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Community-led housing development.
A key ingredient for a new housing architecture and policy.

By

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Declaration

I hereby declare that, the contents and organization of this dissertation constitute my own original work and does not compromise in any way the rights of third parties, including those relating to the security of personal data.

Silvia Cafora, 10th February 2023

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I would like to dedicate this thesis to GennyZu, my beloved mum.

Acknowledgment

Abstract

The cities of the future require resilient, inclusive, and accessible housing solutions, but currently, the housing system in Europe, as in Italy, is in crisis. Housing is an issue that has never found a -definitive- solution. The challenges of mature societies, from the demographic shift to the fragmentation of nuclei, are today aggravated by the financialization of real estate and the inability to scale innovative solutions.

In the last fifteen years, housing has gone through a new phase that creates unprecedented socio-economic inequalities and exacerbates exclusionary dynamics. It returns the result of a long and paradoxical process of deconstructing its nature as a common good.

Increasingly, residential real estate is treated as a commodity, given the interference in the real estate sector by finance that turns houses and homes into financial and liquid assets (Rolnik, 2019).

From the point of view of the right to housing, according to the European Committee for Social Rights, the shortage of affordable housing in Europe is a severe and growing problem. The difficulties related to housing access are no longer characteristic of the most fragile segments of the population but also of the so-called middle class and young people.

Thus emerges the need for a new and radical approach to the issue of 'Inhabiting' in order to respond to the new housing needs and capable of addressing two substantial issues: the expansion of the right of access to housing and the creation of an urban and human ecology through the deployment of renewed economic, social, political, architectural and sensitive strategies to the new family contexts.

In Europe, alternative housing models triggered and self-managed by local communities that put into practice new imaginaries from emerging local needs are increasingly gaining a voice. Active communities have been working since the early 1990s towards transforming real estate from a commodity to a common good, thus restoring its original nature (Horlitz, 2012). They activate social market circuits within residual welfare regimes, creatively use existing economic and legal instruments, and activate the public actor in the process of mutual exchange and support to sustain collaborative forms of housing.

Several community-led housing projects recognized internationally as exemplary practices for their national rootedness and diffusion, their consolidated models of housing affordability and social inclusion, and their potential to be replicable on different territories seem to set new vectors for a Housing Transition (Cafora, 2020).

Among them, the German Mietshauser Syndikat, the Community Land Trusts in Europe, the Catalan Housing Cooperatives in Transfer of Use, and the Swiss New Cooperatives, activate the production of a renewed lexicon of housing.

There is also growing consideration by public actors in cities, the scientific community in the sector developing various European research networks such as ENHR, Urbact, and Co-Lab, and housing actors.

What answers do these projects provide to the growing and changing demand for housing?

Do they trigger or produce an effective alternative within non-universalistic welfare regimes?

What role does and could civic activism play? What is the contribution of architecture?

Introduction

Table of contents

List of Figures

14

Introduction

Housing is a Messy Subject.

This is the insight of Professor Michael Atiyah, the greatest mathematician after Isaac Newton, that opened the international symposium *A Global strategy for Housing in the third millennium* in the UK[1]. Another speaker, John P. Eberhard, professor of Architecture and Planning[2], said that "it is time to add swiftly to design codes and concrete testing procedures a call for a new paradigm of housing research, based on housing rights" (Davis, Algoed e Hernandez-Torrales 2020, 115).

The *housing question* shapes itself in every historical moment, confronting the present needs and criticalities. Today, on the one hand, it is a challenging moment in housing history due to the acute housing crisis that culminated in 2008, which generated exclusionary socio-economic dynamics and a shrinking of housing access and right (Rolnik 2019). According to the European Committee for Social Rights, a critical and expanding issue in Europe is the lack of affordable housing. that drives more and more people into housing insecurity, and that involves not just the most vulnerable groups, but also an increasing number of middle-class people (Parker 2013) (Iaione, Bernardi and De Nictolis 2019). The radicalization of a de-regulated housing market has expanded the difficulties of access to Housing and has primed a segregation process that pushes people toward the peripheries of the urban areas (Arbaci 2017).

On the other hand, our mature societies are experiencing a change in life paradigms with the need to hinder relational poverty and social fragmentation, support new households that go beyond the traditional family, and demographic shifts for more communal life. Moreover, the search for new sustainable ecosystems using the territories, building stocks, and natural resources is very much integrated into housing developments. Besides these last two points, the obsolescence of the building stock is always more tangible, and it needs to find new strategies for production and renewal.

Over the last ten years, a new awareness has emerged of the fundamental role that research in architecture can play in orienting the definition of new housing policies

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[1] Professor Michael Atiyah was the president of the Royal Society Edinburgh, where the symposium was hosted in 1998.
[2] John P. Eberhard, professor of Architecture and Planning at Carnegie Mellon University

and programs and guiding major building production processes. The occasions and places for research and debate on housing issues have multiplied, generating an acceleration of the debate and the affirmation of new lines of inquiry. There is in fact, an escalation of projects, research, and international conferences that are looking for alternative models for the housing systems, with an essential commitment from the EU that support Housing as a trigger point for the regeneration and post-pandemic recovery (Iaione, Bernardi and De Nictolis 2019). For example, in 2016, the British Pavilion at the International Venice Biennale of Architecture proposed the exhibition *Home Economics.* It brought to light five new models of domestic life and some characteristics of contemporary alternative housing production: *Own nothing-share everything, Space for living, not speculation,* and *A room without a function.* Another indication of this new focus on housing production is the European Union Prize for Contemporary Architecture – Mies van der Rohe Award 2022, which nominated nine collaborative housing projects, and the Right to Use Cooperative Housing LaBorda in Barcelona is the winner.

This dissertation begins by asking what housing projects and productions are responding to emerging needs today. With particular interest, the research looks at projects that trigger new forms of affordability and access to housing; new modes of social inclusion, care-based shared and community living; and architectural models capable of providing spatial responses to new lifestyle needs.

For different decades, the search for innovative and effective answers brought out housing models produced by non-conventional actors, such as active communities, that have been, till today, a niche phenomenon full of sense (Ferreri and Vidal 2021). Today alternative housing models are knocking on institutional doors and are looking, at a European level, for networks and ways to scale up the rooted models tested for thirty years (Lafond e Tsvetkova 2017). In truth, co-housing, housing cooperatives, and other types of self-organized collective housing have been increasingly popular recently in several European countries (Lang and Stoeger 2018). Since the Global Financial Crisis (GFC), civil society action and involvement in housing and urban development have increased after 40 years of relative decline (Mullins and Moore 2018, 4), attracting more and more attention during the past ten years from activists, scholars, and public actors in numerous nations (Mullins and Moore 2018, 4, D. U. Vestbro 2010, Lafond e Tsvetkova 2017, L. Tummers 2016).

Embracing this state of the art, the research proposes to problematize and to evaluate:

a. the role and effectiveness of community activism and self-production of housing as an emerging phenomenon;

b. the production of cohabitation models and innovative living and domestic spaces.

The **study aims** to develop theoretical, empirical, and applied research on the models of community-led housing's sustainability in the European contest. For this reason, the research follows the emergence in Europe of what John Turner called *Housing by People*, an intuitive anglicism helpful in describing the numerous forms of community-led practices and projects, which produce concrete answers to the problems related to access to housing and the shrinking of citizenship rights.

Can these models be a possibility also for the *Italian Housing Question*? Is there any production of housing alternatives in Italy?

An essential purpose of the research is to answer the latter question by producing possible recommendations and lessons, mainly addressed to the *Italian housing makers* – communities, public and private institutions, and professionals-.

Colin Ward in *Tenants Take Over* (1974), talks about self-production of one's own habitat of life in a collaborative and community form where every person is responsible to create, manage and maintain the spaces, and activating the production of unprecedented forms of housing (De Carlo 1968).

Today, even the 17 Global Goals show how the idea and urgency have taken hold that society, communities, and the interception of bottom-up phenomena can offer local solutions capable of outlining alternative trajectories of development and innovation. It is no coincidence that Goal 11 - Sustainable Cities and Communities - places community as the driving force behind the strategy for inclusive societal development.

How do public and private institutions fit into this process?

What are they producing in Europe, in Italy, what could they produce to facilitate and support these models?

The research is aimed to produce contents and perspectives to be addressed to three different categories of actors: communities, politics, professionals.

Research methodology and epistemology
The research perimeter. Community-Led Housing

Housing as a verb

J. Turner

After taking into account a variety of alternative housing project examples developed in Europe over the past 25 years, especially those who use "collaborative housing" as an umbrella concept (Lang, Carriou and Czischke 2018, Ferreri and Vidal 2021) with very different characteristics from the point of view of the architecture, of tenures (private ownership to rent) and market positioning (traditional and not-for-profit), of innovation produced and communities' involvement. This study focuses on Community-Led Housing (CLH).

This choice aims to understand the role and effectiveness of the community's activism and self-production of housing as an emerging phenomenon. As mentioned above, CLH, even if it is still a marginal production, has been receiving growing attention in many European countries alike over the past fifteen years (Lafond e Tsvetkova 2017) (Fromm 1991) (Mullins e Moore 2018, L. Tummers 2016, D. U. Vestbro 2010). CLH is not understood as the way to solve the housing crisis, as the latter is a structural and macro-level problem. However, CLH, as the professor Darinka Czischke[3] underlines, has a considerable potential to be more widespread if the populations and public actors could be more informed about these living forms and if the production is more available (Chiszke 2023). This is already happening in cities such as Barcelona, Zurich, and Geneve, but this is not the case for most of the European countries especially in Southern Europe. As said by professor Darinka Czischke, **there is a need for reliable data that allows one to compare developments across countries** and to learn from what works in other contexts and perhaps take some lessons and inspirations to transfer in other countries.
 Are communities a key ingredient in producing new living concepts in the housing system?

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[3] Darinka Chiszke, she is full professor at TU Delft University and founder of the Co-Lab research about collaborative housing. Chiszke, D., (2022), *Abitare collaborativo in Europa, verso una categorizzazione sistematica,* in Cafora, S. (a cura di) Modelli Alternativi di Housing in Azione, F. Feltrinelli, Milano.

The decision to take **Community-Led Housing models as the subject of this thesis** starts from some preliminary remarks.

Firstly it has been an emerging phenomenon since 2008, with a particular peak in 2011. It is not a new phenomenon, but it is a return of civic activism in housing (self-)production with new characteristics and responding to current criticalities, compared to past actions, which need to be investigated.

Secondly, there needs to be more relevant scientific literature. Since it is a relatively new and marginal phenomenon, it is analyzed in parts and mainly by urban studies scholars. While a systematization that considers the phenomenon as a whole, an analysis of the housing models produced still needs to be provided. Considering modeling means a shift towards a quantitative analysis, a collection of data, which may pave the way for the scalability of such models.

Thirdly, observing numerous alternative housing projects in the first year of the research, attention was repeatedly drawn toward CLH projects. These have developed in current and not at-all universalistic welfare regimes and housing systems (Germany, Switzerland, Spain, UK, Italy, Serbia) and insist on creating dynamics proper to the social market, not-for-profit, and for a redistribution of goods .

In order to define the perimeter of CLH[4] and thus the perimeter within which this research moves, selection criteria were sought for the inclusion of case studies to be placed under analysis. The literature was first consulted, particularly the work of Lang, Carriou, Czischke, and Co-Lab of TU Delft. They define in TAB A. the inclusion criteria 1. the Community Characteristics, 2. Building Characteristics 3. the Development process and tenures for their research. In TAB B., on the other hand, they establish the spatial, social, tenure, and legal organization characteristics the cases must fulfill to be accepted for analysis.

Based on these considerations, the same characteristics have been assumed for the choice of the cases in this research. This is with the aim of producing material and data that can be compared and added to ongoing research at European level.

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4 see chapter 3, A Frame on Lexicon, for a wide excursus.

	INCLUSION CRITERIA	REASONS FOR EXCLUSION
Community characteristics	1.INTENTIONALITY 2.SOCIAL DIMENSION	1. Community of residents lacking intentionality or social dimension 2. Community with no explicit housing dimension
Building characteristics	3.SPECTRUM HOUSING TYPES&TENURES 4. SHARED SPACES	3. Project where separate individual, private rooms do not exist 4. Housing without communal spaces
Development process & tenures	5. INITIATION BY RESIDENTS 6. SPECTRUM OF NEW OWNERSHIP / RENTAL MODEL/ THIRD WAYS	5. Mainstream, non-resident-led housing 6. Individual housing self-provision

TAB A: defining community-led housing. Inclusion and exclusion criteria. (Elaboration from Lang, Carriou, Czischke, 2020).

This research, therefore, aims to fill the knowledge gap concerning CLH models, i.e., to analyze the following characteristics
1. Legal, economic, and tenure organization types.
2. Spatial, typological, and architectural models.
3. Social and governance models.
4. Relations and contributions of the public actor.

The aim is thus to understand the *Process* of defining a housing model immersed in a given national socio-economic and political context. Besides the Process, this

dissertation also pays attention to the architectural *Project* and the possible innovations introduced.

characteristics	DEFINITION
Drivers	Reasons why people get involved in collaborative housing
Spatial Organization	How private and common areas are organized under a housing layout
Social Organization	How Households organise and manage the domestic task and social activities Social inclusion
Tenure	FInancial arrangement under which someone has the right to live in a dwelling
Legal Form	How applicable law describes an individual, company or organization that has legal rights and obligations with regards to the house

TAB : main distinguishing characteristics. (Elaboration from Lang, Carriou, Czischke, 2020)

Given the lack of studies concerning the Architectural Design and its role, this research aims to analyse this aspect from different perspectives:

1. Architecture as a tool for affordability, social inclusion, that foster care dynamics and the reproduction of community-led housing models.
2. Innovation in the design system for housing: new dwelling typologies and distributions, a new relationship between private, communal, and public spaces for living,
3. How architecture observes and answer to societal dynamics, the new households, the new needs of fluid life and mixed use of space.
4. Consider the future of living and city making: densification, flexibility, low impact.

As said by Turner in Housing as a verb "The word housing can be a noun or a verb. In the first case it refers to a commodity, the house, in the second it describes the process or the activity of housing"(Turner, 1976, 21). This research is aimed to show the possibilities of housing as a verb, the concrete actions that the active

communities and the many actors involved produce to widen the possibilities of a fairer approach to the housing question.

Comparative Housing research and case studies research

This study began by clashing with the nature of the subject analyzed. Housing is an interdisciplinary sphere of study (J. M. Montaner 2011) (Czischke 2018)because its production involves the design, architectural skills, and economic, social, legal, and political aspects. Research must be confronted with these disciplines to build a clear picture of the problems/possibilities in the field and their potential for a scalability process.

This approach aims to refute the widespread notion in architecture schools that finance, law, and architecture are unrelated topics that shouldn't be studied together. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1). These arguments frequently result from a concern for a designer's credibility being undermined by economic literacy, as if this were the case. The interdisciplinary approach in this case is not meant to help with design in terms of what or how, but rather why other disciplines should allow designers to ask why (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1).

The focus on community-led housing opened another challenge for the research: the scarcity of scientific literature that analyzes its etiology and its possibilities to become a model to be reproduced. As mentioned this is the knowledge gap that this research tries to approach. The theme is very contemporary, and scholars have been interested in it in the last few years, especially with an urban studies approach.

Because of this, the search for data had to develop a strategy using different sources, such as participation in international symposia and conferences, field trips, and collecting oral sources.

In particular semi-structured interviews have been a fundamental tool, thought to have different perspectives on the issues such as the inhabitants, the architects and professionals, the scholars, the politicians-administrators, and other actors. (see Annexes)

In addition, during the field trips, participatory observation and ethnological research approach (Sclavi 2003) were put into practice by living for a little time[5] in

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[5] (due to pandemic, just 1-2 weeks)

the chosen case studies and following the daily routines of the resident communities, which often includes the designers and other actors in the building production process.

The research follows a *comparative housing method* (Hurol, Vestbro e Wilkinson 2005) between international case studies. It is an approach with many criticalities mainly due to the different characterizations of each Country (Yin 2008) (Flyvbjerg 2006). Notwithstanding, using the knowledge acquired from different countries is a helpful tool to let the good practices, the possibilities, and the criticalities of the cases emerge.

The rise of comparative housing studies was one of the major advancements in housing research during the 1990s. (Doling 1999). A comparison built inside a more theoretical framework has been produced from an original descriptive approach (Caruso 2017, 17).

After reviewing the studies, Kemeny and Lowe (1998) recognized three "schools":

- a particularistic, empirical method they referred to as "juxtapositional,"
- an internationalist and universalist viewpoint known as a "convergence" standpoint
- Between these two extremes, there are methods that incorporate theories andviewpoints on empirical research known as "diversity".

Studies on convergence exhibit the highest degree of generalization. There is a focus on the similarities among all nations, with distinctions being described as "variations," "historical contingencies," or "exceptions." A convergence perspective typically presupposed that contemporary societies are all evolving similarly. Supporters of this theory of housing recognize that there has been a large degree of convergence in housing systems in advanced industrial nations as a result of economic factors and the predominance of neo-liberal welfare programs. Divergence suggests housing system typologies that represent cultural, ideological, political supremacy, or other ideas in order to comprehend disparities between groupings of societies. Divergent viewpoints are concerned with classifying housing and comprehending the variations in housing systems among nations. (Caruso 2017, 17)

This dissertation, as for the divergence approach, wants to understand the housing systems of the countries involved. This is useful to frame the political situation about housing and the relationship among the CLH projects and the local government. It is also useful to understand the level of effort of each project contextualized in its welfare regime and housing system.

Moreover in order to compare data of the different cases this dissertation also embrace a level of generalization as the convergence approach.

The study can also be defined as *a case studies research* (Yin 2008)as it collects 60 European cases, compares 20 of them through the completion of detailed fact sheets, and produce four micro stories or biographies with in-depth analysis of meaningful cases. All the cases included are produced by community intention and different levels of self-provisions. Each micro story has the role of explaining one of the main characteristics of the CLH and helps to unpack the phenomenon: The architectural innovation, alternative legal models and tenures, the implication of the public actor and new public communities' relations, new forms of social inclusion, community network and democratic governance.

CLH characteristics

Community intention: Living together	Social Inclusion, communal living Model, architecture innovation	*The chosen cases respond to both community intention and self-provision*	La Borda_ Barcelona Kraftwerk_Zurich Mietshauser Syndikat_ Freiburg
Self-Provision: Developping together	Affordability, not-for-profit, social market features, de-commodification, new tenures, architecture innovation		Granby 4 streets CLT_ Liverpool Cohousing_Italy

TAB C: Choosing Community-led housing case studies, community intention and self-provision.[6]

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[6] this table reports the reasoning and summarizes the criteria used in selecting the cases that makeup Atlas, Chapter 3, and Part three of the research, the Biographies, Chapters 4-7.

The cases have been identified in Europe and Italy, starting from a selection based on the scarce existing literature and choosing a wide angle to observe the plurality of the CLH models available and not just embracing a common best practice approach (Ferreri and Vidal 2021, 10). The idea was to produce a "body of knowledge' rather than a fragmented collection of case studies" (L. Tummers 2017, 57)

As a result, in addition to conventional and well-established housing projects and systems, like those in Barcelona or Zurich, the study also included relatively new, innovative, or young programs, whose influence on housing supply and policy is difficult to gauge but which are nonetheless intriguing and pertinent (Ferreri and Vidal 2021, 5). Therefore, in addition to traditional and established housing projects and systems, such as those in Barcelona and Zurich, the study also observes relatively marginal, young, experimental models, whose impact on the housing macro system is difficult to assess, but which nonetheless allow relevant points and strategies to emerge.The selection of cases has also been based on a combination of prior knowledge and expertise, and interviews with housing producers and advanced research labs (Tu Delft, Co-Lab research[7]; Universitat Politecnica de Barcelona, Catedra Estudis Habitatge [8]; Urbact[9]).

Conducting a comparative analysis of housing sectors entails the possibility of facing complex aspects of translatability.

Looking at literature on community-led housing, comparative analyses on a few examples, rather than the precedents to date (Lang e Mullins 2015), binational comparisons (Ferreri and Vidal 2021, 5, Balmer e Bernet 2015), international reviews of academic and collaborative literature on the housing sector, and nonacademic publications (Moreau e Pittini 2012) (Crabtree, et al. 2019).

According to Bengtsson and Ruonavaara (2011) and Scanalon (2015)comparative housing research, which is characterized by unique local institutional arrangements and significant historical linkages, is frequently complicated by a paucity of comparable data and a variety of ownership definitions, including traditional categories like social housing(Ferreri and Vidal 2021, 6). In order to collect and

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[7] Tu Delft, Co-Lab research https://co-lab-research.net/
[8] Universitat Politecnica de Barcelona, Catedra Estudis Habitatge, https://cbeh.cat/
[9] Urbact, Cities engaging in the right to housing, https://urbact.eu/news/cities-engaging-right-housing

compare data this research produces a series of tools such as an Atlas of case studies, graphic diagrams and tables.

The Atlas, as mentioned, is a research tool that wants to order, georeference, and systematise the 60 cases. These are divided in geographical sectors such as: Northern&Central Europe and Southern-Eastern Europe.

Therefore, the significant effort of this research is to collect data, which the literature does not contain, to systematize and compare them to indicate possible trends, functional practices for producing CLH models, and possible pathway crashes.

This dissertation opens the gaze to southern Europe. Most of the literature analyzed, studies the criticalities and alternatives of housing focusing on northern or central Europe.

This research, having as its objective the understanding of possible strategies or models transfer to Italy, looks at the dynamics present in southern European cities and countries, such as Spain and Mediterranean France. It also frames the situation in Italy of alternative housing and draws future lines of research in this direction. No part of this dissertation is devoted to a critical reading of the cases, but rather through the processing of the data, critical points emerge. The conclusion is devoted to all the issues that come out of the research work, including the critical points.

The dissertation is divided into four parts. The first, *The new housing question,* contains the general introduction, a description of the method used, and the theoretical framework. The second part, *The Atlas of practices,* and the third part *The Biographies,* are the core part of the research where the original contents are exposed and elaborated. The fourth part open to the *Transitions possibilities.*

The *first chapter*, Part one, analyzes the current housing production process by considering Economic, Political, Social, Architectural, and Environmental domains. It gives a frame of the interference by finance in the housing sector that transforms houses and land into financial and liquid assets (Rolnik 2019) (M. Aalbers 2016); the weakening of the figure of public administrations as guarantors of access to housing; the social fragmentation, a crumbling of the system of relations typical of contemporary society from which seems to arise a search for new communities; the search of new living spaces.

In the *second chapter*, the research frames a 'Recent Season of the Housing Debate'. The aim of this chapter is to create a Frame on Lexicon to hinder the vagueness of knowledge on community-led housing and new housing tenures and to clarify

concepts and names that could be easily misunderstood. A cultural matrix of communities' involvement in housing production and public policies that let emerge some touchstones tied to the housing question of the last 40-50 years to the present. Residential is here explored as a political fact and as an architectural product through a genealogy of projects and practices.

In order to investigate the strategies, models, and tools produced by different forms of self-determinate and community-led housing, the research creates in its Part Two, an 'Atlas of practices,' divided into two sections. The first one, in *Chapter three,* collects, analyzes, and compares European – and Italian- case studies of community-led housing, highlighting their characteristics.

The research aims to collect qualitative and quantitative data to compare developments across countries and to learn from the good practices and criticalities, producing a 'theory of the project' to understand possible transfer models. To have an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon, in the *Chapter four*, *five, six, seven,* chooses 4 cases and produces their Biographies that combine their *Process tools* and *Project tools* to create a modelization.

Part four aims to bring the research attention toward Italy and its housing situation in *Chapter Eight. Chapter Nine uses* a comparative data analysis of the case studies to trace possible lessons for alternative housing model transfer. The conclusions give a critical elaboration of the research and trace further research developments.

PART ONE
The New Housing Question

Chapter 1

The housing question today. Contemporary process of housing production

To understand what is at stake in the housing provision, it is important to consider the qualities that make housing an incomparable asset. Housing is, firstly, an essential resource. Not having a home is a severe impediment to a dignified human existence. As a result, housing is regarded as a fundamental human right in accordance with Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Second, housing is typically the most immobile and third, the most resilient asset of contemporary capitalist countries (Balmer e Bernet 2015). Fourthly, it is the most economically relevant good in most people's lives since they spend more on it than any other class of goods, whether through rent or mortgages, mostly because this permanence makes it expensive to create (Arnott 2001)[10].

According to the European Committee on Social Rights, the shortage of affordable housing in Europe is a severe and growing problem driving more and more people into housing insecurity.[11] Globally there is a constant contraction of the housing right, which involves not only the most vulnerable groups but also the middle class, which is facing a decline in their standard of living and undergoing a process of housing exclusion (Parker 2013).

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[10] Arnott, 2001, 69.
[11] In the introduction to her 2019 report, Leilani Farha, Special Rapporteur on adequate housing for the UN, notes, "Globally, housing conditions are critical. There is a contraction of the right to access housing in many cities, affecting even the middle class.".

Figure 1: Demonstration for housing right, Genève, Swiss 1990s. Photo by La Cooperative Codha 25 ans d'utopie, 2021.

Figure 2: Demonstration for housing right. From the top left, Barcelona 2013 (Can Batlò Archive); Right side top and bottom, Berlin 2022 (The Guardian web site, 03/27/2022); Bottom left, Milan (Abitare in Viale Padova Archive).

2.1 | The shrinking of
the housing right

2.2 | National governments,
policies and public housing.

Do not meet the objective of
the UN Agenda 2030:
to provide adequate, safe and
affordable housing for all.

2.3 | Housing Tenures and
Property paradigms

2 | CONTEMPORARY
PROCESS OF HOUSING
EXCLUSION

2.4 | From social fragmentation
to new communities

2.4 | Demographic transition,
social exclusion and discrimination

2.2 | Housing stock obsolescence

2.2 | Territorial polarization
and densification

2.2 | Housing Commodification

2.2 | Housing Financialization

Figure 3: Diagram showing the contemporary process of housing exclusion. Elaboration by the author.

This dissertation starts precisely from a sensitivity towards the growing housing exclusion of the last fifteen years, understanding its characteristics compared to the past phenomenon. It observes the peculiarities and criticalities that define the housing production process today.

It analyses the process of *Housing commodification, from the use value to the financialization and back!* in the first part of this chapter. Within this framework, it wants to focus on the role of national governments and neo-liberal economics and analyze ownership forms. It intends to bring to light the factors that trigger the dynamics of spatial injustice, social exclusion, and segregation.

It observes the New family architectures and the search for renovated living spaces in the second part to bring to light social dynamics, demographic shifts, and emerging needs for community building. It also relates to the obsolescence of the living spaces in cities and territories and the need for reformulation.

For this dissertation, it is also important the understanding of ecological phenomena and their correlation with forms of territorial polarisation and the obsolescence of the built heritage. The latter set of analyses will be carried out later in the research. From these analyses, the aim is to set a base for understanding the emergent need for housing affordability and social inclusion.

Housing commodification, from the use value to the financialization and back! The economic and political domains.

"Whatever the laws and constitutions of western countries may say, generally speaking, the people of these countries do not enjoy practical citizenship rights to housing" (Doling 1999, 161).

Despite its necessity, housing is now facing the result of a long process of deconstruction of its nature as a common resource, and it is more often treated like a commodity, an object with an exchange value unbound/incoherent with its use value (M. Aalbers 2016, Marcuse e Madden 2016).

Since around a decade the western world is facing a generalized crisis of housing affordability. In practical terms, this does mean that "the access to housing -a basic human need and central dimension of well-being- is becoming increasingly challenging in many countries"[12]. It is not only a mere matter of scarcity of the good house, even if in some cases the high demand's pressure plays a big role in the housing market saturation. But "the lack of housing cannot solely explain the increasing rent in existing structures"[13] affirm the social scientist Andrej Holm speaking about the present complex and conflictual housing situation. So, excluding scarcity as unique factor, it seems that there is a missing piece in the puzzle of the discrepancy between housing prices and people incomes, that is related with the shift from the house conceived as a social good to the house conceived as a financial asset and liquid goods (Rolnik 2019). As Raquel Rolnik argue, the truth of the matter of housing as an asset and financial investment[14] must be considered, beside others, as a relevant determinant of the current crisis of housing affordability, profoundly affecting "the enjoyment of the right to adequate housing across the world"[15].

During the last decade, a great number of scholars is focusing on the topic of housing commodification[16] and its implications, According to Manuel Aalbers, "financial geographies of housing took a flight in the aftermath of the global - or

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12 OECD, 2021. https://www.oecd.org/economy/italy-economic-snapshot/
13 Holm. 2019. Housing Crisis in Berlin: Displacement as Business Model. Berlin
14 Rolnik, Special Rapporteur Report on Adequate Housing as a Component of the Right to an Adequate Standard of Living and on the Right to Non-Discrimination in This Context, 2013
15 Rolnik, Late Neoliberalism: The Financialization of Homeownership and Housing Rights, 2013
16 The process of turning something into a commodity is known as commodification. It can happen to ideas, services, and other things that aren't often thought of as products or services. It is used to explain how something without economic value is given a value and, in turn, how market values might take the place of other societal values. De-commodification stems from the notion that people (and their labor) are commodities in a market economy. De-commodification refers to actions and initiatives that lessen an individual's dependency on the market (and their labor) for their well-being. Labor is the individual's principal commodity in the market. Products that have been decommodified may promote welfare. Marxist academics created commodification theories. (Caruso, 2017, 123).

North-Atlantic - financial crisis." (M. Aalbers 2016). This strand of studies is deeply rooted in David Harvey's seminal investigation about the connections between urbanization and capitalism, and his theory about the urban and its built environment as both creator and storage of capitalism's surplus value. The term "financialization," which refers to "the increasing dominance of financial actors, practices, markets, measurements, and narratives, at various scales, resulting in a structural transformation of economies, companies, states, and households," is used in the international literature on the political economy of housing. (M. Aalbers 2016, 14)[17].

The creation and strengthening of the housing finance system became one of these new fields for surplus investment, both for macroscopic and domestic finance – "a peculiar form of value storage!"[18] It has been a pivotal factor in the real-estate bubble and the resulting socio-economic issues.

It could be relevant to examine what happened when for the first time the city and housing financialization mechanism broke apart in 2008. In her book «The value of everything», Mariana Mazzucato explains how the crash of 2008 was due to an excessive level of financialization of the global economy. This awareness, broadly shared by experts and policymakers, didn't brought to a real control of the financial sector, even if some efforts and attempts were put in place. On the contrary, global economy get to even more aggressive forms of financialization, since the sector reacted with alternative ways to bypass regulations and with the development of a web of new actors and financial intermediaries that were less regulated than banks[19].

When the US real-estate bubble -generated by a huge amount of toxic credit swaps backed by unpresentable mortgages- exploded, house prices started to fall, in a domino effect all around the western world.

According to the research carried out by NOMISMA for Legacoop Abitanti in 2021 the percentage of severe housing deprivation in Europe is 8.3 while it is 5.3 in Italy (see figure 4). A depth of the Italian situation shows a high percentage of people live a situation of housing discomfort - 320.000 house owners, 1.150.000 tenants including 510.000 in severe discomfort-[20].

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[17] Aalbers, 2016, 3.
18 Rolnik, Urban Warfare, 14
19 Mazzucato, 2018
[20] Report NOMISMA 2019 made for Federcasa, " Povertà e disagio abitativo in Italia". Elena Molignoni, Project Manager NOMISMA Bologna.

As was illustrated in Porto during the EU Cities Forum 2020, in this situation of general crisis, it emerges a need for a new cultural approach capable of generating innovative imaginaries and concrete practices that can expand rights by restoring the home to its nature as a common good.

Severe housing deprivation

Europe: 8,3%   Italy: 5,3%

	owners with mortgage	owners without mortgage	free-market rent	rental assisted market
Italy	1,4	3,5	5,5	8,0
Europe	6,9	3,3	7,8	7,0
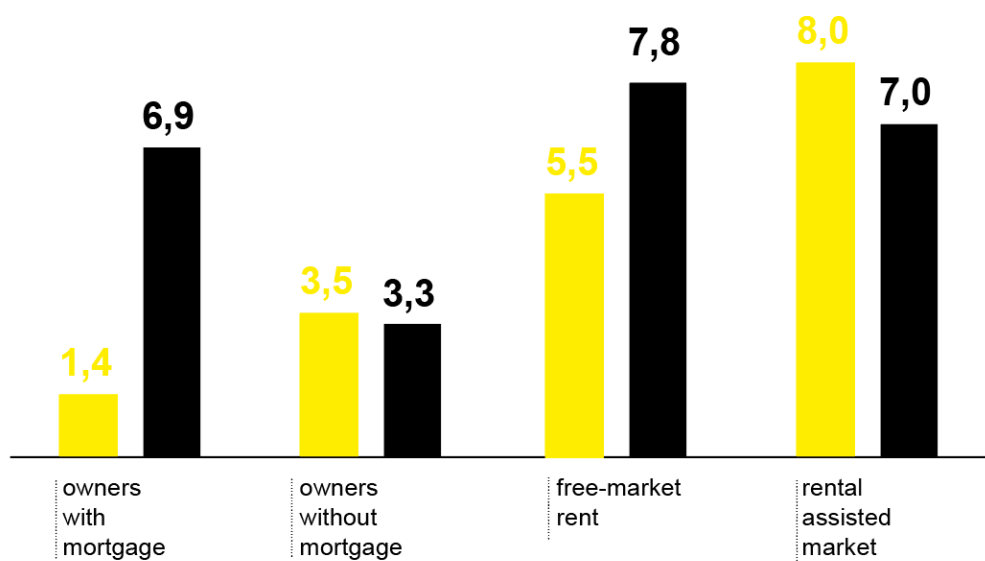
Figure 4: Population in severe housing deprivation in Europe and Italy. Nomisma - Report NOMISMA 2019 made for Federcasa, " Povertà e disagio abitativo in Italia- and Eurostat 2020 data. Reproduction by the author.

In such a situation, government intervention is crucial for establishing the political hegemony of housing as a common and utilitarian good or as a commodity and financial asset. Indeed, finance meddling is not just in the economic sphere of housing but also in the political sphere. Rolnik, Fernandez, and Aalbers said, 'This housing finance elixir acts like a political drug' (Aalbers e Fernandez 2014)[21]. Public policies that viewed housing as a component of the social commons were abandoned due to the notion that markets could govern the distribution of urban land and housing as well as the creation of experimental and "creative" financial products (Brenner e Theodore 2002). As a result, urban governance is now much more focused on creating a favorable economic climate and building various attractions to attract "highly mobile and flexible production, financial, and consumption flows into its space" (Harvey 2012, 41).

As Said by Raquel Rolnik "this movement led public policymakers to abandon the notion of cities as public artifacts and of housing as a social good", that "instead became a mechanism of rent extraction, financial gain and wealth accumulation. This process has led to massive territorial dispossessions, the creation of 'place-less' urban poor, new processes of subjugation structured around debt mechanisms, and a significant intensification of city segregation[22].

Like in other social spheres, housing, which was already the 'wobbly pillar' of the welfare state, as affirmed by Torgerson[23], has been affected by the dismantlement of primary welfare institutions. (Torgerson 1995).
Many scholars studied housing shifts as a part of welfare state production by working on comparative research at a European level.

Doherty (2004), looking at the 1970s, affirms that Housing has been impacted by budget cuts undertaken by national administrations, along with the entire state welfare edifice that had been built and improved over the previous 30 years (Caruso 2017, 8).
Doherty (2004) affirms that the shift toward viewing housing as a market-oriented good that is competitive and subject to economic pressures during the 1980s and 1990s became more pronounced throughout Europe. A number of new initiatives and programs were launched by national states, including homeownership programs ("right to buy"), the promotion of accessible home ownership, the

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[21] Fernandez and Aalbers 2014, 1
[22] Rolnik, Urban Warfare: Housing Under the Empire of Finance, 2019, 12
[23] Torgerson, U. (1995) quoted in Michael Harloe, The People's Home? Social Rented Housing in Europe and America (Oxford: Blackwell).

reduction or halting of new social housing constructions, and the switch from building subsidies to specialized benefits for individuals and households. Demand-side subsidies in the form of housing benefits and vouchers replaced or complemented supply subsidies for social housing (Caruso 2017)[24].

Harloe documented the effects of neo-liberal housing policy and the considerable reorganization of the housing market that began to occur during the post-war boom. Housing availability and costs are reduced as a result of the restructuring process. In his study from 2004, Doherty concentrated on comparative housing studies, examining how neo-liberal policies influenced the housing systems of various European nations, including Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Sweden, and the UK.

In the last decade, nations with a strong welfare state, under austerity pressures, systematically proceeded with the privatization of public housing and with drastic cuts of state investments in social housing, combined with reductions in welfare programs and rental assistance. Global competition between cities had an impact on urban transformations, and large-scale, symbolic urban projects were used to contrast urban decline, which resulted in processes of exclusion and polarization (Moulaert, et al. 2005). The financial crisis of 2007–2008 made matters worse by worsening living conditions for the populace (social polarization and marginalization) and widening wealth-related disparities. It also affected national policy by cutting back on public spending and welfare.

In the new political economy, centered on housing as a gateway to wealth, homes have become a fixed capital asset whose value resides in its expectation of generating more benefits in the future, replacing citizens with consumers. It is now more than evident that neither States nor markets can be alone in fulfilling the objective of the UN Agenda 2030: provide everyone with an adequate, safe, and accessible home.

Marx remarked that whenever something is owned privately, it must be taken from the community (Marx 1976, 154). Home ownership has traditionally been connected to the privatization of land, which started in early modern England in the 16th century with the elimination of the previous order of communal rules and conventional forms of ownership. The privatization of property made it easy for landowners to make housing-related bets with the rise of the industrial metropolis. (Tattara 2022)

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[24] Caruso, 2017, 8.

Housing and tenures. The issue of property.

This situation, which creates dynamics of socio-spatial injustice, involves the theme of Property and its evolution. Can it be considered today a democratic tool to foster the right to housing?

Friedrich Engels, in his *Zur Wohnungsfrage*, which appeared in the Prussian periodical *Der Volksstaat* (1872)[25], refers to the "housing question" as a set of socio-spatial injustices and an insufficient housing response caused by the imposition of the market economy.

As mentioned aboveThe political climate of the 20th century encouraged the association between homeownership and stability.

The rise in mortgage financing allowed buyers to keep up with housing prices even as property values rose sharply on a global scale to become the largest asset class.

Particularly during the post-war reconstruction period, private rent was marginalized as a less practical tenure as the political goal of creating a stable "property-owning democracy" was pursued. (Coricelli 2019, 47)

Although home ownership has grown to be the most prevalent type of ownership in the majority of European countries, and many families now see it as a natural desire in life, it wasn't until the 1950s and 1960s in Europe that home ownership, which had stagnated during the war, started to grow once more and became a key factor in supporting the continued growth of capital and the start of the financialization of housing.

Merely during the post-war reconstruction period, in the 1950s, does the proportion of homeowners finally surpass that of renters[26] .

With the expansion of mortgages, houses became a financial market investment, not benefiting owners but increasing investors' flow. through initiatives like the British Right to Buy, [27] the support of tax incentives for mortgages, and the involvement of the private sector in the provision of housing for low-income populations.

On the one hand, the state uses a variety of expanded credit sources to defend homeownership as a social stabilizer.

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[25] Engels, F., *The Housing Question*, Progress Publishers, Mosca (1872), 1970.
[26] "The 1951 Italian national census reveals an equal allocation of the population between renters and homeowners for the first time. From that point on, the later group will outnumber the first until things are as they are now. Origin: ISTAT" (Coricelli 2019, 48)
[27] "Since Thatcher was elected party leader in 1975, the Conservative Party has supported the selling of social housing. The Right to Buy was implemented in the 1980s as a component of the Housing Act.

Set against the backdrop of the described dynamics, it emerges today in particular, the theme of a different way of possessing, as already described in 1977 in Italy by the jurist Paolo Grossi (Grossi 1977). The common goods are not a new approach to ownership; however, they are forgotten and marginalized by the public and private property predominance. Thanks to Elinor Ostrom (1990)[28], the common subject re-emerged internationally and has declined in different contexts and conditions, triggering new reflections about Property as a tool able to create socio-spatial justice.

From various perspectives, Ward, Habraken, and Tosi concurred that community empowerment should be considered as a potential remedy for the current modernist approach issue. According to them, the housing issue could only be resolved locally and by planned bottom-up resident participation (Coricelli 2019, 53, Habraken (1972)2011, Tosi 1995, Ward 1974)
Critically reading this last sentence, it is interesting for the research to analyze and value the role and the effectiveness of the communities in producing housing with different forms of tenure aimed at producing affordability and social inclusion. Do self-organized forms provide new cultural approaches and fairer paradigms of Property? What strategies and models can be used to widen access to housing and to activate collaborations between community and administration to build a fairer and more democratic city starting from housing?[29]

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28 Eleonor Ostrom (1990) Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
[29] This question opened the Urbact-UIA 2020 seminar cycle on the right to housing, directed by Laura Colini (April-June 2020).

New family architectures and the search for renovated living spaces.

The World Economic Forum's 2019 Global Risk Report listed 'human sustainability' as one of the contemporary societies' main risks. As a result of macroeconomic and demographic transformations, individuals feel pushed towards individualism and entrepreneurial self-responsibility that precludes collectivity (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1).

After learning that 22% of the British population claimed to suffer from loneliness in 2018, the government led by Theresa May established a 'Minister for Loneliness'. Italian society also appears to be characterized by a high rate of social fragmentation: the ISTAT report of 2019 drew attention to the extended consequences of the crisis affecting the Italian economy. The impacts of the economic crisis have led to a crumbling of the social fabric, the system of relations, and horizontal forms of aggregation. A survey by Eurostat in 2017 drew a very significant picture: 13.2% of Italians over 16 do not have a person to whom they can ask for help; 11.9% of those living in Italy need someone to talk to about their problems. In essence, one Italian in eight feels lonely.

Loneliness cannot be considered a simple personal experience, says Jacopo Perazzoli[30]; it is a political issue intertwined with how relationships, exchange, and social infrastructure - from territorial proximity to aggregation services - are understood[31].

Questioning the transformation of the social and affective landscape within which relationships of understanding and belonging are built means talking about a plurality of *family architectures*. In European countries, the percentage of families made up of a single person has doubled in the last 50 years (Perazzoli 2020). It is also helpful to consider the heterogeneous and mobile formulas that arise and propose today new ways of crossing biographies, creating proximity networks, and establishing solidarity dynamics and care practices.

The traditional model of the conjugal family shows clear signs of fatigue while new links emerge, recomposing social and personal relationships according to new

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30 2020, E se domani Famiglie, Dati, analisi, esperienze per recuperare il presente, Introduction by J. Perazzoli, Feltrinelli, Milano. He is researcher in the European Citizenship area at the Giangiacomo Feltrinelli Foundation, contract lecturer in Contemporary History at the University of Milan and editor of the Rivista storica del socialismo.

[31] A portion of this justification appeared in Hartmut Rosa's "Kritik der Zeitverhältnisse." As the key concepts of the social critique, acceleration and entanglement, in: Was ist Kritik?, ed. Jaeggi, and Wesche (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2009). Rosa developed it further in his seminal publication Resonance. A Sociology of Our Relationship to the World (Cambridge, UK; Medford, MA: Polity, 2019 (2016).

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geometries and trajectories. On the one hand, it is opportune to frame these phenomena with a long-term perspective: the nuclear family is not a figment of recent decades. Its historical roots lie in what Émile Durkheim already observed in the pages of his Introduction à la *Sociologie de la Famille.* In 1888, thus, at the height of the Second Industrial Revolution, Durkheim noted that as industrialization spread, there was a gradual, and indeed inevitable, transition from the multiple families (prevalent in the past and typical of agricultural society) to the modern conjugal-nuclear family. Transformations in the organization of work and territorial space contributed enormously to isolating individuals, thus changing the nature of family contexts and causing them to lose their sense of belonging to the national community. Suppose the society analyzed by Durkheim was undergoing a profound transformation, divesting itself of the typical traits of agricultural society to take on those of industrial society. In that case, today's society is undergoing multiple transformations and a profound demographical shift resulting from the economic and financial crisis of 2007-2008, but also from a broader process of social mutation that started as a result of the mutations of capitalism after the so-called 'golden age' of the thirty years 1945-1975.

As Costanzo Ranci explains in his article *La solitudine dei numeri ultimi*[32]*,* people experiencing loneliness in Italy are particularly numerous among the over-74s: in 2019, analyses placed 2.5 million people in this category, equal to about 4% of the total Italian population, which, however, coincides with over 40% of people over 74 years of age. Moreover, a figure destined to worsen: according to current demographic projections, they will become 3.6 million within 25 years (2045).

Moreover, a new phenomenon has emerged in developed countries: for the first time, the expectations of future conditions of today's younger generations, relative to their elders, are negative unless the parameters by which well-being and development are measured are revised.

As Claudio Bossi explains in his article *Socialisation of Needs,* our society is going through a situation of relational disorientation. It starts with a tricky relationship between economy and society - with turbo-techno-capitalism, the financialization of the economy, the neo-liberalism- the establishment of the process of individualization and social fragmentation. This model no longer works, not only because of its high economic cost but also because it has produced a collective

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[32] 2020, E se domani Famiglie Dati, analisi, esperienze per recuperare il presente, La solitudine dei numeri ultimi, by C. Ranci Feltrinelli, Milano. He is Full Professor of Economic Sociology at the Department of Architecture and Urban Studies, Politecnico di Milano

(community) de-responsibility, depressing precious resources such as trust, responsibility, and solidarity.

In still general terms, it is possible to read the drives of the obsessive need for relationship and their meaning. As the so-called sharing economy, the new forms of living, the harmonization of welfare, housing, urban development, and economic and environmental development policies. A model that, starting from redesigning the frame of reference, rests its premises on a change in the pillars.

The social needs and resources (recognize them, share them, as a group, a community, of people) to build responses capable of utilizing the multiplicity of non-monetary assets available and to activate social cohesion processes, whose indicator will be the quality and quantity of interactions between people in a given community and territorial context.

The urgency of activating collective responsibility. This responsibility can find an organized form in a new mutualism and mutuality.

The need to create new alliances in a circular and territorial subsidiarity logic. Participation in the construction of well-being by all the subjects inhabiting a territory/community.

More and more questions and practices place collaborative systems at the center and the need for relations.

Prominent examples are **'co' projects**, co-housing, co-working, co-living, and the intensity and significance of relationships is the most sought-after asset. The lever, the revitalized asset, finds new life in new forms. It puts into circulation energies and resources hitherto dormant and slumbering in consumerist individualism.

Reckwitz and Rosa's diagnoses help explain why 'co' in the housing sphere is interesting. Housing initiatives that are collective, collaborative, and community-led that have surfaced during the past fifteen years present an economic model that challenges the generally accepted tendency to maximize resources, including unrestricted increase of property prices. Furthermore, they confront conservative notions of the "other" by balancing society's need for the unique with a concept of the communal.

This dissertation wants to be attentive to How Architecture can be a key factor in the reception of social changes and the implementation of political changes in living. Looking at the literature several architects have approached the subject by outlining answers for different historical moments.

Alternative tenure models by Martino Tattara. Analyzing the connection between the housing project and alternative models of housing tenure and land ownership while recovering the radical idea for collective dwelling. He notes that dense

dwelling typologies have emerged in major cities like Paris, Berlin, and New York with the express speculative intent of avoiding expensive land values and maximizing rental income from real estate. The residential landscape of major cities is still characterized by these urban typologies, such as the New Yorker tenement, the Parisian maison à loyer, and the Berliner mietskaserne (Tattara 2022)[33]. They served as stand-ins for family community homes, complete with private and shared spaces that were typical of pre-industrial habitation. Common land was enclosed, depriving peasants of their means of subsistence and turning them into landless proletarians who might be used as wage laborers.

Gaia Caramellino speaks of divorce between housing provision and architectural thinking[34]. She affirms that the role of architecture was a central aspect, of housing provision over the 20th century since the modern movement. Housing design was the core of the discipline. The great importance given to the studies about housing typologies and livable cities, produced new urban concepts -as for the implementation of the neighborhood- able to answer, even if partially and questionably to contemporary needs. One example is the Italian Piano Fanfani and the thousand projects managed by INA-CASA all around the Boot during the 1950s and 1960s. Around this plan, teams of planners and urban designers were created to study the emerging criticalities of urban, territorial and housing design to produce new architectural thinking and new residential neighborhoods with services. During the late 1950s, with the ruptures of the modern movement and the intervention of groups such as Team 10, GAMMA, the sociological and anthropological approaches play a crucial role in redefining the modern project in architecture. On the one hand it led to a detachment from the Architectural Housing Project in the long run, on the other hand it led to the development between the late 1950s and the 1970s of the current of self-design, self-realisation and shared living.[35]

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33 Tattara, 2022, 58.

[34] Gaia Caramellino, AMHA conference May 2022, Politecnic of Turin. The text is reported in the undergoing publication Alternative housing models in action, curated by Silvia Cafora, for Fondazione GG Feltrinelli, Milan.

[35] As Peter Smithson affirms in 1974 "There are certain people today who have crossed over to another sensibility—one about cities, one about societal patterns and physical forms as a whole. Looking back to the 1950s, it was then that the edge was crossed, architectural theory erupted, and the social sciences all of a sudden seemed significant. What Team 10 was really about, in my opinion, was a change in sensibility.t" (Gowan 1973, 56)
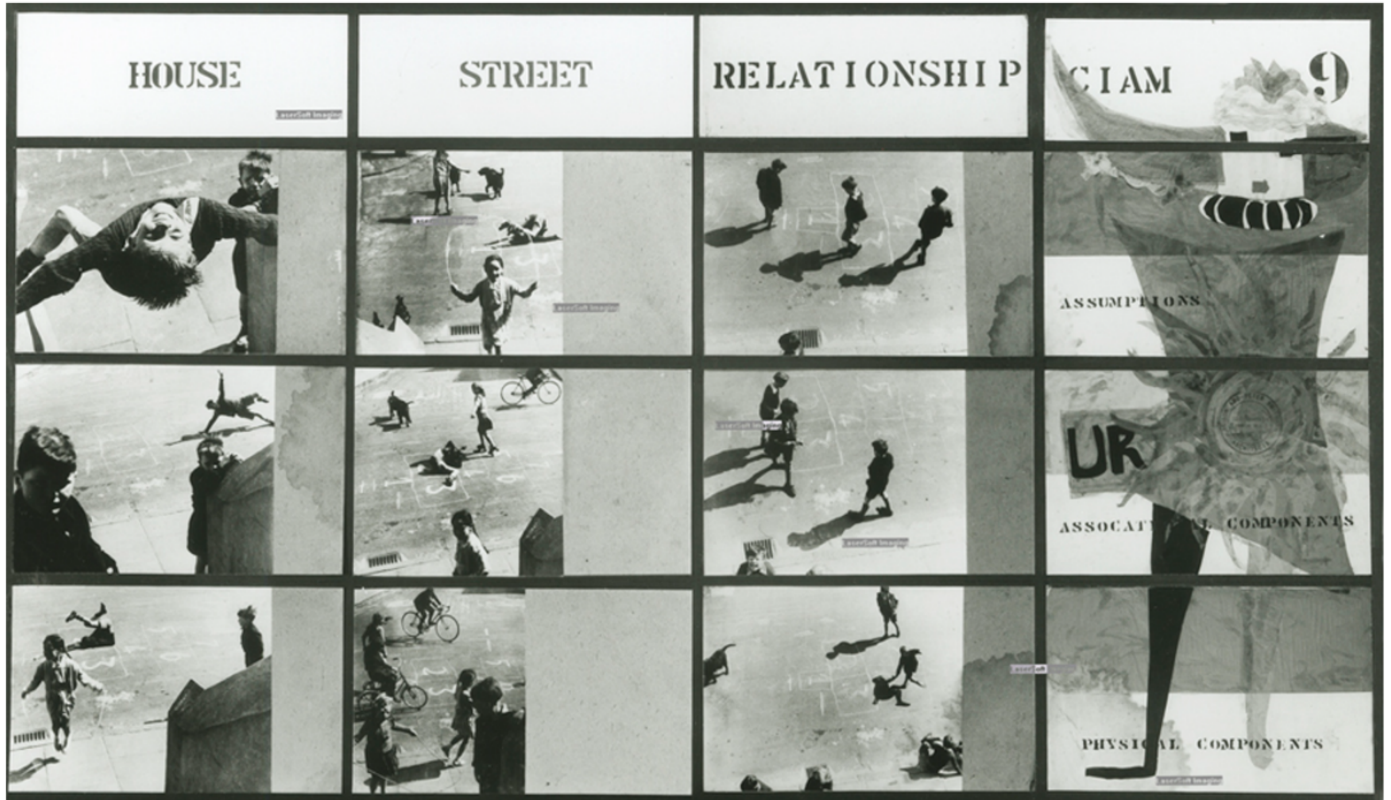
Figure 5: Alison and Peter Smithson. Urban Re-identification grid, presented at the ninth CIAM congress in Aix en Provence, 1953. NAI collection, TTEN f2. Centre Pompidou, Paris

Indeed, the Smithsons presented the Urban Re-identification grid at CIAM in 1953 that maintains the form of the C.I.A.M. Grille, while simultaneously making two important adjustments to it: a change of categories and the introduction of everyday reality. In the left part of the Grid new categories as 'House', 'Street', 'Relationship' are heading images of everyday scenes of playing children.

''We are at the point now of realizing that the city is not simply a tool and manifestation of capitalism, but also an environment, an ecological entity. (..) The citizen starts to claim the city as his own and realizes that the built environment is made up of him, his actions, and his aspirations.*'' (Woods 1975, 103).

In the *Urban Re-identification Grid* of Alison and Peter Smithson, it is clear that the future Team 10 members interpret the shift in epistemology to everyday reality as a repositioning of architectural meaning in the cultural reality of everyday spatial practices of habitation and construction.

Yona Friedman merged several of his beliefs into his Ville Spatiale project, including the flexibility of housing to increase an individual's freedom of choice, the flexible multilayered use of city space, and the grip of city people to provide meaning to their surroundings. The usage of architects, the function of capitalism in urbanization, the role of the state, and the issue of environmental respect were all raised by these concerns.

Until the first decade of the 2000s, the splitting of architectural thought from the Housing Project remained active. Since the 2010s, interest has been rekindled, as confirmed by the emergence of courses in architecture faculties such as the *Master Laboratorio de vivienda del siglo xxi* at ETSAB in Barcelona held by Professors Montaner, Muxi, and Falagan.

In recent decades, real productive, technological, and social revolutions have taken place that makes it necessary to review the concept of 'housing' and the architectural thinking used for its design. Most of the active rules and regulations limit the design requirements for housing as they are based on obsolete values and parameters.

"It is necessary to reinterpret housing", said Josep Maria Montaner y Zaida Muxi, "by going beyond private space and enhancing spaces for shared if common activities, to allow for a complete life (work, education, culture, leisure, nature)." [36] Household composition is not uniform, neither in the life of an individual human being nor in society as a whole. The different groupings of cohabitation make the concept of the 'nuclear family' obsolete. For this reason, said Montaner and Muxi,

36 Montaner, J.M., Muxi*, Z.,* (2010) *Reflexiones para proyectar viviendas del siglo XXI*, in Dearq · July 2010, 83-84. DOI: 10.18389/dearq6.2010.09 ·

the dwelling must be designed with responses of maximum ambiguity and functional versatility to accommodate the enormous variety of life and allow for greater capacity for transformation with minimal economic and technical costs.

They continue by stating that essentially, the political sense of housing architecture assesses a series of key questions:

does it respond to the diversity of society, does it contribute to improving the quality of the city and the territory? Does it make reasonable use of the available technologies, does it respond to sustainability objectives, does it meet the needs of the city and the territory? Does it meet the needs of the city and the territory, does it make reasonable use of the available technologies, and does it respond to sustainability objectives?

In order to try to give answer, their research set the criteria for basic housing on four general parameters[37]:

· Attention to social diversity, considering existing family structures, customs diversity, and gender equality. Housing is defined in terms of the benefits that allow people to develop as individuals and as members of society. It must allow for egalitarian relations and facilitate the most diverse ways different groups use domestic space.

· The valuation of adequate housing cannot be separated from an urban environment in its different scales, from the big city to the village, which necessarily complements their benefits. The relationship with the context in which it is inserted provides the necessary data and criteria for deciding the functional and formal proposal. The need arises to create services that interweave living with good daily development for everyone.

· The appropriate technologies imply that the dwelling has been designed and resolved per the place and time. The total cycle of materials must be considered, as well as the energy input involved in their manufacture and the finite nature of the primary mineral sources of the resources used.

· The correct use of resources, with maximum energy savings and with people's health, is a priority objective of the 21st-century housing project.

Their study defines the characteristics, typology, and measurements of the dwelling for the xxi century. The 'basic dwelling' responds to the conception of a dwelling for a family unit or cohabitation to meet the needs of two persons. The idea behind it is the possibility of modifying its composition by adding another person

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[37] They first developed these parameters for the exhibition Habitar el Presente. Housing in Spain: City, Society, Technology and Resources (2006), commissioned by the Spanish Ministry of Housing.

(descendant, relative, or guest) to incorporate productive spaces without hindering the reproductive tasks themselves, i.e. a dwelling that adapts to different groups and needs. Its surface area is 45 m2. The module added for each new occupant is 9 + 1; for three inhabitants, 54 + 2 m2; for four inhabitants, 63 m2 + 3; and so on.

The 'basic dwelling' is composed of the following:

· specialized areas require specific infrastructures and installations for their operation, such as water, drainage, and gas and smoke outlets.

· The non-specialized areas, which do not require differentiated infrastructure or facilities, must comply with comfort parameters suitable for habitability. These spaces are prepared for social and individual stay, activity, and rest, conventionally called the living room, dining room, and bedroom.

· The complementary areas would function in association with other spaces, not forming an enclosure of autonomous use. At least three complementary areas should be considered: outdoor spaces, storage spaces, and support spaces.

Architectural design is a fundamental element in analyzing the re-emergence of community-led housing. It will be used as a tool for understanding and will be analyzed for its evolution.

Chapter 2

Housing debate. A recent season of community led housing

R. Muroni writes: « thousands of people imagine and create from below new models of welfare, care of the territory, production of goods and services, use of common goods».[38]

"Co' housing initiatives constitute a sometimes pragmatic, at other times idealist, response to the challenges of living in contemporary Europe. In its realization, contemporary 'Co'housing is wider than the community-oriented model designed by the 'Co' housing movement in the 1970s". (L. Tummers 2017, 54)

Today interest in the potential of the communities is emerging in Europe. More so than at any other point in the past 40 years, this curiosity is on a larger scale. In Europe, there was a wave of informal forms of participation from 1960 to 1980 (Mullins e Moore 2018, 2). Several nations at the time provided major state support for the squatting movement (Vasudevan 2017) as well as more institutionalized initiatives such cooperative housing (Mullins e Moore 2018, 2) (Moreau and Pittini 2012) (Lang, Carriou and Czischke 2018). However, this wave dissipated mainly between 1980 and 2010. Self-organized actions had flourished under pressure from a number of factors: the financialization of housing (Fields and Uffer 2016) stronger legal sanctions against informal projects, diminution or elimination of public funding sources, increased corporatization and decreased self-organization of cooperatives in Spain, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, and housing associations in the Netherlands and England (Ferreri and Vidal 2021, 22) (Mullins e Moore 2018, 2)[39]

The recent comeback therefore presents an intriguing and understudied occurrence. A fascinating set of hypotheses tying an increase in civic involvement to systemic flaws in the market, the government, and the availability of affordable housing are

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38 De Rossi A., Mascino, L. (2018), Riabitare l'Italia. Le aree interne tra abbandoni e riconquiste, Donzelli, Roma. p.519.
39 About the cooperatives in Spain, Austria, Switzerland, Italy and the housing associations in the Netherlands and England several scholars wrote about the loose of self-organization identities.
Mullins, D., Moore, T.,(2018).

provided by its connection to the Global Financial Crisis. These flaws have an effect on people's quality of life and social inclusion. (Mullins e Moore 2018, 2).

Mullins and Moore state that "Czischke (2018) argues that some community housing solutions have been triggered by the Global Financial Crisis and financial austerity, which gave rise to new and innovative solutions" (Mullins e Moore 2018, 2); According to Lang and Stoeger (2018) and Moore (2018), "the growth of community-managed housing is associated with the devolution of state responsibilities to more local levels and the rising management costs of non-state actors." (Mullins e Moore 2018, 3). It is apparent that longer-term social origins of self-organization have also had an impact on growth.

This research studies the resurgence of community-led movements by looking at a mosaic of factors that can stay under two umbrella concepts: the need for affordable housing and the search for new communal forms of living to foster social inclusion.

This chapter aims to produce a *cultural matrix* to facilitate understanding of this dissertation's concepts.
This matrix is composed of an analysis of the contemporary housing lexicon and a recent history of housing evolution.
The first part wants to sort out the extensive production of terms about 'co' housing to produce a communal and shared lexicon for this dissertation. The changing meaning of housing terms through history, geographical or disciplinary transfer produces misunderstanding that this dissertation wants to clarify.

 The second part is about the recent history of housing evolution. On a timeline, the discourse starts especially with the turning point of the '80 (Iaione, Bernardi and De Nictolis 2019) (Ferreri and Vidal 2021) (Coricelli 2019), maintaining some structural connections with the' 50-'70 and then continues with the results of the 2008 crisis (Rolnik 2019) till nowadays. These historical moments where shifts in the housing sector happened, political and social-economical ones that produced different approaches to housing policies and housing access in various European Countries.
The last part of this chapter introduces and depth the characteristics of the community-led housing projects that will be presented in the following two chapters.

A lexical framework.
Categorization and definition to hinder the vagueness of knowledge on
community led housing and new housing tenures.

Numerous changes in the housing sector today influence the related vocabulary,
from the global housing crisis and related processes of market deregulation and
reduction of the public sphere of living to the emergence of new housing needs,
new lifestyles, and family forms, and new housing models.

It is precisely within this complex framework of changes that scholars and
researchers let emerge the need to reflect on terminology, adopting lexical analysis
as a possible observation point of the vocabulary used today to frame methods and
approaches in the housing debate.

Issues emerge related to the transfer of housing terms over time, across
geographical and linguistic boundaries, cultural contexts, and disciplines.

So many notions, categories, and standards that were crystallized and fixed in some
way over the 20th century became empty containers without meanings, incapable
of responding to the new aspirations and demands of new questions rising from the
ground[40].

Moreover, the same terms are used in different languages. Can we compare
different models that are active in different countries? Terms are mobile in that
they possess a changing meaning, migrating from one cultural sphere to another,
from one language to another, and from one discipline to another. Each term can be
interpreted relatively differently, depending on the users and the narrative
constructed through these terms.

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[40] Gaia Caramellino, AMHA conference May 2022, Politecnic of Turin.
Caramellino, G., (2022) Housing "terms": note su un'esperienza di ricercar, Feltrinelli, Milano
The text is reported in *Alternative housing models in action,* curated by Silvia Cafora, for Fondazione GG
Feltrinelli, Milan.
From the Research Project *Re-theorizing the Architecture of Housing,* The Conference *The Terms of
Habitation,* the monographic issue of Urban Planning *The terms of Dwelling: Re-theorizing Housing through
Architecture* curated by Caramellino, G. and Allweill, Y.

Understanding housing as a multidisciplinary field of study, the terms related to it move from one discipline to another and change in this transition from, for example, a bureaucratic and normative language, to one of architectural design, to a political one.

Within the framework of these trends, there is also a season of historical studies on housing, strongly influenced during the 1980s and 1990s by other disciplinary orientations from the social sciences and economic studies that still characterize the discourses on living today.

In the history and theory of architecture, urban planning, and urban studies, numerous recent researches have attempted to investigate, with different aims, the genealogies, forms of use, fortune, and evolution of certain systems of terms.

An example is the glossary of habitat that Monique Eleb published with the sponsorship of Ikea, entitled *The Hundred One Words of Habitat*[41] or the *Mapa de Habitação/Mapping Public Housing. Guide to specific terminology*, edited by Gisela Lameira and Luciana Rocha[42] as part of the research project that, starting with the analysis of the Portuguese experience, inaugurated a new reflection on the specific terminology used in the definition of affordable housing[43]. Another example was the international conference entitled *The Terms of Habitation, Re-theorising the Architecture of Housing*, curated by Gaia Caramellino and Yael Allweil[44], during which a complex cartography of terms used to indicate typologies, practices, pedagogical projects, policies and regulatory frameworks, design themes and cultures, and forms of use of housing space was initiated[45].

The trajectories and evolutions of the forms of use of certain terms in the housing debate are discussed (e.g. censoring today the term *building* and speaking, for example, of *dwelling*: the shift from *house to home* emphasizes the relational

[41] Monique Eleb, *Les 101 mots de l'habitat à l'usage de tous*, Archibooks, 2014.
[42] Gisela Lameira, Luciana Rocha (a cura di), Mapa da Habitacao. Guia para uma terminologia especifica em arquitectura habitacional apoiada pelo Estado em Portugal (1910-1974)/Mapping Public Housing. Guide to specific terminology in State-subsidized residential architecture in Portugal, UP, FAUP, 2019.
[43] Quoted in Gaia Caramellino, AMHA conference May 2022, Politecnic of Turin. The text is reported in the undergoing publication Alternative housing models in action, curated by Silvia Cafora, for Fondazione GG Feltrinelli, Milan.
[44] Conference *The Terms of Habitation*, organized in collaboration with IIAS Jerusalem, Technion and Politecnico di Milano-DAStU, November 9-12, 2020.
[45] Quoted in Gaia Caramellino, 2022. "The selection of terms highlights the multiplicity of perspectives and points of observation and the different sessions contribute through a spectrum of key words to initiate and structure a theoretical reflection intersecting the different planes through which housing research is constructed: "Agency", "Conflict", Social and Design Typology, "Neighbohrood", "Policy" "Co-" "Language of Market", "Reform", "Parameters", "Representation", "Knowledge Transfer", "Design Theory", "Edges".

dimension of being in a house[46]), or terms that have gained positions of new priority are raised, such as, for example, *community* and all its residential declinations.

This dissertation aims in this paragraph to bring attention precisely to the vast production of housing models that place the community at the center as the proponent of new living concepts, as the emerging need for *community-making*, as the receiving subject, *the local community.*

It is firstly provided a background on the evolution of the term *community* before delving into the clarification of the many terms that indicate community housing.

Analyzing the literature that has questioned community since the Second World War, two strands of meaning emerge:

1. From the atrophy of communities in industrialized cities to the planning of new urban communities

2. Self-organised communities that respond to emerging needs

Political philosopher Sebastian de Grazia addressed the essential query, "What is it that makes a group of people a community?" (White 1950, 57) in the early 1950s .

This topic tried to understand social interactions and alliances in the modern era, with particular reference to the environment in which communities had reportedly disintegrated: the industrialized cities of the western world.

Planning interventions and a number of institutionalized urban governance techniques were concentrated on the procedures that would lead to the promotion and active formation of urban Gemeinschaft (community) [47], where the concept of community was formulated in terms of the local community, from the years following World War II until the 1970s.

Neighborhood planning "attempts to recover the importance of place and locality and the strength and cohesion of the small 'primary' group," according to L.E. White in Community or Chaos (White 1950, 42).

In planning, in addition to the emergence of the concept of community as a group of citizens living in the same urban area, the community as a group of citizens belonging to the same social class is also taken into consideration, as in the case of INA-casa planning and projects in Italy that produces new concepts of social housing neighborhoods for low-income communities[48].

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[46] Olagnero M., 2018, Discorsi sull'abitare. Come e a chi parlano le nuove politiche abitative, Italian Journal of Social Policy, 4, Turin, 34

[47] Lutz Raphael, "Embedding the Human and Social Sciences in Western Societies, 1880–1980: Reflections on Trends and Methods of Current Research," in *Engineering Society. The Role of the Human and Social Sciences in Modern Societies, 1880–1980*, ed., Kerstin Brückweh, Dirk Schumann, Richard F. Wetzell, and Benjamin Ziemann (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012), 51.

[48] In 1949 in Italy has been approved the Law 43 *Piano Fanfani* which initiated a plan for post-war reconstruction of low-cost housing and neighborhoods, managed by INA-Casa .

The tension between the growing demand for public input in urban planning and state-led planning and its "social" planning ideology, which sought to achieve distributive justice, was highlighted by Stefan Couperus[49] (Couperus and Kaal 2016). White continued, saying, "Community is a living and vital reality, but because it is of the spirit, free, and intangible, it cannot be planned, just as freedom cannot be planned." [50]

With regard to the second strand of meaning, Colin Ward, in *Tenants Take Over* (1974), speaks of self-production of one's own living habitat in a collaborative and communitarian form in which individuals take responsibility for creating, managing, and maintaining spaces, activating the production of new forms of living[51].

Community relates to autonomy and self-organization, i.e., empowerment of the individual and a sharing of needs and intentions with other fellow citizens.

As John Turner says in *Housing by people* (1978), "who provides and who decides?" in which he contrasts the heteronomy of centralized planning with the autonomy of communities in the production of their own habitats and all personal services of a local nature. Colin Ward also speaks of *community architecture* that is embodied in a network of concrete and changing relationships with contexts, places, climates, biographies, bureaucracies, energy, and environmental issues of active practices.

"The New Communes are self-sufficient communities where skilled employees cooperatively drive industry and restructure both work and personal life with psychological, moral, and technical considerations", according to Paul and Percival Goodman's Communitas, ways of livelihood and means of living, a cult from the 1970s. (Goodman e Goodman 1960, 153). The communities co-exist in decentralized federalism and propose a neo-functionalism.

It is necessary to inhabit the community to know what binds from what simply assembles, states Paolo Venturi in *Urban Regeneration (2022)*. Community flourishes on intentionality capable of founding collaborative action.

Many dilemmas also come out about communities as housing and commons producers. Why are they working on volunteer basis in the production of welfare while there are public administrations that should deal with it? Have they the right knowledge and tools? For what kind of citizens and social class are communities working? (Chiodelli and Baglione 2013).

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[49] Couperus, in his work In Search of the Social: Neighborhood and Community in Urban Planning in Europe and Beyond, 1920-1960, issued on the Journal of Urban History, treat the theme of community-led housing.
[50] L. E. White, *Community or Chaos: Housing Estates and Their Social Problems* (London: National Council of Social Service, 1950), 42
[51] As taken up and explored by De Carlo in *La piramide rovesciata*, De Donato, Bari, 1968

To move on to Housing and in order to give a perimeter to the research here follows a frame that aims to define Community-Led Housing within which the cases analyzed are contained.

The definition's construction begins with a study of the literature given the wide range of residential building forms promoted and managed by communities.

Numerous terminology and meanings with various nuances are used, such as "self-organization," " developing neighborhoods in addition to homes," and "distinct weight given to the values of partnership, community organization, cooperation, and citizen participation." (Mullins e Moore 2018, 2) (L. Tummers 2016) (D.-U. Vestbro 2010) (Fromm 2012). There is a lack of thorough or comparative study on different types of self-organized housing provision, which is illustrated by the multiple classifications that exist (Mullins e Moore 2018, 2).

In particular, the locution of community-led housing found a recent definition proposed jointly *by UK National Community Land Trust Network* and by *the UK Cohousing Network.* It was based on three main ideas:1. Consent and meaningful community involvement are obtained throughout the process 2. The residences are owned, run, and maintained by the local community group or organization in accordance with their preferences. 3. The advantages to the neighborhood and community must be specifically identified and legally safeguarded in perpetuity[52].

This research defines the term ***community-led housing (CLH)* as 'housing shaped by an active community, from below, and managed by the same community - at least for the pilot/pioneer project of a model - and then structured (economic, legal, social form, professionalization) and replicated.'**
Communities are viewed as sense-makers in the creation of non-profit, rooted alternative housing models, developing creative and useful projects and tools, capable of creating lifestyles that more effectively meet progressive goals for gender equality, environmental sustainability, and demographic transition while also meeting the complex socio-economic, health, and environmental requirements of individuals, communities, and cities in the twenty-first century.

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[52] For the definition see the http://www.community-landtrusts.org.uk/newa-and-events/community-led-housing-conference/what-is-community-led-housing. In November 2017 took place the first National community-led Housing conference organized by UK National Community Land Trust Network and by the UK Cohousing Network.
Or Davis, J.E., Algoed L., Hernandez-Torrales, M.E., (2020), On Common Ground. International Perspective on the community Land trust, Tierra Nostra Press, Wisconsin, Usa, p130

Looking at the international literature, some authors give their definition of community-led. By following the studies of Mullins (2018), he makes reference to the term "community-led housing," which is frequently used in England and is defined as "housing shaped and controlled by a group that represents the residents and the wider community" in a policy-oriented research. (Mullins e Moore 2018, 2) [53]. This broader label has been deployed in attempts at field integration between cooperatives, community land trusts, collaborative housing, and self-help groups (Mullins e Moore 2018, 2).

Lang and Stoeger (2018) and Czischke (2018) also mention the expanding use of a different phrase in mainland Europe: *collaborative housing*, as documented by Mullins and Moore. In place of the English term community-led housing, this is rapidly replacing the umbrella term of co-housing[54] to designate a variety of self-organized, community-oriented activities (Mullins e Moore 2018, 2).

Community-led is also tied to the concept of social innovation as cited in Cabrè et al. (2018). Professor Lidevij Tummers highlight how most examples of community-led housing are non-market-oriented housing project and are considered a valuable response to the chronic housing crisis[55]. They provide new solutions for improving access to adequate, sustainable homes and can enable residents to put their own housing needs before private profits.

According to Lang and Stoeger (2018), "organizations cannot be primarily defined by the traditional principles of the cooperative or co-housing movement nor by their purely community-led nature," which is why the name "collaborative housing" is more applicable in nations like Austria. They argue that the term "community-led" may not adequately describe all project types. (Mullins e Moore 2018, 2) [56].

However, there are groups to which that label would apply well (as the cases examined in this study demonstrate), such as the "Mietshauser Syndikat" movement, which originated in Germany and is currently active in Austria, the Netherlands, and France and engages in "direct action and prefigurative politics" (Mullins e Moore 2018, 2). According to Madden and others, the Residential is

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[53] (Heywood, 2016, 8)
[54] Many authors in Europe prefer to use the new term collaborative housing as for example the id22 handbook Co-housing cultures, 2012.
[55] Tummers 2016, 2023
[56] Lang and Stoeger, 2018

political. Marcuse (2016) as Semi stresses about the return of the housing question (Semi, 2017) and the bottom up answers.

While there is a multiplication of CLH cases, there is also a multiplication of meanings of the practices produced. The rising commercialisation of CLH housing contrasts with the utopian, wished-for environments, projects that become urban oasis with conflicting consequences of gentrification, and programs that truly attempt to generate affordability and social inclusion. Most authors, in Chiodelli's opinion, exaggerate co-housing's advantages. His research describes an overlap with "gated communities," which could have detrimental consequences on the neighborhood. (L. Tummers 2017, 64, Chiodelli and Baglione 2013) Chiodelli, however, mostly contrasted the value systems on paper and formal organizations of various housing efforts, although key distinctions lie in the daily routines and architectural aspects, such as whether or not to make the common gardens or services available to the public. In contrast to gated communities, which are the result of top-down speculative schemes, cohousing often follows a grassroots paradigm, according to Ruiu's comparative analysis. (L. Tummers 2017, 64, Ruiu 2014)

As mentioned above, besides community-led housing, there is a multitude of terms that, in different countries and different historical moments, define housing models produced, managed, and claimed by communities with different degrees of autonomy, participation, and activism.

Since the 2000s, a number of scholars, academic and non-academic research groups, have been trying to order and estimate the quantities of these 'co' housing projects, not without difficulty.
As Tummers points out, 'co' housing models rarely exceed 5%, or even 1% of the housing stock in the Northern European countries[57] and as the research carried out by Homers lab in Turin shows, in Italy the percentage drops to 0.0003%.[58]. Moreover Tummers says "The lack of validated quantitative evidence does little to support the "believers" who claim that "co" housing is the "third way of living of the (near) future." On the other hand, the argument put out by "cynics," who prefer to write off the "co" housing trend as a current trend for a privileged minority, is even less convincing.." (L. Tummers 2017, 65)

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57 Tummers, 2016, 2028
58 Here is possible to consult the map of the Italian distribution of the co-housing:
https://www.housinglab.it/mappa. The authors are Silvia Cafora, Ludovica Rolando, Chiara Gambarana, Liat Rogel.

	French	English	German	Dutch	Spanish
CO	• Habitat groupé • Habitat partagé • Cohabitat • Cooperatives d'habitants • Habitat communotaire	• Cohousing • Housing co-op • Intentional communities	• Wohngemeinschaft • Genossenschaften • Wohngruppe (fur senioren)	• Samenhuizen • Woongroepen (voor ourden) • Collectief Particulier opdrachgeverschap • Central wonen	• Viviendas cooperativas
AUTO	• Habitat participatif • Habitat autogéré • Auto-promotion • Auto-construccion • Squat	• Self-help housing • Self-managed housing • Squat	• Baugruppe • Hausbesetzer	• Zelfbeheer • Bouwen in eigen beheer • Kraken	• Autogestionada • Okupa
ECO	• Ecohabitat • Ecovillages • Ecoquartier	• Ecohabitat • Eco-villages • Eco-district	• Okodorf	• Eco-dorp	• Ecobarrio

TAB D: International terminology for collaborative housing (Bresson, 2013; Tummers, 2015). Cit in (L. Tummers 2017, 56)

The lack of quantitative data, which is partially caused by the broad and ambiguous definition of "co" housing, is actually one of the primary issues that academics and research groups are focusing on. The review discovered that publications deal with many types of "co" housing and that this diversity, the distinctiveness of each project, is frequently emphasized, raising the question of what unites them. Bressons and Tummers elaborated a first classification (see TAB D) based on the glossary of terms used internationally that let stand out three key concepts: CO, Auto and ECO.

In order to include the wide range of practices, Vestbro suggests understanding the word "co" as collaborative, communal, and collective (Table E). He specifically states that he is not speaking to cooperatives, merely the tenure system. For instance, cooperative housing is a different, technically defined concept in the UK.

Cohousing	• Housing with common space and shared facilities
Collaborative housing	• Housing oriented towards collaboration by residents
Collective housing	• Emphasising the collective organization of services in housing
Communal housing	• Housing for togetherness and sense of community
Commune	• Living without individual apartments
Cooperative housing	• Cooperative ownership without common spaces or shared facilities, therefore not co-housing

TAB E: Proposal for definition of different types of co-housing by Vesbro, 2010, 29. Cit in (L. Tummers 2017, 56)

However, several initiatives now show increased interest in more established cooperative forms, including Genossenschaften or housing cooperatives in Italy, Spain, or Poland. (L. Tummers 2017, 59)[59]

Many research teams are creating more systematic databases that gather information on size, profile, tenure, and other factors. For instance, Fedrowitz for the German "Wohnbund"[60] or Alter-Prop[61] Vestbro for the French database both reference a Swedish database that was built in the 1990s but has not yet been published (L. Tummers 2017, 59)[62].

Another important contribution is given by the Co-Lab, TU Delft, directed by the professor Darinka Czischke. The researchers are aware that existing research on 'co' housing has been so far mainly based on qualitative case studies. So their aim is to produce a shift by introducing a strong set of quantitative data also provided by national umbrella organisations, according to a set of pre-established filters. The project is currently concentrated on nine nations: Belgium, Denmark, England and Wales, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland. These nations have well-established collaborative housing types and are represented by national umbrella organizations.

[59] Coudroy de Lille L (2015) Housing cooperatives in Poland. The origins of a deadlock. Journal of Urban Research and Practice 8(1): 17–31.
60 available at: www.gemeinsha- flicheswohnen.de, accessed June 2021.
61 available at: http://alter-prop.crevilles-dev.org, accessed June 2021.
62 Vestbro D (2000) From collective housing to cohousing – A summary of research. Journal of Architectural and Planning Research 17(2): 164–177

They have produced a map and a taxonomy (see TAB F) of the several European 'co' housing models from the most generalist terms, as collaborative housing, to the specific national ones, as Cooperativa en cession de uso. They are elaborating a set of definitions based on general or national meaning of the different housing models while they are tiring to create a common alphabet about 'Co' housing.

Here follows few definitions that are largely used now among the housing research and production.

According to Ferreri and Vidal (2021, 7), the word "collaborative housing" can be seen of as a catch-all phrase that refers to a number of housing configurations with various levels of communal self-organization.
For this kind of housing to be realized, there must be a high level of engagement between (future tenants) and external actors and/or stakeholders (Ferreri and Vidal 2021, 7). Collaboration in this sense refers to a coordinated effort toward a single objective. This partnership may start at several points in the project's development, including its conception, design, and construction, and it may even extend to the regular upkeep and administration of the housing. Forms of cooperative housing might differ in terms of tenure, governing laws, and organizational traits. High levels of social interaction among inhabitants and the presence, in varying degrees, of common objectives and motivations among the traits that bring them together in relation to the housing project are ecological sustainability and social inclusion. These principles frequently also apply to the project's immediate surroundings.[63]
Eco-villages are intentional communities that are primarily driven by the desire to maintain a natural, ecological, sustainable lifestyle and to produce the least possible negative impact on the natural environment. The social organisation of residents varies. The residents share ideological values, collective self-organisation and a high degree of cooperation, including an exchange of services in daily life while maintaining autonomy for each home. In some cases, it includes the organisation of working groups, focused on working the land or the forest. In terms of spatial organisation, the projects are mostly private and autonomous single-family houses (existing village houses) often organised around a common space, or shared rooms with a separate building for common use (e.g. collective kitchen, meetings). In some cases, these projects are self-build, located in low-density rural areas or, as in

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63 Collaborative housing definition is provided by Co-Lab, TU Delft, https://mapping.co-lab-research.net/taxonomy

Shared definitions

Local designations (country)

- Co-housing (UK)
- Centraal Wonen / Gemeenschappelijk wonen (NL)
- Bofællesskab (DK)
- Co-wonen (BL)
- Kollektivhus (SE)
- Vivienda Colaborativa (ES)

Cohousing
living together
with independent units

- Senior co-housing (UK)
- Groepswonen voor Ouderen (NL)
- Seniorbofællesskab (DK)
- Kollektivhus för andra halvan av livet (SE)
- Cooperativa senior / Residencialidad Colaborativa (ES)

Community housing
goal is to live together

Senior cohousing
helping each other in
older age

- Økosamfund / Økolandsby (DK)
- Éco-village (FR)
- Eco-Aldea (ES)
- Ekoby (SE)

Eco-villages
alternative, environmentally friendly
community

- Leefgemeenschap / woongroep (BE)
- Woongroep (NL)
- Kollektiv (DK)
- Kollektiv / Storfamilj (SE)
- Wohngemeinschaft (DE)
- Wohngemeinschaft (CH)

Living Groups
living together
as a household

- Byggemenskap (SE)
- Fællesbyg / Byggefællesskab (DK)
- Baugruppe / Baugemeinschaft (DE)
- Collectief particulier opdrachtgeverschap - CPOs (NL)
- Self-build housing (UK)
- Habitat groupé (BE)

**Collective self-development
(building groups)**
developing housing together

- Self-help housing (UK)
- Masovería o Aparcería Urbana (ES)

Collective self-help
redeveloping empty property

- Almenbolig + (DK)
- Mietshäuser Syndikat (DE)
- Habitat solidaire (BE)
- Habitat pariticipatif social (FR)
- Stiftung (DE)

Non-profit housing
affordable housing

Collaborative housing

- Mietergenossenschaft (Germany)
- Beheer-Wooncoöperatie (NL)
- Tenant management co-operatives (UK)

Rental cooperatives

- Cooperativa de Cesión de uso / Cooperativa de derecho de uso (ES)
- Ownership Cooperative (UK)
- Collectieve-koop of Vastgoedcoöperatie (NL)
- Andelsbolig (DK)
- Habitat coopératif (BE)
- Wohngenossenschaft / Cooperative d'abitazione / Cooperative d'habitation (CH)
- (Wohnbau)Genossenschaft (DE)
- Coopérative d'habitants / Société Coopérative d'Habitants (FR)

Collective self-provision
goal is to create user-defined
(affordable) housing together

Housing cooperatives
autonomy

**Ownership/shared
equity cooperatives**

- Community Land Trusts (BE)
- Community Land Trusts (UK)
- Organisme de foncier solidaire - OFS (FR)

Community Land Trusts
affordable land and housing

TAB F: taxonomy of the recent emergence of community-led housing models. Co-Lab, Mapping project.
(Darinka Czchischke)

the Spanish case, the projects are located in abandoned country houses or villages, which often creates land ownership problems. These forms vary greatly in terms of tenure and legal form.[64]

As Tummers reports: "As intentional communities where environmental sustainability is sought with social justice, peace, etc., Metcalf explains the history of eco-villages as such. He hopes his "rules of thumb" will assist intentional communities in becoming a paradigm for sustainable living." (L. Tummers 2017, 58)[65].

Community Land Trusts can be broadly defined as non-profit, locally based, democratically run organization that make possible and preserve access to land as a common good for various needs and rights, such as dwelling and productive activities. Practically, CLTs withdraw and permanently retain land from speculative markets through an affordability mechanism. Beyond a great variety of forms and functions, the fundamental principle at the base of the CLT model is the division of land ownership from the construction property (Davis, 2010). The land belongs - held in trust - to the CLT and is never sold, while the buildings belong to subjects of various kinds - associations, cooperatives, and individuals.[66]

Housing Cooperative[67] is a 'container' term to describe a particular legal form with historical and political roots. Old cooperatives are more conventional and with a lower degree of self-organisation, and 'new cooperatives', which belong to a new generation of cooperatives, are usually smaller and often resident-led or at least with a high degree of collective self-organisation from the conception to the management of the building. Both types have affordability as one of the main drivers, while the new ones are also based on innovation, solidarity, and diversity. According to their baseline definition, old housing cooperatives without self-organisation do not fall under the umbrella of collaborative housing. Sub-forms of housing cooperatives are defined by tenure types and their profit/non-for-profit condition.

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[64] Eco-villages definition is provided by Co-Lab, TU Delft, https://mapping.co-lab-research.net/taxonomy
[65] Metcalf W (2004) *The Findhorn Book of Community Living*. Forres: Findhorn Press, 88. Available at: http://www.findhornpress.com/index.php?main_page=product_info&products_id=87.
[66] Definition by the author
[67] Housing Cooperatives definition is provided by Co-Lab, TU Delft, https://mapping.co-lab-research.net/taxonomy.

Rental Cooperative: Subform where households pay a rent to the cooperative of renters, while the housing can be either owned by the same cooperative, a municipal company or private provider. Eg. UK Tenant management co-operative

Shared equity cooperative: a subform in which households buy a cooperative "share." The cooperative grants each member the right to reside in a housing unit and the ability to cast a vote on issues of shared interest. The building's management and administration are shared among cooperative members.Eg. Catalan cooperative en cession de uso, Italian cooperative a proprietà indivisa

Cohousing. While, for the term *co-housing,* the suffix "co" may indicate collaborative, cooperative, collective, or communal, the word *Cohousing* has a specific meaning relating to the house's production, design, management, and use. Cohousing is a housing model that combines the autonomy of self-contained private dwellings with the advantages of extensive common facilities and services, shared resources and community living. Residents, who form an intentional community, have a decisive participation role in the design and the development process, the complete management of their community, and, typically, share periodical activities. Primary common characteristics are multifunctionality; resident's self-organisation and management; a non-hierarchical structure regulated by constitutional and operational rules of a private nature; design for social contact; values characterisation (Chiodelli & Baglione, 2014; Falkenstjerne Beck, 2019; Fromm, 1991; Giorgi, 2020; McCamant & Durrett, 1988; Meltzer, 2005). [68]

This research, dealing with community-led housing, started from Bresson and Tummers' schematisation and expanded the terminology by country (TAB D-G).

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68 This definition comes from a study for the ENHR annual conference 2022 contained in the paper and presentation In Search of Fair And Collaborative Housing Models For The Italian Context by Silvia Cafora and Ludovica Rolando.

English	Spanish	Belgium	French	German	Dutch	Italian	Danish	Swiss
Community-led housing				Gemeinschaftlich Wohnen				
Cohousing	Covivienda (cohabitatge)	Habitat groupé	Habitat groupé	Cohousing siedlung Wohngemeinshaft	Centraal wonen Gemeenschappelijk wonen	Coabitazione Cohousing	Bofaellesskab	Cohousing
Cooperative housing	Cooperativa de viviendas	Habitat Coopératif	Hibitat groupé/ coopératif Coopérative d'habitations	(Wohnbau) Genossenschaft Mietergenossenschaft	Collectieve-koop of Vastgoedcoöperatie	Cooperativa d'abitanti	Andelsbolig	Wohngenossen-schaften / Cooperative d'abitazione / Cooperati-ve d'habitation
Collective housing	Vivienda dotacional	Collectieve huisvesting	Logements collectifs		Collectief wonen	Abitare collettivo	Kollektivhuse	
Community land trust	CLT	CLT	Organisme de foncier solidaire	CLT	CLT	CLT	CLT	CLT
Radical Routes			Le Clip	Mietshauser Syndikat	Vrijcop		Almenbolig +	
Self-help housing	Masovería Aparcería Urbana	Habitat solidaire	Auto-promotion Habitat autogéré		Zelfbeheer	Autorganizzazione		Habitat autogéré
Self-build Housing	Vivienda Autoge-stionada	Habitat groupé	Habitat participatif	Baugruppe / Baugemeinschaft	Kraken/Collectief particulier opdrachtge-verschap/Bouwen in eigen beheer	Autorecupero	Fællesbyg / Byggefællesskab	
Condominium	Vivienda colectiva	Auto-construccion		Wohnhouse		Condominio solidale	Ejierlejilighed	
Squat	Ocupa - Squat	Squat	Squat	Hausbesetzer -Squat	Squat	Occupazione-Squat	Squat	Squat
Eco-habitat	Ecobarrio	Ecohabitat	Ecohabitat	Okodorf	Eco-dorp	Ecovillaggio Ecoquartiere	Økosamfund / Økolandsby	
Eco-village		Ecovillages	Ecovillages					

TAB G: housing terminology and transfer from one nation to the other from one language to the other.
Elaboration by the author.

The impulses towards community-led housing production. A recent timeline of facts from political and architectural perspectives.

The history of community housing projects has been attempted by numerous authors, mostly architects, from the inception to the present. The practice of depicting collective housing as the product of a "evolutionary chain," always developing and open to redefinition, despite the reality that each project is based on a specific context, was made possible by architects' ubiquitous internationalist beliefs. This section's initial objective is to identify various types of community housing initiatives through a review of the literature. (Coricelli 2019, 67).

Then the research extrapolates some key projects beneficial for the narrative of the impulses toward community-led housing production in a recent timeline from the 1980' till the present. The aim is not to produce an exhaustive timeline or attempt to identify a clear-cut, linear narrative for community-led housing. Instead of highlighting various projects from widely different contexts, it endeavors to probe historical contours and resonances based on forms, objects, processes or organizations.

Dick Vestbro created a thematic timeline organized into three main sections to show the historical development of social housing.

Collective housing is defined by Vestbro as housing for non-selected categories of people who eat or cook together in shared rooms connected to the private apartments by an indoor connection (D. U. Vestbro 2008, 1). Collective housing is examined here beginning at the end of the 19th century to observe the triggering of the need for shared and collective housing. He gathered in the graphic the initiatives promoting "rational life," "the ideal home," and a suggestion of "ecological goal." (Coricelli 2019, 77)

It's vital to note that, despite the diagram's degree of simplicity, this taxonomy is intended to focus mostly on cohousing prototypical communities. highlighting as major initiatives Otto Fick's Kollektivhus in Copenhagen (1903), which introduced the central-kitchen typology, and the Einküchenhaus in German-speaking nations (Coricelli 2019, 78). It emphasises how the birth of the central kitchen house triggers a new typology of living, a new way of understanding the home, not only composed of private spaces but common and shared ones, as well as extending the work of care to all residents and not only to women (D. U. Vestbro 2008, 1).
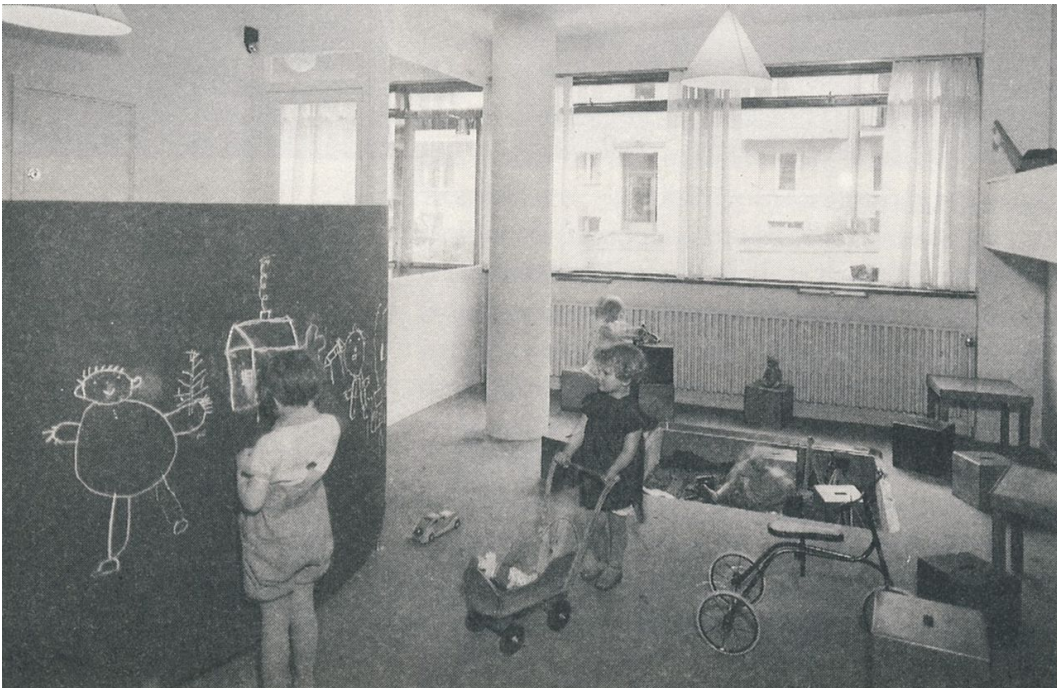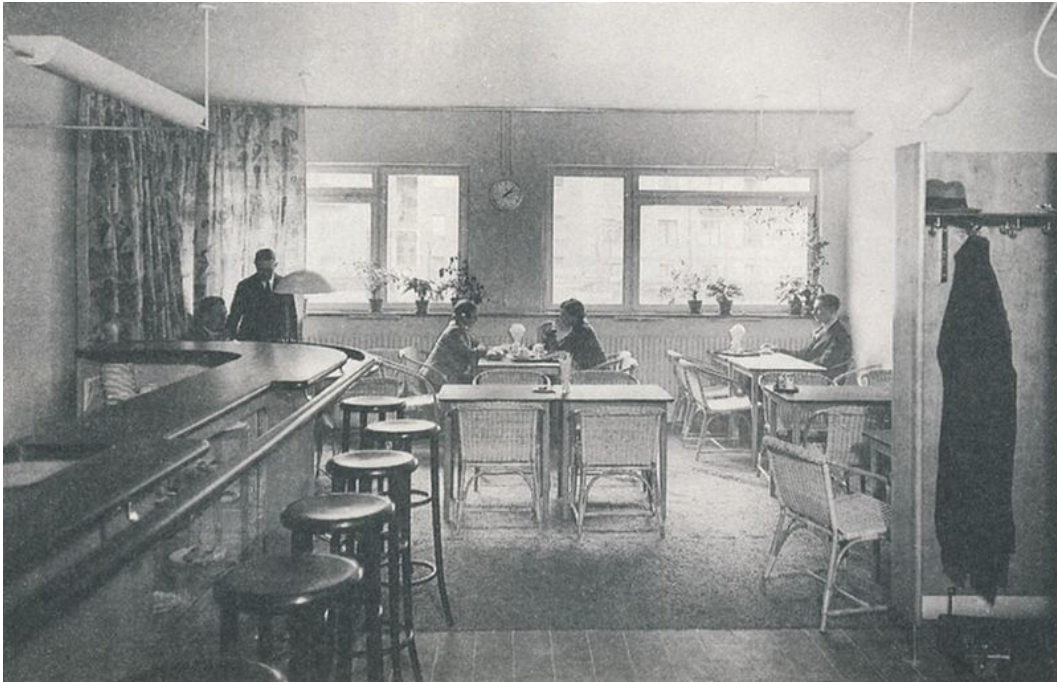
FIG 6: Sven Markelius' Kollektivhus, central kitchen house. Svezia, John Ericssonsgatan 6, Kungsholmen. 1936. From Vestbro, 2008 From Central Kitchen to Community Co-Operation - Development of Collective Housing in Sweden

He identifies Denmark in the 1970s as the first experiment in collaborative settlement (with studies by McCamant&Durret, 1988,135; From, 1991; Milman, 2004). He shows how this is intrinsic to the cultural and political climate of those years in which the issue of housing was very much at the forefront of protest in Europe and North America, a period marked by radical contestations of the bourgeois way of life and a profound revision of socio-cultural models. Debate to which several texts contributed *The missing link between Utopia and the dated one-family house* by Gudmand-Hoyer (1968) or *Children should have one hundred parents* by Bodil Graae (1967) (Hagbert, et al. 2019, 76)[69].

He highlights the projects developed by the Swedish feminist collective BIG (*Bo I Gemenskap*, living together), which from the late 1950s elaborated the *self-work model* that became established in the late 1970s and contemporary to the Danish *bofaelleskaber* (living community) first rational experiments in cohousing. The BIG collective also published the book *Det Lilla Kollektivhuset* (the small cohousing) in 1982, which contains guidelines that were also adopted by Swedish public administrations, which from the 1980s onwards, began to embrace this way of conceiving collective living. BIG also proposed the first senior-cohousing model.

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[69] This textes are also cited in Hagbert, P., Larsen, H.G., Thörn, H., & Wasshede, C. (Eds.). (2019). 4
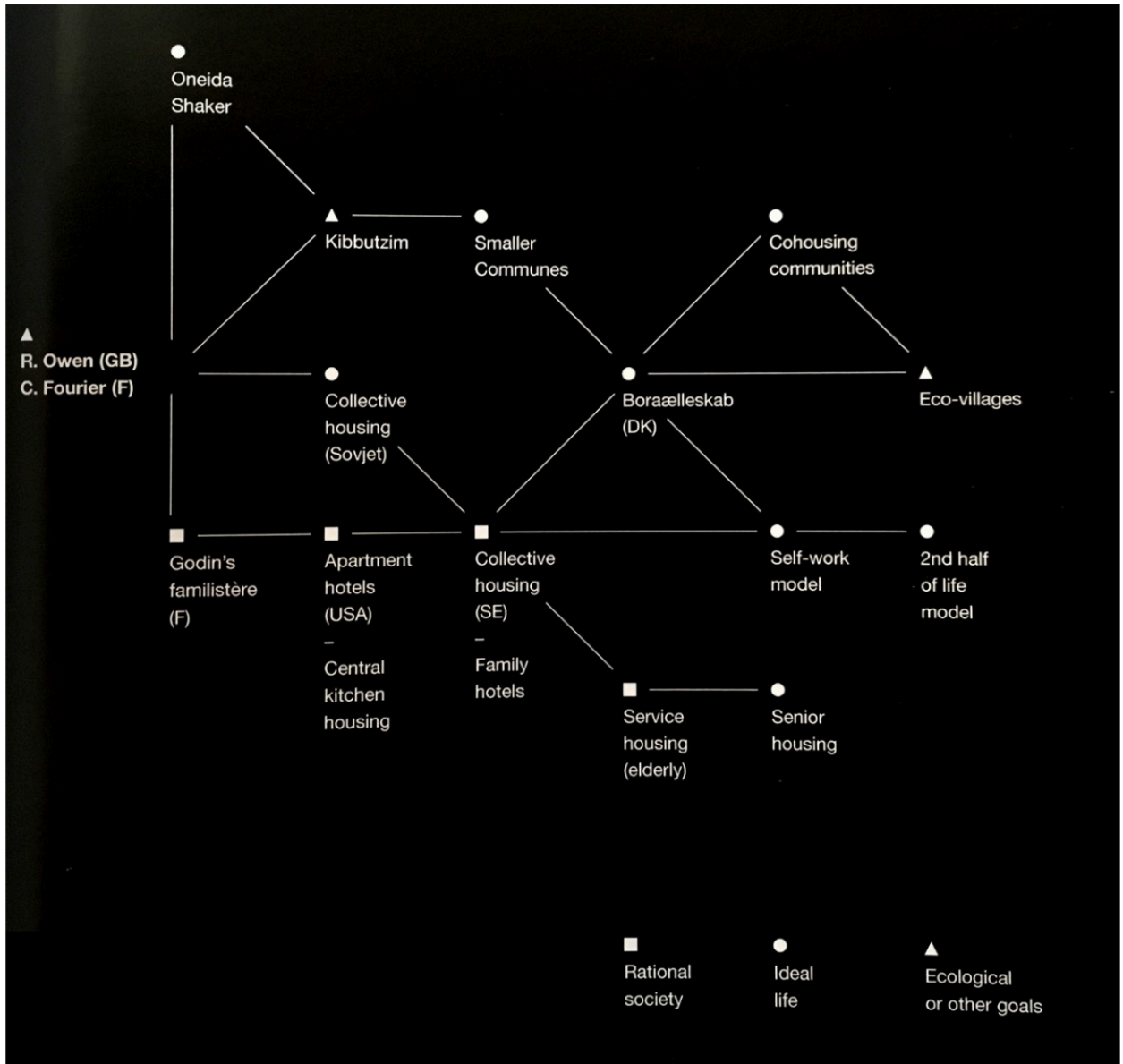
FIG 7: Historical evolution of the collective residence Outline by Prof. D. U. Vestbro (J. Gresleri, Cohousing, Plug-in 2015)

The exhibition Together! displayed at the Vitra Museum in 2017 featured a more thorough evolutionary timeline. The timeline's 10 categories, which confirm the majority of the initiatives stated by Vestbro, are as follows: (Kries 2017). 1. Utopian Communities 2. Reform initiatives in the 19th century 3. Collective action Garden City Movement 4. Central-kitchen home/Serviced Home 6. Experiment with Modernist Housing Megastructures/Postwar Modernism, number seven Design that involves participation 8. Scandinavian co-housing 10. Oppositional movements.

The writers made an effort to include publications and cultural movements that encouraged new experiments in collaborative housing construction in this more complicated articulation (Coricelli 2019, 78).

This lineage gives space, among others, to the Countercultural movements with their different realizations as the *Berlin Kommune 1* (1967-69), the *Freetown of Christiania* at Copenhagen (1971), and the *Zurich squat movement* of the 1990'. They write, "From 1990 onwards, projects emerged in Switzerland that are inspired by the communal ideals of the squat" [70]. Starting from this statement, they give space to the neo-cooperatives of the 1990', with the *Genosssssenschaft Karthago* in Zurich 1991, to the more contemporary housing cooperatives in Vienna, Geneve, Barcelona, and Paris.

The last section of the exhibition is dedicated to the architecture of the collective with a more recent collection of European housing projects – cooperatives, baugruppe, cohousing, CLT- and an analysis of the new housing typologies and features.

The latter affirms that this re-invention of collective housing has been triggered by three parallel but possibly related developments:

    a.changing demographics
    b.the renaissance of the city as a hub for a new collectivity
    c.the sharing culture

All of these three major trends, they affirm, have triggered a fascinating search for new housing typologies and programs in contemporary architecture that is taking place on three levels:

1. At the level of the individual apartment, with the emergence of cluster apartments
2. At the level of the apartment building, individual apartments are being supplemented by an eclectic mix of shared domestic facilities that can be used collectively by all inhabitants
3. At the level of urban space, apartment buildings are being constructed that offer public programs catering explicitly to people living in the neighborhood.

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[70] Kries et al. 2017, Together! the new architecture of the collective. Berlin, Ruby Press, 55.
This was also a motto held in the exhibition at Vitra.
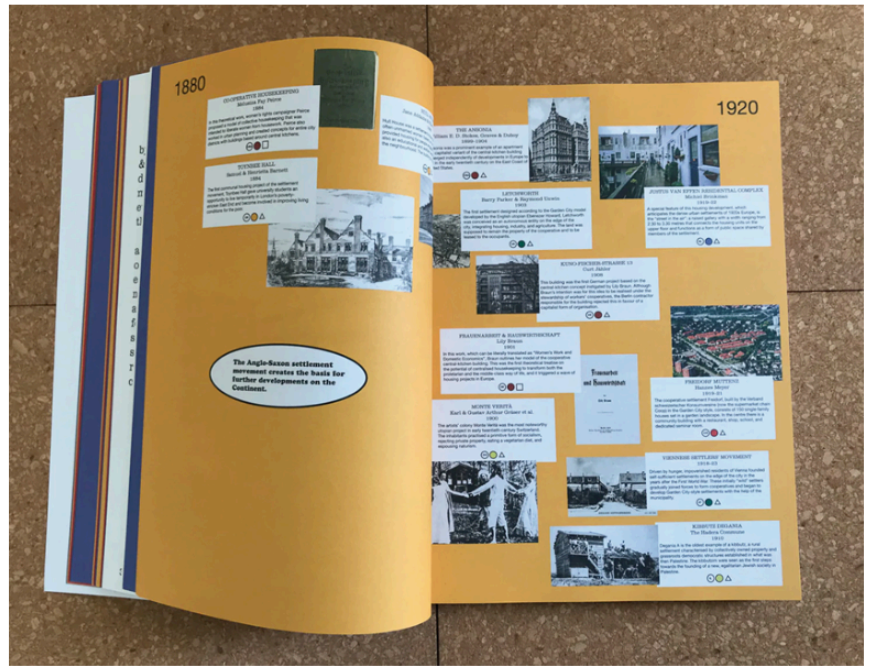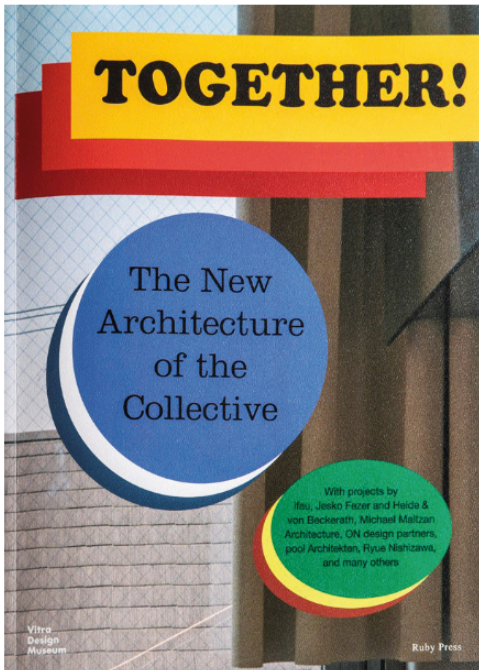
FIG 8: Upper Page, Together! Exhibition at Vitra Museum. Under Page. Amaneceres Domesticos, Exhibition at ICO Museum, Madrid.

A new exhibition that has just ended at the ICO museum in Madrid, *Amaneceres domésticos* (Domestic Dawns) is the result of extensive research conducted by the Grupo de Investigación de Vivienda Colectiva (GIVCO) of the Universidad Politécnica de Madrid and the Master of Collective Housing (MCH) offered by the same university in collaboration with the ETH Zurich. Curated by Carmen Espegel, Andrés Cánovas and José María Lapuerta in particular, the exhibition distils the content of the publication *HOUSETAG. European Collective Housing 2000-2021*, which collects 54 case studies and defines them in 19 categories. The exhibition aims to answer the question *What is the vocabulary that characterises European collective housing in the 21st century?* And it does so by using 28 of the selected case studies grouped into 7 categories: 1. Domestic Care, 2. Active Recharging, and 3. Climate Awareness 4. New Leadership, 5. Sharing and Existing, 7. Iconic Personas. The exhibit displays the core ideas of the new habitability being created in European communal housing at the start of the twenty-first century.[71]

It proposes well-known recent collective housing projects, whether Spanish such as *La Borda* by Lacol, or European such as *El Frøsilo* by MVRD in Copenhagen, *L'arbre Blac* in Montpelier by Sou Foujimoto, the Co-housing - *Wohnprojek*t in Wien. It offers a mosaic of European collective and community-led housing projects by delving deeply into aspects of architectural design.

Many projects are recurrent between the different timelines. By bringing them together, one can compose a single timeline from the late 19th century to the present, showing an increasing curve in collective and alternative housing production. Vestbro analyses from the 19th century up to the early 2000s. Together acts as a link and sink into the contemporary up to 2017. *Almanecer domesticos* shows the great collective housing production of the last 20 years.

They also show an evolution of the concept of collective housing by highlighting some recurring key aspects between the different historical moments:

The political trigger of projects in response to a housing, social, and economic crisis and the need for redemption (working class, women);

The emergence of renewed family models and obsolescence of housing types on the market;

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[71] See https://www.amaneceresdomesticos.es/: *The common disciplinary tools used in the 20th century to design housing have become obsolete. Understanding the house exclusively from the physical context, the programme or its typology is not the way to provide effective solutions to current demands. Social diversity, mixed uses, new management systems, the use of shared spaces and the sustainability of the construction and rehabilitation of old infrastructures are the issues that today's housing design must take into account from the beginning of the project. For this reason, it is necessary to explore and delve deeper into new ways of living and different social behaviours in order to understand domesticity.*

The search for a more shared and sustainable housing alternative.

It is also helpful for this research to note how the historical moments of the projects chosen by the lineages coincide with socio-economic and political events that also influenced housing production.

In particular, looking at a recent chronology, Tummers, 2016[72] and Guidarini, 2018[73] point to the 1980s as a new trigger for the production of community-led housing and, more generally, of collective housing in Europe and identify some pivotal factors:

The 1980s saw an increase in market deregulation and a deepening of the housing crisis. The English *Housing Act* and Thatcher's *Right to Buy* mirror the European housing scene. At this time, the post-industrial city begins with the closure of large city factories, rising unemployment rates, and the abandonment of large urban fringes devoted to industry. The counterculture born at the end of the 1960s takes on a new vigor in the late 1980s, with new student and militant movements claiming the right to the city and housing.

The 1990s saw finance introduction into the housing market - in countries like England and Germany -which exacerbated market deregulation and the shrinking of housing rights. Moreover, laws were enacted to privatize public property and the possibility of selling cooperative assets. [74] Within the counterculture and squat movements, but also some public administrations -such as the Nordic Countries- a New Commons wave emerges, driven also by Eleanor Ostrom's publication[75] with the birth of a renewed cooperative movement in some European cities -such as Zurich, Geneva, London-.

The Global Housing Crisis of 2008, stemming from the U.S. subprime crisis, exacerbates the commodification and financialization of housing and increases the segregation of the urban population towards the suburbs (Arbaci 2017)(Arbaci, 2019). Since then, there has been a significant push and production of community-led housing and, generally, a search for housing alternatives that are not only bottom-up.

Finally, the research extrapolates some key lineages beneficial for the narrative of the impulses toward community-led housing production from the 1970' till the present:

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[73]Guidarini in New Urban Housing. Labitare condiviso in Europa, 2018, explain the socio-economic and political situation in Zurich and Swiss that triggers the new housing movents. He also provide a comparison with all the EU.

[74] As it happened in Italy with the laws 560/1993 for the sell of public housing and the law Botta Guidarini 1992 for the privatization of undivided property cooperatives.

[75] Eleonor Ostrom (1990) *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

The emergence of cohousing in the late 1970s, with projects like *Saettedammen* (1972) *and Jystrup Savvaerk* (1984), is the culmination of projects such as *the self-work model, central kitchen* of the 1950s. It emerged as a solution to the housing market and Danish housing policies to solve the relational problems of post-industrial society (McCamant, 1988). A rational and pragmatic response to the need for greater autonomy, reduction of female domestic care, and building a community with a strong sense of belonging. On the other, it is constantly evolving and expanding with projects such as *Lang Eng* (2009) or *Vindmøllebakken* (2019), whose architects curated the Nordic Pavilion at the last Venice Architecture Biennale 2021.

The counterculture identified by the lineages as a European cultural and political movement from the late 1960s to the late 1990s opened a great season of criticism towards the housing models proposed by the market and housing policies and produced young communities of activists in many European urban realities. From Freiburg to Geneva, from London to Paris, from Berlin to Turin, publications such as P.M.'s famous *BoloBolo* book in Zurich[76] and occupations of derelict buildings producing community housing models and DIY culture were born. In some cities, this is where the neo-cooperativism of the 1990s was born, which is still developing today with strong anarchist ideals in cities such as the aforementioned Geneva with the La Codha co-ops, Freiburg with Mietshauser Syndikat, Zurich with Kathago, and Kraftwerk. Finally, the last fifteen years have also seen a flourishing of neo-cooperativism in southern Europe, such as in Catalonia and particularly Barcelona, with the cooperatives in right-to-use as LaBorda.

By using Vestbro's model, we believe that since projects with a "Ecological goal" are typically located in rural areas and frequently have the primary goal of isolating themselves from mainstream culture, they are typically anti-urban and self-sufficient microcosms (Coricelli 2019, 81). He delineates a direct line from the Utopist Owen and Fourier in the 19th century to the ecovillages of the early 2000s. There is also another cluster of projects that has affinities, the development of CLT in Europe, first in the U.K. in the rural area as an anti turistification tool, and later in urban areas as for the Graby 4 street CLT, till the Spanish production started in 2022.

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[76] See Chapter 4.4. Biography 3: Kraftwerk Housing Cooperatives in Zurich. From the utopia of Bolo Bolo to not-for-profit housing and architectural innovation

Alternative housing models and strategy. A new wave of collective housing production from 2008.

Taking the last consistent wave of collective housing production in Europe, since 2008, it is here introduced a frame of their main characteristics that will be later, in chapter 3 and 4, deepened.

The majority of empirical case studies show active and diverse communities that create and maintain inexpensive living environments, supporting the growing perception of community-led housing as a feasible model for urban development. However, the numbers are small, and the claims have yet to be supported by quantitative data. (Ferreri and Vidal 2021, 22, Hagbert, et al. 2019, L. Tummers 2017).

As expressed in the previous paragraphs, the understanding of alternative housing models as pioneers is indeed limited.

Many of them have existed for decades and have been reproduced in various generations of experiences and consolidated in organisational forms or models that transmit their know-how.

In order to analyze them it can be useful to bring three levels of lecture: the micro-level of organizations that frame the production of *process tools* that put in practice the economical, legal, political and social innovations and, *project tools,* that answer to the new needs of dwelling spaces; the meso-level of stakeholder co-production, that frame the complex infrastructure of actors needed in the housing production project, and the macro-level of welfare regimes, or the public actor involvement as supporter or producer of alternative housing (Mullins e Moore 2018, 2).

Talking about *micro-level,* the economic tools are fundamental components.

In addition to providing social and sustainable benefits, community-led housing has the potential to fundamentally alter how we view (house) ownership. Although the capitalist system is based on property ownership, material possessions are not necessary for a fulfilling life. As Czischke stated in his article from the year 2018[77]: "In Germany, for instance, the novel Mietshäuser Syndikat method permits renters

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[77] Czischke, D.(2018), 55-81

to purchase a stake in the housing buildings that are developed under this umbrella framework. You cannot profit from selling your home because no one is the entire owner; instead, sell your portion at a reasonable price. However, as a joint owner, you have a vote in the layout of your home and the arrangement of the communal areas. Additionally, and this is crucial, your money is not tied to home ownership. People are already launching their own businesses or investing in environmentally friendly projects, which helps the economy. This alternative perspective on ownership enables people to feel safe and build a life (Hagbert, et al. 2019, 67).

In general terms, they put into practice a variety of economical instruments that are directly linked to the property rights system to generate affordable housing and to produce collective and shared forms of property, proposing an innovation with respect to the forms of ownership (public and private) provided for by Roman law (Balmer e Bernet 2015), and the forms of undivided ownership proposed by the cooperative model. An important strength of these projects is their positioning within the market regime; this allows them to access buildings and land like any other real estate, but finalizing the economic effort to the permanent exit of the assets from the speculative market with a long term perspective. Within the discourse on economic processes, it is intended to highlight how the cases analyzed can deconstruct the concept of private property as a means of generating surplus value, using legal devices already present and consolidated in the relative contexts, as cession of use cooperatives, not for profit GmbH, mixed systems that propose collective ownership and long term moderated leases, and making the ownership itself - of buildings and land - an instrument for a non speculative accessibility to building stock.

In terms **of legal tools**, the models analyzed, study and chose the better frame for the geographical context and the legal system in which they are set in order to fulfil the needs for affordable, not for profit and social inclusive housing production. There is an alternative approach to regular legal tools such as ltd, cooperative, association, trust, foundations able to discard the normal market rules of speculation over the production of building stock. The cases analyzed are also proponents of innovation in the field of legal systems, bringing new perspectives derived from researches and studies from international practices. As the case of the cession of use cooperative housing in Barcelona. Here the local community studied Danish, Canadian, German cession of use models transferring them to Spain.

RESIDENT COMMUNITY

€ € €

BUY SHARE

LEGAL SUBJECT

■ TENANTS
OWNER OF SHARES

LOW RENT
TO PAY BACK MORTGAGE

■ LTD   ■ FUNDATION
■ COOP   ■ ASSOCIATION

OWNER OF BUILDING

LAND

■ PRIVATE BUY
■ PUBLIC-LONG LEASE
■ PRIVATE-LONG LAESE

ASK FOR FUNDINGS
CREDITS/ALTERNATIVE
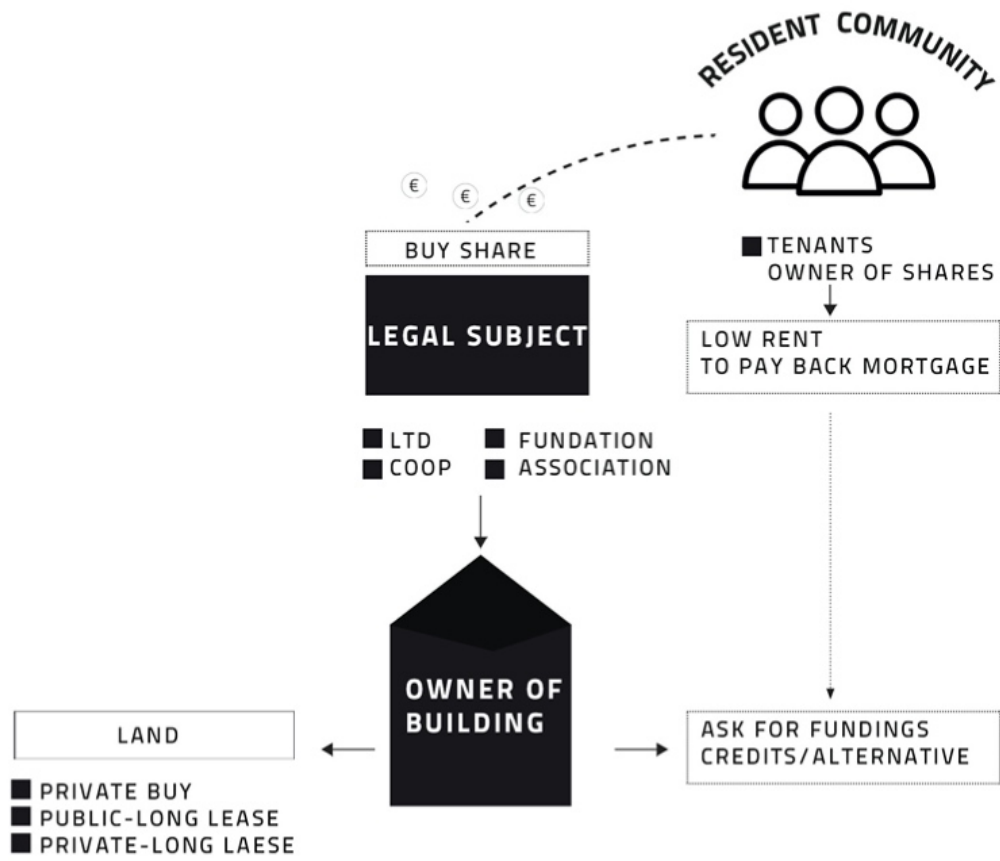
FIG 10: not-for-profit housing production diagram. Legal and economic model. Diagram by the author.

Communities follow spontaneous paths of action to activate bottom-up processes that involve networks of stakeholders (public or private institutions, professionals..) that make possible the creation of their own housing goods. Those **social processes** are able to trigger new, or different economic, social and legal forms based on self-management. Said in other words, these community movements are the first spark that trigger innovative housing production based on a set of values that mirror the contemporary needs for the living environments.

Talking at the meso-level, in order to deepen the **community-led, self-managed approaches**, it is important to investigate the concept of autonomy by bringing out two of the factors that constitute it: the stewardship of the communities and the inner governance. The communities that wish to approach the housing production with certain grades of autonomy, are not just the keepers of the resource – land or buildings—able to withdraw it from the speculative dynamics but they have the stewardship of their housing projects, a concept that brings together care and protection, enhancement, guidance and responsibility, both individual and collective (Lenna 2019)[78].

It's fascinating to understand the participants in self-organized housing's social background and status. According to Mohan & Bulloch (2012), who were cited by Mullins and Moore, there is often a "civic core" of well-connected and educated actors. As was the case with the Brussels CLT, there is also a larger participation, such as that of social housing residents, recent immigrants, and homeless individuals who need new sorts of housing. (Mullins e Moore 2018, 2).

By defining the essence of community-led housing forms as co-production through "multi-stakeholder collaboration," Czischke (2018) broadens the concept of a collaborative partnership." Community-led and self-help programs might not have been successful and might not have had access to information and resources without these primary and secondary stakeholders. The borders between the market and civic society are frequently crossed by these stakeholders. The majority of the initiatives have co-production patterns and paths of reciprocal learning between state, market, and civil society actors (Mullins e Moore 2018, 2).

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[78] In other words, stewardship means enabling residents to make the best possible use of a resource, leaving room for individual and collective creativity. It also means being able to transmit the heritage built up over time from one generation to the next. The concept of stewardship stays inside the theme of participation and touches the one of autonomy. More a community is involved in the production and management of its housing building, higher is the grade of participation in the several fields, from the co-desing, to the self building, from the financial administration to the neighbourhood involvement.

FIG 11: LaBorda housing Cooperative, Barcelona. Codesign moment, all the community is involved. Credits Lacol architects Private Archive.

Evidence suggests that established housing providers are beginning to take part in these initiatives across Europe for a variety of reasons, including the need to "refresh" their strategies by working with and learning from new grassroots actors, or the need to strengthen the local communities in which they operate. These practices are encouraging the development of new policies in favour of a communal view on housing throughout Europe (Czischke 2018).

The fundamental relation with the public actor
Real discussions regarding the interactions between the market, civil society, and the state should take place at the macro-level.

Legislative support from the city and state actors has a great importance in the moment of triggering a community-led project as said by Delz, Hehl, Ventura, (2020)[79], as the collaboration between autonomous initiatives and state actors could develop a relevant position in a historical moment that sees an immense shortage of affordable housing.

The research observes that in the last 15 years a new pluralism emerged, in which renewed public-private ecosystems for territorial and building stock regeneration for living, identify a strand of practices capable of concretising values such as subsidiarity, democracy and cooperation in response to new needs. They bring to light dynamics that unhinge the discipline of public-private collaboration based on the opposition between general interest and the economic convenience of the individual. Here, the public actor enters into a transformative circuit of mutual learning with communities and other public actors to actualise its tools and find alternatives for housing production, while the private actor is collective and cooperative and is motivated by active communities committed to regaining rights. The possibilities related to the interaction between active communities and public administrations emerge and sometimes take root with an ethic of mutual help and the exploitation of the existing potential. A rediscovery of small scale and policies developed through bottom-up procedures that operate locally in support of global objectives such as those imposed by the 2030 Agenda for Housing Right: to provide adequate, safe, and affordable housing for all.

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[79] Delz S., Hehl R., Ventura P., (2020). *Housing the co-op. A micro-political manifesto,* Ruby Press, Berlino.

The Architectural/typological innovations

From the production of the community-led projects, new questions and experiments emerge regarding the sphere of private, shared, and public living. There is a deconstruction of the Fordist model, with a predetermination of room functions, "less defined spatial systems, testing the traditional borders of privacy" as said by Andreas Hofe (Simon, Schwalfenberg, et al. 2016, 132), which produces a gradient between individual/private/personal and social/public/community, which concerns the possibilities offered by the space and what the inhabitants want.

There is a search for answers for new emerging family models as the types offered by the current market need to meet the needs.

There is new research into the lower environmental impact and greater energy sustainability, as well as a renewed focus on producing anti-hierarchical and gender-inclusive spaces.

Attention to living is high, and the public actor is also showing this by launching new competitions to try to increase the quality of the built environment in their cities.

The fact of the reproducibility and transfer of the chosen cases.

For several decades the alternative housing buildings produced by active communities never expanded over pioneer projects or transferred out of cities or national borders.

The criticalities tied to the reproduction or the transfer of projects are many. The housing alternatives produced by communities are understood by locals and internationally as pilot or pioneer projects meaning that they can find an innovative - legal, economic, social, political, and architectural- niche that suits the local context.

In this sense it is almost impossible to transfer directly the models from one nation to another and it is also complicated to scale the model inside a same Country because of the strict peculiarity of a project and of the moment in which it has been produced.

Each country, each region and each city has infact its own legal contest and its socio-economic organization and rules. Moreover every country has on the one hand its own building stock peculiarities as the property fragmentation, a specific public properties percentage, the presence of underused or disused buildings, the taxes of densification. On the other hand, there are very different situations concerning the ownership of the building stock for housing. There are countries

with the 30% of rents and the 70% of ownership, such as Italy, or, on the contrary, nations almost entirely of renters, such as Denmark.

Despite these criticalities there is today an emergence of model transfer in Europe and globally.

Scaling up a model can require a growth and institutionalization of these fields, which could make them a part of the system "sustaining institutional isomorphism and paternalism in the non-profit sector" "sustaining institutional isomorphism and paternalism in the non-profit sector" (Lang and Stoeger 2018, 4) while balancing their independence and community base with the need for technical and financial support (Mullins and Moore 2018, 5).

Why do they produce models?

The cases analysed produce innovative housing models. They work on all the layers of housing production, taking care of modelling 1. a legal form able to trigger social inclusion and access to housing, 2. an economic model to foster affordability and a fairer housing development, 3. a social model about inner governance based on solidaristic and sharing values, 4. architectural approach able to produce innovative dwelling spaces for the individual nucleum and for a communal life, affordability through architectural-construction strategies.

All these layers together can form a model. To make it happen, for most of the cases analyzed, at the end of the process of housing production there is an actor, or a bundle of actors that modelize it by collecting data on best practices, crashes, or ordinary solutions.

An example is the Foundation LaDinamo, from Barcelona, that was born during the production of the housing cooperative La Borda in 2019. The Foundation took care of the modelization of La Borda cession of use housing cooperative together with its pool of experts involved such as Lacol Architects, and the model has already been reproduced in Barcelona's projects such as La Balma, La Morada, Cireres.

This dissertation aim to help in this process of modelization by designing the model of the 5 case studies-biographies and by comparing 60 European cases and extracting data from them about good practices and crashes.

PART TWO
The Atlas of Practices

Chapter 3

Why an Atlas?

APPENDIX Index_*PART 2_chapter 3*

A.Geographical Based

B. Comparison through a set of characteristics

As introduced in the research methodology, this Atlas is understood as a research tool to collect and classify the selected cases according to the enunciated criteria. The geographic classification helps the comparison and clarifies each project's criticalities and possibilities. This dissertation gives importance to the cultural and context-specific factors in the analysis of the cases. Each country has its welfare regime and has developed a peculiar housing system to be understood, composed of the socio-economic, legal, and political peculiarities mentioned above, besides its historical context and a specific timeline for producing alternatives.

The Atlas groups the cases into subcategories in Northern and Central-Southern European areas. The field research has demonstrated similarities between these two areas' countries regarding: the housing system and, in particular, the composition and tenure division of real estate and the historical and emerging social, political, economic, and architectural patterns.

It is divided into European cases and Italian ones with a comparative perspective.

This chapter is divided into Step 1, *An immersive understanding*, the case-by-case analysis sheets, and Step 2, *Comparisons*, the final elaboration of data.

NORTHERN EUROPE

1.Bruxelles
CLTB, Abbé Cuylits
CLTB Arc en ciel
2.Lille
Organisme Fonciere solidaire
3. Brest
Le CLip, Kerlano
Le Clip, Porcheritz
4.Liverpool
Granby Four Streets CLT
5.London
Segal Close, Lewisham
RUSS, Lewisham
Lancaster cohousing
Radical Routes
CASH
6. Zurich
Kraftwerk Hardtrum
Kraftwerk Hezenohlz
Kraftwerk Zwuicky South
Kalkbrite
Mehr Als Wohnen
Zollhaus
7. Genéve
La Codha
Ecologis
Voisinage
Ceigu
8.Berlin
R50Baugruppen
ExRotaprint
Agora wohnen
Spreefeld Coop
9.Amsterdam
Housing Coop, Vrijburcht
Net Nieuwe B., Vrijcop-ltd
Boekel , Vrijcop-ltd
10.Wien
Sargfabrik and Miss-S.
habiTAT, Schlor
Gleis 21
11.Linz
habiTAT, Willy fred
habiTAT, bike and rail
12.Freiburg
Häuserprojekt,
Mietshauser Syndikat

EASTERN-SOUTHERN EUROPE

13. Barcelona
La Borda
La Balma
La Chalmeta
Cireres
La Morada
La Diversa
La Xarxaire
Sotrac
La Quinta força
La Regadora
14. Madrid
Entrepatios
15.Milan
Base Gaia
16.Turin
Numero Zero
Via Dei Calleri
17.Bordeaux
Habicoop, Boboyaga, La Castagne
Habicoop, La Traverse
Habicoop, H'Nord
18.Lyon
Habicoop, Village Vertical
Habicoop, Chamarel
19.Prague
MOBA, První Vlaštovka / Sdilené domy
20.Budapest
MOBA, Zugló housing coop
21.Ljubliana
MOBA, Zadrugator housing coop
22.Zagreb
MOBA, Križevci housing coop
23.Belgrade
MOBA, Pametnija Zgrada

FIG 12: Atlas of practices. The 60 mapped cases.* The exhaustive collection of the Italian cases will be treated in chapter 4. Map by the author.

Northern European Cases

STEP 1

Immersive Understanding

How does it works?

Swiss. Zurich: Kraftwerk 1, Mehr Als Wonen, Kalkbrite

Kraftwerk1, Hardturm

Switzerland, Zurich

8005 Zürich: Hardturmstrasse, 261 / 263, 265, 267 / 269

FIG 13: Kraftwerk 1 Hardturm façade. Photo by the author: Field trip G, Zurich September 22.

Kraftwerk1, Hardturm

Switzerland, Zurich

8005 Zürich: Hardturmstrasse, 261 / 263, 265, 267 / 269

Project Development:

1998-2001

Cooperative ABZ, Cooperative Kraftwerk,

Legal Model:

Housing Cooperative

Tenures:

Cooperative with ownership option

Economic model:

Hybrid model between collective ownership and renting in which residents, are members of the cooperative.

Entrance fee 500 CHF+ 15.000 CHF

Monthly affordable rent

Affordability:

Residential spaces: 1500 CHF/month 95mq

Solidarity fund 15-55 CHF/month

Cost&Financing:

CHF 49mln

direct credit, solidarity lease, residents entrance fee

Community:

170 adults and almost 80 children and young people 31% families, 16% couples, 25% singles

Governance/Management:

General Assembly, Kraftwerk Board, residents organization, Administration.

Network:

-

Building type:

Buildings renovation

Building site:

6700mq/ 35mq residential-per person

Residential spaces:

81 apartments; duplex, triplex, cluster. Le corbusier and Loos style. 10 flats for migrants

9251 m2

Commercial spaces2'440 m2

Community spaces:

Common rooms area 175 m2. There is a restaurant, a hair salon, a flower and fruit shop, a consumer depot with organic vegetables and off-peak hours, a bar called "Slipper Bar" that serves drinks constantly, a guest room, and a sizable communal area with a kitchen on the roof.

Architecture:

Project by:Andreas Hofer, Andreas Wirz, Dominique Marchand. project by Stücheli Architekten was the basis of a design plan in 1995 Innovations: shared apartements; flexible structure; divesification more than modularity; ecological architecture, Minergie.

Public Actor involvement:

Zurich municipality

Awards:

Standard Minergie and Swiss Solar Prize 2002

Trigger: Kraftwerk comes from the first building site where the founders wanted to build the first cooperative building. On this site was a factory that produced turbines and generators for Swiss power stations. The name means "power station" in German.

Concept and Development: Kraftwerk 1 Hardturm is the pioneer project of the new city cooperativism that started in the 1990s. It was in this context that a group of architects, philosophers, and artists (A. Hofer, C. Thiesen, M. Blum, H. Widmer) began the search for a different way of inhabiting the city, one that was more communitarian and capable of realizing a solidarity-based and sustainable economic system. In 1983, the philosopher Widmer published the book *Bolo Bolo*, which became a true cult, proposing a utopian *or pragmatopic* housing model whose protagonists are intentional communities, the bolo (Guidarini, 2018). The book was a founding text for the Kraftwerk cooperative, one of the most emblematic cases of Zurich neo-cooperativism[80]

Background: Zurich is one of the centers of global finance, where the pressure of financialization on the national housing system is evident. Property prices have doubled since 2009, rents have increased by more than 60 percent since 2000, and globalized financial investors and pension funds manage large urban complexes. The largest and most developed city in Switzerland has not, however, experienced the same levels of gentrification or social conflict as Milan or London. Non-profit housing has a 100-year history in Zurich, and it has been gradually expanding since 1995.

The new cooperative wave in Zurich started in the late 1980s, with a trigger by the anarchist movement involved in housing activism aimed to use nineteenth-century cooperative laws specific to Switzerland to renovate the system by giving a push to housing affordability.

Architecture and spaces: The intervention includes four residential buildings with commercial, associative, and coworking spaces, while the resident community is made up of nuclei of very varied composition, 31% families, 16% couples, 25% singles, and 28% shared accommodation by students, the elderly and the disabled. Two overlapping distribution systems articulate its typological organization, the Le Corbusier type, i.e., duplex on the Unitèe d'Habitation model, and the Loos type, i.e., a Cluster-Wohnungen of 12 rooms on staggered floors or the Wohnen Gemeinschaft with 5-9 rooms. New architectural strategies produce innovative private-collective spatial configurations to meet the needs of the mature society. These include:

a. The reduction of the size of housing units and increased services available to all.

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80 See Interview Q, Philip Klaus one of the Kraftwerk founders.

b. The placement of intermittent-use spaces outside the flat.
c. Cluster-Wohnungen (micro-units assembled with large shared spaces). To create a choreographed mix inside a single development, Cluster-Wohnungen were coupled with traditional flats and triplex alternatives.

At the neighborhood scale, the cooperatives are proposed as new urban micro-centers that aspire to give urban characteristics to new suburban developments. The architectural concept enabled an unbelievable wealth of apartment types with simple openings and connections of apartments on top of each other.

Economic Model and Ownership: Housing Cooperative
nonspeculative and community-led. Cooperatives have preferential access to credit, supported by municipal legislation, which, through indirect measures dating back to the early 1900s, acts as a guarantor with local banks and allows cooperatives to expose themselves with only 6% equity (as opposed to 20%) to access finance. The cooperatives have also produced two self-managed instruments, the cooperative savings bank and the solidarity fund.

The economic model of the Zurich cooperatives, taken up by Kraftwerk, emphasizes the use value over the commodity value of the real estate, which means that the cooperative is the legal owner of the property. In contrast, the residents and members of the cooperative are collective shareholders (i.e., they pay an entry fee or membership fee) and individual tenants (the monthly fee for the use of their flat). It is, therefore, a hybrid model between collective ownership and renting in which residents, as long as they are cooperative members, have the right to use the dwelling.

Governance and inclusion: cooperatives in Zurich consider members as co-owners, co-managers, and users of the housing asset simultaneously. The statutes define the co-management rules. Every Zurich cooperative's statute, which calls for explicitly states that it is committed to refraining from speculation (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1).The Foundation acquired the house with 20 of the total of 100 apartments for the Preservation of Inexpensive Residential and Commercial

Kraftwerk2, Heizenholz

Switzerland, Zurich

Höngg, Regensdorferstrasse 190 e 194.

FIG 14: Kraftwerk 2 Heizenholz façade. Photo by the author. Field trip G, Zurich September 22.

Kraftwerk2, Heizenholz

Switzerland, Zurich

Höngg, Regensdorferstrasse 190 e 194.

Trigger: See Kraftwerk 1Hardturm

Background, Concept, and Development: Heizenholz is the second settlement of the housing cooperative Kraftwerk1. This multi-generation house on the outskirts of Höngg neighborhood was occupied at the beginning of 2012. It offers a framework for environmentally friendly lifestyles and comes up with two architectural inventions: a seven-story community terrace and two cluster apartments for dignified shared life. 1.Call from orphange Foundation in Heizenholz. 2. The Coop was looking for a new land because of the need for

housing after the project Kraftwerk 1. The project is a regeneration of an abandoned building from the Orphanage foundation, with whom Kraftwerk has a leasehold of 65 years. The building has been developed by Adrian Streich Arch +

Architecture and spaces: The project comprises two identical former residential buildings belonging to the Zurich Children's and Youth Homes Foundation, now connected by a new building with terraces in front. The new building is two stories taller than the existing buildings and gives the complex a unique new identity.

The system of cluster apartments: Collective apartments with private rooms, kitchens, and bathrooms. Other communal living experiments in this project and in the others of the coop Kraftwerk. High level of energy reduction and low environmental impact of the building

The terrace commune is the heart of the settlement; it connects the new building with the existing houses. The outdoor spaces begin on the ground floor and extend past all apartments to the roof: expansive terraces and hidden corners with a view of the city. The public forecourt with a fountain and maple tree comes into contact with the street space below like a balcony. From the square, a passage under the building leads to a meadow where wildflowers and fruit trees grow. The transition to the Heizenholz residential and day center for children and young people is smooth; the outdoor spaces are shared. 2. Circolo, Library, Common living, bike room, laundry room, community cafè

There is no underground car park. The house is Minergie-certified and built according to the Minergie-Eco standard. An exhaust air heat pump with ventilation openings in the facade heats the water and supports the heating. The electricity for the heat pump comes from the photovoltaic system. Building biology and resource-saving materials and devices were installed.

Economic Model and Ownership: nonspeculative and community-led

Cooperatives have preferential access to credit, supported by municipal legislation, which, through indirect measures dating back to the early 1900s, acts as a guarantor with local banks and allows cooperatives to expose themselves with only 6% equity (as opposed to 20%) to access finance. The cooperatives have also produced two self-managed instruments, the cooperative savings bank and the solidarity fund that collects contributions to help residents in case of financial need.

The economic model of the Zurich cooperatives, taken up by Kraftwerk, emphasizes the use value over the commodity value of the real estate, which means that the cooperative is the legal owner of the property. In contrast, the residents and members of the cooperative are collective shareholders (i.e., they pay an entry fee or membership fee) and individual tenants (the monthly fee for the use of their flat). It is, therefore, a hybrid model between collective ownership and renting in which residents, as long as they are cooperative members, have the right to use the dwelling.

Governance and inclusion: cooperatives in Zurich consider members as co-owners, co-managers, and users of the housing asset simultaneously. The statutes define the co-management rules, Every Zurich cooperative's statute, explicitly states that it is committed to refraining from speculation (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1).The Foundation acquired the house with 20 of the total of 100 apartments for the Preservation of Inexpensive Residential and Commercial Space in the City of Zurich (PWG).

Kraftwerk, Zwicky South

Switzerland, Zurich
8600 Dübendorf: Am Wasser, 1, 3, 5 / 4, 9 / 10, 11

FIG 15: Kraftwerk 1 Zwicky South overhead walkway. Photo by the author. Field trip G, Zurich Sept22.

Kraftwerk, Zwicky South

Switzerland, Zurich

8600 Dübendorf: Am Wasser, 1, 3, 5 / 4, 9 / 10, 11

Trigger: See Kraftwerk 1Hardturm

Concept and Development: The location is idyllic and "tricky" at the same time: historic industrial buildings exude the charm of the past. Niches on the renatured Chriesbach offer local recreation, as well as a home for beavers and kingfishers. In addition, the busy streets and the railway viaduct form a noise backdrop as if you were in the middle of the city. The Zwicky inheritance community called in real estate developer Senn and the consulting firm Wüest & Partner for the development

of the area. It quickly became clear that the area called for strong ideas and Kraftwerk1 was contacted.

Background: From 1840, the Zwicky spinning mill manufactured sewing threads and weaving yarns here, until the family business moved production abroad in 2001. An old factory and 24 hectares of land remained. The Zwicky community of heirs announced in 2002 that a district should be created on the site according to the principle of mixed use. The historic factory buildings with boarding houses, villa and farm should be preserved as contemporary witnesses. The region is now booming: in Opfikon, Wallisellen and Dübendorf, an additional 120,000 residents and 120,000 jobs are expected by 2030. The agglomeration becomes the town of Glattal.

Architecture and spaces: Schneider Studer Primas responded to the complex framework conditions with three types of buildings: "Slice", "Block" and "Hall". The narrow "panes" with long terraces and arcades stand like noise barriers in the direction of the noisy streets. Their appearance is reminiscent of hotel buildings. They are divided into locanda rooms, two-room apartments, studios or family maisonettes and form a ring around the site. There are two massive "blocks" in it, they house commercial establishments and apartments. The "halls" are large connected areas and pushed up against the "panes". It is used for production, storage, exhibition and sale, with terraces above. The combination of the three typologies is exciting: the "discs" protect the "blocks" from noise. The blocks bring compactness, Energy efficiency and social density in the settlement. And the "halls" activate the ground floors and bring urban diversity to the agglomeration. Diverse apartment types ensure a social and age-related mix. Experiences from the first two Kraftwerk1 settlements flowed into the large apartments: on the one hand, the apartments have normal rooms and, on the other hand, cluster units with individual areas of different sizes and differently equipped. One focus is on assisted living arrangements. Kraftwerk1 provides housing for people who depend on care and works with the Altried Foundation, among others. In addition, the concept of "living and working" is also pursued in this settlement. Around 3500 square meters of usable space plus storage are available for commercial operations. A diverse commercial mix has come together to form the Zwicky work site and contributes to the revitalization and basic supply of the quarter. The superstructure was created according to Minergie-Eco;

Legal Model:
Housing Cooperative, non speculative and community-led

Affordability: Co-operatives have preferential access to credit, supported by municipal legislation, which, through indirect measures dating back to the early

1900s, acts as a guarantor with local banks and allows co-operatives to expose themselves with only 6% equity (as opposed to 20%) to access finance. The cooperatives have also produced two self-managed instruments, the cooperative savings bank and the solidarity fund that collects funds to help coop members in the moment of financial need.

Economic Model and Ownership: The economic model of the Zurich cooperatives, taken up by Kraftwerk, emphasises the use value over the commodity value of real estate, which means that the cooperative is the legal owner of the property. The residents and members of the cooperative are collective shareholders (i.e. they pay an entry fee or membership fee) and individual tenants (the monthly fee for the use of their flat). It is therefore a hybrid model between collective ownership and renting in which residents.

Governance and inclusion: Kraftwerk1 involved future tenants right from the planning stage. At conferences, they developed and fleshed out ideas for uses, types of housing, ecology and development standards. Experiences from previous projects were used. A new urban quarter was built in its raw form: the building and outdoor space are deliberately rough and raw, the furnishings are minimal - the residents appropriate them and enliven and green them. The project host migrants.

Kalkbrite

Switzerland, Zurich

Kalkbreitestrasse 2

FIG 16: Kalkbrite overhead walkway. Photo by the author

Kalkbrite

Switzerland, Zurich
Kalkbreitestrasse 2

Project Development and Implementation:
2006-2015
Kalkbrite cooperative is a non-profit property developer
Legal Model:
Housing Cooperative
not for profit and community-led
Tenure:
Land is public
Building is owned by the cooperative
Economic model:
members entrance fee CHF
Monthly affordable rent
Land lease to municipality
Affordability:
Flat sharing communities, clusters.
Cost&Financing:
CHF 62.5mln
cost per mq floor area: 3916€
Community:
250: 97 adults and almost 153 children and young people
30 people living in clusters
Building type:
Buildings renovation, new building
Building site:

6,350m2
Residential spaces:
7'811 m2
32mq/person
97 apartments; 29-412 mq
4 studio flat
9 joker
Community spaces:
Commercial spaces 4'784 m2, Houdinie movie cinema, cafè, retail, medical center, architectural officies,
Area of common rooms 330 m2+302 for rent
Architecture:
Project by: SMüller Sigrist Architekten AG
Innovations: ecological architecture, Area 2000 watt. Rue interieure
Governance/Management:
Rental committee
Public Actor involvement:
Zurich municipality: Land lease, Guarantee with credit institutes, Public funds, architectural competitions
Awards:
Hans Sauer Preis 2016; Architekturpreis Kanton Zürich 2016, Arc-Award Sonderpreis 2014

Trigger: The Kalkbreite Cooperative is a proponent of clever, cutting-edge living and working arrangements. It is regarded as a thriving cooperative that cultivates and serves as an example of numerous innovative concepts for urban living, urban development, commercial and residential concepts, outdoor spaces, participatory procedures, and self-organization.

Concept and Development: This large-scale development with 89 apartments, developed independently by a cooperative organization and supported by the city, is built over a tram depot.

In 2014, the project was launched. The three streets Seebahngraben, Badener, and Kalkbreitestrasse form a triangle around it. A tram hall was constructed by covering up the nearby tram depot. The upper portion was changed into a 2,500 m2 terrace above the rails that is now a green leisure space open to the public and inhabitants. In a short period of time, Kalkbreite transformed into a bustling neighborhood hub thanks to its location, stores and restaurants, creative housing idea, and first-rate public transportation connections.

To define an idea for the architectural competition, interested cooperative members worked in groups during a participatory process. For quick adaptation to changing needs, the space allocation plan needed to be modular and adaptable. It was also agreed to build a number of units, each with a varied size and function. There are areas for catering and retail, as well as offices and services, on the three lower stories (ground floor, mezzanine, and first floor), which surround the interior of the tram hall. The retail areas are one to three floors tall and range in size from 25 to 520 square meters. There are galleries in some places.

Social interaction occurs on the terrace level (2nd floor), where the main entrance is located. From here, one can access the reception, mailboxes, cafeteria, library, and laundrette. Some flexible meeting rooms and a guesthouse complete the particular layout.

The four upper floors are reserved for residents.

Background: In 2006, a group of neighborhood residents and experts started to actualize their idea for an innovative and sustainable development of the Kalkbreite site under this working title. The organization became the well-known and connected Kalkbreite Cooperative a year later, and the city of Zurich gave them the 6,350 m2 site in accordance with building requirements. After numerous interactive procedures, the idea was distilled into a project that masterfully addressed the unique local circumstances while also translating the demands of a socially and environmentally conscious urban living environment into modern architecture.

Architecture and spaces: The Kalkbreite residence offers various innovative forms of accommodation, work, and culture. It has 82 flats of various types for up to 250 residents. Kalkbreite offers family flats and small apartment-sharing communities with stylish rooms due to their convenient location and favorable rental prices. Moreover, the cooperative offers spaces for other alternative household formation, such as shared flats with 17.5 rooms and flats for one person

grouped, family flats in which several families live together in large communal spaces. There is also a large family in which about 50 residents share a common infrastructure. In case of life changes, residents can change flats within the cooperative, thus avoiding under-occupation. So-called joker rooms are also available to cover the increasing demand for space.

Financial Modelling: The municipal pension fund contributes to the financing at a loan-to-value ratio of up to 94% because the Kalkbreite property is tied to the City of Zurich. Therefore, the cooperative only needs a 6% equity ratio, which is rather modest. The majority of the necessary share capital must be contributed by the residential and commercial tenants, with the mandatory share capital determined in relation to the amount of usable space occupied. This comes to CHF 260 per square meter of primary usable space. Additionally, a dozen Zurich housing cooperative members as well as external

Affordability: Solidarity fund. The Kalkbreite Cooperative wishes to conserve space as a resource and use its property as densely as possible.

Governance and inclusion: A platform for planning and making decisions, the General Council typically meets once a month. Initiatives including volunteer work refer to both individual and group efforts to use and enhance the Kalkbreite complex's public interior and exterior area.

The cooperative strives to have residents with a social mix that is similar to the social mix of the Swiss population. Families and households that face disadvantages in the free housing market are also given particular attention. Eleven various sized apartments received subsidies from the city and the canton of the Kalkbreite estate.

Mehr als wohnen

Switzerland, Zurich
Hagenholzstrasse 104b

FIG 17: Mehr Als Wohnen Façade. Photo by the autho

Mehr als wohnen

Switzerland, Zurich
Hagenholzstrasse 104b

Project Development and Implementation:
2007-2015
Maw Housing Cooperative mehr als wohnen
Legal Model:
Housing Cooperative
not for profit and community-led
Tenure
Land is public, heritable building rights contract
with maw.
Building is owned by the cooperative
Economic model:
members entrance fee CHF
Monthly affordable rent
Land lease to municipality
Affordability:
Cost inducet rent, 20% subsidised flats, flat
allocationa guidelines. Average rent
230CHF/sqm/year
Flat sharing communities, clusters.
Reduction cost percentage compared to the
market value: assignement % 10-15; rent % 20-
30
Cost&Financing:
CHF 170mln
cost per mq floor area: 3.937 €/m2 versus
14.567€/m2 of the city
Members' share, contribution of participating
cooperatives, bank loans
Community:
1200 people

Governance/Management:
self-managed by members of the cooperative
Network:
-
Building type:
New building, 13 buildings
Building site:
40.200m2 / abmq
Residential spaces:
41.000 m2
450 apartments various typologies
35mq/person
Community spaces:
Communal spaces; 840mq, common rooms
managed by neighborhood groups.
Commercial: 6000mq, 35 commercial and
common rooms. Guests house, food cooperative
Architecture:
Project by: FuturaFrosch, Duplex, Muller
Sigrist, Miroslav Sik and pool, Muller Illien.
Innovations: apartments typologies.

Public Actor involvement:
Zurich municipality: Land lease, Guarantee
with credit institutes, Public funds, architectural
competitions
Awards:
 World Habitat Award in 2016
Community led housing European award 2016
Baffa Rivolta 2017

Trigger: Unexpectedly, the Maw cooperative has evolved into an inclusivity
initiative. Due to this, traditional and more recent non-profit developers have come
together, and apartments are now being rented to individuals who typically have no
prior experience with alternative housing initiatives. When locals learn about and
embrace such concepts, it indicates that the new housing models have gained

widespread acceptance and are not merely effective among believers. They can be viewed as opportunities for everyone, though.

Concept and Development: The Mehr Als Wohnen residents' cooperative neighborhood was built in Zurich's Hunziker Areal - Leutschenbach in the Oerlikon industrial zone. It is an urban project characterized by quality and innovation. Leutschenbach was an industrial district in the northeastern part of Zurich, transforming since 2002. The Hunziker cement factory previously occupied the area. The initiative came about in 2007, on the 100th anniversary of the birth of residents' cooperatives in Zurich, to answer the question, "How will we live tomorrow?" The Zurich municipality launched an international ideas competition to gather innovative proposals for the design of the newly established nonprofit cooperative. In 2009, the winning design was announced, the result of the association of two Zurich firms, Futurafrosch and Duplex Architekten. This envisioned a dense urban structure consisting of thirteen buildings 6-7 stories above ground surrounded by squares, streets, and public gardens. The two winning firms were commissioned to indicate the urban rules of the master plan and design two buildings each, while the firms ranked second, third, and fourth were asked to design three buildings each. This ensured typological variety through coordinated and collective work while maintaining a uniform language. Subsequently, a six-month phase of analysis and design refinement called "Dialog" began, in which not only experts but also private citizens, possible future inhabitants of the cooperative, were involved. The intention was to create a neighborhood - model that would summarize the innovations in previous successful examples (Kraftwerk1, Kalkbreite, and others), presenting itself as a "platform for typological, technological, and social innovation". [81]

Architecture and spaces: The settlement houses about 1,200 residents with 150 jobs. The functional program includes residential services, commercial and dining spaces, ateliers, art galleries, residences, temporary housing, a guest house, community spaces, a kindergarten, a music recording studio, and a luthier's workshop.

The most innovative aspect concerns the communal spaces and types of apartments, which enhance community forms of living alternative to the nuclear family model.

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[81] A. Simon, C. Schwalfenberg, D. Eberle, A.Hofer, *Discussion: Teaching Buildings - The Architects Did Not Play the Key Role Here*, in M. Hugentobler, A. Hofer, P. Simmendinger (ed.), *More than Housing. Cooperative planning – A Case Study in Zurich*, Birkhauser, Basel 2016, pp.46-51, in particolare: Innovation Platform or Everyday Residential Living?, pp. 51-52.

In fact, these housing concepts undermine the Fordist idea of preset and fixed roles for each room, promoting instead "less defined spatial systems that challenge traditional privacy boundaries" in terms of spatial arrangements(Andreas Hofer, 2016).

This is not a matter of adopting a binary position-individual home or community home-but instead, a gradient between individual/private/intimate and social/public/community, which has to do with the possibilities the space offers and what the inhabitants desire. Mehr Als Wohnen offers an actual typological sampling of contemporary residence: traditional apartments (the so-called "Swiss Box"), studio apartments, shared residences, Joker-Zimmers, all the way to Cluster - Wohnungen consisting of the aggregation of small independent housing units connected by an articulated sequence of common spaces.

The building's design as an open infrastructure where use modifies the architecture over time is another noteworthy feature. Strategies for user appropriation may include increasing space footage, changing the type of residence, or making changes at the design stage.

There is also great attention to ecological aspects. Energy is supplied through renewable sources: in House A, 45 percent of the electricity needed is produced by rooftop photovoltaic panels.

Financial Modelling: Cost of construction maximum: Because of the project's scale, a cost framework established at the outset, and a cost-effective construction method, the building costs are marginally less than those of comparable buildings. The cooperative's non-profit guiding concept, however, is the key distinction that accounts for the low rents.

Rent/sale costs in relation to the going rate: The average costs for flats are 20–30% less than market prices for comparable apartments as a result of the cost-rent calculation. According to a statistical research released by the City of Zurich, a 4-room flat can be rented for less than CHF 2000 per month, whereas the market average is between CHF 2500 and 3000. MAW brings a significant evolution of the dwelling typology. It went through a long collective and participatory development process from 2007 to 2015. The Zurich municipality in 2007 with the call for an international architectural competition named 'How to live tomorrow?'. From there, a group of selected architectural studios started to work on the concept of Mehr Als Wohnen, More than living, proposing a platform for typological, technological, and social innovation (Simon, 2016). The two finalist architectural firms (Duplex Architekten and Futurafrosh) were commissioned to design buildings. In contrast, the other firms ranked second, third, and fourth (Muller Sigrist, Architekturburo Miroslav Sik, pool Architekten) were commissioned to

design three buildings each to ensure architectural and typological diversity. As noted by Dominique Boudet, the masterplan design marks a threefold theoretical and methodological break with 20th-century urbanism in terms of morphology, typology, and uses (Boudet, 2016). Of great importance at the typological level is the provision of different insiediative forms: the traditional apartment (Swiss Box), the studio-apartment, the W-G, Le Joker Zinìmmer, and the Cluster Wohnungen, taken up by Kraftwerk Heizenholz and Kalkbrite. In this regard, according to Boudet, the role of cooperatives is precisely to work on typological innovation.

Economic Model and Ownership: The residents are granted the right to live there but not the right to sell their apartment by the cooperative, which owns the building. One of the best methods for keeping housing out of the speculative market and preserving its affordability over time is collective ownership. Membership in the cooperative and payment of an initial fee are requirements for the right to use. A monthly user fee that covers both operating costs (management, regular and emergency maintenance) and investment costs (land acquisition, mortgage, construction costs) is added on top of this.

Affordability: -

 Governance and inclusion; The cooperative promotes residents' personal initiative and self-organization by involving them in important participatory decisions. Mehr Als Wohnen is also at the forefront in this field and has developed new organizational models that have attracted great interest among cooperatives at home and abroad. Local groups include at least five residents who share a common interest: childcare, yoga, painting, cinema, playground, sauna, etc. These groups organize nonprofit activities open to the neighborhood and the general public. Local groups can apply to the residents' committee for the use of premises and access to financial contributions. These come from the cooperative's solidarity fund, which is funded by the contributions made by inhabitants based on their income.

The committee in charge of managing the communal spaces consists of five residents elected by the general assembly, is responsible for organizing the annual block party, and is responsible for evaluating volunteer helpers.

United Kindom. Liverpool: Granby 4 streets CLT. London: RUSS CLT, Lancaster Cohousing

RUSS

Uk, Lewisham, London
Church Grove in Ladywell, Lewisham

FIG 18: RUSS Churchgrove. Façade 3d render by Russ

RUSS

Uk, Lewisham, London
Church Grove in Ladywell, Lewisham

Project Development and Implementation:
2018-under construction, RUSS CLT

Legal Model:
Community Land Trust
Community Benefit Society
community-led

Tenure:
Land is Public with a lease for 250 years
Building is owned by the clt

Economic model:
Shared ownership
Affordable rent

Affordability:
land is owned/managed by CLT that makes the home cheaper in the present and in the future. In addiction using pre-fabrication and off site constructions techniques, involving the future residents in the building process save money and add value -as self finish units.

Cost&Financing:
8.6 mln £
grants, loans, Triodos Corporate Finance

Community:
36 flats;
Selected by ballot at a public event matching key affordability criteria. Intergenerational.

Building type:

new construction

Building site:
4000 mq

Residential spaces:
36 self-built homes, including 16 1 bed apartments, 10 2 bed apartments, 2 3 bed apartments, 5 3 bed houses, and 3 4 bed houses. Community spaces:

Community spaces:
include shared gardening areas, parking spaces, secure bin and cycle storage, changes to the entry, and other related construction.

Architecture:
Project by: Architype architects
Innovations: Self building, pre-fabrication, self finish units

Governance/Management:
Community-led with a board of Trustees
A team of experts consultants helps to manage the activities
Training communities

Public Actor involvement:
London city council, granted RUSS

Awards:
The Mayor of London Sadiq Khan, awarded RUSS with a Housing Innovation Fund 988.000 £

Trigger:

"We aim to establish a new precedent, a replicable model in community-led housing that will benefit people unable to access housing on the open market. As a Community Land Trust, we invite all local people to get involved, become a member of RUSS and participate in the realization of this project." (Kareem Dayes, Founding Chair, RUSS)[82]

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82 About | Rural Urban Synthesis Society. https://www.theruss.org/about/

Concept and Development: In South London, the Rural Urban Synthesis Society was established in 2009 as a community-driven Community Land Trust. The RUSS aspires to provide a model development method for building excellent neighborhoods that are socially, economically, and environmentally sustainable. These resident-led homes are replicable in Lewisham, London, and the UK and continue to be within reach of future generations. At Church Grove in Ladywell, Lewisham, where their Community Hub was established in 2019, they are constructing their pilot project with 36 new homes. The project was chosen by RUSS (after a competitive process) and a development agreement was signed in 2016 by the local municipality. In June 2018, clearance for development was given. Additionally, RUSS will be granted a 250-year lease once construction work begins.

Background: Lewisham's Legacy with Walter's Way, a community-led, self-developed housing project, was constructed in 1980. These initiatives made it possible for regular people to construct their homes using a method created by architect Walter Segal. The majority of the construction work was done by the residents themselves, who also planned the floor plans of their homes to suit their lifestyle requirements.

Architecture and spaces: The 36 homes range from one to four-bedroom properties. Building connection with the communities surrounding Church Grove: a playground between flats and the river; Since the structure is raised a meter above the ground, it won't significantly increase the risk of flooding. Landscaping creates new public access to the Ravensbourne, supporting the political decision to open up the access to the river.

Designing for a low carbon future.

Social value and encouragement of self-building among future residents. The Church Grove project will be built by a general contractor, with individual work packages being self-constructed by RUSS members under contract. The idea is to provide various self-build options, ranging from doing the majority of the labor yourself to leaving it entirely up to the contractor.

36 self-built houses, 16 1-bed flats, 10 2-bed flats, 2 3-bed flats, 5 3-bed houses, and 3 4-bed houses make up the private spaces.

Communal areas: communally owned landscaping, parking spaces, locked bins for trash and bicycles, access adjustments, and other related construction.

Affordability: most new homes have two prominent cost elements - the cost of constructing the home (labor and materials) and land cost. Because CLT is the

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Dayes, K. (2019), An innovative approach to community-led housing. London: Rural Urban Syntesis society

landowner or manager in this case, the home is both cheaper now and in the long run. By utilizing pre-fabrication and off-site construction methods, as well as incorporating future occupants in the development process, RUSS may also make its home more affordable while saving money and enhancing value. Numerous homes are offered as self-finish units, allowing homeowners to cut costs by handling some of the finishing work themselves. This strategy has been shown to considerably lower the cost of a new home.

Legal Model: CLT (see chapter 4, Granby 4 streets CLT Biography)

Economic Model and Ownership: 14 of the homes are available on a shared equity basis; 12 have shared ownership (residents can buy between 25-80% of the value); 6 rooms across two shared homes are affordable rent; 5 are social rent.

Governance and inclusion: RUSS is a member-led organization. Anyone can become a member by buying a 1 £ share. A board of Trustees sets the overall strategic direction for the organization. The trustee include several of the founders of RUSS, the residents, the neighborhood community[83].

Governance Model

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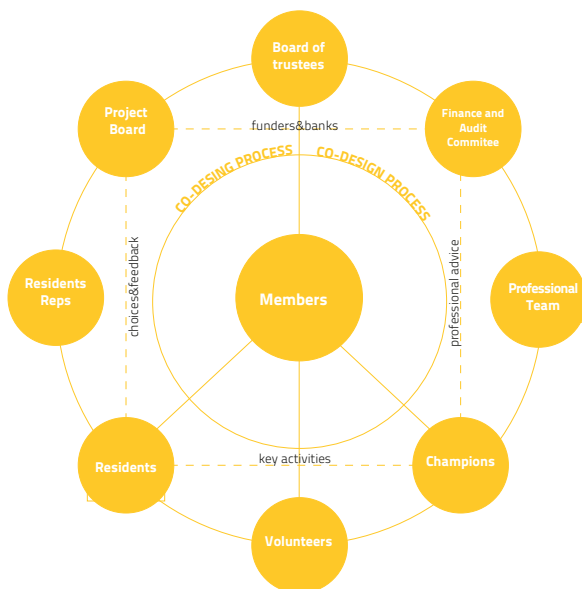
[83] Data from the interview M, Anurag Verma and Eleonore Margolies, RUSS, Rural Urban synthesis society.

Granby 4 streets Community Land Trust

Uk, Liverpool-London
Toxteth area

FIG 19: Ducie Street, Granby 4 streets CLT. Photo by Assemble Archive.

Granby 4 streets Community Land Trust

Uk, Liverpool-London
Toxteth area

Project Development and Implementation:
2011-2019
The Granby Four Streets area is composed of the four streets – Ducie Street, Cairns Street, Beaconsfield Street, Jermyn Street.
Granby 4 street CLT
Legal Model:
CLT. It has been the first urban CLT in UK.
Tenure:
Land is owned by CLT
Homes are owned by CLT and by residents
Economic model:
5 Affordable rent
6 Low cost ownership
Affordability:
Six of the eleven homes on Cairns Street are for low-cost ownership, while five are for reasonable rent. Young people should self-build and train. producing furniture on one's own
Cost&Financing:
Greenhouse 600k€
National Lottery, National CLT Network, Steve Biko Housing, Nationwide Foundation, Power To Change, The Homes and Communities Agency, and Plus Dane Group for our homes.

Community:
Intergenerational community_11 families.
Building type:
Renovated buildings
Building site:
-
Residential spaces:
14 houses
Community spaces:
Workshop; Green House, Granby market
Architecture:
Project by:Assemble
Neighbourhood community project
Innovations: Self building, Self production of furniture
Governance/Management:
Open Membership CLT to Liverpool area 8
Board of Trustees, residents, Community, Liverpool city council, social investors
Public Actor involvement:
Board of Trustee, transfer 13 housing properties to CLT, funding with grants, garantee for access to credit
Awards:
Turner prize, 2015

Trigger: The Granby Four Streets Community Land Trust wants to build an energetic, creative, and engaged mixed-use neighborhood where people from all walks of life can live, work, and play. The plan for Granby Four Streets envisions a community where: 1. streets are lined with plants, making it the greenest neighborhood in the city; 2. homes are imaginatively renovated Victorian terraces; 3. residents are a vibrant mix of races and cultures; 4. the neighborhood is friendly, safe, and welcoming; 5. there is an art and social center with a community café; and 6. the monthly street market is still organized and celebrated.

Concept and Development: This is a development on the scale of the surrounding area. G4SCLT persuaded the Council to collaborate with several developers rather than just one, including the Terrace 21 housing cooperative, the Plus Dane and Liverpool Mutual Homes housing associations, and the latter. These partnerships allowed the area receive money from a variety of sources, including the Nationwide Foundation's Empty Homes Grant Program, and ensured a broad program. In addition, the ownership model has been diversified through the usage of cooperatives, affordable housing, housing associations, and CLT. The Granby CLT's approach to the design of nearby urban spaces and the restoration of properties involves sharing risks and obligations as well as resources, knowledge, and opportunities.

Background: It is the result of a long process started in the '80 that went through speculative real estate renovation of the Toxteth area in Liverpool. Despite being in the middle of a demolition project, the locals took charge of shaping the area. The Four Streets inhabitants filled the hole left by the lack of direction from either the government or Council by starting a new campaign group to find a solution to rehabilitate the neighborhood and renovate the homes. The Four Streets were placed up for bid by the Council, but the area attracted attention for its appealing facades and energizing feeling of community. They solidified the community and cultivated their skills inside the Granby Resident Association, set up in 1993. In 2011, the residents decided to found the Granby Four Street Community Land Trust.

Architecture and spaces: This can be considered a neighborhood community project. The GranbyFourStreets are a cluster of terraced houses built around 1900 on the four streets. 14 properties are currently owned by the Community Land Trust., renovated and designed as spaces for the community – homes, a workshop, a greenhouse, and an artistic residence-. The entire area, with its streets, green area, and trees, is terrain for community activities. There has been the Grandby Street Market since the '90. The two community places (Workshop and the greenhouse) are social spaces that create possibilities for working occasions, artistic community inclusion, and cultural and social activities.

Innovation: 1. Self Build and train for young.2 Self-production of furniture and ceramics (fireplaces, tiles, etc.). Assemble, in collaboration with two national organizations, Ambition and Cospa implemented a training program that offers young people the opportunity to learn building and construction skills by renovating 11 houses. Together with ceramic studio Granby Workshop and artist Will Shannon, the houses feature door handles, bathroom tiles, and bespoke fireplaces, reflecting the creative vibrancy of the neighborhood. 3. High environmental standards

Affordability: The plan is to eliminate profit and keep buildings out of the speculative market.

Economic model and ownership: 1. Affordable rental or purchase: The 10 Homes The first effort to locate and provide affordable rental and ownership residences on Cairns Street was Project. Eleven two-bedroom townhouses were finished by the year 2019, five of which have been sold. The remaining six are attainable and rentable properties. 2. Local business: Granby Workshop, which employs five people and receives national and international commissions, is today a highly successful independent community interest company. 3. Profits will be used to build new initiatives or to expand already existing ones in the community. **Governance and inclusion:** [84]Granby CLT is an open membership, non-profit organization. Up to 12 people make up the Board, which is in charge of overseeing the organization's operations. There are three types of individuals. tenants who are over 18 and reside in the Granby 4 Streets neighborhood; Community Participants anyone who is older than 18; Stakeholders: At the moment, only volunteers are used to run the CLT. .[85]

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[84] Granby 4 Streets CLT web site. https://granbyfourstreetsclt.squarespace.com/
85 Data from Interview K, Joe Halligan, Assemble Studio, and L, Eleonor Granby activist and resident.

Lancaster Cohousing

Uk, Lancaster
9 Forgebank Walk, Halton

Lancaster Cohousing

Uk, Lancaster
9 Forgebank Walk, Halton

Project Development and Implementation:
2006-2013 Ltd Cohousing

Legal Model:
Ltd cohousing
community-led

Tenure:
Land is owned by the Ltd
Homes are owned by Ltd and by residents

Economic model:
Affordable rent
Affordable mortgage

Cost&Financing:
xx£
30% individual deposit , Triodos Bank

Affordability:
xx

Community:
65 adults and 18 children. Intergenerational eco cohousing community

Governance/Management:
Community-led with a board of Directors
N° Service Teams manage the activities
Decisions are made by consensus

Building type:
New buildings

Building site:
2.5 hectare

Residential spaces:
41 homes;

Community spaces:
Common House, food store, laundry, children's play room, guest rooms, tool shed, bike shed, land and gardens, and the car club.

Architecture:
Project by:Eco Arc architects
Innovations: Passivhaus standards with a mixture of one bedroom flats, two and three bedroom houses(40-98sqm).

Public Actor involvement:
Uk cohousing Network

Awards:
Transition City Lancaster 2015 - Award for resilience

Trigger: Address climate change, Empowering Communities, Training, and self-building, Policies that support CLH.

The founding members wanted to promote casual social interaction while retaining personal space. The homes have all of the amenities found in a contemporary conventional home. They do, however, congregate around a common house and other communal amenities like guest rooms, laundry, and post offices. The shared home has a kitchen and dining area where members frequently prepare meals for one another. Residents of Forgebank are involved in Lancaster Cohousing and

actively manage the day-to-day operations of the community, including maintenance, gardening, cooking, and cleaning.

Concept and Development: Three miles outside of Lancaster, in the village of Halton on the River Lune, is where Lancaster Cohousing is situated. It aims to set the standard for cutting-edge sustainable "eco" design and lifestyle, serving as a catalyst and source of inspiration for substantial advancements in the sustainability of new development. At least in part, members' desire to live in an environmentally friendly manner is the reason they joined the project. The community will be a safe space where people may lessen the consequences of their individual actions. Through the use of technology infrastructure and behavioural adjustments, they want to realize their vision.

Background: Five individuals who had social, professional, and group connections in the Lancaster region came together to start LCH. At first, they were thinking about buying an old school in the city, converting it into apartments for each of them to live in, along with some social areas. They thought cohousing would be the model they wanted to follow since they couldn't buy the school. Cohousing was a somewhat obscure idea in the UK in 2005. The National Cohousing Conference was organized by this group and will take place in Lancaster from February 25–27, 2005. The location was a part of a mixed-use development that had received planning approval for a number of flats and two- and three-story homes with a minimum of three bedrooms. However, the developer had filed for bankruptcy, leaving behind a number of homes that had been finished and sold, others that were only partially finished, and a plot of land with outline planning approval for a live-work development. Members hailed from the Lancaster region as well as other parts of England and Scotland. Members were drawn to the community's high degree of eco-friendly construction.

Architecture and spaces: Residents worked collaboratively with architects from Eco Arc to develop and design the project, which was then constructed under a contract of partnership with the nearby company Whittles Construction. A common house and shared amenities were included in the project, along with houses that looked out onto a pedestrian street to promote walking and social interaction and create "social nodes." The project also included smaller homes than usual to reflect the space in the common areas. The houses adhere to the most stringent requirements of the Code for Sustainable Homes and were built to the well regarded Passivhaus standard. Additionally, the nearby Halton Mill offers 1,000 m2 of rentable space in a former engineering facility that has undergone eco-friendly renovations to increase insulation.

Legal Model: Ltd

monetary modeling Members made a 30% down payment on their homes and the remaining amount when their homes were finished to fund the project. A few members gave Lancaster Cohousing loans, and LCH also took out loans from Triodos Bank. For some prospective members, it took a lot of labor to raise the 30% deposit. This component, which typically only requires a 10% payment from a standard property developer, deterred several people. The Rural Carbon Challenge Fund (RCCF) awards grants.

Economic Model and Ownership: Financial Structure and Ownership: At the time, the land was purchased by Lancaster Cohousing members. For many years, attracting members was important. When there was only a concept and no site or design, this was more challenging. As additional project elements became certain over time, such as the site's acquisition, the design's completion, and the financing agreement, the risks related to the project changed. Halton Mill is a property of Lancaster Cohousing.

Governance and inclusion: Lancaster Cohousing has a board of Directors elected by the residents as members of Lancaster Cohousing Ltd. Residents actively participate in the day-to-day running of the community. Decisions are made by consensus, with meetings open to all, whether they are renting or homeowners. Although they have community agreements and policies, the broad philosophy is to rely on trust, respect, friendship, and understanding rather than rules and regulations. Members are expected to contribute hours of work per week through several Service Teams that run the community.[86]

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[86] Data from Lancaster cohousing web site: https://www.lancastercohousing.org.uk/; community-led homes web site https://www.communityledhomes.org.uk/success-stories/lancaster-cohousing; UK cohousing network web site https://cohousing.org.uk/case-study/lancaster-cohousing/.

Germany. Freiburg: Mietshauser Syndikat. Berlin: Spreefeld, Austria. Wien: Sargfabrik, habitat Schlor. Holland- Amsterdam: Vrijburcht

Häuserprojekt, Mietshauser Syndikat

Germany, Freiburg
Arne-Torgersen-Str.

FIG 21: 3 Houserprojekt, Freiburg. Photo by the author. Field trip A, Freiburg. June 21

Häuserprojekt, Mietshauser Syndikat

Germany, Freiburg
Arne-Torgersen-Str.

Project Development and Implementation:

2014-2018
Mietshauser Syndikat LAMA Ltd, Luftschloss Ltd, SchwereLos Ltd.

Legal Model:
GmbH affiliated with Mietshauser Syndikat
not for profit and community-led

Ownership:
Land is owned by the municipality
Homes are owned by GmbH
The veto right of the Syndikat Holding Company

Economic model:
Affordable lease

Cost&Financing:
3mln€per project
GLS Bank, Direkt credit

Affordability:
1.Affiliation to the Mietshauser Syndikat network:
2. Rental costs of the 3 projects 6.5/7€/sqm per month.
3. DIY culture

Community:
150 people
1-70 years old, Intergenerational community

Governance/Management:
Community-led withgenela and local assembly

N° Service Teams manage the activities
Decisions are made by consensus

Building type:
New buildings

Building site:
LAMA: 1050m² ;Luftschloss:1050m²
SchwereLos:1700 m²
The new Gutleutmatten district.

Residential spaces:
60 homes;

Community spaces:
Luftschloss: living-kitchen-open cafè, sauna, open air living, terrace, laundry room, cellar; Lama: living-kitchen, open air living, terrace, laundry room, cellar, garage. SchwereLos: living-kitchen-open cafè, garden, open air living, terrace, laundry room, cellar.

Architecture:
Project by:werkgruppe
Innovations: 1. Simple architecture. 2. low tech and low budget construction materials 3.Community building site/construction

Public Actor involvement:
Freiburg municipality

Awards:
-

Trigger: The German Mietshäuser Syndikat is a national network of collectively owned houses founded in 1992 which today includes 181 individual housing initiatives - with another 20 in the process- all over Germany.

The idea of founding a Syndikat to support housing projects has been developed in Freiburg. Its primary aim is to provide an organizational and legal structure to withdraw the housing projects from the speculative real estate market it founds and supports. 3Houserprojecte, with its three residential buildings LAMA, Luftschloss, and SchwereLos, is one of the most recent projects in Freiburg.

See chapter 4.2. Biography 1 for depth.

Concept and Development: The Regional Bank sold 80000 flats to real estate holdings in Freiburg. Issues of access to housing. Three political activists tried to access buildings and land several times but failed to succeed. So they decided to enter into the Mietshauser Syndikate network and started learning processes and models.

Architecture and spaces: The architecture is straightforward, with comfortable interiors, beautiful terraces, and Sauvage greenery. There is a preference for economical construction. Buildings have high energy performance with an economic/affordable construction process and material pick. Green roofs are compulsory for the latest solar and photovoltaic projects.

Each project is an architectural unicum. The three projects are compact buildings with the traditional interior distribution.

Legal Model: The 3Houserprojecte has three independent houses with three independent house associations/GmbHs in the background. These 3 GmbHs are affiliated with the network of the Mietshäuser Syndikat Holding company GmbH, which has a veto on the commodification of buildings.

Financial Modeling: Interest-free state loans for social housing, KfW subsidies. LAMA: GLS bank, Traditional bank, micro-credits. Luftschloss: 2/3 traditional banks, 1/3 1mln direct loans.

SchwereLos: direct loans and traditional bank.

Loans last 80 years to make it more sustainable.

Economic Model and Ownership: Mietshäuser Syndikat uses a genuine capitalistic form of Ltd to foster collective and non-profit ownership.

Governance and inclusion: Mietshäuser Syndikat is composed of a network of autonomous communities that self-manage in every aspect the creation and maintenance of their own housing project 1. Syndikat has a national meeting with a few members of each project, a local meeting about local issues, and a workgroup of mutual learning. 2. Every project has its own governance rules: Make decisions according to the consensus principle.

3. Much time has to be spent on the community, one meeting a week to get organized.

Spreefeld

Germany, Berlin
Wilhelmine-Gemberg-Weg 12,14 e 10

FIG 22: Spreefeld, façade. Photo by Spreefeld Archive.

Spreefeld

Germany, Berlin
Wilhelmine-Gemberg-Weg 12,14 e 10

Project Development and Implementation:
2007-2014,
Spreefels Cooperative, Die Zusammenarbeiter.

Legal Model:
Baugruppen, housing cooperative

Tenure:
Cooperative with ownership option

Economic model:
Affordable lease

Cost&Financing:
3mln€per project
Member's cooperative shares, KfW Bank
Energy Efficiency Building loans, constructions
loans

Affordability:
Residential spaces: cooperative shares on
average 1.050€/m² private flat area, montly use
fee 5-8€/m² including heating and common
spaces; Commercial spaces: approx 15€/m²

Community:
140: 95 adults, 45 children and youth; mayority
adults 40-60 years old. Intergenerational
community

Governance/Management:
Self-managed by the inhabitants

N° Service Teams manage the activities
Decisions are made by consensus

Building type:
New buildings

Building site:
9.500 m²

Residential spaces:
5600m² , 64 flats, 40% shared living as cluster
apartments and satellites apartements.

Community spaces:
1100m² . Workshop, multipurpose room,
axercise room, community room for music,
sport, laundry, 3 guest apartemnts. Food forest,
community garden, shore path on the river, roof
terraces
1000m² coworking and offices.

Architecture:
Project by:Carpaneto, Fatkoehl, BAR, Gruppe
F, Spreeacker.
Innovations: shared apartements

Public Actor involvement:
Berlin municipality

Awards:
Nominated for -Mies van der Rohe Award,
2015

Trigger: The phrase "the city is our garden" is used to describe urban green zones
and edible landscaping. Inclusion entails including all things, including people
and the natural world, viewpoints and ideologies, successes and failures. Acting in
a convivial manner necessitates a greater understanding of what implementation
can entail. The Spreecker, along with a number of self-organized projects, can
help to this shift. This develops along the public shore walk after beginning at the
Speefeld using the food forest approach (Lafond e Tsvetkova 2017, 167)[87]

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[87] LaFond M., Tsvetkova M., Cohousing Inclusive, self-organized community-led housing for all, Jovis
Verlag, Berlino 2017.

Concept and Development: Spreefeld is a housing complex consisting of three buildings in an open court lot located between two side streets and the Spree River to the northeast, on the opposite bank of Holzmarkt. The area was formerly, first, farmland. An industrial area that, after World War II, fell into a state of neglect as it was located next to the militarized border of the former East Berlin. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the riverbanks attracted squats and clubs. Then they became an object of interest for international property investors who clashed with local housing rights activism. In the case of Spreefeld, the project is being developed by a group of citizens who, in 2007, form the Baugruppe "Spreefeld Berlin eG" intending to purchase a lot on which previously stood a squat mainly known for producing techno music. In 2009, the purchase process was completed. The future residents contract three architectural firms, Fatkoehl architekten, Carpaneto-Schoenigh Architekten, and BARarchitekten, one for each constructed building to accompany the group in the design and construction of the project.

Background: This area in the old East Berlin was formerly farmland, an industrial area, and after the war, a section of a no man's land next to the military border. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall, these riverbanks drew squatters, music clubs, and international investors. Local urban activists opposed the rising exclusive development on the Spree.

Architecture and spaces: The eight-story building where the Spreefeld community resides combines public accessibility, communal areas, and passive building architecture. Daycare facilities, as well as communal and commercial areas like workshops, are located on the ground floor. There are areas for extremely different lifestyles created by a range of floor plans. The numerous residential sub-projects are located in addition to the so-called conventional apartments: In the smaller private flats, there are private rooms for 4–21 people as well as communal living and cooking areas. There are spacious terraces, smaller common areas, and guest apartments in each building. Rooms are designed to be able to respond to changes in use. The project emerged from a collaborative and participatory process. The three firms worked together to define a common design framework of guiding principles and rules and then characterize each building. The common principles relate first and foremost to treating the riverfront as a public good and leaving the possibility of access from the street to the river. The buildings are designed to be composed of modular elements, adaptable by addition or subtraction to the inhabitants' will and leaving room for customization of the apartments. There are 65 apartments with square footage from 34 to 330 m2. The typological variety responds to a heterogeneous, intergenerational community with different needs.

Cluster apartments accompany more conventional apartments. The latter type of apartment occupies two floors of each of the three buildings and is particularly suitable for single residents or couples, especially young people. The cluster apartment occupies an entire floor and forms a large living area with a kitchen, living room, and study space shared among residents of the various sub-apartments facing it. The private units are equipped with a bathroom and a kitchenette, but the residents perform the main functions of the daytime hours in the shared space. Among the group's wishes from the beginning was the presence of common and commercial spaces on the ground floor. The former encourages the collaborative life of the community, and the latter as an economic contribution to support the expenses of the cooperative. Here we find workshops, coworking areas, and a daycare center. Each building has a large terrace, smaller common rooms, and guest apartments. Another crucial aspect is cost containment. This was made possible by self-building, so labor costs were reduced, and by the decision to use reduced finishing materials, leaving the facilities exposed (a factor that also reduces maintenance costs).

Affordability: 20% of the flats are available for affordable rents for people with fewer savings and lower incomes.

Economic Model and Ownership: Membership shares, Ownership, a variety of affordable rents. Spreefeld is owned by the cooperative of the same name formed by residents. The Baugruppen provide opportunities for people with modest starting capital to access housing as they are supported through financial contributions from the city administration[1]. Twenty percent of the apartments are available for subsidized rents for people from economically vulnerable groups.

Governance and inclusion: The cooperative is also in charge of project management, from renting space on the ground floor to organizing the operation of common spaces through a collective decision-making process. Spreefeld assemblies have been held periodically since the beginning of the participatory process. The Interweaving of housing, working, and the neighborhood is reflected in the use of communal spaces that involve people from the area. Two smaller standard rooms are used to host refugees—wheelchair-accessible share flat groups for people with disabilities.

Sargfabrik

Austria, Wien

Goldschlagstraße 169

FIG 23: Sargfabrik façade. Photo by Sargfabric.

Sargfabrik

Austria, Wien
Goldschlagstraße 169

Project Development and Implementation:
Sargfabrik 1987-1996
Miss Sargfabrik 1998-2000

Legal Model:
Wohneim model
not for profit and community-led

Tenures
Land and building are owned by the Association VIL

Economic model:
entrance fee 7300€
Monthly affordable rent
hybrid model between collective ownership and renting in which residents.

Affordability:
Rent 8,45 euro/m²
Self-sustained social fund

Cost&Financing:
13+5,4 mln€
1545 €/m²

Community:
200 people of an intergenerational community

Governance/Management:
Community-led housing management

Network:
-

Building type:
renovation building, adaptive reuse

Building site:
Tot 4711+850 m² /61 m² -ab
TOT 12.294mq

Residential spaces:
N°112 units,

Community spaces:
Communal spaces;
Dormitory, culture house, bath house 350m² , seminar house 140m² , event hall and foyer 150+165m² children's house, cafè-restaurant

Architecture:
Project by: BKK-2/3
Innovations: enviromental friendly

Public Actor involvement:
construction subsidies, direct subsidies and even tax breaks

Awards:
Adolf Loos Architecture Prize for Residential Buildings 1996 (Sargfabrik)
Builder's Prize 1996 (coffin factory)
Architectural Prize of the Austrian Cement Industry 2001 (Miss-Sargfabrik)
Advancement Award for Architecture of the Academy of Arts in Berlin 2002 (Miss-Sargfabrik)

Trigger: Sargfabrik is "Powered by 200 people!"[88]

"Living – culture – integration" is the motto of Sargfabrik, one of Austria's most complex bottom-up projects and the largest self-governing residential and cultural project (Tönkő and Szemző 2020, 4).

The goal of a free and autonomous coexistence was realized in 1996. A social experiment created a pulsating urban housing project with cultural-political aspirations.

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[88] Tonko,A. Szemzo, H. (2021) The case of Sargfabrik, Open Heritage. Horizon 2020

Concept and Development:

Sargfabrik, lives by the motto "Living - Culture - Integration." A non-profit housing association created an innovative way of living in West Vienna (Matzner, District 14) in 1996 on the site of a former coffin company. (Tönkő and Szemző 2020, 7)

In the mid-1980s, a group of committed people dreamed of realizing a housing association that would collectively accommodate different life models and cultural opportunities and founded the Association for Integrative Lifestyle - VIL. Most of the initial Sargfabrik residents were middle-class members of the 1980s environmental movements. They put a lot of effort into pursuing their idea, and surviving the nearly 10-year period between the Association's founding (1987) and the opening of the first section of the building (1996).

The utopia of an open and independently determined coexistence became a reality in 1996 after years of tight planning, and a social experiment gave rise to a vibrant urban housing project with cultural and political objectives (Tönkő and Szemző 2020, 7).

In 2000, more people joined the MISS Sargfabrik, which houses a library, a communal kitchen, and other common areas.

Around 200 people currently live in a total of 112 residential units. There is currently a socio-pedagogical shared flat managed by the Office for Youth and Family of the City of Vienna. Moreover, there are homes in individual residential units or shared flats for people with special needs and residential units for short-term housing needs as temporary tenancies, from which around 20 refugees live.

With its cultural and social spaces, People from all ages and backgrounds congregate at the Sargfabrik.

Architecture and spaces:

Communal spaces: Dormitory, culture house, bathhouse, seminar house, children's house, restaurant

The former Maschner & Söhne coffin factory's 19th-century structure may be found in Vienna's 14th district, which is typically home to modest workshops. When the tale of the Association started in the early 1980s, the region was becoming increasingly bleak as a consequence of changes in industrial manufacturing and urban use patterns. The Association's members agreed to preserve the chimney even though the structure was not officially protected as a historical site.

The architects made a concerted effort to maintain the original factory's layout, even if there aren't many reserved areas. The primary area of the earlier production hall is the large, central pool. The new block has a completely new design. It was once

a vivid orange structure whose hue recalled the red brick structure of the original foundry (Tönkő and Szemző 2020, 14).

The brand-new Sargfabrik structure is a multiple-story maisonette structure. This made it possible for the architects to design rooms with different heights. The hallways are 5 m high, while bedrooms can reach a height of 2,25 m. Each of the 4,6 m wide flats has a private balcony. The units are arranged in rows and have an exterior corridor leading to them.

They have sizable windows that face south. For various family configurations, there is a large selection of flats. Either solar panels or greenery were scattered throughout the roofs. This design had two benefits: it was environmentally friendly and gave families their own outside spaces.

The "box system" was one of the most important revolutionary architectural concepts used. This entails adding a half-level to the current grid structure. The original 4.8-meter grid, the arrangement of the building's components,—were all maintained by the architects.

The "balcony" is the other building sign in addition to the "chimney."This was also a creation of the neighborhood. Balconies were typically built at that time out of steel and glass and attached to the façade (Tönkő and Szemző 2020, 17).

Small flats on two levels make up the basic unit modules, which may be stacked horizontally utilizing detachable walls and lightweight structures to create incredibly flexible spaces. These spaces include maisonettes, which have floor surfaces of 45 m2 and the ability to connect up to six units. The apartments come with all of the required sanitary amenities, a kitchen that is open to the living space, and a balcony that looks out onto the interior courtyards. The project includes a variety of community areas and amenities, such as a bar-restaurant, a spa area, a kindergarten, a communal laundry room, a room with a common kitchen, a guesthouse that can only be occupied for a maximum of one month at a time, a jazz club, and a library.

 Because they sought to make it possible single to take part in the project, many of the flats are between 30 and 70 m2.

The Association's model of homes and builders is distinctive. Two of the BKK-2 project's architects were involved in the project's inception from the beginning. They reside in Sargfabrik and are Association members. BKK-3's office is located in Miss Sargfabrik. A design approach that is relatively rare in the cutthroat market was produced as a result of the participatory planning, personal incentives, and involvement of the architects.

Energy-saving solutions were employed during the construction process. Without increasing land consumption, a high standard of living was attained.

The project established new ecological history architecture criteria. Wall heating is used for district heating. One roof contains solar panels for heating the water, and the other features a sizable roof garden.

For the second project, "Miss Sargfabrik," the idea was "separated and connected." (Tönkő and Szemző 2020, 23)

Affordability: The Association VIL has as a primary aim inclusion, as well as the economic one. In order to reach this aim, they have produced several tools. Given the amenities that are accessible to the residents, the cost of rent is rather reasonable. Half of the rent paid in the nearby homes is included in the total rent of about 8,45 euros per square meter. Rent repayment accounts for about 30% of it, with the remaining 70% going toward general building expenses. The Association provides a self-sustaining social fund, the Association can also integrate persons with diverse working capacities (Tönkő and Szemző 2020, 33).

Economic Model and Tenure, financial aspects:

The Sargfabrik and Miss Sargfabrik are owned by the Association for Integrative Lifestyle (VIL), the landowner, builder, operator of the residential complex, and lessor. The members of the Association are the users of the apartments, their rights and obligations are regulated in an internal contract, similar to a cooperative. The members assume responsibility for a portion of the land, their resources, the continuous loan repayment, and the appropriate operation and maintenance expenses. The unit returns to the Association when you leave.

A deal has been made regarding how they can get their invested equity back, and they own a sizable piece of expensive real estate. Members of the Association do not view collective ownership as an insecure endeavor as a result. Instead, they view Sargfabrik as a business with both entrepreneurial and proprietorial responsibility.

The members pay "rent," primarily for mortgage repayment. They also help pay for the building's administration and upkeep (including running the institutions and bathhouse and contributing to the social fund, among other things). Residents return the flat to the community association after leaving it.

The Legal form: Sargfabrik has embraced the Wohnheim model, which was created for senior living facilities and student housing. In contrast, the VIL made use of it to cohabitate and evolved into a cooperative within the context of Vienna's housing market. Under this unusual organizational and legal structure, a resident group has access to housing subsidies, but only for building and not for dwelling expenses. In addition, Wonheim offers a number of exclusions from the basic building laws. Lower construction costs are the result of certain exclusions from various building regulations, which could then be put back into the project's social

infrastructure. Special financial aid was available to the city of Vienna under this legal structure for social, artistic, and educational endeavors. (Tönkő and Szemző 2020, 23). The establishment of the Sargfabrik is firmly ingrained in the history of Viennan housing. The history of promoting affordable housing for Vienna people is integral to its success. The municipality's purposeful effort to support creative arrangements for living and bottom-up social innovation includes it in full (Tönkő and Szemző 2020, 27).

The City of Vienna subsidized the project, and the inhabitants and the BKK studio designed the building extension, management plan, and entire service structure.

Two key components of the project's finance were site acquisition and building cost financing. One million euros was spent on the size. This was financed by a mortgage, but in a unique method. 35 persons participated in this activity and each paid about 7300 euros, or roughly 100.000 schillings at the time—the original community's contribution. Due to the Association's lack of funds at the time, this served as the loan's collateral. The loan has a 25-year term to it.

A total of 13,6 million euros were spent on the building. This was paid for by three different sources. The Association received three different types of financial support: a 5,3 million euro long-term bank loan (with a 20-year maturity; the Association has already paid off this loan by this point); a 5,8 million euro grant from the City of Vienna (Wohnbauförderungsmittel); and a 2,5 million euro grant from the owners themselves (the "equity").

This was 660 euros per square meter in 1995, but based on the indexing method used by the Association, the equity value in 2016 was close to 1000 euros per square meter.

Governance and inclusion:

The Sargfabrik is a housing complex with specified social goals as well as a strong social and cultural message. It emphasizes social equality and integration among its residents and the larger area (Tönkő and Szemző 2020, 28).

They propose a meeting place between ways of living of people of different ages and social backgrounds. The project's primary objectives are integrating different ways of living, from singles to traditional families, sharing services to contain running costs, and optimizing living spaces. The project aims to integrate differently-abled people and other socially excluded groups and energy saving, achieved through alternative heating and energy. The original friendship group (10–12) didn't even know what they wanted, but the fundamental notion was simple: they didn't want to live alone in the town and they wanted to create something with other people. These people belonged to various civil society organizations, such as those for feminism, ecology, peace, and education. At the time, these groups were

known as green political movements. They shared a same interest and felt compelled to change the world. It is a self-governing association with direct democratic control. They always tried to choose the most democratic system they could. However, as one Association member put it, "democracy is hard work in decision-making" ((Tönkő and Szemző 2020, 25). After living together for more than 30 years, they became "masters of communication and conflict resolution."

In" At first, there was an effort to come to an agreement on every choice. The "winners" in this process—which might be quite time-consuming and exhausting— were those who were able to remain up until the conclusion of the discussion.

At the Association's general meetings, which are held twice a year, important decisions are now made about statutes, rules of procedure, the mission statement, annual work program, budget, housing allocation, usage guidelines, etc. Based on the principle that "no one works for its benefit," the trust among the members is established supports the decision-making (Tönkő and Szemző 2020, 31).

The general assembly also elects the entire honorary board of directors. The Board of Directors appoints professional management for the operational implementation of the annual work program and the management of the individual business areas. A "office-style" administration handles the organizing and communication needs of the housing administration and management. There are currently fifteen staff, two of whom are Association members, and each activity has a designated person in charge. The high commitment of the VIL members runs through all areas. These important voluntary initiatives and working groups also shape community life. All facets of communal life are actively participated in by Association members, regardless of whether it is the already legendary "Ball der Sargfabrik" or other original in-house productions, looking after the gardens or the library.

In addition to the two significant General Assemblies, ten to twelve additional smaller annual assemblies concentrate on specific topics. It is clear from all these activities that Sargfabrik is a professional non-profit organization operating much like a business enterprise. They frequently inquire as to why there is just one Sargfabrik. Well, it was a zeitgeist phenomenon, to be sure. When bank loans were simple to obtain, building sites were affordable, and individuals had idealistic ideas about how to create a better society, the 1980s were a time of great innovation in Vienna. All of these factors combined to create Sargfabrik, a cohabitation style that places a great emphasis on connection and openness. There has been very little turnover in the core principles of this novel way of living ("Living-culture-integration") (Tönkő and Szemző 2020, 37). Identification and dedication are already evident in the second generation, some of whom have no intention of moving further away.

HABITAT, Schlor,

Austria, Wien
Rappachgasse 26

FIG 24: Habitat Schlor, Photo by Habitat Schlor.

HABITAT, Schlor,

Austria, Wien
Rappachgasse 26

Project Development and Implementation:
2014-2019
Legal Model:
GmBh Syndikat model
not-for-profit housing
Tenures
Land is owned by the Ltd
Building is owned by the Ltd
Economic model:
Initial capital -€
residents pay a rent to the Ltd (-€)
Affordability:
6.5 € / m² rent price
Cost&Financing:
3.8mln €
1530 € / m²
Direct Loand, Fundation, Public fundings
Community:
18 members 1-42 years
mixitè, intergenerational
Governance/Management:

Community-led and self-managed
General Assembly Habitat
Temathic Commissions
Network:
Habitat, Mietshauser Syndikat
Building type:
Buildings Renovation
Building site:
tot 3100m2/abmq
Residential spaces:
n° 4 units, tot 1200mq
Community spaces:
Communal spaces; tot 1700 mq
CRAP and TRAP workshops, gastro kitchen,
seminar room, rehearsal rooms and studios
Architecture:
Project by: self designed
Innovations: bioclimatic,
Public Actor involvement:
Wien municipality, fundings
Awards:
-

Trigger: The resident community bought the property to use it for the common good and not for profit. Shared goals are: making housing affordable, addressing climate change, empowering communities, self-building, and encouraging the production of policies that support community-led housing.

It is a project part of habiTaT, its national and international network.

Concept and development: The housing and cultural project SchloR works according to the proven model of the German Mietshäuser Syndikat or its Austrian sister association, habiTAT. SchloR is part of both networks, which trigger and support self-organized housing projects taken off the housing market, with know-how in financing alternative projects and producing communities capable of initiating new projects.

The Schlor Community was created five years ago to create a self-managed cultural, workshop, and housing project in Vienna that can produce affordable housing and

an alternative living and cultural space that responds to emerging urban needs. Vienna is a city that produces many tools and policies capable of supporting housing alternatives that foster social inclusion with attention to the typological renovation of buildings. The Schlor community found a property in Vienna Simmering, a former circus training ground, during the summer of 2019 that they purchased as an Association with the support of many, taking the property off the open market and transferring it to the decommodified habitat properties!

Architecture and Spaces: The property is in Vienna Simmering, Rappachgasse 26. The project is located in an area of approximately 3100 m². It is divided into two areas: a gymnasium with a 500 m² multi-purpose hall and an L-shaped building with 1200 m² and 1300 m² of open space. It consists of living areas (SchloR), the CreativeCluster Rappachgasse (CRAP), and the Rappachgasse Training Centre (TRAP). In the first construction phase, in the summer of 2020, the CRAP commercial and craft area was created. This is where the communal spaces open to the city, the workshops, the gastro-kitchen, the seminar room, the rehearsal rooms, and the studios for low-threshold use are located.

On the other hand, the heart of the TRAP (Rappachgasse training centre) is the 500 m2 training room. Various artists, clubs, and groups already use this as a place for sports and recreational activities and as a training room for professional actors.

The aim is to create Vienna's first circus center with the cooperation of the local, alternative/independent circus scene.

The housing area (SchloR) is in the last phase of construction. Large affordable flats characterize this for three to four residential communities in a new building in sustainable architecture.

The new buildings follow the principles of green building, have a timber structure, and do not use new soil for new construction. Renewable energy technologies such as solar panels and the reuse of rainwater and domestic greywater have been installed, with a constructed wetland for the utilization of grey water (especially shower water), resulting in water savings of up to 50 per cent in the living space. The spaces are as follows:

a 4-room flat (80m²), 3 other living units (170m² and 2x 150m²) with a capacity of 15 persons

a shared office (28m²) with a tea kitchen (20m²) and a communal kitchenette

a sewing room (12m²) and a guest room (12m²)

Affordability: The non-profit housing project, direct loans, and financing allow the community to have no entrance fee. Rents are very low and there is a solidarity fund.

Economic model and ownership, financial aspects

The chosen legal structure guarantees both the residents' autonomy and the house's permanent release from the housing market: the house is owned by Schlor GmbH. The two shareholders are the Schlor association with 51% and the umbrella organization habiTAT with 49%. The residents are organized in the house association and decide independently on all matters concerning the management of the house and daily living. As the second shareholder, habiTAT has the right to veto the sale of the house and ensures that no profits are taken and that the property is not speculated. HabiTAT is also designed for networking between communities of residents. Established habiTAT communities support fledgling initiatives; solidarity funds are created and then made available to new projects as start-up aid - so that more and more houses are bought for free! The property is purchased by implementing the Mietshauser SYndikat model, whereby the capital needed to realise the project is provided through a mix of private and bank loans. The equity for the purchase and conversion of a property is raised through direct loans - private micro-loans or private loans. Since these small loans remain in the project for varying periods and need to be replaced, direct lenders are sought in the coming years. The interest rate direct lenders receive from Schlor can be freely chosen between 0% and 1.5%. There are no fixed terms, meaning direct lenders can reclaim their money at any time, in full or only in part. In fact, in June 2019, with the support of numerous direct lenders, Schlos purchased a former circus training ground. The conversion and construction of new buildings are supported by direct loans and financial support from habiTAT! In particular, the Foundation for a World of Solidarity financed more than half the project volume of approximately EUR 3.8 million.

This brings the following advantages:

a.Direct lenders receive more interest from Habitat than they currently do on the savings account;

b.everyone involved knows what happens to their money instead of financing banks and their businesses;

c.In projects that work according to the syndicate model, there are no financial hurdles to take part in - although users and residents pay rent, they do not have to bring any financial resources.

This is a model of self-organized housing, managed in solidarity and common property. The syndicate model is a further development of the cooperative idea that gives great importance to the separation of use from ownership. Land ownership is distributed in the network, meaning that all projects are co-owners of all other properties via the common roof network habiTAT. The residents can continue to

decide 100% on the use of their property. Selling only or making a profit on the rental is not permitted—social low threshold.

In contrast to a conventional cooperative, residents in the syndicate model do not need to contribute any financial resources because of the direct loans. This ensures low social thresholds. Rent without profits. As usual, users have to pay rent, but since the project does not make any profits, this is particularly low. Part of the rent from all users goes into a common solidarity fund for all participating habiTAT projects. In the future, new house projects will be financially supported.

Governance and inclusion: Schlor community comprises 18 people between 18 months and 41 years, with different backgrounds, who have come together to realize a collective work, living, and cultural project in Vienna. The group includes craftsmen, artists, doctors, biologists, pedagogues, educational workers, architects, scientists, and unemployed people working in the social sector - with and without an academic degree who want to realize this common vision: Better life without returns! It is an autonomous Association based on direct democratic governance. They also take part in the general Habitat and Syndikat assemblies. They are in the network of communities of both institutions, which means they exchange capabilities and knowledge among different groups.[89]

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[89] The data come from an interview to habiTAT member and from the project's web site: https://schlor.org/ and the habitat network' web site: https://habitat.servus.at/.

Southern-Eastern Europe Cases

STEP 1

Immersive Understanding

How does it works?

Spain. Barcelona: La Borda, La Balma. Madrid: Entrepatios. France. Lyon: Village Vertical

La Borda

Spain, Barcelona
Constitució 85-89, Sants, La Bordeta

FIG 26: La Borda, Southern façade. Photo by La Borda. Field trip D, Barcelona October 21

La Borda

Spain, Barcelona
Constitució 85-89, Sants, La Bordeta

Project Development and Implementation:
2012-2018, La Borda Coop, Barcelona Municipality
Legal Model:
 Cession of Use Cooperative Housing
not-for-profit housing cooperative
Tenures:
Land is Public with a cession of use of 75 years
Building is owned by the cooperative
Economic model:
residents pay a lease to the coop
the coop pay a lease for land use to the municipality Affordability:
monthly fee for a 60 sqm house with 10 sqm of common space is 12,63 €/sqm, which is 40% less than the average rent in the Barcelona area
Cost&Financing:
2.7mln €
Coop57, solidarity loans, banks
Community:
49 adults, 13 kids.
mixitè, intergenerational

Governance/Management:
Community-led and self-managed
Cooperative General Assembly (resident,
 neighborhood)
Temathic Commissions
Building type:
new construction
Building site:
3000 m²
Residential spaces:
28 flats (40, 60 and 75m²)
Community spaces:
laundry, recreational rooms, guest rooms, rooms for health and care, storage areas within each plant, and outside and semi-outdoor areas like patios and roofs, kitchen-dining room.
Architecture:
Project by Lacol architecture cooperative
Innovations: infraestructura flexible/common spaces, self-building, wooden structure
co-design
Public Actor involvement:
Barcelona housing department
Awards:
Mies Van der Rohe 2022

Trigger

"Bypassing the traditional real estate market, we... want to address the need for access to socially, economically, and environmentally sustainable living environments. For us, it is crucial to create community property structures that emphasize the efficient use of dwelling space rather than its market value as an exchange commodity. At the same time, we aim to encourage more communal ways of living that encourage neighborly interaction and the sharing of household duties

and caregiving responsibilities in common areas." (Hagbert, et al. 2019, 74) (from *La Borda website)*[90].

Concept and Development: La Borda is a housing cooperative run directly by its residents. Its community-led organizational scheme, includes outsiders who have contributed to finding socially and economically sustainable solutions. This housing cooperative, comprising 28 units, has succeeded in materializing and continues to take root in the neighborhood and the city, thanks to synergies created within a new city cooperative movement (Cabrè and Andrès 2018, 412-432).

Background: The La Borda cooperative was born in 2012 as a Can Batló project due to three peculiar factors. First, a strong neighborhood movement tied to Can Batlló industrial site and the implementation and stitching of the cooperative network in Barcelona's Sants neighborhood. Second, a central driver of the push for the creation of a new cooperative housing movement is the housing crisis and related activating mechanisms such as declining wages and access to housing finance, and rising unemployment.

Third is the emergence of a new cooperative movement.

The cooperative housing movement. of Can Batló believes in and works to develop affordable housing through an alternative scheme to the traditional profit-oriented housing market. (Cabrè and Andrès 2018, 412-432)

Architecture and spaces: The communal living is strongly fostered by the architectural project of La Borda that propose innovation of dwelling typology and construction process and materials. 28 apartment units (40, 60, and 75 m2) as well as communal areas that improve community life are proposed in the building program. They are all arranged around a large central courtyard that is reminiscent of the "corralas," a common type of house in central and southern Spain.

La Borda seeks to minimize the building's negative environmental effects both during construction and after it is finished, while also ensuring that residents may live comfortably on a limited budget.

Affordability:

1. The choice of a cooperative model with a solidaristic economical model

2. The legal conditions for developing publicly-owned land, with a leasehold of 75 years. A proactive municipality.

3. access to alternative financing

4. The community-led and cooperative management of the project

5. The process of design-development-maintenance of the housing building

Financial Modeling: Funding for the La Borda project is provided by the solidarity financial services cooperative Coop57, which has created alternative funding sources (Cabrè and Andrès 2018, 422-432)

Economic Model and Ownership: La Borda experiments with the cession-of-use scheme, which is a model of an undivided-ownership housing cooperative with the idea of generating housing affordability and preserving it in perpetuity by avoiding the re-

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90 La Borda website: http://www.laborda.coop/en/

entry of affordable housing units into the speculative market. The cooperative owns the building and cedes the right to use it to the residents. Residents have the right to live as long as they are members of the cooperative (Cabrè and Andrès 2018, 422-432), but they do not have any property right on it; the cooperators gain the right to live in the project by paying an initial fee and by participation

Governance and inclusion: The Community, self-promotion, and subsequent collective management are key ingredients of this project. It is formed by 28 intergenerational nuclei that come partially from the municipal lists for social housing and partially from the neighborhood' activists of Can Batlò (as the architects Lacol). They took part in the design and construction process and are now using and managing their building housing. They are organized with a General Assembly and several working groups or commissions that manage all the different tasks.[91]

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91 Data from Interview A-F, Carles Baiges, Ivan Gallardo, Jose Maria Montaner, La Dynamo.

La Balma

Spain, Barcelona
Carrer Espronceda 131-135

FIG 27: La Balma façade. Photo by Lacol. Field trip D, Barcelona October 21

La Balma

Spain, Barcelona
Carrer Espronceda 131-135

Project Development and Implementation:
2017-2021 Sostre Civic Coop, Barcelona Municipality

Legal Model:
Cession of Use Cooperative Housing
not-for-profit housing cooperative
Tenures:
Land is Public with a cession of use of 75 years
Building is owned by the cooperative
Economic model:
Initial capital 28/38.000€
residents pay a lease to the coop (500-800€)
the coop pay a lease for land use to the municipality
Affordability:
7.82 € / m²
Cost&Financing:
3.455mln €
Coop57, solidarity loans, Fiare banca ètica
Community:
37 members
mixitè, intergenerational, neighborhood
Governance/Management:
Community-led and self-managed
-

Cooperative General Assembly (resident, neighborhood)
Temathic Commissions
Building type:
new construction
Building site:
2347 m²
Residential spaces:
20 flats
1404 m² tot
S (48,9 m²), M (62,12 m²) i L (75,34 m²).)
Community spaces:
a shared kitchen-dining area, a workshop for bicycles, two business spaces, a multipurpose room, a reading room, guest rooms, a care area, and laundry, The roof is referred to as a terrace that is larger than 300m2.
Architecture:
Project by Lacol and La Boqueria
Innovations: infraestructura flexible/common spaces, self-building, wooden structure co-design
Public Actor involvement:
Barcelona housing department
Awards:

Trigger

Our goal is to be happy living together. We want to live communally in order to thwart the individualistic dynamics imposed by the system and trigger solidaristic values and mutual help. More than sharing common spaces, we want to share interests and duties of daily life and produce a mutual learning process. We want to build a life in common, to be neighbourhood and tribe. (Interview with La Balma's residents)

: The cooperative Sostre Cvic, which won the Poblenou plot in the first open competition for municipal land for cooperative housing on lease, is the developer of La Balma. The project aims to increase the supply of affordable homes to deal with the recent rise in housing costs. The initial cost of construction and the building's use during its useful life are the main topics of discussion, with the user's final economic impact being taken into account. The structure also intends to prevent energy poverty by cutting the price of comfortable dwelling by more than 50%. In order to develop and arrive at a consensus plan where the user and the community play a major role, a socioeconomic diagnosis of the demographic group was made during the competition phase. The structure is the supporting infrastructure that goes with them and enables them to freely develop out of the neighborhood, community, and housing, three social spheres.

Architecture and spaces The structure comprises 20 apartments, one of which will serve as a transitional floor for families undergoing social reintegration. The dwellings are made of a grid of open 16 m2 sections that match the laminated wood framework. These components enable various divisions and distributions, giving the user the option to select their spaces. Each home begins with a 50 m2 base that is fully furnished, which corresponds to the small typologies (S). With one or two additional pieces, this fundamental unit is expanded to become Medium or Large. The cooperative-managed areas are the components that make this extension possible. Real system flexibility is made possible by this management, and the homes can use them either individually or collectively. The initial interactive approach leads to the creation of a program of communal spaces.

These are distributed in height across all building floors, and depending on the purpose of each space, they take on a particular personality. They are bright, airy, and open spaces with a desire to elevate these frequently undervalued areas by viewing them as places for relaxation and interaction.

Affordability:

1. The choice of a cooperative model with a solidaristic economical model

2. The legal conditions for developing publicly-owned land, with a leasehold of 75 years. A proactive municipality.

3. access to alternative financing

4. The community-led and cooperative management of the project

5. The process of design-development-maintenance of the housing building

Financial Modeling: La Balma's project financing is provided by the Fiare Ethical bank which has created alternative funding sources (Cabrè and Andrès 2018, 422-432)

Economic Model and Ownership: La Balma experiments with the cession-of-use scheme, which is a model of an undivided-ownership housing cooperative with the idea of generating housing affordability and preserving it in perpetuity by avoiding the re-

entry of affordable housing units into the speculative market. The cooperative owns the building and cedes the right to use it to the residents. Residents have the right to live (Cabrè and Andrès 2018, 422-432), but they do not have any property right on it; the cooperators gain the right to live in the project by paying an initial fee and by participating.

Governance and inclusion: The Community, self-promotion, and subsequent collective management are key to this project. It is formed by 20 intergenerational nuclei that come partially from the municipal lists for social housing and partially from the neighborhood' activists of Can Batlò (as the architects Lacol). They took part in the design and construction process and are now using and managing their building housing. They are organized with a General Assembly and several working groups or commissions that manage all the different tasks. One of the homes is intended for two young ex-guardians, to promote the emancipation of vulnerable young people, and is funded by Coop57, Òmnium Cultural, and ECAS.

Entrepatios

Spain, Madrid
Calle González Feito 19

FIG 28: Entrepatios façade. Photo by Entrepatios.

Entrepatios

Spain, Madrid
Calle González Feito 19

Project Development and Implementation:
2016-2020 Las Carolinas. Entrepatios coop, sAtt Triple Balance , Lógica'eco , TécnicaEco and GEOH

Legal Model:
Cession of Use Cooperative Housing
not-for-profit housing cooperative

Tenures:
Land is owned by the cooperative
Building is owned by the cooperative

Economic model:
Initial capital 40.000€
residents pay a lease to the coop (650€)
the coop pay a lease for land use to the municipality

Affordability:
10 € / m²

Cost&Financing:
2.2mln €
1530 € / m²
Triodos, Fiare banca ètica

Community:
32 adults and 20 kids
mixitè, intergenerational

Governance/Management:
Community-led and self-managed
Cooperative General Assembly (resident,
 neighborhood)

Temathic Commissions

Building type:
Buildings Rennovation

Building site:
782 m²
district of Usera, neighborhood of Orcasur, and in the area popularly called Las Carolinas.

Residential spaces:
17 flats

Community spaces:
on the ground floor and the attic stand out, meeting room (with kitchen), small workshop, interior patio, with a small area of vegetation in the attic, a common laundry and parking for 67 bicycles. 17 parking spaces in the basement, with 2 charging points for electric cars.

Architecture:
Project: open architecture studio sAtt, TécnicaEco,
5 floors, bioclimatic, passivehouse approach

Public Actor involvement:
Madrid municipality na

Awards:
Premio Low Carbo, Green Solutions Awards 2020-21

Trigger

Entrepatios is the first eco-social housing cooperative with the right of use in MadridIt consists of an intergenerational and heterogeneous set of individuals.
with a common goal: to implement alternative urban lifestyles that forgo real estate speculation, take environmental sustainability into account, and foster community.[92]

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[92] Entrepatios web site: https://www.entrepatios.org/framed-layout/que-es-entrepatios/

Concept and Development: A group of individuals established the cooperative Entrepatios with the intention of pursuing a more consistent way of life with high standards for the environment, the economy, and society. With Las Carolinas serving as the initial promotion, its goal is to develop a network of housing cooperatives with right of use in Madrid.

In the beginning, Entrepatios set five requirements for the building: create a model of housing with a right to use it; create a space for community coexistence with a perspective on social action; create an economically viable use model with a monthly cost of no more than 10 euros per square meter for each housing unit; be financed by ethical banking; and be designed and constructed according to ecological standards.

Background: It is located in Usera, one of the historic districts on the southern outskirts of Madrid. Like other peripheral districts, Usera grew between the 1950s and 1970s thanks to the settlement of immigrants from rural Spain, first through informal self-construction of houses and later with the rise of public housing colonies (Moscardó, Orcasitas, Zofío...) for that working class that was beginning to constitute a problem for public and social order. In a corner of the district lies the small neighborhood of Las Carolinas. In the 2000s, in the midst of the real estate bubble and in the heat of local infrastructure improvement a good number of private housing developments are built on the land left by the old industries and the precarious housing that had already been demolished. The result is a neighborhood in transition and currently marked by socioeconomic inequality and mistrust between old and new neighbors.

Architecture and spaces: The building has 17 houses (between 61 and 83 m 2)with access through an exterior corral- a circulation space and a meeting space. The most public area of the dwellings, the kitchen, and the living room will be found on the south-facing side of the corral. The northern part, where the patio is, is where the bedrooms are mainly located. The project is certificated with the ECOMETRO, which assesses the impact of the building throughout its life cycle and calculates the carbon footprint of the building, including ideas from the rigorous German Passivhaus standard. The wooden structure stands out, the system collecting rain and recycling water -some 750,000 liters will be saved each year- or the commitment to create a 'Zero CO2' building.

Affordability: 1. The choice of a cooperative model with a solidaristic economical model

2. access to alternative financing

3. The community-led and cooperative management of the project

4. The process of design-development-maintenance of the housing building

Financial Modeling: Fiare and Triodos jointly finance this project, in addition to donations from those who have opted to provide the building with higher ecological standards.

Economic Model and Ownership:

- Initial capital is 40.000€.
- Residents pay a lease to the coop (650€).
- The coop pays a lease for land use to the municipality.

Governance and inclusion: The Community, self-promotion, and subsequent collective management are key to this project. It is formed by 20 intergenerational nuclei that come partially from the municipal lists for social housing and partially from the neighborhood' activists of Can Batlò (as the architects Lacol). They took part in the design and construction process and are now using and managing their building housing. They are organized with a General Assembly and several working groups or commissions that manage all the different tasks.

One of the homes is intended for two young ex-guardians to promote the emancipation of vulnerable young people and is funded by Coop57, Òmnium Cultural, and ECAS.[93]

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[93] Data collected by online meeting, Autumn 2022. And from web sites: https://www.entrepatios.org/ ; https://satt.es/portfolio_page/cohousing-entrepatios/

Village Vertical

France, Villeurbanne, Lyon
3 Rue Raymond Terracher, 69100 Villeurbanne,

FIG 29: Village Vertical façade. Photo by Village Vertical+

Village Vertical

France, Villeurbanne, Lyon

3 Rue Raymond Terracher, 69100 Villeurbanne

Trigger

This is a social and ecological habitat initiated and designed by its inhabitants, of which they are collective, sole owners, and they manage democratically, without speculation or profit. The vertical villagers each have accommodation in the ecological building they have designed, pooling certain spaces and means to create real neighborhood solidarity in a project on a human scale combining conviviality, responsibility, savings, mutual aid, ecology, and democracy. [94]

Concept, Development and Background**:** In 2005, four households in their thirties came together to find a collective solution to their housing problems. They were initially looking for a factory to buy in the Lyon conurbation to transform it into

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[94] Village Vertical website: https://www.village-vertical.org/

ecological housing, with large common areas to exchange services and promote solidarity. This project was not readily achievable; some households left and then founded an association and sought partnerships to find land in an ecological, social housing project. Following study on Swiss housing cooperatives and a meeting with Habicoop in 2006, "Vertical Villagers" made the decision to take a militant stance toward a "cooperative alternative," which uses community ownership to combat real estate speculation. These are not abstract principles; rather, they are concretely represented in the importance placed on daily activity, as is frequently the case in emerging militant groups. It is not political, as one of the Village Vertical's members puts it while describing his dedication to the initiative. It is actual. Each member's actions reflect these values: maintaining honesty about one's earnings and financial contributions to the project; agreeing to some concessions about one's future residence in order to facilitate group decisions; allowing for brief financial struggles that other members may have, and avoiding taking significant leadership positions. It is a condominium with 14 living units and a number of shared spaces that is a part of a bigger complex that also contains 24 social rental homes constructed by the social housing cooperative Rhône Saône Habitat. They are currently 21 adults (including five families with young children), households with very varied backgrounds, who did not know each other at the start (with some exceptions). Some people joined the project before age thirty, others after fifty. The Vertical Village (VV) is an activist project that is not just for activists. The Habicoop association seeks to develop the concept of residents' cooperatives in France. In 2006, they contacted VV to offer their pilot project to accompany them for free on legal and financial issues. A partnership agreement was signed, and VV members became administrators of Habicoop and drafted the statutes of the cooperative SAS, settled tax and accounting issues, and found certain subsidies. Habicoop also played a role in project management assistance for the design of the building.

Architecture and spaces: The Vertical Village is a human project, including 14 housing units. Nine households are below the social housing ceilings (PLS). In addition to this social housing, there are four very social housing units (PLAI) managed in partnership with the AILOJ association for young people accompanied by social integration. There is a waiting list.

Collective spaces are established: terraces, laundry room, common room with kitchen, vegetable garden... The pooling of spaces and resources allows us to live better at a lower cost. Our project, therefore, represents an alternative to individualism and frenetic consumption. VV cooperative wants to moderate its impact on the environment as much as possible and lower the cost of housing. This

is why they chose to design an urban ecological building with the architects of the Arbor&Sens and Détry-Lévy firms. The Vertical Village is an urban ecology laboratory, firstly in its design: in the choice of a low-energy building with wooden facades, a photovoltaic roof, and a wood-fired boiler room, then in the design of large common spaces, which make it possible to save space in housing, to pool equipment, to meet neighbors and to organize exchanges of services, group purchases. Ecological construction, in a logic of bioclimatic habitat, is easier for a group of dwellings than for an isolated individual. Above all, exchanges of services between neighbors make it possible to develop conviviality by reducing commercial exchanges (childcare, shopping, loan of equipment, collective purchases). This project aims to develop real neighborhood solidarity by sharing some elements of daily life (terrace, laundry room, vegetable garden, equipment, guest rooms, and meeting space). This pooling makes it possible to live better at a lower cost. Consumption of less than 25 kWh/m²/year is expected while the cost per m² remains within the standard budgets for social housing construction.

Economic Model and Ownership: A residents' cooperative is a set of collectively owned housing units that go beyond private ownership. The sole owner is the cooperative society that built the building. All the inhabitants are tenants of housing in the cooperative and also administrators of the cooperative. They are the first inhabitants' cooperative created in France in the 21st century. The choice of a cooperative society implies democratic management of collective real estate (one inhabitant = one vote). This democratic management is non-profit: no one can get rich, and any real estate speculation is impossible. A plot has been allocated to VV in the ZAC[95] des Maisons-Neuves in Villeurbanne. The project was the outcome of a private initiative, but it could not have been developed without a governmental partnership. The assistance of the City of Villeurbanne, which allotted one to the group within a new ZAC, helped to tackle the primary problem of land access. The dedication of a few "activists" who were successful in opening institutions' doors helped to nurture the cooperation dynamic. Despite the fact that the lot "chosen" by the group was originally meant for private development, this crucial support allowed the site to be made available to Vertical Village at a social housing rate.

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[95] La zone d'aménagement concerté (ZAC, The concerted development zone)
The ZAC is a public initiative development operation allowing the community to control the urbanisation programme and in particular the content, density, form and type of housing with precision. To this end, it will allow itself a certain flexibility with regard to the right to build that the POS or the PLU presents. In other words, the ZAC allows the municipality to implement a customised programmatic and conceptual regulatory project, integrating alternative housing. https://www.rhone.gouv.fr/Politiques-publiques/Amenagement-du-territoire-urbanisme-construction-logement/Urbanisme/La-zone-d-amenagement-concerte-ZAC.

Each stage of the project was fraught with issues due to a lack of an acceptable legal and financial structure.

In order to uphold the fundamental principles of a project whose hybrid structure (community ownership, mixed public and private funding) ran against to the logic of the conventional home production system, the group had to battle hard for a very long period. The group initially had to modify existing legal statuses, particularly that of the simplified limited liability corporation, in order to construct something that was more or less appropriate for a cooperative model. It also had to create a partnership in compliance with the rules for "inclusive" housing allocation. Due to a lack of funding, the percentage of communal areas had to be decreased. Rhône Saône Habitat is the HLM cooperative that built the building with them: 24 housing units sold through social home ownership and 14 housing units for the Vertical Village. Rhône Saône Habitat also provided financial support for our operation and intervened in the guarantee mechanism set up with the bank that finances our social rental loan. The villagers pay a monthly fee which allows them to repay the collective bank loan and pay all the charges, including heating, fluids, and provisions for significant work and vacations... This fee also makes it possible to finance the large common areas. For social housing (PLS), this fee is estimated at €11/m2, a little below the current market price in the agglomeration. However, comparing the price of other rentals makes little sense because cooperative housing has no equivalent. This fee will not follow market prices but the evolution of the cost of living. The initial capital is 20% of the construction cost of the rented accommodation.

Governance and social sustainability: The charter and bylaws for the "Village Vertical" association were drafted in the fall of 2005. These texts outline the project's founding principles (neighborly solidarity, urban ecology, democracy), as well as how it functions. Indeed, the group's emphasis on efficient and effective organization as well as everyone's involvement with a spirit of "democracy through action" is one of its distinctive characteristics (and possibly the secret to its success). The goal is to ensure that all tasks are managed collectively and that there is true collective control of the project. Consensual decisions will be made on responsibility rotation and task management. Participants are made aware of these rules by a text with the phrase "Being a "villager" means getting involved."

Additionally, a formal welcome procedure has been established for newcomers. The group also takes use of a number of well-designed IT tools and committees on a variety of themes (architecture, communications, legal issues) to ensure effective information transmission and ongoing self-training. Greater Lyon Council and

Villeurbanne City Council's support for the project appears to be primarily motivated by its experimental nature and the potential for future modifications to urban policy—an aspect of the project that the mayor of Villeurbanne praised for its social innovation at the foundation stone laying.

The incorporation of four "inclusionary" housing units, PLAI lodgings at the Jules Siegfried communal house, and the project's inclusion in the "affordable housing" category allow it to satisfy two public criteria. [96]

96 Data from: 1. Habicoop, the National French Housing Cooperative Federation, https://www.habicoop.fr/;
2. Village Vertical web site: https://www.village-vertical.org/; 3. Divisare Journal website:
https://divisare.com/projects/252029-detry-levy-le-village-vertical-villeurbanne-france

Italy. Milan: Base Gaia. Turin: Numero Zero.

Base Gaia Cohousing

Milano (Mi), Italy

Via crescenzago 101

FIG 30: Base Gaia façade. Photo by the author.

Base Gaia Cohousing

Milano (Mi), Italy
Via crescenzago 101

Project Development and Implementation:
2014-2020

Legal Model:
Housing cooperative
not for profit and community-led Cohousing

Tenures
Land is private
Private property

Economic model:
Home ownership

Affordability:
Housing cooperative to access to a collective funding

Cost&Financing:
1mln€
2800 €/m2 versus 3100 €/m2 of the city

Community:
n°25 people of an intergenerational community

Governance/Management:
Community-led housing management

Network:
Cohousing Italia, Conf Habitat

Building type:
new building

Building site:
Tot 1400 m2/abmq

Residential spaces:
n°10 units, 965 tot mq

Community spaces:
Communal spaces; 450 tot mq
Sala multiuso con cucina, coworking-spazio bimbi, monolocale foresteria, cantina comune non divisa, lavanderia, terrazzo, deposito gas, giardino. La sala multiuso è anche ad uso dei cittadini del quartiere o di associazioni per iniziative culturali, corsi di benessere o altre proposte.

Architecture:
Project by: studio OAU
Innovations: enviromental friendly

Public Actor involvement:
Milano housing department insert cohousing project into the social housing category easing the tax burden for the construction cost and especially for the communal spaces.

Awards:
na

Trigger

We believe that our cohousing project has the high social value it brings to the city and the neighborhood it is located. By promoting a non-speculative approach to living, to housing stock, the price of a house is automatically 30% lower than a building of equal quality in the area. 30% is the average profit of an 'honest' building contractor. We intend to give and value the civil relations established in our community of inhabitants and reverberate positively by involving the neighborhood. BG is gradually becoming a landmark for the neighborhood, which means that the social fabric is more prosperous and cohesive.

Concept, Development and Background: Base Gaia was born from the idea of 4 families who, in 2014, chose and optioned a plot of land near Parco Lambro. In a short time, the other six families joined, and Base Gaia Società Cooperativa Edilizia was founded. It took eight years from the initial idea to the entry into the house in 2020. In Milan and Italy, the cohousing model is not yet recognized by the institutions; therefore, there are no economic, legal, or credit access models to facilitate the process. The Base Gaia community has worked hard as a group and in synergy with the municipality and several key professionals -the OAU architecture studio, and the Housing Lab, which has carried out the mediation and accompaniment of the community-. The basic idea is to propose a community-based and affordable housing model for a mixed community. The families were able to settle in just before the lockdown in 2020, allowing them to experiment with an essential use of common spaces, such as the study room for children/youth.

Architecture and spaces: BG stands on a disused plot of land overlooking a rather wild frontage of Lambro Park in east Milan. The idea behind the project is to have a large shared garden and a building with the least impact on the surrounding environment. The choice was made for a compact 5-story building with several terraces and the ground floor intended for shared spaces. The structure is made of wood, and the infill is light. Energy from renewable sources is used. The houses have different sizes (6 three-room apartments, three four-room apartments, and one above the four-room apartment), while the shared spaces are designed to be flexible and multi-use. On the ground floor, there is a multipurpose room with a kitchen, a coworking/kids' space, a one-room guesthouse, a shared, undivided cellar, storage for neighborhood *gas (gruppo di acquisto solidale*, solidarity purchasing group), and a garden. On the terrace on the top floor is the laundry room. The multipurpose room is also for use by citizens of the neighborhood or associations for cultural initiatives, wellness courses, or other proposals.

Economic Model and Ownership: Base Gaia is a building cooperative with undivided and divided ownership. All residents are members and partners of the cooperative and did not have to contribute any initial capital for its start-up but only a share of 50€. In order to build up the necessary social capital to cover the start-up costs and the purchase of the land, the households, according to their greater or lesser economic availability, contributed initial non-interest-bearing investments. A balance was created between households with a lower income but a higher starting capital (perhaps from the sale of the main house or from forms of intra-family aid) and households which, on the other hand, had a higher income capacity (and thus were able to sustain higher mortgage installments) but less possibility of advances. In this way, the two typologies were able to create a sustainable mix for all with an internal adjustment tool. The cooperative obtained a loan for the purchase of private land and the construction of the building. Base Gaia founded a

housing co-op with undivided ownership, which initially did not aim to allocate the houses in ownership. This choice was dictated by a strong desire to avoid people wanting to buy and then resell and preserve common spaces as collective property. With the community-building process, the rules for using the spaces were defined. With a change in the bylaws, the housing cooperative was transformed into an undivided and divided ownership, with the possibility of assigning the houses and the thousandths of the common spaces as property.

Being a cooperative has certain advantages linked to taxation, the possibility of accessing calls for tenders, and joining cooperatives Legues (Conf habitat). The consolidated relationship with cooperative banks such as BCC Milano, which has financed the project, has been significant. According to the PGT[97] of the Milan municipality, cohousing (dwellings with shared spaces) is included in the Social Housing. By virtue of this category, there are certain advantages: a volumetric 'premium' that increases the buildability index, the application of the rule that allows an exemption on common spaces that do not count as gross paved area, and for which no charges are paid. In addition, an agreement was signed accompanying the building permit whereby discounts on urbanization charges and the so-called 'construction cost' were applied by the allocation to families with an ISEE within certain limits. On the other hand, the convention rightly binds for the duration of the convention (30 years) to sell the house at the (revalued) purchase price. The saving, however, is around EUR 300,000.

Governance and social sustainability: They chose the cooperative form because almost all the residents are cooperators, and they were very much aligned and sensitive to this form of enterprise. In ordinary meetings, they use the consensus method to make decisions and not by may-rances. They founded a condominium, which is mandatory in a building of 9 units and up. The condominium becomes the holder and fiscal individual to whom all accounts are registered. BG wonders about the possibility of creating another figure closer to the communities for the municipality of Milan. What they implement is the use of the available technical and political tools in a more community-based and shared key. BG wants to be a point of reference for the extended community of the neighborhood and the city. It opens its spaces to formal or informal associations and triggers socially inclusive projects.[98]

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97 PGT, Piano di Governo del Territorio. The territorial government plan (abbreviated as PGT) is an urban planning instrument introduced in the Lombardy Region by Lombardy Regional Law No. 12 of 11 March 2005. It is an urban planning tool at municipal level and its purpose is to define the layout of the entire territory. https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Piano_di_governo_del_territorio

98 Data collected with several field trips and several interviews. Interview T, Emanuele Bana, Founder and resident of Base Gaia.

Numero Zero Cohousing

Torino (To), Italy
via San Giuseppe Benedetto Cottolengo 4

FIG 31: Numero Zero façade and courtyard. Photo by the author.

Numero Zero Cohousing

Torino (To), Italy
via San Giuseppe Benedetto Cottolengo 4

2009-2013

Housing cooperative
not for profit and community-led
Cohousing

Land is private
Private property

Home ownership

Housing cooperative to access to a
collective funding

1.6mln€
2300 €/m2

n°20 people of an intergenerational
community

Community-led housing management

Cohousing Italia, COAbitare

Building Renovation

Tot 1000 m2

n°8 units, tot 950 mq

Communal spaces; tot mq
Sala multiuso, lavanderia, spazio fai da te,
parco-giardino, terrazzo, cucina e forno a
legna. Sono stati implementati servizi
condivisi aperti anche al vicinato quali
GAS, cassa comune, wifi condominiale,
banca del tempo, condivisione delle
attrezzature.

Project by: Associazione CoAbitare; Paolo
Sanna, Chiara Mossetti
Innovations: enviromental friendly

-

Trigger

This is the story of Numero Zero, a cohousing project by a group of people united by shared goals and a willingness to help each other because cohabitation is not a fashion or a luxury but a possible answer to the need for simple and sustainable living. The Numero Zero project stems from CoAbitare's commitment to promoting cohousing in Italy.[99]

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99 Interview R , Paolo Sanna, engineer and resident of Numero Zero.

Concept, Development and Background: *Numero Zero* is a cohousing association set up in 2007 by the CoAbitare association to promote a new model of living and experiencing condominiums, neighborhoods, and cities to foster sociality and cooperation between neighbors. CoAbitare declares its values and intentions:

1. To foster the formation of intergenerational communities of sustainable cohousing, based on a model of active cohabitation, mutual aid and the willingness to share knowledge and skills, respecting the environment and a practical and spontaneous lifestyle
2. To promote the creation of dwellings in which private and shared spaces coexist
3. To constitute a repeatable reference in the territory for other experiences of sustainable cohousing
4. Promoting and accompanying the creation of cooperative societies or other legal forms deemed suitable marked by the spirit of CoAbitare
5. To encourage the conception and participatory design of architecture that supports energy saving and the use of renewable energy sources
6. To prevent social discomfort by pursuing the psycho-physical wellbeing of people through the valorization of every phase of human life and the satisfaction of the specific needs of each age

Numero Zero is a redevelopment of an early 19th-century building located in the Porta Palazzo area, a district that belongs to the city's historic center but retains certain characteristic features that mark it out as a 'popular' area in its own right, with a strong identity and sense of belonging.

Architecture and spaces**:** Ing. Paolo Sanna and Arch. Chiara Mossetti, drew up the renovation project. Responsible for writing down and transforming into drawings the thousands of ideas of the Numero Zero group in a participatory design process that lasted several months. The principles on which the project is based are, in addition to responding to the needs/wants of the future inhabitants:

1. The respect and conservation of the historic building
2. The cost-effectiveness of the intervention
3. The construction of a low-energy building (all the flats will be in energy class B)
4. The use of eco-friendly materials
5. The exploitation of renewable energy (solar panels for hot water) and the recovery of rainwater

The early 19th-century building consists of a basement of about 330sqm, three above-ground floors, an attic of about 785sqm, a 90sqm garden, and a 90sqm terrace. There is a shop on the ground floor of the street currently occupied by a cyclist. The communal spaces include a multi-purpose room with laundry, a kitchen, and wood-burning oven, a DIY area, a garden, and a terrace. Shared

services open to the neighborhood have been implemented, such as GAS, a common cash box, condominium wifi, a time bank, and shared equipment.

Economic Model and Ownership At the beginning of the construction site, the housing cooperative of inhabitants with undivided ownership obtained a loan of about EUR 1 million from Banca Etica. In addition, direct loans were sought from friends and acquaintances in order to reduce the interest accrued on loans. The initial expenses to set up the first steps were divided according to available funds and were subsequently balanced out.

This is not an affordable intervention; many people came to the project, even very suitable ones, but they could not bear the projected costs. The economic burden is not in the €50 membership fee, but in the ability to support the mortgage to pay for the house, in fact, at the end of it all, the co-op is dissolved, and the debt is divided among all the members.

Governance and social sustainability: Cohousing Numero Zero does not mean living with a group of friends. However, instead of the management of a place, the creation of agreements to manage it in mutual respect. The group of residents makes shared decisions in an assembly, while everyone is responsible daily for the smooth running of the condominium with divided and shared tasks. Paolo Sanna, resident, and designer of the cohousing, reports that mediation from the birth and development of the community would be constructive to optimize the processes. NZ wants to be a point of reference for the extended community of the neighborhood and the city. It opens its spaces to formal or informal associations and triggers socially inclusive projects.[100]

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100 The collection of data is composed by the interviews made to the residents and by the direct experience of the author who is living in the cohousing since 2 years.

Comparative descriptions

Comparisons

TYPIFICATION / LESSONS LEARNT / RECCOMENDATIONS

A.
THE VARIETY OF MODELS

B.
QUANTITATIVE DATA

The data processing of the case studies just described is presented here.

The cases are analyzed and dissected into their parts - legal, economic, architectural, social, and political - and then the emerging models are highlighted. These are the legal models, the tenure models that sought accessibility solutions, the models of inclusive and democratic governance, and the innovative intervention of architectural design.

In the second part, data are extracted and quantitatively compared. They cover relevant aspects such as, a. building typology and location in the territories, b. the size of residential settlements, c. the production of CLH over time from the 1980s to the present, d. the European networks that trace the connections between the projects, e.the intervention and the tools of the public actor, f. the main criticalities that have emerged observed or collected through oral sources.

This first set of analyses serves as a quantitative framework and provides a broad view of the phenomenon on a European scale, using the 60 mapped cases. The next chapter, on the other hand, proceeds with the formulation of insights that provide a more detailed understanding of how projects work from which to extract some lessons for the research targets: public actors, community, and practitioners.

LEGAL MODELS
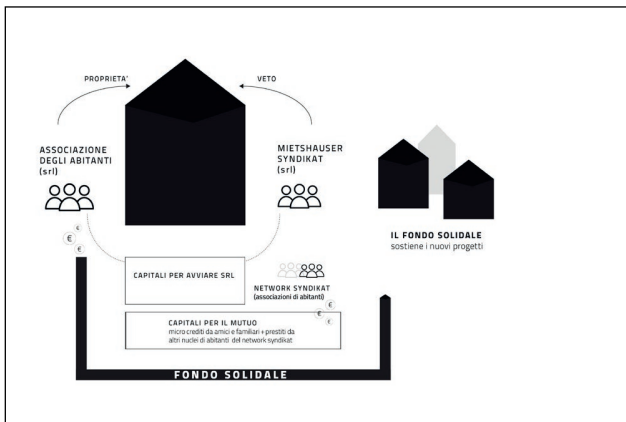
Ltd - Mietshauser Syndikat model

Traditional Ltd is used to produce not-for-profit housing buildings and to permanently take them off the commodified market. Each project belongs to the the residents' ltd while the MS holding company, another Ltd, has the role of 'veto' if a given community wants to reprivatise its building.
The tenants thus hold normal rental contracts directly with the Ltd they have created, to which the loan for purchasing the building is made.
To reproduce this models in other EU Countries local communities used other legal forms as Associations, Cooperatives, Fundations.
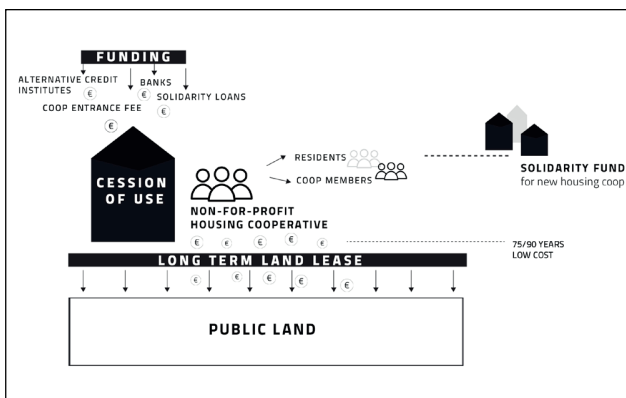
Housing Cooperatives model

Housing cooperative is a 'container' term to describe a particular legal form with historical and political roots. 'New cooperatives', produced from the 1990s on, are based on no profit concept and promote fair rent or ownership.
In particular the Right of use cooperative is a legal form where households purchase a "share" in the cooperative rather than a standard property interest in the home. Each member of the cooperative receives a right to live in a housing unit, as well as a vote on matters of common interest. They pay a low monthly fee. Cooperative members share responsibility for maintaining common areas and admitting new members.
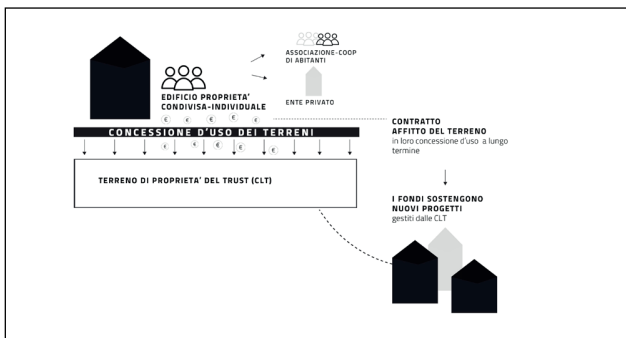
Community Land Trust model

Community Land Trusts (CLTs) are non-profit organisations that own the land on which homes are built on, on behalf of a community. They are driven by affordability, democracy and collaboration. Not necessarily self-organised, they can be initiated by an organisation or a developer. Generally, housing projects do not include more collective spaces than mainstream housing.
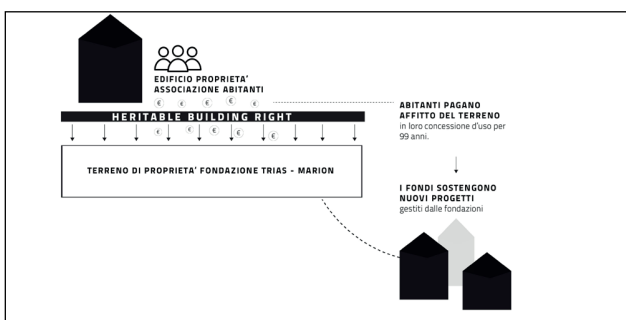
Foundation model

The legal form of the non-profit foundation allows the systematic accumulation of land and buildings, that lease to the supported communities. with a form of long-term contract called Heritable Building Right. The land eases are paid into a mutual solidarity fund is which is used to purchase future properties.

FIG 32: The functioning of the legal models. Diagrams by the author.
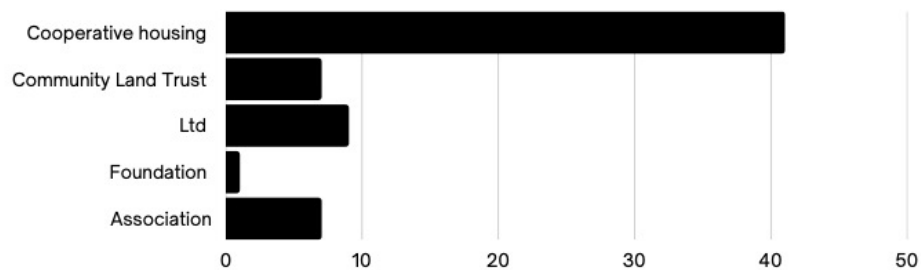
FIG 33: n° of use of the legal models over 60 case studies. Diagrams by the author.

Indeed, this dissertation cannot be considered a complete mirror of the production of CLH in Europe, but it shows ongoing trends. Regarding the legal models specifically, it can be said that Cooperative housing has been booming for the past decade (Ferreri, Vidal, 2021) and it is the legal model more represented among the cases analyzed with 42 projects. In Europe, there is an excellent effort by local communities to adapt the cooperative model with other legal forms more suitable to the socio-economic peculiarities of their country. In Germany and the United Kingdom, the use of Ltd to produce not-for-profit housing has formed significant national or international networks. In a similar vein, the expansion of CLT in Belgium, UK also took off firmly from 2010 onward and is now seeing significant expansion in Germany, Spain, and France. Foundations have arisen primarily to support community-led housing movements financially but are also used as the legal form of some projects, here two in Germany and Spain. Finally, the Association is widely used in France and Austria as it better meets the required functionality and with many tax breaks. It can also be observed how since the beginning of the 2000 the CLH production has skyrocketed and the trend is continuing growing up. Furthermore, over the past 23 years, national and international networks have been created among the numerous and growing community-led projects. They share value approaches and, above all, exchange practical knowledge to produce and reproduce models. This research has traced the networks formed by: the Mietshauser Syndikat from Freiburg to Germany, to Europe; the MOBA from Central and Eastern Europe now moves throughout Europe; the CLT as mentioned above; and also public actors network with NETCO to exchange practices of fair, inclusive and affordable housing production.

	GERMANY	SWISS	FRANCE	UK	HOLLAND	SPAIN	ITALY	SERBIA	HUNGARY	CROATIA	CZECH REPUBLIC	AUSTRIA	SLOVENIA
MIETSHAUSER SYNDIKAT			LE CLIP	RR	VRIJCOOP							HABITAT	
MOBA													
CLT			OFS										
NETCO													
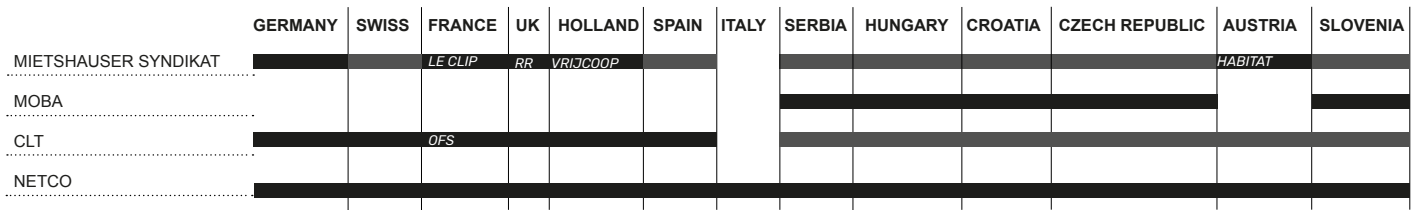
FIG 34: European networks of CLH projects.. Diagrams by the author.
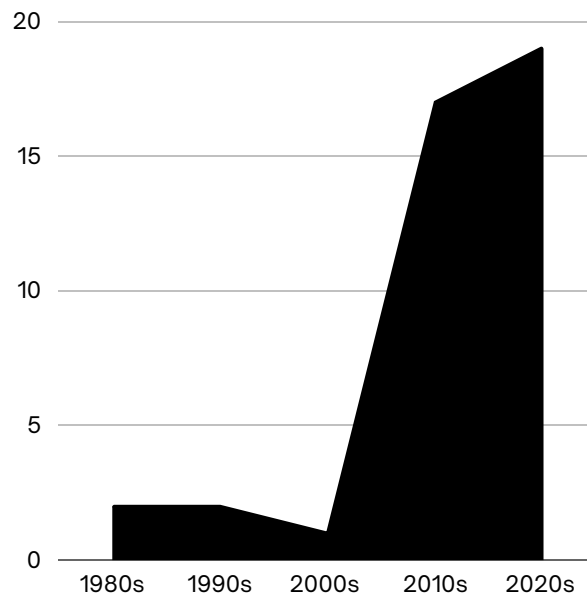
FIG 35: Community-led housing production is measured by how many new projects are started each year. Here are represented the 60 case studies analyzed. Diagrams by the author.

TENURES MODELS

HOME OWNERSHIP   **OWNER OF SHARES-USE VALUE**   **RENT**
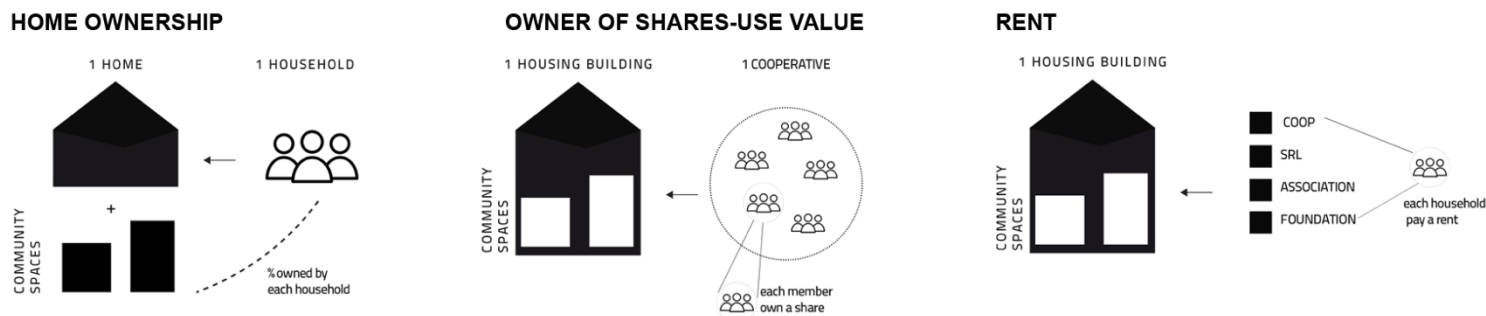
FIG 36: The functioning of the tenure's models adopted by cases analyzed. Diagrams by the author.

The issue of ownership and the search for possibilities for more accessible and inclusive housing are at the heart of the community projects analyzed.

These take a new look at ownership by using it to generate accessibility and inclusion. Indeed, in contrast to the political vulnerability of public policies, property rights in the narrow sense are consistently respected in capitalist democracies, regardless of current political majorities, and can be used as an essential ally.

In contrast to the dynamics of liberal-residual welfare regimes, the projects analyzed re-propose the use value rather than the economic value of residential buildings, validating the renting tenure model of social democratic welfare state regimes and the social market. Most research is in this direction, looking at the construction of possible alternatives.Thus, the proposed tenancy models are:

Rent- 27,1%: this is the typical tenure model where the legal entity (coop, ltd, foundation, association) is the landlord. The resident pays a low rent, below market price, and has a private house plus communal spaces shared with the rest of the community.

Use value and ownership shares- 30%: this model favors use value over the market value of the property, which means that the cooperative - the ltd, foundation, association - is the legal owner of the property. In parallel, the residents and members of the cooperative are collective shareholders (i.e., they pay an entrance fee or a membership fee) and individual tenants (the monthly rent for the use of their flat). It is, therefore, a hybrid model between collective ownership and renting in which residents, as long as they are cooperative members, have the right to use the dwelling.

170

Homeownership - 42,9%: this is the typical model of Southern European cohousing, the German Baugruppe, or some cooperatives. The idea is to give the possibility to own a house and 1. pay below market rates, 2. Have a house of better quality, architecture, and energy.

PUBLIC ACTOR INVOLVEMENT
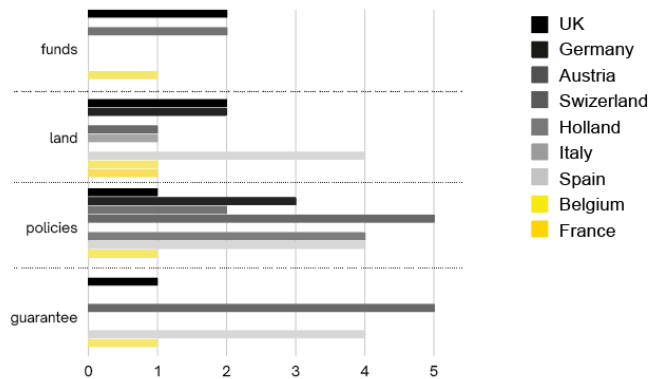
It emerges the fundamental role of the public actor in producing and reproducing community-led housing projects (Ferreri, Vidal, 2021; Bruyn, 1995, 1-4; Interviews A-Z). Analyzing the selected cases, it arises how some European cities have embraced the need to renew their housing supply by producing alternative models that trigger affordability and inclusion. Cities and countries have approached these needs in different ways:

1. They act as guarantors for community-led housing projects for access to credit and use of public goods at various scales (such as the municipality of Zurich with the cantonal bank).
2. They provide direct support with the production of urban planning and political and economic instruments (such as making public land available for CLH initiatives).
3. They are producers of alternative housing models (such as the Barcelona municipality and housing cooperatives).

The graphs show the tools put into practice in the cities analyzed: a. project funding 10.2%, b.provision of public land 24.5%, c.policies production 40.8%, d.guarantee towards banks and credit institutions 22.4%, e. provision of public buildings 2%.
A declared instrument of great importance, the provision of public land, is subject to numerous contradictions, first and foremost, the scarcity of land. Thus, the CLH projects analyzed arise mainly on private land 58.3% while only 41% on public land.
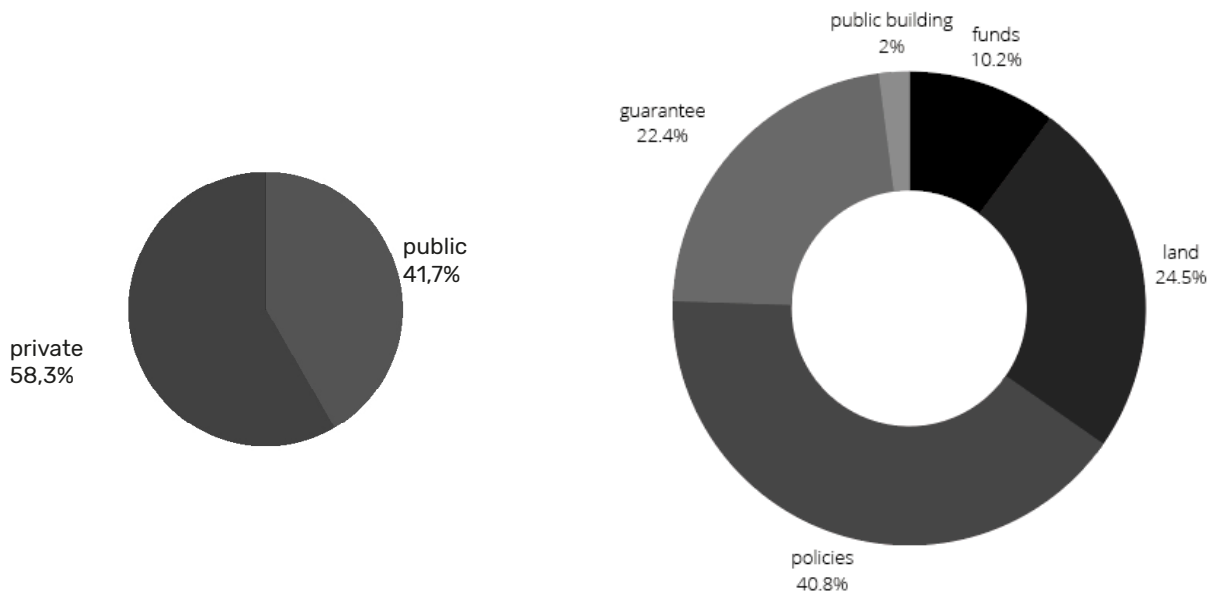
FIG 37: LEFT_ Private or Public Land for CLH production in EU Countries . Diagrams by the author.

FIG 38: RIGHT_ % of political and urbanistic tools used in the cases analyzed and Land tenures % adopted by cases analyzed. Diagrams by the author.

GOVERNANCE MODELS
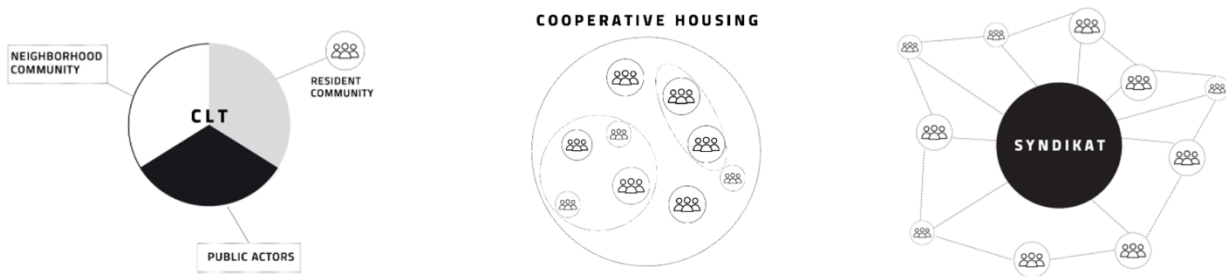
FIG 39: Functioning diagrams of Governance models adopted by cases analyzed. Diagrams by the author.

The will for autonomy raises, within the case studies, the issue of self-governance and the generation of democratic and inclusive modes of management and stewardship. Numerous internal governance models emerge with the organization of communities into thematic groups for the management of their housing project and inner governance, i.e., of networks between residential communities on a local or supra-local scale for the exchange of knowledge.

In particular, the characteristics of three types of CLH emerge:

1. the Community Land Trust bases its governance on the collaboration between a bundle of actors formed by the resident community, the local community, the municipality, and local stakeholders. The Trust protects land ownership and buildings from re-entering the traditional market, while the management structure has several layers. The bundle of actors that makes up the Trust manages at a macro scale, while the association of residents takes care of the internal management of the housing project.

2. The housing cooperative is a large container in which the community organizes itself of thematic groups for internal functioning and the production of projects on a local or city scale.

3. The Mietshauser Syndikat consists of a central ltd with veto power over the resale of the housing stock and coordinates national and international networking between more than 170 communities. The individual communities, organized into ltds in turn, are divided into thematic groups for the functioning of the housing project and organize local or supra-local thematic meetings for the transfer of knowledge between projects.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM

other
33.3%

Political Activism
66.7%
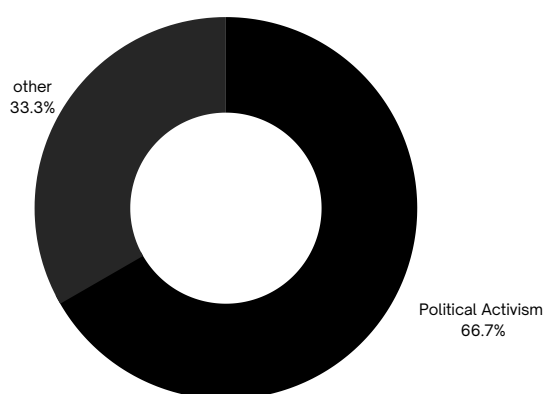
FIG 40: % of project triggered by civic and political activism. Diagram by the author.

Studying communities' attitudes to the self-production of residential buildings reveals in the vast majority of projects the importance of civic activism in triggering the production of projects and their management.

Activism is articulated in various declinations, from those with more political roots in demand for the right to the city and housing with libertarian and left-wing references to those more purely movement-based in the local neighborhood or city community.

Interestingly, civic activism makes up the majority of the projects analyzed, with 66.7%.

ARCHITECTURAL INNOVATION

FLEXIBILITY- EVOLUTIVE HOME

S M L S

A*A   A*B   B*B
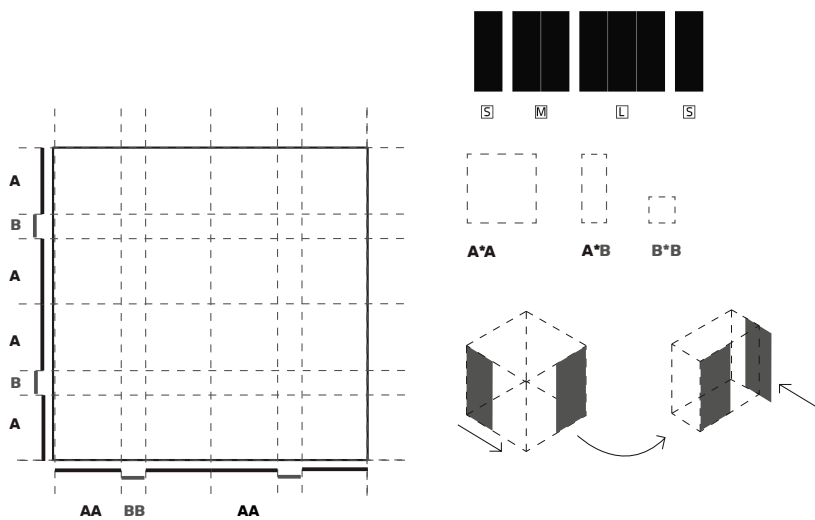
FLEXIBILITY- EVOLUTIVE HOME

New constructions (where possible, also adaptive reuse projects) use modularity to produce flexible spaces and allow for aggregative types that are easy to evolve. This allows the production of new distributional and typological patterns of residence adapted to the demands of today's households

COMMUNAL SPACES/ PRIVATE SPACES

common areas	common areas
+	+
	community areas
Housing	Housing
Conventional Housing	**Community-led Housing**
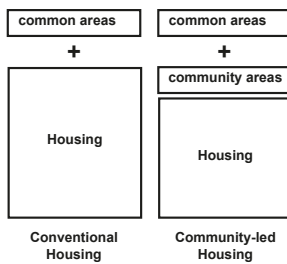
COMMUNAL SPACES/ PRIVATE SPACES

Traditional Ltd is used to produce not-for-profit housing buildings and to permanently take them off the commodified market. Each project belongs

DWELLING TYPOLOGIES

I.SATELLITE APTS   II.TRADITIONAL APTS

III. WG - SHARED HOUSING   IV. CLUSTER APTS
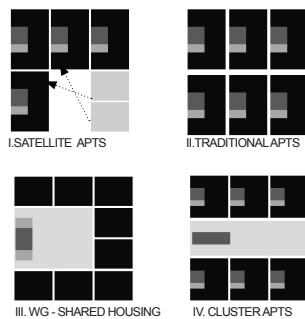
DWELLING TYPOLOGIES

some projects propose housing typologies adaptable to forms of cohabitation that go beyond the traditional family unit. Such as Cluster apartments, Satelites rooms, WG-shared housing, etc.

175

CONSTRUCTION and IMPACT

LOW TECH ⟶ HIGH IMPACT 🌿

CONSTRUCTION and IMPACT
By choosing low-tech materials and construction techniques and aiming for the high energy performance of buildings, CLH reduces construction costs by making houses more affordable and environmentally friendly.

SELF PRODUCTION - DIY

PARTICIPATORY DESIGN

SELF PRODUCTION - DIY
Introducing self-built and self-produced parts by the community and architects into the building process reduces costs and generates learning/capacitation possibilities, and social inclusion.

PARTICIPATORY DESIGN
The projects in this Atlas include a co-design phase, led by the architects, that sees the active participation of future residents and the neighbourhood community in designing buildings and private and communal spaces.

FIG 41: Architectural innovations produced by 50 cases analyzed. Diagrams by the author.

The analysis of the selected cases and their comparison shows how architecture has developed design tools to help produce affordability, social inclusion, and spaces for care. The analyzed cases show how a large number of projects use structural modularity and spatial flexibility to provide answers to new housing needs. Many projects are experimenting with new building design and construction models with the first-person involvement of future residents and planners, reviving the do-it-yourself approach. Also, from the point of view of environmental sustainability, there is an increasing focus on reducing consumption, bioclimatic and low-tech technologies. Interviews conducted in the field and discussions with some of the designers involved in the case studies (*Lacol* for LaBorda, Barcelona, *Assemble* for Granby 4 streets, Liverpool, *Helen&Hard* for Norwegian cohousing) reveal a tendency to bring architecture closer to housing because of the need to find housing models with spaces better suited to new family, work and living trends. Gaia Caramellino notes that after a period of divorce of architectural research from the residential theme, possible evolutions, and innovations can now be seen. In Figure 41 is possible to notice how the totality of the projects includes communal spaces, a participatory design approach and a special focus on the environmental friendly architecture.

176
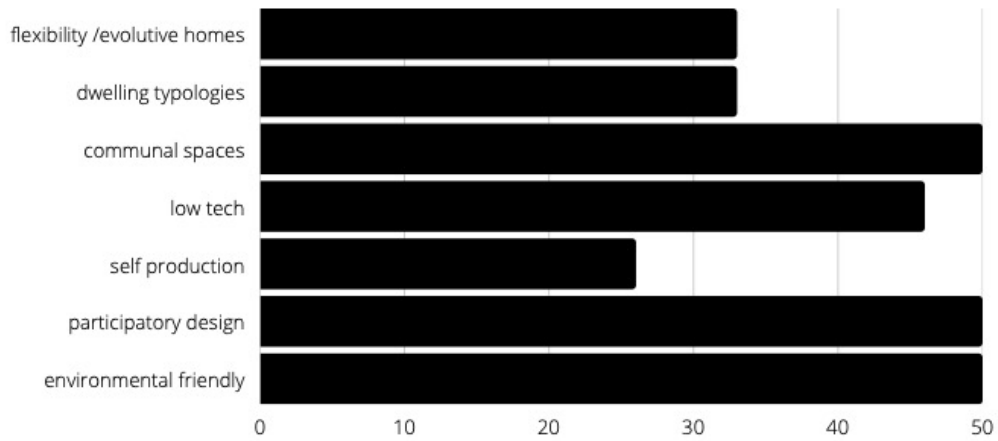
FIG 42: n° of architectural innovative features presents in 50 mapped projects. Diagram by the author.
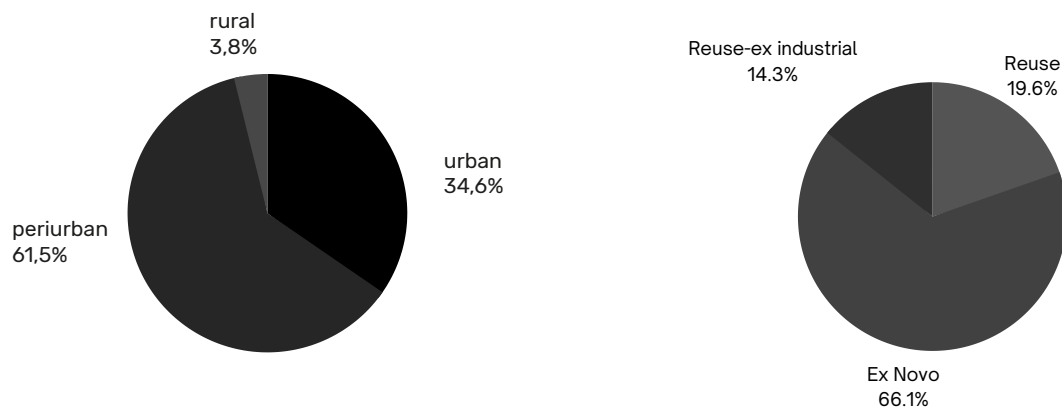
FIG 43: LEFT_ % of CLH projects located in urban, peri-urban and rural areas.

FIG 44: RIGHT_% of new construction and building reuse among the CLH projects. Diagram by the author.
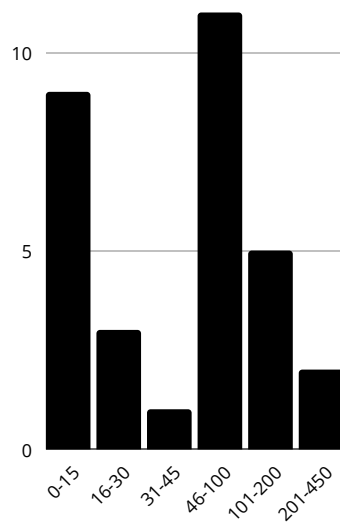
FIG 45: Residential spaces. n° of apartments per project. Diagram by the author.

The location of the studied projects is mainly in city areas, particularly peri-urban or peripheral areas. Thanks to the author's field trips, it was possible to detect the location of CLH projects in new urbanization areas or areas of city transformation by forming new neighborhoods and projects on a neighborhood scale. Furthermore, most buildings are new constructions since, as the literature and interviews show, it is cheaper to build new than renovate. It is interesting to note that a high percentage of buildings subjected to adaptive reuse are conversions of former industrial buildings with proportions and uses unrelated to housing and have inspired new forms of living.

The size of the buildings varies widely, from small buildings for 10-15 households to buildings for 450 households, among the cases analyzed, a majority of small settlements of up to 15 families and medium-large settlements of up to 100 nuclei.

178

MAIN CRITICALITIES

 The interviews and research work carried out in the field clarified critical aspects of the observed projects, which had already been highlighted in the literature, and raised new criticisms.

The difficulties associated with civic, voluntary activism are often mentioned in the literature, such as the large amount of time involved and the possibility of engagement only for a segment of the population with a specific culture and income. Furthermore, community and self-governance dynamics and the need for mediation paths are also mentioned. Less prominent and less dealt with are the issues related to the importance of the public actor's role and absence. Absence of political support (i.e., the absence of policies to support CLH projects), economic support with the possibility of funding, and recognition of the value of projects as deterrents to housing segregation.
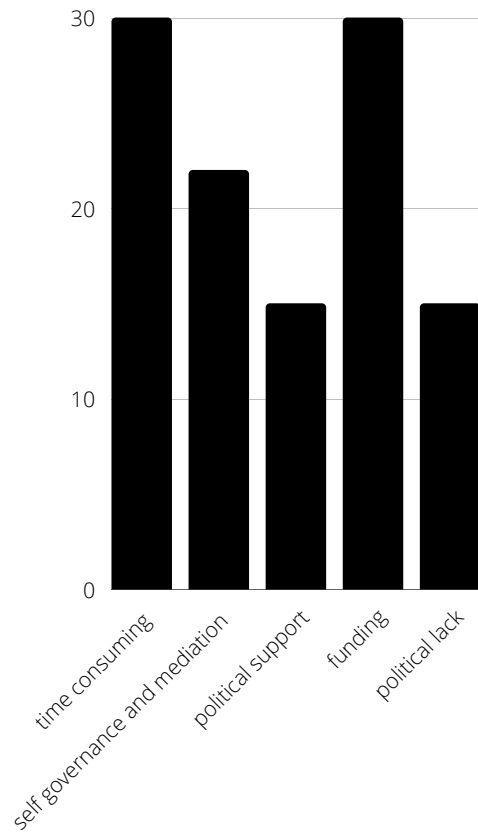
FIG 46: n° of critical issues in the process of production and management of a CLH projects (30 case studies). Data from interviews and literature.

PART THREE
The Biographies

Case studies as biographies. An introduction

This chapter proposes an in-depth analysis of **four chosen cases** and the production of their respective biographies.

A biography is considered here as a *A story, narrative of events* that led to the composition of such a project and *The making of a Model,* an analysis of the chosen project in all its parts: economic, legal, inner governance, architectural, political, and public relations.

The research decided to study each project and its urban reality to understand better the local dynamics and the new possible relationships and roles among public actors and communities' stakeholders.

The four biographies are set in Freiburg- the Mietshauser Syndikat 3houserprojekte-, in Zurich - Kraftwerk Housing Cooperatives-, in Liverpool- Granby 4 streets CLT-, in Barcelona-the right to use Housing Cooperative La Borda-.

The chosen cases respond to common characteristics[101], whose main focus are A. to produce undivided ownership and housing affordability[102] through a variety of legal and economic tools; B. to safeguard their real estate assets and territories from long-term speculative logic; C. to promote social inclusive living environment[103] and co-governance models.

Moreover, each of the four biographies highlights peculiar features of community-led housing production, that have been developed with different processes and timelines. They are very different cases, so the four biographies have a common frame of analysis but use different angles of insight.

For Barcelona right to use cooperative model, the most important features are the public-cooperative relation to produce political and administrative tools for the housing cooperative implementation; the new architectural approach to community housing and the innovation of housing typologies

In Freiburg, the Mietshauser Syndikat with its matrix of not-for-profit Ltds makes a creative use of traditional market tools to produce decommodified, redistributive housing goods and affordability in the long run. Moreover it implement a national

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[101] The Characteristics arealready mentioned in the Introduction and are the ones used to select all the cases of this dissertation.
102 Colini Laura, Poliak Levente, "Community-led housing, a key ingredient of urban housing policy". Urbact- UIA. 2020. Accessed: Ottobre 5, 2020.https://urbact.eu/community-led-housing-key-ingredient.
[103] Horlitz 2012

community network for the self-capacitation and self-organization for the production and re-production of not-for-profit housing buildings.

In Liverpool the Granby 4 streets CLT works as a community tool for a shared governance and the alliances with local community, public actor and stakeholders. It trigger an innovative design process with community involvement in the building construction.

The Zurich's undivided co-ownership cooperatives, re-use abandoned buildings, activate their regeneration and the transformation of peripheral urban areas to new microcenter.

The four chosen cases allow the identification of some alternative produced by CLH.

With many difficulties, typical of civic engagement and activism, and contradictions, due to the multifaceted and multi-actor nature of housing (Hurol, Vestbro e Wilkinson 2005), communities in chorus with public actors and other necessary stakeholders succeed in producing alternatives to the traditional housing market, unaffordable and unable to respond to the new social needs for care, inclusion, and community.

These are alternatives to the process of housing production and development, introducing housing within a social and supportive market of actors;

It is also about architectural alternatives, which stimulate new spatial typologies for private and community housing, shared and collective structures, introducing flexible, gender-friendly cluster types of apartments;

Finally, alternatives to social fragmentation produce new forms of community, elective family, intergenerational social mixitè, and new forms of shared living.

For each biography, data and information were collected through written sources, existing literature mainly with an economic-political slant, pamphlets and local newspapers about the project, project websites; through oral sources, i.e., semi-structured interviews; and through field observation of social dynamics, economic pattern, and architectural typology.

The four biographies contribute to the *immersive understanding STEP* of the Atlas and help to comprehend the functioning of the chosen cases.

STEP 1

Immersive Understanding

How does it works?

Chapter 4

A Community Networks for housing production and knowledge transfer. The case of the Mietshauser Syndikat.

Biography 1. Mietshauser Syndikat, Freiburg, Germany.

APPENDIX Index_*PART 3_chapter 4*

The approach to MS research has been a slow discovery of this reality and network through participation in national assemblies. The first assembly where we explored the topic was at the Macao social center in 2019 during the national forum of Common Goods. On this occasion, the Macao collective, in particular Emanuele Braga[104], talked about the collaboration with the Mietshauser Syndikat in Berlin to produce an economic and legal model suitable for the purchase of the building of the former slaughterhouse in Milan, Macao's headquarters[105]. The attempt failed and was not followed up.

Subsequently, literature was sought on the subject finding short scientific articles mainly with an economic and political approach.[106]

1. Heilgemeir Anna, 2020. "*The Mietshauser Syndikat: a structural answer to anti-speculative and self-governed housing production*", in *Housing the co-op. A micro-political manifesto,* a cura di Delz S., Hehl R., Ventura P., Berlin: Ruby Press.
2. Horlitz, Sabine. 2012. «*Housing Beyond Profit: A Comparison of U.S. and German Alternative Ownership Models*», American Institute for

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104 Emanuele Braga is a political activist for the common goods, a professor and an artist from Milan
105 See the Internazionale web site: https://www.internazionale.it/reportage/giorgio-fontana/2017/06/05/macao-milano-occupazioni
106 The following sources are mainly scientific papers, which are very useful at an embryonic stage of the study because they are unique.

Contemporary German Studies (AICGS) Transatlantic Perspectives, June 2012

3. Vey, Judith. 2016.«Antinomies of Current Marxist- and Anarchist-Inspired Movements and Their Convergence», London: Capital & Class Vol. 40, pp.59-74.

The documentary *Das ist unser Haus!*[107]*,* explaining the operation and extension of the project nationwide in Germany, was subsequently viewed, and the MS website was translated from German.

Interviews are a fundamental source used to understand the functioning of several aspects of the MS. In June 2020, some MS members were contacted, and the first online interviews with Marina Noussan were conducted. Then a field trip to Freiburg was scheduled in June 2021, hosted at the LAMA building.

During the field trip, pamphlets produced by MS activists since 2017 and translated into English were retrieved. These contain more in-depth data and processes of MS operation than those given by the website, MS's main communication channel, now translated into English.

Syndikat's international networks were also contacted, particularly Le Clip in Marseille, France.

The author took part in the national assembly in Marseille in January 2022, where Le Clip systematized its operation and included several projects in France in its network.

In addition to the French case, there was interest in the UK Radical Routes case, which was deepened by studying pamphlets easily repressed on the web.

Finally, the Austrian Habitat case was intercepted during a UIA conference. It deepened through the association's website and an unstructured interview with Chris from Habitat and the former Asilo Filangieri in Naples.

The field trip to Freiburg provided an understanding of relationships, processes, and the architectural types of the city's MS projects. It also led to exploring the Greater Ost national headquarters during a local assembly in June 2021.

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[107] Here the link to the Documentary: https://www.syndikat.org/video-und-film/.
Appropriating spaces with the Mietshäuser Syndikat - D 2016, 65 min., 16:9
In the 65-minute film "Das ist unser Haus!" actors of the Mietshäuser Syndikat explain the model of collective appropriation of space and present versatile projects in different spatial contexts, with impressions from the projects: Freie Hütte (Lübeck), LÜDIA (Hadmersleben), Handwerkerhof Ottensen (Hamburg), youth housing project Mittendrin (Neuruppin), Grethergelände (Freiburg), 4-Häuser-Projekt (Tübingen).
Further information at das-ist-unser-haus.de

- **MARINA NOUSSAN**,
  LAMA resident and MS activist for the right to housing

- **Noemi Kuck**,
  LAMA resident and MS activist for the right to housing

- **Helma Haselberger,** MS co-founder and architect. She also founded the City Building Association in 2019 to support the social housing works promoted by MS.

- **Joaken**, Susi resident and citizen activist

- **Sacha Klemz,** Greater Ost resident, MS activist, and MS radio director.

Fig 47: List- diagram of respondents for Mietshauser Syndikat Interviews conducted by the author from 2020 to 2022 among MS residents and founders.

A General Framework

DATE: 2014-2018
LOCATION: Germany, Freiburg Arne-Torgersen-Str.
BUILDING SITE: LAMA, 1050 m²; Luftschloss, 1050 m²; SchwereLos,1700 m²
COMMUNITY: 150 people, 1-70 years old, Intergenerational community
LEGAL MODEL: GmBh Mietshauser Syndikat, not-for-profit
TENURES: Land and Building are owned by the GmBh of the 3 houses projects and from the M. Syndikat central one
ARCHITECTS: Werkgruppe
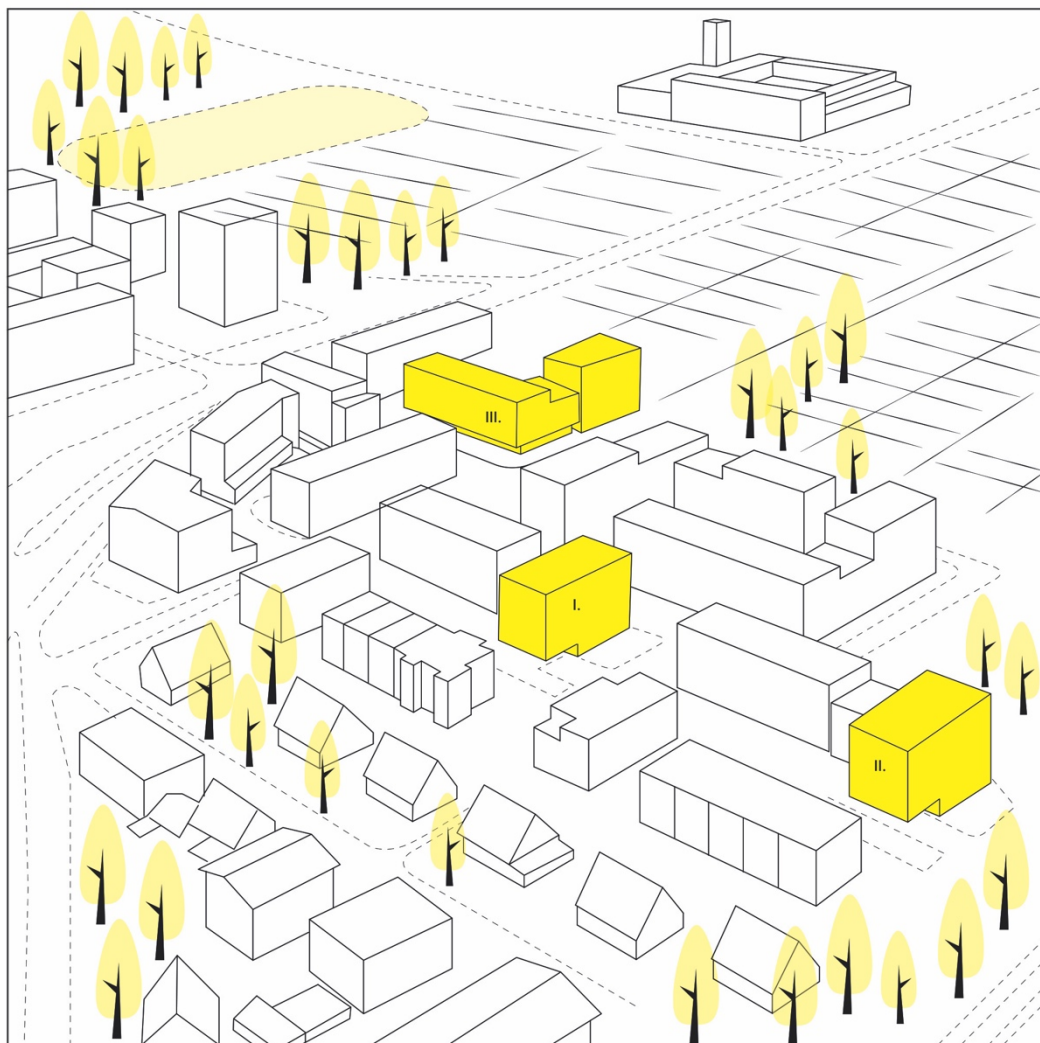
Fig 48: Framing of Freiburg's new expansion district in which the three MS buildings are embedded.I. LAMA, II. Luftschloss, III. SchwereLos. General framework, that identifies the three buildings that make up 3 houserprojekte. Drawing by the author.

A story, narrative of events

As members of the syndicate put it: '*Actually, we should not exist, because we violate the law of the market in its basic approach: profit motive, value realisation and individual ownership are regarded as an indispensable foundation for all business enterprises. However, we do exist – the syndicate and the projects – and we are among them: We play in the thicket of the city among construction giants and real estate sharks, among private house constructors and property owners, among housing associations and capital investors. We compete with them for this or that property and play Monopoly on the scale of 1:1. We are enthusiastically working on the corporate association of the apartment-house syndicate.*' (Vey 2016, 69)(Mietshäuser Syndikat 2013*).*

The German Mietshäuser Syndikat was established in 1992 as a national network of jointly owned homes. 178 individual housing initiatives - with other 20 in process- all over Germany.
The idea of founding a Syndikat to support housing projects has been developed in Freiburg, a small town in southern Germany. The founders have different backgrounds, from social activism to squatter movements, all united by the same objectives: to guarantee affordable long-term rentals, to prevent real estate speculation, to form a network of residential buildings based on solidarity and managed in self-organization.
The main goal of Syndikat is to give housing projects that it founds and supports an administrative and legal framework that may successfully remove them from the speculative real estate market. It consists of a big variety of projects, all created following the ideas and needs of the residents: many projects are organized like 'regular apartment houses' inhabited by families, couples, singles; others are real communes in which a good percentage of spaces and social life are shared. The majority of the projects have communal spaces also open to public use for events or festivals.

The organizational structure that the Syndikat uses is a great illustration of a deft "hack" of property rights, where "components reduced to rebuild very different systems with various arrangements of the pieces"[108] are used to transform the 'arch-

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[108] Marcuse, 1994, 26. "Property Rights"

capitalist' corporate structure of a GmbH - German Ltd - into a platform for completely non-profit projects.

Syndikat activists believed that the cooperative legal system needed to be more stringent in order to compete on the traditional marketplace in order to support their novel concept of common property.

Therefore, they created and tested a strategy based on a double form of property to ensure the common nature of the housing assets. Hence the ownership of every residential project is held by the Ltd corporate founded by all the tenants of a specific housing project while the Mietshäuser Syndikat Holding company – composed by all the national project members- h as the crucial power of veto when a neighborhood association wants to re-privatize a building or when the land ownership registration entry needs to be modified, for instance, because of new construction plans.

All of these housing initiatives are self-managed and connected to one another via the Syndikat network, which places a high importance on project autonomy.

The tenants are in charge of all financial, administrative, architectural, and social aspects of the project and have regular rental contracts with the Ltd business they have established. Independent decisions about new members, financing, repairs, and rent adjustments are made by the tenants' associations with their inhabitants and users.

This organization ensures that the building is not sold and brought back to the speculative market but instead that it remains permanently and in the long run a shared common good.

The Solidarity Transfer Fund between existing and new projects has been added to the Syndikat Holding Company's veto power to promote financial support and the sharing of knowledge across projects. This solidarity fund, which is meant to support initiatives during their early stages of development, receives a portion of the rent. This is feasible since loans are repaid gradually and the interest rate drops as a project matures (Lafond e Tsvetkova 2017).

The concept of autonomy is at the core of the Syndikat. In fact, the members do not receive any public subsidies, but everybody is helped with the solidarity found.

The purchase of the properties calls for the request of small loans or direct credits with very low interests (0-3%) from friends, family and alternative institutions; the responsibility for the mortgage is collective.[109]

The Syndikat is able to use the cracks and empty spaces of the capitalist structure to achieve its anti-hegemonic purposes, building a legal structure for a network of collective and self-organized housing properties.

The governance structure is based on the mutual support network of housing projects, a wide community spread all over the country, that meet each-other in self-managed assemblies. The decision model used is based on consensus and on a form of direct democracy, so that the 'vote' itself is not important like the deliberative process leading to the final decision. In contrast with representative democracy, this process is not interested in the majority but rather in understanding the arguments, needs and motivations of individual members to try and find suitable solutions for everyone.

For this reason, the Syndikat network and individual housing projects do not need representatives. There are regional and thematic groups in which appropriate and peculiar solutions are developed, information is exchanged on a mutual support base. There are also some paid members who perform basic administrative tasks for the entire network but do not have representative and decision-making functions.

The Mietshäuser Syndikat is a cultural and social model that attracts the interest of more and more people in Germany but also in other countries. In another word, the strategies have at long last become significant on a global scale. But because regional legal systems vary, the German Syndikat model cannot be easily applied from one place to another. However, similar models are currently established in countries like Austria, France, and the Netherlands.

There is a lot more to the concept of syndikat than just living in a wonderful apartment in one's own building. In order to share resources and put them under democratic control, networks are necessary (Lafond e Tsvetkova 2017). A movement called the Mietshäuser Syndikat encourages individuals to adopt new perspectives on housing and social infrastructure.

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[109] In this regard, there are ethical finance institutions that have opened up to new possibilities: in addition to taking care of their own interests, they choose initiatives with strong social and community values, recognizing their importance and finding effective ways to provide them with the necessary support. They can be ethical banks or cooperatives, such as Banca Etica in Italy, the GLS Bank in Germany (Patti e Poliak 2017).

Background

In the 1980s, the housing sector of the most relevant German urban areas was strongly influenced by a squatter movement that claimed empty buildings in the center of the city in an attempt to alleviate the housing shortage in the formal public and private sector. Hundreds of buildings in Berlin, Leipzig, Freiburg were squatted. Unlike other radical political groups, the alternative, left-leaning squatters movement was supported by a large number of bottom-up neighborhood initiatives. This broad solidarity combined with persistent public pressure, exemplified through repeated street protests and demonstrations[110], ultimately not only resulted in a public subsidy system the supported the repair of houses through self-help but also institutionalized the squatters practice of *Instandsetzung* (repair and modernization during occupation). Eventually, nearly half of the squatted buildings were reconditioned by thei inhabitants and were legalized along the way with subsidies from the governement's newly installed framework *Behutsame Stadterneuerung* (Careful Urban Regeneration)[111]. Although through this support the activist develops a flourishing of a new communal housing practices and shared living models – such as common hallways and kitchens, self-managed companies and alternative production, neighborhood shops, social organization like Kitas (day-care center)- the state's subsidies did not secure any long term goals for equitable housing production.

With the fall of the Berlin wall, Germans main cities' housing and real estate market experienced a massive influx of more affluent private actors on the one hand and larger profit-oriented investors on the other. Almost at the same time (particularly from mid 1990's on) and after two decades of supporting former squat and self-managed housing through the *Behutsame Stadterneuerung,* the ruling conservative CDU party started to enforce the line to clear newly established squats within 24 hours. This dwindling political support for the squatter movement and self managed housing models, combined with a period of fast development and transformation triggered by new financial investment and interests, put alternative nonprofit housing scene in dire straits.

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110 https://www.berlin-besetzt.de/#

111 The Behutsame Stadterneuerung were adopted in 1982 by the Berlin parliament with the pressure of the broad civil society. They contained socially acceptable preservation and user-oriented modernization rules for old building quarters instead of demolition and new contruction or suburban developments; see https://www.internationale-bauausstellungen.de

The idea of founding a *Syndikat* to support community housing projects originated in 1983 in Freiburg, a small town in southern Germany, with the creation of a group *called Grether-Baukooperative fur Instandsetzung in Selbsthilfe* (Grether Building Cooperative for Autonomous and Solidarity-Based Regeneration). This then led to the idea of transforming individual housing projects into a solidarity network based on common goals, the result of which was the founding of the *Mietshäuser in Selbstverwaltung* (Living and Self-organisation) in 1992, later renamed *Mietshäuser Syndikat* in 1993 (Heilgemeir 2020)

Today, the *Mietshäuser Syndikat* comprises 178 housing projects and another 20 in the pipeline, spread across metropolitan areas, medium-sized cities, towns and rural areas throughout Germany.

Against the backdrop of rising rents and disappearing land resources in favour of private housing projects, a new wave of protest from the early 2010s on started to demand a more just and affordable housing delivery system and to fight for the rights of belonging, namely the right and need to appropriate and actively shaped living environments through collective action and participation. With this perspective of belonging, many initiatives simultaneously started to consolidate their protest and claims into concrete proposal and solutions, which introduced a whole new discourse on why, how, where, and by whom affordable housing developments could be realized. With a rather narrow field of options to achieve concrete results in this regards, more and more of there bottom up groups considered learning from the *Mietshäuser Syndikat* model, that is actually growing fast in the last few years nationally and abroad.

Fig 49: Civic and political engagement of Mietshäuser Syndikat members. Scenes from Das ist unser Haus! Documentary. The Upper one shows a street demonstration against housing commodification dynamics. The lower one shows the two kids inside a common space of Frei Hutte housing project.

Fig 50: 1990 Greather East renovation, first Mietshäuser Syndikat project. Photo from MS archive, Greather East, Freiburg.

Making of a model. [112]
The Mietshäuser Syndikat Legal Model

The *Mietshäuser Syndikat* group was looking for a legal model able to permanently taken off the market the property of buildings and land and making it as an expansionist organisations, to gradually remove properties from the market and transfer them to collective ownership.The organizational model chosen and put into practice by the MS is a clever example of hacking the property system[113], by transforming the 'capitalist structure' of a GmbH (German limited company) into a vehicle for strictly non-profit projects. The Ltd. is, in fact, a legal structure recognisable by the market and by public and private institutions (banks); it, therefore, allows the MS to 'play on equal terms in real estate acquisition with the 'real estate sharks' within the market regime (Vey 2016). Indeed, the MS is adept at using the cracks and gaps of the capitalist system to achieve its anti-hegemonic aims, to build a solid legal structure for the network of collective and self-organised residential projects.The difference is that the MS uses the 'ltd tool' not to generate surplus value but to allow all community members access to a house, a space for culture or work. This is because they are members of the 'legal structure Ltd which is the actual owner of the real estate and has limited liability.The main innovation developed by the MS consists of an economic strategy based on a dual form of ownership, which succeeds in securing the nature of a common good for the project building stock. Each building belongs to the *Hausverein*, the residents' ltd. The tenants thus hold normal rental contracts directly with the Ltd they have created, to which the loan for purchasing the building is made. They are responsible for all matters relating to the project from a financial, administrative, architectural and social point of view. On the other hand, the holding company, an Ltd of the MS comprising all the national projects, has the vital role of 'veto' if a given community wants to reprivatize its building, as well as the task of coordinating the national network of communities and the related economic and legal instruments. This organization ensures that the building is not sold and brought back to the speculative market but instead that it remains permanently and in the long run a shared common good.

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[112] To understand the tools and models of the MS projects and in particular of the *3 Houserprojekte*, J**oaken,** an active member of the Freiburg MS, put me in touch with two MS members from Italy with whom I could better communicate and though understand: **Marina Noussan and Noemi Kuck**. In addition, Marina put me in touch with **Helda Haselberger and Sascha Klemtz**
Interviews conducted in 2020 and then during fieldwork in June 2021 allowed the following paragraphs to be written. In fact, the present literature was insufficient to define the MS in all its parts.
[113] Marcuse, 1994, 32
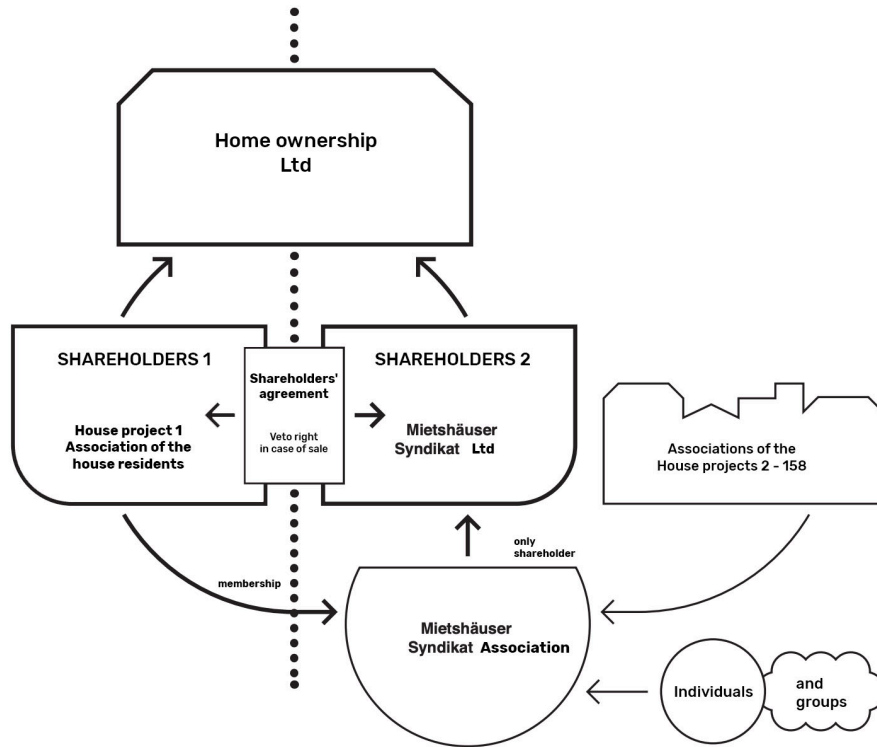
Fig 51: The legal functioning diagram of the Mietshäuser Syndikat. Diagram by the author on a basis of S. Horlitz' study (S. Horlitz 2021)

Economic model: the financing, the actors involved and tenures

The variety of economic devices used is aimed at broadening the affordability of real estate and creating forms of shared and collective ownership, proposing an innovation concerning the forms of (public and private) ownership provided by Roman law (Balmer e Bernet, Housing as a common resource? Decommodofication and self-organisation in housing – examples from Germeny and Switzerland', in (eds) Urban Commons: Moving Be 2015)

An essential strength of the MS is its positioning within the market regime; this allows them to access real estate and land like any real estate while finalising the economic effort to permanently remove the assets from the short and long-term speculative logic. The MS uses a genuine capitalist form, such as the Ltd, to favour non-profit collective ownership and veto real estate re-entry into the market.

The MS can deconstruct the concept of private property as a means of generating surplus value, using legal devices already present and consolidated in the local contexts, making ownership of real estate and land an instrument of accessibility to the built heritage. The resident communities collectively own the property, i.e. the actual owner is the legal container representing them (Ltd), while each nucleus pays a long-term rent. Ownership is 'dematerialised' as the Ltd is self-managed by the community itself, and all the resulting economies are fed back into the inhabiting and local community's circular economy to be used for the upkeep of the property.

It is, therefore, interesting to observe how the paradoxical use of contractual means, such as the ownership, can ensure the preservation of common goods, counter financialisation and stimulate public policies themselves.

Another contribution of the MS lies in the area of access to credit. Residents finance the purchase of the residential building through so-called *Direktkredite*[114] (Patti e Poliak 2017), which are then repaid through rents. The search for *Direktkredite* as explained by Marina Noussan, is a time consuming and hard exercise in which future residents are involved (Interview N, Marina Noussan)[115.] This means that

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114 Direktkredite are a virtuous financial system in which interest rates and debt levels are lowered through the activation of alternative circuits, requesting micro-credits or direct credits with very low interest (0-3%) from friends, family members and alternative institutions, such as cooperative and solidarity-based credit institutions (ethical bank or GLS bank).

115 Marina Noussan, founder and member of LAMA. She is Italian from the Aosta Valley and has lived in Freiburg, Germany, for many years. She has lived 20 years in a condominium owned by the Regional Bank, which sold 80000 housing units to real estate holding sharks to refinance its coffers. So with most of their neighbors, they decided to buy the apartment building they lived in. However, the sharks of real estate did not sell it to them. They turned to Syndikat, which was in a new phase, not just taking back buildings but building them from scratch. The city of Freiburg started selling city areas to build residential buildings. Marina and her group participated in the public bid to win part of the area to be developed, proposing their project in which 70

the economic situation of the inhabitants does not influence their ability to finance their homes. Furthermore, the MS is a mediator between new projects and the banks, as well as with the local public actor, and offers a solidarity fund between projects (old and new), fed by a part of the rents of the projects that can become lenders, capable of creating virtuous micro-credit circuits within the Syndikat network itself. This is possible because rents are capped and loans are repaid slowly (Lafond e Tsvetkova 2017). 3 houserproject obtained a very long lease from the bank, 80 years, that really help the economical management of the development and low rents production.

Usually, in order to start a new MS housing project a community buy the land and the building from the traditional market through a private act and goes through a private development. In the past few years, Freiburg municipality invited MS to participate at urban expansion developments, such as 3 *Häuserprojekt*, including it in the social housing production of the city. In fact the 3 *Häuserprojekt*, the three buildings, are situated in a new urban area where coexist 'regular social housing', MS, traditional private developments with very different cost of development following the speculative or not for profit logic, and very different rents average.[116] Lama and *Luftschloss* are developed on public land that has been given to the MS while *SchwereLos*, the biggest MS project, 'won' the public land through a lottery mechanism.

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percent of the housing is social housing. The Syndikat did great political work for Marina's group, and the city of Freiburg gave them part of the area.

[116] Here an extract of the Interview N, Marina Noussan, founder and member of LAMA. Made by the author.
S: What are the first steps in joining the Syndikat network?

M: We are from Freiburg, which is also the location of the Syndikat headquarters. Once we presented our project to the General Assembly, experienced members of Syndikat met with us to understand the project's economic viability and to get to know the people involved and their ethics.

As a group, we opened our own GmbH, a German limited company, and Syndikat partially financed its foundation. The practical benefit of setting up a GmbH is that a limited liability company protects us, avoiding exposing people directly to significant individual risks. Furthermore, since it is an instrument that is known and used by the capitalist market, the banks, professionals and administrations we have to deal with accept the proposed project without fear and grant mortgages or city areas more efficiently: it gives security. So, we use this medium to pursue our anti-speculative ends.

Our GmbH owns the building, the Gmbh of the Syndikat protects it with a right of veto in the event of a will to sell, and we condominiums pay a very moderate rent.

The Syndikat in these first, delicate steps, from the founding of the GmbH to the beginning of the construction or renovation of the building, supports the projects with a great deal of mediation with banks - we managed to obtain two loans from two different banks - and with the local authorities - knowing the members of the city council helped us to better explain the intentions of the project and thus receive approval. Everything is based on direct communication with the people.

All housing projects have a consultant who is a member of an established project in the Syndikat network, as well as various working and mutual support groups, such as the administration group, which more experienced members of other projects always run.

Community and forms of governance for social inclusion

All housing projects are self-organised, and autonomy is a pillar of the MS, so communities do not demand public subsidies but nurture mutual support behaviour. Behind the term Mietshäuser Syndikat, there is a network through which resources are socialised and brought under democratic control (LaFond, 2017). The basis is a shared libertarian and anarchist political vision and the defence of the right to housing.

Every new project has to pass through a selection in order to enter in the MS Network. Each new community has to present itself and its housing project to the General MS Assembly that happens each 6 months. The presentation is a share of ideas, values, approach and in concrete of the building project. The Assembly evaluated it and the new community start a path together with expert members of MS in order to set the feasibility and how. The benefits of being part of the MS can be resumed: to be part of an extended network of akin housing community and to reproduce a rooted housing production model; to have the possibility to be supported from the other projects in every moment, in the struggling initial phases, or in crucial moments, to be part of a circuit of co-learning that brings capabilities from one community to another; to have a little financial support to trigger the GmbH.

The MS implements a consensus-based decision-making model during its General Assemblies that are always organized in a different city.

"The national assembly of 200-300 people is always a great stimulus. They are conducted independently, with great discipline and an eye on women. A man and a woman always lead moderation. A liberated and libertarian left that puts a consensus-based decision-making model into practice, with discussions full of respect. It almost seems like the organisation of a small project, but instead, it is a national and extensive network. The network between all housing projects consists of a few members from each project, of which at least 6-7 people are always active." [117] (Noussan 2020)

In addition to the general assembly, there are local or regional assemblies that are useful for discussing territory-related issues or for exchanging and acquiring specific expertise.

"Syndikat's approach proposes that all its members acquire multidisciplinary expertise to be autonomous in managing each part of the project (financial, architectural) and become promoters of innovation and bearers of the DIY mode.

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[117] 20/08/01 _ Interview N. Marina Noussan, Mitshauser Syndikat, 3houserprojecte, Freiburg: Syndikat model. Made by the author. Language, Italian.

This creates a network of completed and consolidated projects that pass on technical and social knowledge to projects under construction— a network of mutual concrete support. Also, financial support between established and new projects through loans at favourable rates. We financed a project in the former GDR in an area where the local authorities did not politically support the Syndikat approach. Even this model of mutual support was so successful that three years ago, a jurist accused us of competing with the banks, creating a big national case, which was deflated thanks to the excellent mediation work of the Syndikat network."[118] (Noussan 2020)

Each project also has its internal statute with its rules, and some members are available for advice and support of other projects and to resolve internal issues.
It is up to the assembly to monitor the projects over time, given the continuous interaction within local and national assemblies or support groups. It is the responsibility of people to understand and choose not only for their project but also for the whole network.
In the last five years there is also a group that is managing the international affairs and requests but it is already ten years that MS group are invited to disseminate the model all over Europe.[119]

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[118] 20/08/01 _ Interview N. Marina Noussan, Mitshauser Syndikat, 3houserprojecte, Freiburg: Syndikat model. Made by the author. Language, Italian.
[119] Authors' Notes From The Field Trip To Freiburg:
There is not much connection between the projects in Freiburg. They are all already so busy with their personal project that it is difficult! The closeness lies in the political sharing of a vision and actions. Union lies in political activism.
The inhabitants are all very relaxed and are not all aware of what is going on. They know about the affairs of their own community and have personal - friendship - informal and activist relationships with some members of other housing projects. The relationships are personal.
Not all inhabitants are active in the same way. There seems to be a bit of a risk of 'sitting back' once you have the house.
Not easy to integrate people that don't have the same political background as the refugees hosted.

Fig 52: Mietshäuser Syndikat General Assembly,2016. *Scenes from Das ist unser Haus!* Documentary..

Affordability:

The MS aim is to produce affordable housing by sharing a political approach able to promote the housing right and the right to the city for the use of common goods. To achieve this, the MS model provides LLC as legal structure that allow to dismantle the private property and the direct link between individual economic capacity and access to housing and a mortgage. The Direktkredit and the long term loans (80 years) help to keep building cost low and rents capped.

Also the choose for a simple architectural approach, low tech and low cost, with a direct involvement of the community in the construction site, a community building site, reduces the development cost. Such as the production of not for profit housing project.

Finally also the capabilities exchange among communities and all the MS network activities are a trigger for affordability into a social market perspective.

Architecture innovation

MS is focused on the production of a legal, economic and socio-political model. Architecture and typology research is not something central at the moment.

The architecture is very simple, with comfortable interiors, beautiful terraces and sauvage greenery. There is a preference for economical construction and high energy performance with compulsory green roofs for the latest solar and photovoltaic projects. Because of this till now the architectural quality is not primarily sought after. Each project can be considered as an architectural unicum as there is not a modelling intent.

Almost all projects think about energy saving and environmental sustainability, using a lot of structural timber, or pushing towards passive house model. The Freiburg municipality make it is compulsory to build to certain sustainability standards, as in the rest of Germany.

When a project approaches the re-use of a building, it is usually a standard rehabilitation with an upgrade, where possible, of the energy saving characteristics. It is very difficult to see in Syndikat's projects a radical change of the building for financial reasons mainly.

In the new construction the cluster apartment typology, with shared kitchens, living rooms and private spaces (bedroom, bathroom, possibly kitchenette) for each household is becoming very popular. MS is inspired by Swiss innovative typologies widely used by following also the cohousing model.

As Helda, architect and founder of the MS, reports[120], during the design phase usually the groups give more importance to the definition of the communal spaces rather than to the private unites. Moreover, in the Syndikat houses, the inhabitants are tenants and managers, that means that they need to produce spaces useful to their community needs and possibilities of care and maintenance. [121]

The author takes as an example the 3houserprojekte in Freiburg. It is composed of 3 separate buildings distributed in the same neighborhood. An area of urban sprawl where residential buildings coexist within the traditional market and MS.

LAMA building has 13 apartments for families, individuals and shared flats as well as three wheelchair-accessible residential units. Four apartments are occupied by people who have fled their homes, and two apartments are occupied by people in special emergency situations. There is a common room at the third floor that gives on the roof terraces.

Luftschloss has 19 apartments whose one is for refugees. From single households and family apartments to a large 12 people flat-sharing community. At the ground level there is a common room with cafè, a garden, a food garden, self-built sauna, a stage area and the river access. The roof top terrace is very appreciated.

SchwereLos is a L shaped building and has 17 apartments and 1050 m² of common spaces.

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120 Helma is an architect and one of funder of the MS. She is an activist engaged in the proceeding of Freiburg and National MS movement. Sometimes she gives her architectural contribute as a professionals to the housing project of the Network. She is now engaged in the new Builder Association for the development of new housing buildings in Freiburg.

121 21/10/23 _ Marina Noussan, Sascha Klemz, Helma Architect, Noemi Kuck Mitshauser Syndikat, Freiburg: Syndikat model and architectural/spatial approach.
Extract, words of Helma Haselberger.
For example, the Fritze project in Frankfurt, in the city centre, is a banal apartment block, and the community decided to make a common space in the attics. The flats are common flats, while community life takes place under the roof!
The 3 houserprojecte are an interesting example because they are new construction developed in three different ways from a spatial and also management point of view.
The 3 hauserproject is composed by three separate buildings LAMA, Luftschloss, SchwereLos all designed by the same architecture studio, Werkgruppe, together with the three communities.
The three housing projects have a common and recognizable style, are compact building with a traditional interior distribution on 4-5 floors. The ground floor is accessible with portico or with shared spaces, and a common terrace are characteristics of the 3 buildings.
Many aspects of the planning were specified by the city from the outset, such as the exterior floor plans, the height of the buildings, the presence of an underground car park, the energy standard (KhW 55), the number and accessibility of the apartments, a large proportion of social housing (70%), and one wheelchair-accessible apartment per house.
The construction is traditional concrete one, with high energy performance following the Energy policy for Freiburg and Gutleutmatten area which objective is to create an "exemplary and innovative residential area" from an energy point of view.

At the ground level there is a garden with a playground, a common cabin next to the river and a common room also used by groups and people from the district, with an administrative bureau. There is also a children's day-care center on 580 m² run by the Diakonie. At the last floor there is a rooftop terrace, an important common space used as a rooftop square.

All buildings have the common laundry deposit and cellar underground as well as the garage. The apartments are all barrier-free.

The Luftschloss cafè is open to the city as a Pub twice a month.

In Freiburg, Greather, the project that founded the MS is self-built, do-it-yourself restructuring. At the beginning of the Syndikat's history, in a post-squatting phase, buildings were built by the inhabitants themselves. Over time it has shrunk a lot, and external contractors are used. This is also because society and city policies have changed. For example, in the case of 3houserprojecte, tight deadlines were dictated by the city of Freiburg so there was neither time nor space for a self-help phase.

Helda says it is likely that there will be a slow return to the self-help model, given the crisis and rising unemployment. In addition, there are other projects with communities of architects who directly follow the design and realization of the buildings.

Fig 53: Masterplan Arne-Torgersen-Str Mietshauser Syndikat's project 3 houserprojekte. The project is composed by 3 new buildings, the biggest one is SchwereLos, the one in the center is LAMA, and the last one is named Luftschloss. Buildings are placed in a new neighborhood of expanding urban limits. To the north, they border an area of urban gardens and a small bathing river to the north and east.Drawings by the author.

Fig 54:Planimetry and section of Luftschloss building. The drawings show the apartment typologies and the communal spaces distribution Drawings by MS re-desing by the author

Public actor and the city:

Even for an officially autonomous organization like the Mietshauser Syndikat, legislative support from the city and state actors becomes an important part of starting a housing project. These political measures can see subsidies, advantageous building regulations, the assignment of public land to dependable self-governed structures and the support of self-governance as an alternative applicable to public housing construction are of great relevance. Furthermore, since MS housing projects often appear to be small-scale initiative that only serve a limited amount of people, a collaboration between self-help initiatives and state actors could become particularly relevant in times of immense shortages of affordable Housing.

The Syndikat does a lot of political, mediation and awareness-raising work with local and national administrations. In Freiburg and Berlin, the administrations espouse the values proposed by the Syndikat and give it much consideration, support and trust. For Freiburg, the Syndikat is a flagship, and the municipal administration offers excellent opportunities for development, which is why a Construction Association was recently founded to support the development of new projects. Consequently, the relationship with banks is also facilitated. It is a different story in other regions of the country where administrations do not espouse the proposed values. Much more work is needed, and the network is meticulous.

"It is always a big gamble to start a project. It was scary for us residents to sign a EUR 3 million contract three years ago, but now we have a home. All the burdens and problems are shared with 30 other people, so it is necessary to create communities of kindred spirits based on trust, presence, responsibility and solidarity despite all potential problems"[122]. (Noussan 2020)

The relationship with public institutions has improved a lot since the construction of the 3 Houserprojecte. It had created trust, before there was always a veil of scepticism given the anarchic origin of the movement.

Reproducibility and Network

The MS has produced a recognised and entrenched alternative housing model, tested in all German regions and taken as a model by many European and global realities. Why?

Since its inception the MS has received many inquiries from groups abroad who wish to build on the syndikate's model in their own countries. And through its

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[122] 20/08/01 _ Interview N. Marina Noussan, Mitshauser Syndikat, 3houserprojecte, Freiburg: Syndikat model. Made by the author. Language, Italian.

inherently collective, nonprofit setup, the syndicate has naturally shared its knowledge and resources where possible:
- building acquisition strategy in the market but proposing non-profit and inclusive logic
- autonomous governance and networked mutual aid communities
- developed strategy within a social market, network of actors and providers
- model of communication with the public actors and banks
However, while it is possible to transfer the system in principle, each country faces different challenges, such as various approaches to ownership, different juridical, economic and tax systems, or different economic situations of the population. [123]

Despite the difficulties, organizations such as habiTAT[124] in Austria, Le CLIP[125] in France, Vrijcoop[126] in Netherland, Radical Routes[127] in UK, have been established to work on comparable models. There is also the case of MOBA[128], which includes realities from different states: projects are located in Belgrade (Pametnija Zgrada / Ko Gradi Grad), Budapest (Rákóczi Collective), Ljubljana (Zadrugator), Prague (Sdílené domy[129] / První Vlaštovka) and Zagreb (Cooperative for Ethical Financing / Cooperative Open Architecture). Although they all build on the same general principle, each describes their respective aim differently: habiTAT's manifesto states that alternatives to real estate market are created that make beautiful living possible regardless of the financial background, and that all people have the right to independently organized housing where your children may already have the choice between the constraint of the real estate market and self-initiated, self-managed forms of housing; Le CLIP defines its goal as creating an archipelago of places in ownership of use; Vrijcoop's intent is to found an association of housing cooperatives that strives for affordable housing for everyone, where a house is not a tradable object but a place to live together. Beside of working mainly on the basis of volunteers work or crowdfunding, these initiatives and organizations are also supported by the German MS network, which through its no profit statutes and collective values naturally sees such actors rather as allies than competitors.here a

[123] 21/10/23 _ Marina Noussan, Sascha Klemz, Helma Architect, Noemi Kuck Mitshauser Syndikat, Freiburg: Syndikat model and architectural/spatial approach.
In essence Sasha from the MS describes the main challenges as follows: " every group from a different country that wants to establish a syndicate-like model is faced with the same tasks as the small group from Freiburg in the early 1990s: How do they defy an economic system that is geared to maximize profits by developing a model that works for our ideas of a good life for all- in which effort and benefit are reasonable proportion?" .
[124] habitat: https://habitat.servus.at/?page_id=608
[125] Le CLIP: https://clip.ouvaton.org/
[126] Vrijcoop: https://vrijcoop.org/
[127] Radical Routes: https://www.radicalroutes.org.uk/
[128] MOBA: https://moba.coop/
[129] Sdilené Domy: https://sdilenedomy.cz/en/about-our-project-2/

large part of the assistance is the development of locally adapted legal forms and sample rental agreements. Other important components -often in order to acquire any houses and properties at all-are lobbying, strategy development for public relations and political campaign management.[130] (Klemtz 2021)

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[130] In essence Sasha from the MS describes the main challenges as follows: " every group from a different country that wants to establish a syndicate-like model is faced with the same tasks as the small group from Freiburg in the early 1990s: How do they defy an economic system that is geared to maximize profits by developing a model that works for our ideas of a good life for all- in which effort and benefit are reasonable proportion?"

Legend:
- **Syndikat housing projects** (yellow circle)
- **Other housing associations Networks inspired by MS model** (yellow square)
- **International Initiatives interested in adapting MS model** (black circle outline)

Map labels:
- Radical Routes
- VrijCoop|2
- Mietshauser Syndikat|170
- habiTAT|6
- Le Clip|6
- LaDinamo
- Sostre Civic
- Sotrac
- MOBA housing sce
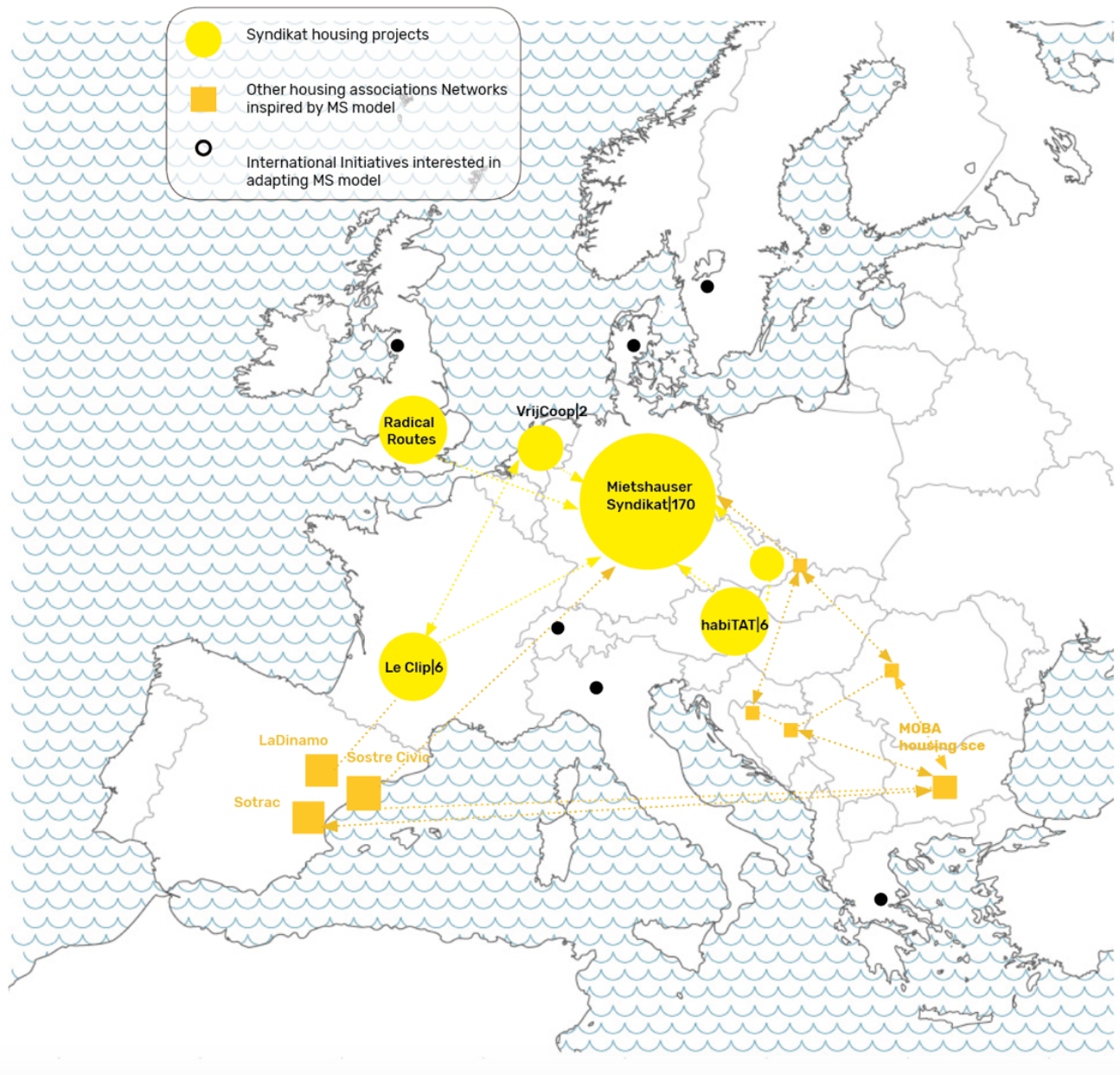
Fig 57: Mietshäuser Syndikat international diffusion. Match with Corinne Hoezl (Holzl 2022) studies. Map by the author.

What is Radical Routes?

Democratic decision making

Fig 58: Comics from the booklet *an introduction to Radical Routes.* Radical Routes is part of the network of the Mietshauser Syndikat in UK.

MIETSHÄUSER SYNDIKAT

3Houserprojekte-LAMA, Freiburg, Arne-Torgersen-Str.

Mietshauser Syndikat political activism for housing right

PROJECT DATA:
2014-2018   1050m²-13 flats
3.0 mln €   Werkgruppe architects
Interest-free state loans for social housing, KfW subsidies, GLS bank, Traditional bank, micro-credits, solidarity loans

INSPIRATIONAL MODELS:
Squatting movements

COMMUNITY:
intergenerational 24 adults, 15 kids

Active for: production and management

PUBLIC ACTOR ROLE&INVOLVEMENT

HOUSING DIVISION ORGANIZATION
-

TOOLS
>subsidies
> advantageous building regulations,
>assignment of public land
URBAN TOOLS
-

ACTIONS
>from LAMA project, Freiburg municipality gives to MS the opportunities for development of new housing projects.
>Guarantee for Fundings (Banks, or others)

LEGAL MODEL

ECONOMICAL MODEL & TENURE

ARCHITECTURAL MODEL

GOVERNANCE

NOT FOR PROFIT LTD
• not for profit
• Central MS Ltd, have right to veto on the re-sell of properties.
• Each housing project Ltd, the household are associates and has the right to live in an apt.
• Pay a low monthly fee to pay back the collective mortgage.

TENURE
Land is Public, leased.
Building is owned by Resi-dents Ltd
FUNDING
• Solidarity loans, GLS banks, Traditional banks, micro-credits, state subsidies.
• Solidarity funds for new projects

TYPOLOGY INNOVATIONS:
common and public spaces
CONSTRUCTION INNOVATIONS:
self-building, low tech, low impact.

AWARDS
-

SELF-ORGANIZATION
• members share responsability for producing, managing and mantaining building and the common spaces.
• members has the right to vote
• General National Assem-bly, Local Assembly
• Political mediation and awareness-raising with local and national administrations

TRANSFER/REPRODUCIBILITY

New Projects born from the pilot

• 178 Project in Germany+ 20 in process
• Transfer of the model in Austria, habiTAT
• Transfer of the model in France, Le Clip
• Transfer of the model in Netherland, Vrijcoop
• Transfer of the model in UK, Radical Routes
• Used as a model from EU projects
• MS Construction Association in Freiburg

Factors of success for its reproduction

• Decommodification of building and land- right to veto
• Not for profit Ltd
• Mortgage on Ltd, self promotion
• Public Land
• Community Actvism
• Community networking and capacitation
• Not for profit circuits that reduce construction cost/rent

CRITICALITIES

In the process making

• Long process
• time consuming process for the future residents
• long self-promotion campaign and funding collection

As a model

• scarcity of public land
• long waiting list
• Access to asset buy on the traditio-nal market
• Not in every city the municipality welcome MS project

FIG 59: MS Model, or Map of Action. Drawing by the author. This is the diagram that resume the functioning of the MS projects.

212

Chapter 5

The development of a new architecture for collective housing triggered by communities, public administration and cooperative institutions. La Borda right to use housing cooperative.

Biography 2. Cooperativa d'Habitaciò, Barcellona.

APPENDIX Index_*PART 3_chapter 5*

The right to use La Borda cooperative has greater expression in local and academic literature, especially Catalan origin. At the beginning of this research, although La Borda did not have its current fame, many articles, books, and papers were already produced by academics.

So, the study and analysis of Catalan cooperatives began with a survey of the existing literature, which proved helpful but insufficient to describe right to use housing cooperatives' functioning.

An integration of other sources was needed as for oral ones and field trip.

As part of the Utopian Housing festival, I invited Carles Baiges, member of Lacol architecture, La Borda designers, to Turin and I conducted the first interview.

A week-long field trip to Barcelona was conducted in October 2021, where several interviews were conducted.

This first field trip was beneficial for understanding social and governance dynamics and studying architecture. The week-long stay at La Borda guest house allowed a close analysis of the spaces and daily confrontation with residents and activists. After this in-depth analysis, La Borda and the new Catalan cooperatives resulted very interesting for the research as they developed various aspects peculiar to Community-Led Housing that helped me better understand and express potentials and criticalities. Of great interest are the architectural elements, civic

activism working on several citizen fronts to develop the cooperative model and the activation of the Barcelona Municipality and its housing department.

Finally, as part of the Alternative Housing Models in Action lecture series at Politecnico of Turin, Josep Maria Montaner was invited to Turin and conducted interviews.A second field trip was realized during ENHR in August 2022, visiting the new cooperatives, La Balma, La Chalmeta, and La Xarxaria.

JOSEP MARIA MONTANER
ETSAB professor, architect, and former housing division advisor.
Housing activist.

CARLES BAIGES
Architect and co founder of the Architecture cooperative Lacol.
Co-founder and resident of La Borda.

MAITE ARRONDO AND IVAN GALLARDO
Barcelona Municipality, housing department

GLORIA RUBIO
co-founder of la dinamo, foundation.

ANDER ZABALA GOMEZ
member of the Sostre Civic cooperative

Fig 60: List- diagram of respondents for Catalan right to use cooperatives. Interviews conducted by the author from 2020 to 2022 among La Borda and Barcelona stakeholders.

General framework

DATE: 2012-2018
LOCATION: Constitució 85-89, Sants, La Bordeta
BUILDING SITE: 3000 m²
COMMUNITY: intergenerational, 62 people
LEGAL MODEL: Cession of Use Cooperative Housing,
not-for-profit housing cooperative
TENURES: Land is Public with a cession of use of 75 years;
Building is owned by the cooperative
ARCHITECTS: Lacol Cooperativa de Arquitectura.
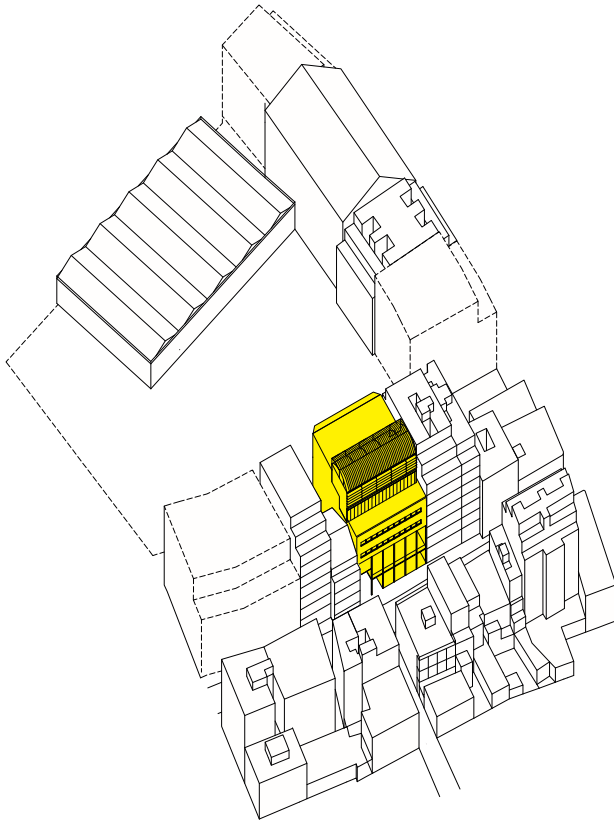
Fig 61: Framing of the portion of the Sants La Bordeta neighborhood in which the Borda building fits..
Drawing by the author.

A story, narrative of events

Construïm habitatge per construir comunitat (We build houses to build community) is stated on a banner that was flown over the building site when the housing cooperative La Borda welcomed the beginning of work on its building in the early months of 2017. Five years later, in the Can Batlló neighborhood of Barcelona's La Bordeta, Sants district, the concept for an alternative housing community was born. (Hagbert, et al. 2019, 74).

The building was prepared for the members to move in before the end of 2018. La Borda, however, had already served as an example for other organizations in the city and the emerging Barcelona Municipality policy that supported alternative housing forms by that point.

The housing cooperative La Borda is a self-organized development by its users. Its community-led organizational scheme includes outsiders who have contributed to finding socially and economically sustainable solutions. This housing cooperative, comprising 28 units, has succeeded in materializing and continues to take root in the neighborhood and the city, thanks to synergies created within a new city cooperative movement (Cabrè and Andrès 2018, 412-432).

The La Borda cooperative was born in 2012 as a Can Batló project due to three peculiar factors. First, the implementation and stitching of the cooperative network in Barcelona's Sants neighborhood. Second, a central driver of the push for the creation of a new cooperative housing movement is the housing crisis and related activating mechanisms such as declining wages and access to housing finance, and rising unemployment.

Third is the emergence of a new cooperative movement working on affordable housing. The cooperative housing movement. of Can Batló believes in and works to develop affordable housing through an alternative scheme to the traditional profit-oriented housing market. (Cabrè and Andrès 2018, 412-432)

As Said by Gloria Rubio member of La Dinamo Fundacio, the local community perceives La Borda and its development process as a pioneering and experimental project that opened new avenues for producing affordable and socially inclusive housing and new possible public-cooperative relations (Rubio 2021)[131].

The La Borda project experimented with and utilized a unique legal and economic structure, cooperative tenancy, and an alternative financing process. It opened new possibilities for the development of public-cooperative housing, as the use of public

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[131] 21/10/14 _La Dinamo Fundacion, Daniela, Gloria Rubio, Mara Ferreri, Barcelona: La Dinamo supports the cooperative housing production, La Borda pioneer process.

land, and it has driven the growth of the local cooperative movement with the emergence of new realities as La Dinamo, Lacol architecture cooperative, La Ciudad Invisible.[132]

The cession of use housing cooperative is a recently introduced legal tool in Spain, therefore it is not legally framed and there are no public policies to promote its development. It created an internal infrastructure in order to react to the housing state of art in town by founding three new institutes and promoting a Housing Right Plan. Together with the local cooperative realities the municipality worked on a table of confrontation in order to find proper tools to sustain the alternative housing production. One of the most important step has been to grant the use of public land to develop cooperative housing projects. Infact, La Borda is situated on public land with a 75-year leasehold that is used for social housing. It is located on Constitució Street, adjoining the industrial Can Batll district and having a facade to the nearby La Bordeta neighborhood.[133]

The success of this pioneering project was made possible by the commitment of the Barcelona City Council, which has prioritized affordable housing production over the last ten years (Ferreri e Vidal 2021) The municipality's housing department created an internal infrastructure to react to the city's critical settlement situation, founding three new institutions and promoting a Right to Housing Plan.

The Community, the self-promotion and subsequent collective management is a key ingredient of this project. It is formed by 28 intergenerational nucleus that come partially from the municipal lists for social housing and partially from the neighborhood' activists of Can Batlò (as the architects Lacol). They took part to the process of design and construction, and they are now using and managing their building housing. They are organized with a General Assembly and several working groups or commissions that manage all the different tasks.

The communal living is strongly fostered by the architectural project of La Borda that propose innovation of dwelling typology and construction process and materials. The 28 apartments (40, 60, and 75m2) in the building program have communal areas that extend the private space to the public ones to improve community life. These areas include multipurpose rooms, dining and kitchen areas, laundries, guest rooms, storage in each plant, rooms for health and care, and outside and semi-outdoor areas like the patio and roof. Each of them was organized around a huge relationship space called a "corralas" in the center. It is similar to the popular

[132] Cabré, E. and Andrés, A. (2018) 'La Borda: a case study on the implementation of cooperative housing in Catalonia', International Journal of Housing Policy, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 412–432.
133 Ibidem, pp. 412–432.

dwelling typology in central and southern Spain. In order to create comfort in homes with the least amount of consumption, lower the overall costs of accessing housing, and remove the risk of energy poverty among users, La Borda intends to have the best environmental performance both during the construction process and during its life. [134]

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[134] Lacol Architecs explain very well the process they followed to design the Borda, the goals they sought and achieved, and the innovations they made. The information here is extracted from project sheets shared by Lacol with the author and found in ANNEXES, and from interviews A and B:
21/07/08 _ Carles Baiges, Lacol Architects, Barcelona: La Borda Cooperative Housing.
21/10/14 _ Carles Baiges, Lacol Architects, Barcelona: Cooperative model in Barcelona.

Fig 62: LaBorda collective opening of the construction site. Photo by Lacol architecture Archives. Annexes La Borda.

Inspirational models

La Borda group, together with housing departments of Barcelona Municipality, studied international models of housing alternatives, declined in several different legal or economical frame, and able to produce affordability and social inclusion.[135]

Also to find inspiration about architectural innovation as said by Carles Baiges during his interview, Lacol architects got inspired by several housing designer such as Lacaton e Vassal and the housing project in Zurich and Wien. (Baiges 2021)[136]. La Borda project won and still winning several national and international awards for its many innovative approaches on architecture, and social inclusive housing (Awarded with the Mies Van Der Rohe 2022, Baffa Rivolta 2021) . It is called to participate to architectural Biennals, -Italy, Spain- and to be presented into the academy as a best practice. The inhabitants welcome numerous communities, professionals, public actors and scholars wishing to understand La Borda functioning model.

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[135] 21/10/13 _ Interview to Ivan Gallardo -Gerència d'Habitatge, Ajuntament de Barcelona- and Maite Arrondo- Innovation in Housing Policies Redes y Proyectos Europeos-, Housing división, Barcelona Municipality: Housing policies in Barcelona.
Maite Arrondo sais:
This comparative study helped a lot to build the right formula for the city, still being refined. The cooperative models analyzed are the Uruguay cooperative movement where the public-community housing work produced important policies and project for a massive production of affordable dwellings; the housing cooperative in Denmark and the Andel model used for more of the 30% Copenhagen' housing ; the Mietshauser Syndikat in Germany and Radical Routes in Uk that use a system of Ltd companies to produce de-commodified cooperative housing; Canadian cooperatives represent the 1% of the national housing total with a very rooted public-cooperative system.
[136] 21/07/08 _ Interview A. Carles Baiges, Lacol Architects, Barcelona: La Borda Cooperative Housing

Can Batlò the cradle of La Borda.
Sants neighborhood and its cooperative spirit[137]

10:00 a 19:00h "Can Batlló: adéu a la ciutat dels oficis" exposició fotogrà-
fica de Xavier Corbella i David Roman, al 4t pis de Cotxeres de Sants

10:00 a 11:00h visites a Can Batlló i La Lleialtat Santsenca
(punt de trobada 10:00h Plaça de la Pelleria)

11:00 a 14:00h debat Patrimoni
modera: Josep Maria Montaner
ponents: José Luís Oyón
Fernando Álvarez
Isabel Segura
Antoni Vilanova
Àlex Sánchez

14:00 a 16:00h "Dóna la cara per La Lleialtat", acció artística del col·lectiu
R-Publik a la façana de La Lleialtat Santsenca

14:00 a 16:00h dinar popular a la plaça Bonet i Muxí, 10€ anticipada (a
LaCol, La Ciutat Invisible, Terra d'Escudella i el Centre Social de Sants), 12€ el mateix dia

16:00 a 19:00h debat Ciutat
modera: Zaida Muxí
ponents: Jordi Bonet
Maria Rubert
Jordi Borja
Albert Recio
Quim Rosell

dissabte 30 d'abril
el patrimoni arquitectònic de Sants, a debat

Cotxeres de Sants
carrer de Sants, 79
(entrada per la plaça Bonet i Muxí)
L1 i L5 metro Plaça de Sants
entrada lliure
patrimoni.lacol.org
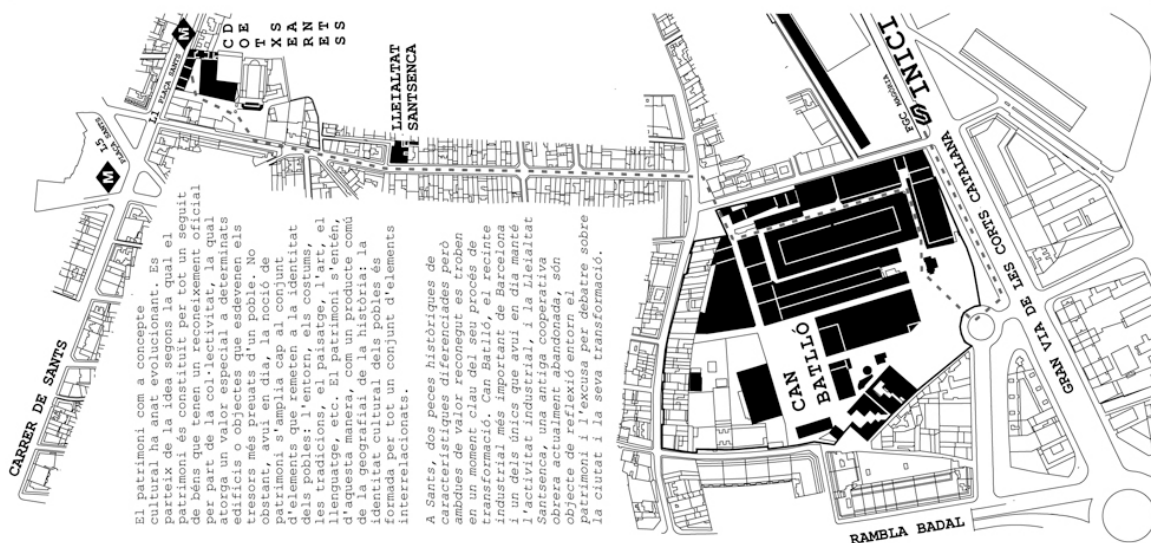
Fig 63: Can Batlò area. Leaflet from Ciudad Invisible Archive. Annexes La Borda.

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[137] This paragraphs has been built collecting oral sources from the interviews A to F and from the field trip in Sants. Moreover there was few scientific paper about the Sants Process.

For many Barcelonans, the neighborhood is currently an important scale for social mobilization. The La Borda project, among other alternative housing initiatives, are all relevant to the neighborhood link. Considering the region where the project is located, Josep Maria Montaner report in its interview what a member said: 'Can Batlló is essential to understanding La Borda. La Borda is a flower of rich soil, as Can Batlló once said.

(Hagbert, et al. 2019, 84) (J. M. Montaner 2021). [138]

Can Batlló is a former and abandoned industrial site in La Bordeta, a neighborhood in the District of Sants-Montjuïc in Barcelona. It was founded during Barcelona's early industrialization. (The neighborhood is named for the Batlló family, who are arguably most known for having purchased what is now known as Casa Batlló, the historic Antoni Gaudì building from 1877.) Can Batlló was built initially for the textile industry, but it eventually attracted small enterprises and workshops. The Can Batlló workshops and companies, however, were gradually shut down as part of the 1976 General Metropolitan Plan for Barcelona, which attempted to banish industrial operations from urban areas. The buildings were going to be torn down and replaced by upscale apartments and a park, according to the municipality. This ran counter to demands made by activists within and outside of the The abandoned industrial area was seen as a potential site for the growth of various self-managed operations and initiatives in the La Bordeta neighborhood. However, the municipality kept delaying its goals. Residents and social organizations involved in the platform established the 1 June 2011 opening and transformation date for the municipality. Recover Can Batlló: Can Batlló is in the neighborhood. In 2009. If not, the protesters would occupy and clear the space. Only a few days before the deadline, the municipality and the campaign finally came to an agreement that let community activists to occupy and utilize one of the abandoned industrial structures (BlocOnze). Can Batlló now has further structures and areas. There are now more buildings and spaces at Can Batlló. However, a portion of the region has been designated for commercial development as part of an agreement with the municipality . After that,

self-management has allowed the Platform Can Batlló movement to advance its initiatives (Hagbert, et al. 2019, 85, Eizaguirre and Parés 2019).

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[138] This information has been collected with the interview F, 22/05/31 _ Josè Maria Montaner, ETSAB professor, ex member of the Barcelona municipality housing division, housing activist, Barcelona.
And are also present in Hagbert, P., Larsen, H.G., Thörn, H., & Wasshede, C. (Eds.). (2019). Contemporary Co-housing in Europe: Towards Sustainable Cities? (1st ed.). Routledge. Here follows a piece of Interview c and D from Henrik Gutzon Larsen, Barcelona. Housing crisis and Urban activism, 74-85.

La Borda was thus born within a community led and bottom-up process that took the fate of Can Batló into its own hands, to find a socially, economically and ecologically sustainable future solution for the area and the neighborhood.

This process, in addition to having generated obviously tangible results, has produced innovative strategies and schemes in the Catalan context. As a first piece of evidence in this regard, the idea of using a housing cooperative to construct and manage a residential building, in addition to being innovative in its own context, responds in an immediate way to the economic crisis to which the public with its welfare programs and policies fail to respond. Second, also of interest is the process for achieving the commons. This has innovative features, such as the use of committees made up of prospective residents and volunteer members of the local community, some of whom have technical skills useful to the process, to design and develop the housing building, to negotiate with the municipality for the transfer of the public land, and to develop financial strategies suitable for the project.

The larger districts of Sants and La Bordeta are also significant hubs for Barcelona's social and solidarity economy, even though Can Batló is "a humus to start political projects, like the alternative housing initiative"

Gloria Rubio from LaDinamo claims that work cooperatives are not the least of these (Rubio 2021). The Sants and La Bordeta are referred to as the "cooperative neighborhood" in a recent analysis of Barcelona's social and solidarity economy activities (Fernàndez and Miró 2016). In these communities, a number of La Borda members are involved in cooperatives. This includes the foundation for promoting housing cooperatives La Dinamo, the bookshop and publishing cooperative La Ciutat Invisible, the architect cooperative LaCol, and other businesses that are inspired by or affiliated with La Borda (Hagbert, et al. 2019, 87)

New actors for the production of housing cooperatives[139]

LaDinamo is a foundation that promotes the housing cooperative and is working on modeling the process and shortening the eight years of waiting time (as in the case of La Borda). It is also working to build knowledge about social and affordable cooperative housing, to provide a basis for forming a critical mass at different levels, from the communities to the region and the municipality, and for reproducibility of the models themselves.

La Dinamo supports communities, the public actor, and other actors in producing cooperative housing. It has a more transformative political positioning. Through

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[139] Thanks to the support of the researcher Mara Ferreri from University of Barcelona, housing policies scholar and housing activist in Barcelona, the author could reconstruct a map of new stakeholders working for the right to use housing cooperatives in Barcelona.

libertarian thinking in housing production, LaDinamo has focused on more transformative practices through assembly decision-making models in which each person is responsible and committed, which means a longer but more transformative work process. This is different from less autonomous and more service-oriented management.

Coop 57is an ethical and solidarity-based financial services cooperative based in The primary goal of La Bordeta in the Sants area is to contribute to the social transformation of our economy and society. Its main purpose is to use financial intermediation to finance social and solidarity economy projects. In order to finance social and solidarity economic organizations that support employment, foster cooperative, associative, and solidarity in general, and promote sustainability based on moral and compassionate values, this entails gathering and capturing savings from civil society. Coop57 is a democratic and assembly-based organization comprised of people and organizations from the social and solidarity economy. All entities belonging to the social and solidarity economy that are service partners of Coop57 and contribute some added value to their environment and society can receive funding from Coop57.

Sostre Cívic was born in 2004 in the form of an association. It is the pioneering entity in the country in promoting cooperative housing in the cession of use. It has become the space for the participation of several people who, voluntarily, want to promote an alternative of access and ownership of Catalonia. The association's corporate purpose is the dissemination and promotion of housing cooperatives in the transfer of use and support for existing cooperative housing projects, as well as the promotion, in general, of a new model of access to housing. Housing that is affordable and without entering the speculative market.

The eponymous cooperative was established in 2010, six years after its founding, after it was realized that the promotion of the first cooperative housing projects required the existence of a legal body. The cooperative housing projects promoted are included in the same Civic Roof umbrella. Each project is managed independently and has its assembly. In addition, they have separate financial management and financing, and the risks are not shared between the different projects of the cooperative. The autonomy of each project is protected by the statutes and by the Law of Cooperatives of Catalonia.[140]

In the Barcelona region, several alternative housing initiatives are strongly related to their local areas and neighborhood engagement.[141]

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140 article 126: https://sostrecivic.coop/
141 As reported by Larsen, H. G. in (Hagbert, et al. 2019, 87)

Making of a model.
Right to use Cooperative housing, La Borda's Legal Model

Home ownership
Housing Cooperative

right to use the
home and
common spaces

ENTRANCE FEE
MONTLHY FEE

Cooperative
members

RESIDENTS

LOCAL COMMUNITY

Land Lease
75/90 years

Land ownership
Public Administration
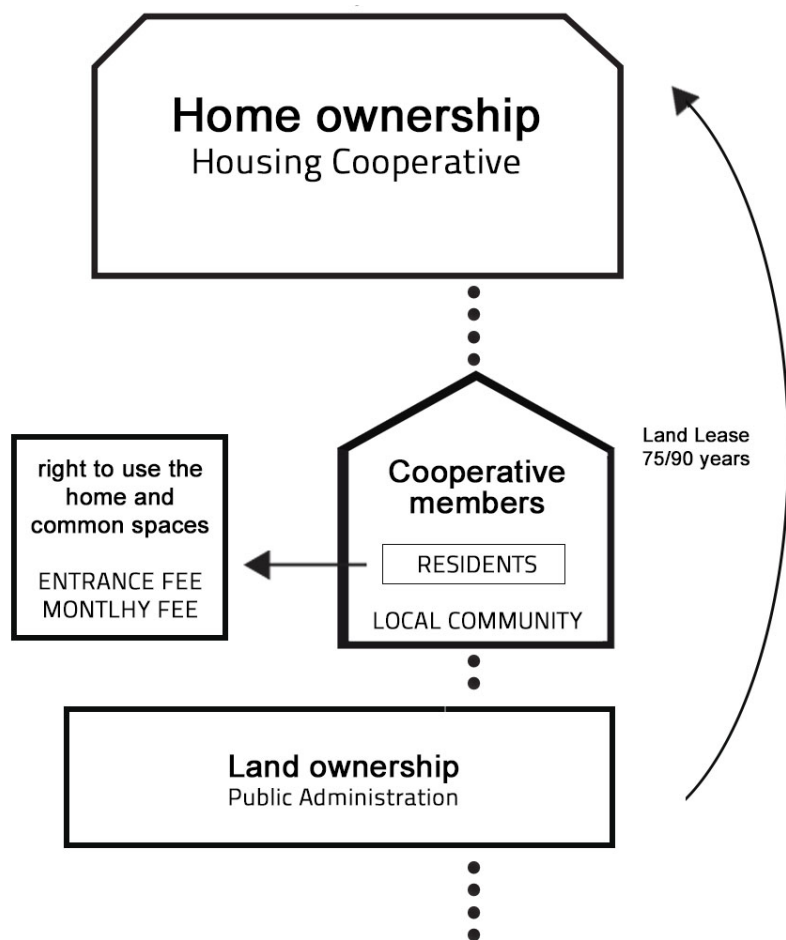
Fig 64: Right to use Cooperative, functioning diagram by the author.

The rights associated to housing can be divided into four categories: 1. the right of use, i.e. the right to inhabit, 2. the right to derive economic benefit, 3. the right to alter its form, materials, arrangement, 4. the right of sale. (Cabrè and Andrès 2018, 412-432).

La Borda cession of use housing cooperative propose a model that is different from the traditional Spanish housing cooperative one, who produces private housing units using a condominium form as the construction is completed[142] (Cabrè and Andrès 2018, 412-432, Fajardo , et al. 2014). The cession of use cooperative model derives from the Northern European cooperatives. It is not far from the Italian undivided property housing Cooperative model.

The Catalan not-for-profit association Sostre Cìvic brought the model in the city by using it in the production of several cooperative housing projects and La borda took it as a reference.

The private initiative of non-profit cooperatives that provide and oversee homes for its members is the foundation of the Andel model (Cabrè and Andrès 2018, 412-432). Cooperatives are composed by associated members, who enjoy the right of use their housing units.

The right to use functioning see the payment of an entrance fee for each familiar nucleon, that is generally proportional to the floor area of the unit. This will be returned at the moment when the tenants leave the cooperative. Moreover there is a monthly fee, that is affordable and changeable, used to cover the mortgage for the building construction and maintenance.

In Barcelona the Cooperative Housing are developed both on public or private land, as a social and public housing program or in the open housing market. The best arrangement, in order to contribute to housing affordability and to preserve the undivided public common good, is the cession of the surface right on the long run (70-90 years).

Another proactive deal among public actors and housing cooperatives is the provision of public subsidies, or land and the commitment of cooperatives to meeting the housing needs of a wider section of the low-middle income residents.

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[142] This passage is explained by Fajardo, et al, 2014, and cited by Cabrè, Andrè, 2018. It is an important passage because there is not much literature that develop the theme of the older Spanish Cooperative housing.

The core pillars of the model are the social advantages of a long term affordability and in terms of tenure, the improvement of the increasing housing access by fusing the benefits of home ownership and renting (Cabrè and Andrès 2018, 422-432, Jacobus and Lubell 2007)

Economic model: the financing, the actors involved and tenures
Under the right-to-use tenancy system, the cooperative holds ownership of the building, and each household is granted the right to use its own home via a cession of use contract in return for an entry fee and a monthly payment. As far as they are co-op members, the residents are permitted to use their dwellings. The admission fee will be reimbursed after a resident vacates the cooperative. If heirs have been cooperative members for a predetermined period of time and meet the income requirements established by the local government for social housing, they may inherit the right to use.

Transfer of use, and the cooperative model aim to preserve housing affordability in the long run and protect assets from re-entry into the commodified market.

In order to do this, the cooperative gives preference to individuals and companies who are a part of cooperative and social economy networks, including by providing funding through ethical banking. Three criteria were used to select the professionals who will work in the building. The person or business employed must first be qualified in terms of their technical skills. Second, professionals who work in the social economy are given preference. Third, professionals or companies that are cooperative members or take part in La Borda's volunteer program are given preference. (Cabrè and Andrès 2018, 422-432).

As a result, the cooperative's expenses have gone down while also advancing the social economy as a whole.[143]

Land access
When faced with a choice between constructing a building from scratch or renovating an existing building, La Borda chose to construct a new building. La Borda members would have preferred renovation, but time and cost did not allow this in the short term as it would have required an amendment in the General

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[143] The financial viability assessment, the design project, and all the legal work have so far all been done by members of the social economy thanks to these criteria. As a result, the cooperative's expenses have gone down while also advancing the social economy as a whole.

Metropolitan Plan. The option of renovating an existing building remained open for future initiatives.[144]

In terms of land tenure, buying on the open market was never considered because the project's expenses would have been too high. Furthermore, the City Council's requirements for having publicly held land were already present in La Borda's plans.

In this regard, the municipality of Barcelona holds property that is formally reserved for the construction of affordable housing. The majority of this land was created as a result of the General Metropolitan Plan's revisions, which included the transfer of privately owned land to the Municipality in exchange for greater development rights. (Cabrè and Andrès 2018, 413)[145]. The majority of this land has been constructed by Patronat Municipal de l'Habitatge (PMHB 2015), a publicly owned inexpensive housing development company. The Municipality also works with private home builders of affordable housing to advance some of the projects. At the time of having to construct a building, La Borda arranged a 75-year surface right transfer with the municipality over a publicly held lot in Can Batló.

Funding

The solidarity financial services cooperative Coop57 (see above), which is already participating in the technical oversight of the entire La Borda development process, is the source of funding for the La Borda project. This collaboration satisfies the agreed objectives of the La Borda Cooperative-selected social economy actors.

However, since the funding needed to develop the project (2.7mln€) exceeded Coop 57's disbursement possibilities, together with La Borda, Coop 57 investigated sourcing to alternative resources such as participatory bonds and the social capital fund, the share capital fund of the cooperatives. In fact, Coop 57's loans cover 29% of the funding needed, while another 29% comes from La Borda's own resources, composed of the entry fees of the various resident members, and 29% is covered by the participatory bonds (300 people participated by lending 850k€ in less than 20

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[144] "Can Batlló's urban renewal plans have undergone several revisions, and as of right now, the City Council anticipates building market-rate housing on privately owned land (670 units, or 61%) and affordable housing on publicly owned land (430 units, or 39%; of which 70 units will be developed by housing cooperatives).)" (Cabrè and Andrès 2018) (Adjuntament de Barcelona 2014).

[145] Cabrè and Adrè underline this aspect contained in the Law 3/2012 2012, see the bibliography.

days!) that will have to be repaid with interest over time. The rest comes from volunteers or grants.

The entry fee to enter La Borda is €17,000 per family while the monthly fee averages €450 for an apartment of about 70sqm with its public spaces. As Said By Cabrè and Andrè[146]

The cooperative members who receive the right to use their home has to meet all the requirement of the Catalan legislation for affordable housing, Law 75/2014 (Cabrè and Andrès 2018)

The construction cost of La Borda has then been lightened by the use of public land - 40-50% saved-, by the absence of private car parking -10% saved- and by the financing of Ethical banks with very low expenses -8-9% saved-. Summing up, La Borda cooperative housing project costs less than half of the market price thanking to the absence of speculation or profit mechanism. It costs about a quarter of the market average! (J. M. Montaner 2021)[147].

Community and forms of governance for social inclusion
Community-led development and management through a housing cooperative

People living in La Borda are proud of their homes and of their work, involvement and inclusion in the building process. The majority of them is keeping up with the daily task of management of the housing project and they are at disposal to welcome people to visit and study their home' project.

The Community, the self-promotion and subsequent collective management is a key ingredient of this project. It is formed by 28 intergenerational nucleus that come partially from the municipal lists for social housing and partially from the neighborhood' activists of Can Batlò (as the architects Lacol).

The process of founding a housing cooperative followed several attempts during the development of La Borda project. As explained by La Dinamo foundation One of the first steps has been to work on the formation of a slender and solid community that a certain point needed a legal form identified into a not-for-profit housing, the cession of use cooperative (Rubio 2021)[148].

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[146] Data from (Idescat 2012)

[147] 21/10/15 _ interview E , Josè Maria Montaner, ETSAB professor, ex member of the Barcelona municipality housing division, housing activist, Barcelona: Housing policies in Barcelona, housing architecture

[148] 21/10/14 _ Interview D, La Dinamo Fundacion, Daniela, Gloria, Mara Ferreri, Barcelona: La Dinamo supports the cooperative housing production, La Borda pioneer process

They have fixed appointment during the week, as a shared dinner and generally they use a lot the common spaces as meeting spaces, working spaces, convivial spaces also open to the neighborhood. There is a hired person who handles taxation and does administration.

The project features a volunteer work program where cooperative members provide part of their time and expertise. Professionals are paired with this method to make up for the cooperative members' knowledge and availability gaps. To prevent needless middlemen, the cooperative's members continue to remain in charge of choosing who will carry out each job. This concept aims to save construction costs while also ensuring that the project will be more tightly controlled by its intended users.

The building's construction process started in 2017 and was completed by the year's conclusion.

It is important to keep in mind that this project depends on its supporters' shared civic involvement. This shared ideological perspective has been essential for facilitating decision-making inside the organization and resolving disputes among cooperative members (Baiges 2021)[149].

Affordability

As Reported by La Dinamo, La Borda's housing cooperative has built affordability and sustainability on the long run, using different factors, tools and choices (Rubio 2021)[150]:
The choice of a cooperative model with a solidaristic economical model
The regulations under which publicly held land may be developed.
A pro-active municipality.
The access to alternative financing
The community-led and cooperative management of the project
The process of design-development-maintenance of the housing building

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[149] 21/10/14 _ Interview B, Carles Baiges, Lacol Architects, Barcelona: Cooperative model in Barcelona.
[150] 21/10/14 _ Interview D, La Dinamo Fundacion, Daniela, Gloria, Mara Ferreri, Barcelona: La Dinamo supports the cooperative housing production, La Borda pioneer process

Architecture innovations
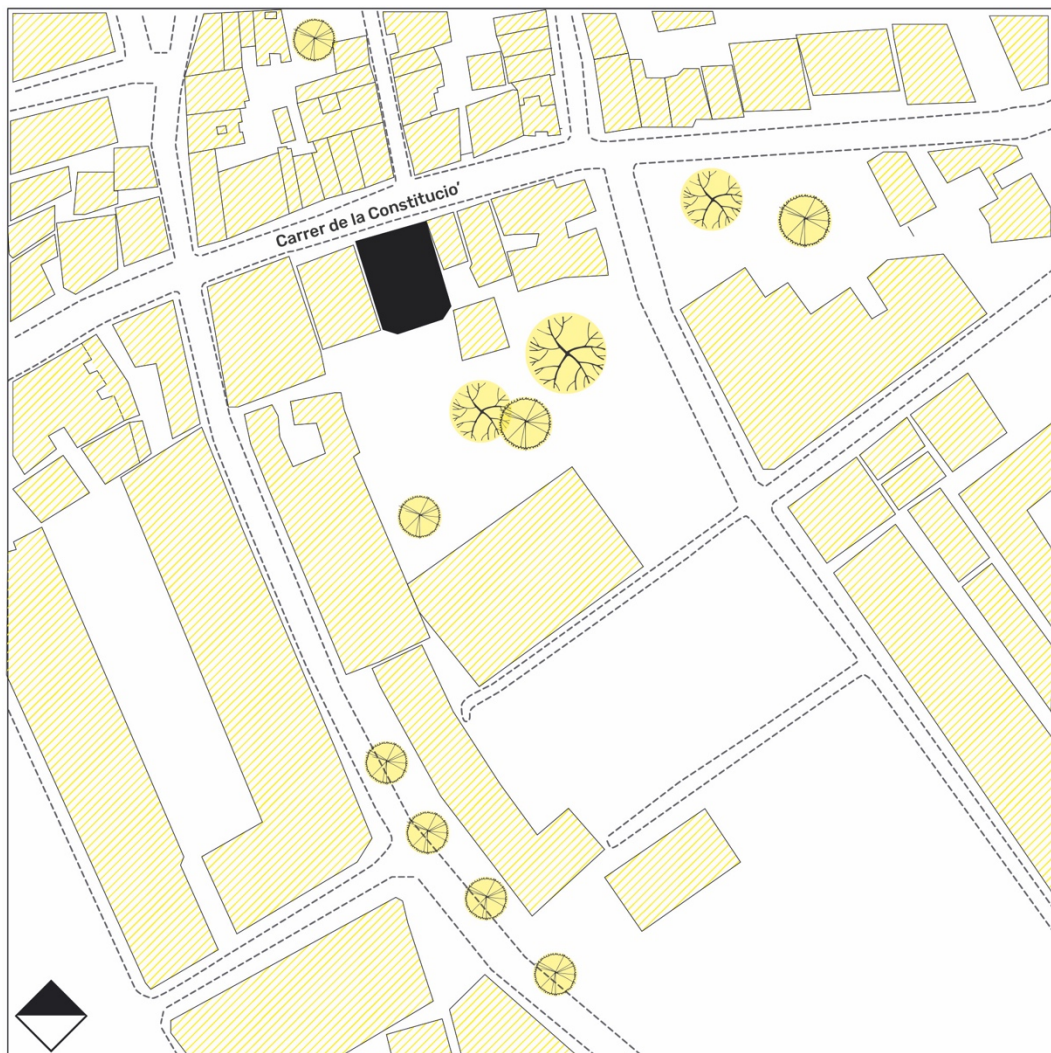
Fig 65: Masterplan La Borda and Can Batllò area in the Sants Neighborhood. Elaboration by the author.

Building typology and distribution patterns[151]

La Borda's building is compact and articulated around a central a central "corralas", a courtyard, reminiscent of a typology of popular housing in central and southern parts of Spain. It has an urban facade on the Constituciò street and a southern facade on the industrial site Can Batlò, an area now under renovation. At ground floor there is a public path passing under the building, that connect the street to Can Batlò, while on the street side there is a cooperative/shop for local and organic food.

The central courtyard is a large relationship space from ground 0 to the roof, where the common spaces overlook; at the ground floor there is the access to the common kitchen/living and on the first floor a big living space with laundry machine and a little auditorium; the courtyard allows a direct visual interaction among the different levels and spaces (private, common).

In order to improve community life, the building program suggests 28 private units (40, 60, and 75m2) as well as communal areas. These places allow residents to spread their living arrangements from private to public spaces.

The homes are modular and flexible. Infact, the project foresees that each family finishes its house (building walls to create an extra room) promoting a model of infraestructura flexible.

The common areas include the kitchen/dining area, laundry, multipurpose room, guest room, health and care room, storage in each building, patio, and roofs with vegetable gardens and solar panels.

The building is made of a wooden structure on a concrete ground floor and foundation system. The objective is to build a good and innovative architecture with a low budget and the best environmental performance, both in the construction work and during its life. The roof over the patio is a light automated greenhouse structure.

Co-design process.
La Borda, considered a pilot project by its architects and the entire community[152], went through a long co-design process that is not sustainable for the participants (architects and community), and it is not suitable for a possible reproduction of the

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[151] This Paragraph is an author's elaboration of the data collected during the interviews, in particular from Carles Baiges a member of Lacol Architects, and from the field trip observation.

[152] 21/10/14 _ Interview D, La Dinamo Fundacion, Daniela, Gloria, Mara Ferreri, Barcelona: La Dinamo supports the cooperative housing production, La Borda pioneer process

model. Lacol architects have today re-elaborated it in a 6 sessions co-design work and already reproduced it for La Balma cooperative housing project in Poblenou. As said each community is organized in several commissions that take care of the different sectors of housing production, maintenance and living. The architectural commission takes part to co-design process and chosen to give more importance to common and public spaces than to private ones, which have been reduced compared to normal residential condominium solutions. Very important to them was to ensure spaces open to the city.
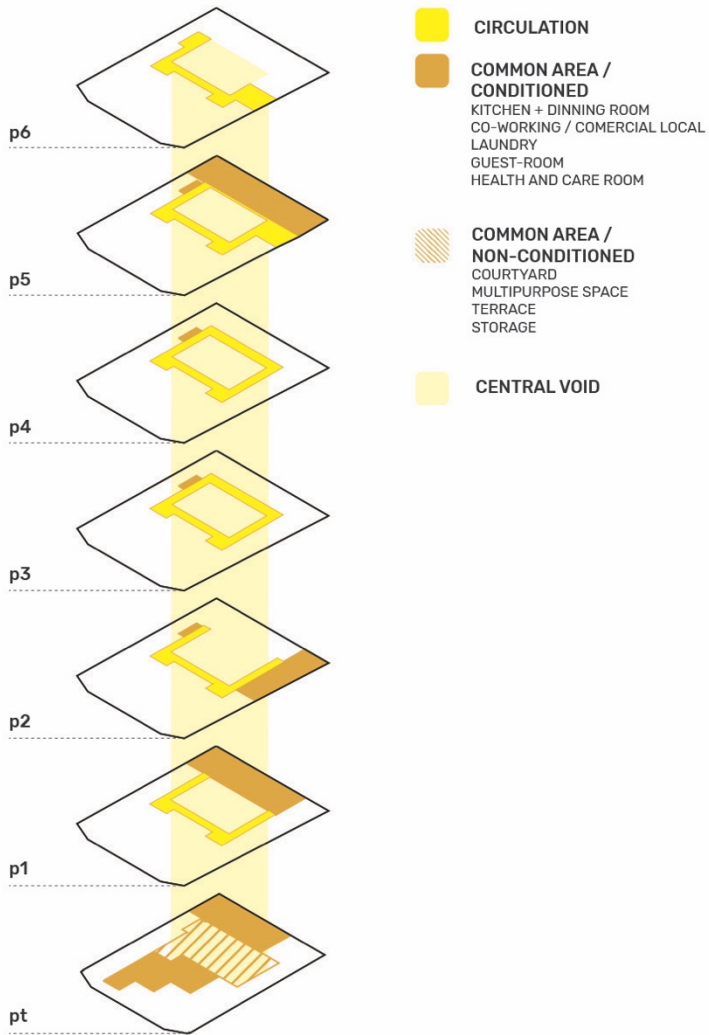
Fig 66: Diagram showing the distribution of the communal spaces int La Borda Building. Drawings by the author. The photos by Lacol show (from the top) the common kitchen at the ground floor; the terraces with laundry lines at the 1 floor; the mezzanine communal area with laundry machines and the ground floor courtyard. See Annexes La Borda.
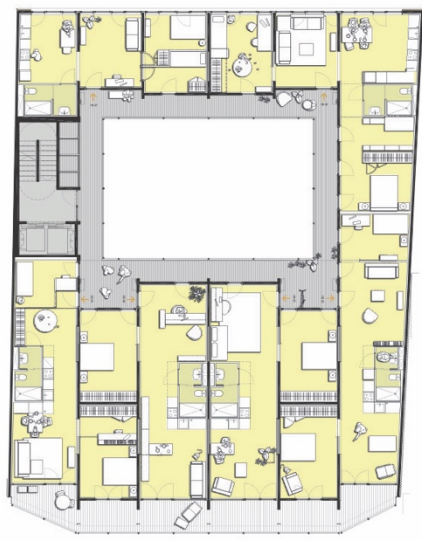
Flexibility and evolutive home, anti hierarchical
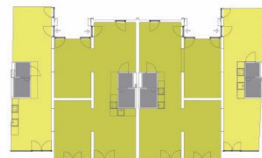
MODULAR UNITS

Homes evolve following households'life needs
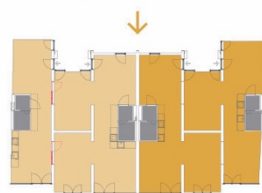
FLEXIBILITY

LABORDA MODULAR AND FLEXIBLE DESIGN
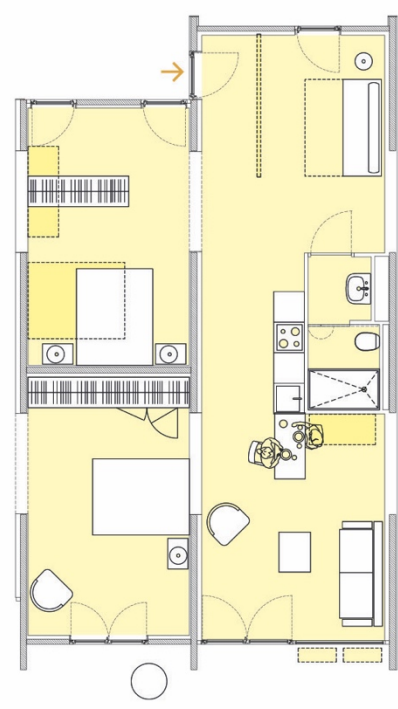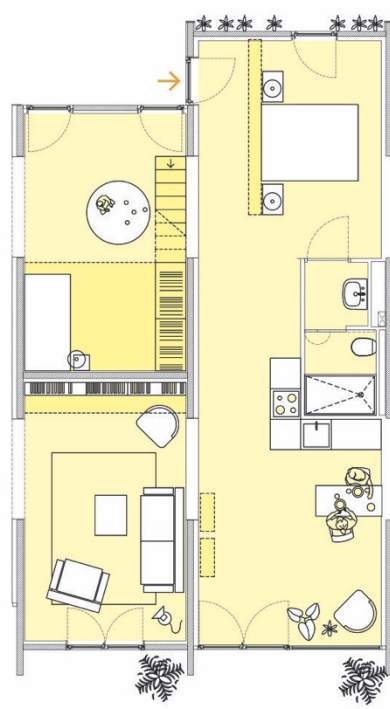
Fig 67: From the top left: 1°floor plan; diagram showing the modularity of the units and the flexible structure use; two different compositions of a same apartment the show how the inhabitants can adjust and build their own home by following their needs. Drawing by the author; a study and elaboration from Lacol original drawings.

236

bathroom

kitchen

1.Infraestructura   2.Elecciò d'opcions   3.Apropiacio' usuari

Fig 68: The flexible structure use; different compositions of the services spaces bathroom and kitchen. Drawing by the author; a study and elaboration from Lacol original drawings. Photos By Lacol Archive.

Architecture and Affordability

La Borda project achieve affordability also through its design and its construction. In reality,. This is accomplished by giving communal space precedence over individual living quarters. The private homes are of three sizes 40, 60 and 75m² and have two steps of construction: a first for the minimum living space and a second self-managed by the dwellers for the finishing, as for building separation walls that produce extra rooms. In this way the apartments size is reduced to have more sqm dedicated to common spaces.

The other aspect that allows to produce an affordable building is a wise use of materials and construction techniques. Lacol architects choose raw materials that create a peculiar aesthetic of the building by picking low tech expedients and by creating solutions for an energy efficient building. Another ingredient is the involvement of the cooperative members in the building process in sessions of self-building and management. All these approaches allow to reduce the development cost of the building.

Sustainability

La Borda's emphasis on sustainability, as seen in the building's sustainable use and the construction project's little negative environmental impact, is another distinguishing feature. On the one hand, the project's environmental impact has been reduced without increasing expenses by the methods and materials used in construction. On the other hand, to reduce the use of natural resources, the building's residents are encouraged to use it responsibly and sustainably.

The architectural committee and the professional architects have also employed an outside environmental consulting business to help them put the required sustainability features into practice.

Affordability & Social Inclusion

Self-building
COMMON SPACES

Environmental friendly
REDUCE COST OF LIVING

Infraestructura Flexible
FINISHING BY RESIDENTS

Affordability

Low-tech solutions
ROW MATERIALS

Private flats sqm reduced
COMMON SPACES ADDED

Self management
of the building

**Communal Living&
Social Inclusion**

Sharing economy

Common and shared spaces
CO-DESIGNED

Fig 69: Lacol Architect wants to use the architecture as tool to foster affordability and social inclusion. Diagrams by the author. Photos (TOP) communal mezzanine, (BOOTOM) the central 'Corral' or courtyard, Lacol Archives.

239

Public actor and the city: Barcelona municipality reacts to the housing crisis. A Public-Cooperatives synergy

The success of this pioneering project was made possible by the commitment of the Barcelona City Council, on the one hand, which has prioritized affordable housing production over the last ten years (Ferreri e Vidal 2021) and of the local community - social innovators, architects, professionals, activists – on the other.

The municipality's housing department created an internal infrastructure to react to the city's critical settlement situation, that see just the 2% of public social housing, founding three new institutions and promoting a Right to Housing Plan. **The three institutes** are founded taking the competences from different department' mainly the housing and the social affairs ones and are named: Barcelona Housing and Rehabilitation Council, analytical work, IMHAB - municipal institute of housing and rehabilitation of Barcelona, managing work, The Barcelona Housing Consortium, political coordination work. They all collaborate with the Barcelona Observatory for the architectonic regeneration.

The **Housing Right Plan** 2016-2025 has four strategic axes of action:

1. To prevent housing emergency
2. ensuring the proper use of housing stock (to protect housing from other uses: truism, abandon, financialization)
3. expanding the number of affordable houses
4. Restore existing housing stock (public-private)

They proceeded by steps to develop the plan. Firstly, they produced a research and an analysis to understand the situation of housing in Barcelona, proceeding with a census of empty dwellings and collecting quantitative data.

The reception of the cooperative model in the cession of use by municipal administrations allows for expanding the stock of affordable public housing in the municipal territory within a plan that favors a social and cooperative economy. The second step has been the making of **functional tools** as follow.

The promotion of a cohousing program that declare 'housing as an asset for use and not for investment', and triggered the construction of more than 500 dwellings on public land on a cession of use basis, in the form of residents' cooperative.

1. Barcelona Social Housing Council funded the cooperative housing roundtable, a working group and a communication tool that support Cooperatives and municipality exchanges, making them faster and more direct by giving a place of direct confrontations.
2. The establishment of surface rights on public land aims to promote new forms of affordable housing at sustainable prices with 75 up to 90 years land use. At the end of land lease, public land is owned back by the municipality. Barcelona municipality is the first Spanish city council that provided public land and building to cooperative projects: in 2015 La Borda and 2016 Princesa housing projects signed the cession of use with the support of

Sostre Civic Cooperative and due to the strong pression from the local community (J. M. Montaner 2021) (Rubio 2021).153.

Moreover it exists a Catalan law that allows non-profit organizations to be given the land directly to develop social housing projects. In Barcelona this process of direct assignment was only done with the first two cooperative housing buildings considered pilot projects (La Borda and Princesa). Now the public land assignment pass through a public competition, in order to have a more transparent process.

3. The announcement of public tenders for municipal plots of land.
4. These plots of land are located in different districts of the city for the construction of cooperative housing on a cession of use on co-housing basis. The added value of these tenders is that they are restricted to cooperatives that promote a housing model that differs from traditional ownership or renting. These actions have increased the public housing stock to 250 homes and have made Barcelona the first city in Spain to have co-housing projects underway and produced 4 generations of new cession of use housing cooperatives.

A part of these tools are **important incentives** for the development of the cooperative model:

1. A policy on the parking lot. By law cooperative housing are not obliged to include them. This new parking regulations cut the 10% of the building cost of La Borda (J. M. Montaner 2021)[154].
2. Reduction of the 50% over property tax (IBI)
3. Reductions of the 90% over construction and works tax
4. The municipality as guarantor for access to credit
5. A service of technical support

Within the municipality's housing division, the presence of figures such as architect and professor J. M. Montaner and his team has allowed the development of an **architectural evaluation** committee. The letters set up architectural competitions to trigger an evolution of housing typology in response to new social needs, with the community and accessible trends, inclusive and without gender discrimination.

Criticalities

One of the main criticality is the scarcity of public land that is a fundamental importance for the production of affordable housing projects. The municipality reacted by investing 70mln euro in the purchase buildings in the private market and by asking the production of urban burdens for the making of new public land. The housing department also developed the urban masoveria, the removal of building for housing purposes and the APROP, temporary housing in light and dry architecture.

Another criticalities is the access to funding from public actors, as the region or the central government, and from private credit institute. The city council is now

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153 Interview D., E., J.M. Montaner, La Dinamo

154 21/10/14 _La Dinamo Fundacion, Daniela, Gloria, Mara Ferreri, Barcelona: La Dinamo supports the cooperative housing production, La Borda pioneer process.

21/10/15 _ Josè Maria Montaner, ETSAB professor, ex member of the Barcelona municipality housing division, housing activist, Barcelona: Housing policies in Barcelona, housing architecture.

involved as a guarantee with the banks for the cooperative housing project funding but is not efficiently developing a different strategy or a different circuit or again producing policies for the funding of social housing.

This latter is another critical point, the difficulty in the making of specific policies to support the cooperative housing production. Infact, laws are conceived at a regional or national level and the city of Barcelona can just use the existent norms in a proactive way. (Arrondo and Gallardo 2021)[155].

The latter criticalities foster the last one here reported or the production of more affordable housing. Infact the housing cooperatives manage to rise the affordability level but still they are not accessible to all.

Reproducibility and Network

Sants is a very active and lively neighborhood with a developed network of cooperative realities rooted in the Can Batlò area and community projects. These realities are used to collaborate together and to create mutual capacitation and learning network, working to together with the common aim of the production of affordable and inclusive housing projects. La Borda,, born within this environment, is very much part of the network together with the new cooperative realities of the neighbourhood, such as LaDinamo Fundacion, Coop 57, Lacol Architects, etc.Moreover La Borda coop decided to take part to the National Federation of Cooperativas de Viviendas and Cooperativas de Habitantes attempting to transform their functioning into a social innovator tool more than a commercial agent with the aim to create and widen a network of cooperative communities and innovative stakeholders useful in the process of housing cooperative production.

La Borda is considered a pilot project by its members and has gone through difficulties and possibilities opened up by its innovative nature. The initial inertia to trigger a dialogue process with the necessary actors for its production, such as the local and regional housing department, credit institutions and the local community, produced a 6 years process that cannot be sustainable for a model to be reproduced. On the other side its pioneer nature allows to La Borda to benefit from unmarked and experimental paths that have facilitated certain steps. Certainly its success has made it an emblematic national and international case, winner of numerous architectural and social awards. Now it is used as an example by municipalities, professionals, communities for the production of cooperative housing projects in Barcelona as well as all over Europe! It is very useful, as Ivan

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155 Interview C., 21/10/13 _ Ivan Gallardo -Gerència d'Habitatge, Ajuntament de Barcelona- and Maite Arrondo- Innovation in Housing Policies Redes y Proyectos Europeos-, Housing división, Barcelona Municipality: Housing policies in Barcelona.

Gallardo from Barcelona housing department reports, to open doors to acquire land, credits and start new projects locally, a precedent, a model has been created (Arrondo and Gallardo 2021)[156].

La Borda has been generative of new local actors, new cooperative realities, such as La Dinamo, La ciudad Invisible, that are now working on transformative practices and, together with the Lacol architects and the Barcelona housing department, on the definition of La Borda cooperative housing model, retracing good practices and mistakes and creating a scheme of action for the various levels of development.

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[156] Interview C., ibidem.

LA BORDA

Barcelona, Sants Neighborhood La Bordeta
Can Batlò political activism for housing right

PROJECT DATA:
2012-2018   3000m² -28 flats
2.7mln €   Lacol Architects
LaDynamo, Coop 57, Sostre Civic, Barcelona Municipality

INSPIRATIONAL MODELS:
Mietshauser Syndikat   Canadian Cooperative Housing
Danish Andel Model   Radical Routes UK
Zurich Cooperatives   Wien Cooperatives

COMMUNITY:
intergenerational 49 adults, 13 kids
Active for: production and management

PUBLIC ACTOR ROLE&INVOLVEMENT

HOUSING DIVISION ORGANIZATION
1.Barcelona Housing and Rehabilitation Council
2. IMHAB
3.Barcelona Housing Consortium

LEGAL MODEL

RIGHT TO USE COOPERATIVE
· not for profit
· household are members of the coop, has the right to live in an apt.
· Purchase a share of the coop and pay a low monthly fee.

ECONOMICAL MODEL & TENURE

TENURE
Land is Public, leased for 75y.
Building is owned by Coop
FUNDING
Coop57, solidarity loans, banks

ARCHITECTURAL MODEL

TYPOLOGY INNOVATIONS:
infraestructura flexible, modular apartments, common and public spaces, central patio
CONSTRUCTION INNOVATIONS:
self-building, wooden structure, low tech, low impact.

AWARDS
Mies Van der Rohe 22

GOVERNANCE

SELF-ORGANIZATION
· members share responsability for producing, managing and maintaining building and the common spaces
· members has the right to vote
· General Assembly, working groups

TOOLS
>Housing Right Plan 2016-2025: promote Cooperatives. Aim to build 500 new coop-, competitions for public land surface/right 75/90 years, 70mln€ to buy land/building, cooperation table, Aprop, Architectural competitions.
URBAN TOOLS
>Parking derogation Art. 300.8 NU PGM.
>Reduction 50% property tax (IBI)/Reduction 90% construction tax, installations, works.
> 55-60% less than market construction cost
ACTIONS
>2014-2022 Built 4 generation of Cooperative
>Guarantee for Fundings (Banks or others)
>2021 introduction of CLT in Spain.

TRANSFER/REPRODUCIBILITY

New Projects born from the pilot

· 14 Housing Coop in Barcelona
· 1 Housing Coop in Madrid
· Used as a model from EU projects
· LaDynamo Fundation Barcelona

Factors of success for its reproduction

· Right to use housing coop
· Public Land
· Public Tools and Action
· Community Actvism
· Typological innovation
· Not for profit circuits that reduce construction cost/rent

CRITICALITIES

In the process making

· Long process
· too long co-design sessions
· production of new public tool for coop with municipality

As a model

· scarcity of public land
· long waiting list
· La Borda is a pioneer and not reproducible as it is, need to be modelized(!) Work already done by LaDynamo and used for othe Barcelona's coop.

FIG 70: La Borda Model, or Map of Action. Drawing by the author. This is the diagram that resume the functioning of the Right to use Housing Cooperative in Barcelona projects.

La Borda is an example of cooperative housing throughout Spain that started from zero, from a community impulse and has achieved very good results in terms of architecture and spaces, economy and living expenses, social, but it is an example that cannot be replicated as it is because it has been something special, pilot and experimental and it was also lucky in the financial management of the loans. What is useful for new projects that follow the experience of La Borda is the model generated with its technical and social characteristics that are set as a starting point, commented Gloria from La Dinamo Foundation and continued, La Dinamo has a signed agreement with La Borda to formalize the transfer of knowledge and tools that had been produced in the process of the project. With the actors of the process, we have decided to develop them within the various associations of the neighborhood in order to promote new projects. Today, part of the technical team of La Borda (architects, activists, etc.) lives in La Borda experimenting its own housing model. (Rubio 2021)[157]

Thanks to the revision of the process by La Dinamo and the realities of the Sants neighborhood, La Borda is generative of new cooperative housing projects and its legal and economic model of cession of use is reproduced internationally as its innovative architectural solutions.

Today in Barcelona there is the production of the fourth generation of the housing cooperatives:
1. 2013-2017. The first generation or pilot projects- La Borda and Princesa 49
2. 2017-2019. The second generation. Cireres, La Chalmeta, La Xarxaira, La Balma, Sotrac
3. 2019-2020. The third generation, La ragadora,La quinta força
4. 2021-_. The fourth generation that see the introduction of the model of the CLT.

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[157] 21/10/14 _La Dinamo Fundacion, Daniela, Gloria, Mara Ferreri, Barcelona: La Dinamo supports the cooperative housing production, La Borda pioneer process.
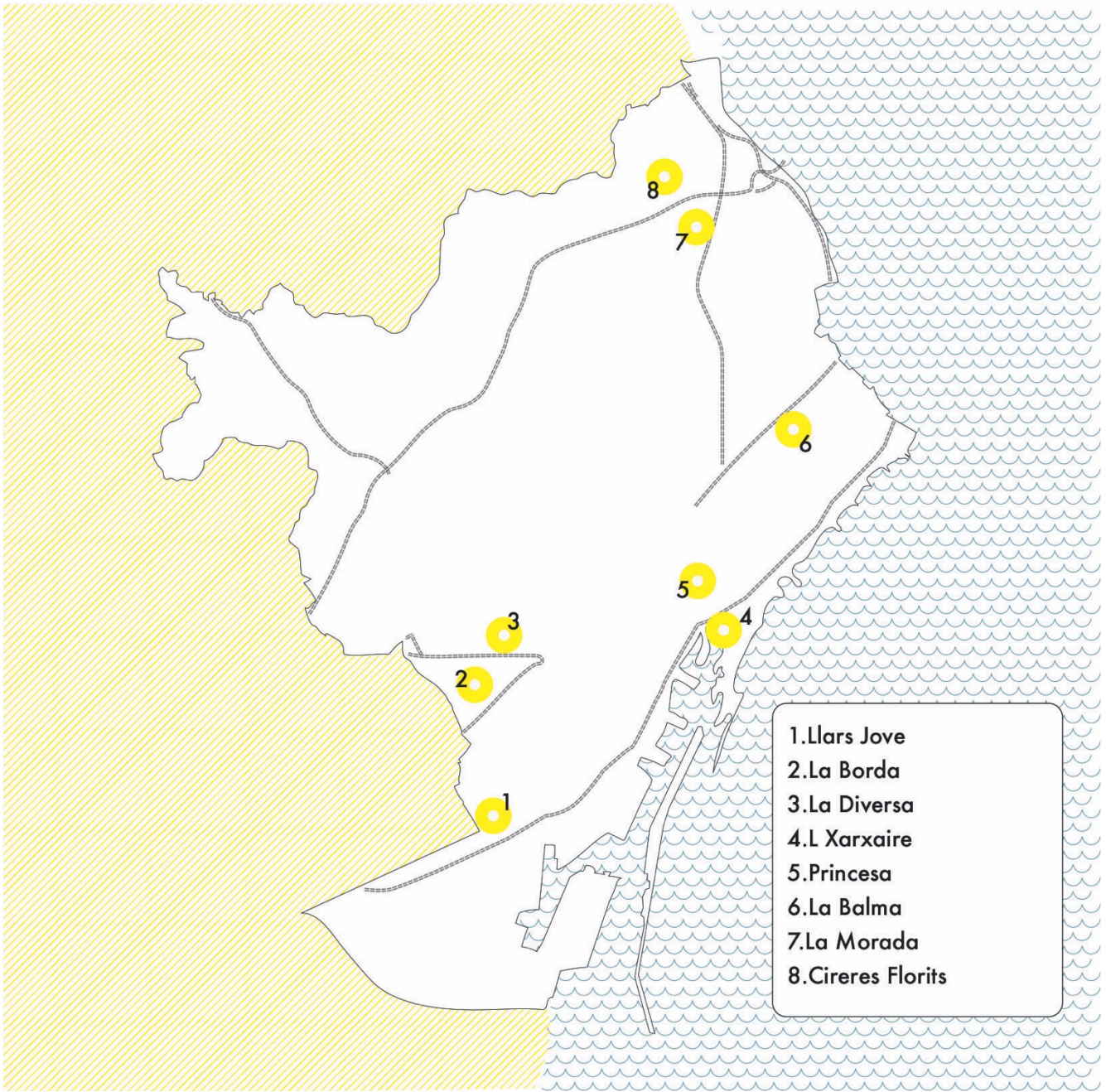
FIG 71: Housing co-operative projects on public land. These are the eight completed and inhabited buildings. Others are under construction and others are planned. Map by the author

Chapter 6

From the utopia of Bolo Bolo to not-for-profit housing and architectural innovation. The Kraftwerk cooperative in Zurich.

Biography 3: Kraftwerk Housing Cooperatives in Zurich.

APPENDIX Index_*PART 3_chapter 6*

The Kraftwerk cooperative of inhabitants is a well-known experience in Switzerland, whose founders and fellow scholars have written extensively about it.

This biography also starts with a critical study of the present literature.

Following a significant contribution to the clarity of content exposition was the Work by Susanne Schindler and Anne Kockelkorn of ETH Zurich entitled Cooperative Condition exhibited at the Venice Biennale, Architecture, 2021. This research exposes the current situation of cooperatives in Zurich, making a historical background and especially analyzing their functioning in all parts.

During the lecture series Alternative Housing, Models in Action, the author invited Susanne Schindler and one of the founders of Zurich's Kraftwerk cooperative, Philipp Klaus. In addition to the two lectures, the author interviewed the two guests.

In September 2022, the author made a field trip to Zurich in conjunction with the International Cooperative Housing Symposium, where she was able to visit Kraftwerk cooperative buildings, particularly Kraftwerk 1 and 2, as well as visit the first Kalkebreite cooperative and the longer-lived ABZ.

Several features of interest to the thesis emerged from the data collection, particularly the architectural solutions, governance models, neighborhood-scale extension of projects; public policies from past to present; financing instruments and public-private partnerships; and civic activism.

- **SUSANNE SCHINDLER**,
  ETH Zurich Scholar and Teacher.
  Cooperative Condition research
  leader.

- **PHILIPP KALUS,**
  Founder and resident at Kraftwerk 1.

- **PATRIZIA GARCIA ,**
  resident at ABZ cooperative and
  former resident of mehr als wonen
  cooperative.
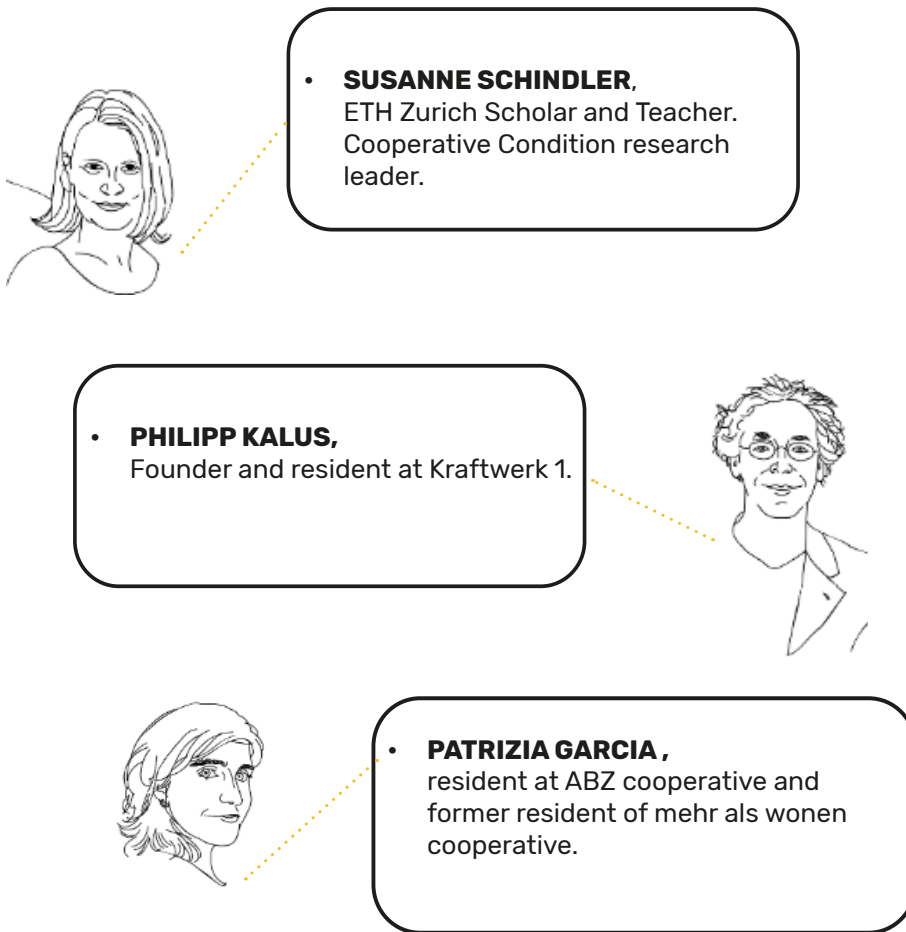
Fig 72: List- diagram of respondents for Kraftwerk cooperatives. Interviews conducted by the author from 2020 to 2022 among Kraftwerk and Zurich stakeholders

General framework

1998-2001

LOCATION: Hardturmstrasse 261-269, Zurich.

BUILDING SITE: 6700 m²

COMMUNITY: intergenrational, 250 people

LEGAL MODEL: Cooperative Housing, not-for-profit housing cooperative

TENURES: Land and Building are owned by the cooperative

ARCHITECTS: Stucheli Architekten AG con Bunzli+Courvoisier Architekten AG
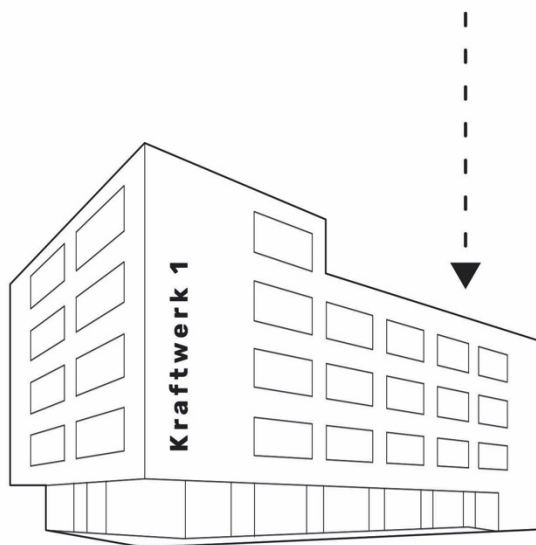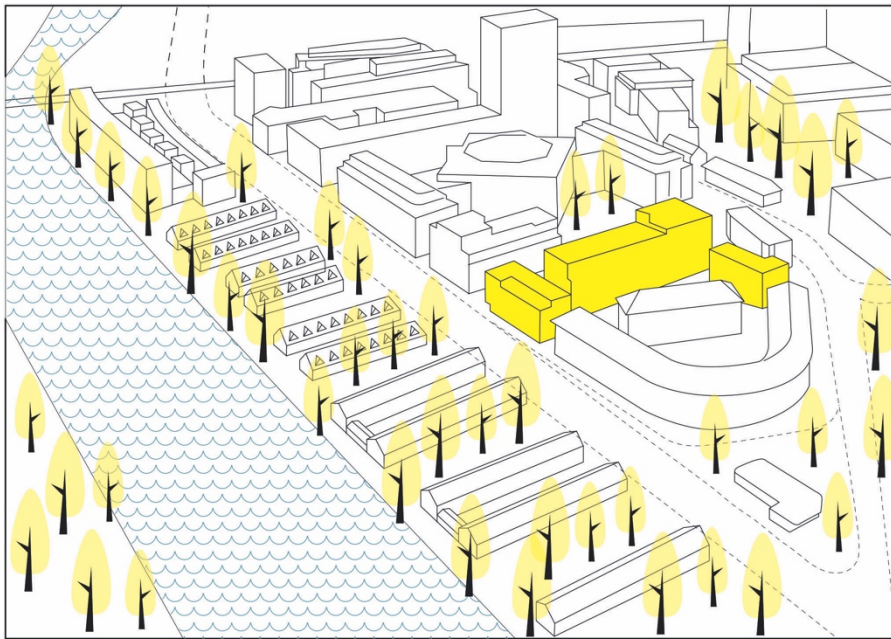
FIG 73: TOP.Framing the portion of Hardturm neighborhood where KRAFTWERK 1 is situated in Zurich. Drawings by the author.BOTTOM. Wireframe 3d model of the Kraftwerk 1 cooperative housing building.

Introduction

Zurich demonstrates that even in the era of real estate financialization, social entrepreneurship and architectural innovation in housing are viable. This biggest and traditionally most industrialized city in Switzerland was not affected by the gentrification and social polarization processes that are common in other European metropolises (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1).

 Precisely because of a 100-year tradition of non-profit housing (Aalbert 2016). Zurich's cooperative movement, which found a new impetus in the 1990s, is one of the city's leading promoters of welfare and housing cooperatives. What makes it possible for a for-profit real estate market to have a long-standing commitment to non-speculation? What role does architecture play in these processes, and how does that role broaden our understanding of what architecture is? (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1).

In Zurich, in the context of the crisis of the 1980s and 1990s - characterized by the housing shortage, and real estate crash of the private sector, a group of architects, philosophers, and artists (A. Hofer, C. Thiesen, M. Blum, H. Widmer) began the search for a different way of inhabiting the city, one that was more communitarian and capable of realizing a solidarity-based and sustainable economic system. In 1983, the philosopher Widmer published the book Bolo Bolo, which became a true cult, proposing a utopian or pragmatopic housing model whose protagonists are intentional communities, the bolo (Guidarini 2018). The book was a founding text for the Kraftwerk cooperative, one of the most emblematic cases of Zurich neo-cooperative with a strong solidaristic and inclusive basis.

Kraftwerk 1 Hardturm is the pioneer project of the cooperative. It comprises four residential buildings with commercial, associative, and coworking spaces. At the same time, the resident community comprises households with a very varied composition, 31% families, 16% couples, 25% singles, and 28% shared housing by students, the elderly, and the disabled. Two overlapping distribution systems articulate its typological organization, the Le Corbusier type, i.e., duplex on the model of the Unitè d'Habitation and the Loos type, i.e. a Cluster-Wohnungen of 12 rooms on staggered floors or the Wohnen Gemeinschaft with 5-9 rooms.

The economic model of the Zurich cooperatives, taken up by Kraftwerk, privileges the use value over the commodity value of real estate, which means that the

cooperative is the legal owner of the property. In contrast, the residents and members of the cooperative are collective shareholders (i.e., they pay an entry fee or membership fee) and individual tenants (the monthly fee for the use of their flat). Thus, it is a hybrid model between collective ownership and renting in which residents, as long as they are cooperative members, have the right to use the dwelling. For more than a century, Zurich's municipal governance has incorporated this idea of use value.

 This is the case's most remarkable and forward-looking aspect.

Cooperatives have preferential access to credit, supported by municipal legislation, which, through indirect measures dating back to the early 1900s, acts as a guarantor with local banks and allows cooperatives to expose themselves with only 6% equity (as opposed to 20%) to access finance. The cooperatives have also produced two self-managed instruments, the cooperative savings bank and the solidarity fund. (Klaus 2022)

From the point of view of internal governance, the Zurich cooperatives consider members as co-owners, co-managers, and users of the housing asset simultaneously. The statutes define the co-management rules, explicitly states that it is committed to refraining from speculation (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1), (Klaus 2022)[158].

New architectural strategies have emerged in the experiences of neo-cooperativism, which produce innovative private-collective spatial configurations that meet the needs of a mature society. These include the reduction of the size of housing units and the increase of common spaces. Cluster-Wohnungen (micro-units constructed with huge shared areas) and the placement of sporadically used rooms outside the flat combine traditional flats and triplex solutions to generate a purposefully choreographed mix inside a single complex. At the neighborhood scale, cooperatives are proposed as new urban micro-centers that seek to bring urban qualities to new developments in the suburbs.

Models of social entrepreneurship and architectural innovation merge in Zurich to produce sustainable, non-profit residential alternatives. These affect design innovation that produces, on the one hand, affordability and, on the other high-quality architecture that reverses the neo-liberal paradigm, according to which housing built for low-income groups should be of lower architectural quality.

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[158] Interview Q, 22/05/31 _ Susanne Kilian Schindler, ETH Zurich, Philipp Klaus, Kraftwerk Housing Cooperative, Zurich: Cooperative Housing in Zurich, the case of Kraftwerk

Second, cooperatives operate within the traditional market, using conventional instruments (Balmer e Bernet 2015) to generate welfare, social inclusion, and access to housing rather than profit.

Important to note is that cooperatives' steady growth over the past century in Zurich has only been made possible by the link with the municipal administration (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1). The city council has developed instruments to grant public land use, defiscalise building charges for community spaces, and introduce spatial and social innovations in municipal regulation.

In addition to Kraftwerk, the city is dotted with numerous other innovative and award-winning cooperatives, such as Kalkbreite and Mehr als Wohnen, Nena, and Karthago.

How might the cooperative model from Zurich be transfered elsewhere? By replicating the strategy used by activists, residents, municipal authorities, cooperative organizations, and architects, the Zurich model can be applied to other locations. They encourage non-speculative housing development and novel kinds of coexistence by utilizing legal, financial, and regulatory tools as well as creative architectural design. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1)

Background

In 1907, the first housing cooperatives were established in Zurich, building on various social experiences that were already firmly rooted. Real estate values have doubled since 2009 and rents have grown. Additionally, substantial inner-city developments are increasingly managed by international pension funds and financial investors.

Zurich has not undergone the same gentrification processes as Berlin or London. Precisely because of a 100-year tradition of non-profit housing (Aalbert 2016). Zurich's cooperative movement, which found a new impetus in the 1990s, has grown continuously since 1995, and is one of the city's leading welfare promoters. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1), and housing cooperatives own approximately 9 percent of the city's building land and 18 percent of its housing stock, promoting its de-mercification in the long term (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022). These offer collective spaces of extraordinary architectural quality and rent in the city center at a third of the market price, supporting experimental forms of living together.

Numerous national and international prizes have been given to iconic city projects such as the cooperatives Kraftwerk1, Kalkbreite, and Mehr als Wohnen, which were completed between 1998 and 2015.

In Zurich, in the aftermath of the crisis of the 1980s and 1990s - characterized by the housing shortage, deindustrialization, unemployment, and real estate crash of the private sector-innovations in housing affordability and housing quality were mainly driven by two actors. On the one hand, the citizens, particularly the activists of the social left who opposed the interference of finance in the new urban development processes, triggered a new development of the city housing cooperatives. On the other hand, the public actor supported this process with a new production of instruments (it guaranteed the new cooperatives' long-term use of public land and access to credit).

In the 1980s, Young people in Zurich engaged in a number of acts, such as occurrences and squatting, as a form of protest against the municipality's development policies. Young people rejected policies that supported demolishing old homes to create room for brand-new office complexes and retail establishments. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1) It was in this context that a group of architects, philosophers, and artists (A. Hofer, C. Thiesen, M. Blum, H. Widmer) began the search for a different way of inhabiting the city, one that was more communitarian and capable of realizing a solidarity-based and sustainable economic system. This research was strongly inspired by Swiss anarchist utopian thought, particularly by the activist and philosopher Hans Widmer, known by the pseudonym p.m (taken from the city telephone directory, the most common initials in it!). He published a strongly anti-capitalist book in 1983 entitled Bolo Bolo, which has become a cult among European anarchists.

The 'bolo' is a self-sufficient alternative to capitalist house production that is suggested in the book Bolo Bolo. "Bolos do not have to be built in empty spaces to house many hundreds of people," the author writes. They make far better use of already-built structures. Make gaps in some walls, create linking arcades and overpasses, use the first floors as social areas, etc. So a neighborhood like this may be created out of a standard old neighborhood. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1, Hofer 2011)

The book became a true cult, proposing a utopian or pragmatopic housing model whose protagonists are intentional communities (Guidarini 2018).

Another pillar of the Zurich protest movement of the '80 was the Sofa Uni, , was designed as a testing ground for novel large-household configurations. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1)[159]

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[159] Cooperative Conditions | Home. https://cooperativeconditions.net/

FIG 74: Upper photo, housing protest in Zurich in the 1990s. Lower photo the Sofa Uni occupation. Photos from Cooperative Condition research project, Susan Schindler and Anne Kockelkorn. Cooperative archive Zurich.
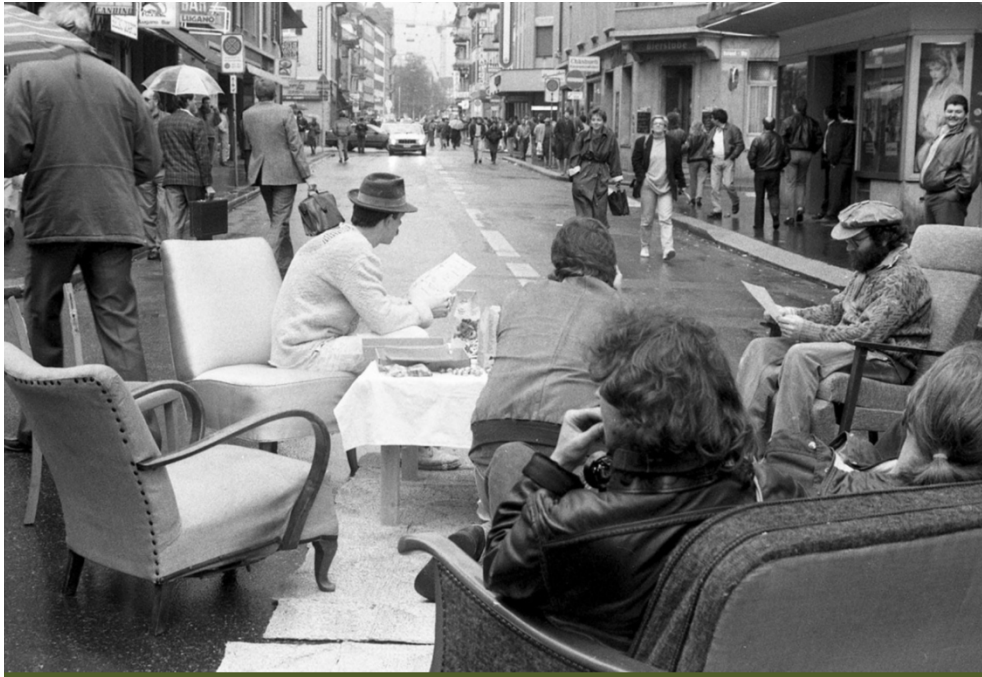
FIG 75: Squatting movement in Zurich 1990s and protest for the right to hosuing. Photo from Cooperative Condition, Schindler Kokeltorn.

The book Bolo Bolo and the protest movement had considerable influence in Zurich in the early 1990s, where numerous community life initiatives sprang up in the wake of deindustrialization and the economic crisis. One of the precursors was the Karthago complex, occupied in 1985 in an attempt to put the anarchist ideas of the Libro Bolo Bolo into practice and in 1997 pragmatically transformed into a housing cooperative through the acquisition of a building for 53 residents. Building on these experiences A. Hofer, C. Thiesen, M. Blum, H. Widmer funded a new cooperative organization, Kraftwerk1, one of the most emblematic cases of Zurich neo-cooperative with a strong solidaristic and inclusive basis[160]. (Guidarini 2018). The cooperative has developed three large settlement projects, Kraftwerk 1 Hardturm, Heizenholz, and Zwicky South, with 248 units and approximately 700 inhabitants, In the 2000s following Kraftwerk1's example other new cooperatives were founded.

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[160] (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1)

Cluster-Wohnungen and participation

Hofer emphasized the relativity of the bourgeois living model, stating that the traditional family apartment inherited from functionalism is proving increasingly inefficient and wasteful. This is due to its inability to adapt to today's multifaceted and multiethnic reality that cannot be reduced to a single lifestyle (Hofer, 2011). In Zurich, therefore, new forms of housing were born and established that challenged the bourgeois model of living and the apartment concept, starting with a participatory path between a building committee and groups of aspiring residents of the Kraftwerk 1 cooperative. This path has not been without its difficulties. In fact, at the first housing cooperative in Hardturm in 2001, the founders expected the inhabitants to express the basic principles of community living and the functional program. However, many were more concerned with describing the spaces in which they wanted to live. this attitude was unsuitable for the aspirations of the cooperative, so Hofer, at one point, affirmed the principles that "you cannot please everyone" and that "you do not want DIY participation, but a serious debate about the general issues of living together." (Hofer 2011) Many residents gave up, but this line has not been abandoned. Eight working groups were created to let everyone define their needs by asking questions without anticipating solutions. These specifications were then passed on to the designers, who defined the architectural form and distribution of this building. The most significant result of this process, the Cluster-Wohnungen, constitutes a typological evolution of the shared apartments Wohn-Gemeinschaft, Satelliten-Wohnungen, Logements-foyer or Logements en collocation, which was already widespread in Switzerland and consisted of a large number of rooms 6-12 with shared bathrooms.

Making of a model [161]

Legal Model: Wohngenossenschaft, Housing Cooperative
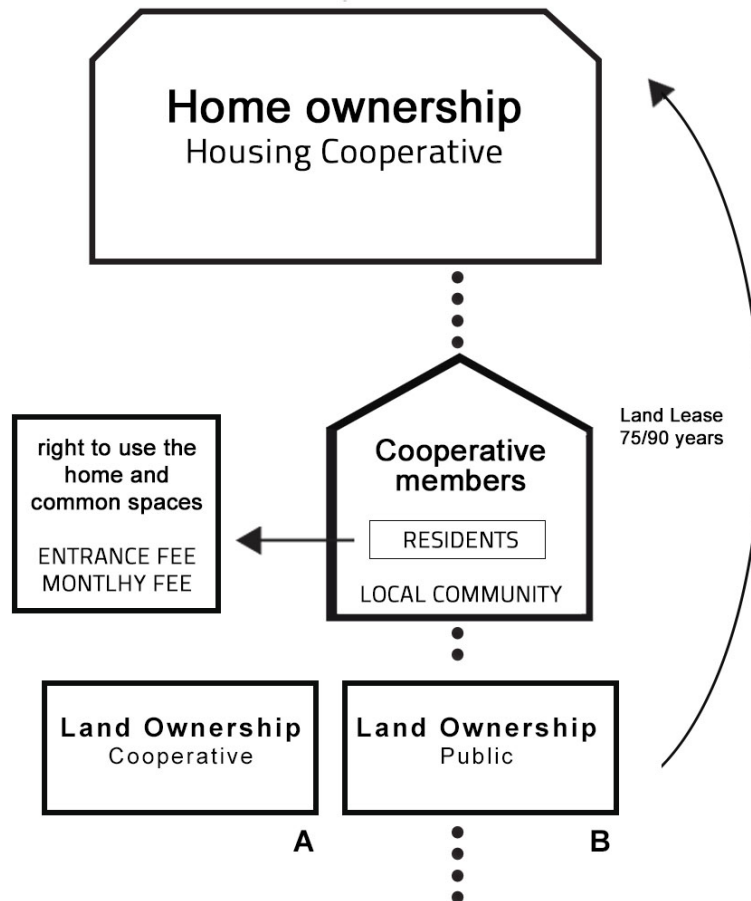
Fig 76: The legal functioning diagram of the Zurich Housing Cooperatives. Diagram by the author on a basis of S. Horlitz' study (S. Horlitz 2021)

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[161] In order to reach out all the innovative features, the criticalities and the alternatives produced by the new generation of Zurich's cooperatives, the text refers to the projects Kraftwerk 1, Kalkbrite and Mehr als Wohnen, Dreiek, Nena 1 with a special focus on Kraftwerk1 Hardturm.

Contemporary *Wohngenossenschafts* inherited the legal model from the cooperative system rooted in the city by producing a set of cooperatives with undivided ownership.

A *Wohngenossenschafts* is a co-ownership corporation of its members. When a member moves in and buys a share, they become co-owners of the housing estate. It privileges the use value over the commodity value of real estate, which means that the cooperative is the legal owner of the property. In contrast, the residents and members of the cooperative are collective shareholders (i.e., they pay an entry fee or membership fee) and individual tenants (the monthly fee for the use of their flat). It is thus a hybrid model between collective ownership and renting in which residents, as long as they are cooperative members, have the right to use the dwelling. [162]

Any cooperative's core values are cooperation and sharing. Three overlapping areas—labor and resources; ownership; and governance—are where sharing takes place. For the cooperative community as well as society at large, sharing means having access to more resources, not less.

The (voluntary) board of directors and the numerous (voluntary) committees are chosen by the members; the board also appoints the management and determines strategic choices. One becomes a resident member and a co-owner of the cooperative by purchasing a share (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1).

This event, which was planned to draw a larger audience, aimed to spread the fundamental tenet of cooperatives: group effort for a common good rather than individual rivalry for wealth. In the middle of the 19th century, when Europe began to industrialize, this notion—which predates capitalism—was applied to the manufacture of houses.

The lifelong right to remain, the obligation to pay rent, and group self-government are all included in this "use-value dividend." (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1)

A cooperative's restricted capital has greater leverage over time as well as in the short term. The land and buildings owned by a cooperative can't be sold at market value, but they can be utilized to finance new development projects with extra debt, lowering the equity/debt ratio below the level mandated by a municipal decision in 1924. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022)

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162 Definition by Cooperative Condition by Susan Schindler and Anne Kockelkorn. Accessed: https://www.cooperativeconditions.net/home/introduction#chapter-8930ddf6-dd11-496d-a4ec-3ee238cfeb16 (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1)

Inhabitants of a Cluster Wohnung must form a good corporation with a name, bylaws, and a board of directors. Each member pays a fee for the initial capital (about 10,000 CHF). The society, in turn subleases space to CW members and is responsible to the cooperative for managing rent payments. Members organize their living arrangements and are also responsible for finding new tenants when someone decides to leave. (Guidarini 2018)

Economic model. Cooperatives with undivided ownership: the third way.[163]

Together with the cooperative model, the undivided ownership is designed to prevent the privatization of affordable housing units and to maintain housing affordability indefinitely.
Cost-rent is the primary tool for nonspeculation.[164], which endures the longest. Cost rent, however, loses ground to market rates over time when loans are repaid and rising land prices are not taken into account in its computation. Cooperative apartment rents in Zurich are currently, on average, 25% less than market rates (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 2).
The dedication to nonspeculation and cost rent, when combined, promote attentive and ongoing stewardship of social and architectural assets. Cooperative groups are able to update complexes even in highly sought-after central areas while yet maintaining affordable rents that preserve social and economic diversity (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 2).

Kraftwerk 1, Kalkbrite and Mehr als Wohnen, Dreiek, Nena 1 propose an economic model that evolves the simple housing cooperatives into a complex structure of multifunctional cooperatives with diversified services. It can include, in addition to various typologies of residence, entrepreneurial activities, management of spaces for culture and work, residence services (daycare centers, preschools), and personal support activities for the elderly and disabled. Functional programs are very

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[163] Interview Q, 22/05/31 _ Susanne Kilian Schindler, ETH Zurich, Philipp Klaus, Kraftwerk Housing Cooperative, Zurich: Cooperative Housing in Zurich, the case of Kraftwerk
164 Definition by Cooperative Condition by Susan Schindler and Anne Kockelkorn.
Accessed: https://www.cooperativeconditions.net/home/introduction#chapter-8930ddf6-dd11-496d-a4ec-3ee238cfeb16. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 1)

complex and articulated and see residency as one of the components of a highly articulated overall picture.

Land

Cooperatives have priority access to public building areas by granting surface rights. In this way, the public administration does not alienate its assets.

Many Zurich's cooperative businesses purchased property between the 1920s and 1950s. The low initial cost of purchasing land has a direct impact on the low rents of today. Since 1910, the cooperatives have bought 70% of their land on the private property market and obtained 30% from the municipality. Of this 30%, 19% was purchased, and 11% was leased. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022)

Around 2010, land prices in Zurich became too expensive for cooperatives to develop and operate a building according to the rules of non-speculation. Since then, access to land for cooperatives has depended on the action by the municipality: through municipal land leases, a Special Area Plan or the Appreciation tax. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 2)

A legal concept known as "direct ownership of land" designates the duties and rights of natural or legal people to a parcel of land. Residents are both collective shareholders and individual renters in cooperative companies, which combine the ownership and tenancy principles. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 2)

In a leasehold (Baurecht) agreement, the landowner offers tenants the right to utilize the property in exchange for regular rent payments. In Zurich, municipal land leaseholds are typically issued for 62 years, with an option for an additional 30 years. This guarantees the municipality's long-term management of urban growth. It guarantees cooperative organizations access to buildable land, which is now expensive and unattainable even when money is cheap. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 2)

The City of Zurich owns residential real estate as well as roadways, infrastructure, and forests, and has encouraged cooperatives with a policy of land reserves since the turn of the 20th century, probably due to the low cost of land. This land was more accessible to cooperative organizations due to its sizeable plots or advantageous pricing. The urban growth of 1934 created areas that could be developed with amenities and infrastructure out of inexpensive agricultural land, which was advantageous to cooperatives. The City of Zurich stopped selling municipal land in the 1950s.

It has consistently given leaseholds since 1965. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 2) (Schindler 2022)[165]

Funding

Housing cooperatives in Zurich only need 6% equity instead of the customary 20% to receive a traditional bank loan.

Even socially excluded groups now have access to financing thanks to the small amount of equity that cooperatives must have to take out a mortgage.

As a result, there are now a wide variety of small, niche organizations offering particular communal living arrangements to various interest groups. (Klaus 2022)[166]

By selling shares, cooperatives crowdsource their equity among their members. A share is a document that certifies a resident's ownership in a portion of the cooperative corporation and gives them the right to vote on organizational matters. Two self-managed instruments provide additional finance for Kraftwerk cooperatives. Members can deposit money in the savings bank of a cooperative and receive a modest interest rate. The solidarity fund of a cooperative collects donations to assist members in times of hardship.

Zurich's public sector made the decision not to provide loans to the cooperatives directly from the start of its engagement in housing in 1896. This is one of the reasons that cooperatives have received support from the public on all political sides (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 3).

Few cooperatives receive direct loans from the public sector. The Swiss Cooperative for the Issue of Bonds (Emissionszentrale), is one indirect method for getting low-interest loans. Since 2007, loans of up to CHF 50,000 per housing unit have been made available through a revolving fund (fonds de roulement) (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 3).

A cooperative's limited equity provides stronger leverage over the long run as well as in the short term. The capital leverage of a cooperative increases with size and age. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 3).

Things were different for Kraftwerk 1, as the Zurich City Pension Fund refused to finance such a pioneering and uncertain project. Moreover, the composition of the cooperative was not only residential but also included the construction of studios and commercial dimensions that did not fit into the traditional cooperative support

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[165] Interview Q, 22/05/31 _ Susanne Kilian Schindler, ETH Zurich, Philipp Klaus, Kraftwerk Housing Cooperative, Zurich: Cooperative Housing in Zurich, the case of Kraftwerk
[166] Ibidem, Klaus

scheme. Consequently, the revolving fund (fonds de roulement) did not grant the loan. Therefore, the cooperative had to resort to a private loan of CHF 2 million and ask the co-operators to sign the reservation of flats to prove that they could finance 20% of the investment. At this point, the Zurich City Pension Fund and the Revolving Fund finally agreed to grant a loan.

Self organization and participation culture [167]

The communities based on an anti-capitalist economy theorized by Hans Widmer in bolo bolo have a solid connection to the urban dimension and thus take a significant distance from those original-various communities defined by Ferdinand Tonnies as organic, antiurban forms of coexistence (Tonnies 1979).The built utopias of the cooperatives Kraftwerk 1, Kalkbrite and Mehr als Wohnen, Dreiek, Nena 1, Karthago are by no means happy islands alternative to urban culture. In this regard, the founding charter of Kraftwerk1 removes all doubt: "kraftwerk1 will not be an island, but a meeting place connected to the city, the country, and the world" (Blum, Hofer and Widmer 2014). Their foundation lies precisely in the successful combination of urban living, social integration, and high ecological standards to form habitats of great density and diversity. However, closure to the outside world is neither socially nor economically beneficial (Guidarini 2018). The cooperatives Kraftwerk 1, Kalkbrite and Mehr als Wohnen, Dreiek, Nena 1, and Karthago are immersed in the Welfare System, far from the Albertian concept of the family, a closed environment in itself; it is itself a society, but closed, isolated, impermeable (Alberti 2010). The solution lies in the awareness of non-self-sufficiency from the metropolis and concerning a model of life that rediscovers urban values to the local scale, which gets in touch with the context. Compared to the past models, the new social enterprises of WohnGemeinschafts propose themselves as acupuncture that urges the slumbering, in some cases moribund, urban body to awaken and make it react. [168]

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[167] Interview Q, 22/05/31 _ Susanne Kilian Schindler, ETH Zurich, Philipp Klaus, Kraftwerk Housing Cooperative, Zurich: Cooperative Housing in Zurich, the case of Kraftwerk.

[168] Interview Q, 22/05/31 _ Philipp Klaus, Kraftwerk Housing Cooperative, Zurich:

The Community, the self-promotion and subsequent collective management is a key ingredient of Kraftwerk1 project. It is formed by 81 intergenerational nucleus whose members took part to the process of design and construction.. They have fixed appointment during the week and generally they use a lot the common spaces as meeting spaces, working spaces, convivial spaces also open to the neighborhood. There are many subgroups belonging to the Cluster apartments present into the building and also offices that manage the communal and the commercial spaces opened to the city.

There is a rooted solidarity behavior and the resident pay a contribution called «Spirit» depending on income and savings used for the 40% within the projects - tenants association decides and fort he 60% for funding

Affordability

Kraftwerk's housing cooperative has built affordability and sustainability on the long run, using different factors, tools and choices:

The choice of a cooperative model with a solidaristic economical model
The legal conditions for developing a relationship with a proactive municipality.
The privileged access to financing
The community-led and cooperative management of the project
The process of design-development-maintenance of the housing building
6. The new architectural typologies
Cooperatives have preferential access to credit, supported by municipal legislation, which, through indirect measures dating back to the early 1900s, acts as a guarantor with local banks and allows cooperatives to expose themselves with only 6% equity (as opposed to 20%) to access finance. The cooperatives have also produced two self-managed instruments, the cooperative savings bank and the solidarity fund.

Together, these three fundamental observations cast doubt on some of the housing-related assumptions that are frequently presented as mutually exclusive dichotomies rather than as instances of "both" by architects, planners, scholars, the general public, and politicians. Affordable housing is a result of non-speculation and is never possible only through design. A profit-driven financial market and a non-profit housing mission do in fact interact. Additionally, the success of independent private actors is partly reliant on the state's regulatory authority. Together, these three ideas shed light on what enables social entrepreneurship and experimental architecture in Zurich, especially at a time when the pursuit of singularity can constrict our conception of the ideal life. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 4)

Architecture innovation

The cooperatives Kraftwerk1, Mehr als wohnen, and Kalkbreite have embraced a transitory idea of "family" at the level of the household by posing the question, "Who forms them and for how long?" The flat typologies they suggest include a variety of family structures, including full-time families, single residents, couples, and the conventional "nuclear" family. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 4). Infact, the Zurich new Cooperative housing have developed dwelling typologies that can meet the new needs of a multifaceted and multiethnic reality that cannot be reduced

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tenants in need. Among the different cooperatives of the city there is a mutual learning and knowledge transfer process. There are several levels of capacitation:
·   WBG – Association of all housing cooperatives.
·   Meetings of the CEOs
·   Meetings of the presidents
·   Project leaders exchange
·   Workshops open to all

to a single lifestyle (Hofer 2011). New housing typologies continue to proliferate evolving from one project to the next, challenging the functionalism of apartments. Housing options include cluster flats and flats that can accommodate up to 50 people, some of which also have access to a serviced kitchen. Then, in a single development, these extraordinary flat types are mixed with standard flats to create a choreographed blend (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 5).

Here a little lexicon of the new dwelling typology that comes from an analysis conducted by the author that cross the reference literature, the interviews and the field trips:

Wohn-Gemeinschaft, are shared apartments with a long story in Northern and central Europe and are the typological base from which the most recent dwellings come. The project Kraftwerk1 Zwicky Sud has the biggest Swiss WG, with 14.5 rooms.

Cluster Wohnungen, are groups of units joined in a larger communal whole. These units consist of one or two rooms with a bathroom and micro kitchen. The common space is a sequence of articulated spaces-living room, dining room, kitchen, terraces, study, and work area-and connected. These are more extensive and space-saving common areas compared to a traditional apartment. The rent for a unit-base (with only a bathroom) costs less than a studio apartment, including the share of common parts. The wide availability of common spaces makes it attractive for those who are single but want to have a social life, and it also offers the possibility of mutual support between people. The principle is against the separation of the genders. These are intergenerational residences where networks of single-parent families are often established to share childcare and communal servants. The idea is to be in a group with absolute privacy when desired. From a settlement perspective, this logic of shared living is also a high-density housing solution that can curb gentrification in central city areas. In Switzerland, the residential crowding index is on average 50sqm/inhabitant, while with Cluster Wohnungen, it reaches 33-35sqm/inhabitant but with the perceived availability of use of much larger areas. (Ibrahim and Muller 2014) Claudia Thiesen, an architect at Kraftwerk, emphasized the flexibility of this housing model "we provide the framework, and the inhabitants fill it" (Simon, Schwalfenberg, et al., Cluster und Allmende/Cluster and Commons. 2014, Simon, Schwalfenberg, et al., Discussion: Teaching building The architects did not play the key role here. 2016).

Cluster Le Corbusier-type, it is a cluster developed as a duplex following the Unitè d'habitation model.

Cluster Loos-type, it is an ensemble of clusters developped as a triplex with 12-13 units at staggered floors with double-height living rooms.

Wohnatelier duplex , It is a duplex for one person with a ground floor used as an atelier.

Joker zimmer, are joker rooms or one-room flat of 20-30 sqmt with washing room situated inbetween of average flats allow a flexibility of dwelling spaces that can be used by older kids, as a rental room or temporary flat.

Cluster-Wohnungen unbundled, in Kalkbrite it is a C-W made of independent units distributed along the rue interieur that have access to the communal areas. It is a dwelling typology useful for students or temporary living as co-living.

Satelliten - Wohnungen, it is a type of Cluster developed for the Mehr Als Wohnen project. (see House A)

Molekulares Wohnungen, represents a philosophy of intervention based on a principle of flexibility that allows for apartments of different sizes with rooms and service blocks that can be aggregated or separated according to the needs of the present but easily adaptable to future needs. Le Plan Libre is achieved by minimizing the degree of distribution, with the placement of internal partitions self-determined by the inhabitants.

Hallen-Wohnungen, is a living space proposed for the first time in the Zollhause project of the Kalkbrite cooperative. It originates from the squatting forms of disused industrial interiors and consists (for the Zollhause) of two spaces of 275 and 327 square meters on the third floor. They are intended for self-building by tenants who want to realize their ideas of living from the social and spatial point of view. (Kalkbrite, 2017). The configuration is the result of collective workshops and light layouts.

Rue interieur, on the model of the Unitè d'habitation of Marseille

Additionally, cooperatives provide a variety of communal places that enable these various homes to coexist. This skill has developed over the course of the city's 100-year cooperative system to make up for the city's strict occupancy regulations (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 5). Philipp Klaus, a member of the Kraftwerk1 board of directors, says "Our housing does not stop at the front door."[169]. Therefore, At the neighbourhood scale, cooperatives expand the use of shared space to include also neighbours and the general public. When trying to infuse urban traits into new construction in urban suburbs, this is quite important. Working on the cooperative's potential political and architectural economics is crucial since it is crucial to maintaining the spatial harmony of modern cities. Urban microcentres have been successfully created as for Zwicky Süd and Hunziker Areal, both of which are

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[169] Interview Q, 22/05/31 _ Susanne Kilian Schindler, ETH Zurich, Philipp Klaus, Kraftwerk Housing Cooperative, Zurich: Cooperative Housing in Zurich, the case of Kraftwerk.

located in underserved areas. Because they are not under as much pressure to produce immediate profits as private developers, cooperatives typically have greater success. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 5).

This variant of urban planning is quieter but maybe more significant. The director of Meier Hug Architekten, Marius Hug, described these projects as "machines for collective living" as opposed to Corbusian living machines that aim to maximize functional efficiency. In locations where such options are nonexistent, this architecture provides the general public with access to a shared urban experience. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 5)

DWELLING TYPOLOGIES : a. Cluster + Wohngemeinschaft

Private spaces

Communal spaces

Cluster 350 mq

Wohn-Gemeinschaft 250 sqm
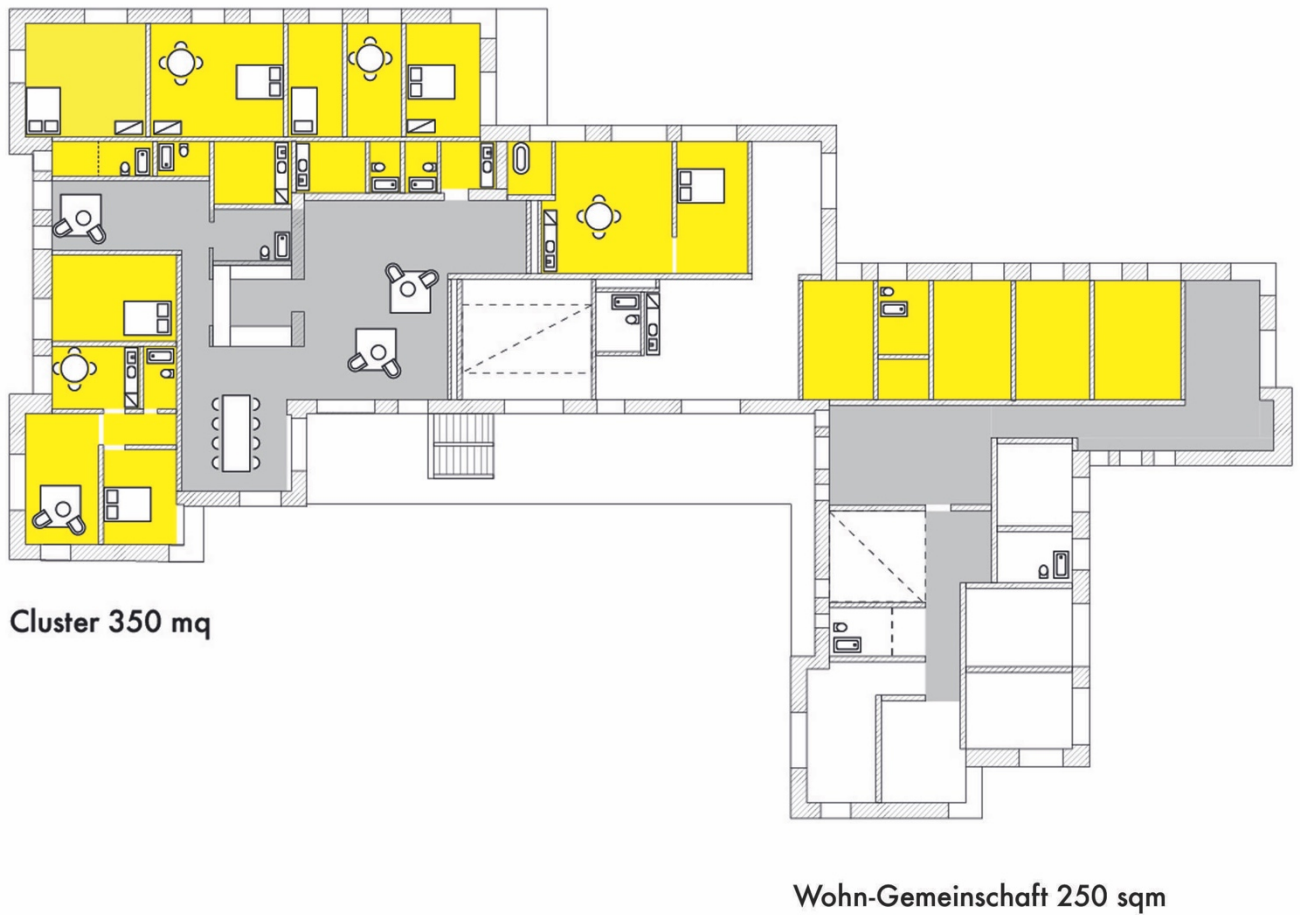
Fig 77: Kraftwerk 1 Heizenholz, Cluster – Wohngemeischaft. Drawing by the author

DWELLING TYPOLOGIES : b. Zwiky south

private space

public space
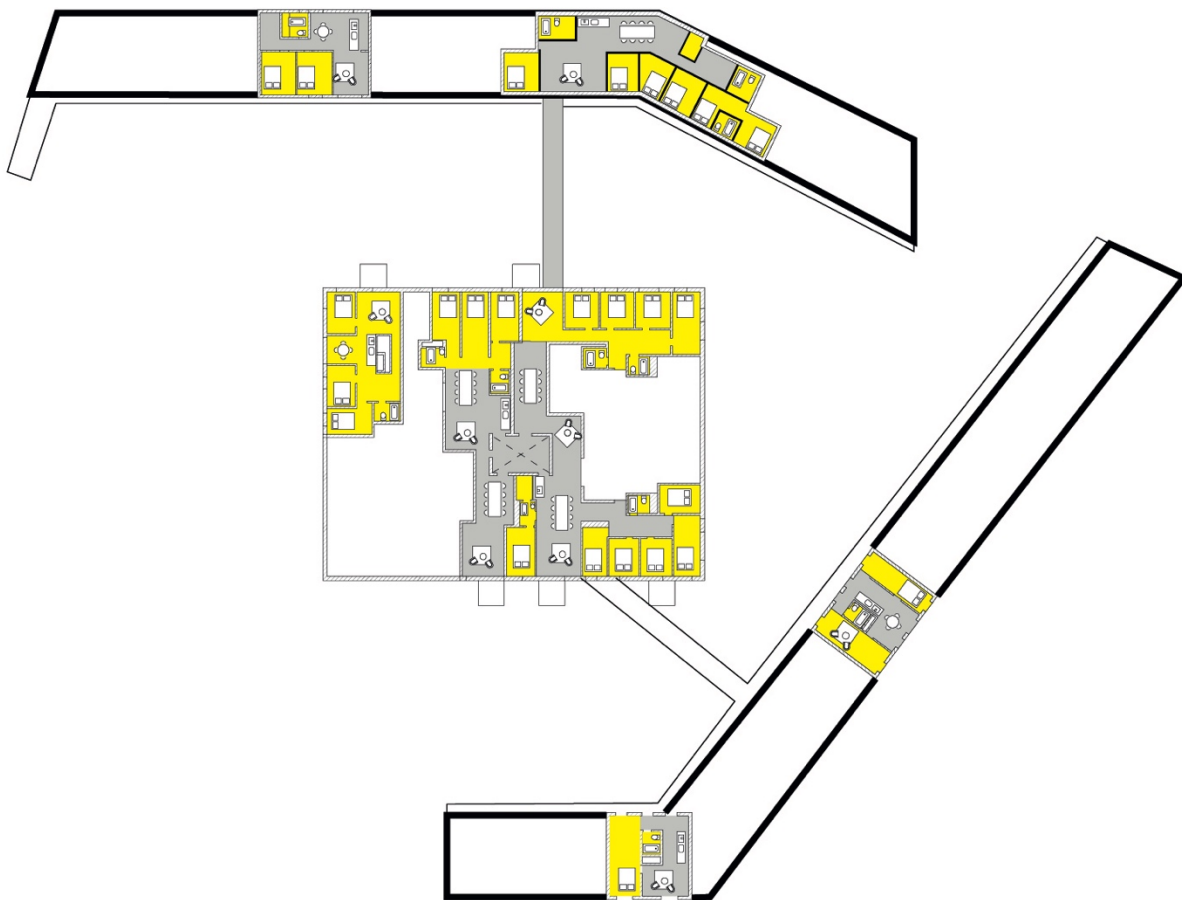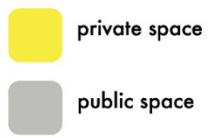
Fig 78 : Kraftwerk 1 Zwicky South- Cluster – Wohngemeischaft- Joker Room.Drawing by the author.

DWELLING TYPOLOGIES : 6

Private spaces

Communal spaces
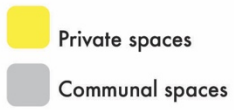
Fig 79: Zollhaus Haus A, Hellenwonhen, Kalkbreite. Drawing by the author

DWELLING TYPOLOGIES : 4

Private spaces

Communal spaces

Fig 80: Mehr Als Wohnen, Satelliten – Wohnungen. Drawing by the author

The architecture of Krafwerk 1 Hardturm
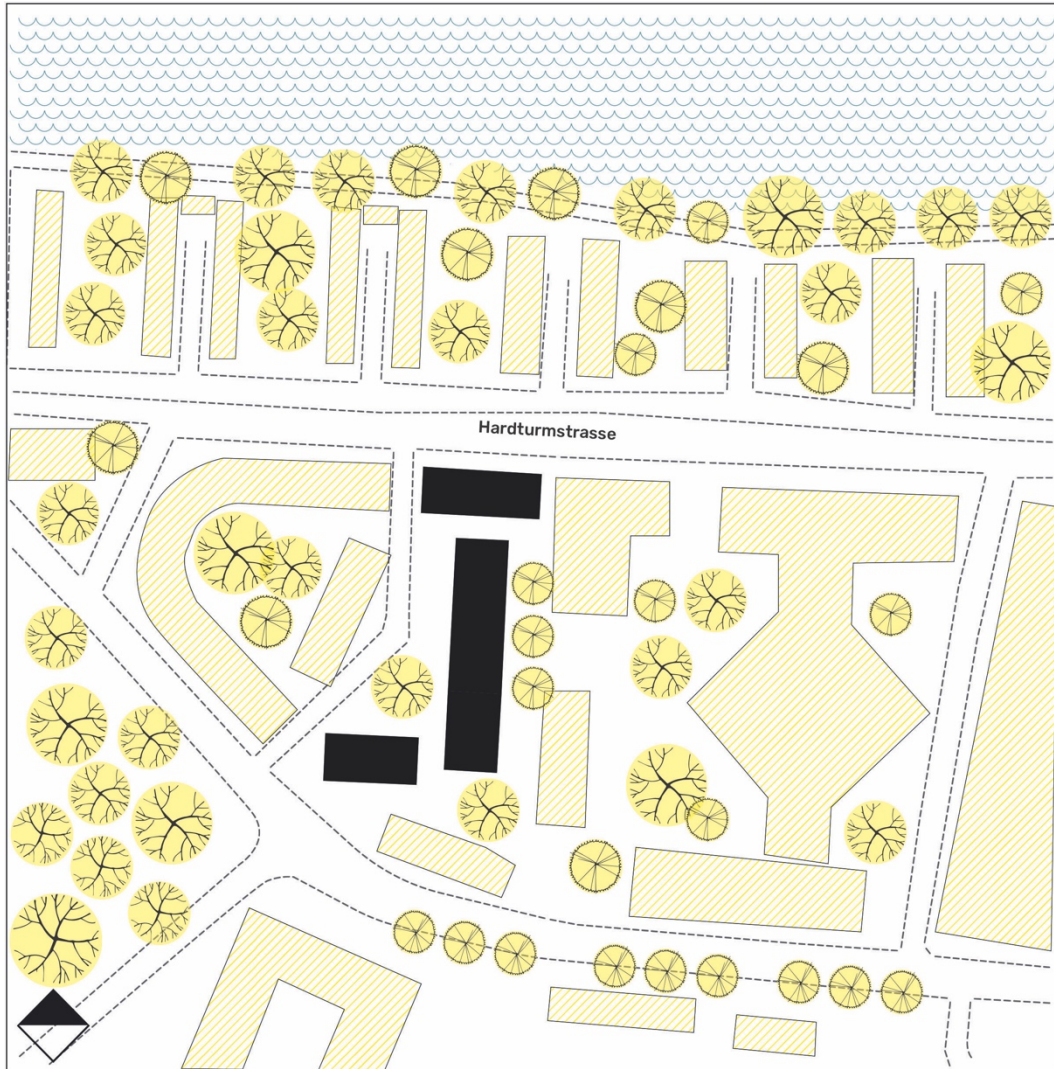
Fig 81: Masterplan Kraftwerk 1 and Hardtrum area in the Sants Neighborhood. Elaboration by the author.

This intervention, says Philipp Klaus, represents the application of a new urban strategy for a post-modern and sustainable society from the perspective of three key issues: sustainability, a mix of uses, and connectivity (Klaus 2022)[170]. Kraftwerk 1 Hardturm is the first example of a 'built utopia' made by Kraftwerk 1 cooperative. The latter's founders had proposed in the 1990s the creation of a community network on the bolo'bolo model for the redevelopment of the former Sulzer Escher-Wyss industrial area in the west of Zurich, on which significant interventions have been pursued.

The project area is located in an urban block between Harturmstrasse and Forrlibuckstrasse, within the Sulzer Escher-Wyss Areal of Zurich West, which had been occupied by textile and mechanical industries since 1805. The intervention includes four buildings, of which the main nine-story A building, centrally located and clad in brown-colored Klinker, and three five-story bodies plastered in reddish-orange: B1 (office and commercial spaces), B2 (residences), and B3 (residences and workspaces). All the buildings have mixed uses, with the ground floors used for services, workspaces, commerce, and residential services.

31% families inhabit building A, 16% couples, 25% singles, and 28% shared accommodation with students, the elderly, and the disabled. The ecological aspects of the Project are paramount, as testimonies by the Swiss Solar Prize won in 2002. One of the initial goals of the cooperative is to limit car use.

Building A, which has a great thickness of the building body (nearly 20 m), has an architecture that recalls, with a certain elegance, the large industrial factories of the early 20th century, partly because of the horizontal proportions of the windows. Its typological articulation includes two different distribution systems that perminiate as many housing types. The Le Corbusier-type built on the Unitèe d'habitation model (duplex accommodations that straddle a central corridor) and the Loos-type, which consists of several 12/13-room Cluster Wohnungen on staggered floors on two and three levels, with double-height living rooms. In the southern header, there are accommodations intended for shared living in the Wohn-Gemeinschaft, co-composed of units with between 5-9 rooms with a shared bathroom for every three rooms. On the ground floor, there are commercial spaces and residence services, duplex apartment-ateliers, a kindergarten and daycare center, a communal laundry, guest rooms, a common room with a kitchen, and a guest space. Also in Building

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[170] Interview Q, 22/05/31 _ Susanne Kilian Schindler, ETH Zurich, Philipp Klaus, Kraftwerk Housing Cooperative, Zurich: Cooperative Housing in Zurich, the case of Kraftwerk.

B1 are a restaurant open to the public, a barbershop, a flower store, a grocery store, and a small supermarket, and the much-loved café Pantoufle.

From the development of Krftwerk1 in 2001 to *Mehr Als Wohnen's* opening in 2015, a significant evolution of the dwelling typology occurred. In this sense, great importance was the design approach to the new Hunziker Areal went through a long development process from 2007 to 2015. It has been a collective and participatory process that started in the Zurich municipality in 2007 with the call for an international architectural competition named 'How to live tomorrow?'. From there, a group of selected architectural studios started to work on the concept of Mehr Als Wohnen, More than living, proposing a platform for typological, technological, and social innovation (Simon, Schwalfenberg, et al. 2016). They proposed a participatory process with workshops opened to the local community. The two finalist architectural firms (Duplex Architekten and Futurafrosh) were commissioned to design buildings.

In contrast, the other firms ranked second, third, and fourth (Muller Sigrist, Architekturburo Miroslav Sik, pool Architekten) were commissioned to design three buildings each to ensure architectural and typological diversity. As noted by Dominique Boudet, the masterplan design marks a threefold theoretical and methodological break with 20th-century urbanism in terms of morphology, typology, and uses (Boudet 2016).Of great importance at the typological level is the provision of different insiediative forms: the traditional apartment (Swiss Box), the studio apartment, the W-G, Le Joker Zimmer, and the Cluster Wohnungen, taken up by Kraftwerk Heizenholz and Kalkbrite. In this regard, according to Boudet, the role of cooperatives is precisely to work on typological innovation.

Non-speculation as a condition for design innovation and for high-quality architecture

Zurich cooperatives' dedication to non-speculation and accessibility, and not because of it, has allowed them to create experimental architecture.

Architectural techniques that have been tried for more than a century in accordance with this concept include the repetition of basic parts, prefabrication, and constrained floor space. The cost savings that result resulting from these architectural decisions are merely passed on to the user when there is a commitment to do so. Although these tactics can help cut construction costs they are only effective if there is a commitment to do so.

Cooperatives experiment with construction techniques and scale back apartment sizes as a strategy for low rents (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 5).

The neoliberal paradigm, according to which housing constructed for low-income groups, which is supposed to be subsidized, ought to be of lower architectural quality to prevent it from becoming desirable for higher income groups (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 5), is reversed by the understanding of non-speculation as a condition for high-quality architecture.

Zurich's cooperatives have never been subject to this neo-liberal criticism and shows to the neoliberal opponents to be correct because they have experimented with cohabitation models that the commercial market has now imitated for clientele with higher incomes. For instance, "cluster flats," which combine a number of modest one-person homes, were initially popularized but are now frequently used by for-profit housing developers.

Thus, the Zurich cooperatives redefined the term "affordability," proving that it is a requirement for project investigation while also revealing that residents' ability to pay is not a requirement for reaping its benefits.

The Zürich cooperatives offered a solution to this issue. In contrast to both, Zurich cooperatives use equal parts architecture and non-speculation to achieve the goal of accessible, inexpensive housing (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 5).

Criticalities

A set of criticalities is about the functioning of the community and the system of autonomy governance.

On the long run the cooperative spirit tends to naturally decrease, as it is reported from the experience of 15 years of kraftwerk1. In order to vitalize the community it has been experienced that a biggest community with a higher number of new members for the turnover is very healthy.

Because of this at the moment of the entrance of a new member into the community, the Kraftwerk responsible group for admitting new members will lean toward the most active people with a solid cooperative nature. However, this leads to a certain community homogeneity and goes against the gated community principles advocated by the cooperative.

Community isolation within a building or neighborhood full of activities and services.

The difficulties of direct democracy, which is energy-intensive and time-consuming to invest in and therefore accessible only to some members.

Public actor and the city

It has only been possible for cooperatives to grow steadily in Zurich over the past century because of their connection with the city's municipal government. Cooperatives have developed a self-image of themselves as autonomous players who develop market alternatives while acting independently of the government.. Cooperative architecture and urbanism have as a defining feature the sense of being separate and independent (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 7).

As housing scholar Julie Lawson notes[171], from the left to the right and throughout shifting political trends, autonomy has made this nonprofit housing model politically acceptable (Lawson 2014). The sustained popularity of this model is explained by geographers Ivo Balmer and Jean-David Gerber (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 7) (Balmer and Geber 2018)[172]. However, Lawson, Balmer, and Gerber[173] also go into great length to demonstrate that the cooperatives' strong ties to municipal administrations and the initiatives and demands of organized citizens were the only things that made the continuous political and financial backing for affordable housing possible.

The two most important forms of state assistance that have resulted from this entrenched autonomy during the past century are favored access to communal land and preferred financing. The Zurich Cantonal Bank (ZKB) was compelled by Canton Zurich to lend money to cooperatives in 1902. From 30% of development expenses in 1924 till 10% of the development expenses in the year 1924, as well as from 10% to 6% in 1924, where it has remained to this day, the required equity capital was lowered (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 7).

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171 Lawson analyzed how cooperatives have studied and applied financing mechanisms acceptable to fiscal conservatives. Lawson, "The Transformation of Social Housing Provision," 45–67.

172 Balmer and Gerber, 2018, 378.

173 Balmer and Gerber studied the paradox of sustained political support for a decommodified form of housing in a broader context of (neoliberal) austerity and the withdrawal of direct state intervention in the housing market in Switzerland. They conclude that supportive policies at the municipal level and pressure from grassroots initiatives have contributed to the success and expansion of cooperatives; in other words, they have been politically successful because they can reasonably be considered autonomous. Balmer and Gerber, "Why are housing cooperatives successful?", 361–385, p. 378

Fig 82: Ursula Koch, former Zurich town planning councillor in 1992. Photo from cooperative condition project. City Cooperative Archive.

A constant struggle between activists and residents and municipal officials is what gives rise to this embedded autonomy (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 7). This resulted in the construction of the mixed-use Kalkbreite cooperative. Beginning in the 1990s, the city put a priority on brand-new homes for families, requiring better projects and open selection procedures.

Zurich's urban development was significantly influenced by Ursula Koch in a way that favored cooperatives.

When the zoning code was changed in 1999, the impasse between the social-democratic city council and the conservative cantonal government was resolved with a compromise that limited the conversion of former industrial districts to commercial use while still allowing larger density. The 1999 modification formalized many participatory planning methods, which was another crucial addition for today's cooperatives. Through the Special Area Plan and the revaluation tax, it provided access to land. (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 7)[174]

The zoning law became a hot topic in the 1990s as people debated who should profit from higher density construction, particularly on reclaimed industrial land in the city center: for-profit office building developers or nonprofit family housing developers?

The city of Zurich has supported cooperative construction through planned development ever since the first zoning ordinance was approved in 1946. The 1946 town planning code's comprehensive development (Gesamtüberbauung) provision made it possible for contemporary low-density Siedlungen (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 7).

The tool changed its name to Planned Development Area (Arealüberbauung) with the town planning code revision in 1963 and modified to encourage brand-new construction at higher densities[175].

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[174] "The revaluation tax (Mehrwertabgabe) (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 8)

[175] Definition by Cooperative Condition by Susan Schindler and Anne Kockelkorn.

Ursula Koch, a social democrat who took charge of Zurich's building department in 1986, introduced new regulations for the city's urban strategy a few years later. Buildings on city-owned property have to be exceptionally well-designed going forward. Making Zurich a desirable location for families to live was the aim. From that point forward, the winner of every contest for the leasehold of municipal land was required to fund an architectural competition.The main beneficiaries of this approach were cooperatives. The city convinced cooperatives to resume their development activities (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 7).

Cooperatives were changed from stewards to inventors via leaseholds for municipal land and architectural contests working together. Public discussion on the submitted designs and public trust in the process' openness were both sparked by the public jury process..

Zurich's cooperatives have been able to flourish both outside and inside the market with the aim of broader social fairness thanks to the municipality's support and work at scale, cost, and the leading edge of architectural processes. Of course, no model is ideal for every situation. Many cooperatives have ended their waitlists due to high demand. Additionally, many cooperatives have just recently made the inclusion of residents from various racial and socioeconomic backgrounds an official objective. [176]

Reproducibility and Network

Zurich's new cooperatives are foundational projects of the principles described in the chapter. They are the equivalent of what Françoise Choay has called *establishing texts* in architectural theory, such that they build autonomous equipment that allows new spaces to be conceived and realized, with particular reference to utopias. These six major projects were realized between 1998 and 2022. They are interventions that work at different scales, from the individual building to the neighborhood. They are promoted by the three cooperatives mentioned above-Kraftwerk, Kalkbreite, Mehr Als Wohnen-

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nonspeculation, cooperatives rarely maximize the legally permitted building volume in redevelopment projects." (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 8)

"Floor area ratio or FAR (Ausnützungsziffer) (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 8)

176 for more in-depth information: https://shelterforce.org/2021/08/12/why-nonprofit-cooperatives-are-thriving-in-zurich/

plus others of lesser impact, which have strong interactions and work as a natural cooperation system between cooperatives. They are all part of the platform Genossenschaften, where they put into practice mutual learnining and capacitation process. In several cases, the competition juries include members and designers from the other cooperatives. Each project adds new elements to previous experiences and thus marks a new stage in an ongoing evolution that manages to subvert almost all traditional and academic living conventions. Other projects, either realized or under construction, take up some of the ideas of these instaurating projects and can be compared to what Choay always calls *commentary texts*. (Choay 1986).
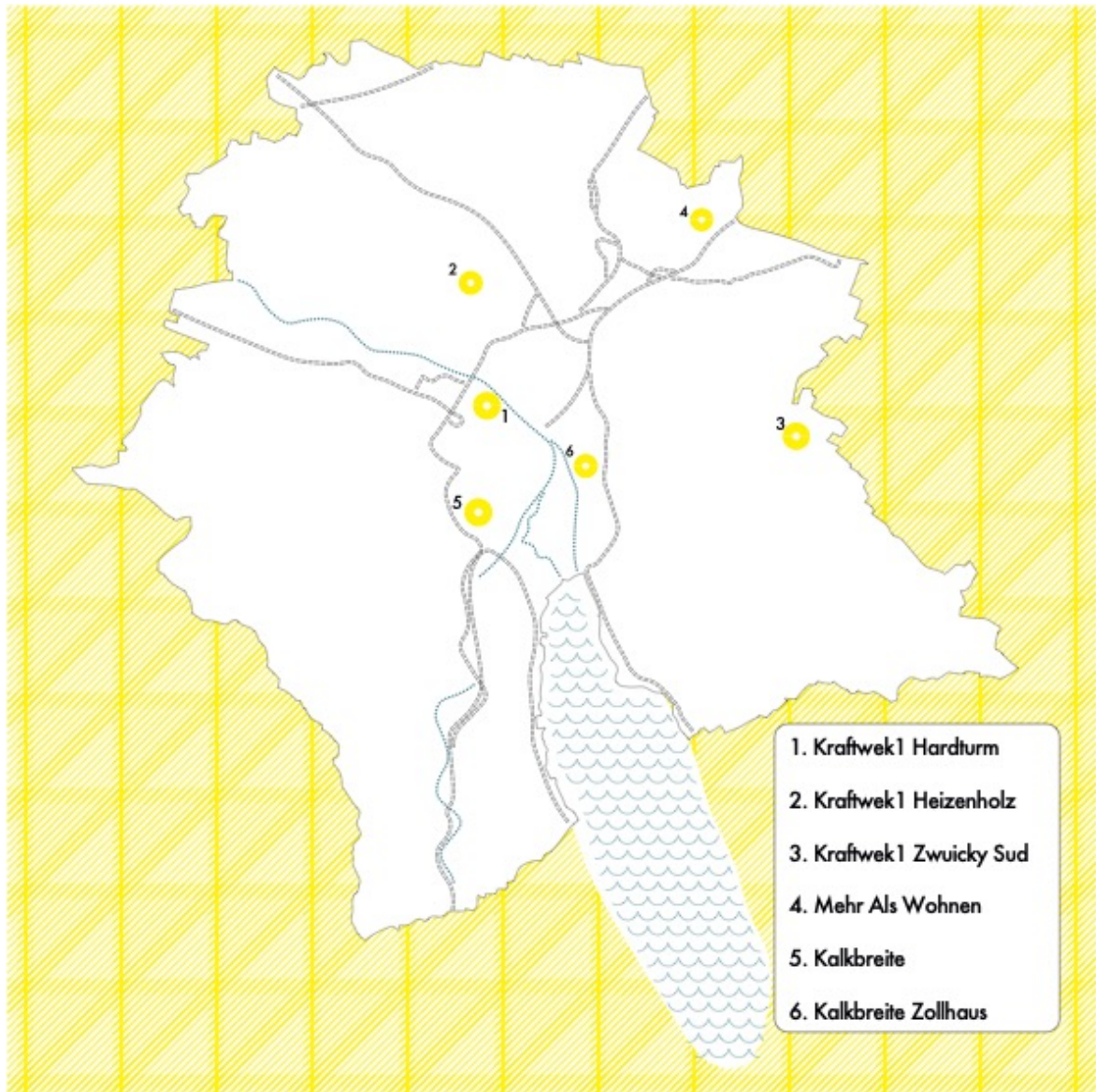
Fig 83: Housing co-operative projects in Zurich. These are the main new wave cooperative projects promoted by community-led organizations since the 1990' on. They are all big scale projects in the Zurich area. Map by the author

What can be transferred?

Andrea Hofer, says that the model of the Zurich cooperatives is challenging to transfer outside the particular political-economic and socio-cultural conditions of the city. Here, new housing forms that meet the needs of a changing society have been experimented with for the past two decades. (Hofer 2011)

Zurich's alternative housing models production, particularly its community-led cooperative housing, is considered a best practice in Europe and beyond. Because of this, the cooperatives and the city council members are involved in international networks with academic housing research laboratories, foundations, cooperative networks, and other cities and housing departments. For this latter point, Zurich is part of many international projects such as the Cities Connection Project, promoted by The Municipality of Barcelona, and the newer Netco, also connected with Bologna and other Italian cities.

When applied over time, the instruments mentioned can be bargained within the particular political conflicts of various locations (Kockelkorn and Schindler 2022, 8).

What can also be transferred are the innovative dwelling typologies that are already actually used for new community-led housing models and experimentation over Europe.

The question of transferability: Why does it work in Zurich?
- public land is leased, not sold outright, keeping public leverage strong
- housing is seen as long-term asset, not a generator of short-term financial returns
- design is considered a driver of quality and renewal
- conventional lenders and pension funds are on board

Why not in many other places?
- public land is often sold, not leased
- housing is seen as a wealth builder and an integral part of retirement savings, especially for lower income households
- property taxes, not income taxes, are a main source of municipal revenues
- commissions/competitions are developer-driven, not architecture-driven
- conventional lenders/banks are skeptical

KRAFTWERK 1

Kraftwerk 1 Hardturm

Kraftwerk Cooperative, political activism for housing right

PROJECT DATA:

1998-2001   6700m² -81 flats

CHF 49mln   Stucheli Architekten AG con Bunzli
                   +Courvoisier Architekten AG

Direct credit, Residents entrance fee, Traditional bank,
Micro-credits, Solidarity loans

INSPIRATIONAL MODELS:
Squatting movements - Zurich Historical Cooperatives

COMMUNITY:
Intergenerational: 170 adults 80 kids
Active for: production and management

PUBLIC ACTOR ROLE&INVOLVEMENT

HOUSING DIVISION ORGANIZATION
1.Federal Office for Housing BWO
2.Housing division with non profit housing department

LEGAL MODEL

ECONOMICAL MODEL & TENURE

ARCHITECTURAL MODEL

GOVERNANCE

TOOLS
>indirect subsidies: the Canton of Zurich obliged the Zurich Cantonal Bank (ZKB) to lend to cooperatives. 8% equities needed to access to mortgage

HOUSING COOPERATIVE
· not for profit
· households are members of the coop, have the right to live in an apt.
· Purchase a share of the coop 15.000 CHF and pay a low monthly fee.

TENURE
Land is owned by coop.
Building is owned by Coop
Possibility of home ownership
FUNDING
· Solidarity loans, Residents entrance fee, Traditional banks, micro-credits,Direct credit.
· Solidarity funds for new projects 15-55 CHF/month

TYPOLOGY INNOVATIONS:
the new dwelling typology such as Cluster Wohnungen, flexible structure, divesification more than modularity; mixitè of use dwelling, commercial, culture.
CONSTRUCTION INNOVATIONS:
Big scale, Adaptive reuse of industrial buildings, periferal areas regeneration.

AWARDS
-

SELF-ORGANIZATION
· members share responsability for producing, managing and maintaining building and the common space
· members has the right to vote
· Administration is a work and is delegated
· Differences among new and old projects

URBAN TOOLS
> Urban incentives: Special Area Plan (Gestaltungsplan) to plan the re-zoning of large areas to allocate public land to cooperatives.
>assignment of public land leases for 62/90 years

ACTIONS
>mandatory architectural competitions for coop.
>new households and new housing typologies accepted in the regulation
>Guarantee for Fundings (Banks, or others)

TRANSFER/REPRODUCIBILITY

CRITICALITIES

New Projects born from the pilot

· work at different scales; promoted by the three cooperatives: Kraftwerk, Kalkbreite, Mehr Als Wohnen.
· Kraftwek1 Hardturm
· Kraftwek1 Heizenholz
· Kraftwek1 Zwuicky Sud
· Mehr Als Wohnen
· Kalkbreite
· Kalkbreite Zollhaus

In the process making

· Long process
· time consuming process for the future residents
· long self-promotion campaign and funding collection

As a model

· scarcity of public land
· long waiting list
· Access to asset buy on the traditional market
· Zurich cooperatives is challenging to transfer outside due to the particular political-economic and socio-cultural conditions of the city.

Factors of success for its reproduction

· part of the platform Genossenschaften - community networking and capacitation
· Decommodification of building and land
· Produce low rent housing
· Community Actvism
· Not for profit circuits that reduce construction cost/rent

FIG 84: Kraftwerk cooperative housing Model, or Map of Action. By the author

Chapter 7

A bottom-up use of the CLT. Innovation of process of design and building for a neighbourhood regeneration.

APPENDIX Index_*PART 3_chapter 7*

This case was chosen as a biography for two main reasons:

It is the first European urban CLT, and it is a community-led CLT.

The study of Granby 4 Streets CLT starts from a critical literature review of the CLT model and the CLT movement in Europe.

Subsequently, the author took part in the public assemblies and conferences of the Interreg CLT Northern Europe project, which provided insight into the European dynamics of the model under analysis.

Subsequently, interviews were conducted with some of the leading proponents in Europe, the CLTB in Brussels, and RUSS in Lewisham, London.

For the Utopian Hours review, the author invited James Binning, a founding member of the London-based architecture collective Assemble, to Turin and conducted an initial interview.

Subsequently, interviews were collected with other Assemble members and CLT residents.

The exchange with the Assemble collective allowed for a good collection of data, drawings, and information, which greatly supported the writing of the biography.

The field trip has been very useful in order to better understand the Trust functioning and the ownership configuration of the area. Moreover, it made it possible to observe the work still in progress at the participatory construction site and to participate in some working sessions at the 4 Corner workshop.

- **GEERT DE PAUW**

  Founder of the CLTBruxelles

- **JAMES BINNING**
- Co-Founder of Assemble design studio London

- **JOE HALLIGAN**

  Co-Founder of Assemble studio
- London

- **ELEONORE**

  resident at Granby 4 streets CLT and co-founder of the CLT

- **ANURAG BARMA**
- member of Rural Urban Synthesis Society RUSS, London
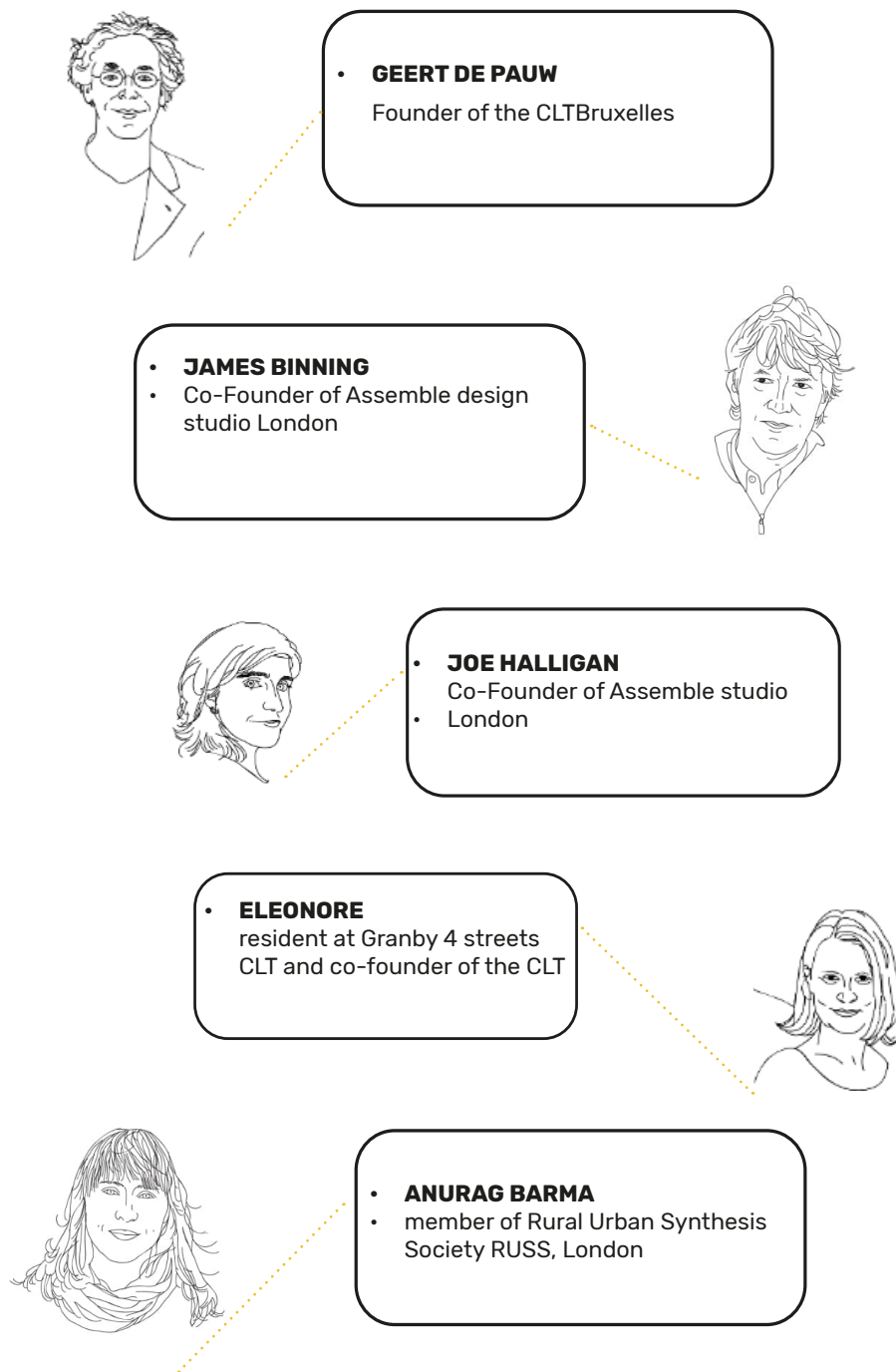
Fig 85: List- diagram of respondents for EU CLT Network and Granby 4 streets CLT. Interviews conducted by the author from 2020 to 2022 among UK and Belgian CLT stakeholders.

General framework

2011-present

LOCATION: Liverpool, Cairns Street to Granby Street

BUILDING SITE: 75.000 m², neighborhood extension,

COMMUNITY: 11 families of the CLT together with the housing coop of the area.

LEGAL MODEL: CLT+partners

TENURES: low sale, low rent, Mutual Home Ownership Scheme

ARCHITECTS: Assemble studio
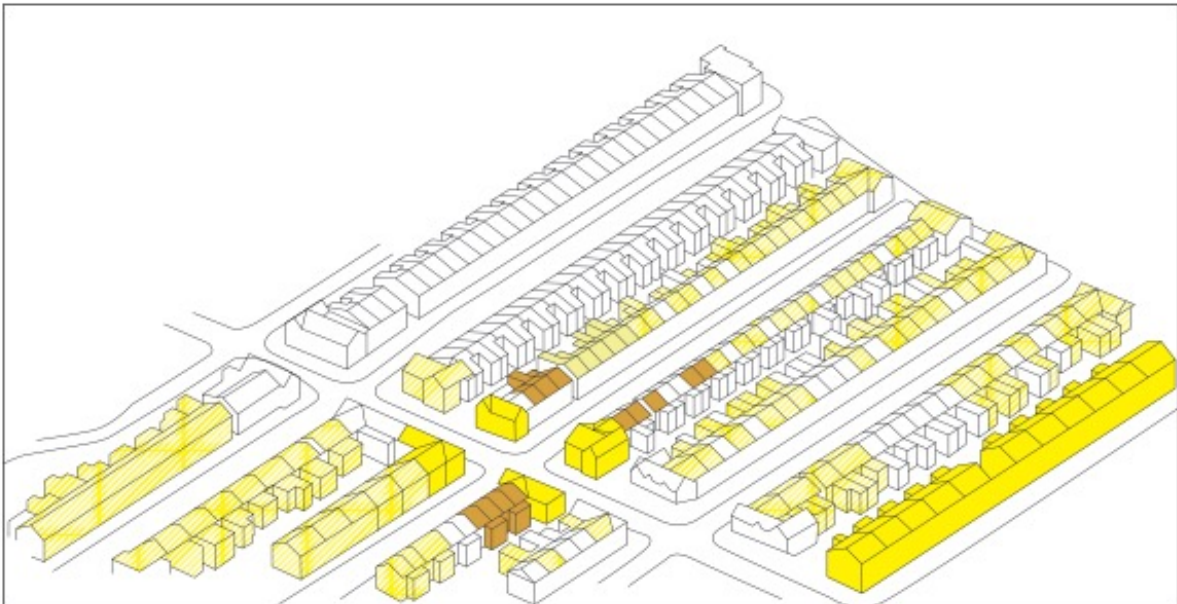
FIG 86: Granby 4 Street CLT Area. A framing of the intervention. Drawings by the author.

We abuse our land because we regard it as a commodity belonging to us. When we see land as a community to which we belong, we may begin to use it with love and respect.
A.Leopold [177]

Our present property arrangements are not working well enough. It makes sense to look for alternative approaches that are based on respect for the legitimate interests of both individuals and communities and that provide an effective means of balancing these interests. The clt is one such approach.
The clt handbook, 1982

The Granby 4 Streets Community Land Trust was established in 2011 to address the housing difficulties in Liverpool's Eighth neighborhood. With the aid of local activists, social investors, and architects, the group was successful in persuading the Liverpool City Council, housing associations, and cooperatives to engage in a Community Land Trust program. The land is owned by the neighborhood in this plan. For various purposes and development initiatives, it leases some land and buildings, providing affordability and benefits to the community while also regulating pricing.

In the past, Granby thoroughfare was a bustling high thoroughfare in the city center. Liverpool's most r culturally diverse neighborhood was housed in numerous rows of Victorian terraces that led off the high street. Granby was primarily recognized until very recently as the scene of the horrific riots in the 1980s, which marked the first time in modern history that the UK army was sent to interfere in a civil disturbance. Following three decades of "regeneration," the region has deteriorated, with all but four of Granby's streets being demolished, a once-vibrant population dispersed, and the remaining streets scarcely populated and filled with abandoned tinned-up homes.

Long-term residents who are resourceful and innovative have sought to buck this trend by building on modest changes to bring about more profound and significant change. They took care, planned and lobbied to recover their streets and reconstruct their neighborhood over the course of two decades. The planting in the roadway is the most obvious of these actions. The lush, well-kept vegetation makes the community's investment and sense of hope visible to everybody.

"The strength of local people's commitment to the neighborhood has been extraordinary; rubbish has been cleared by the ton, empty houses painted with

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177 A.Leopold, a sand county almanac 1949

murals, streets have been turned into shared gardens, and a monthly community street market attracts people from all over Liverpool. " (Binning 2021)[178]

In 2011, the locals established the Granby Four Streets CLT, a novel form of communal property ownership. In the ensuing years, ten vacant homes for rehabilitation into affordable housing were secured. In fact, after experimenting with other models Thanks to their activism and the neighborhood's reaction, they started to attract private capital, hence getting the city council's attention, and decided to transfer 10 of the 200 properties over the Granby 4 Streets CLT.

By using the CLT as a tool and with much voluntary work, the community has been able to attract virtuous partners, experiment with property and lease forms and use buildings for housing purposes, and revitalize the area with commercial and creative activities accessible to all the community. Granby CLT works as a regular CLT putting into practice governance in the hands of a 'bundle of actors'- community, institutions, professionals- and uses a dual ownership regime, or the division of the property of land – held in trust by CLT- from the property of the buildings – owned or leased -through ground lease- by the bundle of actors. They achieved the withdrawal of land and buildings from the speculative market, and now any value increases are locked by CLT (M. Simon 2017).

The CLT is the owner of 14 properties that have been refurbished and transformed into a vibrant residential community with a variety of small local businesses and spacious public areas. As the community grows for the first time in thirty years, the CLT and Assemble are working together to develop activities that will act as a center of attention and a shared objective. By putting creative thinking and open cooperation at the heart of the community, the CLT is committed to continuing the momentum they have built for many years to come. The buildings that have been renovated, count:

1 Housing: Refurbish 13 empty homes on Cairns Street as a range of affordable housing - offering a mix of dwelling sizes and tenures.

2 Public Space: Extend the unique character of Cairns Street onto Granby Street and beyond.

3 The Four Corners: Use the four empty units on the junction between Cairns and Granby as the basis of a productive and enterprising high street.

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178 Interview K, James Binning and Joe Halligan. Cit. reported on their web site: Assemble studio.
https://assemblestudio.co.uk/projects/granby-four-streets-2

Existing built fabric and cultures are retained and celebrated, characterizing the broader neighborhood, and creating unique and desirable places to live, work and play. Residents can access resources and opportunities locally, supporting local enterprise, creativity, and jobs. Sustainable and incremental growth builds on the enterprise, initiative, and commitment the community has shown over the last twenty years.

Through encounters with all the partners, the community members learned many competencies and triggered a process of mutual learning and empowerment with all the actors involved. (M. Simon 2017)

Granby Four Streets CLT is now a fundamental actor in the housing and city-making process, recognized by the city council and the entire community. It is trying to make the housing development process more democratic consistently to widen housing rights.

CLT is a model able to decommodify housing through the institution of a double property formula: dividing land from buildings ownership; the trust and the ground lease are legal instruments that can be used to transform housing and land into common goods. The bundle of actors that decide how to use these tools can vary greatly, from a public institution proposal -top-down- to, as unveiled for the Granby Four Streets CLT, a community-led experience. (Pauw 2021)[179]

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[179] Interview G, 21/06/24 _ Geert De Pauw, CLTB, Bruxelles: CLTB history, model of functioning and future steps.
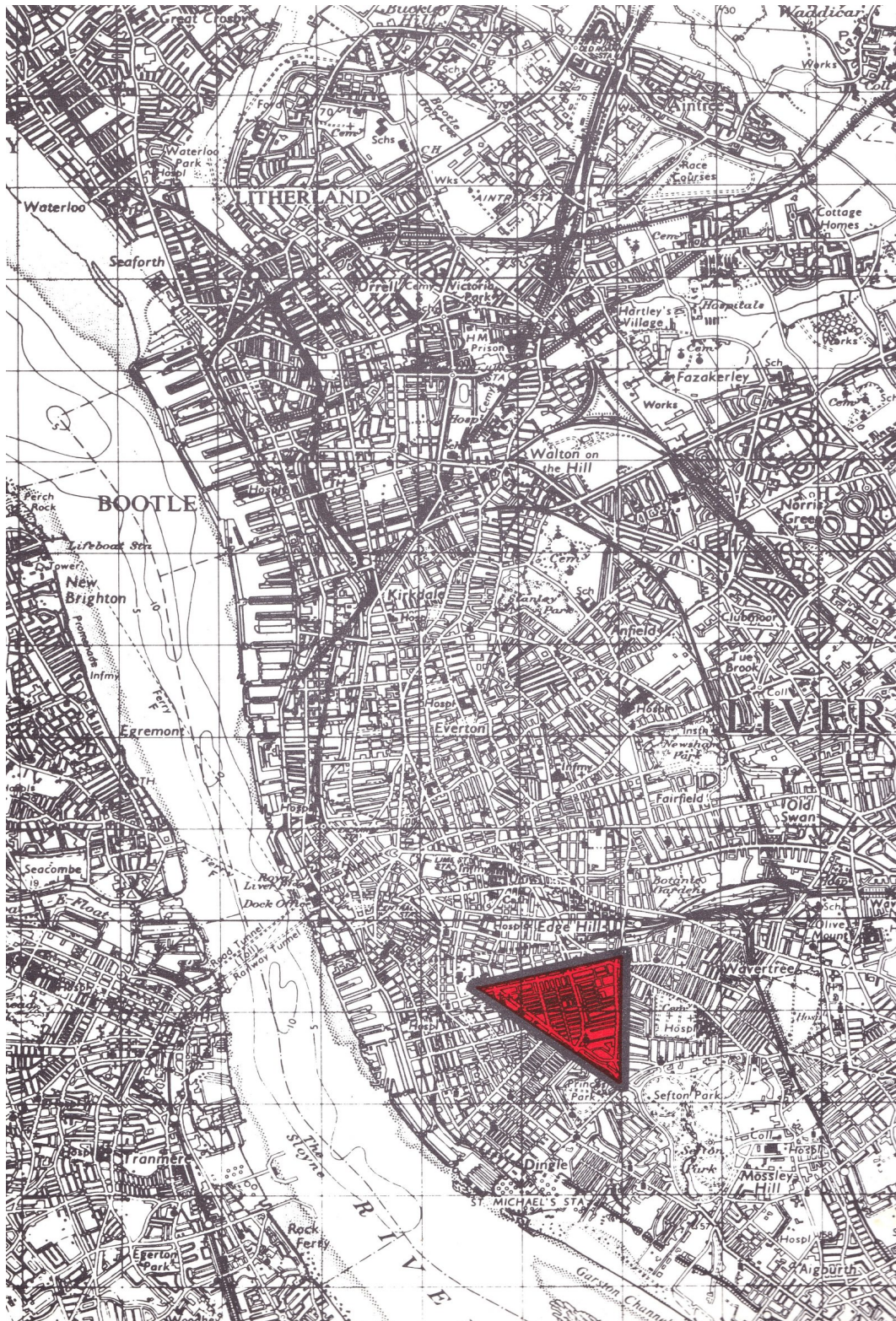
FIG 87: The triangle of the Eights District in Liverpool. Drawing by Assemble. Assemble studio archive.

Background

The Granby Triangle was once a neighborhood with broad streets lined with Victorian terrace houses of all sizes, from modest two-bedroom apartments to opulent five- or six-bedroom estates close to Princes Park. At the park end of the triangle, the four streets Ducie Street, Cairns Street, Beaconsfield Street, Jermyn Street, and make up the Granby Four Streets neighborhood. (Patti e Poliak 2017)

At the end of the Second World War, Toxteth became one of the first ethnic districts in the UK and a well-liked location for Commonwealth immigrants moving to Liverpool.The streets surrounding Granby Street were home to many thriving enterprises owned by people of many ethnic backgrounds, including grocery stores, butcher shops, shop owners, and even a movie theater that drew visitors from all over the city.

However, the working class and ethnic minorities were hard hit by joblessness and racism that was typical of the Toxteth area during Britain's economic downturn in the 1970s. As a result, Granby's business activity started to gradually dwindle, and the Victorian terrace homes in the area started to deteriorate. (Eleonore 2020)[180]

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[180] Interview L, 20/08/21_Eleonore, Granby CLT, Liverpool: Granby 4 streets CLT

FIG 88: The abandoned houses in Granby 4 street area.Photo by Assemble studio.

1980s - 2000[181]

Granby 4 Streets CLT was born out of a demand for affordable homes and a reaction to broken housing laws. Liverpool's Toxteth neighborhood was particularly troubled by issues including unemployment and a lack of investment. Toxteth was a very politically active neighborhood in the 1980s, with tensions between the government, the police, and the community. These tensions were made worse by unemployment issues brought on by the fall of local industry, which culminated in the 1981 riots.

After the 1981 riots in Liverpool Eights, Granby became a 'difficult place to live'. Empty houses began to appear and Shops went out of business, people willing to move away.

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[181] The following chronological History comes from the Eleonore interview and the information collected in the Granby 4 streets CLT web site and Patti, Poliak Book. (Patti e Poliak 2017)

Housing associations that started as small groups before evolving into huge institutions drove the development of the area as a result of a growing divide between what the community wanted and what the housing associations were trying to accomplish. Housing associations at the time believed there was no financial backing for them to repair buildings due to years of low or no investment in homes and the lack of federal government subsidies for supporting less lucrative properties and bedroom sizes. Moreover the trend in the housing market towards new construction due to a number of incentives, including the absence of VAT on new construction. Instead of renovation, this resulted in an increase in new construction. The Toxteth region was always seen by the city council and housing associations as a small collection of roads blocking their efforts to develop new homes, which they believed would alleviate the community's poverty and unemployment. This strategy caused the neighborhood to gradually deteriorate, with 180 houses shuttered up and possibly five individuals remaining on each block. National housing programs, such as the Housing Market Renewal Programme during the Blair years, a significant top-down strategy for urban renewal run in Liverpool's £650 million Merseyside, which sought to restore equilibrium in the housing market by renovating existing home stock in high-poverty areas, effectively served as a demolition program.

This battle wasn't very successful in the Granby area: Granby began to be destroyed street by street. People in this area were destitute, thus many of them seized the chance when owner-occupiers were given money to relocate thanks to Compulsory Purchase Orders handed out by the Local Authority under the Pathfinder Program. Fortunately, there were enough property owners in the four blocks surrounding Granby Street to oppose and halt the process. A group of activists, largely women, opposed the demolition plan and prevented the destruction of the structures.

They used a different tactic and began to seize control of the neighborhood with very minor actions in collaboration with the local Liverpool council authority. This required them to take care of their environment, play with the urban setting, and garden with gorillas. They swept up lanes that had been neglected by the city for a long time. Just for themselves, they cleaned up and made the area more attractive. However, people began to talk to them and inquire about the local situation. They launched a market, started bringing tables, and started planning street parties as other small-scale actions followed. What was the point of staying at home, one of the women questioned? As they began to spend more time outside, the community grew stronger as a result of the utilization of the streets.

Over the course of nearly 20 years, this activism grew. These devoted locals and activists learned about other local organizations during this period, their skill set expanded. They were a group of residents who worked tirelessly as volunteers to create spaces within the neighborhood, plan direct actions like guerrilla gardening, street parties, and markets, paint abandoned properties, and develop potential projects that would show the neighborhood was dynamic and strategically significant to Liverpool's future regeneration efforts.

2000 - 2012

A group of locals established the Granby Four Streets Community Land Trust in November 2011. They connected with a small number of partners and started to develop an urban regeneration strategy in small increments rather than considering extensive efforts that had evidently failed.

2012 - Today

To make sure their viewpoint was taken into consideration throughout any development, they approached a few developers and the council.

The Steinbeck Studio visited to see the CLT association after it won a contest for tiny urban gardens in 2012. They favored the notion of locals taking an active role in the community, and Steinbeck provided a loan of £500,000. It was a very low interest loan with rates of around 0% for the first five years, then 4% for the next four years, before switching to bank conditions. The CLT was able to begin negotiations and get the required finances thanks to this money. The Liverpool City Council realized then that CLT had drawn private investment, leaving it with no more funds for other endeavors. The Council met to address the 200 vacant properties in the neighborhood due to the possibility of investment.

A winter garden development was proposed shortly after that.

"After Assemble won the award for their efforts in Granby, it was a significant turning point since they would only accept it if it was shared with the CLT. The Liverpool City Council took pleasure in the attention, which let them relax and start talking to us on an equal footing. We were able to expand our aspirations, come up with new concepts, and use urban space more creatively thanks to the prize and our collaboration with Assemble." (M. Simon 2017, 83)[182]

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182 Cited in Simon, D. (2017) Granby Four Street CLT. From demolition to reconstruction. In Patti, D., Polial, L., Funding the Cooperative City: Community Finance and the Economy of Civic Spaces.

Many of the structures were in terrible shape. Drawings of possible applications for the abandoned homes were created by Assemble. They were the first individuals to pay attention to us, people remarked. (Eleonore 2020)[183]

The beginning of the entire procedure was made possible via Assemble.

The CLT was allowed to take part in a government award called Empty Homes with the goal of getting people returning to their homes since their initiatives were appealing to the community as well as to other investors.The Granby Workshop, which was established by Assemble and is the direct result of the award, is a social enterprise that was inspired by the idea of creating specialized items to personalize houses. Within three months, they established a location where local architects could work, and the social venture was tremendously successful.

The CLT currently owns 14 properties.

Making of a Model.
Legal Model: Community Land Trust

Generally speaking, community land trusts are non-profit, locally based, democratically administered organizations that provide and protect access to land as a common good for various needs and rights, from housing to productive activities. Practically, CLTs withdraw and permanently retain land from speculative markets through an affordability mechanism. Beyond a great variety of forms and functions, the fundamental principle at the base of the CLT model is the division of land ownership from the construction property (Davis 2010). The land belongs - held in trust - to the CLT and is never sold, while the buildings belong to subjects of various kinds - associations, cooperatives, and individuals.

From an institutional point of view, the CLT can be described as a manifestation of species of the genus "trust", which develops along three dimensions: community, land and trust.

Since its introduction, the CLT has been conceived as an administrative device aimed at empowering local communities and aimed to tackle social-spatial injustice and the inflationary tensions related to land and property values in low-income neighborhoods (Davis 2014).

CLT model is widespread mainly in the United States, where there are more than 200 projects, distributed in 45 states, it has subsequently landed in Canada,

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[183] Interview L, 20/08/21_Elionor, Granby CLT, Liverpool: Granby 4 streets CLT

England, Scotland, Australia, Kenya, Puerto Rico and is now finding its way to diffuse all over Europe – Belgium, Netherland, France, , Spain, Germany-.

CLT is an instrument and a strategy that can be used in a huge variety of ways. Therefore, it is necessary to highlight some principles at the heart of this model to understand the values and reasons behind its organizational methods and legal architecture.

The CLT story begins with Henry George's (George, 1883) single-tax theorizations and Ebenezer Howard's garden city (Howard, 1902). In the 1960s it continued with the emancipatory struggles of the black farming communities in the southern United States in order to contrast the phenomenon of gentrification and the progressive 'enclosure of common lands', which implied an increasingly invasive incorporation of individual property rights into daily life and the dismemberment of a social condition (Bunce 2016). The first CLT manual was published in 1972 ((Swann 1972), with the aim of contributing to the proliferation of the model. But it will be in the 80s and then 90s when a substantial development happened - always in the United States - in reaction to the reduction of welfare funds decided by Ronald Reagan. It will be thanks to Bernie Sanders that the CLT model will be included in the 1992 "Housing and Community Development Act" , that followed carefully the indications of the authors of the "Community Land Trust Handbook" (Lenna 2019) (Davis 2010)

The principle at the origin of the model is that land cannot be privately owned. Today, the strategy of the CLT model is used by communities both in rural territories, as a tool to counteract forms of gentrification, touristisation (second homes) and to strengthen community networks in areas with low settlement density, and in city centres as a tool to broaden accessibility to assets.[184]

From a theoretical-conceptual point of view, CLT arises from the application of the principles of the "social market" which intend to detach from the capitalist market and the bureaucratic state (Bruyn 1995), fostering an exchange system in which both economic and human factors are present and creating policies able to bear a

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[184] So, if the garden city expresses a desire for autonomy, aroused by the inability of administrations to manage the city, in the 1960s the idea of collective land management will be taken up by Slater King - Martin Luther King's cousin - and Robert Swann in order to engage in agricultural activities and to survive at the racial discrimination. Later, at the agricultural activities will be added, as a possible objective, the production of housing, focusing on the same principles.

self-responsible, autonomous system with a massive involvement of the stakeholders.

The rights that CLTs assert, are not just the ways to access the resources but also the strategies to govern it. The governance triggered is not exclusive, but it is rather in the hands of a bundle of actors interested in the safeguard of land and buildings. Hence a given community may have - in addition to the rights - the ability to manage and protect the resources needed to live.

Hence, from an operational point of view the concept of trust – or the establishment of a third subject that acts as a guarantor of the beneficiary's asset-allows from one side the establishment of a dual ownership regime and on the other of a governance founded on a bundle of actors.

The latters are two core characteristics of the CLTs model.

The dual ownership regime, or the division of the property of land – hold in trust by CLT- from the property of the buildings – owned or leased by a bundle of actors-, allows the CLT to manage the land as a common good. Then, the enjoyment and availability of the land are granted, by means of special leases -ground leases-, to the individual owners of the buildings or structures. Ground leases, in turn, act as long-term -generally 99 years- contractual obligations with a non-hereditary nature. Conventionally, pursuant to the stipulation of the ground-lease, if the owners decide to sell their goods, the CLT would retain the possibility of repurchasing any improvement of the land by paying a resale price. In any case, the resale value, in compliance with the provisions of the ground-lease, impose an appropriate price control, able to guarantee housing accessibility in the future.

The model of governance put into practice by CLTs is made by a plural juridical subject, composed by representatives of the various communities involved. A third of the trust assembly is made up of inhabitants, a third of neighbors and local actors, a third of public authorities. The decision-making system thus installed is the expression of a concept of community where the goal is not just to ensure the land as a common but to create through the land property the common welfare.

Therefore, not only the small group of inhabitants, who are the immediate recipients of a CLT project, have the right to decide: the projects belong to an enlarged community, which recognizes equal decision-making powers to the private, collective and public dimensions, minimizing the risk of arbitrary decisions. A logic diametrically opposed to the private property model, according to which the resource would be protected by virtue of the right to exclude.

This structure suggests an approach to property molded on the governance and based not on the exclusion but on the identification of a bundle of actors involved in the use of a common good and interested in its protection.

The relationships created among the different actors are able to build local capacity and capabilities, in a process that empowers communities, institutions and professionals (Cuccia 2019) as it happens for the Granby Four streets CLT.

While local residents make up one-third of the council and residents of the larger Liverpool region make up the other one-third, one-third of the council is made up of individuals who we believe can help the council run more efficiently, such as council officers, assembly members, and members of the creative industries. Many abilities have been picked up by locals through osmosis and interactions with them and others. They are a collection of largely amateur activists who have studied varying amounts about housing and regeneration. Although it is untrue, responsible people believe that communities lack sufficient knowledge of the intricacies of development. (Eleonore 2020)[185]

Overall, the functioning of the CLT is a perfect exemplification of the precepts of the so-called "social self-governance", assuming that the recognition of a power of self-determination of the community is legitimized by the integration and resolution of social issues (Bruyn 1995).

It turns out that the protection of land and related artifacts becomes a community project. [186]

Different economic models are formed depending on the CLT structure and the proposed actors involved. In the case of 'CLT from below,' as it emerged from many European cases (United Kingdom, Netherlands, France, Spain), the economic models used are site-specific. For example, they are built ad hoc on political and social peculiarities involving private and public funds and can trigger alternative credit access systems. When, on the other hand, it is public administrations (municipalities, regions) that implement the CLT strategy, such as the Brussels CLTB, the result is a standardization of the economic model that usually also involves credit access institutions, such as banks and banking foundations (Antonio 2020).

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[185] Interview L, 20/08/21_Elionor, Granby CLT, Liverpool: Granby 4 streets CLT

[186] The concept of communities' autonomy and self-organization are declined depending on the contingencies of single projects, but anyway in CLT strategy, the economic support of public or private institutions is fundamental.

The recent diffusion of CLT, which, from a marginal experience curbed to private financing circuits, is progressively assuming the stature of a tool that - although still a minority - stands alongside traditional urban governance institutions, offers an alternative path that more and more administrations are deciding to develop (Miller S. 2013)

The Localism Act of the Tories in the UK gave rise to a number of procedures that sought to address problems in rural communities in the south of England. The first urban Community Land Trust was Granby Four Streets, and it was created as a result of the failure of housing organizations and cooperatives that attempted to build the Toxteth neighborhood in a different way.

"A community land trust was suggested by a member of the Granby Housing Association who attended a cooperative meeting. A CLT was established in 2011 with assistance from the National CLT Network, which provided them with financial support (£10,000) to start the organization. This was due to the community's ownership issues" (Patti e Poliak 2017, 160)

Economic model: the financing, the actors involved and tenures
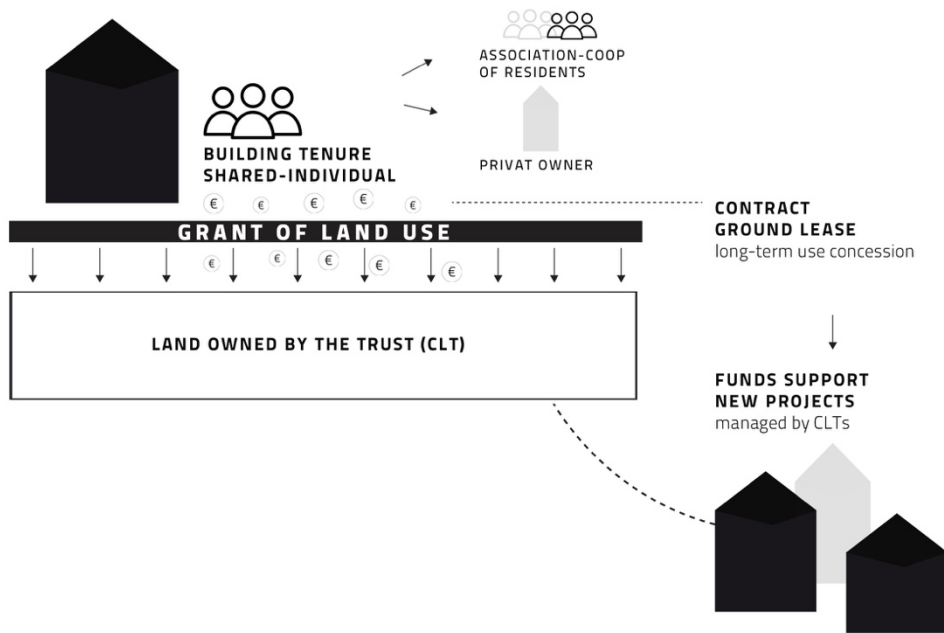
Fig 89: Community Land Trust, functioning diagram from Idd22 (Lafond e Tsvetkova 2017) and re-elaborated from the author.

"People who are in charge, think communities do not know enough about the complexities of development, but that is not true" (M. Simon 2017, 162-166).

The economic and financial model for such an important project, that cover an entire neighborhood, has been made possible by a complex map of actors that collaborate to its fulfillment as funders or partners in the development stages.

The Granby Four Streets Community Land Trust (G4S CLT) is a not-for-profit organisation run by local residents committed to delivering affordable housing for local people. The board of the Trust is composed by residents, community of Liverpool 8, city council members, other stakeholders. Operating as CLT guarentees the houses will remain permanently affordable and all financial surpluses will be reinvested into local area to support its growth and success. In addition to the provision of homes, the G4S CLT will continue to act as stewards for the entire neighbourhood.[187]

The development so far includes:

Affordable housing: The CLT 10 House Project was the first effort to find and provide homes on Cairns Street for affordable rent and ownership. The eleven 2-bed terraced residences will be finished by 2019; 5 have been sold, and the remaining 6 are rentable, affordable dwellings. Other 5 homes on Cairns Street, owned by Co-op, are completed and use a mutual home ownership. Moreovere thare are 13 private property houses refurbished on the same street. Housing associations, sporadic private residences, cooperatives, affordable housing, and CLT are all equally responsible. This diverse group of properties provides a wide range of alternatives.

Community Commercial Activity: This point include Granby winter garden/community room on Cairn Street; The Granby Four Corner houses the Granby Workshop, a highly successful independent community interest business that employs 5 people and receives commissions from domestic and foreign governments. The other 3 corners are under development process and will include a cafè, a community kitchen and catering education, the shop for the Granby Workshop, hospitality rooms and a startup incubator.

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[187] G4SCLT received financial support for the housing projects from Nationwide Foundation , Power To Change, The Homes and Communities Agency, National Lottery, National CLT Network, Steve Biko Housing and Plus Dane Group. Moreover also the public actor collaborate with an important act: Liverpool City Council has transferred 13 properties so far to the Granby 4 Streets CLT.

Cost Overview: There is an outline working budget for the project of approximately £70,000 per house. Of this figure, only £51,000 is available for materials and labour. The remaining £19,000 shortfall is expected to be made up of in-kind support secured by COSPA.

The outline design, which all houses are based on, has been costed at £70,251. This is based on initial non-instrusive survey information and there is likely to be greater variance between each house depending on the conditions found when initial demolition and strip- out works take place.

Any earnings will be reinvested in the neighborhood to support new initiatives or the expansion of current ones.

Community and forms of governance for social inclusion

Up to 12 people make up the Board, which is in charge of overseeing the organization's operations.

There are three kinds of people who are eligible to serve on a board, and each of these groups must be equally represented on the board:

Residents: All adults over the age of 18 who reside in the Granby 4 Streets neighborhood, are either renters or own property owned by CLT.

Members of the community: Anyone over 18 who resides or works in Liverpool.

Stakeholders: Organizations with a stake in our community are known as stakeholders. Examples include social investors, Liverpool City Council,

Affordability

Affordability is secured by The CLT Legal model. CLTs can safeguard land from value fluctuations by freezing its assets and limiting development to projects that will benefit the community.

The land is held in trust by CLT. Any rise in value is locked in by the CLT for the welfare of the neighborhood; its value is distinct from that of the structures on it, and it has the power to determine the price at which they may later be sold.[188]

Affordability is produced by several factors:

The construction cost are lowered by the Assemble approach, DIY and workshops;

The 13 properties are transferred by the city council to the CLT;

Funds from many local and national associations;

The cooperation among several partners.

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[188] From the Interview L, to Eleonore, Grnby 4 Street CLT:

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Architecture innovation

GranbyFourStreets can be considered a neighbourhood community project. It is a cluster of intricately detailed Victorian terraced houses built around 1900 on the four streets. 128 houses & shops were lying empty in the Four Streets. Since the '90 local community is working hard to re-imagine the area, to bring out all its potential for new living typologies and community forms of inclusive and sustainable local business able to develop the area with new values. Since 2011 the Community Land Trust together with other partners, that share a common vision of social economy, work on the renovation of the area, producing private homes together with public and community spaces.. Currently the situation sees the renovation of 16 homes in Cairn street and of 2 important community spaces:

11 houses on Cairns street a mix of 2,3 and 4 bedroom houses owned and refurbished by the CLT.

5 houses on Cairns street owned and refurbished by the Housing Co-op.

Ducie street homes are work in progress.

The Granby winter garden and community room at the 39-37 of Cairn street

The Granby workshop at the Four corners.
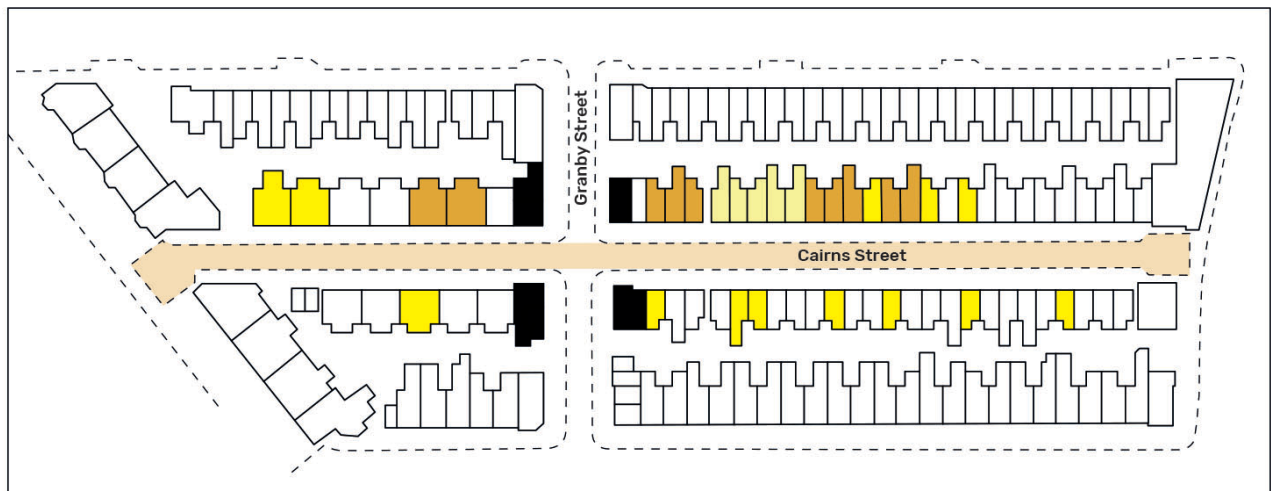
Private

Co-op

CLT

Four Corners

1 > HousingRefurbish
10 empty homes on Cairns Street as a range of affordable housing - offering a mix of dwelling sizes and tenures.

2>Public Space
Extend the unique character of Cairns Street onto Granby Street and beyond.

3 > The Four Corners
Use the four empty units on the junction betweens Cairns and Granby as the basis of a productive and enterprising high street

Fig 90: The intervention includes the presence of CLT, Housing Cooperatives and the action of Private Parties. This diagram shows that the CLT intervention includes not only the renovation of housing but also the use of 4 corner houses as community spaces. Drawings by the author from Assemble diagrams.

12 houses provided by HDSI

5 houses refurbished by NHAC

10 houses refurbished by G4S CLT

113 others

Granby Market productive retail

Fig 91: This diagram shows the development (already implemented or to be implemented) of the entire neighborhood and the actors involved. Drawings by the author from Assemble diagrams.

Home typologies scheme

CLT
10 houses

HDSI
12 houses

NHA
5 houses

Others
113 houses

2 bed x 4   1 bed x 6   2 bed x 5   ? bed x 113

3 bed x 4   2 bed x 7

4 bed x 4   3 bed x 4

4 bed x 1

5 bed x 4

Fig 92: The Project produced by Assemble with the various legal and economic entities involved, involves remaking the Victorian houses with new plan divisions that alter their original typology to create more apartments and thus more inclusion. Drawing by the author on Assemble diagrams.

Assemble approach: process and design innovation with a focus on affordability

In this project, the intervention of Assemble, a London-based architecture and design firm, made a difference by bringing an innovative approach to both the regeneration process and to design and construction.

As said by Joe Halligan, the foundation of the vision they bring for Granby is the production of a test-bed and exemplar of the best practice in community-led development and enterprise and the provision of housing as a trigger for the regenerative process of the area. They believe that the empty terraces along the Four Streets offer the opportunity not only to provide generous, affordable homes for existing residents and new, but to catalyse wider growth for the area. The key to the developing Four Streets as a succesful mixed neighbourhood is the diversity of its delivery. Not a one-size- fits-all approach but they propose a strategy founded on multiple partners working together to deliver a range of housing models, each bringing a complementary focus: a mix of housing providers in the area that provides a choice for residents. (Halligan 2020)[189]

Drawing on the inherent flexibility of the terrace as a housing type, coherent and integrated streets will play host to a varied range of life- styles, uses and demographics behind their front doors. Working inside a community of partners will turn 27 empty buildings into 37 generous homes, working alongside Housing Assocations and private individuals to collectively rebuild Granby's distinctive housing stock. Moreover They consider affordability and value as a key priority in all elements of the designs, finishes, materiality and delivery. Use of standard and affordable materials, and expedient construction to beautiful effect

Assemble propose not a top-down masterplan but an incremental vision for the area that can be delivered with local people by project's principles.[190]

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[189] Interview K, 20/07/22 _ Joe Halligan, Assemble Studio, London: Granby 4 streets CLT
[190] From the Interview K.
Build on what's there:Maintain the integrity of the Four Streets and their unique character. The generous room sizes, the adaptability of the houses and the design and proportion of the streets.
High Environmental Standards:Offering a model for the sustainable retrofit of the victorian terrace. Exceeding regulatory minimums, not just because it is the right thing to do – but also to ensure we tackle issues such as fuel poverty, and ensure that the houses are affordable for residents in the long term.
Flexibility of the existing building stock: Houses should acommodate a wide variety of family sizes and lifestyles. Allowing people to work from home; live in extended families or extend into the attic as their family grows. This should not be one size fits all housing, but should learn from the ways existing residents have adapted their homes to accommodate a range of different lifestyles. Have a distinct character

The CLT houses should offer something different to other refurbishments in the area, representing the unique perspective and approach of the CLT.

Together with the local community and all the partners, Assemble re-designed and refurbished the 11 houses in Cairns street in a method intended to put open collaboration and creative practice at the center of the community. They set up an area for the architects to work in the neighborhood: stay on the site and with local community put the basis for a social enterprise.This process sees part of the building site followed in self-construction with workshops open to the community and students. Assemble developed a training program that gives young people the chance to learn building and construction skills via renovating the 11 houses in collaboration with two national organizations, Ambition and Cospa. The homes have custom door handles, bathroom tiles, and fireplaces thanks to a partnership with the ceramics company Granby Workshop and the artist Will Shannon, reflecting the creative energy of the area.. (Patti e Poliak 2017)

The 11 homes are characterized by different refurbishment approaches based on the reuse and development of the potential of existing elements, on the self-production of finishing elements and furniture in a simple design. Currently in a perilous state. Offer high-quality and unique residency facilities, within a set of extraordinary spaces. As important as the homes themselves are the spaces between them. Improvements to the public realm are a means of amplifying and extending the unique quality of public space already present in the Four Streets, exemplified by Cairns Street.Assemble proposed to the CLT to produce a community workshop, the Granby Workshop, on the crossroad on Granby Street, where the four corner buildings lied abandoned. This project opened many opportunities for the local community. First it triggered a creative approach to the re-construction, secondly put the pepeople into a learning process and the start of a new local business. This project, publicly launched at the Turner Prize exhibition in Tramway, Glasgow, in September 2015, seeks to create employment and training for the people of Granby through the manufacture of objects designed for the embellishment of the area's houses. The project won the 2015 edition bringing a lot of visibility to the Liverpool CLT and also new funding possibilities.

Consider Delivery alongside Design: The delivery of the CLT houses should reflect the hands-on and inclusive approach that the CLT members and other local residents have taken to the improvement of their area over the past decade.
Offer opportunities for local employment and training: A number of delivery models should be considered and evaluated in terms of their potential to adequately provide local employment and training.

Principles
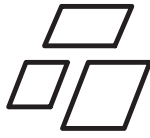
A wide mix of dwelling types

An economy of materials used to create a generosity of scale

Unusually generous spaces created from an absence of existing building fabric
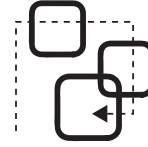
Generous, open and intercon-nected living spaces
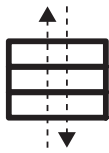
Vertical circulation providing access to shared gardens + storage

The south orientation capitalized to offer amenity and planting on the street frontage.

South-facing living spaces
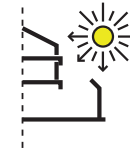
Outriggers removed to let light deeper into the plan and provide future opportunities for expansion

Flexibility of plans

using the depht of new internal wall insulation for window seats and shelving
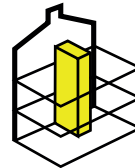
services for toilets and kitchens stacked against the party walls, using the chimneys for service ducts

simple methods of construction requiring nonspecialist skills
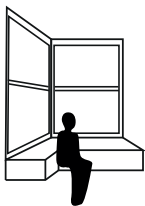
using generous bay extensions as a place to read in the sun
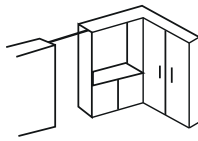
using new partitions to provide built in storage and furniture
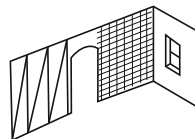
revealing the multiple layers of use and adaptation to the buildings
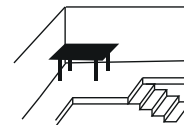
generous circulation spaces large enough to provide additional functions

Fig 93: project principle by Assemble. Drawing by the author.

Home typologies

5B-T1 _ 200 mq   4B-T1 _ 200 mq   3B-T1 _ 115 mq   5B-T2 _ 220 mq
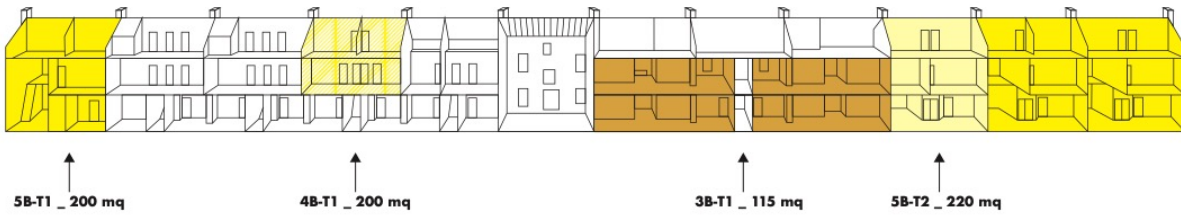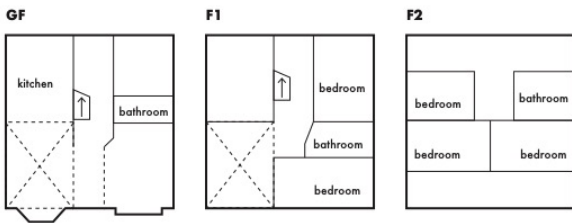
5B-T1 > 5 bed Family House   **3B-T1 > 3 bed Lateral Apartment**

GF   F1   F2   TYPICAL FLOOR

1B-T4 _ 50 mq   1B-T2 _ 50 mq   1B-T3_ 60 mq

2B-T2 _ 80 mq   2B-T1 _ 66 mq   1B-T1 _ 33 mq
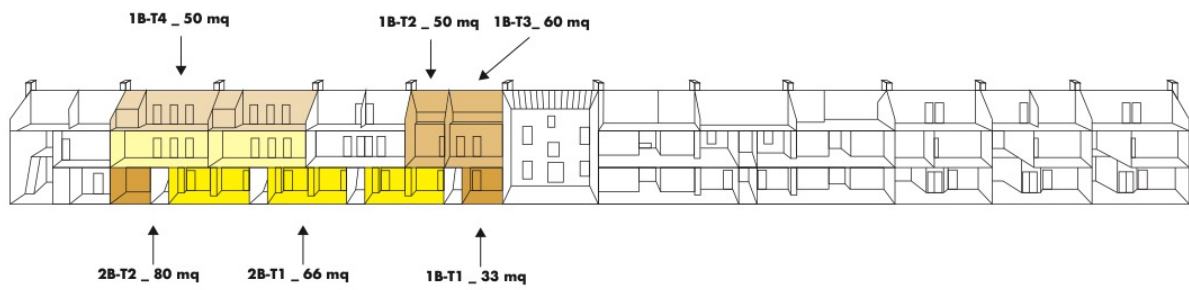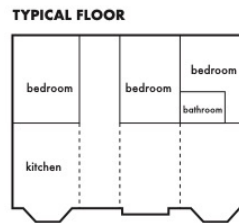
2B-T1 > 2 bed Apartment   **1B-T1 > 1 bed Apartment**

TYPICAL FLOOR   TYPICAL FLOOR
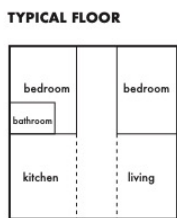
Fig 94: Housing typologies by Assemble. Drawing by the author.

Moreover the Granby Workshop the CLT decided to turn two of their properties not in individual homes but in community spaces. Winter Garden and Community Room, an astonishing new combination of spaces that will host both an artists' residency and an artist-designed garden for the benefit of the community, have been changed from 37 and 39 Cairns Street. The Winter Garden will create a platform for the CLT to continue collaborations like the one that has led to Granby Workshop. By creating a space for socially engaged artistic practice, it will preserve the tradition of artistic engagement and creative action as a major force for change in the community. This will expand on the work already done by the Granby Workshop initiative and other ongoing efforts to rehabilitate the neighborhood. The Winter Garden wants to serve as a demonstration site for participatory art. The demand for such a facility will increase as new residents move into the area as a result of the area's revitalization. The proposal seeks to conserve and build upon the remarkable condition of the two terraced houses at no.37 and no.39 Cairns Street. It will preserve their raw brickwork and the triple height spaces formed from collapsed floors in order to create a pair of tall garden spaces with direct sunlight through their new glazed roofs. The project is conceived as two complimentary volumes: with no. 39 becoming the Winter Garden, a public communal garden; and no.37 becoming the Common House, a robust and flexible artists' residency. Within the main volumes of the two houses, much of the ground floor will become garden, with the existing cellars repurposed as planters for large plants. (Halligan 2020)[191]

The Four Corners Project is a significant part of the Granby Four Streets Community Land Trust's (CLT) long-term plan to safeguard and enhance their neighborhood. a completely community-owned and driven strategy to regeneration that includes economic growth, affordable housing, and chances for people to work, shop, meet, create, and socialize. The "4 Corners" themselves, which make up the center of Granby's high street and were originally constructed as cornershops with apartments above, were all abandoned and had been for a long time. The CLT has already successfully refurbished one of the four, which is now occupied by Granby Workshop. The other three corners, two of which are still abandoned, and the last of which was demolished and is now a vacant plot, are the focus of this project. A variety of community-owned venues for business and development will be the foundation of The Four Corners, which will serve as the region's social and

[191] Interview K, 20/07/22 _ Joe Halligan, Assemble Studio, London: Granby 4 streets CLT

economic hub. Being in the middle of the community, it will revitalize our high street. We plan a mixed-use new- build development, incorporating a community kitchen, with flats to rent 'above the shop'.
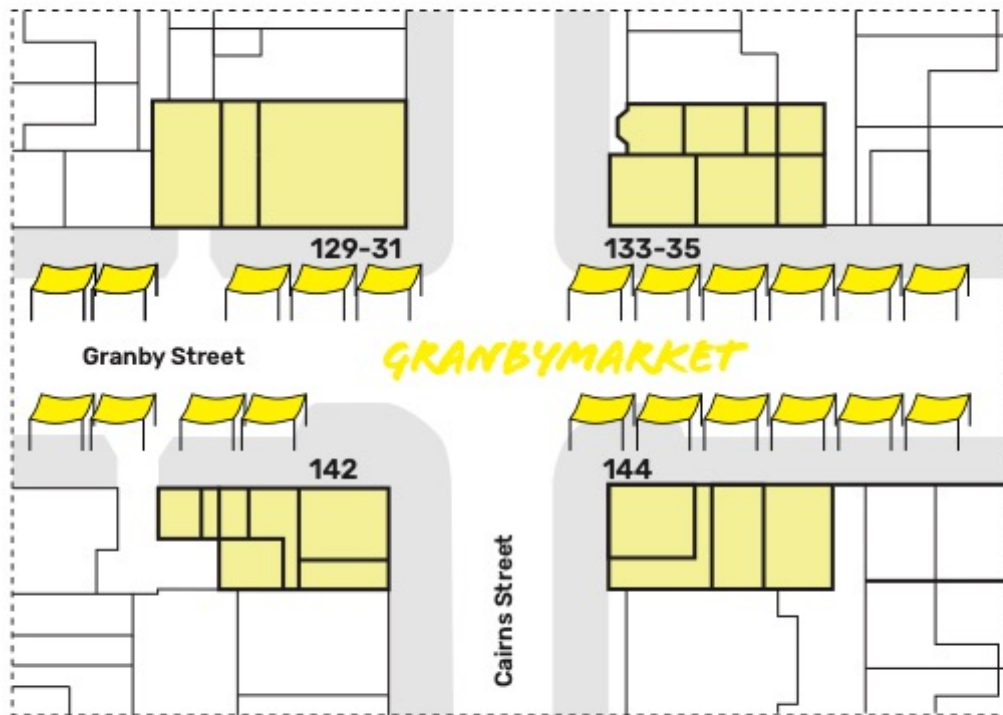
Building 1
Workspace and studios with a customer facing Made in L8 gallery.

Building 2
Meeting and cultural space with kitchen/catering facility

Building 3
'Work Shop' - a space for local making & enterprise

Building 4
Office and activities space for key community & cultural organisation, Granby Somali Women's Group.

Outdoor – Expanded street market and events space .

Fig 95: Four Corner project by Assemble. Drawing by the author.

The community kitchen, which occupy the Ground Floor unit of the new building will host a programme of catering education for those who are long term unemployed by offering keenly priced meals reflecting the diversity of cultures and traditions present in Granby.

The project will bring back retail and community-led enterprise to the center of Granby, providing employment opportunity and amenity. It will also be closely linked to Granby Street Market, which brings life to Granby Street every month by drawing in 70 stalls and thousands of visitors.

Capital work will be complemented by a bespoke new Business Enabling Programme, with particular emphasis on the needs of Black and Minority Ethnic would-be entrepreneursas well as existing businesses. Working with local partners, we will offer a tailor-made programme of support, including critical assessment of demand and risk for start-ups, social businesses, access to financial expertise and business planning. There is a strong entrepreneurial spirit in Granby, and the Market offers a potential test- trading starting point for some, but language barriers and lack of access to finance are obstructions to start-ups; sustainability & growth requires ongoing support; and affordable, accessible, appropriate start-up and trading space is also key. (Binning 2021)[192]

Criticalities

What may be the problematic aspects arising from the application of CLT and what are the virtuous points to be stimulated?

CLT is a tool. Therefore, the results of its application depend on the entity that uses it. As in the case of Granby 4 streets, CLT was used and proposed by the community of residents and served to access properties and virtuously renew the neighbourhood with a view to social inclusion and spatial justice. But as with anything, CLT can also be used speculatively to gentrify an area and increase its value, perhaps even under social disguises.

In Liverpool, the application of CLT has been used virtuously as a possible model to stimulate people's imagination, make a cultural shift and show how each of us can take responsibility for building our home and our city by introducing practices and values that are close to us, perhaps more inclusive.

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[192] Interview K, 20/07/22 _ Joe Halligan, Assemble Studio, London: Granby 4 streets CLT

So it is not necessary to deconstruct the speculative property market, but perhaps propose another one, where speculation on buildings cannot be possible. This is an interesting model for communities[193].

Furthermore, there is a tension between promoting a DIY culture and the unsustainable amount of voluntary work that community-led practices require. The intervention of non-intermediated communities in creatively generating or utilizing models of housing access is perhaps necessary at this point in history. However, these should not replace state action; instead, a solution should be found whereby public administrations can support and subsidize these best practices.

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[193] Interview K, 20/07/22 _ Joe Halligan, Assemble Studio, London: Granby 4 streets CLT
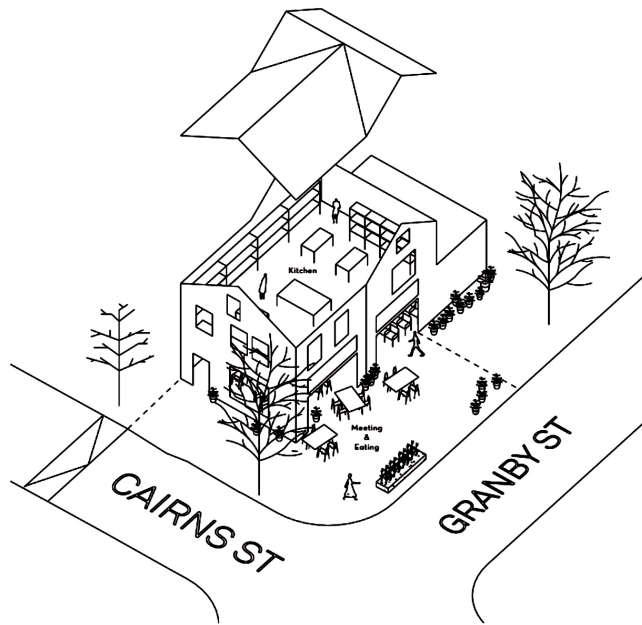
Building 2 - meeting and cultural space with kitchen/catering facility
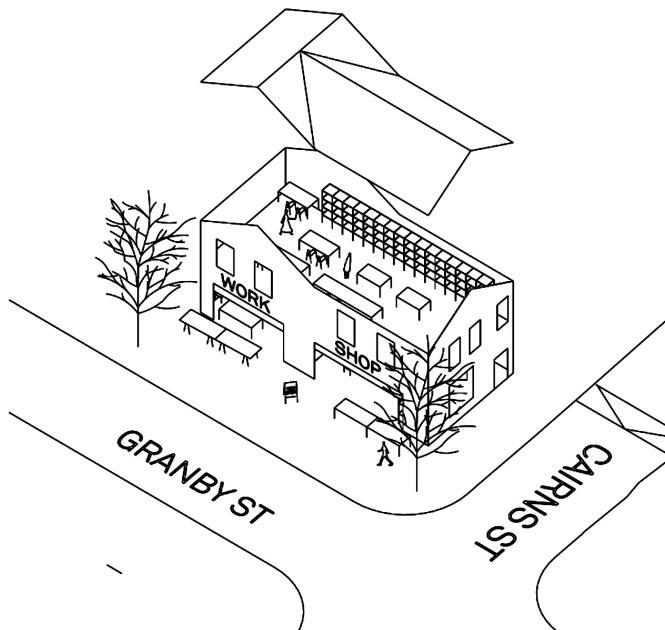
Building 3 - 'Work Shop' - A space to make + sell

Fig 96: Making of the Four Corner project. Diagram by Assemble. Drawing by the author.

Public actor and the city

Housing activism stimulated the activation of England's first urban CLT, which with hard work and dedication also brought attention from the public actor. Liverpool City Council joined the CLT and granted ownership of 14 derelict houses in the Four Streets.

Reproducibility and Network: From The Model To The Movement![194]

CLT is a legal tool that has found its way to develop, scale up and expand all over the world by bringing its main objective to safeguard the use value, access and affordability of land and buildings for community/communal uses.

CLT is an instrument and a strategy that can be used in a huge variety of ways.

The CLT story begins In the 1960s with the emancipatory struggles of the black farming communities in the southern United States in order to contrast the phenomenon of gentrification and the progressive 'enclosure of common lands'.T he first CLT manual was published in 1972 (Swann 1972), with the aim of contributing to the proliferation of the model. But it will be in the 80s and then 90s when a substantial development happened - always in the United States - in reaction to the reduction of welfare funds decided by Ronald Reagan. It will be thanks to Bernie Sanders that the CLT model will be included in the "Housing and Community Development Act" of 1992 (Lenna 2019) (Davis 2010).

Today, the strategy of the CLT model is used by communities both in rural territories, as a tool to counteract forms of gentrification, touristisation (second homes) and to strengthen community networks in areas with low settlement density, and in city centres as a tool to broaden accessibility to assets.

CLT model is widespread mainly in the United States, where there are more than 200 projects, distributed in 45 states, it has subsequently landed in Canada,

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[194] From the Interview C, to Maite Arrondo and Ivan Gallardo, Municipality of Barcelona.
It is interesting because it is an Anglo-Saxon model (USA, UK), which has been extended to Puerto Rico, which has civil law and the legal adaptation was what allowed the leap to continental Europe. So the legal innovation of Puerto Rico allowed the use of the CLT in Europe, which did not come from the UK, but had to pass to Latin America! And the way of approaching it in Roman civil law, in Brussels, France, Netherland. Representatives of these countries were at the technical exchange where the Puerto Rico people taught the model.

England, Scotland, Australia, Kenya, Puerto Rico and is now finding its way to diffuse all over Europe – Belgium, Netherland, France, , Spain, Germany, Italy-.

Community Land Trust Movement in England

The main focus of England's CLT movement is to produce and preserve affordable housing.

The first and pioneer CLT, The Stonesfield Trust, was set up the rural Oxfordshire in the mid 1980s inspired by the writings of Gerard Wistanley and the Diggers and influenced by a 1989 book edited by the US Ward More-house *Building sustainable Communities.*

CLT have reshaped the political will and national policy in a country where policymaking for both housing and community development has been highly centralized; CLTs have helped to redesign and redirect national policy so that local priorities, autonomy, and diversity are valued and supported.

In the 1990s several activists travelled to USA from England where they've understood the need of new sustainable institutions to combat financial and social exclusion, would require the establishment of a nationally support service and a treasury of retained knowledge that would make CLTs replicable and possible for any urban or rural community.

CLTs grew from 20 at the start of 2008 to over 400 today (Aird 2009). It has been possible because of several factors and mainly the presence of a group of activists expanded all over the island:

Building support infrastructure. In 2010 The National CLT Network was started and provide support and resources to emerging groups and lobby central government to address barriers to CLT develop. From the National Network have been developed umbrella CLTs or sub regional support infrastructure. From the mid 2000, attempts had been made to collaborate among main national representative bodies of housing cooperatives, National CLT Network and UK Cohousing Network. The two networks led the efforts to bring o board the other Community led housing sector bodies to endorse a broader vision and present a united front to the central government. Today the main CLH bodies work together in a formal alliance called Community Led Homes[195.]

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195 Community Led Homes is a formal alliance of the four main CLH bodies, channelling communication, advocacy and support through a single 'brand': National CLT Network leads on developing the Enabling Hub infrastructure; Confederation of Cooperative housing leads the training and accreditation of enablers and technical advisers; UK Cohousing Network provides a single point of access, the National Advice Centre for all types of CLH, curate the Community Led Homes website and manage its library of technical resources. The National CLT Network holds the government contract.

Political support was a priority to strengthen the Network and to secure capital grant funding.

It has been founded the Community Housing Fund.

After this important rooting of the CLT movent and tools in UK since 2009 the model started widespread all over Europe. The capacitation of national groups of activists has been trough visit to UK or Canadian and USA CLT and through the creation of European Network for CLT movement.

CLTBruxelles, Berlin, Lille, Barcelona, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Swiss, the Balcans. In all these countries, starting from the national legal and economical perspectives, have been produced the transfers of the CLT model from the anglosaxon juridical form, the trust, to a Latin juridical form bringing the same aims: to preserve communal land and building accessible for the use of communities.

CLT In Europe and in the World
1. CLTB_Bruxelles
2. CLT_Ghent, Bruges, Antwerp, Leuven
3. National CLT Network_UK
4. LDA_Scotland
5. CLT_Amsterdam, Rotterdam
6. CLT_Berlin
7. CLT_Barcelona
8. CLT CODHA_Geneva
9. OFS_ Lille
10. CLT _USA, Canada
11. CLT_ Central, South America
12. CLT_ Africa, South Asia
..... SHICC European CLT Network

Interested Countries
a. Italy
b. Portugal
c. Croatia
d. Slovenia
e. Czech Republic
f. Hungary
g. Serbia

Fig 97: Community Land Trust, diffusion, and networking in EU and globally. The interested Countries are the ones who applied for the new EU CLT Network. Map by the author.

GRANBY 4 STREETS CLT

Liverpool, Eighth District

Granby resident Association, political activism for housing right

PROJECT DATA:
2011-present   14 properties + 4 corner
Greenhouse 600k€   Assemble studio
CLT, altri attori della zona, Liverpool Municipality

INSPIRATIONAL MODELS:
Rural CLT. This is the first Urban CLT in UK.

PUBLIC ACTOR ROLE&INVOLVEMENT

HOUSING DIVISION ORGANIZATION

TOOLS

ACTIONS
>Municipality donate 11 victorian homes
>Municipality is part of the CLT

COMMUNITY:
Intergenerational: 11 families
Active for: production and management

LEGAL MODEL

ECONOMICAL MODEL & TENURE

ARCHITECTURAL MODEL

GOVERNANCE

CLT
• not for profit
• households are members of the CLT to-gether with people from local community and Liverpool Municipality.
• The Trust protect land and homes from commodification

TENURE
>Land is owned by CLT
>Homes are owned by CLT and by residents
FUNDING
• Nationwide Foundation, Power To Change, The Homes and Communities Agency, National Lottery, National CLT Network, Steve Biko Housing and Plus Dane Group

TYPOLOGY INNOVATIONS:
Remodel of the Victorian houses The innovation is here in the process.
CONSTRUCTION INNOVATIONS:
Neighborhood community project Innovation Self Building, Self production of furniture

AWARDS
Turner Prize

SELF-ORGANIZATION
• members share responsability for pro-ducing, managing and maintaining building and the common space
• members has the right to vote
• Administration is a work and is delegated
• Differences among new and old projects

TRANSFER/REPRODUCIBILITY

New Projects born from the pilot

• CLTs grew from 20 at the start of 2008 to over 400 today
• National CLT UK
• International CLT network

CRITICALITIES

In the process making

• Long process
• time consuming process for the future residents
• long self-promotion campaign and funding collection

As a model

• scarcity of public land
• Anglosaxon legal discipline
• Access to asset buy on the traditio-nal market

Factors of success for its reproduction

• Political support
• Decommodification of building and land
• Production of housing affordability
• Community Actvism
• Not for profit circuits that reduce construction cost/rent
• Innovative development process

FIG 98: Granby 4 streets CLT housing Model, or Map of Action. By the author

320

PART FOUR
Transfer possibilities

As already stated in the opening, one of the main objectives of this research is to understand whether the European practices analyzed can be transferred to Italy, to innovate the local landscape of community-led housing projects.
Aware that each national, regional, and city reality has its own political, social, and economic dynamics, this analysis of transfer possibilities produces a first framing of the Italian situation with current projects and emerging critical issues to try to investigate how to transfer these practices.

Chapter 8 takes an in-depth look at community-led housing in Italy, including practices and projects produced by social and third-sector organizations, not only those produced directly by communities. In particular, intending this overview as a first step of the analysis to be deepened later, the production of cohousing at the national level is analyzed in depth. Other projects are analyzed quantitatively, with an initial lunge on housing cooperatives. This chapter fills a knowledge gap, as no scholarly literature produces a picture of the reality of CLH in Italy.

Chapter 9 focuses on comparing data collected from the European cases analyzed in the Atlas and biographies to systematize knowledge and compare forms and models in an attempt to extrapolate possible lessons or recommendations for the production of alternative housing models in Italy.

Chapter 8
Community-led housing in Italy.

APPENDIX Index_*PART 4_chapter 8*

Fig 99: Cohousing diffusion in Italy. Map by the author.

Italy has a long and influential history of housing alternatives rooted in the tradition of mutual aid. Housing cooperatives represent the archetype of Italian shared living, founded at the end of the 19th century to offer affordable housing to particular categories of workers. One of the earliest examples is the Società Edificatrice per Abitazioni Operaie (Building Society for Workers' Housing), Milan's first building cooperative, founded in 1879 precisely with the aim of building 'workers' houses, either owned or rented, for its members, in a strongly mutualistic spirit, and providing economic benefits, thanks also to the provision of land by the municipality.

Alongside these historical experiences, over the last twenty years, in response to the enactment of national laws that initiated the deregulation of the real estate market, such as the 431/1998 for the abolition of constraints on rent cap, or the 560/1993 for the sale of public housing, a number of community-led housing projects have developed in Italy, modelled on the Northern European cohousing tradition (Iaione, Bernardi and De Nictolis 2019). These relatively isolated experiences lack an institutional framework into which to fit. They are often promoted directly by communities wishing to develop a different, more accessible, environmentally sustainable, and socially inclusive way of living. This is the universe of cohousing (27 projects implemented), ecovillages (20 projects implemented and seven under construction), Family Communities (36 projects including six solidarity condominiums), Housing cooperatives (8000 building in Nationwide) found throughout the Italian peninsula. In addition to these, several projects can be generically labelled as social housing, promoted by institutional bodies, both public and private, which provide housing with collective spaces for residents and propose community logics in the design and management of these spaces, incorporating in their model the sharing and participation logics typical of the most spontaneous forms of collaborative living.

Reconstructing the national picture of Alternative Housing Models, community-led, is difficult due to the limited information, which is often inaccurate or outdated. Thus a fragmented and extemporaneous geography of housing projects emerges, made up of disconnected interventions, often the result of long and complicated processes, in which exceptionality is a characteristic.

In any case, these experiences produce alternative housing projects that innovate on the residential architectural typology with a new wave of shared spaces by communities; the governance and autonomy of residential communities; the building construction process; the economic and legal model for access to housing.

The lack of an up-to-date systematic list of national experiences of collaborative housing and the need to reduce confusion in the national public debate regarding the lexicon identifying collaborative housing models, cohousing or neo-cooperativism highlights a knowledge gap in this field and context and the need to produce shared bases for comparison.

The lack of a political and legal framework that recognises and facilitates the production of alternative forms of housing also causes bureaucratic delays and additional costs.

In Italy, since 2008, communities have been the leading promoters of new collaborative housing models (% 81 community-led cohousing, five public cohousing), and there is a growing interest in a more shared lifestyle for the Italian population. The analysis of two research shows this trend: the first, "Abito Milano", conducted by Politecnico di Milano and Agenzia Innosense in 2006, shows that 20.5% of respondents were interested and enthusiastic about the idea of living in a cohousing; the second "La casa che vorrei" conducted by Casa.it for Scenari Immobiliari Nazionale in 2020 shows that 43% of respondents would live in cohousing.

A study is now being conducted to bridge a gap in the literature and create a map of the state of the art of alternative housing in Italy[196]that proposes photographs of a specific collaborative living model, namely cohousing.

This study confirms the emergence of this phenomenon, so much so that the members of the cohousing organisations interviewed - Base Gaia in Milan, Numero Zero and Via dei Calleri in Turin, Porto 15 in Bologna - and also collaborative housing organisations, such as CoAbitare or Housing Lab, receive a high number of requests from groups or communities interested in starting a new cohousing project.

The model re-actualised in Italy is the Danish one (Graee 1967) (Gudmand-Høyer 1968), which arose in the context of the countercultural movements of the 1960s and 1970s. The value framework underpinning the production of Norther Europe cohousing concerns the gender struggle for equality in the distribution of roles; self-sufficiency and ecology, mutual aid and solidarity; the right to housing.

These same values are still relevant for Southern Europe's third wave of cohousing communities. Despite the fact that the term "cohousing" wasn't coined until recently, the community movements, theories, and experiments carried out in Italy between the 1970s and 1980s exhibit persistent parallels with it. The academic

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196 The study has been conducted by the author together with Ludovica Rolando, Chiara Gambarana (Housing Lab, Milan), Liat Rogel, Matteo Robiglio.

study of northern European experiences started in Italy (Maggio 1986; Saggio 1993). The European academic project EMUDE (Emerging User's Demands for Sustainable Solutions), coordinated by the Indaco Department of the Politecnico di Milano (www.sustainable-everyday.net), brought the issue of cohousing back into the Italian debate.

It cannot, therefore, be said that cohousing was utterly unknown in Italy before the 2000s. However, great interest in it arose after the 2008 subprime crisis as part of a return to forms of mutual aid (Guadagnucci 2007). This makes cohousing a component of the solidarity economy's intellectual lineage, which also includes self-help, mutual aid, and civic or religious organizations - which aims to provide an alternative response to contemporary issues not addressed by the faltering welfare state (Durante 2015).

This definition does not include legal form, ownership, mode of acquisition or title of use. A cohousing can thus be defined as whether it is public or private, owned or rented, and whether the residents form an association, a condominium or a housing cooperative.

Only previous research by Housing Lab has produced a map of the state of the art of collaborative housing in Italy, presented at the Experiment Days in Milan on 24 June 2017. The research collected data from 40 collaborative housing experiences, with projects already implemented and inhabited and others at an advanced stage.

Almost half of the projects mapped described themselves as cohousing. In everyday use, this term still denotes a high degree of ambiguity in Italy, often simplified or misused to indicate initiatives that deal with a community in various ways.

Five years later, it was decided to undertake new research to clarify the definition of cohousing, verify the congruence of the projects listed with this definition, their continuity and evolution, and update and integrate the data collected.

The data collected during the study is represented in the form of a map (Fig. 99). The 27 projects mapped in this research are all located in central and northern Italy, mainly in Lombardy (10), Emilia-Romagna (7) and Piedmont (6), with some examples also in Tuscany(3), Veneto (1) and Valle d'Aosta (1).

On a smaller scale, most of the projects are located in urban areas (56%), peri-urban areas (37%)and rural areas(7%).

The first projects date back to 2007, but most have been implemented since 2010.

There are only five public initiatives, three of which are in the Municipality of Milan, while 81% of the projects are private. Among the twenty-two private

projects, fourteen are cooperatives or legally belong to the social sector (63% of all private initiatives).

These are mainly owner-occupied housing projects, while five of the ten rental projects are publicly owned. Three projects have a hybrid form of ownership, with privately owned and temporarily rented housing. This is the case of cohousing projects that provide a flat for vulnerable groups (San Giorgio, Common Housing Bisceglie, Le Case Franche).

Usually, projects consist of intergenerational communities (82%), apart from two cohousing projects for the elderly (Cohousing del Moro, La Bonne Maison), and three projects with a specific offer for young people (Porto 15, Carbonia, Foyer di Cenni).

Public
19%

Private
81%

Property's developer
- ■ self-development (coop, association)
- ■ cooperative
- ■ Ltd company
- ■ foundation
- ■ association

Reuse
44%

2187€/m²

2082€/m²

New
56%
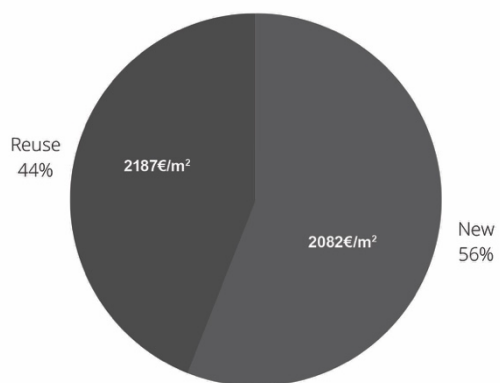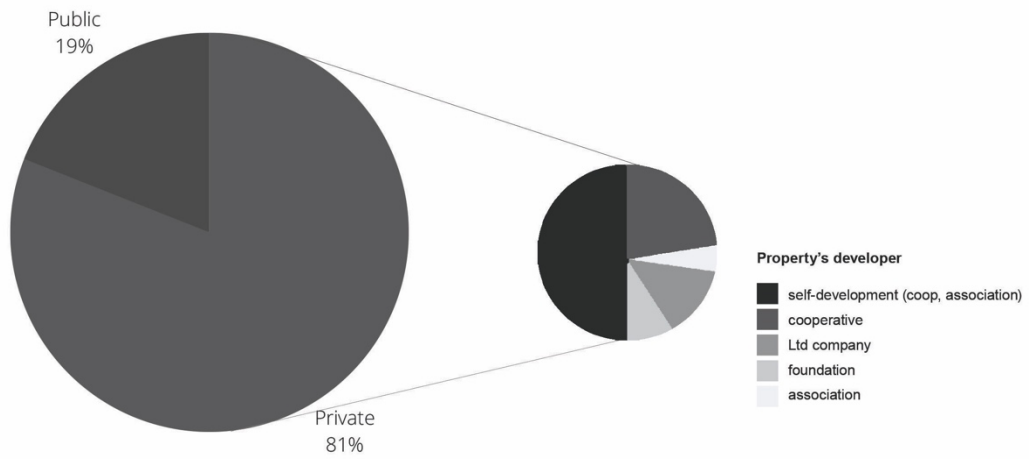
Fig.100: property and private property's developer type. Diagram by the author.

Fig.101: percentages of new construction and building reuse among the cohousing projects in Italy, with respective costs. Diagram by the author
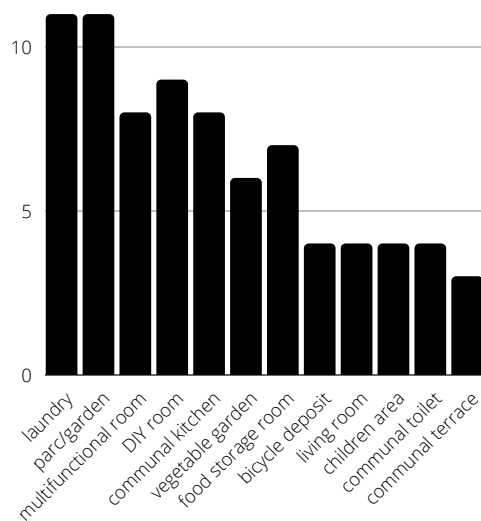
Fig.102: frequency of shared spaces categorized by the functional program. Diagram by the author

Starting from the analysis of the critical points, it emerges that existing projects are mainly activated by the civic commitment of groups of citizens who generally initiate pilot projects. The average time to produce a cohousing project is seven years in Italy, a very penalising time if carried out by autonomous communities as it implies a great effort to counter the commodification of housing stock and produce affordability, social inclusion and new forms of shared living.

The current Italian panorama of collaborative housing is very similar to the scenario of community-oriented islands (Fromm 1991) (D. U. Vestbro 2010), in which isolated clusters of community-led social innovation dot the territory, failing to develop connections with other clusters to reach the critical mass necessary to produce institutional innovation.

In Italy, there is a lack of a modelling process for collaborative housing projects capable of triggering their reproducibility, reducing production times and scaling up the strategies created for new collaborative housing projects (Cafora 2020).

Most projects are self-promoted community new-build initiatives on private properties. They require a significant initial investment to purchase the plot, design and construction of the building. Moreover, as already pointed out, the difficulties associated with the production process also affect costs, causing them to rise. The resulting picture is that cohousing in Italy is still reserved for the middle or upper-

middle class of the population and is difficult to access for people with average incomes.

Another aspect to emphasise is that, from an architectural point of view, the search for an alternative housing model is mainly expressed through technological solutions with a low environmental impact rather than through innovative residential types and architectural experimentation.

There is also a lack of proactive ecologies and synergies between the actors working on producing possible alternative models to widen access to housing and innovate living spaces.
The lack of a legal framework that recognises and facilitates the production of cohousing causes bureaucratic delays and additional costs. It would be necessary to codify an economic, legal, social and architectural framework that allows the production process to be easily replicated, exchanging and adding up the knowledge acquired rather than treating each project as a zero case.

As happens in several European cities, e.g. Barcelona, Brussels, and Freiburg, in Italy, cohousing projects triggered by communities stimulate the activation of public actors towards the support and creation of alternative housing strategies. The research shows that the contribution of public actors remains marginal in Italy, although it has been growing in recent years. The current situation sees a downsizing of the national welfare state and the production of public housing, which began in the 1990s, the near absence of public land for the development of social and non-profit housing, and the lack of a public position and a set of regulations that hinder the interference of large financial groups (e.g. Blackstone) in the development of cities. In other words, even in Italy, following European trends, the mechanisms of co-production of collective relational goods should be contextualised within the crisis of the urban settlement model centred on individual living, or as Gresleri calls it, an 'anachronistic market', based on a traditional model of the nuclear family and on an economic welfare that is no longer current (Gresleri 2015)[197].
In this framework, the experimentation of alternative models of shared living, which enhance community-led informal experiences, becomes strategic for public actors in fostering and maintaining good levels of quality and social cohesion in urban contexts (Bricocoli 2021). Some attempts to respond to ongoing housing

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[197] Gresleri, 2015, 204

transformations have also appeared on the housing policy front, in the form of support for local collaborative housing projects or as a trigger for new projects.

This climate has prompted other private actors to take an interest in the topic: in particular, residents' cooperatives and Italian social housing are studying cohousing as a possible track on which to evolve their idea of living, characterised by the construction of inclusive housing contexts, accessible to families with different economic and social conditions, suitable for the development of neighbourly relations, in which to experiment with proximity services for residents (Caire 2015) (Euricse 2016)

What about Cooperative housing in Italy? [198]

Italian cooperatives, as mentioned above, have a long history, stemming from the mutualist workers' movement and philanthropic socialism of the late 19th century between Piedmont and Lombardy in northern Italy. It made its way through an entire century as a deep-rooted and discontinuous tradition to lose itself in the web of *residual-familiaristic welfare* typical of the Italian housing system.

It is a complex phenomenon protecting and developing several spheres of local community welfare: consumer cooperatives, worker cooperatives, housing, social and cultural cooperatives. They conceive themselves as a unique movement, confronting in regional and national congresses, although they have taken on different dimensions over time. For example, the consumer cooperatives gave rise in 1969 to the National Association of Consumer Cooperatives, today known as COOP, one of the most widespread national supermarket chains.

Housing cooperatives, on the other hand, founded by different political subjects - the so-called *red cooperatives* of socialist and then communist inspiration and the *white cooperatives* of Catholic inspiration - have developed different economic-legal forms over time:

The undivided co-ownership cooperatives privilege the use value over the commodity value of the real estate, which means that the cooperative is the legal owner of the property. In parallel, the residents and members of the cooperative are

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198 This paragraph is an overview of ongoing research on *Italian housing cooperatives*, conducted by the author with Rosella Ferro, Politecnico of Milan, for Housing Studies Journal.

collective shareholders (i.e., they pay an entry fee or membership fee) and individual tenants (the monthly fee for the use of their flat). Thus, it is a hybrid model between collective ownership and renting in which residents, as long as they are cooperative members, have the right to use the dwelling. Undivided co-ownership is the institution with the most significant impact on housing affordability and has a historical heritage of 40,000 dwellings.

Shared ownership cooperatives, in which all owners are cooperative members, and there is a cap limiting the sales costs to allow the most fragile segments of the population access to ownership.

Mixed cooperatives, which implement both models as well as being able to offer rent-controlled formulas without residents being members.

They belong to a National Register of Housing Cooperatives founded in 2003 and can be members of three different national leagues Agci Abitazione, Confcooperative, and Legacoop.

Italy is a country whose housing system is commodified, dominated by a liberal market[199] that produces inequalities and a structural crisis of Affordable Housing (Arbaci, Looking back into the future. European housing system of social market economy, 2023)[200]. Since 1991, the percentage of owners has exceeded renters, and the most recent available data show 62.6% owners against 32% renters (Caruso 2017)[201]. Cooperatives represent a stakeholder could be able of flanking the public actor to house the weaker segments of the population (Pavesi 2022) and whose work has been intertwined numerous times, primarily until the 1960s-70s, with public housing construction campaigns influenced by national or regional policies[202].

Looking at the previous chapters, from a comparative perspective, at the European level, we can see a new emergence of a new cooperativism, especially with undivided co-ownership, which reaffirms the social and unitary market as a possible response to the current housing crisis and urban model. While in Italy, the cooperative culture has weakened considerably in terms of social and political recognition, giving way to new forms of public-private partnership, particularly

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199 Definition by Jim Kemeny (2001, 2-4) reported by Sonia Arbaci (2023): "the liberal market model, looking to the Anglo-Saxon tradition, 'polarises the market and the state into two opposing distribution mechanisms and argues that market action is superior to the regulatory action of the state. Thus the role of the non-profit rental sector [is marginal because] relegated to a market niche, regulated by the state in such a way as to prevent it from competing with the traditional for-profit rental and property market.'"". Kemeny, J., Andersen, H.T., Matznetter, W., et al. (2001) Non-Retrenchment Reasons for State Withdrawal. Developing the Social Rental Market in Four Countries. Working Paper 40. Uppsala: Uppsala University, Institute for Housing and Urban Research. And Arbaci, S. (2023) Guardare al futuro. Il sistema abitativo europeo e il mercato dell'economia sociale. In Cafora, S. (2023) Abitare Alternativo: modelli in azione. Housing collaborativo, accessibile ed inclusivo in Europa. Milano: Feltrinelli.
200 Arbaci, 2023, 58.
201 Caruso, 2017, 20
202 From a regulatory point of view, the inhabitant cooperative depends on the discipline of cooperative societies (civil code, trade, internal statutes) and the discipline of social and public housing.

'Italian-style social housing' (Caruso 2017) (Pavesi 2022)[203]. Today, housing cooperatives advocate a protectionist role and search for possible futures, also looking at the rare push for public recognition, such as the recent Energy Decree of 2022 DL 17/2022, which recognizes the complexity of the cooperative housing system.

In particular, it can be said that the very innovations produced by Italian cooperativism are today subject to paradoxical situations:

The mutualist and cooperative culture that produced the instrument of undivided ownership and triggered a social and unitary housing market has seen a slow dissolution. Thus undivided property finds itself in a situation of protection rather than expansion.

The common goals between the cooperative movement and the public actor in providing housing for the most fragile segments of the population with mutual support in this direction in policies and practices have crumbled in the direction of a neoliberal housing market.

The cooperative housing models up to the 1970s intertwine services to residential communities at different scales. Common spaces dedicated to culture, care, and support for the neediest are no longer valued today or are even in a state of disuse.

Today is a moment of shift for living in Italy due to the housing crisis and the increasing difficulties in accessing housing. Cooperatives are asking themselves how to evolve. On the one hand, they affirm the need to reaffirm the mutualist dimension in defense of the cooperative cultural heritage. They work on the attempt at social mending to reaffirm the importance of the cooperative community to members, with the desire to rebuild a social body and a sense of belonging without which the cooperative movement loses its meaning (Quinzii 2012).[204]

On the other hand, curiosity about the emerging housing models in Europe emerges. European neo-cooperativism, as said in the previous chapters, re-proposes above all undivided ownership and renting, triggering social and unitary market formulas as a possible response to the current housing crisis and urban planning. This process could boost the Italian scenario, which already sees the presence of a rooted cooperative body that is left without any means of expansion from a political and economic point of view.

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203 (Pavesi 2022, 18). In Italy the term social housing refers to interventions for social residence realised with the agreement between public and private subjects. Social rented housing (ERP) is realised and managed with funding from the state, regions or municipalities, while social housing can be realised by the private sector in agreement with the public (municipality) at a lowered rent.
204 Quinzii, Terna, 2012, 21

Currently, social housing seems to be taking over the production of welfare housing in Italy even though, as Pavesi (2022) states, 'the latter has challenged the logic with which the cooperative system operated for decades before the advent of real estate funds, leading to a massive privatization of public interest services by the state'.

This has limited, even in the social sphere, a healthy competitiveness between a plurality of actors, conditioning a narrowing of the range of action for responding to the needs, especially of the most vulnerable population segments.
Housing cooperatives could play an essential role in this scenario because they can often provide housing at lower rents than social housing. This complementarity could generate a supply chain model on a national scale. Where it has already experimented, it shows interesting results in social innovation and in the protection of real estate as a common good.

Fig 103: 1879 / 2020. Societa Edificatrice Abitazioni Operaie in Milan (first Housing Cooperative in Italy)

Chapter 9

Typification of strategies and Lessons Learnt

APPENDIX Index_*PART 4_chapter 9*

This chapter focuses on systematizing the data collected and comparing the projects studied in depth in Part Three of this dissertation. Below are the lessons learned divided by theme.

Public actor. The key role of public administration in supporting the production of non-profit alternative housing

"The state's role, through the formulation of national, regional, and local policy, stands out as a crucial enabling component in situations and locations where community-led housing has developed beyond a "niche" solution." (Ferreri e Vidal 2021, 2).
Today, it is possible to observe a new importance given by the public actor to housing. This interest decreased until the 2008 crisis, while today, efforts are being made toward more inclusive and affordable housing in many cities. Some drifts deal with affordability for the *grey sections* of the population and neglect the weaker sections, such as some public-private social housing interventions in Italy.
Looking at TAB H a-b, an elaboration of the Biographies' data (Chapters 4-7), it emerges that the cities examined have been confronted with the theme of new community-led and not-for-profit housing models in the last 15 years. Many cities, on the one hand, trigger a profound change in internal organization and vision of the housing divisions at municipal, regional, and national levels in order to ensure better effectiveness of housing management: equipping themselves with new professional figures (architects, lecturers), new working groups also multidisciplinary, new working tools and confront. This reorganization is at the base of a key change of vision and action in the process of valorization of the real estate heritage, not as maximization of its economic value but as a pivotal node for the construction of a more inclusive, accessible, welcoming city, which does not expel its inhabitants in favor of the large financial groups (ex. Blackstone), but

which supports them in processes of social, civic valorization for the liberation of the heritage in the long term from the dynamics of the speculative market.

As an example, the city of Barcelona, with the administration of Mayor Ada Colau, created three new departments of the housing division; the city of Zurich included in its regulatory body a rezoning in favor of the new cooperatives models; in Freiburg, the housing division asked to the Mietshauser Syndikat to become social housing developer for the city.

The explored cities have also built a dialogue with the promoting realities and, in different times and ways, have constructed a set of tools and actions to support and promote the proposed models. In particular:

- Internal organization of the housing divisions at municipal, regional, and national levels.
- Public land assignment or lease and commitment to the acquisition of new public land. It is a fundamental tool to make a non-profit housing project sustainable. Public land is a scarce resource today, several cities are studying ways to re-appropriate it in a public-community formula.
- Public building transfer or leasehold. The possibility of re-using an empty, abandoned building or area.
- Urban incentives and Indirect subsidies. Depending on the Country, urban incentives are developed at a city, regional, federation, canton, or national level, and it is a matter of collaboration and compromises among political levels. It comprises the implementation of policies that produce tax relief and reduced charges for community-based projects. But not all municipalities can produce a new direct policy to support new no-profit housing.
- Direct subsidies and funding.
- Municipal Guarantee and Advocate process. Many cities behave as a guarantee in front of credit institutions or in front of other cities or political levels. This comprises validation of community-led and non-profit housing but also the production of tools that support it directly, such as a Zurich law that oblige federal banks to give credit to cooperatives and reduce the equity for the mortgage to the 6%.
- Interest in architectural innovation. In this sense, many cities make the production of architectural competitions mandatory to have access to public land or to develop Community-led housing. The will is to trigger a regenerative process of urban areas with a new distinctive style and to push the rapprochement of architecture to housing in the production of housing typologies more suited to new lifestyles and households.

	BARCELONA	ZURICH	FREIBURG	LIVERPOOL	ITALY
housing division organization	produced/functioning	produced/functioning	in process	none	in process — MILAN BOLOGNA TURIN
Land transfer / leashold	produced/functioning	produced/functioning	produced/functioning	produced/functioning	none
buildings transfer / leashold	in process	produced/functioning	none	produced/functioning	produced/functioning
urban incentives	produced/functioning	produced/functioning	produced/functioning	produced/functioning	produced/functioning
indirect subsidies	produced/functioning	produced/functioning	produced/functioning	none	in process
direct subsidies / funding	none	produced/functioning	produced/functioning	none	none
guarantee	produced/functioning	produced/functioning	produced/functioning	none	produced/functioning
architecture	produced/functioning	produced/functioning	produced/functioning	produced/functioning	none

Legend: produced/functioning (yellow); in process (grey); none (dotted)

TAB H a

These tools and actions have an important role in securing the economic sustainability of the development of non-profit housing projects, guaranteeing the affordability of living, and fostering social inclusion and architectural innovation. In particular:

- Reduce construction and development costs by transferring-leasing public properties (land and buildings). This allows having affordable rent and entrance fee-shares in case of cooperatives or other models that use a membership fee or share buy.
- Builds credibility in the model also for credit attainment
- Foster's new architecture for living spaces at the scale of the building and in the neighborhood.
- Public housing production that incorporates alternative housing models.
- Social Inclusion production. For several cities, promoting new collaborative housing as social housing, including such projects, the waiting list of most fragile citizens, and giving direct subsidies for young/old people and families in need.

The interest of the public actor in supporting this emergent phenomenon depends on different factors, mainly on two: the level of development of the CLH projects in a city and the consequent acquisition of knowledge by the local administration

about its functioning and potential, the shared values and intentions of the incumbent administration concerning the CLH proposals.

The public administration develops lines of interest in specific characteristics that these projects put into practice that have repercussions on city planning, crossing different matters.

- The regeneration of part of the city, usually the marginal ones, in transformation or abandoned that need a new idea of use.
- CLH gives new value to the public land or building stock bringing social innovation and innovative architecture. CLH turns the attention to the specific building or area of intervention.
- Civic activism and the citizen co-production of public value support the public actor in its role and work (by solving-helping social problems such the access to housing)
- Diminishing social, housing, and inclusion problems

Both communities and the public actors in producing urban tools to support or produce housing alternatives have found it optimal to compare practices.
(Arrondo and Gallardo 2021)[205]

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[205] 21/10/13 _ Ivan Gallardo -Gerència d'Habitatge, Ajuntament de Barcelona- and Maite Arrondo-Innovation in Housing Policies Redes y Proyectos Europeos-, Housing división, Barcelona Municipality: Housing policies in Barcelona

PUBLIC ACTOR TOOLS AND ACTIONS

	BARCELONA	ZURICH	FREIBURG	LIVERPOOL	ITALY
housing division organization	1.Barcelona Housing and Rehabilitation Council 2. IMHAB 3.Barcelona Housing Consortium	1.Federal Office for Housing BWO 2.Housing division with non profit housing department	1Planning Department	Liverpool City Council	1.Planning department 2.Heritage department 3.Social policies department **TURIN-MILAN-BOLOGNA**
Land transfer / leashold	>competitions for public land surface right 75/90 years: 2014-2022 Built 4 generation of Cooperative	>leases granted for 62/90 years	>leases and assignement >lottery > new building area 500 new apartments	–	>**MILAN:** leases and assignement
buildings transfer / leashold	70mln€ to buy land/ building	–	–	> leases and assignement: 14 buildings to the CLT	> **BOLOGNA:** Porto15 co-housing in a public building
urban incentives	>Parking derogation Art. 300.8 NU PGM	>Special Area Plan (Gestaltungsplan) to plan the re-zoning of large areas to allocate public land to cooperatives.	–		> **BOLOGNA:**Regulatory definition of Cohousing. ART 32 RUE Parking derogation. +20% permissible floor area >**MILAN:** Cohousing regulated as Social Housing
indirect subsidies	> Reductions 50% land value tax (IBI)/ Reductions 90% construction tax (ICIO) > 55-60% less than market construction cost	> the Canton of Zurich obliged the Zurich Cantonal Bank (ZKB) to lend to cooperatives > 6% equities needed to access to mortgage	> advantageous building regulations	–	
direct subsidies / funding	>Cooperative= social housing- reduced price for lease/ transfer use > Possibly subsidy, refundable after 20 years. > Institut Català de Finances		>Syndikat= social housing- > Social Housing subsidies federal state Baden Württemberg	>Syndikat= social housing- > Social Housing subsidies	> **BOLOGNA:** exemption from municipal waste tax > **BOLOGNA:** first home tax relief. Saving Funds for Cooperatives
guarantee	>Guarantee for Fundings (Banks, or others) > Technical support > Municipal guarantee for mortgage	–	>Advocate for Fundings	–	
new households/ house typologies	–	>new typological models for living, and of new family models accepted into the regulation	>Mietshauser Syndikat as a city flagship	>Accepted the production of the first urban CLT in UK	> **TRENTO:** law for intentional communities
architecture	>mandatory architecture competitions for coop.	>mandatory architecture competitions for coop.	> Freiburg Climate Protection Strategy 2030 : low-energy consumption standard		
networks	Netco CLT Network -	Netco		Netco National CLT Network	Netco -

TAB H

PUBLIC ACTOR TOOLS / ACTIONS

EFFECTS ON CLH PRODUCTION   **LESSONS LEARNT**

Land& buildings transfer / leashold

urban incentives / indirect subsidies

direct subsidies / funding

Municipal guarantee

Architecture competitions

a. REDUCTION CONSTRUCTION COSTS

b. AFFORDABLE RENT-ENTRANCE FEE

c. CREDIBILITY IN THE MODEL

d. FOSTERS A NEW ARCHITECTURE FOR LIVING SPACES

e. TRIGGER SOCIAL INCLUSION AND MIXITE

f. PUBLIC PRODUCTION OF ALTERNATIVE HOUSING MODELS

Fig.104: Public actor's tools and the lessons learnt. Diagram by the author.

Post-squatting and civic activism lessons

Looking at the cases that make up the atlas (Part Three) it emerges that many of these, 66.7%, derive from civic activism movements of a different nature: from active citizens proposing new, sustainable, and inclusive lifestyles to political demands for the right to housing, to squat movements aimed at producing affordable urban commons and a fairer city.

This phenomenon gives a political connotation to alternative housing production, 'the Residential is Political' as said by Marcuse (Marcuse e Madden 2016). In fact, more or less radical acts want to affirm the right to the city (Lefebvre 2014), the possibility to access the common goods, and to produce alternatives that let citizens express their needs also through a DIY culture and self-production of the city.

By analyzing the Biographies (chapters 4-7) and through interviews made in the four cities explored, it is possible to bring to light the features produced by the civic and political activism that influence the new housing models.

For example, civic activism promotes values such as solidarity, care, inclusion, and mutual help. It shows the possibilities of individual and collective commitment and responsibility on a voluntary basis to bring about change or concretely produce innovative ideas and projects that fulfill the need to find answers to local needs (Martini 2017).

Indeed, the Granby 4 streets CLT exists thanks to the will and commitment of a group of citizens who have resisted expulsive policies and started to take small local actions to improve the life of the neighborhood, leading to the foundation of a CLT; or the production of Italian cohousing such as Base Gaia in Milan or Numero Zero in Turin has been triggered by the need and the stubborn endeavor of its inhabitants. The example of Can Batlò in the Sants neighborhood in Barcelona, which sees the trigger of a local committee for housing right, based on a long neighborhood political tradition and the search for a new cooperative model, the right to use cooperative that gives birth to LaBorda. This last example also brings the practice of squatting the former industrial site of Can Batlò after a long dialogue with the city council that transforms it into a common good with spaces for culture and community open to the city.

The squatting culture, as said by Andreas Hofer of the Zurich Kraftwerk coop (Guidarini 2018) and by Luca Pattaroni (Pattaroni and Breviglieri 2015)[206]gives its contribution to the production of innovative housing models. In particular,

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[206] Pattaroni, Breviglieri, 2010, 137

autonomy, the self-production approach, and the DIY culture are features very well developed in almost all the squats present in the analyzed cities. Another important contamination is the production of alternative housing typologies. As A. Hofer said, "the cluster apartment derives from the 1990s squats as well as the ClusterHalle apartment from the temporary occupation of the former industrial site" (Guidarini 2018)[207]. The occupation of abandoned buildings in the marginal neighborhood and the vision of their re-use put into practice by the squatters is something that also characterizes many new CLH analyzed by this research, also because the actors who initiated projects such as La Codha in Geneva, Kraftwerk in Zurich, and the Mietshauser Syndikat throughout Germany and also in Holland, Austria, and France come from squatter movements in their respective cities.

It is interesting to follow the transformative process from spontaneous, self-managed, partially illegal practices to what is defined as a post-squatting movement that tries to scale up those practices by moving into a legal environment and sometimes producing important projects such as Kraftwerk that have built 370 apartments in the city of Zurich.

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[207] Guidarini, 2018, 128.

	CIVIC ACTIVISM	SQUATTING
LABORDA *Barcelona*	Historical Sants Neighborhood housing right movements, the cooperativism movements from COOP 57 to La Ciudad Invisible.	2011, The Occupation of Can Batlò, former industrial site, abandoned. Reused for cultural and community project
KRAFTWERK *Zurich*	-	Anarchist squat movements of the 1990s. The Sofa University. Swiss anarchist utopian thought and the Bolo-Bolo Book.
GRANBY 4 STREETS CLT *Liverpool*	Long term resident small local actions to improve the life of the neighborhood: planting in the street, greenery Granby Market, beautifications and the Resident Association	1980s riots for housing rights
MIETSHAUSER SYNDIKAT *Freiburg*	-	1980s-1990s squatting movement against the shortage of housing and work.
COHOUSING *Italy*	Need for a different lifestyle, more cooperative and community oriented. Local community trigger and manage the production of their cohousing.	-

CIVIC ACTIVISM

- Promote values such as solidarity, care, inclusion, mutual help

- Individual and collective commitment and responsibility on a voluntary basis to bring about change

- Produces innovative ideas and projects that fullfill the need to find answers to local needs.

SQUATTING

- Autonomy, the self-production approach and the DIY culture

- Alternative housing typologies such as Cluster apartments, Home&Work

- Alternative vision of building re-use

TAB I/ TAB L

Geolocalization&Regeneration

The Atlas (Part Three) shows that 61,5% of the cases analyzed are localized in a periurban area and that 34,6% are in an urban area. Moreover, the type of interventions on buildings sees 19,6% reuse and restoration projects, and 14,3% are regenerated ex-industrial buildings that are usually tagged as out of the market for their morpho-typological characteristics and the difficulty of conversion to residential spaces.

These two characteristics combined, geolocalization and regeneration, mean that many mapped cases initiate regenerative processes of the buildings involved in the housing intervention and the neighborhoods in which they are located. As in the case of Kraftwerk Zwicky South or Mehr Als Wonen in Zurich, the new housing cooperatives form *micro-units*, i.e., new neighborhoods that become landmarks for the area. They trigger new forms of green mobility and stimulate adaptive reuse interventions.

What is certain is that, in most cases, these beneficial processes have also triggered gentrification. That causes the increasing real estate costs and the cost of living by reproducing a segregative model fought by the CLH movement.

It is a much-debated issue within CLH projects and national/international networks, so attempts are being made to produce regeneration that avoids triggering gentrification dynamics. For example, by putting into practice the social markets features such as the push for a housing mix and the production of new local economies with inhabitants based on local needs or skills, all within a non-profit circuit.

In Turin, The Community Foundation Porta Palazzo is producing, together with the Turin city council, the first experimentation in this urban area.

Legal, economic and tenure forms: the CLH technical framework

The importance of developing a legal-economic form, together with the search for funding, is the technical framework that enables the sustainability of new community-led non-profit housing projects.

In fact at national levels always more groups of active citizens are considering their involvement in the alternative housing production; the usual iter followed by them, as it emerges from the field research, starts with a research of the alternatives already produced in the EU, nationally and globally, that in a second moment brings

to the quite long process of production of a model of housing alternative suitable for the geographical context. The founder group is usually composed by a pool of self-organized experts, mostly young architects, economists, urban planners, sociologists, city makers, that work together in order to understand how to formulate the better solution. Usually they work in a network with related communities at local, national or supranational level, with the public actor, with European research networks and local, international institutions (alternative credit institutions, research labs, political movements for housing or commons). The 100% of the communities studied[208], go through an impasse to search for the legal-economic form that would allow them to realize the shared objectives, mainly affordability and the most fluid management.

The gestation phase of the legal-economic-funding frame lasts an average of 5 years with study tours, networking, and mutual learning exchange between community organizations[209].

Also, the public actor to produce urban tools to support the housing alternatives found it optimal to compare practices. Maite Aarrondo from Barcelona city council said, "looking at other countries allows you to move *bricks* which then help you to find solutions for your reality" (Arrondo and Gallardo 2021).[210]

After a careful analysis of the most favorable options, each national group has to choose and formulate the following:
·   A Legal form
·   A Tenure model
·   An Economic organization

Legal forms: cooperative, association, foundation, ltd. The choice fell on the legal form that allowed economic management in the most agile way and the realization mainly of:
·   Housing affordability and decommodification of housing/common goods
·   Social inclusion and care dynamics, anti-hierarchical, more communitarian, sharing

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208 Interviews D, LaDinamo Barcelona. G, Geert De Pauw, CLTB, Bruxelles, H, Daniela Brahm, ExRotaprint project, Berlin. K, Joe Halligan, Assemble Studio, London: Granby 4 streets CLT. N, Marina Noussan, Mitshauser Syndikat, 3houserprojecte. T, Emanuela Bana, Base Gaia, Milano. W, Rok Ramsak, Anja Lazar, Zadrugator, Liublijana. X, _ Ana Dzokic, Pametnija Zgrada, Ko Gradi Grad, Belgrade.
209 Five years is an average among the data that come out from the interviews. See interview A, B, Carles Baiges, Lacol Architects, Barcelona. It also emerged at the Le Clip Marseille General Assembly 2022.
210 21/10/13 _ Ivan Gallardo -Gerència d'Habitatge, Ajuntament de Barcelona- and Maite Arrondo- Innovation in Housing Policies Redes y Proyectos Europeos-, Housing división, Barcelona Municipality: Housing policies in Barcelona

- New housing typologies for new households
- Different levels of autonomy
- Access to funding and taxation
- Production of environmentally friendly projects

Tenure Model: who is the owner of land and buildings? This fundamental point can support and foster co-housing production if well set.
The possible combinations used by the cases analyzed are:
1. Public land and private building
2. Public land and building
3. Private land and building

As already mentioned, a tenure system in which the public actor provides land is a very convenient form for housing development cost-cutting and the production of affordability. As public land is a scarce resource, many cities are working on the 'production' of public land for co-housing development as a tool that fosters housing right. On the building front, many cities are also working to grant assets for use by new housing developments.
Numerous developments remain in the private and traditional markets, with increased strain on sustainable project development, as witnessed by members of Entrepatios Cooperative Housing in Madrid.

Economic organization: use value by rent or ownership? Which role of the housing project members? Every housing project looks for a way to produce affordability and easy access to housing. The cases analyzed use the following forms:
1. Low rent (city-state funding; low development cost)
2. Residents are members of a cooperative-association-ltd and pay a fee for the membership to 'buy a share of the co-ownership. Each month they pay a monthly fee to cover the collective mortgage or to support collective funds for the maintenance of the housing project.
3. Residents are members of a cooperative as an association and owners of their homes. Usually, there is an attempt to produce housing costs below market prize.

In general, the project analyzed aim to produce mainly:
- Greater affordability with low rent
- Undivided ownership and development of rent
- Community participation in production, management, and maintenance

The production of the technical framework – legal-economical-tenure forms-observed in the European cases chosen give the following guidelines:

- The use of traditional market tools to produce non-profit housing
- Non-profit models establishing themselves on the market and balancing rental costs (As for Freiburg and the Mietshauser Syndikat)
- They foster use-value more than a speculative one and produce de-commodification of the building stock in the long run. Some projects also impose a veto for the remission of the common asset on the market.
- The promotion of affordable rents, shares, leases, and different ownership concepts, as Zurich cooperators, the third-way property-rent-use call it!
- Secure long-term housing for residents
- Produce affordable houses for sale.

	LEGAL FORM	TENURE	ECONOMIC	AFFORDABILITY
LABORDA *Barcelona*	Right to use housing cooperative	>Land is Public with a lease of 75/90 years >Building is owned by the cooperative	>Residents/Coop members pay a entrance fee/ share and a monthly fee to the coop >Coop pay a lease for land use to the municipality	:) >Low monthly fee >Collective access to mortgage not on individual salary :(> Entrance fee (15/25k€)
KRAFTWERK *Zurich*	Right to use housing cooperative * with ownership option	> Land and Buildings are owned by the coop	>Residents / Coop members pay a entrance fee/share and a monthly fee to the coop	:) >Low monthly fee 1500CHF-95m; Collective access to mortgage not on individual salary >Solidarity fund 15-55 CHF/ month :(> Entrance fee(500+15kCHF)
GRANBY 4 STREETS CLT *Liverpool*	CLT Residents Association	>Land is owned by the CLT that has a veto on its re-selling >Buildings are owened by the CLT and few homes are privately owned.	>members of CLT pay Affordable rent . 6 homes have been sold with a Low cost prize	:) > low cost homeownership, affordable rent > Solidarity fund
MIETSHAUSER SYNDIKAT *Freiburg*	Mietshäuser Syndikate GmBh Resident GmBh GmBh = (limited Liable Company)	>Land can be public or owned by Resident GmBh. Building is owned by GmBh >Mietshauser Syndikat GmBh has a veto on its reselling	>Resident pay a monthly fee to the GmBh >GmBh pay the mortgage	:) >Low monthly fee >Collective access to mortgage not on individual salary > Solidarity fund
COHOUSING *Italy*	1.Housing Cooperative with shared property 2.Private Ownership and a % of common spaces ownership	> Land is private > Private property	>Members of the cooperative pay an entry fee and the mortgage of their home plus the % of common spaces	:) >Collective access to mortgage not on individual salary :(> Each household has to be able to pay the part of the mortgage relative to their home >Prices are not below market price

TAB M

Fundings

As with the legal-economic forms, financing is part of the technical framework that enables the sustainability of new community-led and non-profit housing models.

Again, communities conduct comparative research on traditional and alternative credit institutions available in their city, region, country, and those in other countries. They also call upon European funds such as the European Investment Fund or create transnational alliances. For example MOBA[211] has founded an *Accelerator*, that is a financing tool, collaborating with peer cooperatives (ABZ, Zurich) and receiving impact investments from FundAction EU.

The relationship with the public actor is of paramount importance for funding a community-led housing project. There is a big gap between countries where the government may or may not grant funding for housing alternatives or give guarantees and other indirect subsidies that lead to concrete tax breaks such as reduced equity to access mortgages.

The production of alternative housing models has given impetus to the creation of innovative, autonomous, and self-promoting financing practices such as solidarity-based grassroots financial services, financing cooperatives such as the Cooperative for Ethical Finance (ZEF, Croatia)[212] or Coop57 in Barcelona, participatory bonds and micro-credits, civic crowdfunding and the creation of an intense dialogue with ethical banks.

The financing framework is undoubtedly one of the critical aspects in the foundation of an alternative dwelling and the challenges in its management as an autonomous community. As reported in all the interviews, communities that self-fund their housing project, have to spend much time finding solutions, from negotiating with banks, talking to public actors, seeking subsidies, and applying for equity bonds. As Noemi, member of 3houserprojekte Mietshauser Syndikat, said, 'during the financing and self-promotion campaign of the housing project, we organized social events, and publications, we went to the local weekly market, and asked friends and families. As you can see, it is a very time-consuming activity!" (Noussan 2020)[213]

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[211] A coalition of avant-garde organizations from Budapest, Belgrade, Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Prague make up the MOBA Housing Network. They want to establish the first community-led housing cooperatives in their nations, and they want these cooperatives to be replicable models that can address the housing shortage. The Network was established as a result of the realization that all projects shared comparable structural restrictions and experiences. They could help each other get past obstacles by cooperating.
MOBA now breaks ground with a novel cooperative approach in Central-Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. https://moba.coop/moba-housing-sce/

[212] https://www.zef.hr/en/o-nama/o-zef-u

[213] 21/10/23 _ Marina Noussan, Sascha Klemz, Helma Architect, Noemi Kuck Mitshauser Syndikat, Freiburg: Syndikat model and architectural/spatial approach

	PUBLIC	ALTERNATIVE	TRADITIONAL
LABORDA *Barcelona*	-	> Coop57 covered the 29% of the funding needs >Solidarity loans covered the 29% >Entry fee covered the 29%	> Traditional Bank
KRAFTWERK *Zurich*	-	>Solidarity loans >Cooperative Found ABZ > Swiss Bond Issuance Cooperative > fonds de roulement	>Zurich Cantonal Bank > City of Zurich Pension Fund
GRANBY 4 STREETS CLT *Liverpool*	-	>Steinbeck offered a £500k loan. > Nationwide Foundation, Power To Change, The Homes and Communities Agency, National Lottery, National CLT Network > Steve Biko Housing and Plus Dane Group	>members of CLT pay Affordable rent or bought 6 Low cost ownership
MIETSHAUSER SYNDIKAT *Freiburg*	Interest-free state loans for social housing, KfW subsidies	>Solidarity loans > micro-credits >Triodos Bank	>GLS bank
COHOUSING *Italy*	-	> Banca Etica >Micro Credits, LeMag >Solidarity loans	>Traditional Bank: Credito Cooperativo

TAB N

Community&governance

Communities promoting housing projects define themselves as autonomous actors by basing their functioning on self-determination and self-production. They put democratic and inclusive forms of governance into practice, such as assemblies as decision-making places and the consensus or majority method as decision-making tools.

Marina Noussant of the Freiburg Mietshauser Syndikat project LAMA says:" For me, the national assembly, which has 300 people, is always a great stimulus. It is always conducted with great discipline and with a special attention to women and gender blanace. A man and a woman always lead moderation—a liberated and libertarian left. The voting model always seeks consensus, with discussions full of respect. It seems like the organization of a small project, and instead, it is a national and pervasive network. The network that exists between all housing projects is made up of a few members from each project. For each project, there are always 6-7 active members.The national assemblies are fundamental for networking and the exchange of knowledge" (Noussan 2020)[214]

Individual and collective responsibilities are demanded, and self-determination includes all aspects of a housing project, from managing and planning to organize the life of the building.

Based on the field research and interviews, it emerges that the community producers of pioneer projects participate in the production and maintenance of their projects with varying degrees of activism and commitment, depending on the possibilities. Indeed, in the first step of activation and production of the housing project, there is a high participation rate of the resident community and the wider community (neighborhood, other stakeholders), which continues throughout the project's life with different intensity grades. Communities are not only promoters of projects but also take care of management and stewardship (Czischke 2018).

It is interesting for this research how communities trigger ways and means of knowledge exchange. Networks have been created between projects and their communities, such as the Mietshauser Syndikat, in which stable, older communities help fledgling ones by bringing in technical expertise and activating solidarity funds. The Mietshauser Syndikat network is developed through local, thematic assemblies or restricted meetings between members of neighboring communities in a very informal manner. Furthermore, the Mietshauser Syndikat network supports

[214] 21/10/23 _ Marina Noussan, Sascha Klemz, Helma Architect, Noemi Kuck Mitshauser Syndikat, Freiburg: Syndikat model and architectural/spatial approach

projects in cities where the economic and political system needs to welcome new community-led projects readily.

Marina Noussant of the Mietshauser Syndikat says:" It is the old projects that lend the money to the new projects with a meager interest rate. Informal credit. We all trembled three years ago as some jurists claimed that this model competed with the banks. However, the Syndikat communicated and negotiated, and now we are no longer accused of this." (Noussan 2020)[215]

Besides networks and exchanges within an association, there are also exchanges between different realities and countries. Syndikat members are called to France and Austria to help communities establish local Syndikats; the Catalan right to use cooperatives supports MOBA in producing a cooperative housing model for Central Southern Europe.

The interviews revealed the importance of highlighting the demand for skilled, experienced input to support organizational development and sustainability. For the development of innovative, collaborative housing projects, the involvement of "socially skilled actors" like architects and project managers as initiators or organizers of community-led initiatives appears to be essential. The subject of collaboration between community housing initiatives and other actors, such as the government, social housing providers, investors, and broader civil society organizations, could be furthered by considering this astute insight (Mullins e Moore 2018, 4).

Moreover, to support this process, several CLH-supporting organizations have sprung up since 2008: Coabitare in Turin, housing lab in Milan, Urbamonde in Geneva, id22 in Berlin, national British CLH association, MOBA in Central Eastern Europe, La Dynamo and Sostre Civic in Barcelona.

As a housing project grows or stabilizes, communities question the degree of direct involvement and delegation of their housing management. The cases analyzed, the oldest of which is 15, have taken different paths while maintaining a reasonable degree of autonomy.

The Syndikat is undoubtedly the reality that maintains an almost necessary form of self-management. The Zurich cooperatives have structured an internal board of directors that delegates various functions to associations and cooperatives within the social market. Although it is a very young reality, Barcelona has already implemented a modeled right to use cooperative and reproduced finding canons of participation, self-management, and delegation.

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[215] 21/10/23 _ Marina Noussan, Sascha Klemz, Helma Architect, Noemi Kuck Mitshauser Syndikat, Freiburg: Syndikat model and architectural/spatial approach

A critical issue in these models is the amount of voluntary work involved in managing one's home and community. It is a commitment accessible only to a culturally and economically aligned group. There is the risk of producing community-oriented islands (Fromm 1991) (D.-U. Vestbro 2010) as it happens in many projects, a phenomenon with a great deal of attention pointed out by communities, the public actor, and other stakeholders.

On balance, the projects analyzed by this research produce self-organized solutions to a public problem (Ferreri and Vidal 2021, 13), as Balmer and Gerber (2018) would say, as there is civil society participation in housing provision (Mullins e Moore 2018, 7), generating beneficial effects for communities and the public actor. According to a study by Lacol, living in a cooperative gives inhabitants a sense of stability and a decrease in anxiety about housing. Moreover, living a more communal life gives rise to a sense of belonging, trust, and identity. It generates time to undertake collective projects at home with other residents and in the neighborhood. [216]

[217]The co-housing movement, in Vestbro's opinion, (D.-U. Vestbro 2010) signifies a break with traditional family structures, particularly a break with gender roles in the home, and a form of residence that lessens loneliness for the elderly and housing pressure for the young. (L. Tummers 2017, 59)

Horelli and Vestbro note a change from "reorganizing the everyday" to "overcome isolation and look for sustainable lifestyles" in a recent update on gender and co-housing. (L. Tummers 2017, 59, D. U. Vestbro 2012)[218]

Other findings, like those of Metcalf, confirm that "Within most intentional communities. However, we discover that both men and women adhere to established gender stereotypes. (L. Tummers 2017, 60, Metcalf 2004)[219].

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[216] LACOL Exhibition, Barcelona *2022 Vivienda cooperative en Barcelona*. The lattes follows the housing group of the Barcelona Public Health Agency

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

218 Vestbro, D. U. and Horelli, L.(2012) Design for Gender Equality: The History of Co-Housing Ideas and Realities. 331.

[219] Metcalf W (2004) The Findhorn Book of Community Living. Forres: Findhorn Press, 88. P.100
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As far as the public actor is concerned, the production of public value by community-led projects materializes mainly in the following points:

1. Collaborate in the regeneration of parts of the city.
2. CLH gives new value to the public land or building stock bringing social innovation and innovative architecture.
3. Civic activism and the citizen co-production of public value support the public actor in its role and work
4. Diminishing social, housing, and inclusion problems

Many dilemmas also come out about communities as housing and commons producers. Why are they working on volunteer basis in the production of welfare while there are public administrations that should deal with it? Have they the right knowledge and tools? For what kind of citizens and social class are communities working? (Chiodelli and Baglione 2013)

These issues put co-housing at the center of current discussions about the demise of the European welfare state and the flimsy lines separating the advantages and disadvantages of independence. As many cases demonstrate, the role of the public actor is of fundamental importance in the production and reproduction of CLH projects. It emerge on the one hand the need to explicit the difficulties of the public actor and of the communities in dealing with the production of the city. On the other the need to highlight the importance of the collaboration between the two parties.

Moreover, many projects analyzed promote the third way, or a formalization of community-led activities making their activism a work, paid, and sustainable.

COMMUNITY&GOVERNANCE

	COMMUNITY COMPOSITION	GOVERNANCE MODEL	SOCIALLY SKILLED ACTORS	NETWORK
LABORDA *Barcelona*	Inhabitants 62 49 adults - 13 kids	> Community-led/ self-managed, direct democracy >Cooperative General Assembly (resident, neighborhood)+ Temathic Commissions	> Lacol Architects >Sostre Civic >Coop57 > Academics, Josè Maria Montaner	> Sants Neigborhood > National Federation of Cooperativas de Viviendas and Cooperativas de Habitantes
KRAFTWERK *Zurich*	Inhabitants250 170 adults - 80 children	>decision model based onmajority >General Assembly, Kraftwerk Board, residents organization, Administration.	>Founders, Architects >Bolo Bolo writer	>Cantonal-Federal Cooperative housing corporation
GRANBY 4 STREETS CLT *Liverpool*	Inhabitants 40 intergenerational	>open membership, non-profit organisation >Have a Board (12 members) responsible for running the organisation and its activities. > Board: resident, community members, local stakeholders (city council)	>Assemble Architect > Steinbeck Architecture > Steve Biko Housing and Plus Dane Group > National CLT Network	>National CLT network >Community Led Homes >UK Cohousing network
MIETSHAUSER SYNDIKAT *Freiburg*	>Lama:24 adults - 15 kids Luftschloss:38 people 0/68 years. SchwereLos: 60 people, 25 children. 0 /70 years	>decision model based on consensus, direct democracy > General& Local Assembly	>Syndikat founders and older resident communities	>National MS Assembly >Local MS assembly
COHOUSING *Italy*	>Base Gaia: Inhabitants 25 intergenerational	> direct democracy > its internal statute >general assembly	>Cooperators > Community mediators- builders, Coabitare, Housing Lab >Architects, Homers	>Italian Network of Cohousing

TAB O

SOCIALLY SKILLED ACTORS

Architects

Umbrella Coop/Associations/CLT

Funding Institute

Academics

Developers

Expert community member

CASE STUDIED

- Mietshauser Syndikat
- Catalan Cooperatives
- Swiss Cooperatives
- Uk CLT
- Italian Cohousing

TAB Ob

357

Reproducibility

The demand for alternative housing models has been increasing since 2008 (Czischke 2018). In the last 15 years, communities have assumed more awareness about the growing need for affordable and more inclusive living systems, so innovative approaches in the housing production process have been introduced. That means that today there is no longer just a search for singular alternatives building production, utopian solutions for specific contexts that creates the effect of '*rare flower'* hardly reproducible. It is also emerging political awareness and the search for projects embedded in a network of well-established realities and actors able to have the basis for its reproducibility. The creation of an EU movement for the promotion, dissemination, and research of possible contextualized alternatives in various places is emerging.

This also emerges from interviews with the inhabitants of 1. Zurich's Kraftwerk cooperatives' "if we do not live in a cooperative, we are directly expelled from the city" (Schindler 2022)[220]; 2. interviews with Italian cooperatives with undivided ownership who are struggling to imagine extending their assets and do not know how to leap at great change[221].

The cases proposed by this research in first moment take under analysis foreign international models understanding the-best practices and the strategies to trigger some new specific ones appropriate for the local context; in the second moment, they serve as a basis for reproduction and are in turn taken as a model by groups in other countries.

For example, the right to use housing cooperatives in Barcelona La Borda has triggered a city cooperative housing movement that includes the city council, communities, and local organizations. From 2014 till today, the model has been replicated 14 times in the city. Also, the Mietshauser Syndikat, born in 1992 in Freiburg, has replicated the model in the city, then throughout Germany, where today there are 178 realized projects, and there is an emerging trend of model transfer in France, Austria, Holland, and UK. The same is true for the CLT, which is the model that has been transferred with greater frequency and intensity from overseas, the USA, to Brussels, France, Berlin, Barcelona, Canada, Africa, and South East Asia. Networks are also produced to facilitate model transfers on a national scale, such as the UK CLT network or the Mietshauser Syndikat one, and

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[220] 22/05/31 _ Susanne Kilian Schindler, ETH Zurich, Philipp Klaus, Kraftwerk Housing Cooperative, Zurich: Cooperative Housing in Zurich, the case of Kraftwerk.
[221] Interview AA.15/12/22_Davide Ostoni. President Abitare cooperative, Niguarda, Milan;
Interview BB:28/12/22_ Pierpaolo Forello. President Uniabita Cooperative, Cinisello Balsamo, Milan;
Interview CC: 20/12/22_ Rossana Zaccaria, President Legacoop Abitanti, National association, Rome.

on an international scale, such as the SCHIC PROJECT CLT or NETCO between various European cities for the exchange of collaborative living practices. The promoters and users of these exchanges may be the communities themselves, skilled actors, or even the public actor with the aim of exchange of good practices among projects and public actors. As described in the legal-economic forms section, these exchange practices facilitate the strong initial inertia to produce a model suitable for each local city, regional, or national reality.

In addition to exchange practices, lobbying strategies development for public relations and political campaign management emerged to produce support for community-led housing models at the political level. For example, CLT has been a much-discussed issue in the UK, and political lobbies have been created precisely (Davis 2014)[222]. As Helma, Mietshauser Syndikat's architect-founder recounts, the entrenchment of the model proposed by the Syndikat in the city of Freiburg, 'from an initial and long-standing distrust of the public actor, starting from assumptions of civic and anarchic activism, has now, after thirty years of work and some 35 projects in the city, resulted in trust and esteem, so much so that the Mietshauser Syndikat is considered a flagship of the city and is now in demand as a consultant and developer of new parts of the city' (Helma 2021)[223]

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[222] Davis, 2014, p.131.
[223] Interview O, 21/10/23 _ Marina Noussan, Sascha Klemz, Helma Architect, Noemi Kuck Mitshauser Syndikat, Freiburg: Syndikat model and architectural/spatial approach

	N° OF PROJECTS	**EU NETWORK**
LABORDA *Barcelona*	>14 Housing Coop in Barcelona 2014-2022 >1 Housing Coop in Madrid >first Spanish CLT >Used as a model from EU projects	> Netco > Cities Connection Project > European Network for CLT movement
KRAFTWERK *Zurich*	> 6 big size new Kraftwerk Housing Coop in Zurich 2001-2022	>Cities Connection Project, promoted by Barcelona >Netco
GRANBY 4 STREETS CLT *Liverpool*	>first urban CLT in UK today 400 CLT in UK	>SCHICC project > European Network for CLT movement
MIETSHAUSER SYNDIKAT *Freiburg*	>178 Housing project in Germany 1992-2022 >HABitat Austria >Vrijkop, Holland >Le Clip, France >MOBA, Eastern EU	>AG International > Commoning Spaces network 2018 *indipendent organization community based
COHOUSING *Italy*	>27 cohousing in Italy > 20 Ecovillaggi > 36 Family Communities (6 solidarity condominiums)	> Netco

CLT National Network
UK

150

500 CLT projects (2014-2022)
150 in London
Uk and Wales

2

Mietshauser Syndikat
Germany

178 projects (1992-2022)
20 in progress
4.550 tenants
150.000sqm living spaces

31

Kraftwerk/
Kalkbrite/ABC
Zurich

65

65 projects
6.010 units
Zurich

6

7   10

6

- Projects
■ Organizations

Co-Habitar
Prtugal- Lisbon

13

3

Housing Cooperatives
7 projects
15 in progress
Barcelona

6

Cohousing Italy
25 projects
5 in progress
Italy

23 projects
44 in progress
Spain

Legacoop
800 cooperatives
40.000 units
Italy

TAB P2: Map of the scalability. The map shows the numbers of projects that belongs to the same Biographies
Case studies plus Italy. Since the first pioneer project to its re-production.

Architecture

Architecture's return to the housing project after its divorce happened from the 1980s onwards,[224] efforts to provide answers to new households and lifestyles and different settlement temporalities. New residential typologies are under analysis today, inspired by models derived from the counterculture, the XIX century utopias, the new communities from the1970s, and the masters of modernism and rationalism. It favors the collective over the individual and seeks distributional diagrams functional to social inclusion and interaction to develop a new architecture of care.

Some faculties in Europe as have activated courses in housing, design, with attention to new needs and often with a multidisciplinary approach. For example in Barcelona the *Catedra Barcelona Estudis Habitatge* (Barcelona chair for housing studies with Josep Maria Montaner and David Falagan.

Great attention is given to energy efficiency to reduce environmental impact and foster lower consumption.

Private spaces are reduced in favour of community spaces

CLH promotes community dwelling models that propose greater collaboration, solidarity between neighbours. On the one hand, certain services and equipment that are normally part of the private spaces of each dwelling and are little used are optimised. Designing community spaces makes it possible to reduce the amount of private living space, which makes sense if you have shared spaces and equipment that free up private spaces such as a washing machine, a smaller kitchen.

The possibility of sharing spaces can help adapt to social changes, such as changing family structures. It also reduces economic costs and allows for spaces not usually available in traditional private homes, such as multipurpose rooms, a workshop, guest rooms, and joker rooms. Furthermore, living in the community can establish mutually supportive relationships, such as sharing household duties like cooking, shopping, and looking after the children. This positive aspect can promote that domestic task are shared more equally, thus, changing traditional gender roles.

The design of communal and community spaces is fundamental, as they must develop the right features to accommodate and foster sociability and social inclusion. For example, having well-proportioned spaces to accommodate a

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[224]As mentioned in Chapter 1.2: Gaia Caramellino, AMHA conference May 2022, Politecnic of Turin. The text is reported in the undergoing publication Alternative housing models in action, curated by Silvia Cafora, for Fondazione GG Feltrinelli, Milan.

community, accessible spaces, and a good arrangement between shared and private spaces in the building allow both meetings and retreats. As Carles of Lacol says (Baiges 2021)[225] the architects who try their hand at these experiments have made various attempts to find possible compositions between shared and private spaces. In La Borda, for example, the choice of a central patio overlooked by the flats and communal spaces allows a favorable and functional intermingling of private and public life. In addition, multi-use common spaces, such as the drying room and playground, play a favorable role in facilitating daily life (Baiges 2021). Moreover, not only common spaces but also public spaces open to the entire neighborhood and the city community are part of the architectural project.
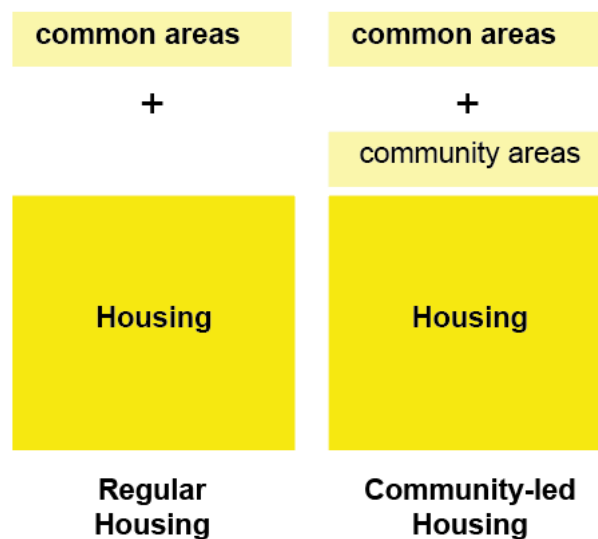
Fig.105: This diagram shows the different production of space between regular housing and CLH. Diagram by Lacol

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[225] 21/10/14 _ Carles Baiges, Lacol Architects, Barcelona: Cooperative model in Barcelona.

La Borda
Inhabitants 62
Flats: 28
m² built:2922
m² housing: 2048
m² community+common:660

community 24.4%
housing 75.6%

La Balma
Inhabitants 37
Flats: 20
m² built:2347
m² housing: 1404
m² community+common:724

community 34%
housing 66%

La Chalmeta
Inhabitants 64
Flats: 32
m² built:3752
m² housing: 2474
m² community+common:810

community 22.3%
housing 77.7%

Sotrac
Inhabitants74
Flats: 38
m² built:3500
m² housing: 2600
m² community+common:1021

community 28.2%
housing 71.8%

Granby 4 streets CLT
Inhabitants 40
Flats: 11
m² built:3752
m² housing: 1124
m² community+common:450 built

community 28.6%
housing 71.4%

3 Houserprojekte, M. Syndikat
Inhabitants 147
Flats: 46
m² built:6456
m² housing: 3956
m² community+common:2500

community 38.7%
housing 61.3%

Kraftwerk 1
Inhabitants 250
Flats: 91
m² built:11866
m² housing: 9251
m² community+common:2615

community 22%
housing 78%

Base Gaia Cohousing
Inhabitants 25
Flats: 10
m² built:1415
m² housing: 965
m² community+common:450

community 31.8%
housing 68.2%

Fig.106: For each project these diagrams show the division of private and community-common spaces. Design by Lacol, data by the author.

New Dwelling typology production, beyond traditional family

Some projects propose typologies that adapt to forms of living that go beyond the conventional family unit.

At a time when the traditional heteronormative family ceases to be the only possible model of living together and relational networks adopt new forms, architecture and housing infrastructure can respond to these needs. Furthermore, the importance of new forms of non-hierarchical living leads to the formulation of a dispersed house or conceiving the dwelling as the whole building so that the boundaries between flat and building dissolve.

Hofer, a Kraftwerk founder, emphasized the relativity of the bourgeois living model, stating that the traditional family apartment inherited from functionalism is proving increasingly inefficient and wasteful. Due to its inability to adapt to today's multifaceted and multiethnic reality, it cannot be reduced to a single lifestyle (Hofer 2011).

New residential typologies have been produced specially and pioneered by the Swiss and German neo-cooperativism, which derive from participatory planning processes with communities of future residents and which constitutes a typological evolution of the shared apartments Wohn-Gemeinschaft, Satelliten-Wohnungen, Logements-foyer or Logements en collocation which was already widespread in Switzerland and Germany and consisted of a large number of rooms 6-12 with shared bathrooms.

There are the Cluster Apartments, a type of distribution design that is spreading in many European countries. It is a housing model with several individual dwellings, equipped with a bathroom and kitchen, grouped in turn-around communal spaces (kitchen, dining room, living room, etc.) to enhance collective living. The cluster functions as a small autonomous community that self-manages its functioning in relation to the rest of the housing complex. The cluster was developed with several variants including Le Corbusier-type clusters, Loos-type clusters, duplexes, and triplexes.
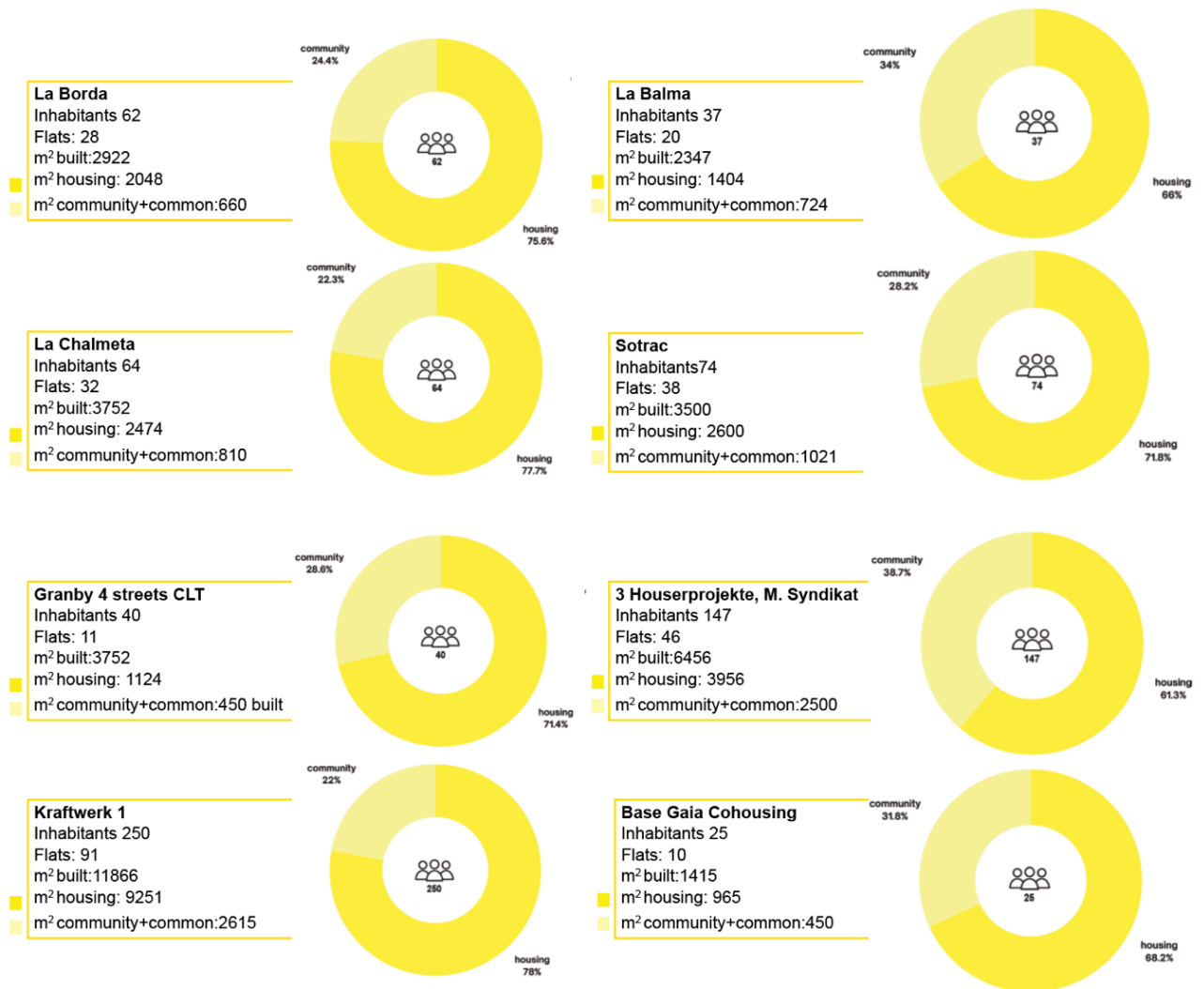
Joker and Satelit rooms are one-room flats of 20-30 sq m with a washing room, physically disconnected from the flat but belonging to it. They are an opportunity to facilitate flexibility in time and housing forms that allow temporary residences for young family members who want to emancipate themselves or a separate workspace. As it is part of the flat makes it easier to move from one unit to another without making building changes.

Molekulares and Hallen apartments are the most radical settlement proposals for residents' experimentation with flexibility and self-building. They are large, 200-

350 square meters in which the only fixed points are the bathroom blocks and kitchens, and the rest is defined and built by the residents, who range from 8 to 14 people per flat. This proposal is reminiscent of some experiences of the 1970s, such as the Internal Landscape and the Homogeneous Housing Diagram of No-Stop-city[226]. It is not without some misgivings about the excessive ideological charge of living like squatters[227] and challenging to apply to new buildings.

As Andreas Hofer[228] has observed, these models blur the difference between private flats and public parts and allow for forms of cohabitation in which kinship is not a blood tie but a sharing of life.

These typologies are also spreading today in other alternative housing realities, such as Barcelona, which is adopting Clusters, Satelliten. Even in Italy some Milanese Cooperatives have reproduced a WG and are designing Clusters, as for the new Ex Macello residential project.

There is an interest in these new forms of shared housing, says Stefano Guidarini, as they are producing a new paradigm in housing design, with criteria that privilege distributive situationism over typological purity (Guidarini, 2018). Residential units are not designed for general users but are polished by long collective design work. Flats are often designed with extensive interstitial spaces, and meandering, unordered sequences of rooms, with much attention paid to relational spaces. Challenges to typological conventions seem to emerge. For example, in projects such as Kraftwerk Zwicky Sud, Mehr Als Wohnen, Zollstrasse, all analyzed in the Atlas in Part Three, there are buildings even larger than 30 m, considered unsuitable for residential use, whose distribution is resolved by the insertion of excavations in the volumes with cavities, skylights, hanging gardens.

This anti-typological characteristic is also reflected in the almost systemic disappearance of the plan type, especially in the Swiss examples (Rem Koolhaas calls it the degree zero of architecture[229]). Furthermore, in the design of interior spaces, the distinction between living and sleeping areas eroded by the Existenzminimum has disappeared in favor of more free aggregation spaces with attention to the articulation of living, kitchen, and dining areas. Also striking in the

226 No-stop City, Archizoom Associati (Branzi, Deganello, Morozzi, Corretti, Bartolini), 1968-72. Cfr. Andrea Branzi, Modernità debole e diffusa. Il mondo del progetto all'inizio del xxi secolo, Skira, Milano, 2006.
227 Katarina Bracher, Wohnen wie die Hausbesetzer, in NZZ am Sonntag, Neue Zurcher Zeitung 6/7/2014.
228 Andreas Hofer, Fragen von Integration und Armut Mussen wir Offen und Offensiv Angehen, in Swissbau Magazin, 12-16/10/2016, pp.55.57
229 "Typical plan(..) is zero-degree architecture, architecture stripped of all traces of uniqueness and specificity". OMA, Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, S, M, L, XL. Small, Medium, Lage, Extra Large, a cura di Jennifer Sigler, 010 Publisher, Rotterdam 1995, Typical Plan (1993), pp.335-350.

examples analyzed is the variety of the housing offer and the extension of the functional programs of residence within the same building, which includes one-room studio houses, jolly rooms, one- and 10-room apartments, duplexes, townhouses, penthouses, clusters.

Flexibility and evolutive home, anti hierarchical

Flexibility is a philosophy of intervention that allows for flats of different sizes with rooms and service blocks that can be aggregated or separated according to present needs but easily adapted for future needs. Aggregative freedom is achieved by minimising the degree of distribution, with the positioning of internal partitions self-determined by the inhabitants. Flexible housing thus adapts to different ways of living and changes of function over time. Housing with flexible growth is characterized by modular architecture constructively and legally prepared to move rooms between adjacent units with light and dry walls.

Homes that have this feature are also named evolutive homes because they are able to follow life needs on the long run.

There attempt to use architectural typologies to produce egalitarian living spaces. The projects analyzed produce solutions to counteract the inequality, subordination, and imbalances experienced by residents that mask social hierarchies and duties traditionally attributed to women in the domestic space.

The Barcelona City Council has written parameters on which to base non-hierarchical and flexible living that are published in Questions d'Habitatge, num.22, edited by the Municipal d'Habitatge i Rehabilitation de Barcelona. These include: making domestic workspaces like the kitchen visible, creating a dimensional balance between rooms, and creating a bathroom for simultaneous use.

Low environmental impact

Almost all of the Community-Led Housing projects analyzed in chapter 4 and chapter 5 have a strong focus on producing buildings with a green footprint. In fact, in the case of renovations and new constructions, they adopt solutions to reduce the ecological impact. To do this, they use the following strategies:

Attention to the Life Cycle Assessment of materials and construction phases and use of low-tech technologies. Integration of green buildings to large buildings. Such as the *Ecologis cooperative* in Geneva, a case that has raised much interest, integrated compost toilets into a 6-story building, thermally insulated with straw.

The integration of renewable energy technologies, solar, wind, geothermal

The push for sustainable mobility and the elimination of underground parking spaces
Buildings that aim for a positive impact

In addition to construction methods and techniques, residents pay special attention to energy use and consumption, trying to keep them under control and not waste resources unnecessarily. These double levels of environmental attention also keep costs down.
Many of the projects analyzed are also energy community builders, i.e., they produce renewable energy and are networked with each other and with other cities with which they share the energy resources they produce.

This research has not produced an in depth analysis of these environmental and energetic aspects, even if it considers them of great interest and importance for the study of CLH in order also to measure their impact.
Another point regarding sustainability is the issue of densification. Many CLH examples treat it as a point in favor of the projects. Projects such as Kraftwerk 1 Cooperative housing propose residential types such as Clusters in which the square meters per person are reduced, increasing the densification of areas. So here, too, architecture responds to a need, and thus a question arises: is architecture a tool to improve life, or does it only propose the best solution to fit the status quo?

Innovation of process/ self production and participation

Innovation in the housing production process is an expression of the autonomy and self-organizing forms that communities put into practice. This is put into practice in total autonomy by using socially skilled actors within the communities or relying on professional innovators.
The process consists of both the architectural design part and the construction phase of a residential building.
In the cases analyzed, as emerges from several interviews[230], the design phase is, in fact, open to the participation of the community of future residents at very different

[230] Interview A, 21/07/08 _ Carles Baiges, Lacol Architects, Barcelona: La Borda Cooperative Housing. H, 20/08/08 _ Daniela Brahm, ExRotaprint project, Berlin: the process of building acquiring, funding model with Stiftung Trias and Edith Marion Fundation. H, 20/07/22 _ Joe Halligan, Assemble Studio, London: Granby 4 streets CLT. O, 21/10/23 _ Marina Noussan, Sascha Klemz, Helma Architect, Noemi Kuck Mitshauser Syndikat, Freiburg: Syndikat model and architectural/spatial approach. R, 21/12/15 _ Paolo Sanna, Coabitare, Cohousing Numero Zero, Torino: Cohousing Numero Zero.

scales. In general, these are meetings led by architects, sociologists, and mediators in which the future residents or even a wider community, as is the case in the Kraftwerk cooperatives and the Barcelona cooperatives, express needs and meet the needs of others. A first exercise in shared living with pros and cons. As Carles, architect of Lacol and designer of LaBorda, reports, the participatory design phase of Laborda was too long, almost exhausting. They modeled a participatory process for the subsequent projects to reduce architects' work in the mediation field.

The increasingly important role that participatory and management processes assume has the effect of modifying, but not reducing, the role of architectural design. The traditional client-architect relationship narrated by Filarete, with the client as the father and the architect as the mother[231], no longer holds because these two figures are increasingly fragmented and because there is a third character, the inhabitant. A rich and contrasting process with various dangers. As De Carlo says, "asking inexperienced people what kind of house they want means getting predictable answers (...) it is always better to consider a preventive work of preparation to make the future inhabitants aware of new possible ways of 'living better' to open their imagination"[232] . The designers of the new housing models also develop new tools to enable and facilitate participatory participation.

The implementation phase also triggers innovative, inclusive, and autonomous practices. The cases analyzed show the production of housing buildings with participatory construction sites and the application of self-construction at different scales.

The most significant scale sees the total renovation or construction of the building, as in the case of the first project of the Mietshauser Syndikat in Freiburg, Greather East, in 1992 and other pioneer cases from the 1990s. A different scale is the involvement of the local community and future residents in producing finishes and small site works. The case of Granby 4 streets CLT is emblematic, run by the London-based architects' collective Assemble, which involved the future residents in producing ceramic, stone, and wood furnishing elements, founding a permanent Granby Workshop in which six residents are now employed. A project that won the Turner Prize.

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[231] A. M. Finoli, L. Grassi (a cura di), Antonio Averlino detto il Filarete, Trattato di architettura, Il Polifilo, Milano, 1972, Libro II, 1461

[232] D. De Masi, in S. Marini, Partecipazione e progetto, in M. Guccione, A. Vittorini (a cura di) Giancarlo De Carlo, Le ragioni del'archiettura, Electa-Darc, Milano 2005, pp.66-67

A final scale of direct intervention in the construction phase analyzed is that which characterizes the cooperative housing projects in Barcelona, Zurich, and Geneva in which the residents are entitled to finish their flats by deciding how to arrange the internal partitions and compose their own homes.

Fig.107: photos of participatory construction sites. Top La Borda, self-construction phase of finishing (photo by Lacol). Middle and bottom: photos of construction sites of the La Codha cooperative in Geneva (photo from the book 25 ans de Codha).

Intending to draw some lessons from the analysis of the selected projects to try to outline the trajectory and some principles of contemporary living design, a list of elements follows:

1. Architecture is a tool that fosters the production of affordability and social inclusion.
2. Overcome the functionalist concepts of self-sufficient housing and neighborhood, but see them in an integrated system.
3. The importance of designing the intermediate spaces of residence is everything between the doorway and the pavement to multiply the possibility of meeting people.
4. Providing open and permeable spaces nurtured by public interest activities to generate a sense of belonging and care.
5. Prioritise the concept of access to use over that of possession.
6. Design houses that are modifiable over time, modular and flexible.
7. Building houses for different households: traditional families, single parents, fluid households, the elderly, young students, and temporary workers.
8. Generating conditions for living in a little space while being able to use a lot of it.
9. Rethinking mobility and its space in the building.
10. Realising settlements that are energy-conscious and ecologically sustainable.

It is interesting how the non-profit Community-Led housing projects analyzed can produce architectural innovation as described above and new quality architecture. Today, these projects contribute to renewing the relationship between architecture and housing, weakening the divorce that has been going on since the 1980s. The public actor also has a role in this process, as J. M. Montaner, architect, professor, and former councilor of Barcelona, explains: "at the city council, we introduced the obligation of architecture competitions to give importance also to this aspect of housing and not only to mere economic criteria. We also promoted the participation of young architects' studios and thus gave impetus to the city's new cooperative housing ecosystem. The city was transformed in just a few years (J. M. Montaner 2021)[233] The concept of living is constantly changing and as Mies said in 1930 "*the house of our time does not yet exist*"[234].

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[233]

[234] L. Mies van der Rohe, Programma per l'esposizione edilizia di Berlino 1930, in Die Form, VI, / (15/7/1931), p.242. trad. it. In: Fritz Neumeyer, Mies van der Rohe. Le architetture, gli scritti, Michele Caja, Mara De Benedetti (a cura di), Skira, Milano 1996, p. 301.

Possible future trajectories for the Italian development of Housing alternatives.

One of the main aims of this research is to understand the possibilities of the development of alternative housing models also in Italy.

In Italy, in fact, against the recognition of housing problems, there is not a natural evolution of models but rather a re-proposal of obsolete ones (Gresleri 2015) (Vercellone 2020).

Italy is not without interventions run by communities autonomously or collaborating with local authorities that propose alternatives to existing models. These are, however, civic, small-scale, karstic projects and practices working in depth, bringing about radical change, even if it is still pulviscular (Muroni 2017). There is, therefore, room to learn from European practices and models.

Alongside a European mapping of projects, the previous chapters have drawn a thematized picture of the Italian alternative housing situation. The latter shows the presence of alternative community-led housing projects, mainly cohousing (see the mapping campaign in chapter 8), with 27 cases besides 20 ecovillages; public-community projects such as the aforementioned 30 comunità famiglia (family-communities) and six solidarity condominiums; public cohousing projects; public-private projects in the social market: cooperatives and the emergence of Italian-style social housing.

So far, no territorial strategy has emerged capable of exploiting these Italian experiences tactically. It is still challenging to create a mapping or an atlas that can network them to extract a model to make them replicable as best practices.

In particular, the spatial and architectural aspect is much neglected (Curci, Zanfi, 2018), a tool that has much potential and can mediate social, cultural, and economic dimensions (De Rossi e Mascino 2019) by working on the relational character of settlements.

Outlining present trajectories and attempting to direct future ones, here are some thoughts, insights and guidelines for three different actors: communities, the public actor and a *Third Way*[235].

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[235] Interview Q. 22/05/31 _ Susanne Kilian Schindler, ETH Zurich, Philipp Klaus, Kraftwerk Housing Cooperative, Zurich: Cooperative Housing in Zurich, the case of Kraftwerk.
The Term *Third way* is used from S. Schindler to indicate the organizations such as cooperatives, third sector, social housing association or foundation.

Communities.

An increase in interest in alternative, more community-based, and shared forms of housing is emerging. This does not correspond to an increase in the production of projects due to various problems, such as the lack of accurate public recognition and the production of tools (policies, economic tools, funding) to support public actors. Co-housing projects do not establish real networks, but increase the frequency of existing national leagues. There is an increase of community-led groups, such as the Fondazione di comunità di Porta Palazzo in Turin, Abitare Viale Padova in Milan, Rovereto Brave New Alps.

There are also the first attempts to graft the models proposed by the Mietshäuser Syndikat and the CLT. In Milan, Macao[236] proposed to buy its building through a collective acquisition involving the German network of the Mietshuser Syndikat without any result. There is also a push to produce the first Italian CLT in Turin and Milan. Some studies have verified that a congruous legal form to accommodate the CLT model in Italian law could be that of the foundation (Vercellone 2020)

The public actor.

For a number of years, some municipalities have been working in the direction of researching new possibilities for affordable housing for all to address different housing needs and emergencies. In particular in 2023 two cities, Bologna and Milan, produced a new *housing strategy* and promoted *housing forums* in their respective cities with the aim of producing attention and seeking new strategies and alliances with local actors.

With difficulty, the municipalities of Milan and Bologna propose some strategies for reusing public housing, declaring the impossibility for the city or region alone to do so. They also declare the difficulty of producing new public housing and divesting public land to produce affordable and social housing.

The municipality of Bologna till today has been active on two fronts. It re-proposed a community-led housing model using a public building, the Porto 15 cohousing. The city council is producing policies to support community-led projects such as the regulatory variant Art.32 bis Promotion of shared and solidarity-based living interventions. It supports community-led projects to a small extent, with policies and awards, and to a larger extent it supports public-private social housing projects. The city council produces communal housing projects and looks to Europe for

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[236] Macao was a social space in Milan, a cultural squat in the area of the ex macello. The collective decided to contact a few members of the Mietshauser Syndikat in order to produce a sister model in Italy. The experiment failed, but the will stays active.

inspiration (Clancy 2022)[237]. Moreover it is now re-organizing itself to fulfill the Housing Forum objectives, also by tracing new partnership with local actors such as housing cooperatives, third sector actors and private investors. The Deputy mayor has declared the target to produce new public housing and to use public land for social housing (cooperatives, third sector).

The municipality of Milan, for its part, is producing policies to provide tax relief for projects created and managed directly by communities. Moreover it is now re-organizing itself to fulfill the Housing Forum objectives.

Trentino Alto Adige region is working to give a recognized legal identity to intentional communities.

Turin has produced an open round table to activate a discussion with the city and local housing managers.

The Italian municipalities mentioned above have already opened research networks with European cities at the forefront of alternative and inclusive housing models, such as Barcelona, Zurich, Vienna, Brussels, and Bologna, which is a member of the Cities Connection Project (CCP), a project of the municipality of Barcelona that aims to generate synergies between governmental and non-governmental actors in the production of housing alternatives.

Third Way.
The Term *Third way* is used by S. Schindler to indicate the organizations such as cooperatives, third sector, social housing association or foundation that work to produce affordable housing and that is neither public nor on the private traditional and speculative market.
This research retraces the path taken by Italian housing cooperatives in the national housing system, from their beginnings at the end of the 19th century to the present day, intending to raise the points of interest and innovation they generated and the paradoxes that have gradually emerged.
Cooperatives are also seeking new solutions, and cooperative's leagues are working hard to reform a culture of social and mutualism.
New supply chains are perhaps needed to meet the varied housing demand of different population segments from the most fragile to the middle class.

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[237] Interview with Emily Clancy, deputy mayor of Bologna and participant of NETCO network, in collaboration with Barcelona.

In particular, it can be said that the very innovations produced by Italian cooperativism are today subject to paradoxical situations.

Infact, the mutualist and cooperative culture that produced the instrument of undivided co-ownership and triggered a social and unitary housing market has seen a slow dissolution. Thus undivided property finds itself in a situation of protection rather than expansion.

Moreover, the cooperative movement and the public actor aim to provide housing for the most fragile segments of the population. Since the 1970s, this alliance has crumbled due to pro-private homeownership policies in the direction of a neoliberal housing market.

The cooperative housing models up to the 1970s intertwine services to residential communities at different scales. Common spaces dedicated to culture, care, and support for the neediest are no longer valued today or are even in a state of disuse.

Cooperatives are asking themselves how to evolve. On the one hand, they argue the need to reaffirm the mutualist dimension in defense of the cooperative cultural heritage. They work on the attempt to rebuild a social body and a sense of belonging without which the cooperative movement loses its meaning (Quinzii 2012)

On the other hand, curiosity about the emerging housing models in Europe emerges. European neo-cooperativism re-proposes above all undivided co-ownership and renting, triggering social and unitary market formulas as a possible response to the current housing crisis and urban planning. This process could boost the Italian scenario, which already sees the presence of a rooted cooperative body but is left without any means of expansion from a political and economic point of view.

Currently, the Social Housing seems to be taking over the production of welfare housing in Italy even though, as Pavesi (2022) states, 'the latter has challenged the logic with which the cooperative system operated for decades before the advent of real estate funds, leading to a massive privatization of public interest services by the state'[238]. This has limited, even in the social sphere, a healthy competitiveness between a plurality of actors, conditioning a narrowing of the range of action for responding to the needs, especially of the most vulnerable population segments.

Housing cooperatives could play an essential role in this scenario because they can often provide housing at lower rents than social housing. This complementarity

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[238] Pavesi, A. S., (2022) Introduzione. Dalla rigenerazione urbana alle pratiche di coprogettazione per un welfare di filiera cooperativa.in Vignudelli, M., (2022)Transizioni Urbane cooperative. Generare valore sociale nell'abitare e nelle prospettive di rigenerazione urbana. Bologna: Fondazione Barberini

could generate a supply chain model on a national scale. Where it has already experimented, it shows interesting results in social innovation and in the protection of real estate as a common good.

 Today, this research on the Italian situation, is still at an intermediate stage of development as it needs to be expanded from the point of view of gathering data and sources to develop a more extensive view of the phenomenon.

Infact it intends to monitor the state of the art of the undivided co-ownership and the criticalities underway; the social value and potential to generate a virtuous social market that is socially, economically, and environmentally sustainable; the economic value of the social market triggered by the cooperative model of undivided co-ownership.

Conclusions

"The basic problems with the housing crisis won't be resolved by just constructing more homes without reconsidering how we live together. We require housing alternatives that are sustainable, encourage strong social ties, and are inexpensive in addition to additional high-quality housing for lower and middle-class families. Why don't we know more about collaborative housing, which has the ability to check all of these boxes?". (D. Czischke 2020)

These conclusions are intended to bring back the epistemic value of the research by reflecting on A.the structure of the research: objectives achieved and critical issues; B.the functionality and shortcomings of the research method used; C. the analysis and processing of the collected data regarding lessons and recommendations for communities, public actors, and professionals.

STEP 1

Immersive Understanding   How does it works?

a. The choice of a research perimeter focused on the production of community-led housing projects served to define an exact field of investigation and to be able to a. being able to proceed with the comparison of the cases gi. herefore, this is a very specialized thesis that, on the one hand, makes it possible to produce a dataset and elaborate the models of the chosen cases, filling a gap in the literature and constructing a technical reference framework. On the other hand, the specialization and boundaries dictated by this do not include the description and comparison of other types of alternative housing production, such as models produced by the market and for-profit and private or public-private social housing projects. Furthermore, these are undoubtedly partial results due to the impossibility of considering, analyzing, and comparing a more significant number of cases. Despite this, as reported in chapter 1, the number of cases chosen makes it possible to describe a broad panorama of case histories and define current trends (Yin 2008).

Including Italy in the Atlas has the precise purpose of starting a mapping of state of the art to understand the community-led housing practices and the alternatives produced, as well as to collect data for possible transfers of European models. This research maps Italian cohousing, some of which were included in the Atlas.

Therefore, these two investigations running in parallel, the European and the Italian, intertwine throughout the research to meet in chapter 9.

378

Having said this, the research has achieved several objectives:

- The identification of 60 European cases, a deeper analysis of 20 cases, the ones contained in the Atlas, and the production of in-depth Biographies of 4 cases located in different areas of the continent, North, Centre, and South. The research identifies 27 Italian cases and analyzes 4 cases contained in the Atlas.
- The understanding of their functioning from a legal, economic, social, architectural, and political point of view and modeling (Immersive Understanding)
- The comparison between projects or models and extraction of data showing 1. Current trends in community-led housing in Europe 2. The tools produced by the various actors involved 3. The innovation produced that responds to growing demands 4.The criticalities for their production and the criticalities for their transfer. (Comparative)
- The production of Lessons for three target groups: communities, public actors, professionals
- The production of an Italian mapping of cohousing, tools, and actions produced by selected cities.

STEP 2

Comparisons

b.The method. The choice and use of oral sources, with the method of semi-structured interviews, led to a taxonomic collection of data helpful in drafting and describing the chosen cases and developing models. This research involved numerous efforts due to the lack of already cataloged and processed data.

The possibility of conducting digital interviews supported the continuity of research and data collection during the two-year pandemic. There is a gap in the literature, namely the lack of a catalog of in-depth models of community-managed housing projects. There are only websites, small local publications, and untranslated mother-tongue publications for selected cases, while there are many partial and never-complete publications for better-known cases.

Field trips and some opportunities for participant observation allowed for a better understanding of the dynamics of networking, management, participation, governance, and architectural design procedures.

The comparative method is helpful because it brings out differences, potentials, and possibilities for comparison.

This comparative housing research produces several outputs: 1. It considers the different Northern-Southern housing systems and produces a systematization in the atlas; 2. It analyses each case's political and socio-economic conditions to understand its goodness, the efforts made for its functioning, and the behavior of the public actor; 3. It produces qualitative research by describing the cases in the atlas and biographies;4. As stated by Professor Chiszcke, there is a need to produce a dataset able to describe the phenomenon of co-housing. This research compares and enhances the data collected to produce a quantitative analysis.[239]

At this research stage, the need for better visualization of the collected data emerges, and the idea of developing a digital map arises.

c. What emerges from the data collected and their processing: the elaboration of the research questions.

1. CLH models seek solutions to overcome current limitations.
   Bets and the creation of transformative imaginaries emerge for: Access to the landed housing stock; the recognition of non-profit legal forms (intentional communities and LLCs used to produce inclusion and not profit); the proposal of innovative ownership paradigms in which the very concept of property is dematerialized and used as a tool to produce individual surplus value (Acosta and De Tullio 2020); access to financing and new lines of credit; the production of tools for affordability and architectural, social, economic innovation.
2. There is a compelling production of non-profit housing.
   a. What scale? What does it solve? The scale of intervention can today still be considered minor or niche, which does not want to solve the housing issue in toto but proposes alternatives (Chiszcke 2023). Today there are growing trends. Many projects and models have become rooted in their realities, and the transfer of models around Europe is underway.
   b. Not-for-profit and Innovation, an exciting combination! What does it mean? It means the development of housing buildings without the

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[239] Chiszcke, 2023, p. 37

desire to make a speculative profit on its production. On the contrary, it seeks affordability strategies. Moreover, in this process, Innovation is sought and produced in various forms—architectural, use of legal models, housing for new households, and environmentally friendly.

NOT FOR PROFIT TOOLS AND PRACTICES **INNOVATION**

Access to affordable and inclusive housing ◄---- Legal and economical models

self-production ◄

public land&buildings

reduce bank profit

eliminate real estate profit ◄

Architecture competitions

Reasearch housing models

Governance

Public actor-communities

Funding

• Production of housing models
• Typological innovation
• Distribution innovation
• Production process
• Housing management
• Production of urban tools
• Re-use and new value to public building
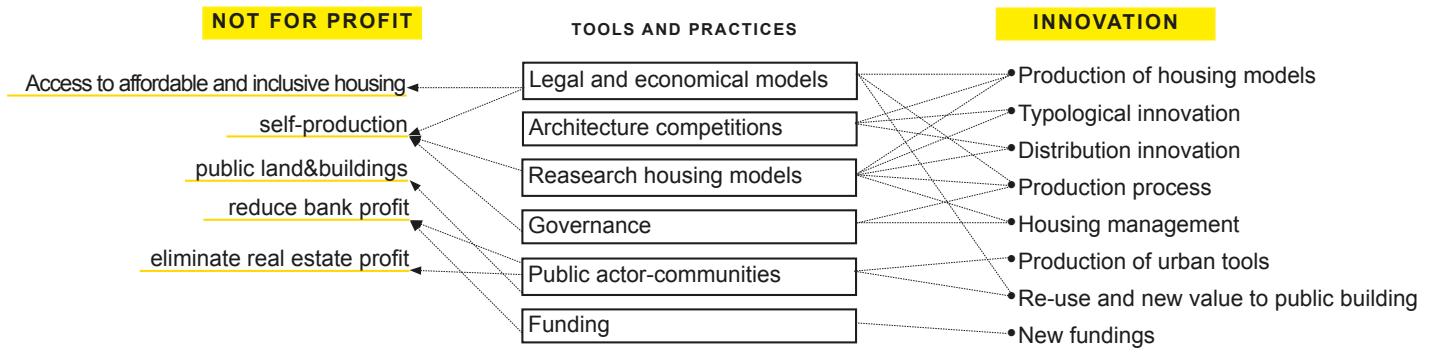• New fundings

Fig.108: Not-for-profit and Innovation, an exciting combination! Diagram by the author

382

3. The production of models from pioneering cases that follow a unique path to open up new possibilities. Some then manage to take root, while others remain isolated examples.

   a. Replicability of models for growing demand. The search for alternative, more shared, and communal ways of living is a growing trend (Lafond e Tsvetkova 2017) due to the spread of models and emerging housing needs. Even the traditional, for-profit housing market is adopting some characteristics of community-led models, especially in sharing new spaces and producing more community living. As described in Chapter 4-7 and explored further below, the role of the public actor is crucial to replicating a model and consolidating it. In some European countries, where community-type housing models have not yet been produced, including Italy, there are actors such as housing cooperatives and the public actor. They seek alternatives to the status quo to propose new solutions adapted to current housing problems.

4. Finally, several critical issues emerge linked to the community-led nature of civic activism, the dematerialization of public welfare, and a deep-rooted neoliberal market:

   a. Very long project initiation and modeling that takes place over time;

   b. Scarcity of public resources;

   c. The proposal of social market values, such as solidarity and not-for-profit approach in a neoliberal society;

   d. Community and voluntary work. The weight of civic activism on everyday life economy. Does it implement the public welfare's work? Should it be more recognized by local municipalities, and how? Emerse a need for modeling innovative and more supportive public-community relationships;

   e. b. The difficulties that cohousing poses for spatial planning. Beyond the programs' struggles for implementation, the incorporation of cohousing in urban development processes creates questions. Co-housing can be useful in today's European towns, which are battling social cohesiveness and the need for community organizing. Cohousing models can also demonstrate the need for altered planning assumptions and methods. (L. Tummers 2017, 56)

TRIGGER FACTORS

AFFORDABILITY

SOCIAL INCLUSION

INNOVATION

- Legal Model
- Tenure
- Political Activism
- Funding
- Public Actor Involvement
- Architecture/Building
- Development
- Community &Governance

RIGHT TO HOUSING
NOT FOR PROFIT
SIMPOIETIC
SOLIDARITY BASE
DECOMMODIFICATION

COOPERATIVE
CLT
LTD
ASSOCIATION

PUBLIC
PRIVATE
THIRD WAY

SOLIDARITY/ MICRO LOANS
ETHICAL BANKING
TRADITIONAL BANKS
SOLIDARITY FUNDS

PUBLIC LAND
NORMS
PLANNING INCENTIVES
GUARANTEE
FUNDS

DWELLING TYPOLOGIES
FLEXIBILITY / EVOLUTIVE
LOW TECH MATERIALS
COMMUNAL SPACES
ENVIRONMENTAL FRIENDLY
SELF BUILDING

AUTONOMY
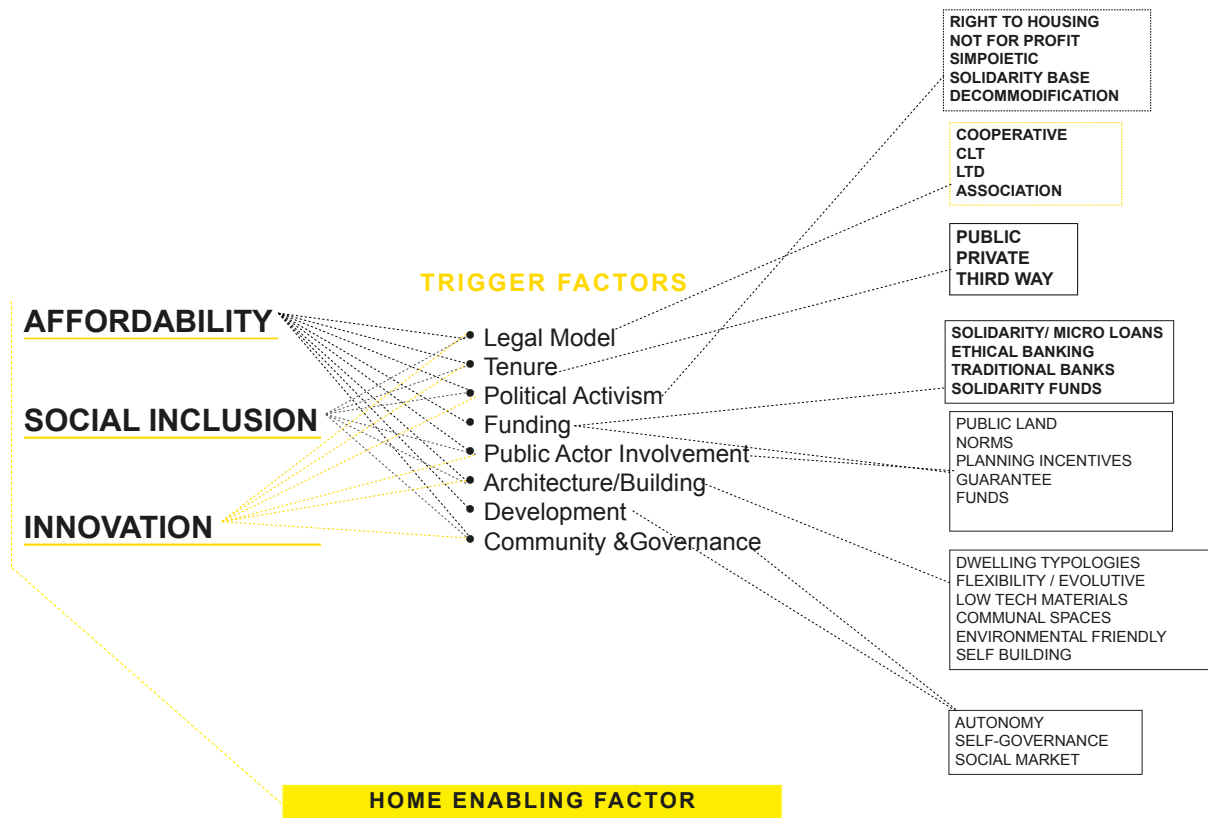SELF-GOVERNANCE
SOCIAL MARKET

HOME ENABLING FACTOR

Fig.109: How to produce housing as an enabling factor? Diagram by the author.

Further steps of the research

With one glance at Europe and one at Italy, the research needs to go deeper to answer the numerous questions concerning the possibilities of producing alternative housing models.

In particular, this research intends to pursue two lines.
The first one wants to refine the study began by expanding the available data and the Atlas of cases and deepening specific knowledge. In particular processing of collected data about the CLH cost of building development and monthly fee for residents (rent, mortgage); and the Community composition: who produce the CLH projects and who lives in.

Of particular interest is to analyze further and monitor what is happening in Southern East Europe.
To include the ongoing mapping of Italian alternative housing models in the European mapping project led by the TU Delft Co-Lab to bring state of art in Italy to international knowledge.
The second trajectory wants to deepening the study of the state-of-the-art in Italy.
How to generate access to the housing stock in high-density Italian cities, and how to stimulate the reuse of housing stock in 'marginal areas'? Can community activism stimulate a different and fairer distribution of housing on the Italian territory?
A look at several dynamics inherent to the production of housing is necessary and, in particular, the policies and instruments of the public actor; the emerging housing demand; the state of the housing stock and architectural production; the emergence of community-led groups seeking alternative housing models; the new pathaways for Cooperatives and social housing projects.

There is a desire to produce a georeferenced digital map containing the qualitative and quantitative research carried out, particularly with a focus on Italian production. This can be useful to include Italy in European discourses and research.
What is the situation considering the emerging demand from communities, public actors, cooperatives, and the third sector? What is the willingness to accept alternatives? What is the knowledge and involvement in international networks? How to activate a process of mutual learning and international networking to exchange practices? The research also wants to work on the development of a model for the production of affordable, innovative, and community-led housing suitable for the national context. To do so, it intends to analyze in depth some Italian legal, economic, and political forms to assess their viability. Firstly, the situation of

housing cooperatives, understanding their state of health, possible development goals, and evolutions. As emerged during the interview with MOBA members, "in Italy there are cooperatives, a model so deeply rooted that it would be worth renewing it and adapting it to new housing needs" (Ramzak 2022).[240]

In addition to cooperatives, there is the will to explore the possibility of transferring CLT to Southern Europe as an already occurring trend.

The research also intends to examine the possibility of developing this model in different territories in the national context: access to the housing stock in urban centers or, as a possibility, reuse of housing stock in marginal areas.

Can collaborative housing models be triggered to regenerate depopulated territories in the latter?

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[240] Interview W, 22/03/09 _ Rok Ramsak, Anja Lazar, Zadrugator, Liublijana: Zadrugator project, Moba Network, Slovenia situation

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Annexes

SEE APPENDIX folders

Interviews

A. 21/07/08 _ Carles Baiges, Lacol Architects, Barcelona: La Borda Cooperative Housing.

B. 21/10/14 _ Carles Baiges, Lacol Architects, Barcelona: Cooperative model in Barcelona.

C. 21/10/13 _ Ivan Gallardo -Gerència d'Habitatge, Ajuntament de Barcelona- and Maite Arrondo- Innovation in Housing Policies Redes y Proyectos Europeos-, Housing división, Barcelona Municipality: Housing policies in Barcelona.

D. 21/10/14 _La Dinamo Fundacion, Daniela, Gloria, Mara Ferreri, Barcelona: La Dinamo supports the cooperative housing production, La Borda pioneer process.

E. 21/10/15 _ Josè Maria Montaner, ETSAB professor, ex member of the Barcelona municipality housing division, housing activist, Barcelona: Housing policies in Barcelona, housing architecture.

F. 22/05/31 _ Josè Maria Montaner, ETSAB professor, ex member of the Barcelona municipality housing division, housing activist, Barcelona:

G. 21/06/24 _ Geert De Pauw, CLTB, Bruxelles: CLTB history, model of functioning and future steps.

H. 20/08/08 _ Daniela Brahm, ExRotaprint project, Berlin: the process of building acquiring, funding model with Stiftung Trias and Edith Marion Fundation.

I. 20/09/7 _Giacomo Borella, Albori architects, Milano: contemporary communal living.

J. 21/10/23 _Michael Lafond, idd22, Berlin: Collaborative housing production in Berlin and European Trend

K. 20/07/22 _ Joe Halligan, Assemble Studio, London: Granby 4 streets CLT.

L. 20/08/21_Elionor, Granby CLT, Liverpool: Granby 4 streets CLT

M. Anurag Verma and Eleonore Margolies, RUSS, Rural Urban synthesis society, London: RUSS model and the Lewisham legacy. 22/01/04

N. 20/08/01 _ Marina Noussan, Mitshauser Syndikat, 3houserprojecte, Freiburg: Syndikat model.

O. 21/10/23 _ Marina Noussan, Sascha Klemz, Helma Architect, Noemi Kuck Mitshauser Syndikat, Freiburg: Syndikat model and architectural/spatial approach.

P. 20/07/17 _ Rolf Novy Huy, Stiftung Trias, Hattingen, Germany: Stiftung Trias model of functioning, legacy and projects

Q. 22/05/31 _ Susanne Kilian Schindler, ETH Zurich, Philipp Klaus, Kraftwerk Housing Cooperative, Zurich: Cooperative Housing in Zurich, the case of Kraftwerk.

R. 21/12/15 _ Paolo Sanna, Coabitare, Cohousing Numero Zero, Torino: Cohousing Numero 0.

S. 21/12/21 _ Aida Nepa, Cohousing San Giorgio, Ferrara: Cohousing San Giorgio.

T. 21/12/21 _ Emanuela Bana, Base Gaia, Milano: Cohousing Base Gaia.

U. 21/12/16 _ Marco Tabbia, H4A, Torino: the project of Homes For All.

V. 22/04/11 _ Csaba Jelinek, Pósfai zsuzsi Zuglo, Budapest: Zuglo cooperative housing project and the Hungarian situation on housing

W. 22/03/09 _ Rok Ramsak, Anja Lazar, Zadrugator, Liublijana: Zadrugator project, Moba Network, Slovenia situation.

X. 22/05/06 _ Ana Dzokic, Pametnija Zgrada, Ko Gradi Grad, Belgrade: Pametnija Zgrada, a new housing cooperative established in Serbia and the civic association Ko Gradi Grad, the Serbian situation on housing.

Y. 22/06/04 _ Constantina Theodorou, Co-Lab Athens: the housing situation in Athens

Z. 22/06/19_Emily Marion Clancy. Bologna municipality: housing division.

AA. 15/12/22_Davide Ostoni. President Abitare cooperative, Niguarda, Milan

BB. 28/12/22_ Pierpaolo Forello. President Uniabita Cooperative, Cinisello Balsamo, Milan

CC. 20/12/22_ Rossana Zaccaria, President Legacoop Abitanti, National association, Rome.

Field Trips

A. June 21 Freiburg: meet the Mietshauser Syndikat

B. July 21 Milan/Turin: Base Gaia Cohousing; Numero Zero cohousing

C. Sept 21 Turin: cohousing via dei calleri Turin

D. October 21 Barcelona: meet La Borda, Sants neighborhood, Lacol architects, ETSAB J.M. Montaner, Barcelona Municipality

E. January 22 Marseille: meet Le Clip

F. August 22 Barcelona: Barcelona generations of housing cooperatives

G. September 22 Zurich: meet Kraftwerk coop

H. October 22 Geneve: meet La Codha coop, Ecologis coop