagen et al. (2016) [Author's Translation]

young adults, is an active production of public space - itself a multi-layered process in constant oscillation - which can influence the normative moral landscape. When seen in relation to the aspect of neighbourhood use, youth and young adults characteristics of outdoor usage can be linked to many of the mechanisms of neighbourhood effects, to be discussed more thoroughly in the next section. The fact that peer effects, role models and affluent residents of a neighbourhood can aid in more positive norms among residents are well established (Galster, 2014), but also the that "bad influences" of these can undermine those very same positive norms.

From a management point-of-view, it remains challenging to include in placemaking what has been statistically shown to be popular youth uses of space, such as 'hanging out' (Hendry et al. 1993; Rogers, 2005). Younger people tend to use through their different perception of space, not solely the traditional and purely public spaces, but places as shopping malls, subway stations, libraries, stores as places 'to be'. Tendencies such as digitalisation and social media can, according to Bakken (2015), decrease the need actually to meet in such places. Although, with a situation, where large parts of the population appropriate (by need or desire) public space as an extension of their private realm, the implications of such notions may in itself undermine the real (and somewhat complex) situation. Attempts to stimulate for increased use of space among young people and young adults, for example in Tøyen, may fail if measurements are area-based (set to Tøyen) and if the target group goes out of the area to meet friends and if the real need and characteristics of the target group are not understood. On these terms, Rogers (2005) denotes that the tendency of design(s) to exclude diversity in use-value can often are linked to the difficulties experienced in the management of youth, where both perception and acceptability are vital factors.

YOUTH AND YOUNG ADULTS AS NEIGHBOURHOOD RESOURCES

The concept of using local resources in neighbourhood development is rooted in deeper sustainability lines of thought. An often forgotten dimension is youth and young adults, not only through service production but the inherent opportunity the group has to be a resource for themselves. Positive youth development emphasises means of dealing with problems related to the group, but the perception of the problems is often approached with the sense of 'fixing them' with measurement. When addressed with this standard practice, the groups themselves often feel victimised, creating an apparent social stigma. On the other hand, if the needs of young people are addressed in positive ways - one could conjure a sense of occupation. Interestingly. the relationship between youth and young adults assets and the neighbourhood, (Kegler et al., 2005) suggest that neighbourhood and community-level influences should be considered when designing youth development interventions to reduce risk behaviours.

As urban space play such an essential part in youths everyday life, one should view the more comprehensive picture and investigate the deeper mechanics that lies behind declining neighbourhoods and frustrated youth. In the 1990's, several youth organisations in the US emphasised that instead of focusing on problems related to younger people and seeking to solve them, the skill and talent of the groups in itself have the capability actually to solve their inherent problems (Jueds, 1994). Concerning urban development, such notions of 'self-fulfilment' can, positively, lead to

a legitimised communal ownership - ultimately making youth and young adults resources for the neighbourhood and the local community.

The quality denotation of younger people age-groups often includes; energy, diversity, talent, creativity, resilience and strength (Mcknight and Kretzman, 1993; Jueds, 1994; Checkoway, 1998). When included in participatory processes, a common notion from planners and designers are that when engaging with 16-25's, one often encounters 'real perspectives', rooted in 'emotional realities'. Such interactions can give fresh ideas and possibly insights to 'locked' discussions in a logical and adult perspective (Jueds, 1994; Checkoway, 1998). Tolstad, Hagen, and Andersen, 2017, marks such experiences as an "equaliser effect" - where "expertise of any kind is suspended for the moment, creating a space where participants start to reflect on and exchange their personal feelings and experiences connected to physical and imaginary places". Ultimately, such effects make participatory processes go both ways. The question still stands on what is the most beneficial and constructive means of transferring such 'equalising effects', when addressing youth and young adults, into a real hegemonic process of neighbourhood development. Possible solutions can reside in turning problem-solving into positive engagement, and the targeted understanding of characteristics and communication flow - thus realising the potential residing in youth and young adults through their opportunity space.

YOUTH AND THEIR MILIEU

Place and belonging are important to people's identity, but youth often encounter a number of barriers in their attempt to create their areas, because they are not "residents" - it is the adults who formally or legally own the rooms the youth use and view as their own. Urban spaces, activities, parks, streets, trees and institutions make up the socio-spatial infrastructure in the city, which have a great impact on the lives of the inhabitants. Therefore, Hagen et al. (2016) emphasises the importance of having the bigger picture when planning for development:

"When one is working with development of public meeting places, it is firstly important to have a strategy for how to do it, but most importantly, that the spaces are not considered separately or individually, but seen in context. Not only concerning each other or other parks and places nearby - but in conjunction with other areas of interest that will contribute to people's everyday life" (Hagen et al., 2016) [Authors' translation].

CONCLUSION

Scholars agree that the youth influence in city planning could be more significant (Checkoway, 1998; Rogers, 2005; Tolstad, Hagen, and Andersen, 2017), and one can see a trend of including youth in development processes (Bastien and Holmarsdottir, 2017). The idea that youth sub-cultures are not compatible with the "adult" city planning, creating a panic in the planning process, leading to nothing more than a verbal input. This "withdrawal" of power can lead to frustration and helplessness, in an already vulnerable group.

Youth are in a balanced space between being individuals and being in a social group, which make the whole age group (16-25) an incredibly diverse group. This makes the design process intricate and understating a need of further mappings of opportunities and potentials. Youthful cities acknowledge that the most popular needs and desires of youth are affordability, employment and environment as well as their dependency of mobile technology and internet media. Local research (Hagen et al., 2016) emphasise five characteristics of youths use of public space: 1) youth understand places completely different from adults. 2) the city is a space of opportunity where youth can define themselves. 3) the programming on the space is of less importance, as long as one can spend time with other people there. 4) balance between excitement and thrill. 5) to design for upcoming generations of youth, one can focus on temporary installations or architectural qualities.

Another way of showing that youth picture urban spaces different than adults are how they use other places than parks and plazas to hang out. This can open up new possibilities of approaching designing urban spaces towards that age group. Besides designing spaces for younger people as an actors, one must have in mind that they also can be assets to the community and themselves. By being appreciated as an asset, one can create greater ownership to the community, and possibly resolve problems which benefits the whole community. By giving youth an arena for their opinions, one can extract the energy and creativity to give new insight to urban problems that are difficult to solve through the logical approach of adult planning. Nevertheless, youth are under the influence of their surroundings. Therefore, the next section will discuss the effects the neighbourhood itself has on its inhabitants.



Figure 19.1: Boys playing in Hersleb school yard, 1952 (osloibilder, 2018)

Neighbourhood Effects

On the investigation on how the milieu affects the youth, Brattbakk (2017) explains that the socioeconomic status of the parents has the most significant impact on the youth, but their neighbourhood with its resources and institutions affect them as well. Especially when the apartments are overcrowded the streets, and the neighbourhood play an even more prominent role in shaping the young one's future (Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015). There is agreement amongst scholars of the existence of neighbourhood effects, that living in more disadvantaged neighbourhoods has an adverse effect on resident's life chances, over and above the effect of their characteristics (van Ham et al., 2012; Brattbakk and Andersen, 2017). Mechanisms influencing such is argued to be, amongst others: social norms, stigmatisation and local institutions (Brattbakk and Andersen, 2017). The phenomenon of neighbourhood effects is also an essential premise for the 'area-lift' initiatives (Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015).

MECHANICS RELATED TO TØYEN

Brattbakk (2017) have stated the most important mechanisms for neighbourhood effects, focusing on youth and young adults in Tøyen: Internal mechanisms such as social capital and relative deprivation, and external mechanisms such as local institutional resources, stigmatisation and public interference. The understanding of these mechanics can enrich the way of designing for youth to not just be engaging, but helpful towards sustainable development.

"The social capital that children and young people gain through local networks in the neighbourhood can provide access to resources in the form of useful information, awareness to and knowledge of, for example, education and employment opportunities." (Brattbakk and Andersen, 2017) [Authors' translation]

Scholars recognise the connection between neighbourhood effects and social capital (Putnam, 2000; Schiefloe, 2015; Brattbakk and Andersen, 2017). As an extent, the idea of social capital in addition to solely economic capital as a condition upon measuring the success of a specific society or community, ads to the concept of what makes successful and prosperous neighbourhoods. Social networks and interrelations play a part in securing the strength of a social group, thus adding the more overarching sustainability though. This is a necessary premise when addressing neighbourhood entities where many people do not have the all financial, social resources themselves. Social capital can take different forms depending on the type of interrelation perceived. The OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) uses the three attributes of bonds, bridges and linkages to define what influences social capital(as shown in table 3)

Bonds	Links to people based on a sense of common identity ("people like us") – such as family, close friends and people who share our culture or ethnicity.
Bridges	Links that stretch beyond a shared sense of identity, for example to distant friends, colleagues and associates.
Linkages	Links to people or groups further up or lower down the social ladder.

Table 3: Three attributes of social capital as defined by the OECD (Keeley, 2007)

One possible consequence of urbanisation in contemporary society is that of the loss of social capital. The political scientist Robert Putnam (2000) has warned that in the US the social capital has declined even when the economy has seen steady progress. He uses the example of bowling league participation as a kind of local activity that has lost popularity when bowling as a pastime activity has not. He is concerned with the social links of individuals within a neighbourhood as he believes the weakening of social capital is linked to participation in the local community. There are critics to this point of view; Gottdiener and Budd (2005) argue that perhaps locality is not the defining trait or necessity when talking about communities in which individuals are involved, underplaying the importance of neighbourly ties in cases where they can exist outside the neighbourhood boundaries.

Nevertheless, these attributes of social capital have expanded importance by elaborating critical factors on individuals within a society. Social capital is not the only thing that contributes to a prosperous society. The society constitutes the collection of individuals living in it and interaction between individuals - relativity. Neighbourhood effects, similar to social or economic status, represent a relative relationship with the surrounding situations they constitute. Studies on youth and young adults (Rogers, 2005; Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015; Hagen et al., 2016) emphasise at that stage of life; the activity radius is extended from eclipsing the home, to further out into the neighbourhoods and other surrounding areas. At the same time, this extended activity radius makes individuals more aware of their inherent situation and see a more significant connection between themselves and the rest of society.

Brattbakk (2017) explains the relative deprivation as; "how one experience the welfare compared to other people". Even though one is satisfied with the current situation, the comparison itself can turn the satisfaction to the feeling of being underprivileged and frustrated. Closely linked to the phenomenon of relative deprivation is the trend of socioeconomic segregation; a description of residential segregation where the population is divided by occupation and income, due to globalisation (Sachs 2012; European Commission 2010). Socioeconomic segregation leads to perspective to relative deprivation - which is how a deprived neighbourhood in a location like Norway is different from a deprived country somewhere else.

In the case of Tøyen, being a deprived neighbourhood bases itself on a set of factors evaluating the living conditions of the residents. These are relative to the setting in which they are set, being Norway. If one were to compare deprivation to other parts of the world, the situation in Norway would, possibly, be perceived as relatively acceptable. However, there are factors, such as the OECD poverty line (half the median household income of the total population) that put the relative problematic situation in Tøyen into a European context. Tammaru et al. (2015) state that even in the most egalitarian countries, face "major challenges threatening the sustainability of urban communities and the competitiveness of European cities". Through his study of comparing European cities on the socio-economic segregation rather than the ethnic segregation, Tammaru et al. (2015) include Oslo as part of the comparative research because of its

position of being one of the European capital cities that are most influenced by globalisation.

The key factors that shape socioeconomic segregation according to Tammaru et al. (2015) are socioeconomic inequalities, welfare regimes, housing policy and global city image. The ecological trend of all cities is social and ethnic groups clustering into different parts of the city (Häusserman and Haila, 2005). The welfare state helps lower residential segregation directly through reduction of social quality. Tammaru et al. (2015) warn about a retrenchment of the welfare state, referring to the promotion of home ownership together with professionalisation and gentrification can increase the levels of socio-economic segregation. One must be careful to draw direct links from global trends to particular spatial situation due to the richness and complexity of modern cities and neighbourhoods and welfare system - Oslo being an example of the latter.

Neighbourhood development, in a social and cultural sense, local resources are essential aspects. The internal resources that a neighbourhood is essential in the proper management of identity and belonging. Local institutional resources are the local organisation and institutions that are within the neighbourhood. To this end, local resources play a particularly important role concerning their 'quality' and the communication between assets(Brattbakk and Andersen, 2017). Several different factors can influence utilisation of such resources, but essential for their success is that they are used. From an outside perspective, neighbourhood effects could also adversely influence such institutions through stigmatisation.

Territorial stigma is a social stigma that implies a notion of how living in a specific area often is compatible with the perception of sharing similar capabilities of the residents within the same area(Brattbakk and Andersen, 2017) - which can lead to unfortunate states social and societal borders. Stigmatization or criticism of one's neighbourhood can cause pain and frustration amongst the inhabitants (Jaskiewicz and Besta, 2017), and put more pressure on the neighbourhood than it already is - more often it comes down the perception of actions (often unwanted), and individuals themselves act accordingly. Through this understanding of how perception and stigma affect neighbourhood effects, it is linked to social and socio-spatial disorganisation theory - perceived disorderly activity and perception of unusual or different spatial activity than expected.

Thorugh their disorganisation theory, Shawn and

McKay (1969) describe the relationship between the urban social context and the human experience. The disadvantage of the neighbourhood tends to limit the social networking to control crime and working towards collective goals (Browning and Jackson, 2013). In a test of the social disorganisation theory in high-risk neighbourhoods, Kingston, Huizinga and Elliott (2009) concludes that neighbourhoods with greater racial mix have smaller social networks and lower levels of social control. Higher mobility rates gave neighbourhoods more effective social institutions. In a broader sense, this also relates to, as stated by Jacobs (1961) that a densely populated and mixed neighbourhood draw pedestrians to the street, putting 'eyes on the street' and creating an informal control. In a neighbourhood with uneven distribution of active streets, one will find streets with low activity, meaning low social control - a possible arena for more criminal activity (Browning and Jackson, 2013). Kingston, Huizinga and Elliott (2009) states that the most reliable predictor of delinquency is: "[...] youths' perceptions of limited opportunities for their future suggesting the importance of implementing interventions aimed at improving both real opportunities and youths' perceptions about their future opportunities."

Kingston, Huizinga and Elliott puts a critical remark on the dangers of increasing the perceived opportunity for the youths without improving the real opportunities as this will cause great frustration. Street-level activity is not the only thing that contributes to this urban sensitivity, but also the notion of what kind of activity is considered appropriate in specific urban spaces.

Jaskiewicz and Besta (2017) explores the phenomenon of how sharing space with "strangers" through a socio-spatial disorder sensitivity, meaning the discomfort felt by other persons or groups presence is associated instead with the believed action of a stigmatised group rather than the individuals themselves. Likewise, would this same implication effect how an individual who has limited access to social resources (or does not know the people in the neighbourhood) have a higher probability of perceiving an event as potentially threatening (Jaskiewicz and Besta, 2017). Similarly, a neighbourhood can be perceived more in decline than it is because of low social bonds between citizens.

Public or governmental intervention can give an increased momentum and pride for developing the neighbourhood (Brattbakk and Andersen, 2017), On the other hand, it can create the paradox of increasing the social stigma when this mechanism was one of the reasons for neighbourhood renewal in the first place. Public intervention is relevant when it comes to Norway because of its especially generous welfare system as mentioned by Tammaru et al. (2015).

Because of the variety of factors constituting the mechanisms of neighbourhood effects, van Ham et al. (2012) see problems showing real results in their relative importance, much due to the problem of defining the neighbourhood in a diverse and globalised society. Nordic studies (Musterd and Andersson, 2005; Hasanzadeh, Broberg, and Kyttä, 2017) have explored the possibility of instead of setting a geographical appraisal around a neighbourhood, focused on the radius of every individual to have a better understanding of the neighbourhood effect of one's closest neighbours. The results show greater neighbourhood effects than what is shown in previous studies using basic statistical units (Brattbakk and Andersen, 2017). The problem of how social phenomena propagate in physical spaces adds to an understanding of the structure of urban neighbourhoods. Criticism from a sociological perspective is that often neighbourhood definitions are determined by administrative units and not the activity space or the living world of the residents in the neighbourhood - which causes problems in processes such as regeneration.

CONCLUSION

Neighbourhood effects is an established phenomenon of showing the connection between the place of upbringing and an individual's life chances. The neighbourhood of Tøyen constitutes a relative deprived situation. This is a vital construct in understanding how the lack resources in a location such as Norway are different from other parts of the world. A polarised neighbourhood, or interrelation between neighbourhoods, displaying differences between rich and poor, can lead to a great deal of frustration from the less fortunate inhabitants of a community. However, to be located in a country with a generous welfare system also creates a unique potential in creating more sustainable regenerations - most prevalent is the potential in activating local institutional resources to increase the locally bound opportunities. By utilising these community institutions, one can identify leaders and networks that can contribute to raising the social capital of the inhabitants. Equally, territorial stigmatisation can lead to frustrate and but also have the potential to motivate the more resourceful inhabitants of a community. This potential can be counteracted by weak social bonds, making individual persons linked to expected (disorderly) behaviours of a stigmatised group they appear to represent.

Such stigmatisation has strong adverse ripple effects that can result in conflicts in the accepted use of urban spaces in regards to different groups and undermine the sharing of space for different activities.

Urban regeneration has the potential to respond effectively to many of these problems, but in many contexts, the extensive neighbourhood effects are not captured due to the confined understanding of the perceived lifeworld of the population. To understand how urban neighbourhoods and regeneration addresses both the social and physical boundaries, one must explore the territorial premises of these issues.



Figure 23.1: Industrial work crew in Tøyen, 1927 (oslobilder, 2018)

Territorial Thinking

When working with neighbourhood development and neighbourhood effects, it is of high relevance to discuss the scale and the border of such a unit as the neighbourhood.

In urban planning, specific boundaries and definitions are justified as a need for administrative purposes. In this case, the concept of neighbourhood relates its existence to a spatial extension. Ironically, however, the interpretation in such cases is not given by any actual existing places (Gottdiener and Budd, 2005), but instead is defined by measurements and statistics. On the other hand, the idea that social interrelations play a part in defining the neighbourhood is found in definitions like that of the Chicago School 'natural area'. This notion was also significantly tied to global immigration processes contemporary to those studies presenting cultural, ethnic and religious bound concentrations in some urban areas (Gottdiener and Budd, 2005) - a somewhat accumulations of homogeneous or single-dominated demographic groups. However, the approach of social homogeneity does not fully grasp the relation of people and place beyond social group concentration, so the dynamics of community and place is still absent.

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT

Perhaps the first concrete approach in defining a clear differentiation of the neighbourhood as a physical entity was laid out by Clarence Perry with the concept of 'The Neighbourhood Unit'. According to Perry (1929), there are many facilities and functions that he considers people relate to at a local level, that are almost universally contained within and defining for the neighbourhood. These are the Elementary school, local parks and playgrounds, the local shops and the residential environment. He based his concept around the presence of the elementary school, arguing that neighbourhoods' size should relate to the number of kids that attend there and that it should be placed at the centre. This idealised vision would eventually be compromised by variations in densities, as well as differences of cultural and social contexts (Meenakshi, 2011). While some of the principles are still important nowadays, the limitations need reconsidering and qualitative properties included. What the model of the Neighbourhood Unit lacks is the flexibility for socioeconomic changes that will alter the character and structure of a neighbourhood and its community, as well as the continuous process of urban development both in the looking at the past for historical antecedents and to the future for potential phenomena. The result of the concept is then that of an idealistic model that may prove to be impractical for real-life applications (Meenakshi, 2011).

More examples of defining the neighbourhood have been proposed by other professionals since, many building on top of Perry's ideas. Engelhardt (Eisner, Eisner and Gallion, 1993) extended the notion of a neighbourhood in relation with other nearby 'units' and defined even more measures of distance and population. Stein(1928) specified hierarchical access towards the centre of the 'unit'. To these conceptions, we might add that interpretations made by scholars have also been blurry in defining a neighbourhood. Lupton(2004) explains this problematic of addressing neighbourhood scale. According to her, it would seem that "any physical boundary is likely to be inadequate" as she argues that the scale we set for studying the neighbourhood can itself distort or ignore certain realities. By "taking too local a focus for wider change processes" we risk ignoring forces such as economic restructuring or national policies, while "too broad a focus", might not be sensitive to local processes, for example, vacancy and dereliction or the physical traits and urban elements incorporated (Lupton, 2004)

The statistics, as mentioned in the first section of this text, are utilising GIS data to break down a different part of an area. A challenge with many of the datasets is that they exist at different statistical levels. The smallest dataset level in Norway is the Basic Statistical Unit(BSU), but much of the data is limited to a sub-district or district level. The smaller and limited the geographically data sets are, the higher the certainty of making qualified assessments according to neighbourhood entities. For this research, the BSU will serve as the as a useful contribution to statistically assessing the neighbourhood. Especially towards the understanding of the location of housing and population density. Still, it seems unity is not achievable in the definition of a neighbourhood specific boundary that satisfies every attribute and measurement. Instead, neighbourhood's boundaries must be understood by different measures and attributes, while not forgetting the complex interrelations between them, dependable and influenced by each other. The conceptualisation of a neighbourhood that best understands this "bundle of spatially based attributes" is that of Kelvin Lancaster(as mentioned in Galster(2014)). This further an argument for viewing the neighbourhood in more layers than just the territorial one.

CONCLUSION

Urban planning has always used rigid planning units, with the neighbourhood as the smallest, for administrative purposes. The territorial way of thinking can be critiqued of not justifying the full relation between people and place, as discussed in the previous section. When combined with the vague description of what a neighbourhood is, one can see the need for a spatial discussion. Lupton (2004) arguments that "any physical boundary is likely to be inadequate" because by having a too local focus we risk to forget economic restructuring or we might have a to broad focus and risk to ignore local processes. Even though it not achievable to perfectly define a neighbourhood, territorial thinking is still vital as a part of understanding the area. GIS, for example, is an essential tool for making qualifies assessment of neighbourhood entities, even though the statistical units have limits in scale and not taking into account spatial issues crossing administrative borders. Nevertheless, the more traditional territorial thinking should be complemented with a more spatial view of different layers of the city.



Figure 25.1: 1th of May parade in Tøyen, 1960 (osloibilder, 2015)

Network Thinking

Through increasingly complex urban settings, assisted by technological advances, derives the analytical methods as branches of the territorial mindset into social, technical and aesthetic dimensions of what can be called network thinking.

Dupuy (2008) argues that the 21st century is defined by networked urbanism - with both its potentials and challenges. In network urbanism, a conflict emerges between urban planning, based on an areolar concept of space (zones, boundaries and edges), and urban planning from a network-based conception of space.

This concept is at its outset reductionist, in the sense that it tries to explain the phenomena by showcasing the fundamental constituents needed for a network to exist. As such, a network can be described as "a set of interconnected nodes" (Castells, 1996). These nodes can either be linked or isolated from each other. This terminology, while not originally technological, has been influenced heavily by the technological progress that made evident the importance of networks. However, networks should not be confused with or restricted to networks of cables and telephones. However, Latour (1990) states that everything social and natural can be explained through network theory and methodology. This assertion is shared by a variety of authors, which recognise human and non-human elements as part of networks (Latour, 1990; Castells, 1996, Dupuy, 2008; Jensen, 2011). An important characteristic when representing networks is that they get rid of the third dimension of space. Consequently, this does not allow hierarchical explanations, or inside-outside, or not even limits to their extension, since the expression of 'network' has no measure. As such, the reading becomes centred in the fundamental aspect of the network conception: "whether or not a connection is established between two elements" (Latour, 1990). The limitations are also removed: "Networks are open structures able to expand without limits, integrating new nodes as long as they are able to communicate within the network" (Castells, 1996).

This variety of socio-technical networks has been studied by some scholars to explain social and urban phenomena before. A city is an alluring object of study, given the plethora of elements that compose it: streets, buildings, traffic lights, benches, parks, cafés and shops, offices, trees, animals. The complexity of interactions is always taking place, in a constant process of motions.

"The idea of spatial organisation based on networks, which appears to be a relevant organisational form in present-day cities, has hardly been developed." (Dupuy, 2008)

Some authors disregard the idea that space is defining when studying networks. For example, Latour expresses this with a practical example "I can be one metre away from someone in the next telephone booth, and be nevertheless more closely connected to my mother 6000 miles away" (Latour, 1990). This notion bases its meaning on the fact that, from a network perspective, two elements do not care about a physical distance to determine whether they have a connection between them or they do not. Moreover, while this may be true for some isolated events as the previous example, where the link between two strangers might be weak, it gains importance when looked at from urban everyday life perspective. When such encounters become frequent, by time alone, they become an important portion of one's everyday life as there is active interaction with the daily physical environment (Castells, 1996). This point is further emphasised by Castells (1996) when he says that: "space is not a reflection of society, it is its expression. In other words: space is not a photocopy of society, it is society. Spatial forms and processes are formed by the dynamics of the overall social structure.

What is relevant about discovering these layers of networks and their interactions is that we can identify potentials for designing and planning. Dupuy (2008) describes a duality between the 'virtual network' which exists within the realms of desire and imagination, and a 'real network', where the 'projected transactions' will be undertaken by an 'operator'. In other words, the virtual network stands as potential, that is, for individuals or system there is an optimal outcome of possibilities, and in realising it, agreements and standardisation must take place usually driven by an operator. Networks then can be expanded and the links optimised by looking at this potentials and taking action. A more illustrative example of this is the one given by Jensen. He describes the places where several layers and systems meet as 'strategic sites' or 'critical points of contact'. Where the plethora of networks of everyday life is in constant clash with each other, there appear to be some places of increased strategic importance, usually where the interaction of systems breaks down or has the potential to do so. It is here where one can find

an unused potential for social, commercial and economic success. (Jensen, 2011) It would stand to reason then that these places are carefully paid attention to, given the vital role they play.

NETWORKS IN TØYEN

Site-specific research shares the appreciation of the network through a focus on the connection between youth and the network of local resources, or assets, as critical mechanisms to make the group take more part in the neighbourhood development (Hagen et al., 2016). However, there seems to be no specific way to map and utilise the assets of the neighbourhood. Brattbakk and Hagen et al. (2015) emphasises the importance of local 'anchorage' (locally bound) in the neighbourhood development, supported by Beaulieu (2002) when discussing the mapping of assets in a community. "Only when a community is active enough internally with a shared vision, one can start focusing on how to fix the remaining needs externally" (Beaulieu, 2002). There is of significant relevance in regeneration processes to investigate methods of mapping community networks and resources to secure local anchorage in a sustainability line of thought.

However, if the creation of activities is without the connections to local entities, they become islands in the neighbourhood, creating a reduction in potential impacts (Beaulieu, 2002). A core premise of strategic approaches should, following the line of thought of Beaulieu, combine the social and economic knowledge with viewing the city as an intricate network. If so, one can better understand how an asset network can help the local inhabitants, not only by assistance but as an increment of their opportunity space based on locally bound potentials.

CONCLUSION

Dupuy (2008) describes a conflict between the areolar planning of zones, boundaries and edges, and the networked-based conception of planning. The network thinking is trying to show the fundamentals of a set of interconnected nodes (Castells, 1996) which can be both recognised as human and non-human elements as part of networks (Latour, 1990; Castells, 1996, Dupuy, 2008; Jensen, 2011). Networks have no measures, which emphasise the fundamental if the nodes are connected or not.

The relevance of thinking through networks is to discover the potentials in designing by the duality of virtual networks (the imaginary) and the real network (the spatial)(Dupuy, 2008). Jensen (2011) use network-thinking to map potentials in the analysis area through finding "critical points of contact", where the interactions of systems may break down. The research regarding Tøyen and the area lift emphasises the importance of connecting the youth to the network of local resources for the success in having them to participate in the neighbourhood development.

The locally bound potential of enhancing Tøyen as a neighbourhood through local anchorage would seem crucial to secure a sustainable development that embraces all the existing inhabitants (Beailieu, 2002, Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015). To do this, one must have an understanding of the importance of how a network is functioning by extensive mappings of the local nodes and connectivity.



Figure 28.1: Ski-jump competition in the Tøyen park, 1948 (oslobilder, 2018)

Theoretical Conclusions

 $T^{\text{HE COMBINED REVIEW OF different theoretical topics}} contributes to the understanding of what kind of problems will be encountered when studying the case of Tøyen. Consequently, it also helps in drawing a picture of a possible analytical approach. The literature review has revealed that:$

Neighbourhoods inhabit a diverse collection of people with different interests that may cause conflict between them (that make space a battlefield), and with those of (top-down, government). Additionally, (understanding the production and consumption of neighbourhood) the occupation of spaces and the evolution? What that occur in them is in constant change.

Some of these changes are critical, such as social movements and urban regenerations, and can cause friction in use in urban space. When social and economic circumstances require a significant change, this is regularly answered using regenerations processes targeting the 'spatial unit', with varied results that are potentially disruptive. Therefore, it is of high importance that a regeneration prioritises the well-being of all inhabitants to secure a just urban development for the people already living there.

Youth stands out as one of the most vulnerable groups to neighbourhood changes, as they are frequently overlooked when decisions are and by that left out of the hegemonic process of urban development. There is, however, a growing trend of recognising youth as assets in the neighbourhood development process. It is essential to consider when designing for youth, that they do not perceive or experience places the same way as adults. When contemplating this inclusion, one must address their needs or else risk any initiative to cause frustration instead of encouragement. Arguments for including them in the planning process mention that they can bring a fresh and creative input to urban processes and help fix problems connected to the youth group themselves. To be able to engage youth through design, there is a need for knowledge on the physical and social relevance of the neighbourhood. Neighbourhood effects explain how a disadvantaged neighbourhood affects all the people living there, especially for youth from families with low resources. Social networks and accessible local institutions are vital for youths to have better opportunities in life. The social stigmatisation caused by poor social connections also affect the coherence in the urban space creating more friction and frustration.

To understand a neighbourhood, one must acknowledge the complexity of such a unit if there is a desire of addressing challenges and analysing solutions. As such, the neighbourhood stands as a sophisticated collection of multidimensional characteristics that are not confined to any one particular boundary and may vary across individuals. Conventional methods of territorial thinking should be complemented with network thinking to cover more dimensions of the involved entity and lead the way towards new methods of analysing and envisioning designs for neighbourhoods.

DELIMITATION AND DIFFERENTIATION

The focus of this thesis will be informed by the topics presented during the literature review.

This thesis aims to contribute to the studies of the neighbourhood of Tøyen with a 'network specific' approach. To accomplish this task, the methods taken in the thesis will propose bridging between the more traditional approach of studying a neighbourhood as a spatial unit and the idea of understanding neighbourhoods as multidimensional and interconnected social entities. That is, considering the environmental aspects that define the physical spaces that will inhabit and influence human mobilities but focusing the analysis to critical spots. The identification of these critical spots will take the lead in the analytical process and shall be done by studying a network of assets that can benefit the social and economic condition of youth within the neighbourhood. The focus then departs itself from other studies that have been previously done in the area, like those regarding preferred hang out spots of youth, the physical condition of public places or studies concerned with social conflict for space. The knowledge of such studies helped in the understanding of the neighbourhood but will not be central to the studies that will be engaged. Furthermore, the thesis will focus on constructive and forward-looking strategies when conceiving a design proposal, based on the discovered knowledge of neighbourhood effects such as stigma.



Figure 31.1: Construction over Tøyen Torg



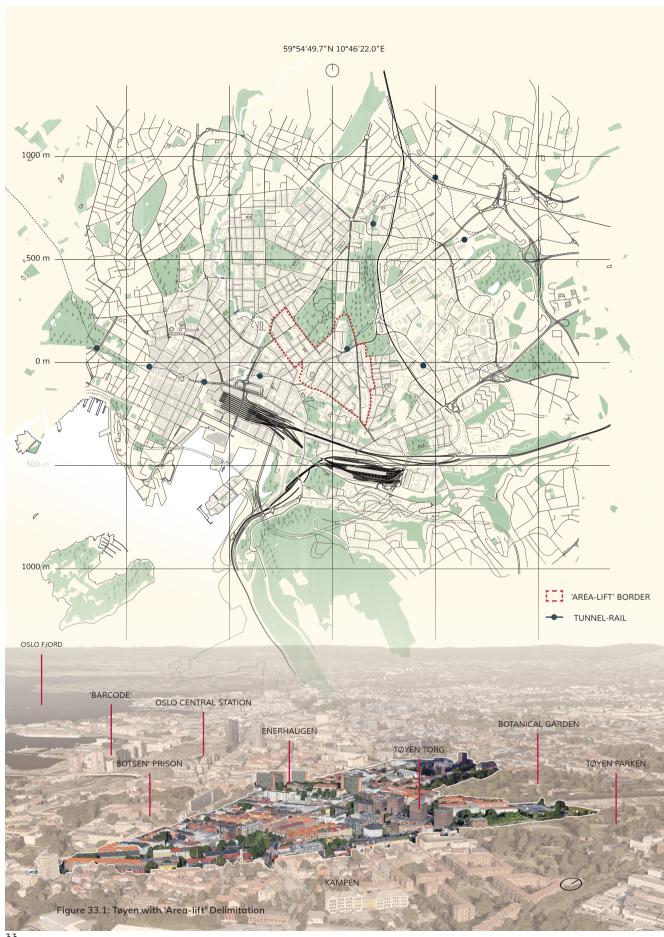
Chapter 3

Tøyen as case

Tøyen historical development preliminary neighbourhood understanding

This chapter aims to present the neighbourhood of Tøyen as the case in the study of youth and young adults opportunity space. Firstly, we will provide an overall impression of Tøyen as a neighbourhood through a description of the geographical location and historical development, how the surrounding context in an urban setting constitutes the neighbourhood understanding and characteristics of the local demographics and socio-economic background.

Further, we will elaborate on the methodology of the Tøyen Area-lift, and how it came to be and concluding in a discussion of the use of delimited borders in regeneration processes. Lastly, the conception and bounding of the area will culminate in a preliminary understanding of Tøyen as a neighbourhood through a discussion based on the theoretical background, which will be used in the further methodological development and empirical work.



Tøyen

T o understand why Tøyen has been subject to an area-lift, we must also understand both the neighbourhood's development and characteristics and the socio-economic processes that have affected the area.

SITE INTRODUCTION

Tøyen is a neighbourhood in the district of Old Oslo, one of the city's oldest residential areas. It serves as an extension of the city centre, situated on the hillside inclination of the 'Oslo cauldron'. The neighbourhood of Tøyen divides into an upper and lower part across the district border between Old Oslo and Grünerlokka. Amongst others this makes an exact boundary of Tøyen contested, stretching across districts and blurring into neighbouring areas. Tøyen borders to the neighbourhoods of Grønland in the south, Sofienberg in the west, Carl Berner in the north and Little Tøyen and Kampen in the east. The historical centre of the area was located at Tøyen Manor, today home to the botanical garden. Partly the uncertainty of the boundary of Tøyen can be traced to the transition of when a place, becomes a neighbourhood. The centre of the neighbourhood is today located at Tøyen Square(Torg).

CONNECTION TO THE CITY

The 'Tøyen' is connected to the rest of the city by public transport. At Tøyen Torg (square) the Tøyen tunnel-rail station is situated with frequent departures in direction east, north and to the Oslo central station. The tunnel-rail takes 7 minutes to the central station, and it would take approximately 24 minutes to traverse the same distance. Several buses travel through Tøyen with direction north and south. The neighbourhood also has a train station situated north-east of the Tøyen park.



Figure 34.1: Entrance to Tøyen Torg

POPULATION AND DEMOGRAPHICS

Per 2017, Lower Tøyen has 5237 inhabitants, and Upper Tøyen has 5680, a total of 10917 (Oslo Statistikken, 2017). The ongoing Tøyen Area-lift is working with an administrative boundary considering only the population of Lower Tøyen, and extend to include some BSU's of the neighbouring areas of Grønland and Kampen - making the understanding of Tøyen deeply linked to these as well (see figures 35.1 and 35.2). The areas central BSU's has among the highest population density throughout Oslo (Oslo Statistikken, 2017) The population within this delimitation were pr. 2016 14069 (SSB, 2016). The area, in general, is known for its diverse demographics, but also the problems linked to having a large concentration of ethnic minorities located at the same place. The Area-lift has initiated on the basis that the population of the area faced challenges concerning living conditions.

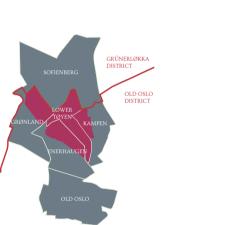




Figure 35.1: Sub-districts around Tøyen

Figure 35.2: Gatherings of BSU's with same name

As part of the initiative, a 'Socio-cultural Place Analysis' was conducted in 2015 to acquire a full knowledge base about the area. The analysis provided critical knowledge about the demographic constitution and the challenges that many inhabitants face (Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015).

The area, in general, is known for its diverse demographics, but also the problems linked to having a large concentration of ethnic minorities located at the same place. The Area-lift has initiated on the basis that the population of the area faced challenges concerning living conditions. As part of the initiative, a 'Socio-cultural Place Analysis' was conducted in 2015 to acquire a full knowledge base about the area. The analysis provided critical knowledge about the demographic constitution and the challenges that many inhabitants face (Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015)

The largest age groups in the area comprise children and inhabitants in the age of 20-50. The composition of ethnicity showed that 50% of the population have minority background and that amongst children under the age of 16, 70% have a minority background. Tøyen is in the analysis described as a transition area, where 1 out of 3 moves every year. The majority of recent migrants are young adults with an ethnic Norwegian background. To the housing situation of the area, the analysis notes that 2 out of 3 lives alone in Tøyen, but that also 13% of the population live in overcrowding/cramped living quarters. Concerning economic situation, 1 out of 3 children grows up in families in poverty in comparison with the OECD poverty line. The problems that many people experience on Tøyen have detrimental effects on the population's living conditions, which can particularly affect children and young people.

PUBLIC REALM

Traditionally, and also to some extent still today, the area of Tøyen is characterised as a green area. Two of the largest parks of Inner Oslo locates at Tøyen; Tøyenparken, and the Botanical Garden. In addition, there are several smaller parks and urban spaces distributed throughout the area like; Botsparken and Kolsterenga, Kampen Park, a.i. Historically the area is closely linked to Akerselva, which today is an important recreational vein for large parts of the whole inner Oslo, stretching from Bjørvika in the south by the fjord, to Nordmarka in the north. Despite the many recreational possibilities, the relatively high population per. sqm puts pressure on the urban spaces. As part of the 'Tøyen campaign', one of the prerequisites to the area-lift, there has been an effort to use the public space for artistic deployment, which has meant that 'Tøyen' has become an unofficial centre for street-art in Oslo with a high number of murals in the area.

TYPOLOGIES AND LANDMARKS

The area has evolved over hundreds of years, and it is possible to read the development in the physical environment. The various typologies extents from the rococo building of Tøyen Manor to the modernist apartment buildings of Enerhaugen, post-modern interpretations of town-house blocks and contemporary offices - many serving as landmarks in the urban landscape, but also as physical barriers, e.g. the prison wall of the Botsfengsel (The old prison).

When it comes to landmarks, some apparent buildings and landscape objects control motion and give the area is current characteristics(see figure 37.1). Among the more historical we find the already mentioned Tøyen manor and Botanical Garden(1), and the Botsfengsel(2). Being in an area with some terrain, the differences in elevation also produce landmarks such as the villas(3) of on the ridge of Kampen, built in the late 1800's. In the central location of the neighbourhood, the Tøyen Torg(4) have a somewhat mixed perception, but the characteristics of the buildings provide a formal centre for the area, but also the sense of institutional rigidity. From within or the outside it is difficult to avoid noticing the apartment blocks at Enerhaugen(5), as they stand out in the urban landscape. On a larger district and area level, the park areas of Akerselva and Tøyenparken(6) serve as havens for recreation and retreat from the city. The smaller neighbourhood parks of Rudolf Nilsens park and Sommerfrydparken(7) breaks up the block structures, invites air in between the buildings internally in the neighbourhood and serve as smaller navigational points. A peculiarity in the neighbourhood is that the true spirit of the former industry is seen in the urban landscape, with many of the old chimneys(8) still in place. On a smaller level, these give clues in street structure of location and guide direction.

POLICY

General plans for the development of the area, such as the 'Municipal Area Plan for Inner Oslo 2005-2020'(Oslo Kommune, 2005), emphasise it as part of the residential zone of Oslo - where one is to live and thrive in proximity to the city centre. Demand for and production of housing is currently high in central Oslo, with the tendency to building small apartments. Given that quantitative targets of housing development are within reach, the municipality emphasises in the plan that it should concentrate on establishing a framework that ensures quality in design and content - "it goal to secure long-term business premises, as well as a public and multifunctional city". (Oslo Kommune, 2005). With a rotation of the current municipality plan for Oslo, 'Municipal plan for Oslo, vision towards 2040', in 2018 a public consultation draft for the plan is out. Here the municipality in cooperation with the University of Oslo (UiO) are working on a future campus strategy - a three-sectioned university area between Blindern, the city centre and Tøyen. In this regard, the municipality wants to explore opportunities for university areas integrated into the city structure, with interactional space between knowledge communities, students and the city as a whole (Oslo Kommune, 2017). Other more substantial measures covered in the plan that could have an impact on Tøyen as an area include plans for a new tunnel-rail line between Grünerløkka and Tøyen to relieve the central station and the transformation and future development of the Botsfengsel.





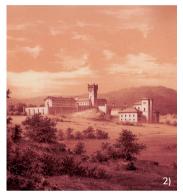
Historical Development of Tøyen

500

ORIGIN

The name of the neighbourhood origins from Old Norse Tðin, composed of tað, 'fertilized' and vin, of 'natural meadow'; alluding to the fertile soil of the place (Thorsnæs, 2009). It was characterised as a bountiful landscape on the hillside of the Oslo cauldron.





1600

TØYEN MANOR

The modern name of the neighbourhood origins from Tøyen Manor, known as early as the middle ages. The establishment of Christiania in the 1600's on the Akers-Cape as a late middle age capital of Norway, moved the power centre of the city away from Old Oslo (in 'Bishop-Bay') and with that also Tøyen.

For hundreds of years, the area served as home to nobility of the eastern rural outskirts to the city of Oslo/Christiania. With the dismantling of the nobility in the early 1800's the land of the manor discussed as a suitable location for the new Christiania University, but instead it was chosen as site for a new botanical garden.

1850

INDUSTRIALISATION AND EXPANSION

As the city grew and with the emerging industrialisation of the 1800's, industry-development around the Akers-River, more land for worker-accommodations were needed. By 1850, parts of Tøyen were incorporated into the city, and by 1900 the entire area, leading to a dramatic urbanisation of the previously rural grounds.





1900

MODERNISM AND INTERWAR PERIOD

As the city grew towards the area, the need for townhouses and public transport grew. The street network was expanded and plans were made for further development of the area. The social distress for the residents, who had largely gone from being peasants into the working class population, was great, with poor and unhealthy housing and high rates of overcrowding.





1950

POST WW2 AND RECONSTRUCTION

Following the second world war, reconstruction of the country was in focus. The ideal of modern life with inspiration from functionalism and the health movement dominated the planning of housing in Oslo, leading to a influx especially in the area of social housing. The subarea of Enerhaugen, adjacent to Tøyen, with its old and outmoded wooden houses had to make way for new modern apartment blocks. The desire to demolish whole quarters of Tøyen was also strong in order to get rid of the poverty mark the neighbourhood had established.







URBAN RENEWAL AND MASS TRANSIT

'The Oslo Urban Renewal' started in the 1970's, organised by the Oslo Urban Renewal Ltd., a private limited company where the municipality of Oslo was the largest stockholder. The urban renewal was mainly carried out in the eastern districts of the city. The purpose of the program was to renew sanitary infrastructure and increase housing standards. In the period Tøyen also got its tunnel-rail station as part of the renovation of the Tøyen central area in 1960's. The urban renewal activities coincided with major changes in the housing market, which in turn resulted in major economic problems for many residents in the district.

2000

REGENERATION.AND.REVITALISATI

The district has through the last half of the 20th century and beginning of the 2000's been through several urban regeneration program with intention to increase the living conditions and physical environment of the neighbourhood.

Even though the programs increased the living conditions for some, statistics showed in the 2000's, a relatively larger increase in housing prices in the district compared to other districts within the city (Nordvik et al., 2001) and that the difference between rich and poor had increased(Barstad and Skarðhamar, 2005)

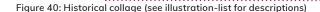
The latest addition to the series of regeneration is the 'Tøyen Area-lift'.

......GLOBALISATION AND IMMIGRATION

Parallel to the renewal was the establishment of right-to-buy associated with social housing - an active contribution to establishing the middle class in Norway. Coinciding was also the globalization of Norway, leading to the first round of immigration from i.a. Pakistan.

The relatively cheap housing in the area and the high number of social housing, attracting immigrants to Tøyen.





Tøyen 'Area-lift'

The PAST FIVE YEARS, the neighbourhood of Tøyen has, and per submission of this thesis, still is, undergoing an 'area-lift', but what is it?

An 'area-lift', or as dubbed by Tolstad et al. (2017), an enhancement program, is an urban regeneration methodology developed by The Norwegian State Housing Bank, with similarities from other Nordic models of the same statute. Although the program has many similarities with other neighbourhood regenerations, such as discussed earlier, there are adjustments made following contemporary urban challenges. Processes are heavily based and rooted on citizen participation, where residents' needs and reservations are essential for the development of projects, putting the social perspective of regeneration in a central position where local actors are actively involved in strengthening ownership and commitment to the area. The intention of getting an active involvement of the citizens is reflected in the objectives of achieving local anchorage and that through the actions of individuals, the legacy of the initiative can continue after completion.

Emphasis is placed on that the effort of such a program should be welfare policy-based, and stimulate positive development in a delimited geographical area in a Norwegian metropolitan area. A prerequisite is that the chosen area should have a complex living condition problem, where "both physical and social living, housing and local societal issues are included as key elements" (The Norwegian State Housing Bank, 2013). One important reason for the implementation of Area lifts has been the knowledge about the existence of so-called 'neighbourhood effects' (Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015) - the impact the neighbourhood has on the residents' living environment(conditions). In the case Oslo, it has been shown that conditions of the place of upbringing, irrespective of the parents' resources, affect the degree of education they receive (Brattbakk and Wessel, 2013).

An enhancement program is carried out in a close collaboration between the given municipality and the Norwegian State Housing Bank, with an emphasis on further cooperation from citizens and local organisations. From the Housing Bank and the municipalities engaged in 'area-lifts', it is emphasised that the processes are 'work in development'; "a learning process, with the importance of sharing experiences between the actors in the process" [Authors' translation]. The Housing Bank, being the main contributor regarding funding and knowledge sharing, is attentive with the

establishment of various learning arenas internally in the municipalities and with the local population and other collaborators. Additionally, they want to ensure permanent structures for public involvement in municipal enterprises and that public, private, and formalising voluntary sector partnerships (The Norwegian State Housing Bank, 2013).

THE TØYEN AREA-LIFT

The Tøyen enhancement program is a five-year area program aiming to make Tøyen a safe and inclusive area, with active residents who would like to, and can live there, and are part of the program for area initiatives with the enhancement program of Tøyen. The program shall contribute to lasting improvements in services and local communities, enabling residents in the areas to become financially independent and active participants in their local communities and the larger society as a whole.

The Oslo City Council's (2017) overall area policy for enhancement programs, dictates that:

Work on the enhancement programs of Tøyen and Greenland will build on and contribute to the further development of the enhancement program methodology developed in the 'Groruddal initiative' (Groruddalssatsningen) (2007-2016). Implying, among other things, efforts to identify and establish partnerships with private or public actors that can contribute resources towards developing local areas and arenas. The work will add to the connection of various grants and other ordinary means, funds and strengthen the work in the local community. It will be essential to see the work in conjunction with other current plans, strategies and white papers from the state and municipality.

Also, the local area initiatives should strengthen the support by considering the investments and other relevant municipal activities in the areas in context. Enterprises' regular activities and specific focus areas will contribute to the area initiatives to provide additional resources and a greater range of necessary means.

Area initiatives shall be complementary to the regular service production, and shall not replace or finance an extension of this. (Oslo Kommune, 2018) [Authors' translation]. The Tøyen Arealift is a direct result of the Munch-agreement, a compromise in the city council where the location of the Munch-museum, dedicated to the famous Norwegian painter Edvard Munch, was moved to

the waterfront of Bjørvika, in exchange for that Tøyen where to get a living conditions initiative. The socio-cultural place analysis for Tøyen points out that before the Tøyen area initiative, there existed elements that today (per 2016) were sources of conflict. Different actors perceive the enhancement program differently and experience themselves more or less included in the process. The core of the conflict is whether the enhancement program is a living conditions initiative or a boost to the local environment (Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015; Hagen et al., 2016).

The area initiative of the Tøyen enhancement programs primary goal has been to create inclusive communities through working with local communal qualities. Qualification and employment are not independent objectives but maybe sub-ambitions of projects that will primarily strengthen the local environment. Closing in on the end of the Area-lift period, speculations of whether the effects of the measurements put in place have been successful and if so, to what extent. A focal area for the initiative was to increase the living conditions and environment for children and youth, through activating local voluntarism and putting in place targeted activity opportunities. In November 2017, the Norwegian National Broadcasting(NRK) published a series of articles and a documentary addressing the situation in Tøyen (NRK, 2017a; 2017b). The documentary stress that even though there had been used 141 million NOK on the initiative, child poverty and juvenile delinquency had increased in the area.

"How bad must the statistics be before politicians at the district level, city level and national level realise that this is not good enough", asked a board member of the Greenland residents' association in an interview with NRK (NRK, 2017b)

With this, Tøyen ended up in a national spotlight, highlighting that the weakest in the neighbourhood had not been adequately aided. It was further questioned whether funding was appropriately used. In response, the project-office underlined that the expenses covered a wide range of measurements to improve the neighbourhood. The list included; refurbishment, wages and project management, upgrading of parks and places, and various projects such as street galleries, park lighting, expansion of 'outdoor contacts', the Tøyen neighbourhood wats, outdoor events, public health centre, and efforts towards youth dropping out of upper secondary

school.

The NRK reports sought to put the focus on the complicated and challenging situation Tøyen represents concerning living conditions and poverty issues within Oslo, but with that also not taking enough into account the positive results the enhancement program had achieved, This will be elaborated further in next chapter.

"The problem with the Tøyen area-lift is that nothing is done for young people over 15 years. It has become worse for the youth and the children in Tøyen. Moreover, it affects their families" said the manager of 'Sterling', a local youth football club to NRK in one of the interviews (NRK, 2017b).

The actuality of Tøyen and the implications of the area-lift will remain a topic for discussion in 2018, with the planned termination of the Area-lift. As part of that discussion on the subject of the area-lift initiatives in general, and when dealing with complex neighbourhood effects, it is emphasised (Bratbakk et al., 2015, Hagen et al., 2016) that; the government and municipalities investment in outdoor space is not only an appropriate strategy but a pivotal strategy that can contribute to a more socially just urban development.

The current situation concerning the area-lift, as stated by the project office, is that the 'Tøyen Area-lift' (based on the Tøyen Agreement) expires in 2018, while the actual area-lift will most likely continue in 2020. The adjacent neighbourhood of Grønland is to have its separate area-lift(Oslo Kommune, 2018), and some of the BSU's of the Tøyen Area-lift will also be included here - implying that the area-lifting of Tøyen could continue, but with changes in focus areas. Nevertheless, details are not yet fully resolved, unstating an uncertainty about the future continuation of the program and neighbourhood initiative.

Preliminary Neighbourhood Understanding

In this chapter, we have outlined the neighbourhood of Tøyen as the case in the study of youth and young adults opportunity space. The historical pretext of the area serves as an interesting field of study, located close to the commercial city centre of Oslo, and with lineages back to the origin of the city. The proximity to the city centre makes Tøyen receptive to the more extensive effects and policies regulating the city, and also puts pressure on the regeneration of the area given its socio-economic status.

Oslo, in the case of Tøyen, represents an example of how experience economy and tourism (Kiib, 2011) affects city development through the relocation of a landmark institution such as the Munch Museum. The relocation from a relatively deprived neighbourhood to the commercial city centre and harbourfront development seen in a broader trend along with other flagship cultural institutions buildings of the Norwegian capital. As the direct result of the plans of relocating the museum, a compromise was made in city council, that Tøyen in exchange where to get a program to enhance the living and environmental conditions of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, resulting in the Tøyen Area-lift. The current socio-economic issues of the neighbourhood have long-lasting lineages concerning the historical development of the area - evolving from a rural suburb to a globalised community with a high number of immigrants.

The housing sector in Oslo is market-based, but are just modestly segregated (in a European perspective) (Tammaru et al., 2015). Tøyen represents an 'island' within central Oslo, standing out with its high number of social housing, low land values, and an average relatively low income among inhabitants, making the neighbourhood vulnerable to gentrification and privately lead development. The process of gentrification, regarding the change in demographics, can be traced back to the 70's with globalisation, but because of an "especially generous welfare system" (Tammaru et al., 2015), the process has been prolonged, aiding the system towards spatial and economic equality. Nevertheless, this shows that globalisation, a key factor for gentrification, must be seen in connection with the housing market and welfare system. The Tøyen Area-lift represents in many ways a 'beacon of hope' in a challenging situation, but also, if done wrong, a pretext for an accelerated gentrification process. Though the previous attempts to regenerate the neighbourhood, statistics showed

in the early 2000's that the tendency was towards a polarised community. To underline the difficulty of counteracting the trend of a segregating development toward more socially mixed neighbourhoods, Brattbakk (2017) mentions that studies from Oslo show that people tend to move away from areas that differ significantly from how they socio-economically identify themselves. There are no significant development plans for Tøyen, but that does not exclude possibilities of privately led development projects.

The neighbourhood boundaries of physical environments are often done through varying methods to define a geographical definition of an area. In urban settings, there are often problems with encapsulating the complicated definition of a neighbourhood and utilisation of local administrative units, such as census tracts, as spatial delimitations are commonly used (Diez Roux, 2001). Availability of administrative data often controls such choices rather than their appropriateness concerning the spatial scale at which environmental exposures may affect individuals of a neighbourhood (Perchoux et al., 2013; Hasanzadeh, Broberg, and Kyttä, 2017). In the case of the Tøyen Area-lift, such administrative data has constituted the delimitation of the program' boundary. The task of defining an urban neighbourhood is no small one, and Tøyen as a neighbourhood is defined not only by the physical construct of its environment, but also by the residents' perception and activity range, and the local community itself. Administrative borders can cause challenges regarding ownership and spatial belonging, constituting in an urban setting, invisible lines that divide budgets, allocations of funds and resources. Nevertheless, these borders can become mental borders when defining differences between local communities. One could argue that when dealing with delicate urban issues, a strong division of resources over administrative borders can lead to residential frustration. The dense living, overcrowding and mobility limitations have put pressure on the outdoor space in Tøyen (Rodeo Architects, SOLA and Zenisk, 2015; Hagen et al., 2016). Tøyen is also a neighbourhood with a high amount of vacant or closed off facades, which creates grey areas suitable for 'disordered activity'. In the lack of good physical spaces and opportunity spaces, some youth are tempted to engage in delinquency. Consequently, this affects the rest of those youth and young adults seeking places to 'hang

out', suffering from the stigma, ultimately seeking places outside the neighbourhood (Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015; Hagen et al., 2016).

Advocates for individual-based spatial neighbourhood definitions (Wong and Shaw, 2011), suggest that there are other means of defining urban neighbourhoods. An issue utilising such definitions is that they are often not compatible with public policy frameworks. Nevertheless, research from sociology points out that the scale of one's neighbourhood is person-specific and cannot be generalised (Chaix et al., 2009; Hasanzadeh, Broberg, and Kyttä, 2017). The experienced and perceived area may be shaped by the socio-economic constitution of age and residential belonging (Guest and Lee, 1984; Hasanzadeh, Broberg, and Kyttä, 2017).

Bordering to other neighbourhoods, Tøyen constitutes a story about an 'island' that blends into the urban landscape, affected by its location within central Oslo, and a with a diverse population that would define their neighbourhood differently. Based on the characteristics and reading of this landscape, one might say where the area is, but identifying a clear outlining demarcation becomes an insurmountable task.

The Tøyen Area-lift was initiated in 2013 with a term of 5 years. The need for a more in-depth understanding of the socio-economic construct of the neighbourhood led to a socio-cultural place analysis finished in 2015. The funding through the program has led to improvements in many areas, but it is a continued concern that measures have not embraced good enough youth and young adults. In light of this discussion, it has been stated that statistics show an increase in youth crime and poverty within the initiative period. Measuring implications and effects of the area-lift will not be able to provide a great deal of certainty during an active period. It can be said that in many regeneration processes that results takes longer time than initiative period itself - as a 'lag-effect'. Nevertheless, such effects do not state that the results are going to be positive, and the process should throughout ensure that measures are targeted and appropriate.

Just as the stigmatisation, the public response could have good and adverse effects. Brattbakk (2017) arguments that the public intervention through the area lift can strengthen the development and pride of the neighbourhood, but it can also enhance the territorial stigma. Ironically, the

social stigma is one of the things they try to fix with the neighbourhood renewals. Here one can even start the discussion towards youth and young adults and if they want to be a part of a public system. When it comes to the pros and cons, it is all about measuring them up to each other and be evident towards the inhabitants on what they can expect from an area lift.

The primary challenge for the area-lift and Tøyen as a neighbourhood is the high migration rate. Even though this is not uncommon in central urban districts, the additional consequences affect the local community. With high rates of migration and immigration, citizens get lower ownership to the neighbourhood, and they have less time to bond relationships. Disruption in continuity could lead to a potential challenge concerning the voluntary spirit. Nevertheless, the increased focus on youth and young adults could benefit from the arealift process by including them in the hegemonic process. A prerequisite would then be to secure that they are aware and informed about their opportunity spaces. By exploring the implications of the area-lift through the possibilities of the established initiative measurements, one can try to utilise an added value of youth and young adults as neighbourhood resources. The intrinsic voluntary spirit of the neighbourhood, resourceful residents and local assets would be crucial in transferring these.

The discussion outlined here should serve as a base for developing a methodology that explores the implications of the Tøyen Area-lift and the network of assets possible to utilise in engaging youth and young adults in the neighbourhood development.

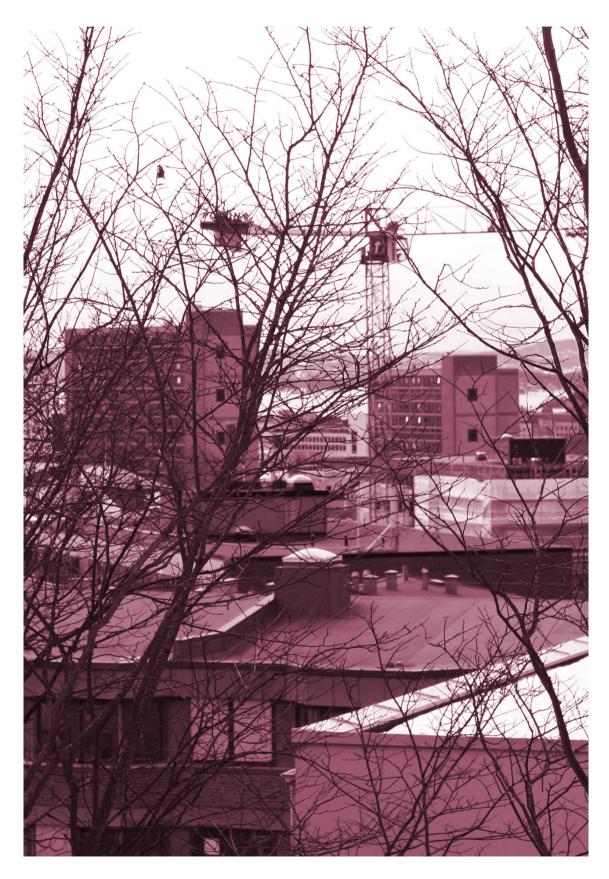
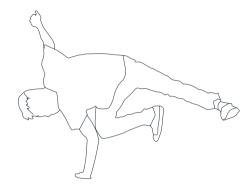


Figure 45.1: Construction in Tøyen; view from Kampen



Chapter 4

Methodology

introduction work structure: phases evaluation of methodology methodological conclusions

This chapter aims to explain the methods used in the making of this master thesis. Firstly, the chapter will present reasoning for employing a structured methodology. Secondly, the specific mechanisms used will be explained with diagrams, showing the progression as well as the relevant connections between processes. Finally, the chapter concludes with a description of the combined method we will use for the analysis of Tøyen and the steps forward to an envisioned design.

Introduction

 Γ rom the previous chapters, there has been established a knowledge base on the understanding of that when analysing and studying neighbourhood entities one must acknowledge the complexity of such a unit. Conventional methods of territorial thinking should be complemented with network thinking to cover more dimensions of the involved entity and lead the way towards new methods of analysing and (re)designing neighbourhoods.

The locally bound potential of enhancing Tøyen as a neighbourhood must be locally 'anchored' should the legacy of the Tøyen area-lift serve as a sustainable base for the inhabitants. In order to do this, there needs to be an understanding of how the local network is functioning. As the youth and young adults often stands out as one of the most vulnerable groups to neighbourhood changes, as they are frequently overlooked when decisions are made and by that left out of the hegemonic process of urban development. One must seek to uncover the network of assets that support these groups for them to be engaged in the neighbourhood development. By exploring the implications of the area-lift through the possibilities of the established initiative measurements, one can try to utilise an added value of youth and young adults as neighbourhood resources. The intrinsic voluntary spirit of the neighbourhood, resourceful residents and local assets would be crucial in transferring these.

For this case, methodology is needed to guide the work conducted in an orderly fashion. This will guide the iteration of research questions and help structure the empirical findings. The different steps followed in the production of this thesis are structured in four different phases. They are distinguished from each other based on the distinct processes that take place in each of them. Although there is an order of succession between them, this is because each one (except the first) is preceded by a phase that will give support to further develop the current one. This however, does not mean that this is a strictly sequential plan of action, but rather a cumulative aggregation that iterates on previous content to move forward and build a stronger and sharper base of knowledge. The research questions have been the most iterated item throughout, and their content is directly influenced by all the phases constantly, sharpened as the problem becomes more apparent and the issues are fleshed out in detail. The succession of phases express the build-up towards design and conclusion.

"Urban design, like any other design process, involves method as well as inspiration." (Roberts and Greed, 2001)

Work Structure

PHASE I - DESKTOP WORK &

PREPARATION

Phase I is the point of departure of this thesis, consisting of a collection and review of a variety of literature that helps establish the theoretical framework of the thesis. At this point in the readthrough of the thesis, Phase I has already been presented in Chapter II - Literature Review and Chapter III - Tøyen as Case.

The preparatory step consists of a review of existing research about Tøyen that helps uncover problems and potentials of the area. As mentioned, Tøyen is going through an 'Area-Lift' and this, as was discovered, entails that there is a base of work that has been done recently in the area (e.g. the 'Sociocultural Place Analysis' or 'Young and Outdoors'). Included matters of concern are, amongst others, the socio-economic segregation, Tøyen's territorial stigma, the quality of urban spaces, and different social phenomena.

Following the initial step, an extensive study of these topics of concern takes place, through diverse literature within an international and regional context. Such perspective helps in contrasting and establishing the relevant topics, both by way of research findings and theoretical approaches. As part of the review process, the following themes were covered: 'neighbourhood change and regeneration', 'youth as actors and assets', 'neighbourhood effects', 'territorial thinking' and 'network thinking'.

Alongside the main topics of concern, Tøyen is looked at as a case study. As an urban entity, it is comprised of an abundance of dimensions. Its integration with the city, the demographics, typologies and policies that affect it, are referred to in this section. Additionally, the history of Tøyen is explored to understand the development of the urban and the social situations to date.

The purpose of this phase is not only to have a rich comprehension of the framework in which to place the main topic of the thesis but also supports the formulation of the initial research questions that are addressed throughout the thesis. Just as well, it provides focus to the research towards a 'network-specific' approach that is relevant for a social group of youth and young adults. This ultimately builds the base towards the preparation of the field work required in the second phase of the methodology.

PHASE II - FIELD WORK

Phase II focuses on the empirical findings that are seeking to get an 'on-ground' experience of the place. A trip to the location was made with the duration of one week in which the fieldwork was carried out. During this time, the researchers conducted interviews with key actors and mapped the urban qualities that define the area. The goals of conducting the interviews were to trace the relations that exist between the different assets of the area, as well as getting a set of opinions from key stakeholders on the topics of place relevance and youth preferences and behaviour. A more detailed description of the how and why these methods were chosen will follow come after the description of the method phases.

PHASE III - ANALYSIS OF MATERIAL

Once the empirical findings of Phase II are gathered, a presentation and analysis follow that put order and meaning to the issues at hand. This is an integral phase of any design process, in which "To get the right answers we need to pose the right questions" (Roberts and Greed, 2001). Thus, to achieve those answers, one must compare the findings to the theoretical knowledge gathered. The analytical process is divided into two being empiric findings from interviews and layered mappings.

The transcribed interviews are reviewed with the purpose of categorising their contents and extracting the most relevant topics (a summary of interviews can be found in the appendix). The results help define essential topics that are addressed with the interventions in the design phase. The empirics of the interviews also create a hierarchy of assets and most valuable connections.

For organising the many layers in the sizable area of Tøyen found through research and fieldwork, there is a need to develop a method that appreciates the scale and dimensions of the neighbourhood. By doing this, the neighbourhood can be strategically analysed at varying scales, by extracting the potentials in one mapping to complement the next one, resulting in a design rooted in social, technical and aesthetic dimensions. It is essential that the combined methodological approach conclude with envisioning a design as today's site-specific research find great value in seeing how one can

transfer social, cultural and economic knowledge into physical design or parameters (Brattbakk and Andersen, 2017). Similary, Jensen and Morelly (2011) states; "Aiming to contribute to an interventionist field of actually making design and not just doing academic theorising, the research must focus on an 'underused potential' or a 'creative strategy' not yet perceived."

To be able to filter an extensive collection of information down to designing the most critical points in the network, the process begins by discerning the prominent subjects of the project, which are the location of youth assets and the connections between them. After tracing the virtual connections, these are translated into physical paths in the built environment, to locate specific segments in the neighbourhood. Consecutively, the evaluation of these segments seeks to explore possibilities of improving the asset network through an envisioned design. Finally, by taking into consideration the environmental qualities of the critical locations found along the aforementioned segments, the potential of three selected urban spaces are uncovered.

Completion of this analytical process is followed during phase iv, where the different steps of designing interventions are developed.

PHASE IV - DESIGN & EVALUATION

When the locally bound potentials in the strategic street segments are elaborated and identified, the envisioning of design follows. With the intention to ensure an accurate and targeted intervention, the creation of a shared vision must concur with the knowledge that is explored in the previous phases of the methodology. The vision guides the direction of the design and is distilled into parameters, which in turn, are further dissected into design attributes. To secure a positive impact, "ideals are not enough: they have to be linked through appropriate design ideas to the fabric of the built environment itself" (Bentley et al. 1985). Lastly, the character and qualities of the urban spaces selected in the analysis phase, are coupled with the vision for Tøyen making use of the parameters and attributes previously established.

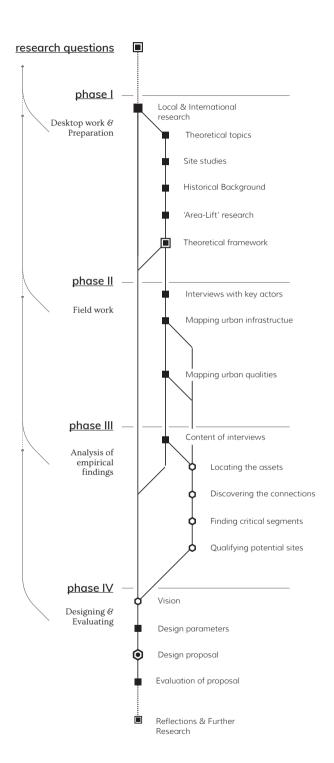


Figure 50.1: work structure of research findings

Evaluation of methodology

I NITIALLY, BOTH QUALITATIVE AND quantitative methods were considered as potentially relevant to the project. In the following section, we will argue for choosing a more qualitative approach to our empirics.

Quantitative methods are suitable for gathering large samples of information. Being standardised procedures with fixed variables, they allow for generalisation of data collected, measuring and drawing conclusions based on statistical samples (Silverman, 2006). Criticism to this type of methods, however, is that there is little contact with people to a meaningful degree, and often random samples and statistical measures fail to grasp social processes and phenomena.

A qualitative approach, on the other hand, distances itself from statistical and numerical facts to capture findings. The focus of this type of methods is towards experience and opinion with individuals that are rarely picked at random. This can be positive to engage better-qualified subjects, but also negative in the way of choosing subject can be leading which this might compromise the validity and reliability they have. Nevertheless, qualitative methods can be especially helpful when discussing topics that don't rely on or are difficult to understand with quantitative methods (e.g. neighbourhood effects, stigma, empowerment).

Considering the previous appreciation of both methods, the qualitative content analysis seems to be a valuable method for this thesis because it permits taking into account the context in which the material was generated (Corbin and Strauss, 1990) while at the same time drawing on the theoretical background of the research. The choice of one over the other is strengthened by the exploratory nature of the research question and the limitation of using statistical data to answer social phenomena. Therefore, a qualitative approach was more suitable.

INTERVIEWS

Within the method of fieldwork, interviews were chosen as a way of gathering further information Interviews afford a direct contact with small samples of individuals, which the researcher viewed as a good option for enriching the understanding of both social trends and implications of the asset network.

There is a varying degree of the structure throughout interviews - usually, ones with rigid

structures are used in quantitative studies for their capability of achieving generalisable data (Pole and Lampard, 2002). In qualitative studies, usually semi-structured interviews are the preferred option. When dealing with exploratory research, they seem to be more suitable (Silverman, 2006) much because they are performed almost like a conversation, with open questions, thus allowing for more flexibility in the answers (Pole and Lampard, 2002). Nevertheless, this is not to say that they are unfocused or lack reliability. The questions are kept more like a compass that serves to guide the conversation and keep orientation. It does not mean the questions are always asked in order, as many times the interviewees would refer to some of them in advance. This way investigation of topics can happen in depth, with follow-up questions that delve into details and personal opinions and experiences. Another advantage of this type of interview is that it allows for discussing elements and topics unforeseen by the researchers, that can later be considered as relevant to the study.

The questions were formulated following the knowledge of the literature review, evolving around relevant topics to this thesis. Given the different backgrounds of the subjects, the interview guides were tailored to each of the interviewees. Many of the questions were kept identical through all of the interviews, while some were explicitly adjusted according to the interviewee's role or occupation, but kept within the same primary domain to secure compatibility. The interviews were conducted in Norwegian, as it is the native language or at least the most fluent one for the subjects. The reasoning for conducting semi-structured interviews was to start somewhat conversations, that would flow better and reveal a more fluid nature of exploring the set of topics. In the formulation phase, it was also considered 'reflexive' approach to the questions to be asked, with the intention that the involvement of the researchers and the act of asking the questions would have an as little impact as possible in influencing the answers of the interviewees.

For this thesis, we conducted seven interviews, out of a total fourteen approached (as some of them were not available). The subjects were chosen on the basis of their involvement and responsibility within the community activities. In total, the interviewees have influence and connections with nine different institutions and organisations in the area. They serve as stakeholders and representatives, and

thus also the figures that people in the community can turn to (being visible and accessible). The interviewees were contacted in advance of the trip. The interviews had a duration of 45 to 90 minutes and were recorded with prior notification to the interviewees and later transcribed for further analysis.

It is also important to mention that the decision on the methods chosen in this dissertation was reflected upon in comparison to the vast amount of local research already conducted in the neighbourhood (everything from participation to statistical data gatherings). A realistic application to this thesis would then be to take a different approach to this set of studies. Nevertheless, these shortcomings would result in few quantifiable data, but given the quality of the interviews - a robust qualitative base.

MAPPINGS

The interviews alone would not comprise the whole understanding of Tøyen as a neighbourhood. To expand the insight of this thesis, analysis of the physical dimension is also needed. The importance of this physical dimension becomes of high relevance in the relation with individuals dwelling within it (Jensen and Morelli, 2011). Bentley et al., (1985) mention that "manmade environment is a political system in its own right", given how the configuration and qualities of the urban environment will set constraints or possibilities on what can be intervened.

Mappings were conducted in two categories. The first category of mappings draws on the inconspicuous knowledge gathered through the interviews which allow tracing of an asset network useful for youth. The idea behind this is to undertake concerns about the use of space and social behaviour of this social group. This network will be related to the second category of mappings, that of the environmental qualities. By doing this, the traditional method of localising a problem and then addressing it, common to urban regeneration processes (Magalhães, 2015) is reverted; first, the problems are studied based on interests and stakeholders. and only then is space addressed. The asset network was approached based on the review of literature that was prepared for the fieldwork. Beaulieu (2002) distinguishes, amongst other, five categories of assets which is of high relevance to our society. These categories are economic institutions,

educational institution, political institutions, religious institutions and local associations.

The second category of mappings concentrates on the environmental qualities that may have an impact on the everyday life of individuals that potentially use the asset network. They respond to an analysis of urban features that go beyond location, towards the qualities of the urban fabric that shape the experience for the passer-by citizen. This notions of experience through the active relationship of materiality and interpretation has been studied extensively (Lynch, 1960; Bentley et al., 1985; Roberts and Greed, 2001; Jensen and Morelli, 2011; i.a)

For the mapping of the urban quality, there were first done a statistical analysis (GIS) to narrow down the physical mapping to areas with a high density of youth. This was of importance to justify the relevance of youths starting point in the city (their home), and helpful in the way that we did not have to map details from the whole neighbourhood.

Methodological Conclusions

 $T^{\mbox{\scriptsize HIS CHAPTER HAS TAKEN}}$ on the overall phases that go into the construction of a methodological foundation for further analysis and potential design of an assets network conscious intervention for youth and young adults in Tøyen.

The method development progress has contributed to essential assessments of steps that will be particularly important to gather a sound empirical basis for further development. Instead of executing traditional participation with a more extensive selection of the neighbourhood, this methodology proposes a targeted locally bound approach of exploring neighbourhood potential through targeted neighbourhood resource analyses. The 'network-conscious' methodology seeks to utilise existing networks of resources to ensure that design envisions become anchored to the local community and targeted towards youth and young adults in Tøyen.

The combined methodology of identifying and utilising local networks of assets for envisioning engaging spaces for youth and young adults will from here be called a 'network-conscious method'. The first four steps will serve as a tool for localising potential sites but also emphasises potentials within the local network of assets to be used in the design. The two last steps turn theory and analysis into form and function through by envisioning a targeted intervention that can engage youth and young adults in Tøyen, and ultimately strengthens the asset network itself.

The following steps in the methodology serve as an outline of the further empirical work and design process:



Identifying the nodes;

Mapping the local assets in Tøyen, with focus on relevance for youth.



Discovering the connections;

Focusing on communication and cooperation between the assets.



Mapping the critical segments;

Transforming the connections into physical connections between vital assets, finding critical street segments in the built environment.



Finding character and urban qualities;

Setting an individual identity to the street segments and highlight their challenges and potential for a design.



Creating a shared vision;

Giving the spaces and the inhabitants of Tøyen a common direction to work towards - emphasising the value of local youth as neighbourhood resources.

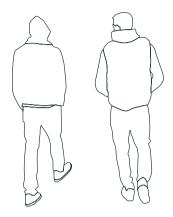


Envisioning designs;

Through design parameters derived from theory and case creates attributes that can envision the physical design.



Figure 55.1: Fieldwork in Tøyen. Enerhaugen apartment block in background



Chapter 5

Analysis

introduction identifying the assets discovering the connections mapping the critical segments finding character and urban qualities analytical conclusions

The analytical chapter will present the gathering and interpretation of the empirical findings based on the 'network conscious method' developed in the previous chapter. The empirical information was collected through the interviews conducted with local youth and young adults assets and during the fieldwork in Tøyen. During the stepwise presentation of the findings, the analysis will convey the related main topics in relation to the physical framework of Tøyen. The analysis is one of the more significant contributions of this thesis, by presenting potentials for better utilisation of an already existing network of resources in Tøyen to engage spaces for bringing younger people into the hegemonic process of urban development.

Introduction

A FTER GAINING KNOWLEDGE OF important trends and challenges, both globally and locally, the findings will guide the analysis of the specific site in different layers and scales. The analysis aim is to gain a better understanding of the asset network, focusing on resources and institutions relevant to youth and young adults. This understanding will be used to locate relevant spaces for youth to be a part of the local network. An important aspect of the analysis is to go from the connection in the imaginary network towards a greater understanding of what spatiality and urban quality dictates for the connectivity.

The analysis will use fieldwork, interviews and research to illustrate site specific situation and will present the local network and its connections, weak segments with strong potential between the assets and urban qualities within these segments. At the end of the chapter the design process will have a strong analytical foundation for what and where to design when focusing on youth and socioeconomic resources.

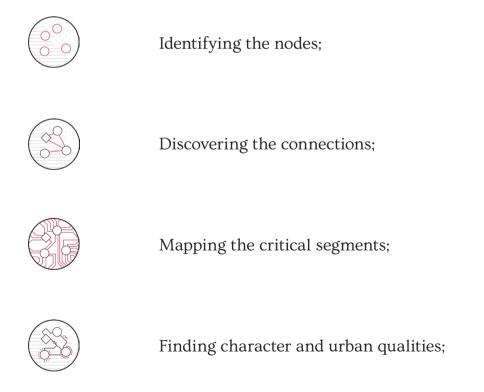


Figure 58.1: analytical steps of 'network conscious method'

Identifying the nodes

 $T^{\mbox{\scriptsize HE FIRST STEP}}$ of the 'network conscious method' focuses primarily on identifying the local assets possible of engaging youth and young adults in Tøyen. These assets consist of local institutions (such as educational, political, religious), organisations that share a common interest (such as crime prevention groups and sports teams), and emerging leaders of the community.

The information for identifying these local entities was acquired through a two-step approach. Preliminary a comprehensive investigation by using site-specific research and internet pages was used to find the most critical assets through respective home web-pages, relating to organisations and institutions residing in the neighbourhood of Tøyen. The identified potential representatives of local assets from institutions within the variety of interest was then approached to conduct interviews about their role in neighbourhood development. In total, seven representatives of local assets were interviewed about their organisation, whom they cooperated with and how they viewed the network. Through this, we could iterate our asset mapping and discover previously unknown resources and essential factors for the network of assets. The people interviewed were also representatives of different social groups within the community which contributed to a greater understanding of the socio-cultural relations. As such, the primary concern of this step is placed on the diversity of assets and the activities they engage in investigating opportunities constraints in the social programming of the neighbourhood. This understanding is essential in the potential utilisation of the local network for engaging young people and young adults, and to investigate unresolved potentials in relationships between the actors.

There is a clear hierarchy of actor locations within the 'Area-Lift' boundary, with a focused intensity of actors surrounding Tøyen Torg. The coinciding between the area-lift initiatives and these actors reflects a potential implication that the area-lift has contributed to localise efforts in given areas. Nevertheless, there seems to be a certain even distribution of potential actors that could affect the opportunity space of 16-25's.

Prominent through the interviews is that the K1 Activity house is one of the most relevant places that provide spaces for a variety of informal organisations and groups gathering. The activity house was recently implemented two years ago as a measure through the 'area-lift' - becoming a beacon

of culture and resources within the neighbourhood. Situated in proximity to the Tøyen Torg, which is considered one of the more apparent signs of gentrification within the neighbourhood, creates a contrast between the development of the community (where the inhabitants are the focus) and development in the community (which have physical and economic development in focus). The process of gentrification has been regarded as relatively abate up to the point of before the Area-lift, but that following the program the pace has increased. Denoted as the place where such a process is most visible, Tøyen Torg now has restaurants which is said only to attract the "majority ethnic Norwegian middle class". However, it is also the location of the popular Tøyen library, attracting a wide range of users. The Tøyen Startup Village (from now on TSV) "work bar" also situated on the square, where both are low threshold offers for work- and meeting places. T-town is one of the few youth organisations, and are starting up a youth cafe in the K1 activity house. The challenge with the cafe is to attract different groups of youth. There are disagreements if there should be several cafés for different needs and groups or if there should be one cafe for all. Tøyen Sports Club (TSC) focus more on public health and meeting places than the sports activity itself. TSC has started The tøven academy plays an essential role in educating youths as leaders and giving them their first job within the community. Tøyen Unlimited and TSV are neighbourhood incubators that have been essential accessions to the socio-economic development. While TSV focuses on renting workspaces for full-time entrepreneurs (although having a low threshold "work bar" on the first floor, Tøyen unlimited are a resource for social entrepreneurs with an idea, but not the economy.

It was also revealed, as expected, that some spaces used by youth expand beyond the administrative boundaries of Tøyen. While this is not surprising, the fact that in many cases meeting places like Jordal and Riverside, located outside of the neighbourhood, become an essential choice for a considerable amount of the mentioned social group, signals that perhaps the spaces within the neighbourhood do not accommodate this task efficiently. This points at the disparity of administrative borders and the 'individual neighbourhood'. The relation between people and place needs not to be understood as putting the place first, but the people.

(Summary of interview can be found in appendix)

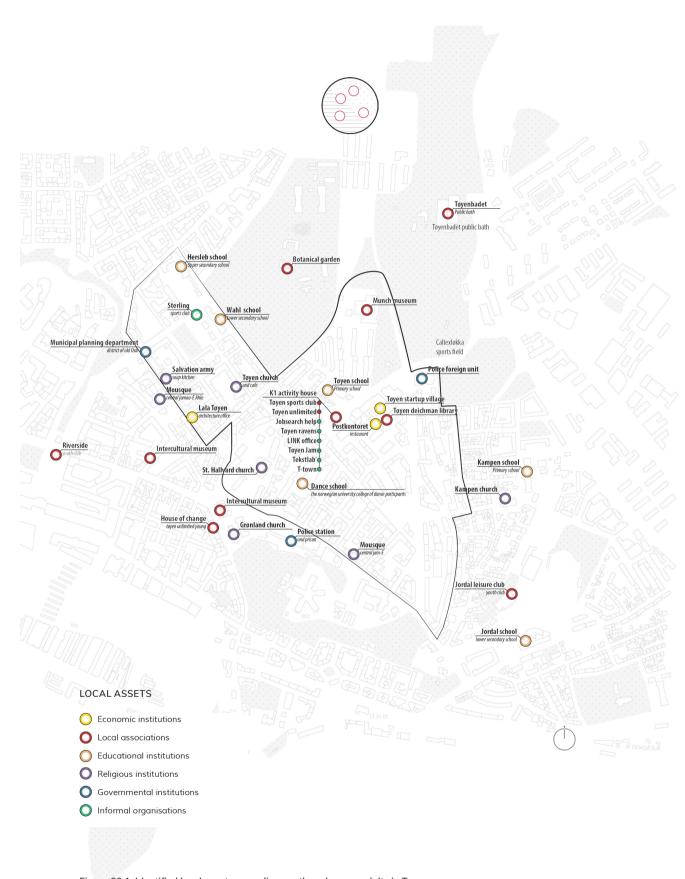


Figure 60.1: Identified local assets regarding youth and young adults in Tøyen $\,$

Discovering the connections

The second step explores the interrelations between the assets. Both through their physical cooperation and general communication. Through their social relationship and role in the neighbourhood. Similarly to the first step the information was gathered based on the research of websites and social media groups at first. The interviews would provide more knowledge on the relationships between different organisations: how they are connected to each other, what sort of activities they do, how they work with youth on the neighbourhood, and their relation to the 'Area-Lift'

The value of finding these connections lets us know which assets work together towards certain goals. Some of them will already have strong links, while other have potential links that could strengthen the network. Sometimes the relevance of such places is not apparent by means of studying documents, but lies on social life within the neighbourhood and routine. Connections can be created between networks that despite having different character, can provide value for a certain(Youth, basically) social group in having an integral experience within the neighbourhood.

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

During our research we realized there is a strong dependence on the K1 activity house. The positive side is that it has brought together many groups and individuals that can contribute ideas and development of the neighbourhood. This is coincident with Beaulieu (2002) take on assets building a community from within. However, the uncertainty of the 'Area-Lift' funding being extended puts at risk the role of this place. Many assets, like Tøyen school, use the activity house due to lack of own space. (they have very low square meter pr student.). LINK office is an important asset for integrating the ones with low cultural capital and a good starting point for people to be more known with the asset network. They have a very popular informal meeting space in the activity house. Yet, the activity house have problems attracting the youth, even though they make various programs for the group (16-25).

When it comes to the incubators, TSV have few connections to the rest for the asset network, but are very interested in reaching broader in the community. As Tøyen unlimited is located in the K1, and is a lower threshold incubator, they

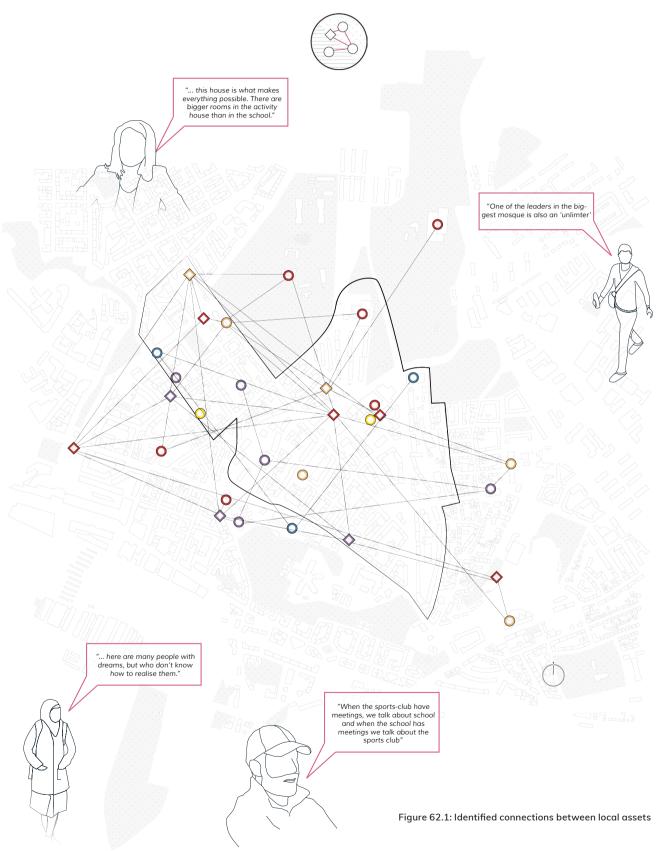
have connections to T-town and Levende lokaler (living rooms). Levende Lokaler is together with Forandringshuset (House of change) creating other alternatives for event spaces. The project consists of testing out the use of vacant spaces in the city to groups that don't have resources to pay rent. It is seen as a good alternative to the activity house.

Hersleb upper secondary comes up as the most important school to our youth network due the fact that many of the members from T-town goes there, and they have an entrepreneurship class at the school which connects students with the rest of the incubator milieu.

Some peculiar links that are oftentimes left behind when approaching relevant places in the neighbourhood. For example, the Mosque played a role when informing of sports activities, and the football field that is right next to the Tøyen Torg is inaccessible for organized activities because of administrative boundaries.

The forms of communication appear to have dependency on meeting places to a higher degree than it does in technological platforms. As such, the social capital of the neighbourhood can be enhanced, as was illustrated, by establishing and improving the connections social groups have with the assets locations.

After placing both nodes and links within the map, two interpretations can be made: many of the 'nodes' stand within the same location, the K1 activity house. As was mentioned, there is the positive aspect of brining many of this assets together for an easy way of interaction. It also means that the links formed within might not be very dynamic when engaging with the urban fabric.



Mapping the critical segments

 $T^{\text{HE THIRD STEP}}$ consists of materialising the connections established during the second step, by using the physical mappings of urban infrastructure. This step focuses on the technical aspects of the urban environment, as is the accessibility between important assets, the permeability of different areas within the neighbourhood. The result of the step will be mapping the weak areas of the network, through the physical reach in between vital assets.

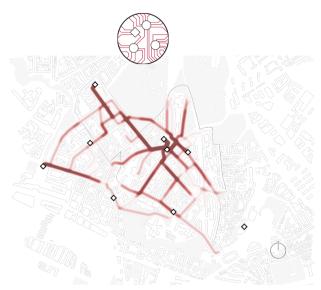
The relevance of thinking through a network of interconnected nodes, but do it in a spatial way (Dupuy, 2008) as the assets are spatially based and therefore the built environment also have an impact on the connectivity. Through analysing different networks of the city, we are able to find the potentials in the asset network through locating "critical points of contact" (Jensen and Morelli, 2011). The distances and connectivity of the streets play an essential role when youth are out in the urban environment, and it will also matter in the asset network.

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

When studying the case of youth and young adult asset-networks in Tøyen, we found out that the technical layers/infrastructure define some of the connections and hinder others. This happens through two different mechanisms. On the one hand, there is an overlapping of paths that make up for some preferred routes over others. On the other hand, distances become relevant when studied in 5 min, and 10 min walks.

Google maps were used to trace shortest pedestrian routes from two communicating youth assets based on distance and topography. By doing this, we could map the most popular connective streets in the neighbourhood (figure 64.1). By basing the reach on a five-minute walking distance (or 400 m), there was possible to view the segments on a pedestrian route with few crucial assets (figure 64.3). Activity range would not in itself be sufficient to identify potential sites that constitute weak points in the asset-network. Therefore, we have combined the mapping with GIS to localising specific BSU's of interest, having high densities of 16-25's. We can conclude at the sub-areas, here denoted as A, B, C, and D (in figure 64.2) are relevant for the neighbourhood understanding related to youth and young adults residency (further elaboration on the use of GIS in the appendices p. 103).

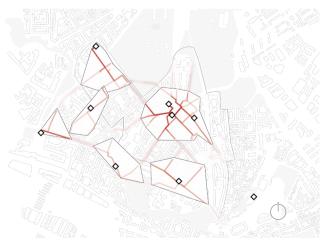
The combination of mapped overlayers(figure 65.1) in the spatial depiction of the neighbourhood shows that some connections placed accordingly to the hierarchy of the urban fabric while permeability or distance hinder others. Following this reasoning, there are potential gaps to fill that would better spread and make a more resilient availability of spaces for the assets of the neighbourhood.



Intensity of the asset connectivity (figure 64.1)



 $Identified \ BSU's \ with \ high \ youth \ and \ young \ adult \ density \ per \ sqm \ from \ GIS \ mapping (figure \ 64.2)$



Reach gaps from important assets (200m) (figure 64.3)



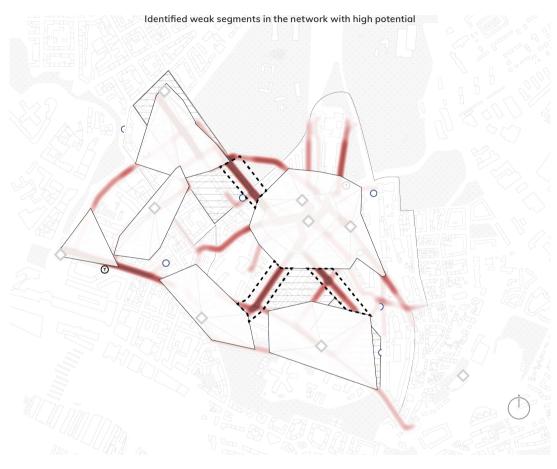


Figure 65.1: Connection Gaps in the asset network connectivity with locations of relatively high density of youth and young adults residing in proximity.

Finding character and urban qualities



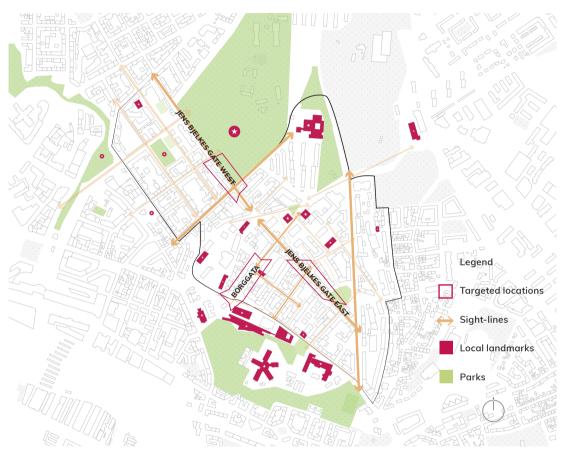


Figure 66.1: Overview of mapped urban qualities from field research

The fourth step map potential in spatiality and urban quality within the chosen segments. Visibility can show us strategic meeting places, and vacant spaces serve a potential for extra programming on the site. This is physically mapped on the site and focuses on the aesthetically features that shape the individual's cognition of place. Elements of relevance are landmarks as navigation markers, barriers and sight-lines as conditioners of choice and frontage analysis as potential attractors and rejectors. The aesthetic dimension can bias the choice of routes, but it can also indicate which specific physical elements become relevant when experiencing the urban spaces. Youth understand space differently than adults (Hagen et al., 2016), so it is not necessarily the more obvious street segments that have the most potential concerning the utilisation of the connectivity between assets for youth and young adults.

When the identity and urban qualities of the strategic locations are mapped, we can start to the process of envisioning designs for the given street spaces.



JENS BJELKES GATE (WEST)

Street segment 1 is located in Jens Bjelkes gate west and are the most obvious route for moving between Sterling, Hersleb and K1. There is an interesting connection to the botanical garden and the corner park was upgraded in 2017. Nevertheless, the street is characterised by high intensity of traffic and street-side parking creating a solid barrier. Topographical curvatures create visual barriers, but can also be used as potential. Local shops are located in the south east corner, but the rest of the facades are closed off.

We have identified three strategic locations suitable for envisioning an youth and young adults design: 1) potential park connection, 2) potential wall intervention 3) potential transformation to public space

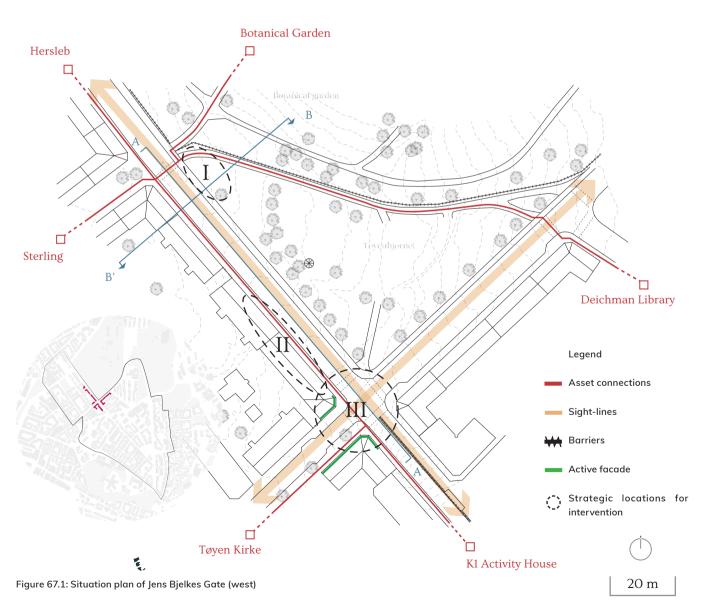




Figure 68.1: Spatial perspective drawing of street space, Jens Bjelkes Gate west

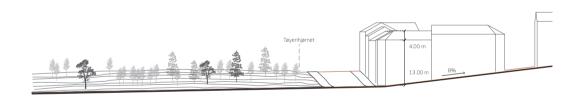


Figure 68.2: Jens Bjelkes Gate west; section AA



Figure 68.3: Site-photo of street space

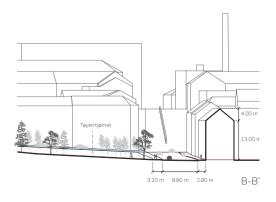


Figure 68.4: Jens Bjelkes Gate west; section BB



BORGGATA

Street segment 2 is Borggata, the most obvious connection between the Tøyen centre and Grønland, especially between K1 and House of Change. The street is enclosed by high post-modern buildings in concrete, but also reminiscent buildings of the industrial history of the area. The typology creates a break in sightlines, but the south-west corner is an important intersection for wayfinding from an to Tøyen. A small playground and the dancing academy can be found by this segment. There is plans for the building of the dance college to be a culture house, giving potential for synergy effects between the street and the institution. The street is characterised by low amounts of traffic and many street-side parkings. We have identified three strategic locations suitable for envisioning an youth and young adults design: 1) potential for synergy between park and institution, 2) potential transformation to public space

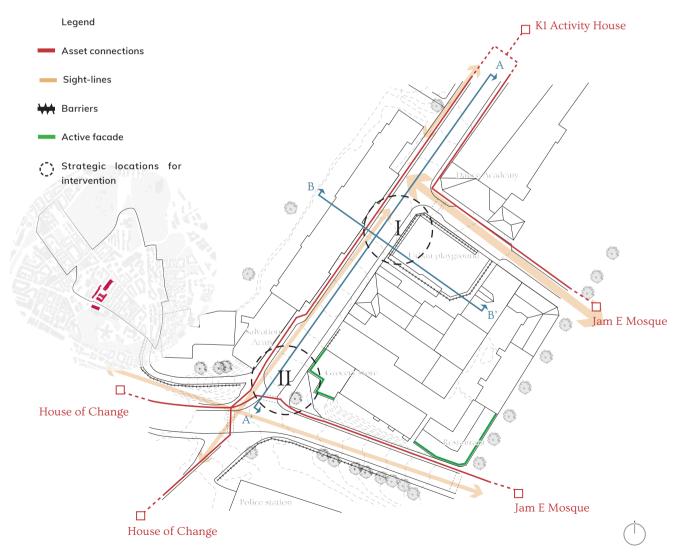


Figure 69.1: Situation plan of Borggata

20 m

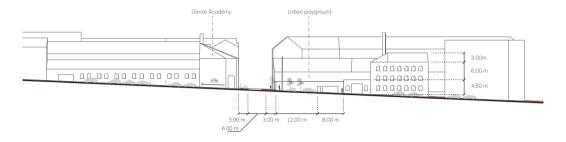


Figure 70.1: Section AA of Borggata

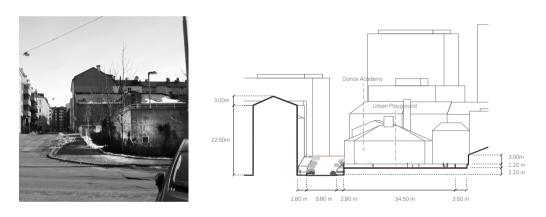


Figure 70.2: Site-photo of street space

Figure 70.3: Section BB of Borggata

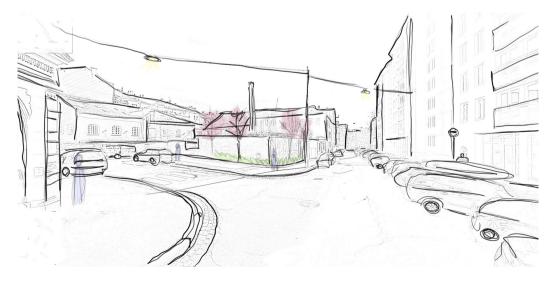


Figure 70.4: Spatial perspective drawing of street space, Borggata

JENS BJELKES GATE (EAST)

Street segment 3 is at the further south-east part of Jens Bjekes Gate, being a chosen route for moving between the Tøyen centre and Jordal school and leisure club. What categorises this segment is 'Sommerfrydhagen', a big park of 0.43 ha which is one of the more functioning parks, having a large open space suitable for events and different activities. Jens Bjelkes Gate east constitutes one of the longest sightlines in Tøyen, stretching from Kampen to the area by Tøyen Torg. From the GIS analysis the largest concentration of youth and young adults was identified south west of the street segment. The street here is structured like an avenue, but only with trees on one side, giving a slight sheltering from the traffic. Traffic data show that even though the street is quite wide, the amount of traffic only constitutes an middle intensity. We have identified two strategic locations suitable for envisioning an youth and young adults design: 1) potential connection to park, 2) potential public space

Legend

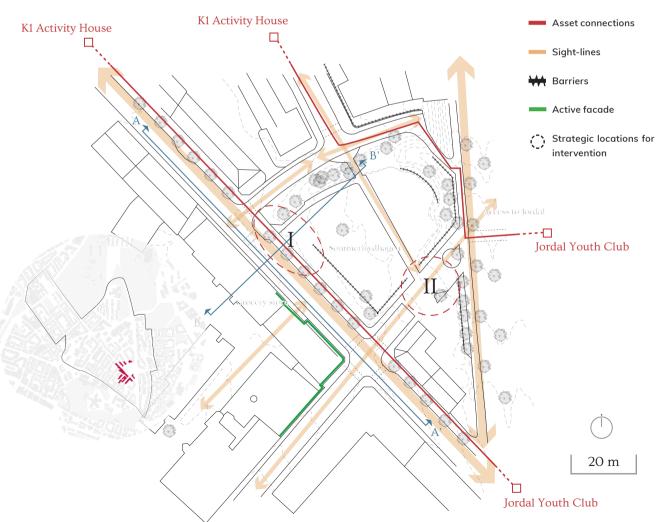


Figure 71.1: Situation plan of Jens Bjelkes gate east

É



Figure 72.1: Spatial perspective drawing of street space, Jens Bjelkes gate east



Figure 72.2: Site-photo of street space

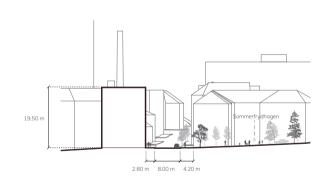


Figure 72.3: Section BB of Jens Bjelkes gate east



Figure 72.4: Section AA of Jens Bjelkes gate east

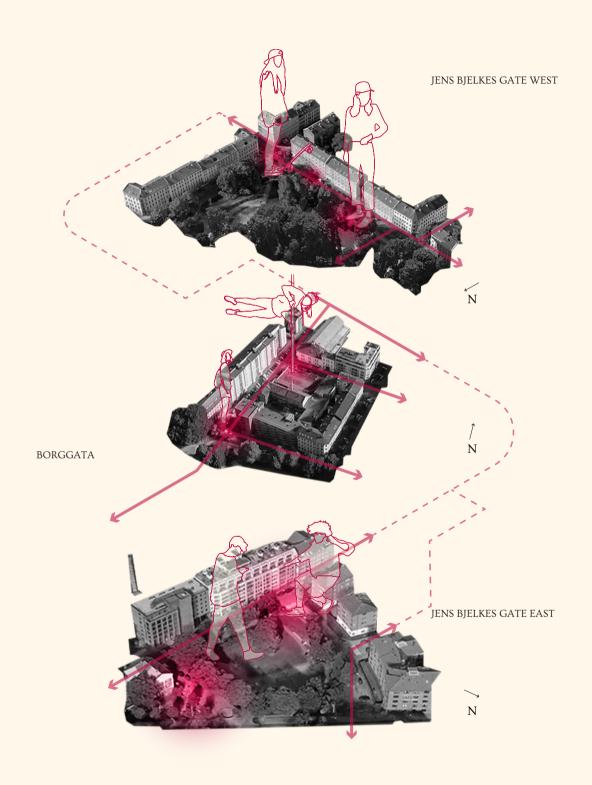


Figure 73.1: Potential locations for targeted interventions

Analytical Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to locate potential sites to intervene, as well as discern the character of the interventions that could be envisioned at each of those sites. Through the analysis of the interviews and mappings produced during the fieldwork, the researchers acquired a better understanding the neighbourhood character, the network of assets available for youth, as well as the sites located.

First of all, it was discovered that there is an already rich array of assets that are relevant for the community generally, and specifically for Tøyen's youth and young adults. From the interviews, it is revealed that the Tøyen 'area-lift' has formed a positivist attitude for further development of the area, especially concerning the wish to safeguard the diverse population and its characteristics.

Many of the assets are located within the boundary of the Tøyen 'Area-lift', but some are situated in the adjacent neighbourhoods of Grønland and Kampen. Furthermore, many of the assets included in the study are based at the K1 building, which is located in the centre of Tøyen (figure 60.1), (close to the access point to Tøyen from public transport and Tøyen Torg).

Relevant connections between these assets and the reason behind them were uncovered. For example, the relevance of the K1 building becomes apparent: incubators that need office space, schools lacking space for activities, youth clubs getting together, or merely looking for information, are some of the tasks that the place achieves.

As a consequence, interactions between these different groups commonly occur within those facilities. It was found, however, that the success has not been easy, and sometimes it becomes difficult to reach such an elusive social groups as youth and young adults. Interestingly, some peculiar links were found that determined the importance of location and information. As a means of counteracting having a centralised source of information, mosques have been found to act as a relevant place when spreading information to youth. As such, it becomes apparent that the right means of communication are essential towards the organisation of events, that potentially improve social capital (Brattbakk and Andersen, 2017), and that they should be visible and easily accessible.

Once the study of permeability and accessibility, as well as the densest sub-areas of youth and young adults, were discovered, it was possible to define some physical connections that may are hindered as a consequence. As was elucidated during the literature review, the importance of the immediate environment for the community (Brattbakk and Andersen, 2017) is very relevant for the image of interaction with the neighbourhood. This is especially the case for deprived groups and younger individuals (Hagen et al., 2017). When cross-referencing these findings with the connections of the assets, some critical segments are proposed as potentials locations for targeted interventions. Through the intervention of such places the visibility, influence, and available resources of the assets could arguably be improved.

The context around these segments was further explored in detail, to find the urban qualities that would be taken into consideration for the interventions. The importance of these qualities has been proven relevant when human individuals interact with the urban fabric (Bentley et al., 1985). As such, trees, landmarks, sightlines and other elements were mapped to define the specific locations that would be used for the interventions. This 'local anchoring' would be further emphasised by exploring to which asset's connections would these locations be most relevant.

The analytical results, along with the literature review will serve as the platform on which to start the design chapter.



Figure 75.1: Street art in Tøyen



Chapter 6

Envision

introduction vision design parameters conceptualisation envisioning designs

The following chapter serves as an envisioning of design interventions that could aid to engage young people in the socio-economic development Tøyen. First, the chapter will outline the factors that have led to this point of the project development. Then a vision will be developed that will support the target group as an essential resource in the neighbourhood, a group that is appreciated and included in the community. Then, from this vision, a set of design parameters will be developed that will assist in targeting the design interventions. The following is then the concept development of elements that could be part of the interventions and could unfold the possibilities of these urban spaces. The chapter concludes with a visualisation of these engaging spaces for Tøyen.

Introduction

 $W^{\text{ITH THE IDENTIFICATION OF strategic places that could contribute to the network of local assets for youth, one can start the process of envisioning space designs that youth and young adults will find engaging and attractive. A good design makes the difference between building a space that people pass by and creating a social space that can make a difference as a platform for assets in the community.$

As these located spaces are streets, some close to urban parks, these points should be more than a field of grass or an object to sit on. The design must reflect and respect the nature of youth. It should not exclude other groups, but be for those who do not see the urban environment through all the rules and rigid programming, but interpret it in regards to their needs and hobbies. The design should adapt to the specific site, but at the same time stand out as a location on its own.

Our method of designing is using the basis of theory, site research and analysis and complement it with a shared vision, a strategy and design parameters. To be able to make a robust design it is also essential to create a bold common vision, so the design of each place all have a universal ideal that helps the neighbourhood work towards the same goals.

The strategies for designing are anchored in the social, technical and aesthetic values. They guide the design parameters which convert these values into physical expressions. This knowledge is used to make a catalogue of elements that can be placed differently according to the identity and quality of each site.

The final design is visualised through perspectives from the three different locations. Without going into details, the visualisations express the potential and identity of the sites, and at the same time show how elements that share an identity can be configured to make the design site-specific.

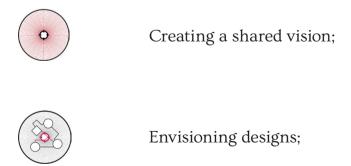


Figure 78.1: envisioning design steps of 'network conscious method'

Vision

In the crossroads between asset network connections and the neighbourhood structure, there is a possibility of tapping into the favourable links to envision a set of interventions that can strengthen the network connections and catalyse an engaged and aware youth and young adult population in Tøyen. Based on the current characteristics of youth and young adults outdoor use, communication beyond words of acceptability of youth and young adults adaptation place could serve as a contribution to the already established mentality of the local actors.

"To create an area with spaces that promote engagement, participation and activity

- a legitimised community ownership". A spatial designing/envisioning of these three points of interaction in Tøyen would then serve as a supplement and commitment to the current reach of the local community.

The vision for Tøyen should encompass these criteria to secure the engagement of youth and young adults in the further socio-economic development of Tøyen, from within. From an urban design standpoint, the very same criteria should also be conveyed through bold statements in the physical space as well as policy strategies - emphasising an increased commitment to youth and young adults.

VISION OF TØYEN

Welcome to Tøyen - the most youthful place in town.

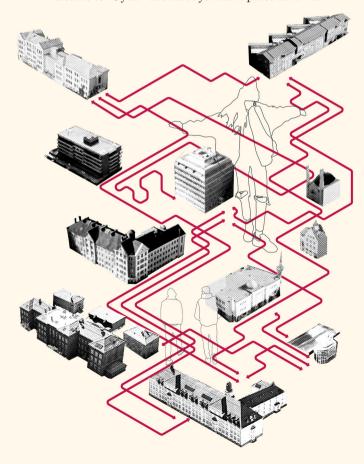


Figure 79.1: Engaging spaces for youth and young adults

Design Parameters

WITH THE VISION AS a background, we can begin to shape parameters that will ensure that design interventions are intended to meet the characteristics of young people and young adults. Should the designs be beneficial for the local community, such the parameters ensure that the critical factors that define the groups are taken care of, but also take into account potential for interaction with other population groups and the physical contexts. The dynamics of the potential of engaging the 16-25's through spatial designs and measures that could enhance neighbourhood identity have potential for a ripple effect in the perception and understanding of Tøyen as a neighbourhood. From the theoretical framework, the case, and the empirical findings, we have identified key parameters when envisioning engaging spaces for youth and young adults. The parameters also have sub-attributes that will support and lead to achievement with the intentions.

PARAMETERS

COMMUNICATION

For Tøyen, it is essential that the flow of information through verbal and spatial communication be further developed and processed following the termination of the Tøyen Area-lift. Through design measures that can send explicit messages, one can convey the vision that young people and young adults are a focus area for the neighbourhood and appreciated as part of the hegemonic process. This enactment must be done in consultation with the qualities they hold and in consideration of their technical skills.

Attributes:

Urban Information: Flow of information from the neighbourhood assets - informing 16-25's of what's happening.

Visibility: The degree to which something has attracted general attention; prominence.

Durability: The ability to withstand wear, pressure, or damage - be perceived as a constant.

ACCEPTABILITY

A further critical step in the inclusion and engagement of young people and young adults is also t to facilitate for use that is accepted, through flexibility. Flexibility should go beyond just ensuring multiple uses, but provide flexibility through the perception of accepted activity.

Attributes:

Appropriable: capable of being appropriated.

Proclamatory: Emphatic and declarative in expression.

EXCITEMENT & CURIOSITY

To capture the spirit of youth, one must facilitate exploration and testing to advance enthusiasm and eagerness. By utilising the asset network in Tøyen, one can begin to explore the potential for how the targeted interventions can help strengthen the network and afford the perception of young people as neighbourhood resources. New interpretations of known elements can create synergies between service production and public spaces by working in intensity based locations.

Attributes

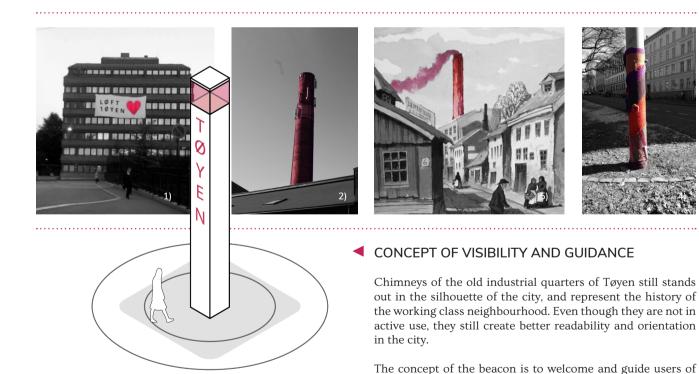
Experimental: Interpretation of urban design elements based on untested ideas or techniques not fully utilised in the neighbourhood

Shareability: The quality of being shareable or the likelihood of being shared, especially among peers and neighbourhood community.

Conceptualising

 $T^{\text{HE DIAGRAMS EXPLAIN THE design process in how we imagine redesigning familiar elements to be more exciting and useful towards youth in Tøyen, ultimately making a space engaging. The concepts get form and function based on the strategy and the design parameters which again is derived from findings in theory and case study.$

Each element covers different functions and takes inspiration from elements and situations in Tøyen. The beacon rethinks a portal by taking inspiration from the industrial chimney that can be found in the urban environment of Tøyen, to guide people between locations and emphasise the location itself. The panel rethinks the information board to a fresh hybrid of colour, function and information. The frame shows a new way that urban furniture can have multiple functionalities and how that can contribute to the socio-spatial coherence. The concept diagrams are a pre-step towards the development of the envisioned design.



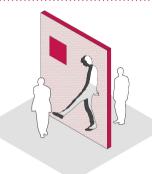
the modern urban space. The element should not only be informative, but visible and reflect the identity of the place.











CONCEPT OF INFORMATION AND SPATIALITY

A board of information should inform, but for doing that, it is not always enough to have information written on it. The sign should attract the attention and provide the information in an easily understandable way.

The panel communicates information more interesting than a regular info board would, and gives a spatial surplus value. The design uses fresh colours to attract attention and is built in robust steel material. Its form communicates identity for space at the same time as it divides space to make it possible for more groups to share a space at the same time











◀ CONCEPT OF FLEXIBILITY AND ACCEPTABILITY

Urban furniture should reflect the democratic and social function of urban space. Besides being a meeting point, the element can be a space for exchanging resources to contribute to multiple forms of capital (social, economic, cultural). Rigid programming does not allow for creative use which can cause conflict

The frame is an urban installation with the ability to act as a place for sharing and meeting but flexible enough to aloud different form of activities and events. A flexible and neutral platform can lower the disorder sensitivity and increase the creativity amongst inhabitants.

Figure 82: Inspirational collage (see illustration list for details)

Envisioning engaging spaces

 $V^{\text{ISIONS AND IDEAS CAN}}$ be powerful - once an vision has taken hold of a community, it can be almost impossible to eradicate the production of possible ideas. Just as businesses use them to focus their goals and wishes for the future, one can regard a neighbourhood vision as something a local community can protect and strive towards achieving. It can create pictures of the imaginary, as we have sought to achieve through our 'envisioned' designs, and start critical social debates.

Design visions have the ability to show unforeseen future scenarios of the physical environment, not unlike the physical frameworks of masterplans, but to a greater extent of flexibility, design visions can paint images of scenes that reflect ideals, opportunities and dreams - whether sober or sublime.

The following envisions are inspirational renderings of strategic conceptualised urban spaces in Tøyen that can engage and utilise youth and young adults, on their premises, as possible neighbourhood resources.

JENS BJELKES GATE (WEST)

The segment adjacent to the Botanical Garden stands as the most traffic-heavy out of the three concerning vehicular traffic and pedestrians. Meaning that the friction between different modes of mobility needs consideration, but also that the visibility for the intervention will be prominent.

For this reason, the parameter of communication was prioritised, acting as the primary driver for shaping the intervention and the elements that compose it. With a linear character that parallels the street, the space serves two functions. Firstly, it acts as a buffer between the slow character of the park and the faster flow of cars on the street. Secondly, it allows a quick glance at the different 'panels' that can be placed facing the flow of the street. These items are proposed as urban informational elements that could be used by the schools or the incubators to exhibit their works. The communication aspect is complemented with places of stay, including adjustable 'frames' that can act as kiosks, sitting spots and tables facing the botanical gardens. The 'beacon' is integrated into the rhythm of the structure, signalising a new urban node in the neighbourhood.



Figure 84.1: Envisioning engaging spaces for youth and young adults in Jens Bjelkes gate West

BORGGATA

The segment at Borggata has an inherent potential, being defined by local landmarks and it is an easily accessible street at the border between Tøyen and the adjacent neighbourhood Grønland. Nevertheless, buildings of different heights enclose and frame the space.

The proposal for the segment takes advantage of the playground that stands atop the parking garage across the street from the old dance academy. With the renovation of the latter in the near future, the envision seeks to complement the qualities of addressing an upcoming asset towards youth as actors. The intervention focuses primarily on the parameters of communication and curiosity by reducing the many barriers surrounding the small park - increase the physical and visual accessibility. The envisioned elements will afford a playful collaboration between leisure and culture by opening up space with a stair that can also act as a stage.

Borggata could become an information spot for the youth living in the vicinity, aiding the close-by mosque as a meeting place. Given that Borggata is a transitional space between neighbourhoods, there is potential for youth and young adults belonging to the various incubators in the neighbourhood to test out business ideas like selling coffee to people going work.



Figure 86.1: Envisioning engaging spaces for youth and young adults in Borggata

JENS BJELKES GATE (EAST)

The last of the interventions are also placed along Jens Bjelkes Gate but on the far east side of the neighbourhood. As was explored during the analytical chapter, the character of this segment is defined by the presence of one of the essential park in the neighbourhood, 'Sommerfrydhagen' - motivating the placement of the intervention within the park.

Located between the Jordal youth club and the KI, the envisioned design becomes the perfect spot for leisure and visibility on an essential youth and young adult route. The character of the intervention is drawn from these connections, and thus it is important that this space become an inclusive and adaptable space.

The parameter acceptability is essential here, given the variety of actors using the park as a meeting place. The elements envisioned to engage youth, and young adults should be experimental and appropriable. The new elements are not authoritarian or imposing, but instead, they can be used creatively and adapted to a variety of events, circumstances, and groups. Experimenting with how these groups can appropriate the space according to their interest, the design can conjure engagement.



Figure 88.1: Envisioning engaging spaces for youth and young adults in Jens Bjelkes gate East



Figure 89.1: Helping local resident



Chapter 7

Evaluation

conclusions reflections further research

The following chapter will outline the key points that have been developed throughout the dissertation, where we conclude on the research. Furthermore, the methodology adapted for the empirical work of the dissertation and the consequent results will be reflected upon. The chapter ends with recommendations for further research on the study of youth and young adults.

Conclusions

Urban neighbourhoods are undergoing constant processes of change due to globalisation, immigration and development. Within these urban entities, there are inhabitants with different dreams and needs, but together they make out the local community. Even though inhabitants strive for a just development of their neighbourhood, cultural, social and economic differences can generate friction between social groups in urban spaces. When striving to solve these locally bound conflicts, rigid delimitations of the neighbourhoods are used for analysing and planning. These approaches are argued, not to be sufficient by themselves(Lupton, 2004; Dupuy, 2008). Contemporary inhabitants of urban neighbourhoods experience their local surroundings to a larger extent as individual home ranges and by that different than traditional top-down boundaries. To this end, applying social, cultural and economic relationships, or networks, to the analytical tools of understanding urban systems(Jensen and Morelli, 2011), one can get a fine-meshed understanding of urban neighbourhoods and its inhabitants. Nevertheless, the physical limitations and qualities still play a critical role in community identity and belonging.

For the youth and young adults, the neighbourhood plays an essential part in shaping their life (van Ham, 2012; Brattbakk and Andersen, 2017). At the defining stage of being 'in-between', the groups are somewhat perceived especially challenging to include and engage in planning and development processes (Tolstad et al., 2017). Nevertheless, younger people have the quality of seeing and doing things differently. The aspect of 'youthfulness' may inherently aid solving problems that traditional planning and development struggle with (Jueds, 1994; Checkoway, 1998), especially problems regarding the youth themselves.

The social stigma of a rebellious group often causes them to feel unwelcome in the urban spaces (Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015), which should be egalitarian hangouts in the overcrowded neighbourhood. Youth in Tøyen experience this disruption and they respond in different ways, dependent on their social and cultural capital. Some respond to the disruption using means of seeking recognition through delinquency, while other young people channel frustration through constructive ways of trying to improve their situation. The area lift has created many opportunities for people to be social and contribute the development within the neighbourhood. Still, there is a lack of platforms appreciating youth and young

adults characteristics and creative potential. Hagen (2016) emphasises the importance of the relationship between youth and the network which should be an essential priority for further development of the community of Tøyen.

When creating platforms that attract and meet the needs of the young people, the essence is to allow for adaptability and acceptability. A place they can shape themselves, and are not controlled by anyone, which might explain why the initiatives from the area lift and municipality have not reached a large part of the group. Just as Tøyen is a place where one can find excitement and thrill (Brattbakk and Hagen et al., 2015), the spaces should reflect the same; the diverse nature of the neighbourhood with its youth and young adults should by that, also be reflected in the production of urban spaces.

An attractive platform should also facilitate social events and exchange of resources. Therefore it is vital for youth and young adult designs to include diversity in the use-value (Rogers, 2005). At the same time, the intervention should be able to accommodate different groups and provide potentials for privacy.

Design should provide means of positive engagement and communication flow through realising the potential of youth and young adults through their opportunity space.

As the area lift is undergoing its fifth and last year, one can start to evaluate the implications and measurements that had the goal of raising the living conditions in the area. The Tøyen Area-lift did not need to be a compromise in the negotiation of the relocation of the Munch museum. Tøyen has a long history of being a 'working-class' neighbourhood and statistically know for being relatively deprived concerning other districts in Oslo. Nevertheless, an egalitarian state such as Norway with its generous welfare system combined with the housing market makes the neighbourhood renewal process of Tøyen the most democratic one to date. Still, the area faces challenges in meeting expectations (NRK, 2017a), with embracing a diverse population and securing sustainable social

During the past five years, the focus on the neighbourhood has significantly increased the debate of just urban renewal and made the inhabitants engaged in community development by volunteering and demonstrating. The primary challenge with the engagement of the whole community is those in communications, lack of

sufficient platforms and united visions for a more cohesive development.

In an affluent and connected society, the least integrated and included groups often feel helpless in an experienced 'un-just' urban development. Should segregated and polarised communities are included in the hegemonic process of urban development, must platforms of communicational exchange be built to ensure the inclusion of more disadvantaged inhabitants.

Tøyen consists of people from various backgrounds where many are immigrants with educational degrees that not necessarily are recognised in Norway, or youth wanting to contribute, but are not valued as a vital part of the process. Nonetheless, these inhabitants possess knowledge and resources that can benefit other people within and outside the community.

To focus analysis and design process around the network of local assets is an alternative way to design urban spaces. This has an economic surplus value that is highly relevant when developing disadvantaged communities (Beaulieu,2002). Mapping the local network of assets for youth is a strategic way of both finding weaknesses and potentials (Jensen and Morelli, 2011) in the network system. Related to function and form in the urban space this interpretation strengthen the potential effects of redesign.

By focusing on the network of assets in a neighbourhood, one can ultimately strengthen social capital by creating better connections and platforms for the existing and possible new assets. A stronger social resource network will help reduce social stigma within the neighbourhood and make the community more independent from public intervention, which in Tøyen's case will be helpful in the near future given the termination of the 'Area-lift'.

Urban spaces in the contemporary, young and diverse neighbourhood should be democratic, transparent and inclusive. The spaces should afford flexibility and shareability to seek to host multiple groups at the same time and strengthen social and cultural connections. Despite the more adverse challenges of cultural diversity and social barriers, people unite and cooperate through shared interest and activities. The existing assets for youth and young adults in Tøyen already emphasis this practice and should a priority for new nodes and connections in the neighbourhood network.

Youth and young adults seek a social and

individual identity, the designs should reflect places to be, but also platforms to grow into. As a large and significant group, they are profoundly affected by the qualities of the neighbourhood. Through strategically chosen locations for the group to hang, cooperate, experiment and learn, they can not only be given more responsibility and initiative but take it themselves.

The society, Tøyen and the youth are diverse and complex. Therefore it is also suitable for urban interventions for youth and young adults to have few rules. Designs should be guided by visions that serve as statements instead of overcomplicating already tricky situations, makes it easier to be social, engaged and connected.

Reflections

 $R_{\rm was}$ produced serves as an introspective action, which ensures the last iteration based on the contents of the document. The following text aims to address aspects of the thesis that presented a challenge, as well as the limitations that were encountered in its production.

CREATING A METHODOLOGY, IN CONTRAST TO USING AN EXISTING ONE

A crucial component in the creation of this thesis can also be considered a disputable one. Developing a method from scratch means there is no empirical evidence to measure against, and that can challenge the reliability of the process itself. On the other hand, however, the conception of such an approach followed steps inspired by other methodologies (Beaulieu, 2002; Jensen and Morelli, 2011) that have been practised before or theories (Lynch, 1960; Bentley et al., 1985) that are widely accepted in the field. Additionally, the progress of the steps follows standard large-scale to small-scale analysis. Nevertheless, some issues can arise when evaluating or improving the method. For example, there is the lack of certainty that the steps can be implemented in other scenarios that change the variables or hierarchy of the technical process. The value of the 'network-conscious' approach exists in placing the relevance of a 'social network' and the social capital as the dominant characteristic.

LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH

Limited resources play a part in what results can be obtained with an acceptable level of quality. For example, there would not be enough time to analyse changes in variables within results, and economic resources were not available to be present in the area for long periods or numerous occasions. When establishing a method for gathering information about the assets and networks of Tøyen, the researchers chose a more "cynical" approach for further investigation of the resources, due to the following: lack of skill as interviewers, as it is a practice that requires developed abilities for optimal results, especially when approaching more sensitive targets (group interviews, younger people). Therefore, the researchers focused on being more 'network-precise', targeting people who already are in the machinery for change, rather than do the traditional participation with a more

extensive selection of the neighbourhood, while still focusing on catching a broad picture of different groups and initiatives in Tøyen.

One can discuss the best or most effective ways to gain knowledge about youth preferences and their network. Of course, there is excellent value in interviewing people on the street for inputs to analvsis and design, but for covering a broader range of the youth network, we found it more helpful to use resources on interviewing asset representatives (both youth and adults). There is also done site-specific research were kids, and youths preferences have been uncovered through different interviews and observations (Brattbakk, Hagen 2015). We saw a lack of knowledge from the local assets point of view and therefore saw potential in investigating this further. There is high confidence in the usefulness of our method of network conscious mapping and how it detects potential and weaknesses in the local asset network. Nevertheless, one can question if interviewing a selection of 7 critical local assets, combined with research draw a precise picture of the situation.

We will stress that the focus is on the strategy itself, as Jensen (2011) says in the method of using CPC: "in terms of using this methodology to create new insights and knowledge about the actual working of designed networks a 100% sustainable or profitable redesign is not necessary for the analysis to fulfil its task". This means that we use the 'network-conscious method' to locate weak segments with high potential and focus on local and international research on youth and neighbourhood development for envisioning design in the specific locations. If there had been underused assets in closer proximity to the areas chosen, there would also be possibilities for that the site design was more influenced by those assets.

THE POWER AND LIMITATION OF VISIONS

The vision was a significant element of this thesis, as it is allegedly an element that can unite a segregated community by inspiring for a social and connected future. Even though Tøyen is a neighbourhood with many engaged citizens, there appears to be a tendency to form smaller groups working with separate goals and visions. Sometimes, this results in higher use of resources than necessary, due to multiple groups having the same needs, but working towards it separately. A

bold and engaging vision would help to coordinate these resources. Examples of this concern can indeed be found in Tøyen. The Tøyen Torg has had a re-design as a part of the area lift. The design of the brick floor reflecting a carpet has a vision of uniting the different cultures by the familiarity of the carpet and its pattern. In that way, it becomes a symbol of an urban space of diversity.

As was contemplated in the literature review, a shared vision can be a positive catalyser towards strengthening a community and establishing a direction (Beaulieu, 2002). However, research (Kingston, Huizinga and Elliott, 2009) shows there is a danger in "influencing youths' perceptions about their future without improving real opportunity structures" as doing so may increase frustration. As a meaningful notion of this thesis is to avoid such effect, this consideration becomes relevant if one is to develop further the contents by bringing it into the public debate.

Further research

Some of the limitations that were stated in the reflective section have easily clear solutions that could lead to an increase in the validity and reliability of the study of asset networks for young people. The following text will explore some of them. Anyone interested in addressing the topics presented in the development of this thesis can use this as a starting point.

gathered through interviews and mappings. It has not, however, been put into practice regarding the last step where the envisioned designs are materialised or published. The introduction of a vision for public opinion (consultation) or the success of a realised design would provide valuable feedback on confirming the studies done here.

relevant in the field, as well as empirical findings

TESTING THE CAPABILITIES AND THE LIMITS OF A NON-TESTED METHODOLOGY

The way to address this can be broken down into the different stages of the work process. The literature pertaining relevant topics that were reviewed in this thesis, such as 'Neighbourhood Effects' or 'Youthful resources' is continually being expanded by scholars and professionals. For this reason and the need for further development, more topics could be included as central to the inclusion of young people in the development of urban space, and the ones included here can be questioned or expanded. This would help to build a more solid base on top of which to test the different steps towards strategic localisation and design for interventions. Such expansion would also be valuable when solidifying the analytical process that was used for this thesis. Special attention is suggested towards the cooperation in the process with professionals in other fields of study such as sociology, environmental psychology or anthropology. Urban design is a discipline that works best when the amalgamation of many actors of different backgrounds is included in the development.

Adding to the active research phase, the expansion of field work would help compensate the short-comings of resources available in the production for this thesis. Any research (process) benefits from the coincidental verification and contrasting of information previously gathered by other researchers. As such, a more thorough compilation of empirical information would only serve as a constructive experiment towards addressing the future development of Tøyen and challenges in similar neighbourhoods. Iterating and following the results through longer periods is yet another layer to add, that will be elaborated further down.

The design process can also be one that is extended and tested for results. The contribution of this thesis is built on the combination of a framework constructed through the literature review that is

LONG-TERM RESEARCH

It is rare when investigating neighbourhood research to come across longitudinal data, especially when looking for qualitative studies (Lupton and Power, 2004). In the case of research surrounding youth and young adults, the availability of information that evaluates the development of individuals over long periods could prove crucial, as it could help to understand better the mechanisms of neighbourhood effects - regarded as an essential factor that defines life chances (van Ham 2012; Brattbakk, 2017). Better scrutinising the causes and consequences would actively help counter the undesirable mistake of correlation for causation. In this case, longitudinal data could not only show relations of the individual to the neighbourhood, but could also delve into the specific social connections they have with assets, or other relevant associations of said individual. Such value could give a tenacious comprehension of the real 'needs' of young people as they develop into integral independent individuals, and could help bridge the disruption or misunderstanding of society with this group. Furthermore, the knowledge would sustain whether benefits of a given programme like the 'Area-lift', are sustained through time or become just perceived opportunity.

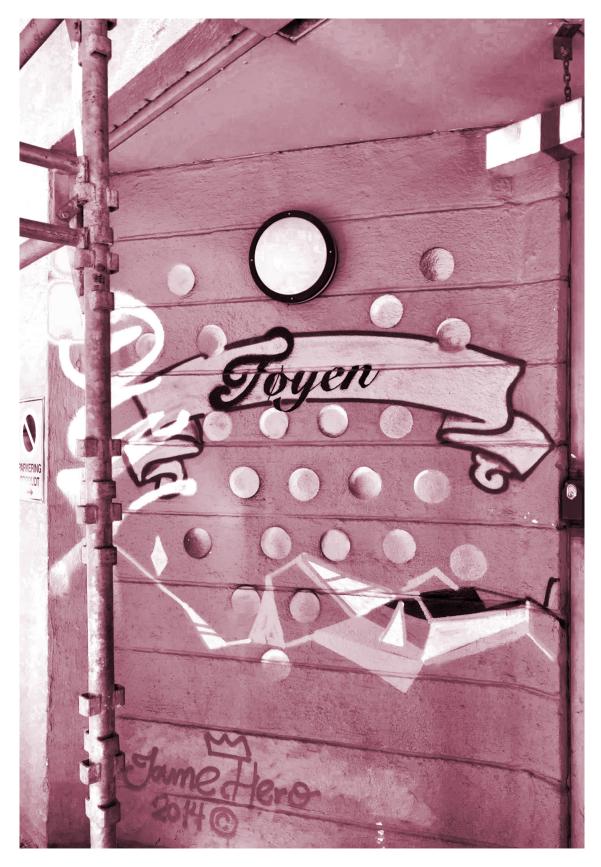


Figure 97.1: Patriotic graffiti

Epilogue

appendices references illustrations and figure table

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Appendices

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW WITH LOCAL ASSET IN TØYEN

The qualitative method of the semi-structure interview of youth and young adults stakeholders in Tøyen

ABOUT THE SELECTION

The interview objects serve as representatives of organisations which is central in matters of youth and young adults in Tøyen. These representatives, in itself, does not represent the complete network that is relevant but has inherent knowledge that will provide insight into an overall structure of the community. These have different views and opinions on the current regeneration process and the perception on 16-25's in their neighbourhood - but also common interests concerning engaging the community towards positive development.

The semi-structured interviews give valuable information to the key aspects of the regeneration process, networks, collaborations and resources, engagement of youth and young adults and visions for the neighbourhood.

Asset profiles

The interviews sought to uncover additional information on what groups the assets aim towards and who they attract as well as their role in Tøyen and future plans.

K1 Activity House, (also known simply as "K1") is a building that serves a meeting place and networking platform for residents in the neighbourhood of Tøyen. The primary objective of the house is to accommodate diverse and inclusive activities for the entire population in Tøyen, where special offers for children and young people have a particular priority - free of charge. The activities shall promote public health and ensure preventive effects. The activity house seeks to help Tøyen become a more inclusive neighbourhood with a good community and commitment among the population. The concept of co-operation and co-creation is central and is a prerequisite for all activities in the house.

Project Office of Tøyen Area-lift, is the municipal agency managing the enhancement process of Tøyen. The office administrates, amongst others, 'the activity funds', that residents can apply for community initiatives. Here the office serves as a facilitator during assignment and follow-up of initiatives to secure overall effects and coherence. The Project Office is situated in the K1 Activity House.

Tøyen Ravens and Tøyen Sports Club, are two separate non-profit organisations based on volunteering. 'The Ravens' are a neighbourhood watch group consisting of parents and other volunteers, keeping watch of the streets spaces in the area when the lights in the school-yard turn off, seeking to make it safe by being visually present in the neighbourhood. The Tøyen Sports Club is an organisation promoting activities for children and youth - not solely sports. It focuses on public health and meeting places, made possible by K1. The activity funds fund the Sports Club from the project office. The club does not have its home field, but embrace many in the local community. Common for both organisations is that they have contacts across ethnic groups, and a high focus on that they serve as platforms for bridging cultures.

Tøyen Unlimited Young is a sub-branch of Tøyen Unlimited - an independent organisation that supports enthusiasts with innovative ideas about how challenges in Tøyen should be solved through social entrepreneurship and local anchorage (Tøyen Unlimited, 2018). The youth division is per 2018, a relatively new offer for young people who want to start their own business, create their income, and at the same time do something good for the neighbourhood. The organisation targets 13-30-year-olds, who live in Tøyen or Grønland that are interested in alternative and meaningful ways into the labour market, for themselves or others. As with its mother organisation is Tøyen Unlimited Young an independent organisation initiated by the district of Old Oslo, and is one of several measures in the area lift of Tøyen. External partners contribute with funding and other forms of support. Tøyen Unlimited and Unlimited

Young are located in K1, but the youth branch also uses vacant facilities in the neighbourhood through the support organisation, Forandingshuset ('House of Change').

Tøyen Start-Up Village(TSV), is a co-working space concept in Tøyen for local entrepreneurs and innovative people. TSV have per 2018 also a work-bar at Tøyen Torg, serving as the face for this concept outward, were smaller events are hosted. TSV seeks to engage citizens into their work communion that are working on making cities a better place on the premise that; with urbanisation, cities need all kinds of services if they are to become good cities for people to live in, through sustainable societies and the environments (Tøyen Startup Village, 2018). TSV is not affiliated with the Tøyen Area-lift but has ongoing dialogues with Tøyen Unlimited on agent transitions from social entrepreneurship to their co-working space.

T-Town is a youth organisation focusing on producing small jobs for young people and operate a youth café in collaboration with the K1 club (Youth Club of K1). The organisation associated to Tøyen Unlimited Young, as part of the first cohort of young social entrepreneurs in Grønland and Tøyen. The t-town mission is to repent the negative rumours of Old Town Oslo's youth with mutual affection and brother-/ sister-hood. The organisation wants young people to be seen and appreciated, when they understand that this is a need, and feeling that this is not satisfactorily done. T-Town seeks to engage young people in sensible and adaptive measures, rather than to let them find mischief or make mistakes in their everyday lives that will give future consequences (Aktivit'etshuset K1, 2018). T-Town has a provisional base in K1.

The summaries below reflects what the different assets said about the respective themes questioned in the interviews.

THE TØYEN AREA-LIFT

Questions about the enhancement program explore the effect of how the assets view the local urban process and how it has influenced Tøyen. We were also interested in hearing their thoughts of the consequences if/when the area lift is ending, both for the specific assets and for Tøyen as a whole.

There is an apparent broad consensus that many of the measures of the area-lift have been successful, including park lifts, safe school roads, and meeting places through the K1. The activity house K1 stands out as one of the more positive results. At the same time, it is noted that expectations of outcomes and approaches to different target groups, especially young people and young adults, have not been good enough. It is through the interviews emphasised that the process of the area-lift has been a learning process, which may have had negative consequences for the implementation of many of the measures. This is due, among other things, the work with building an adequate and well-founded knowledge base was completed two years (2015) after granting the first funds.

It is apparent that the Area-lift has put Tøyen and its problems on the map. The discussion about gentrification is central to all the interviews, and how the processes measurements that the area-lift has implemented, has partly been able to remedy outside influences. It should be said, however, that gentrification is regarded as an inevitable evil to the neighbourhood development but for that purpose, it has been seeking to achieve smart and intentional gentrification - that newly introduced groups should be included in the work of lifting the weaker inhabitants in the neighbourhood. Bottom line, it is questioned whether inclusion in the processes has sufficiently embraced the younger generations, not only minorities but also newly immigrated young Norwegians. To the extent they have been included, the methods appear more like an 'information gathering', rather than real hegemonic concerning development. One of the main issues regarding 16-25's and their use of outdoor spaces are linked to the overall governance framework of providing for adequate follow-up. Young people and young adults have been a priority group in the discussions about the Tøyen area-lift, but the complexity of the groups makes

efforts difficult to implement. The public does not have the same statutory duty to make sure that young people have places to be and therefore are, e.g. youth clubs that have started as part of the area-lift, under the direct influence of budgeting and funds delegated from the time-limited program. However, there has been an intention that measures and offers aimed at young people, and young adults should be sustainable - that they have the 'right to life' after the area-lift period. The uncertainty surrounding such issues aimed explicitly at budgeting allows those who seek to make offers, have certain reservations. The overall risk about the prospects of the area promise, we see throughout, is the distancing of political processes from the offer creation in the area. The uncertainty surrounding such issues aimed explicitly at budgeting, affect those who seek to make offers to have certain reservations. The overall risk about the prospects of the area-lift is consistent throughout the interviews - influenced by the fact that political processes are distanced from the current wealth creation in the area.

NETWORK, COLLABORATIONS & RESOURCES

Questions regarding network and communication wanted to investigate what the assets does to reach out to inhabitants and other local assets to get a clearer picture of who cooperates with who, how they communicate and what they do to reach youth and young adults.

Throughout the interviews, we discover that Tøyen constitutes a complicated situation concerning communication. K1 has helped different cultures regarding having a common platform for communication, a place where many necessary and helpful aids are taking place. The multicultural situation in Tøyen, and the high diversity in incomes, channel communication through a range of means. Social media, websites and bulletin boards with posters as contemporary communication platforms face challenges to social groups that have language difficulties, which do not have access to the internet, etc. Oral communication plays a significant role, especially concerning the Muslim communities in the neighbourhood. A message in the announcements after the service in the mosque triggers a potential for many more in the community to be aware of what is happening in the neighbourhood. Tøyen Sports Club, among others, has taken great advantage of this in their efforts to reach out to children and young people in the community.

Many of the initiatives in Tøyen bases itself on volunteers and enthusiasts, and it appears that the voluntary spirit in Tøyen is to a large extent what defines the population. These are results of the neighbourhood initiative from resourceful residents who have, in a positive way, included more people into networks that utilise the potential for social mobilisation. This exposure of different cultures has conjured a collective sense, where it accepted to be different. However, not everybody is part of this network, and it seems particularly difficult to embrace the more disadvantaged youth and young adults.

The strong emphasis on, and awareness of, volunteering in an area like Tøyen, can lead to volunteering fatigue - many of the resourceful individuals undertake several roles in an attempt to create social change. From a top-down perspective, volunteering is also expected to fill local offers with activities. In situations where, e.g. K1, as a central node in the neighbourhood network, must limit its resources, the ripple effects can have significant adverse impacts. However, many organisations have overlapping activities, which facilitates communication, and leads to collusion over low thresholds. Many of the stakeholders communicate to some degree with each other but reveals a potential in strengthening the network through closer cooperation and targeted locations - especially regarding youth and young adults. The perspective of youth and young adults varies through the actors, but a prevailing opinion is that they are partly neglected and a wasted resource. The reported frustration from 16-26's (see chapter X.X) is instilled to the actors who are struggling with finding the right tools to reach them. Nevertheless, what they want is to make something constructive for young people, not solely by creating spaces to hang out, but to hang out and do something meaningful.

FUTURE VISION

In future vision we sought to explore if the different asset had collective visions for the neighbourhood development or if they had their own vision or no vision at all. We were also interested in the boldness of their vision and which groups of inhabitants the assets include in their mission.

The interviews reveal that there are divergent conceptions, if present at all, about what the future brings to Tøyen. The project office has clear expectations of what the area-lift should bring to the area at termination; "The Tøyen Area-lift should contribute in the making Tøyen experienced as a safe, inclusive place with an active population who wants to stay". This is supported by Tøyen Unlimited Young, but they also state that "without destroying the spirit, we must try to make the project more realistic".

Among the smaller and voluntary organisations, we see that expectations are more related to real issues they face - creating meeting places, and working for giving young people means that keep away from things that can create future problems. Visions are aimed at problems, and not so much about visionary conceptions - even among the youth organisation T-town. TSV focuses on making young people feel welcome at their incubator, through innovation and the joy of creating value, also for the neighbourhood. The interviews do not conceal that, if the area-lift ends in 2018, market forces will be able to influence the future development of the area to a greater extent. There is great belief that a potential cure for this should, in the actors' view, be to create an area with spaces that promote engagement, participation and activity - a legitimised community ownership.

"A counteraction to the atomisation that the modern society is undergoing" - Area-lift Project Office Representative

At the conclusion of each interview the interviewees were asked to draw their perceived border of what they experienced as Tøyen. This showed a interesting notion about how an urban neighbourhood is hard to define and also person specific. Nevertheless, some border came out as stronger, giving an impression of urban features that were collectively agreed upon as a delimitation of the neighbourhood. Another note was that the perceived border of the neighbourhood did not compile with the delimitation of the Tøyen area-lift.



Figure 102.1: Experienced neighbourhood delimitation of interviewees

UTILISING GIS FOR LOCATING YOUTH AND YOUNG ADULTS' RESIDES

The following maps show the GIS mapping used to identify locations of residential areas with relative high densities of youth and young adults in the age of 15 - 25 years. The data was gathered from Statistics Norway and developed in GIS software to produce geo-referenced maps of the shown accumulations.

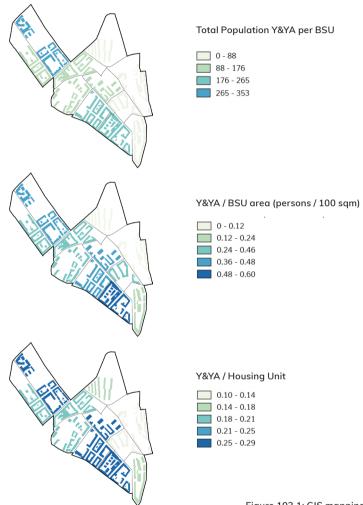


Figure 103.1: GIS mappings for population data

There are some areas of accumulated young people according to the total number, we see a somewhat even distribution. When we calculate the relationship between the total population of 16-25's and the area of the BSU, we see that some areas represent a higher density of youth and young adults than others. When comparing the mapping of this relationship to the local zoning regulations within the Area-lift delimitation, we see that the areas with higher '16-25's' density, also are areas with a high number of residential buildings. Similarly we can utilize not only the area of each BSU, but also use amount of housing units in each BSU investigate further the situation. By comparing the 'total population of 16-25's' in each BSU to the amount of housing in the BSU (it should be noted that the number of housing units obtained here is from the census in 2011 and will not accurately reflect the current situation) we use the GIS as an indicator for sub-areas that may be of more interest in the further analysis.

LOCAL ZONING REGULATIONS

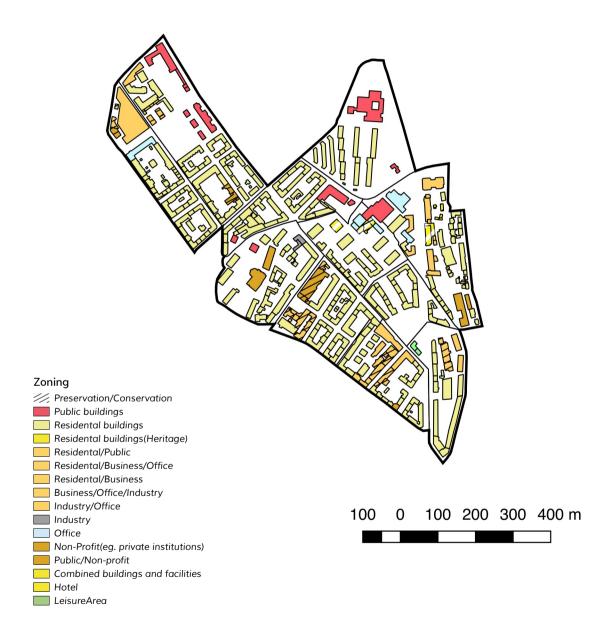


Figure 104.1: Local zoning regulation

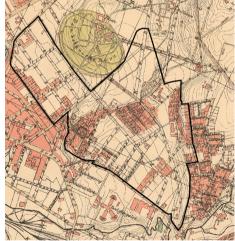
GEO-REFERENCED HISTORICAL MAPS WITH AREA-LIFT DELIMITATION



1797 Rural Tøyen

Characterised by fields of agriculture and winding routes to outskirts of the city.

Tøyen Manor was build somewhat 100 years prior, in the shape here seen.



1881 Start of Industrialisation

The Botanical garden is established

Streets are regulated for further development, but old roads still prevail.

The city slowly grows towards Tøyen, with Enerhaugen as one of the first 'suburbs' to Christiania.

Botsen has been build just south of Tøyen.



1901 Town houses and urban blocks are erected more and more in the area of Tøyen.

Industry shapes the skyline of the area southwest. To the north is there still agriculture and rural land. Plans for expanding the steet network.

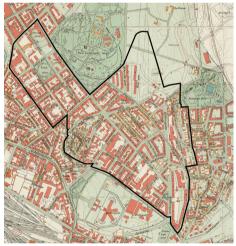
A lot of the buildings are build in hast and the quality is poor.

Figure 105.1: Geo-referenced historical maps (kartverket, 2018)



1938

With densification of the build environment, a tram network was build into the fabric of Tøyen.



1940

Pressure of exchanging the poorly build buildings from the late 1800's builds and plans are made for reconstructing several parts of Tøyen in order to make room for more modern buildings

Social housing is planned north to the area to accommodate a growing population.



1973-1980

Enerhaugen is reconstructed into modernist apartment block and central Tøyen is transformed into a central node in the Tunnel-rail network of the city by demolishing the old building structures and building service buildings and social housing that attract newly arrived immigrants.

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