

CO-LIVING EXPERIMENTS REVISITED,
WITH TWO CASE STUDIES FROM THE NETHERLANDS:
ORGANIZATION, COMMUNITY, AND DESIGN DIMENSIONS
IN CO-HOUSING

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**CO-LIVING EXPERIMENTS REVISITED,
WITH TWO CASE STUDIES FROM THE NETHERLANDS:
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IN CO-HOUSING**

submitted by **SILA KANYAR** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Architecture in Architecture, Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Halil Kalıpçılar
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences** _____

Prof. Dr. Cânâ Bilsel
Head of the Department, **Architecture** _____

Prof. Dr. Aydan Balamir
Supervisor, **Architecture, METU** _____

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Celal Abdi Güzer
Architecture, METU _____

Prof. Dr. Aydan Balamir
Architecture, METU _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Nezh Burak Bican
Architecture, Atılım University _____

Date: 02.09.2022

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name Surname: Sila Kanyar

Signature:

ABSTRACT

CO-LIVING EXPERIMENTS REVISITED, WITH TWO CASE STUDIES FROM THE NETHERLANDS: ORGANIZATION, COMMUNITY, AND DESIGN DIMENSIONS IN CO-HOUSING

Kanyar, Sila
Master of Architecture, Architecture
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Aydan Balamir

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Besides the shortage of affordable housing, the exclusion of household diversity and disadvantaged groups in mainstream house production necessitates the search for alternative solutions. Based on the criticism of the lack of alternatives in the current housing production in Turkey, this study reconsiders the co-housing model, which aims to overcome the aforementioned problems. To provide historical background, examples ranging from the first utopian ideas and realizations to the Soviet, Scandinavian, and American shared housing experiments are covered. In the research, the concept of co-housing is discussed in terms of organization, community, and design. The organizational dimension concerns the stages of deciding the purpose and schedule of the project for the targeted groups. The community dimension is essential to ensure coherence and sustainability by empowering individuals through interaction and commitment. For the design dimension, the balance of private, common, and transitional spaces is determined through a participatory process, and principles of flexibility and adaptability come to the fore. The primary research, which is carried out with two current cases from

the Netherlands, is assessed within these parameters. The first of the case studies is a cooperative housing project organized 'bottom-up' around the principles of 'commoning' (Nieuwe Meent), while the other is an implemented 'flexible living' concept (Flexwonen) that represents the 'top-down' organizational approach. Both aimed to create an inclusive community and physical environment characterized by sharing, solidarity, and a sense of belonging. This comparative study demonstrates that the co-housing approach, with its potential for affordable and inclusive housing and its ability to take social diversity into account, offers a strong alternative to mainstream housing production in Turkey, which cannot meet the needs of disadvantaged groups including young people, the elderly, and refugees.

Keywords: Co-housing, Inclusive Design, Sense of Community, Shared Housing Facility

ÖZ

MÜŞTEREK YAŞAM DENEYLERİNE YENİDEN BAKIŞ, HOLLANDA'DAN İKİ ÖRNEK ÇALIŞMA İLE: MÜŞTEREK KONUTTA ÖRGÜTLENME, TOPLULUK VE TASARIM BOYUTLARI

Kanyar, Sıla
Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık
Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Aydan Balamir

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Uygun fiyatlı konut sıkıntısına ek olarak, ana akım konut üretiminde hanehalkı çeşitliliğinin ve dezavantajlı grupların dışlanması, alternatif çözüm arayışlarını zorunlu kılmaktadır. Bu çalışma, Türkiye'de mevcut konut üretimindeki alternatif eksikliği eleştirisinden hareketle, bu sorunları aşmayı hedefleyen müşterek konut modelini yeniden ele almaktadır. Tarihi arkaplan olarak, ütopya tasarımları ve uygulanmış örneklerinden, Sovyet, İskandinav ve Amerikan müşterek yaşam deneylerine uzanan birikime yer verilmiştir. Araştırmada müşterek konut konsepti örgütlenme, topluluk ve tasarım boyutları ile tartışılmaktadır. Örgütlenme boyutu, hedeflenen gruplar için izlenebilecek süreç, projenin amacına ve programına karar verme aşamalarıyla ilgilidir. Topluluk boyutu, bireylerin etkileşimini ve bağlılığını güçlendirerek, ahenk ve sürdürülebilirliğin sağlanması için esastır. Tasarım boyutunda ise özel, ortak ve ara mekanlar dengesinin katılımcı bir süreçle sağlanması ile, esneklik ve uyarlanabilirlik ilkeleri öne çıkmaktadır. Araştırmanın Hollanda'dan güncel iki örnekle gerçekleştirilen kısmı, bu parametrelerle değerlendirilmiştir. Örneklerden ilki, müşterekleşme ilkeleri etrafında 'aşağıdan yukarıya' örgütlenmiş bir konut

kooperatifi (Nieuwe Meent) projesi, diđeri ise ‘yukarıdan ařađıya’ örgütlenme yaklaşımını örnekleyen, uygulanmış bir esnek yaşam (Flexwonen) projesidir. Her ikisi de paylaşım, dayanışma ve ait olma duygusunun hedeflendiđi kapsayıcı bir topluluk ve fiziki ortamın yaratılmasını amaçlamıştır. Bu karşılaştırmalı çalışma, müşterek konut yaklaşımının uygun fiyat ve kapsayıcılık potansiyeli ve sosyal çeşitliliđi dikkate alma kabiliyeti ile, Türkiye’de gençler, yaşlılar ve mültecileri de içeren dezavantajlı grupların ihtiyaçlarını karşılayamayan ana akım konut üretimine güçlü bir alternatif sunduđunu göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Müşterek Yaşam, Kapsayıcı Tasarım, Topluluk Duygusu, Müşterek Konut Kompleksi

To my dear parents, brother, and the memory of my lovely grandma Eribe Evin
Kanyar,

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	v
ÖZ	vii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES	xv
CHAPTERS	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Problem Definition.....	2
1.2 Purpose and Objectives of the Thesis	3
1.3 The Stages of Research and Methods of the Thesis.....	4
1.4 Structure of the Thesis.....	6
1.5 Introduction to Co-housing	7
2 LITERATURE REVIEW	15
2.1 Classification of Sources	15
2.1.1 Definitions of the Shared Housing Concept	15
2.1.2 Assessments on Shared Housing Concepts Through Cases	16
2.1.3 Historical Theoretical Approach.....	18
2.1.4 Community Perspective	19
2.2 Definitions	19
2.3 Initial Ideas and the History of the Concept.....	24
2.3.1 Utopian Socialists	27
2.3.2 Soviet Avant-garde	43

2.3.3	Nordic Europe and North America.....	53
2.4	Conceptualizing the Keywords.....	56
2.4.1	The Importance of Spatial Balance in Living Together	56
2.4.2	From Participation to Commitment.....	57
2.4.3	The Role of Sharing and Balanced Life on Sense of Community	59
3	THREE DIMENSIONS OF CO-HOUSING.....	61
3.1	Organization.....	62
3.1.1	Bottom-up Model	65
3.1.2	Top-down Model	66
3.2	Community	68
3.2.1	Tenant Management - Self-work- Model	68
3.2.2	Service Management Model.....	70
3.3	Design	73
3.3.1	Architectural Layout.....	77
3.3.2	Flexibility and Adaptability	83
4	TWO CASES FROM THE NETHERLANDS	87
4.1	de NIEUWE MEENT, Amsterdam, Netherlands	88
4.1.1	Documents, Blogs, and Online Sources	89
4.1.2	Organization and Community	90
4.1.3	Design Process and Principles.....	93
4.1.4	Analysis of the Case	98
4.2	GENDERHOF, Eindhoven, Netherlands.....	99
4.2.1	Interview	101
4.2.2	Organization and Community	101

4.2.3	Design Process and Principles	102
4.2.4	Survey	104
4.2.5	Analysis of the Case.....	110
4.3	Comparison of Two Cases	111
5	CONCLUSION	113
5.1	General Findings of the Study.....	113
5.2	For Further Work and Research	121
	REFERENCES	123
	APPENDICES	
	Interview Questionnaire.....	131

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 2.1 Aspects of communal living models from the Renaissance utopians until the 2010s (Vestbro & Horelli, 2012).....	24
Table 3.1 The development model table of Davis, 2001. Taken from Williams (2007, p. 270).	65
Table 3.2 An overview of Organization and Community dimensions, by author...	72
Table 3.3 Adapted from - J. Williams, Sun, surf, and sustainability—comparison of the cohousing experience in California and the UK, International Planning Studies Journal 10 (2) (2005). – (Williams, 2007, p. 272).....	76
Table 4.1 Age & Gender of tenants	104
Table 4.2 Occupation & Length of stay	105
Table 4.3 Do you find common spaces useful? & How many hours do you spend in communal areas in Genderhof in a week?.....	105
Table 4.4 How many of your neighbours do you know? & Where did you meet your neighbours for the first time?	106
Table 4.5 Do you feel at home living here?	106
Table 4.6 Evaluation of Private Spaces	107
Table 4.7 Evaluation of Communal Spaces	107
Table 4.8 Direct quotes from questions in the survey in Genderhof.....	108
Table 4.9 The comparative table of two cases, drawn by the author.	112

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Figure 1.1 International terminology for collaborative housing (Bresson, 2013; Tুমmers, 2015; Tুমmers, 2016).	9
Figure 2.1. Thomas More, Island of Utopia, Louvain, 1516. Source: Wormsley Library, Oxford	29
Figure 2.2 New Harmony, Indiana, 1825. Source: radiowest.kuer.org	31
Figure 2.3 One of the Phalanstery projects. Charles François Daubigny, View of a French Phalanstery (lithograph), 1800s. Source: aperture.org.....	32
Figure 2.4 The Palace of Versailles, France. Source: smithsonianmag.com.....	33
Figure 2.5 Children's Day at The Familistère in Guise, in 1933. Source: newstatesman.com	35
Figure 2.6 Familistère de Guise (Social Palace), by Jean-Baptiste André Godin, in Guise/ France. Source: linsoumissionhebdo.fr	36
Figure 2.7 Cross-section of the central pavilion of the Familistère de Guise. Frenak + Jullien architects, 2006. Source: familistere.com	37
Figure 2.8 Site plan of the Familistère de Guise. Source: hiddenarchitecture.net..	37
Figure 2.9 Section and partly plan of the Familistère. Source: hiddenarchitecture.net	38
Figure 2.10 Diagonally located doors provide a clear line of vision and allow for airflow. Source: habitatgecollectiu.wordpress.com	38
Figure 2.11 Sections from the model of the housing units of Familistère. Source: familistere.com.....	40
Figure 2.12 Mergeable housing units. Source: habitatgecollectiu.wordpress.com.	41
Figure 2.13 Interiors of the workshop and laundry room. Source: familistere.com	42
Figure 2.14 The Narkomfin Building. Source: architectural-review	46
Figure 2.15 The site plan of Narkomfin. Source: thechanelhouse.org	49
Figure 2.16 The model of the Narkomfin complex. Net area of the housing block: 1,100 m ² . Source: familistere.com	50

Figure 2.17 The Narkomfin project and collective house, Type F. Source: thecharnelhouse.org.....	51
Figure 2.18 photo by Vladimir Gruntal and a view from one of the dwellings. Source: thecharnelhouse.org.....	52
Figure 2.19 The cohousing unit at John Ericsonsgatan in the beginning of the 1940s. Women order dinner from the kitchen in the basement. Source: Vestbro & Horelli, 2012.....	52
Figure 2.20 Photo from Squatting movement in the Netherlands. Source: nieuwemeent.nl.....	54
Figure 2.21 Design discussion between the member of a co-housing community in the United States. Source: Durrett, 2009.	56
Figure 3.1 Participatory design process, White Design. Source: white-design.com	74
Figure 3.2 Visualization of the place of collaborative housing. Source: Delgado, 2010, p. 213.	75
Figure 3.3 Various site plan types, a. pedestrian street, b. courtyard, c. combination of street and courtyard, d. one building. Source: Scotthanson & Scotthanson, 2005 p.175.	78
Figure 3.4 NPR Cities Project, Improvistos architects. Source: npr.org	79
Figure 3.5 Space syntax diagrams of Odhams Walk and Villaggio Matteotti, Virginia De Jorge-Huertas. Source: Jorge-Huertas, 2018.	82
Figure 3.6 An example of a flexible layout. Source: Delgado, 2010, p. 223.	84
Figure 4.1 The core elements of dNM. Source: nieuwemeent.nl.....	90
Figure 4.2 The organizational structure of dNM. Source: nieuwemeent.nl	92
Figure 4.3 Site plan of dNM. Source: timetoaccess.com	95
Figure 4.4 The general outline of the new dNM complex, Amsterdam 2018-on going, Architects - Time to Access, Roel van der Zeeuw Architecten. Source: nieuwemeent.nl.....	95
Figure 4.5 A selection of drawings by the participants (left) and the architects (right). Source: nieuwemeent.nl	97

Figure 4.6 Images of dNM facility design. Source: timetoaccess.com..... 98

Figure 4.7 Ground and first floor plans of the Genderhof facility, with functional zones. Source: plans are received from facility manager, adapted by the author. 103

Figure 5.1 graphical illustration of the 'a sustainable life-cycle of social formation' by Bican (2016)..... 119

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Housing, often known as a social security instrument, can be defined as a long-lasting consumption item that forms the physical environment in which individuals reside and spend a substantial portion of their time. That is the reason, housing studies occupy a significant part as a research field in the context of relations with the economy, market, health, society, and well-being, i.e., topics that are relevant to architecture. Such conditions for housing production are constantly changing.

Governments throughout Europe, particularly after 1945, began to take an active role in the development of the housing industry in order to alleviate the devastation caused by the war and the housing crisis (Bektaş, 2007). Housing was used as a tool for rebuilding and development throughout this period. In the face of this need for restructuring, housing shortage and conditions were a major concern in Western European countries, where different housing production models and designs have been tried out.

Housing production in Turkey followed a similar course; despite the scarce resources of the period, alternative models and house types were implemented. However, although the opportunities in the housing market are much richer today, there is no improvement in terms of housing diversity. On the contrary, standardization is observed in the supply of housing types. Nowadays, multistoried apartments with high privacy and strict security precautions are in high demand in the housing market in Turkey. This mainstream housing supply, characterized by the increase in private spaces at the expense of common spaces, gives rise to a weakening of social interaction among neighbors. With the dominance of such 'generic' housing in the Turkish housing market, the stock of affordable housing with different plan types is gradually decreasing (Gülpınar & Balamir, 2022). Likewise, Güzer (2007), who

criticizes this mainstream production in the Turkish housing market for its lack of alternatives, states that the available house types can be described as 'imitations of each other.' These 'market-accepted products' offer similar conditions for all types of households, excluding alternatives suitable for different needs.

1.1 Problem Definition

Standardization in the Turkish housing market leads disadvantaged groups to seek solutions within the existing housing stock. With the absence of almost any designed alternative for co-living experiences, especially students, the elderly and immigrants have no choice but to adapt generic solutions of the existing housing stock to their specific needs and expectations. In such forced adaptations, the lack of balance between private and common spaces, both within the units and the housing complex, prevents the development of social interaction and harmony within the household and among the neighbors alike. Communal areas where neighbors can encounter and greet each other for instance are mostly limited to hallways or elevators. When social interactions are confined to such circumstances, the sense of community weakens, and problems such as social alienation, exclusion, and discrimination are triggered.

Disadvantaged groups such as students, the elderly, and immigrants, who may benefit from living together, have to fit into standard house types shaped according to the needs of couples or families with children. The inadequacy of standard space organizations is especially due to the lack of proper arrangements in private, transitional, and common spaces that heterogeneous groups are more likely to need. Besides the lack of alternatives, the absence of affordable options compels them to use the available living environment inefficiently. Especially the inefficiency in transitional zones and collective spaces that serve to generate harmony within the community creates a disconnection in the intended social interaction between people and the users. Such issues, which may not be a problem for conventional family types, become crucial for diverse groups that tend to live together.

In order to reflect on these matters, there is a substantial body of knowledge in world experience that must be reconsidered, from the first utopia designs to some realized utopian settlements and co-living experiences. Designers, architects, and urban planners have long been concerned with developing appropriate design solutions that will help bring people together, increase social interaction and prevent discrimination. Alternative forms of living such as collective housing, eco-villages, and collaborative housing have been implemented for almost two centuries (Krantz & Linden, 1994). Nowadays, these types of living are attractive to people because they offer a mutually supportive and easier daily life with intense social interaction.

The lack of alternatives is not just limited to spatial planning. A variety of organization and community solutions also need to be reconsidered in run a process to meet the needs of users correctly and quickly. In most cases, even though the individuals are willing to step in for some alternative forms of living, they are discouraged for not knowing or being supported enough. The absence of an effective know-how flow is a factor in unsuccessful results. Since it is a multi-dimensional topic, its assessment requires a wide range of multi-disciplinary discussions on housing issues, healthy cities, and healthy societies.

1.2 Purpose and Objectives of the Thesis

This thesis aims to elucidate the topic of the co-housing concept as an alternative way of living by looking at various cases in the context of organization, community, and design. There is a wide range of concepts under alternative living approaches such as ‘co-housing, eco-village, self-help housing,’ etc. which differ due to several variables, such as the lifestyle of a community, the aim of the project, or the production of houses. The co-housing idea has its origins in visions of Utopia and the alternative housing forms of Scandinavian countries in the 1930s. However, co-housing as a prevalent, global topic, especially in Europe and the United States, emerged in the literature only after the International Collaborative Housing Conference held in Sweden in 2010. Nowadays, with the pressing need for

alternative forms of living and social coherence, there is substantial interest and willingness to invest in new approaches to housing concepts in these countries.

The Flexwonen concept in the Netherlands is a newly developed housing model that aims to provide an environment for social interaction and respond to the urgent housing needs of various target groups. Given the characteristics of co-housing projects and the aim of providing affordable, timely, and inclusive housing that is central to the Flexwonen concept, these two topics have been chosen for comparative assessment. As such, the Flexwonen concept will be investigated for its similarities with co-housing concepts such as the potential for generating a community and providing an environment for shared living. Since the Flexwonen concept is a new housing form in the Netherlands, investigating it in terms of its potential compared with the advantages of the co-housing concept will be useful for providing the desired communal sense, social integration, effective policy, and facility design.

Since co-housing experiments have been initiated by individuals without a concrete organization, it is very hard to track and clarify the definitions and requirements. At present, the projects have commonly been controlled or initiated by governments or housing associations. Having taken this into account, this thesis will be developed around the following questions:

- How have co-housing ideas changed throughout history?
- What are the major aspects that characterize the process of co-housing?
- To what extent does spatial design affect the success of co-housing projects?
- To what extent does the design process affect the sense of community?
- What are the common points of the co-housing and Flexwonen concepts that are prevalent in the Netherlands?

1.3 The Stages of Research and Methods of the Thesis

The starting point for the thesis was shaped together with my thesis supervisor at Middle East Technical University, Prof. Dr. Aydan Balamir, at the beginning of

2019. After a brief literature review on alternative housing models and social housing topics, the topic of co-housing came into focus. Regarding the selection of case studies, we decided to broaden the perspective with an exchange semester and field investigation in the Netherlands.

Between June 2019 and February 2020, this research developed through research and case studies made under the supervision of Asst. Prof. Oana Druta, in Eindhoven University of Technology. During this time, she introduced me to the Flexwonen projects and helped me to investigate this topic through cases in the Netherlands. We decided to expand the theoretical frame of the topic by pointing out the dimensions of co-housing and enlarging the architectural context within the scope of flexibility and adaptability.

The methodology of the study varies for the two cases examined and was dependent on the accessibility of sources and information. Participants of the selected co-housing example have provided open-source interviews which can be found online. Additionally, they organize meetings where anyone who desires to learn more about the project is welcome to join and participate. Beyond the digitally accessible information, the research for the Flexwonen case consisted of an interview with the manager of the project and a survey of the opinions of 43 tenants on the features of the facility. The survey contains open questions, ratings, and yes-no questions. This method was especially used to provide ideas for comparing the willingness of people to be in a community. The analysis chapter relies on the documents, survey results, answers, theoretical research, and observations of the author. The difference in the method of analysis for the two selected samples is justified by the fact that one is still in the project phase, while the other has been realized and in use for eight years.

The data collected during the study in the Netherlands, form an interface between co-housing and Flexwonen projects. Therefore, at the final stages of this study at METU, Prof. Dr. Balamir and I decided to bring all the information together from history and current practice, compiled as evidence of the learning process of people experimenting with alternative living forms. The potential contributions/ suggestions

that can be adapted from the co-housing concept will be highlighted to strengthen the aim of the Flexwonen concept and facilities, and vice versa.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is structured around a brief literature review and the historical development of the concept, followed by discussions on the definitions of the co-housing concept and then, its three dimensions: organization, community, and design. Although all three of these topics will be elucidated, the design dimension will be the most deeply scrutinized, and the case studies will mostly be assessed from this aspect.

The empirical part of this thesis consists of the assessment of case studies from the Netherlands in which the dimensions of co-housing will be assessed. The similarities, differences, and systems of the projects in terms of their initiators and organizations and the features of their facility from a design perspective will be analyzed in the context of the co-housing concept.

The first part briefly explains the types of alternative living, before describing the co-housing concept through its historical background, ideas, and definitions. While considering the historical development and current definitions of this topic, some keywords relevant to the co-housing model are selected. Classification of the chosen words generates a framework for the features of co-housing. As was previously mentioned, it can be concluded from the literature review on this topic that there is not a singular definition or exclusive form of co-housing. Therefore, this methodology aims to provide an opportunity to track the historical development and significant points of the concept despite the constant shifts of the co-housing concept, from time to time, country to country, and project to project. As it is difficult to classify and clarify all the possible projects and definitions comprehensively, the main purpose of the assessment on literature and historical resources will be to gather the relevant keywords and create an assessment of the dimensions of co-housing.

The second chapter will focus on an analysis of the dimensions of co-housing with a brief inquiry into the organization, social structure, and design with specific examples and a comparison between various models. Lastly, the third chapter will examine the cases from the Netherlands and Flexwonen, this new type of housing form will be investigated from the perspective of the co-housing concept.

1.5 Introduction to Co-housing

In response to the abovementioned reasons, people started to seek alternative forms of living. Today, there are numerous versions of housing experiments that are considered an alternative to the existing housing forms that impose a nuclear family lifestyle with limited interaction with neighbors. An alternative form of living is a path for seeking a housing model as a lifestyle. Unlike today's popular housing models with limited contact with others and a more individualistic/ private lifestyle, alternative forms of living aim to provide a social and shared environment inside the house, as well. People have been searching for other options; for some, this is a social interaction with neighbors, and for others, this is affordable accommodation.

These housing concepts have germinated in different countries and cultures through different perspectives. Some co-housing projects were first initiated informally by individuals or small groups and then officially by governments, policymakers, housing associations, and NGOs. These actors interpreted the older versions of this housing form and adapted it to their lifestyle to address current conditions affected by the system, culture, and economy. In Sweden, for example, women have used the concept of shared common spaces to divide the responsibilities of domestic work, thus gaining more time in their daily lives. This is considered a gender equality movement (Krantz & Linden, 1994; Vestbro & Horelli, 2012). In the Netherlands,

with the “StartBlok housing”¹ and other housing models, they endeavored to create a more diverse society by mixing people from different cultural backgrounds, ages, and income groups: people who have varied habits, aims, and lifestyles (Renooy & Blommesteijn, 2015; Czischke & Huisman, 2018; Reedijk, Bronsvort, & Wassenberg, 2019). In the United States, the approach leans more toward the economical aspect, and the model was adopted to offset the cost of living. In this way, alternative forms of living were used to share and reduce expenses (Sargisson, 2010; McCamant & Durrett, 2011; Durrett, 2009). In short, individuals, communities, policymakers, housing associations, or governments prefer to adjust and implement alternative living models in their housing systems in ways that are consistent with their main aims, cultural habits, and model of living.

Since alternative forms of living emerge as unique projects in different places with different structures, it is difficult to classify them (Tummers, 2016). Furthermore, there is a wide variety of terms that can be used when doing so. Additionally, when the linguistic issues of different cultures are considered, it becomes even harder to clarify terms. However, as it is illustrated in Figure 1.1, these concepts are split under three main titles; co-, auto-, and eco- (Bresson, 2015; Tummers, 2016). These prefixes express the primary concern of the community; co- is for togetherness, auto- refers to a self-structured project, and eco- stresses environmental approaches. On the whole, all of these terms refer to alternatives to conventional housing that emphasize the inclusion of social life in the housing model. Besides briefly explaining selected types of shared-living concepts, this thesis will investigate the concept of co-housing through its definitions, history, and its basic dimensions (organization, community, and design). The research will terminate with an investigation of new inclusive housing experiments from the Netherlands.

¹ StartBlok is a housing model which is organized in the Netherlands. The tenants consist of young people, and where half of them are Dutch and the other half of the tenants are from various nations. By mixing these groups, organizers aim to increase the interaction of internationals with Dutch society, language, and culture. Also, to provide an atmosphere for the Dutch people to get to know other cultures is one of the aims (Czischke & Huisman, 2018).

	French	English	German	Dutch	Spanish
CO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Habitat groupé • Habitat partagé • Cohabitat • Coopératives d'habitants • Habitat communautaire 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cohousing • Housing co-op • Intentional communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wohngemeinschaft • Genossenschaften • Wohngruppe (für senioren) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Samenhuizen (flamand) • Woongroepen (voor ouderen) • Collectief particulier opdrachtgeverschap • Centraal wonen • Zelfbeheer • Bouwen in eigen beheer • Kraken 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Viviendas cooperativas
AUTO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Habitat participatif • Habitat autogéré • Auto-promotion • Auto-construction • squat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-help housing • Self-managed housing • squat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Baugruppe • Hausbesetzer 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eco-dorp 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Autogestionada • Okupa
ECO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ecohabitat • Ecovillages • Ecoquartiers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ecohabitat • Eco-village • Eco-district 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ökodorf 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eco-dorp 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ecobarrio

Figure 1.1 International terminology for collaborative housing (Bresson, 2013; Tummers, 2015; Tummers, 2016).

Co-housing: What and Why?

Co-housing is a living model that aims to provide an environment for communal living and sharing. For some, the current housing models and solutions in the market which offer the client high privacy and an individualistic lifestyle, result in a lack of social interaction and inequality in living conditions (Vestbro D. , 2013). In response, the co-housing model has emerged as a mode of alternative housing for people who are dissatisfied with individual-centered lifestyles as well as for people who do not have access to quality accommodation conditions because of the economic priorities in the housing market (Aedes, 2016). Despite the hegemony of isolated single-family apartments in the housing market, research on the co-housing topic is increasing. The co-housing model, which was generated by individuals, has started to be owned and initiated by housing associations and governments, with similar concerns, i.e., tightening social bonds and increasing the social interaction between tenants and society.

The intention behind co-housing, in contrast to isolated single-family housing, highlights the need for a community atmosphere for individuals. The relationship of people with their environment also affects their relationship with the city in a broader context. The desire to live in a community that supports a strong bond with neighbors reflects how people choose to generate their relations with the city, and their approaches to communal, public, semi-public, and private spaces. As researchers

focus on user behaviors in urban public areas, assessing the co-housing topic in spatial contexts is significant. In addition to other components, space has the power to create or break bonds between people. Because people create ways of using space, the way of using space creates relations between people.

Individuals who have a common interest or aim, come together and create an environment where they can share ideas, moments, and spaces with others. There are thousands of groups who have chosen to live in a community and to be a part of communal life. On the other hand, increasing housing prices in urban areas, coupled with the desire for home ownership, direct homebuyers to the periphery of the city, which may increase the sense of alienization and reduce communality and neighborhood interaction. However, instead of creating zones, the co-housing model aims to provide an atmosphere of communality.

Co-housing: Varieties and Changes

Co-housing is an alternative way of living in a community-based milieu. This concept has taken form through the various visions of numerous groups and individuals. In the 2010s, the extent to which this housing form and the sharing of space and time was meant to exist was discussed. To solve the discrimination that is caused because of cultural differences, policymakers and governments adopted the model in the context of affordability and social inclusion. Especially in Europe, refugees, status holders, and labor immigrants are mixed in housing facilities with local young starters and students for integration. Co-housing is an opportunity for individuals to be a part of society, an invitation to a wide-ranging diversity and socialization in daily life. Due to the multivariate structure of the organization of co-housing facilities and communities, the definition of it in the literature is vague. Egerö (2010) has indicated poverty and social exclusion problems in European societies, where people are seeking alternatives for providing social inclusion and equality. Furthermore, each country has driven this concept in its way as an ‘acupuncture (small but effective interventions)’ for social and housing systems.

McCamant and Durrett (2011) have identified a variety of co-housing developments in the United States. Some of them have been initiated by elderly people who would like to live in a community with their friends after their retirement, whereas others have been generated as a co-housing project with like-minded strangers in response to ecological concerns. Despite their distinct origins, these co-housing developments share some common characteristics; a community-oriented design that aims to generate a sense of community in daily life, and a combination of private and communal areas. In such cases, community management is arranged by the residents, and the authors highlight the use of the commitment method and the non-hierarchical structure of communal organizations. Inclusive decision-making during the planning and design, namely the participatory planning and design process, is also among the descriptive features of co-housing. For instance, considering the interviews in the book (Durrett, 2009, pp. 275-276), the co-housing concept can be relevant for seniors because of similar interests, points of view, expectations from life, etc. So, the suggestion here is to generate an inclusive society based on these shared values. For this purpose, some other components and needs are questioned and reviewed for implementation. Voluntary participation and individual attendance are crucial for the success of these projects. The problems and desires of the community, how it comes together, its aims, and its culture are just a few of the components contributing to the unity of the project and influencing the way that they generate sustainability.

In the recently published book, *Contemporary Co-housing in Europe: Towards Sustainable Cities*, Hagbert, Larsen, Thörn, & Wasshede (2020) intend to clearly review how different countries adjust models of co-housing according to their values to best serve their culture. There is a variety of approaches to shared living projects from country to country due to the structure of society. For instance, individual-oriented societies like Denmark and Sweden and family and community-oriented countries like Spain and Germany exhibit different structures when it comes to organization, policy, and facilities. When this topic is examined in Turkey and Japan, different approaches and results may be expressed in line with particular traditional

and conservative aspects of society (Ataman & Gursel Dino, 2019; Druta & Ronald, 2019).

As the topic of co-housing has been investigated around the world, different organizations and groups have undertaken experimental projects in order to understand the potential possibilities, advantages, and disadvantages of the concept from various perspectives (Czischke, Carriou, & Lang, 2020). For instance, when Denmark developed the co-housing idea around the 1960s, it aimed to mix nuclear families, groups, and individuals from different backgrounds and create a child-friendly environment by providing a community-oriented atmosphere. Although the Netherlands follows a similar approach to the co-housing concept by mixing different target groups, they tend to base their research on the organizational perspectives of housing associations and policymakers. Sweden is known for its gender equality-based approach and efforts to provide low-cost housing. Starting in the 1970s, Germany also began exploring the co-housing model to address the lack of affordable housing in the market. Spain, on the other hand, has been dealing more with sustainability concerns. Through the initiatives of some individuals, self-managed co-houses have also become popular. With its first models initiated around the 1980s, the United States focuses more on child and elderly-friendly atmospheres in its co-housing experiences, as well as eco-villages and environmentally sustainable approaches.

Co-housing: How?

Initially, the historical background of co-housing will be investigated regarding common points across time and countries. The recent history of this concept is very briefly summarized above; however, the origins of co-housing experiments can be traced back to earlier times. The earliest co-housing experiments in modern Europe likely began in the 16th century with Utopians to Sweden, based on gender equality around the 1930s (Hagbert, Larsen, Thörn, & Wasshede, 2020; Czischke, Carriou, & Lang, 2020; Williams, 2007; Vestbro & Horelli, 2012; Ache & Fedrowitz, 2012; Delgado, 2010; Durrett, 2009; Fromm, 2000).

With its planned, organized, and designed projects, most housing solutions throughout human history can be considered a form of co-housing. The housing function that had once been based on the clan/tribe evolved: first, to the patriarchal family, later to the extended family, and finally, in the modern world, to the nuclear family residence. This transition in housing forms has also affected interactions between neighbors and lifestyle. Therefore, throughout history, there have been several attempts at and experiments with alternative forms of living through community-oriented lifestyles. Despite the significant differences between these experiments, there are some indispensable points, such as the focus on communal areas, the balance of private and communal life, and the importance of social interactions. This research examines the similarities and differences of select projects, focusing on their capacity to bring together different generations or cultures by identifying common concerns, such as a child-friendly environment, a higher degree of communality, and collectivity.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Classification of Sources

The topic of co-housing is assessed from several perspectives, including economic, societal, urbanistic, sustainability-driven, theoretical, and organizational considerations. The main sources that will be interrogated in this thesis are grouped under four topics regarding their scope of research.

2.1.1 Definitions of the Shared Housing Concept

First, the existing scholarship which investigates the theory of co-housing through case studies or reviews of other papers must be indicated. Czischke, D., Carriou, C., & Lang, R. (2020) explain these terms with a literature review in their paper; ‘Collaborative Housing in Europe: Conceptualizing the Field.’ The authors discuss in detail the various definitions of collaborative housing across the contemporary literature. Their method is based on comparative research of pioneering papers in the literature on this topic from different countries. They claim the differences between projects originate from the need for adaptation of a system that suits the economy, lifestyle, culture, and time.

In her paper titled ‘Understanding co-housing from a planning perspective: why and how,’ Tummers (2015) investigates the interactions and contributions of co-housing websites and networks. She presents a comparative study covering a selection of European countries like France, the Netherlands, and Germany to understand how they affect each other's approach to the co-housing concept, especially in a spatial planning context. Later, in her 2016 article, ‘The re-emergence of self-managed co-housing in Europe: A critical review of co-housing research,’ she discusses co-

housing since the 2000s in the context of empirical studies of social change, designing community, neighborhood development, and emerging topics, and classifies them according to 5 clusters; 1- Advocacy; guides and case studies, 2- Changing lifestyles – accommodating the everyday, 3- Architecture and designing community, 4- Neighbourhood development – island or oasis?, 5- Emerging themes – financial and legal aspects, due to their approach to the co-housing topic.

2.1.2 Assessments on Shared Housing Concepts Through Cases

The second type of source approaches co-housing using key concepts such as the communal perspective, the spatial dimensions, and the issue of self-management in co-housing communities. Several studies conduct their research through case studies focusing on a single concept. For instance, Czischke & Huisman (2018) examine the issue of self-management in co-housing projects in their paper, ‘Integration through Collaborative Housing? Dutch Starters and Refugees Forming Self-Managing Communities in Amsterdam.’ While they examine the co-housing topic, they also provide a brief overview of the Dutch approach to co-housing through a case study. Likewise, Göschel (2010), with ‘Collaborative Housing in Germany,’ and Ache & Fedrowitz (2012), with ‘The Development of Co-Housing Initiatives in Germany,’ research the evolution of the co-housing concept by investigating experiments and approaches in Germany specifically.

Other case-based papers are centered on how co-housing projects are initiated, managed, and designed. Another important question, here, is the reflection of theories in practice. McCamant & Durrett (1994), who researched co-housing out of their desire to initiate a project for community living in the United States, published their findings in *Cohousing - A Contemporary Approach to Housing Ourselves*. In their study, they gathered together people who were seeking a new alternative to the limited housing options in the market. Starting from scratch, they introduce their initial research on the topic and explain their inquiry into ‘where this model comes from, what the potential is in the US, some experimental projects and spatial needs,

and organizational possibilities.’ In 2009, Durrett began exploring the co-housing model as an alternative to the senior healthcare houses in his *The Senior Cohousing Handbook*. The main idea represented in this text is providing seniors healthcare services through medical and service teams, while also giving a sense of society to elderly populations through spatial and organizational arrangements. The author indicates that the participatory process of daily life generates the structure of the model. Additionally, a spatial approach is warranted as well. After their initial research, historical evaluation of the subject matter, and subsequent experiments, McCamant & Durrett (2011) published their research and experiences in their book *Creating cohousing: building sustainable communities*. Using a comparative approach, they assessed the model in both Europe and the United States, using ample case studies to highlight their similarities and differences, and discuss how different models were adapted to suit local systems.

Kelly & Chris Scotthanson (2005) illustrate their own experiences in creating a co-housing community in the US with *The Cohousing Handbook: Building a Place for Community*. This book is a complete guide for individuals who are seeking information on creating their co-housing projects. The authors demonstrate, one by one, the obstacles, tips, significant points, and requirements for creating a co-housing project referring to the findings from existing projects to pave the way for new successful, beneficial, and sustainable ones. The authors find that strictly defined rules could be helpful for sustainability, however, they may also risk creating a closed community that is too highly protected and insular to invite people into the community. Ultimately, the findings favor models which are more flexible and adaptable.

Vestbro, one of the pioneering researchers in this field of inquiry, published research (2000) on the matter with a very broad scope. Summarized in the paper, ‘From Collective Housing to Cohousing- A Summary of Research,’ the author defines and demonstrates the features of collective forms of living and explains the co-housing model’s process of development. Similar to McCamant, Durrett, Kelly & Chris Scotthanson, Fromm (2000) highlights the different forms of the co-housing concept

taken in the United States. In her paper, 'American Cohousing: The First Five Years', the author employs an empirical research method and investigates 24 co-housing projects from across the United States in terms of their development process, resident turnover, site planning, the functionality of the common house, and private units.

2.1.3 Historical Theoretical Approach

Sargisson (2010) takes a theoretical approach to the co-housing topic with his paper 'Cohousing: A Utopian Property Alternative?' The author examines the relationship between the concept of co-housing and the ideological aspect of Utopians seeking to generate a community that counteracts the alienation engendered by modern housing systems. Calling the northern European system, the first wave, and the American system the second, he questions both systems and their ideological backgrounds. Originating from Utopian ideals, the European system of cohousing expresses a political purpose and advances a utopian movement. In contrast, in the American system, it is claimed that the concept supports democratic modes of living and is pragmatic rather than particularly ideological. The author poses the question of whether or not democracy is an ideology itself. Additionally, the relationship between commitment methods and the sense of community is discussed in this research. He describes collective housing, where people own land and create their habitat through participatory approaches. In this kind of case, especially, there is a strong separation between physical design and social design. So, it is significant to discuss the importance of social and spatial collaboration.

In 2010, a conference exploring the topics of co-living and co-housing was held in Sweden. The proceedings of the conference, *Living together – Cohousing Ideas and Realities Around the World*, were published under the editorship of Dick Urban Vestbro. Researchers around the world came together and presented their research, ideas, and interpretation regarding their countries' co-housing models. Due to the great variety of projects, the literature is filled with non-standardized terms and

definitions that can cause some confusion when it comes to creating a classification system.

2.1.4 Community Perspective

In his article ‘Saving by Sharing – Cohousing for Sustainable Lifestyles’ (2013), Vestbro discusses the theoretical concepts related to the community in co-housing, sharing, living together, saving, etc. He also pointed out how the design of spatial facilities serves the aim of the co-housing concept. Jarvis (2012) shows a combination of theoretical and social approaches to the co-housing concept in her paper; ‘The social architecture of self-governance in cohousing: issues and implications,’ in which she investigates the organizational requirements for generating a sense of community as applied in different experiments.

On the other hand, some papers indicate another communal perspective on the topic of co-housing. Since one of the features of the concept of co-housing is being a part of a community and, throughout history, there are examples of groups who have used this system in order to strengthen their communal bonds and sense of belonging, some people have associated living in a co-housing community with rebellion and ideological, marginal, or political discourses. Thus, they discuss the potential for co-housing communities to develop into an island or gated communities (Hagbert, Larsen, Thörn, & Wasshede, 2020; Scotthanson & Scotthanson, 2005).

2.2 Definitions

Co-housing is a new type of community-oriented alternative housing concept which is influenced by utopian ideas, political or environmental ideologies, and visions, and expresses a desire to involve something other than the traditional way of living (Vestbro D. U., 2010; Vestbro & Horelli, 2012). Tummers (2015, p. 64) indicates that the significant characteristics of the co-housing concept can be found where people built and manage the projects: ‘Collectively built and self-managed housing

clusters, co-housing for short, emerge as a renewed housing typology that raises many expectations for creating vivid social networks and healthy environments' (Parasote 2011; Krokfors 2012; Vestbro 2010).

The use of the term 'co-housing' is still highly debated in the literature. The prefix 'co-' is particularly a point of contention. The Cambridge Dictionary,² indicates the use of a hyphen in the term as the difference between American and British English, with the unhyphenated 'Cohousing' given as the conventional use in American English, and the hyphenated 'Co-housing' as the preferred use in British English. Here, both terms are taken together as 'a group of homes that include some shared facilities' (implying areas, rooms, equipment, or services for activities). On the other hand, in the literature, it is not merely a matter of punctuation. For example, Tummers (2016) uses the term 'cohousing' to indicate the projects which are in the co-housing networks for narrowing down the mentioned projects. 'Co-housing' is used for naming the concept itself, while 'cohousing,' without the hyphen, refers to specific projects. Alternatively, in the United States, cohousing and co-housing may be used interchangeably, with both indicating a housing model which is influenced by the Danish model and has a design for social interaction and a resident participation process for development, management, and events. (McCamant and Durrett 1988; Fromm 1991; Fromm, 2012).

Still, because of its strong relationship with culture and society, as Tummers (2016) mentions, and because of the uniqueness of each project, it is hard to produce the exact definition of this concept. Some stances maintain that co-housing is a transformed version of housing cooperatives developed to provide affordable housing and self-governance communities under the name of collaborative housing (Hagbert, Larsen, Thörn, & Wasshede, 2020, p. 3). Co-housing can also be

² <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/>

considered a reflection of social integration in daily life (Droste, 2015; Hagbert, Larsen, Thörn, & Wasshede, 2020).

With the increased interest in alternative living styles, several initiatives have been considered. As a result, the categorization of these models is required for a better comprehension of the literature. 'Co-' states joint living and interaction amongst tenants in the context of community-oriented housing concepts. The most crucial characteristics of this approach are its inclusiveness and responsiveness to solving common stresses. In response to the industrial age-transformations of the nineteenth century, for example, this concept took root as an ideal form of community-oriented life. The method of acclimation to the changing lifestyles was via social solidarity. Later, this notion was influenced by the ideals of other groups seeking to show their unity and independence. Co-housing has been used in political and ideological debates and as a means of obtaining an equal footing in society. Despite a decline since the late twentieth century, co-housing projects that reflect the original principles of creating a community around shared issues persist. In a world of rapidly changing societies, the co-housing concept is being adopted as a means of building a cohesive community. The diversity of countries' internal concerns has resulted in a diversity of co-housing project goals. In the United States, for example, seniors are demanding their "dream life in a communal existence," which they were unable to achieve earlier in life. Some European countries, such as the Netherlands, which accept a large number of foreigners, have adopted the co-housing concept to improve newcomers' communication with society and discourage discrimination.

Delgado (2010) states that co-housing stresses a smaller part of collective housing, unlike private apartments with no common facilities. In contrast, Vestbro (2010) claims that 'co-' stands for a wider, new form of collaborative, communal, and collective (Tummers, 2016). However, a shift can be observed in this discourse, according to the earlier papers of Vestbro (2000). Specifically, he classifies the term collective housing according to five components as it is explained below. In light of these, collective housing is seen as a wider term for co-housing.

1. Scandinavian-based projects which have a central kitchen with other collectively organized facilities. This has three subgroups.

1.A- Classical collective unit; for reducing the housework having common service staff to save time for women and their families as well.

1.B- Swedish co-housing, *det lilla kollektivhuset* (the small collective housing unit), based on a self-work model with 15-50 apartments and committed to collective work on communal meals.

1.C- Co-housing for the elderly.

‘In Sweden, all three collective housing types are referred to using the word *kollektivhus*; defined as "a multi-family housing unit with private apartments and communal spaces such as a central kitchen and a dining hall, where residents do not constitute a special category" (Palm Linden, 1992:15).’ (Vestbro D. U., 2000, p. 165)

2. Danish cohousing ‘*bofaelleskab*’ (house share), which is similar to the Swedish understanding, but with more low-rise housing to create a stronger sense of community.

3. Collective housing with a communal service integrated facility with the priority of participation.

4. Special facilities for students, elderly people, etc.

5. A model aimed at generating common sense between the households who live together in an apartment.

Czischke, Carriou, and Lang, (2020) stress that understanding again, with the writings of Falkenstjerne Beck whose thoughts run parallel with Vestbro’s, conceiving of cohousing as a stronger, specified, relational concept. They underlined the shift in discourse that has occurred in the 21st century and support these ideas with the writings of Jarvis (2015) saying that ‘collaborative housing is a broader term for cohousing.’ However, the workshop which is held by Fromm and Almquist (2010), they express that co-housing is more inclusive than collaborative housing. Vestbro, once again, suggested cohousing be used for the concept of shared facilities and common areas in the context of communal life. In contrast, to other definitions

that regard the features of the community, organization, or facility, here, co-housing embraces a wider range of possibilities (Vestbro D. U., 2010).

What is distinctive about collaborative housing is that there are no strict rules regarding participation in community events and meetings or sharing responsibilities with a commitment method. Instead, these are presented as opportunities (Vestbro D. U., 2010). Even though collective houses are designed as a combination of private and shared facilities, it does not require social interaction and communication among residents. Unlike collaborative housing as a lifestyle, this is defined as a housing style (Vestbro D. U., 2010; Göschel, 2010). In recent years, co-housing projects have been concerned with the following issues: affordable housing opportunities, environmental sustainability and the reduction of energy use, intentional communities, alternatives for seniors, social inclusion as a method of creating social cohesion, and health care and solidarity in neighborhoods (Hagbert, Larsen, Thörn, & Wasshede, 2020). In this regard, some current stances claim that co-housing is a transformed version of housing cooperatives developed to provide affordable housing and self-governance communities under the umbrella of collaborative housing (Hagbert, Larsen, Thörn, & Wasshede, 2020). Co-housing reflects social integration in daily life (Droste, 2015; Larsen, 2020). In conclusion, apart from all these aspects, in the 21st century, co-housing refers to something more than a community-based housing movement that started in Scandinavia (Tummers, 2016). For the new era, co-housing highlights the pursuit of an inclusive, healthy, and sustainable society, for beneficial and smart cities. Today's co-housing is defined by Tummers (2016) as an integrative practice; in conjunction with three concepts: equal citizenship, climate change, and economy.

Being a popular topic in the discussions of national housing policies, some researchers are concerned with balancing the advantages and disadvantages of the concept. Since this concept may be perceived as 'an alternative, savior, or healer,' providing cohesion in a multicultural society, most of the researchers agreed that even though this is the situation, it is essential to take a step back and find maintain

the necessary objectivity (Czischke, Carriou, & Lang, 2020; Tummers, 2016; Hagbert, Larsen, Thörn, & Wasshede, 2020).

2.3 Initial Ideas and the History of the Concept

In recent resources and literature, co-housing projects have been observably influenced by utopian visions. Throughout history, the social matters of a community have been a concern for the creation or preservation of social unity, especially when rapid changes occur, whether they take the form of changes in environmental conditions, shifts in industrial life, the development of communist regimes, or modern lifestyles. Furthermore, the daily lifestyle, and housing forms and concepts directly reflect these shifts, whether intentionally or unintentionally.

As illustrated below in Table 2.1, the co-housing projects across history have been conceived of as a life cycle of a community consisting of individuals who carry similar visions and values in life. People desire to be in a community in order to experience or obtain equal conditions with other members of society. When it comes to co-housing, the intentions of the individuals may differ, yet the path of their expression and the ambition behind it are the same: to bring their views to society by integrating their perspectives first and foremost as a community.

Table 2.1 Aspects of communal living models from the Renaissance utopians until the 2010s (Vestbro & Horelli, 2012).

Aspects Models	Driving forces	Models of cohousing & gender	Housing solutions & design	Domestic work, impact on the labour market	Lessons for the future; obstacles & stopping stones
Utopists, 19th century USA & Europe	Vision of a harmonious and just society, workers to own the means of production.	Women to work in production but the division of tasks according to gender.	Production and reproduction spatially integrated in our cities; influence on modernist ideas.	Collective organisation of meals, partly for women's participation in production.	Inflexible solutions, but had positive influence on later cohousing ideas.

Table 2.1 (continued)

Material feminists, late 19th & early 20th century	Econ. Independence of women through socialized domestic work. (coop. housekeeping)	Production coops in the neighbourhood liberating women, (but work not done by men).	Neighbourhoods with kitchen-less houses, public kitchens & laundry, dinner clubs, etc.	No demand for equal distribution of domestic work with men. Gender & class conflicts not solved.	Interesting solutions in neighbourhoods. Conflicts with patriarchal society and corporate society.
Central kitchen houses, 1904-1922	To solve the servant problem of the middle classes; "collectivization of the maid".	No ideas of equality, an aid to housewives, rationalisation of food production.	Bourgeois apartments without private kitchens, with food lifts + a central kitchen.	Reduction of domestic work, housewives not expected to work in production.	Possible to centralise food production, otherwise few lessons for the future.
Cohouse with employed staff, 1935-1976	The machine age transferred to housing. Well-educated women wanted to combine family with a career.	Socialisation of maids allowing women to participate in labour force. Low valuation of house work.	Apartments with small kitchens, central kitchen and other services.	Enhanced female participation in the labour market. Domestic work not done by men.	Paid services became too expensive. Strong resistance from the patriarchal society.
New Everyday life & the Swedish self-work model	Integration of work & private life through shared domestic work by men and women in housing.	The model made domestic work visible and thus sharable with men. Neighbourhoods with local production, care, culture.	Combination of bungalows and apartments with the community house and other shared spaces.	Equal distribution of domestic work a prerequisite for work/ life balance.	The most successful model today, has expanded the concrete utopia into the neighbourhood.
Today and the future	A need to overcome isolation, a demand for sustainable lifestyles.	Reduction of house work and care of children & elderly still issues that affect inequality in labour market.	Models needed at the neighbourhood level, also ones that are accessible to all classes.	Equal distribution of domestic work, but the educational & labour markets remain segregated by gender.	Cohousing ideas expand, but the conservative construction sector is slow to respond. Hope in the new movement.

Vestbro and Horelli (2012) classify the different approaches to shared housing and collective living using 6 models. In chronological order, they begin with the 19th century-Utopians in the United States and Europe and criticize their perspective for being strict with their proposals, though they also highlight their undeniable contributions to future projects. Second, in the 19th century and early 20th century, material feminists showed up with their interpretation of this concept by socializing domestic works and creating communal spaces for the kitchens, and laundry rooms in the house. This helped reduce the workload on women, and increase the sense of solidarity, and degree of collective work; however, it was not an effective enough

solution for gender equality. In other words, women gathered in communal areas, doing the housework together and supporting each other as if this were the responsibility of women, not men. Third, expanding on the work of material feminists, central kitchen houses came up with the idea of ‘sharing the servants.’ Except for central kitchen facility designs, this concept did not offer solutions for the development process of collective housing. Fourth, in the middle of the 20th century, the increasing demand for women in the labor force caused problems with time allocation; women in the work force were limited as to the amount of time they could devote to doing housework. Since in this patriarchal society, such obligations were still perceived to be a woman's responsibility, co-houses with employed staff were started up. These facilities consisted of apartments with a small kitchen for daily use and central kitchens for more substantial undertakings. Indeed, this concept conformed significantly to the norms of the patriarchal society. Yet, while this model did not adequately address gender inequality, it was helpful for the design of shared housing facilities. Fifth, the New Everyday life & the Swedish self-work model which emerged at the beginning of the 20th century, can be considered a successful steppingstone toward the concept of living together, gender equality in domestic work, and collaborative housing. Furthermore, an explosion in shared housing, collaborative living environments, and cohousing experiments at that time provided important opportunities for learning and evaluation that would pave the way for future attempts. Lastly, the initiatives of today are still ongoing projects like an endless story, each of them improving upon the work of previous projects. In this way, elucidating the historical process can be quite valuable.

The scope of this thesis and its historical assessment of the topic corresponds with three main eras: the 19th century, the early 20th century, and the late 20th century. Efforts in the 19th century are associated with the work of Utopian Socialists and their attempts to build a coherent, healthy, and solidarity-driven society. Second, early 20th century-Soviet Avant-Garde experiments in living together and shared facilities come to the fore. These facilities developed as the materialization of an ideology and were designed to orient people toward a particular type of unity.

Finally, the late 20th-century approach incorporated more individualistic perspectives and efforts to live in a community with shared spaces, in contrast to those ‘already planned and designed by authorities,’ in the previous two centuries.

2.3.1 Utopian Socialists

The term ‘utopia’ was popularized by Thomas More in the 16th century in his book of the same title. In this text, More was presenting the ideal society, one which was self-sufficient, coherent, independent, and community-oriented. To imagine such a society, the production of ideal space had to be considered as well. More portrayed his Utopia as an island where people live happy, healthy lives together, fulfilling certain responsibilities in communal life, while maintaining a certain level of personal privacy to create a self-sufficient society (Eylers, 2015). One interesting feature presented in More’s *Utopia* is the communal storage houses, where the production from the island was to be gathered and where people could receive their food freely. Rather than mandating modes of participation, people were encouraged to have communal dinners and devote some of their time to their education (Halpin, 2001). This unity was the illusion, or in other words, imagined, utopia of perfection. More demonstrated his Utopia through a remote island with no direct connection with the world (Figure 2.1). In this way, his imagined model had ‘no-strings attached’ to the culture of the era. In other words, his Utopia was a well-designed and structured island, separated from the real world and insulated from the disease of the egocentric, fortune-seeking, and power-hungry society of contemporary 16th-century cities. In this way, More’s creation can be regarded as a criticism of the degenerate culture of European societies which were struggling with the transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern Age (Ceylan Baba, 2020). The rational and precisely structured Utopia was protected with strict rules. That is the source of the general problem of the utopias of the 19th century and even today: to preserve order and coherence in the community, strict rules and social pressure are inherently part of the system. Furthermore, there was no ownership; to disrupt the formation of place

attachment and instill a sense of community property, a constant shift in tenants' residential placement was implemented. Besides shared communal areas in the housing facilities, every ten years families were relocated to a new house chosen by a lottery (Ceylan Baba, 2020). In terms of management, all the issues in Utopia were discussed and decided upon by the public council; no ownership was permitted and strict rules and even control of private life were abided by for the sake of the community. Ceylan Baba (2020) has highlighted some researchers' criticisms of More's *Utopia*, including Mumford and Alver. Some claim that this project is the basis of the idea of the 20th century and today's conceptions of communal life. Some indicate, or even accuse, that More's creation has no respect for private life and legitimates oppressive regimes. Indeed, the effects of both points can be seen in further projects as well. Interestingly, Weld (1923) also applies Mumford's critique of Robert Owen's Utopia. His projects are colored by his hegemonies and the perspective of a man-oriented organization system. This model can be accepted as a way of generating a sustainable community, and indeed, the challenge starts here. The order depends on discipline and rules, strict rules cause pressure, and a lot of pressure can fracture the sense of community and intimacy, which can end up creating a society defined by its unsustainability. Success is in the creation of balance.

First, utopias were concerned with generating a society and realizing a better future. Over time, utopias and their aims have shifted as well. The 19th century was marked by utopian socialists, endeavoring to generate a new social system, a new organization, and, accordingly, a new spatial order. Cities or habitats such as 'Phalanstère,' in this regard, become the physical reflection of the attempt at creating an ideal society (Yüksel, 2012). Beginning in the 19th century, most of them possessed an idiosyncratic ideology that guided the values they established. For instance, Callenbach and Bookchin (Ganjavie, 2015; De Geus, 1999; Paquot, 2007) highlighted the need for a green society and sustainable utopia. Sandercock's (1998) utopia, *Cosmopolis*, seeks to address both the problems and values of current society, such as, 'The effects of globalization, civil society, feminism, and post-colonialism,'

It is designed as a ‘perfected’ solution in relation to the problems of the era; therefore, the utopia is described in terms such as those used by Ganjave to describe Cosmopolis (2015, pp. 91-92); ‘...flexible, responsive, democratic, and open...always...in a state of construction but...never...finished...a multicultural utopia...seeks to find total harmony through a society that respects all faiths and cultures.’.



Figure 2.1. Thomas More, Island of Utopia, Louvain, 1516. Source: Wormsley Library, Oxford

Utopias are significant in human history, for being the propulsive force behind discussions and productions that pursue the ‘more ideal life’ (Yüksel, 2012, p. 11). Additionally, Ganjavie (2015), who refers to David Harvey’s (2000) argument that a utopia of dialectics is needed for the future, thinks several aspects of utopia are no

longer relevant due to the passage of time, and a more democratic definition of utopia must be developed (Ganjavie, 2015).

The proposal of ‘New Ideal Societies’ in the 19th century by the most well-known Utopian Socialists; Owen, Fourier, and Godin, planted the seeds of today’s understanding of the co-housing concept (Linden, 1992; Sargisson, 2010). Utopians contributed to a body of knowledge with their experiments in the creation of an ideal place with no singular or exact definition. The 19th century, as the stage for another rapid change in human history - the transition to industrial cities and lifestyles – provided the context from which many utopias were generated: the era of anti-industrialism. In this context, lots of alternatives were designed and discussed in which production-consumption relations were interrogated. The utopian productions of this period focused, first, on removing the conditions of inequality in urban and rural areas; and second, on generating a sense of community with a comprehensive, communal life. These two main issues were the unifying factors between different utopians in the 19th century. Their projects also concentrated on uplifting workers, and raising the level of social and economic equality, while reducing discrimination. For this reason, they are referred to as Utopian Socialists (Ceylan Baba, 2020). The experiments of this era underpin the idea of today’s social and collective housing (Gürel Üçer & Yılmaz, 2004).

In the 19th century, Utopian visionaries planned to mix the social strata and affect the growth of blended societies in different parts of the world. For instance, in Britain, they aim to increase the standard of health and morality of workers by providing them with a social environment and neighborhood (August, 2008). In Owen’s ‘Parallelograms,’³ the main idea was to create an ideal society by providing a link between individuals and their communities (Sargisson, 2010; Vestbro D. U., 2010;

³ ‘New Lanark’ and ‘New Harmony’ projects were formed on a rectangular area, such as a quadrangle, a parallelogram. This shape has become the figurative reflection of Owen’s utopian ideas on a design basis.

Hagbert, P., Larsen, H. G., Thörn, H., & Wasshede, C., 2020). Owen's two most critical utopian experiments, 'New Lanark' and 'New Harmony' (figure 2.2), were built and controlled by him. To generate and sustain a society where each person is well-adapted and lives happily and healthy, he stressed the maintenance of and adherence to rules which were set, again, by him, for the sake of the community. The authoritarian regime of Owen provided an over-pressured, but coherent, society as is seen in the New Lanark project. For years, this project was praised, and some individuals even wanted to initiate new iterations of it. However, in New Harmony, the project did not last too long, despite Owen's interventions (Ceylan Baba, 2020). In both projects, the environment was planned around considerations of the communal daily life cycle. The form was a quadrangle with accommodation units on each edge, and communal functions occurred in gathering spaces. The effect of his ideas was long-running and substantial, with Owenite Communities initiated elsewhere (figure 2.2). Indeed, their destiny was the same as New Harmony. Meyerson (1961) claims that the creators of social Utopias believe that if the physical milieu of the habitants is generated properly, they will be coherent and satisfied, so the behaviors of people could be molded by the desires of the creators. In other words, they could be controlled and put into order for the sake of a sustainable society.

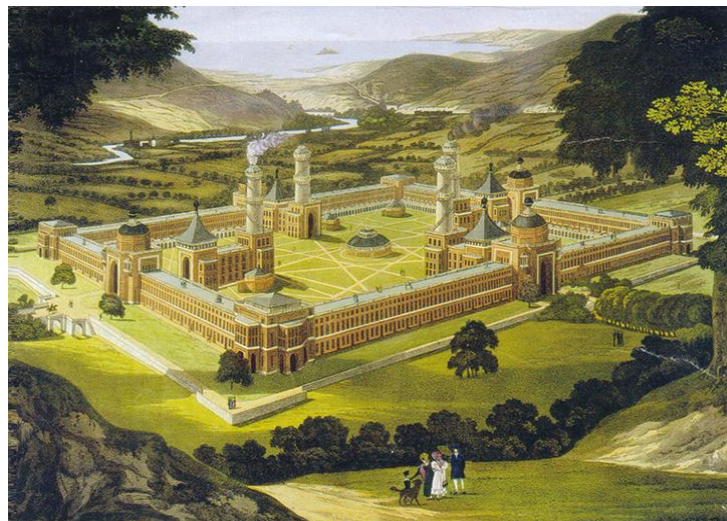


Figure 2.2 New Harmony, Indiana, 1825. Source: radiowest.kuer.org

Another significant Utopian Socialist, Charles Fourier, developed the idea of a ‘social palace’ for the workers in his design ‘Phalanstère’ (figure 2.3). In contrast to others, he blended his ideas for an ideal society with a unique design for dwelling units (Ceylan Baba, 2020) and made significant contributions to single-facility design for communal societies. Additionally, through his unique perspective, he provided a foundation for the successful contribution of Godin’s later project, Familistère.

‘According to Fourier, throughout its history, mankind has dealt with the difficult, even the impossible, and the method of achieving human-environment harmony has been seen as changing people, so it has been unsuccessful. However, the solution is not to change the human being, but to consider the differences in people as data and try to organize the environment and society accordingly.’⁴



Figure 2.3 One of the Phalanstère projects. Charles François Daubigny, View of a French Phalanstère (lithograph), 1800s. Source: aperture.org.

Like all other Utopian Socialists, Fourier believed that collaboration, collective production, equality, and mutual stakes in turn were prioritized for the order in

⁴ (Ceylan Baba, 2020, p. 107). The Turkish to English translation is by the author of this thesis.

society. His system also relied on a controlled working schedule, so that it would be easy to track what people do, even in their free time (Newman, 2005). To this effect, he suggested a facility contain not only accommodation units for living together, but lots of communal spaces such as theaters, parks, and dining halls. In this way, his intention was to ‘zone’ recreational activities and encourage people to participate in community activities in their leisure time. The Phalanstery was not formed to imitate or resemble The Palace of Versailles (figure 2.4). Rather, it was a metaphor for ‘the social palace for the working-class’ (Ceylan Baba, 2020).



Figure 2.4 The Palace of Versailles, France. Source: smithsonianmag.com

Many other designers possessed ideas in line with Fourier’s and used them to generate communal colonies. However, none of them succeeded in lasting long. Godin’s Familistere is one of the most successful Fourier-inspired projects. The question of Lallement’ (2012, p. 33) and his answer summarize the reasons for these failures: ‘Why was Godin’s Familistere successful while the other Fourierists failed? ... I will then mention Godin’s principal belief, i.e., that the solution to the social question was the allocation of “equivalents of wealth”’. As a person who was aware of the significant role of living conditions of workers and with the socialist and Fourierists ideas, Godin initiated his Familistere in 1859 with the main motto of “equivalents of wealth” and main concerns as sanitation and hygiene (Lallement, 2012, p. 36).

Jean-Baptiste André Godin's Familistère

Familistère was designed for the sake of preserving family life and encouraging the integration of the workers in Guise (figure 2.5). With the industrialization of the 19th century, a significant number of workers migrated to the regions where the factories were located. Godin designed a facility where workers and their families could live as a community, integrate, and support each other in their new habitat in the North of France. The employers were concerned about providing accommodation to the workers and their families. The main aim of the project was to create social interaction and reduce the negative psychological effects of migration and relocation through communal living. Although the most preferred housing type for workers was individual housing like cottages on the periphery of the city and towns, Godin decided to provide another accommodation type for his workers, along the lines of collective housing. The idea of single houses was downright rejected, in order to create communal solidarity and equality where all people could live in the necessary space as they wanted and use the services just as everybody else (Joint Union of the Familistère Godin, 2021). Given the conditions of the milieu, sanitation was a luxury, and the living conditions were less than decent. Godin, influenced by the ideas of Fourier, generated a social palace for the well-being of workers (Ceylan Baba, 2020). In this way, the relation between Phalanstère and Familistère is undeniable, however, Godin did indicate a crucial difference in his own words (Lallement, 2012, pp. 28-29):

‘...what I have founded is not a Phalanstère: what the Familistère represents is not only attractive and specialized work, I have not inaugurated the age of bliss; I have only somewhat alleviated the suffering of the working classes. What I want to provide them with is physical and moral well-being, within the limits of applicability and by sharing the fruit of our labor more equitably. It is a much farther stretch from there to social harmony than [. . .] Fourier’s disciples and Fourier himself ever imagined’ (Letter from J.-B. A. Godin to M. Howland, 5 September 1866, FGP collection) ... Inspired again by C. Fourier, he felt that four elements of production contributed to create wealth: nature, labor, capital and talent.’



Figure 2.5 Children's Day at The Familistère in Guise, in 1933. Source: newstatesman.com

Lallement (2012) highlights that it was, indeed, hard to maintain order in a such huge community. Therefore, Godin was very careful about the privacy and education of the inhabitants. In this regard, unlike Fourier, Godin provided an apartment for each family where they could have their privacy. The significance of respect for others, sharing community work, and protecting hygiene standards were the main issues behind the formation of the rules. Some brochures were handed out detailing the general rules for ensuring a peaceful environment. This topic was even included in the education of children in school.

As a person who had suffered impoverished conditions in his youth and was well aware of the strong connection between space and behavior, Godin undertook the responsibility of providing the 'equivalence of wealth' to the workers and their families (Adda, 1997). Therefore, the architecture of Familistère was meant to be an embodiment of social reform and ideological reflection (Lallement, 2012). Godin aimed to foster the positive effects of socialization and community-oriented lifestyles by modeling a giant family and giving his workers the opportunity to approach the luxury of 'upper-class' people.

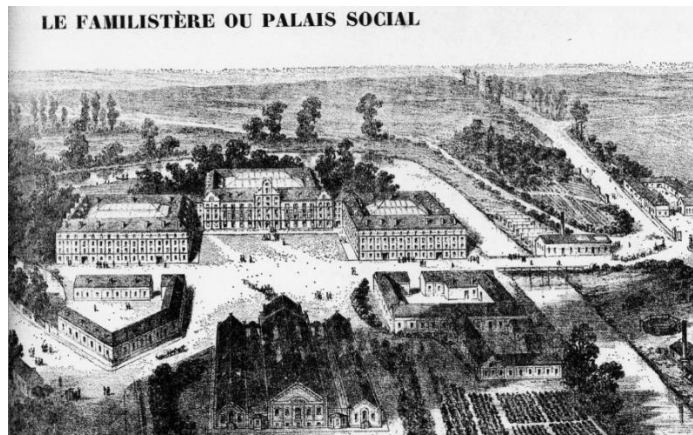


Figure 2.6 Familistère de Guise (Social Palace), by Jean-Baptiste André Godin, in Guise/ France. Source: linsoumissionhebdo.fr

As illustrated in figure 2.6 and 2.7, the housing units, which were three quadrangle-shaped buildings with a glass roof courtyard in the middle, were connected with passages that are located on a horizontal spine (Adda, 1997; Ceylan Baba, 2020). All units were around the periphery of a central outdoor garden and faced spaces serving social functions, like the schools, a theater, a communal garden, and the “économat (general store for provisions)” (Joint Union of the Familistère Godin, 2021). Across from the housing units, additional spaces serving communal functions such as public baths, and laundry facilities were situated.

Ceylan Baba (2020) clarifies the general layout of the project in her book. The housing blocks which were located in the quadrangle were designed with a focus on the transparency and openness of the plans. The corridors servicing the individual apartments were located around the courtyard and a vertical path of circulation was supported by the four staircases in the corners (figure 2.8). With this layout, Godin maximized the available lighting in the central communal space and made it suitable for different uses (figure 2.9). Given its conspicuous location, residents would be easily aware of what was going on within their society and what events were being held. It also provided a clear line of vision to the courtyard from the corridors in front of their apartments (figure 2.10). This orientation and wide corridor planning

encouraged people to include themselves in communal life and develop a sense of community.



Figure 2.7 Cross-section of the central pavilion of the Familistère de Guise. Frenak + Jullien architects, 2006. Source: familistere.com

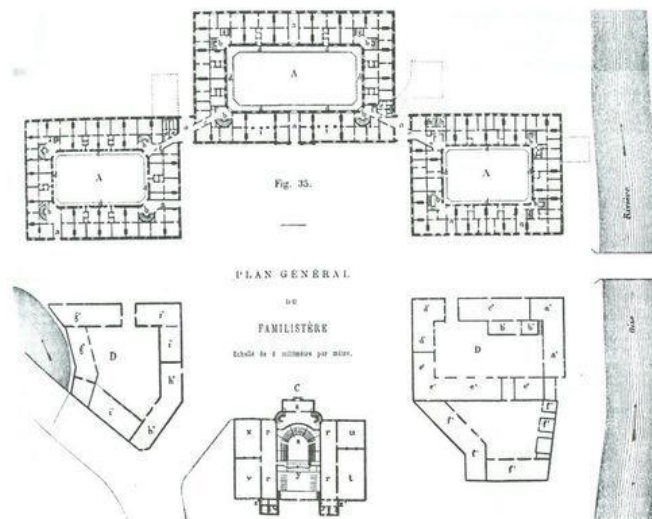
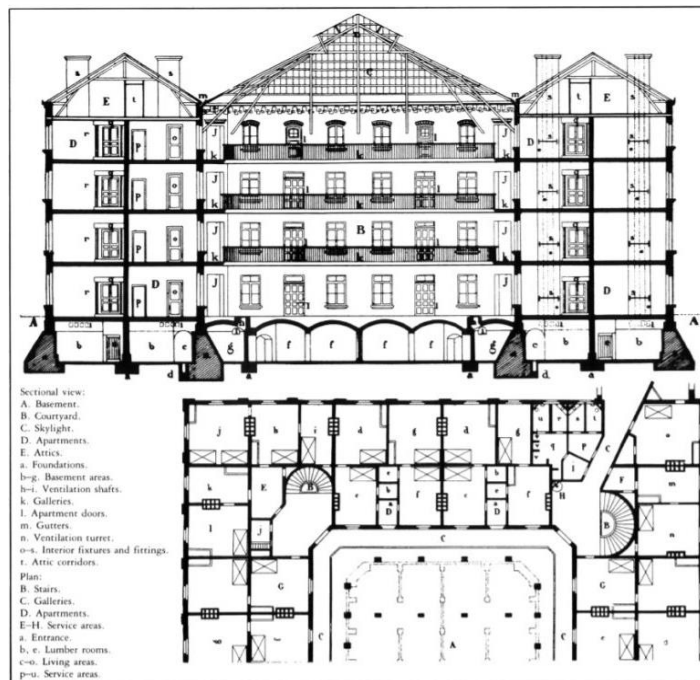


Figure 2.8 Site plan of the Familistère de Guise. Source: hiddenarchitecture.net



Figs 1091-2 Cross-section and plan of the central unit of the Familistère.

Figure 2.9 Section and partly plan of the Familistère. Source: hiddenarchitecture.net

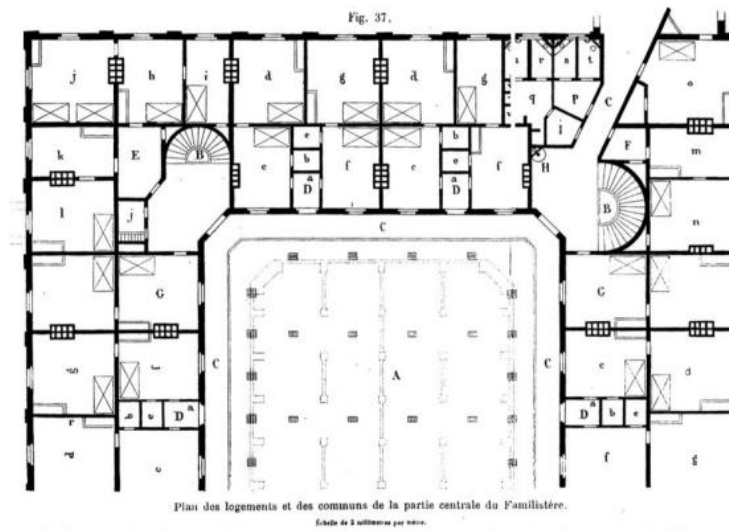


Figure 2.10 Diagonally located doors provide a clear line of vision and allow for airflow. Source: habitatgecollectiu.wordpress.com

Dwelling units were flexible, with their essential form providing an adaptable outline for two rooms and a private WC (figure 2.9-2.10). As was mentioned, including a

sanitary component in the private units was a notable development. In addition, the inclusion of separate washrooms for both men and women in the communal areas, the multifunctionality of the social spaces, and the addition of food storage rooms were also quite extravagant for the time and enhanced the comfort and sustainability of the tenants' residency (figure 2.8-2.9-2.10).

Godin considered the various spatial needs and economical situations of families so that the perimeter was arranged in a general shape suitable for the extension of the units if necessary. Therefore, his design used modular units such as 'honeycombs' consisting of mergeable units (figure 2.11-2.12). In other words, the apartments could be extended from 2 rooms to 6 rooms when it was needed, and flexibility was built into the facility. In this way, he reasoned that sustainability could be maintained and privacy could be provided. 'For Godin, the real luxury was more than just space, it was being able to arrange furniture in at least two ways.' (Adda, 1997). Additionally, the diagonally located openings provided a constant and natural flow of fresh air (figure 2.10). For lighting, the width of the windows was adapted for the location of units and their relationship with light and shadow. The craftsmanship of the window details was also considered; designed with the properties of the iron material and its thinner structure in mind, in contrast to the wooden structural details (Joint Union of the Familistère Godin, 2021). As it is a birthright for all human beings to access fresh air, enough space, and light, it can be said that, at minimum, Godin generated a healthy environment with decent space for the tenants. With space as a luxury, more spaces cost more. The quality of air, space, and light was also considered with big ventilation systems in the general layout as well. Although the glass roofs on the top of the middle courtyards were essential for lighting, they also caused the problem of a greenhouse effect (figure 2.7). Therefore, Godin created a kind of air conditioning that could provide fresh air circulation (Joint Union of the Familistère Godin, 2021). Hence, he designed a climate system with openings at the necessary points for enabling the circulation of fresh air. The light was provided by the glass roof of the courtyards and the open-plan layout of the facility (Adda, 1997). Additionally, the spaces were assigned according to age. For instance, elderly people

were given priority for housing units on lower floors, and the staircases that were located in the four corners of the buildings were circular, so the inner narrow parts could be used by younger residents, while the wider outer edges could be used by elders when it was crowded (Joint Union of the Familistère Godin, 2021). The wide, Fourier-style hallways encouraged spontaneous encounters. With the open-plan layout of the facility, Godin avoided the creation of shortcuts directly from the entrance to the housing units, thereby encouraging interaction outside of private life (Adda, 1997).



Figure 2.11 Sections from the model of the housing units of Familistère. Source: familistere.com

Furthermore, the sense of openness and general observability of interactions within the building created a general sense of being watched by ‘the eyes of others.’ In this way, though it promoted commonality, this arrangement could still be said to have been lacking in privacy and may even have created pressures related to the sensation

of being consistently observed. Interestingly, Godin did believe that the pressure of being responsible to others and not being judged by others was an important part of the sense of community. Nevertheless, the sense of surveillance served the collective experience and increased social pressure, pushing people to have more social interaction (Adda, 1997). Unsurprisingly, such features caused criticisms likening the facility to a prison. The controversial and exaggerated atmosphere of such utopian creations popularized the belief that the perfection of society could only be attained through repressive means, and that everyone was forced to be perfect in utopias, thus creating a monotonous society without diversity (Yüksel, 2012).

Overall, when it comes to the architecture of Godin’s projects; it is impossible to ignore the substantial influence of Fourier’s Phalanstère (Lallement, 2012). He produced all the facilities with communal areas and the relation between private, semi-private, communal, and transitional areas (which is lacking in the project, I believe) using Phalanstère as a starting point. Especially when it comes to education, the ‘societies school’ was essential for the tenancy of the larger system. Taking the above into account, it can be said that the social organization that Godin generated is one of the primary factors that allowed him to succeed in the creation of sustainable projects and the maintenance of their societies. The coupling of a ‘well-designed, community-oriented’ facility with a ‘well structured, education-oriented’ organization brought integration and sustainability.

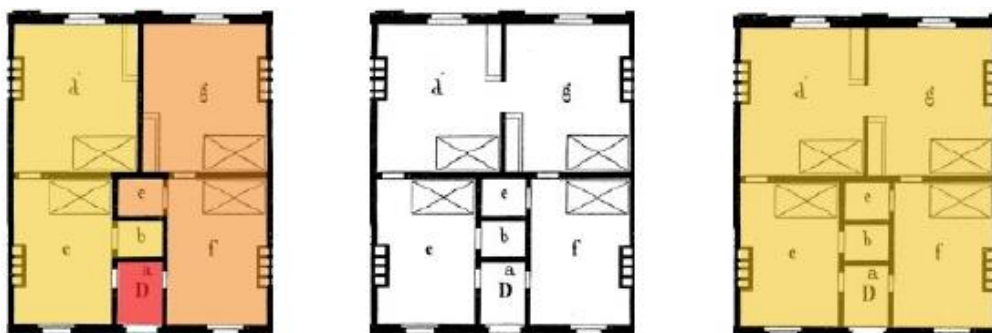


Figure 2.12 Mergeable housing units. Source: habitatcollectiu.wordpress.com



Figure 2.13 Interiors of the workshop and laundry room. Source: familistere.com

In conclusion, the new era was in transition from agricultural life to industrialization, which meant shifts in cultural habits and daily life. Additionally, people have started to live in shared places for reducing consumption, sharing expenses, improving social bonds, showing their existence, and protecting their rights in society, namely against discrimination (Vestbro & Horelli, 2012). Starting from the second half of the 20th century, various countries and groups have been embracing the ideas of these models and trying to adapt them according to their aims and cultural habits. Despite all varieties, differences, and even contradictions between the designs, the thought of utopians, and their projects, there is an indispensable common point; to generate the perfect communal life. As Ganjavie (2015, p. 115) highlights with his words of: 'Examining the potential roles of utopia in the future of urban design has produced positive results and can lead to the reevaluation of the common pessimism about the role of utopian projects.', utopian experimental projects are very beneficial sources in order to analyze the relationship between spatial designs and their ideological approach.

"The organization of collective housing is rationalized there; the functionalities of the equipment are thought out in detail for the increase of well-being; the individual accommodations and the generous common spaces are carefully articulated; the spatial and social economy of housing

is based on the diversity of collective services available to a sufficiently large population. ' (Joint Union of the Familistère Godin, 2021)

2.3.2 Soviet Avant-garde

In the first half of the 20th century, Russia experienced a drastic shift in political discourse which had radical effects on lifestyles and housing. By interrogating the observations of Walter Benjamin, Seits (2018) investigates the features of the era and the conditions of Russian people and immigrants who immigrated to Moscow to work in the factories during the years of Russia's socialist regime. Given the conditions of the era and the necessities of its regime, people had to migrate and were placed into buildings with communal eating spaces, problematic sanitation, and shared living environments. In this way, they were expected to adapt to each other and the system through a '*uplotnenie*' (tightening)' method. 'The new environment forced them to migrate all the time and, in all dimensions', (Seits, 2018, p. 578). According to the author, in the early years, the facilities were designed using the model of a barrack. The design of the buildings then shifted to '*Dom-kommuna, obschezhitie* (House-commune, dormitory)' types, where people could carry out the necessities of their daily routines. Although there are shifts in the discourse around these historical housing forms today, the purpose of the external intervenors and the insistent Soviet regime are overlapping. The key issue here is the presentation of the projects as elective, rather than mandatory or forced. Indeed, voluntary and invitatory notions are referring to co-housing projects. As can be seen from the Soviet Avant-Garde experiments, enforcement of a communal life could work in quite the opposite way.

As a result, in Soviet Russia, people preferred to spend their time in more public spaces. Worker clubs were very popular and even a signature typology during the years of the Soviet Union. Kagler (1992) refers to the conditions of those days with the words of Feuchtwanger, who said, 'The citizen of Moscow spends a great part of his time in public. He loves the life of the streets and likes to stay in the rooms of his club or meeting house. He is a passionate debater and would rather discuss anything

than meditate on it in silence. The pleasant rooms of his club make his own unlovely home more bearable.’ These words illustrate the enthusiasm of the Soviet citizens for being in public and part of a community. However, according to Kagler (1992), this situation was also the result of the poor conditions of their dwellings. Instead of being in their lamentable private areas, they were instinctively directed to make use of communal areas instead. As a consequence, social relations were improved through constant communication and interaction. At the same time, housing is a human right. Therefore, the need for quality housing must be considered. With time, the main objective for designers became to create options. There is a huge range of differences between people, and that difference is created, at least in part, by the quality of life of individuals. Priorities also differ from person to person. Hence, the features of quality housing change, too.

‘A guarantee of housing is a form of security. A choice of housing is a form of liberty. Mankind desires both security and liberty. In the Soviet Union housing is characterized as security without liberty. In the United States housing is characterized as liberty without security. I seek to find a way to make the two works together: security and liberty.’ (Kagler, 1992, p. 42).

Generating a new type of housing that would serve the new lifestyle of the USSR regime was difficult. Designing spaces consistent with the ideological aspects while accommodating the needs of tenants and supplying efficient design for social interaction was a challenge for the designers. Merville Vega (2020) defined the process of the improvement of housing designs in the USSR using three categories: specific designs for communal houses, the scientific and methodological research of the Stroykom, and the material form in six specific buildings, known as transitional-type experimental houses. The author (2020, p. 7) explains the strategy of spatial design at that time as follows:

‘The lower the coefficient, the more economically efficient the corresponding housing type. Surprisingly, this study revealed that layout

A⁵ was the most advantageous for dwellings larger than 50 square meters. However, based on studies of the housing demand, this ‘family unit’ was only suitable for 40% of the population. To provide single-occupancy apartments for the remaining 60%, the only solution was to design a single-room dwelling no more expensive in relative terms than a two- or three-room dwelling.’

To dive deep into the relationship between ideology and spatial design, we will investigate one of the most important experimental projects of the era, the Narkomfin building.

The Narkomfin Building

After the momentous ideological changes in Russia in 1917s, housing was used as a tool for instilling the new ideology into society, and to varying extents, for reshaping the social interactions between people, standardizing the design of living spaces to express equal rights, and redefining the roles of gender in society. However, besides these long-term effects of communal housing in Soviet Russia, the main purpose of standardized communal life may be seen, at least at first glance, as means to support an efficient production process, alongside socializing mental health, and promoting shared housework so as to usher women into the workforce. In this way, a simple summary would be to suggest it kept everything minimal, but equal, meeting the need for new housing for workers as fast as possible. At this time in USSR, both theoretically and practically, tons of experiments and discussions were conducted in order to find a balance between reflecting the political-ideological outlook on housing and meeting the spatial needs of people (Buchli, 1998).

New dwelling relations needed to be based on commonality, thereby redistributing the domestic workload of workers’ families. Tasks such as meal preparation, cleaning, laundry, and childcare were seen as sufficient enough in providing social interaction between households. Sustaining a collective society is, of course, grounded in the collectivism of these works. Therefore, individual apartments which

⁵ Here, the author is referring to the residential unit which was created by Ginzburg.

were designed according to totally private functions were not satisfactory for workers' families who were organized as a community throughout their daily lives. Wolfe (2013) has touched upon this issue, citing 'the fulfillment of the cultural and sports needs of workers and children with collective domestic work. 'In this manner, he highlights how the existence of communal spaces orients individuals to be active in society and receptive to social interaction. In any case, private spaces for highly individual activities such as sleeping, and self-sanitation should be provided unconditionally.

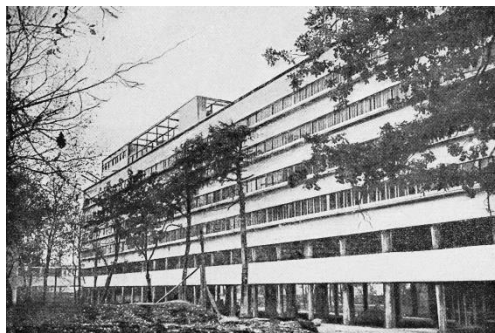


Figure 2.14 The Narkomfin Building. Source: architectural-review

The Narkomfin building was built for the employees of the Ministry of Finance, by Moisei Ginzburg and Ignatii Milinis in 1928 (WMF, World Monuments Fund: Publications, 2021). Initially, it was considered a DomKommuna⁶ and was designed for communal life, with common areas and spaces for both conscious and unconscious points of interaction. The significance of this building stems from its balance of living spaces and how it reflects the socialist ideology of the era and illustrates the transition from the predominant, nuclear family lifestyle houses to the communal and collective living style. Its constructivist style represents the most current technologies and styles of the era (WMF, 2021). Although the building is worn and could not be preserved successfully, it is still standing as a momentous

⁶ Experimental communal dwelling projects which were developed by Soviet avant-garde theoreticians and architects (Movilla Vega D. , 2020).

representative of the era from various perspectives (figure 2.14). In an article in the Guardian newspaper, Narkomfin was labeled as ‘a laboratory for social and architectural experimentation to transform the *byt* (everyday life) of the ideal socialist citizen.’ The idea behind this complex symbolizes the significant role of the building as a representation of ideas and a tool through which people seek to shape society (Cathcart-Keays, 2015). Accordingly, the Narkomfin building received attention as an embodiment of a residential, architectural signification of an ideology, the representative of the technology and social relations of the era. Moreover, Ginzburg’s design presents a good example of approaches to standardization and efficiency. Through this work, he demonstrated his intention to go beyond the understanding of ‘Existenzminimum,⁷’ with his designs and writings. Not only was it created as an economical architecture of the Soviet model of housing, but it aimed to supersede the bare minimal conditions (Vronskaya, 2017). Narkomfin is strategically located among the prerevolutionary aristocratic halls along the Garden Ring Road in Moscow, as it is shown in figure 2.15 (Buchli, 1998).

The project was a concerted effort to recreate a communist social culture, therefore it had two separate parts for communal activities and private life (figure 2.16). The main aim was to provide people with a full experience of communal life. Besides being as standardized as possible, it was meant, significantly, to be aware of the different needs of people and families (Vronskaya, 2017).

Through the form of the complex, unit types, adaptable functions in communal areas, and the use of colors, designers aimed to provide a flexible solution for families. By locating their rooms on the lower floor and studio apartments on the upper floor, they hoped to allow tenants a more community-oriented lifestyle. The most essential part of the design was its prioritization of ‘humanizing’ the dwellings (Movilla Vega D., 2020). As history shows, when creating a communal environment, it is incredibly

⁷ A dwelling concept that was found in Germany in 1920s in order to provide healthy and livable environment for lower incomes (Brysch, 2019).

easy to overlook, if not downright ignore, the quality of the dwellings. With this in mind, Ginzburg prioritized designing in a way that would strike a suitable balance between the flexibility of space required for families and singles, the quality of material and their affordability, and a communal life with elements of privacy. The most significant of all, of course, was sanitation. In this matter ‘zoning’ was the key to the design. In later experiments, designers tried to incorporate some flexible units as well, thinking they would be suitable for the changes in daily life. Given the constant shifts, consumers needed to become more important, and architects attempted to design for this in dwelling types K and F, allowing tenants to choose the intensity of communal life (Buchli, 1998). At the same time, designers aimed to avoid both alienization and excessive privacy. K types were reserved for bigger families, and they contained multiple tiny units for various functions in the flat like cooking and childcare. On the other hand, as is seen in figure 2.16, F types were smaller in square meters and designed to be used by singles or smaller families (Frampton, 1982).

The communal kitchen was located at the end of the corridors and there was a dining room for communal dinners. Spaces that aimed to gather people during their daily lives were designed from their location to their furniture to let people create their areas within spaces of constant interaction with others. Accordingly, the colors of spaces were chosen in order to orient the perception of space and provide people with a comfortable atmosphere. The combination of warm and cold tones was used in strategic areas to give variety to the design. Designed, to some extent, to resemble Le Corbusier’s *Unite d’Habitation* in form, The Narkomfin building also designed the rooftop as a common space (Lucarelli, 2016). It can be understood from Vronskaya (2017, p. 4), quoted below, that a sense of community was provided by locating and designing communal activities and spaces strategically:

‘The sense of community was fostered by the joint use of circulation areas, and communal spaces and facilities, such as dining halls, kitchens, and bathrooms, to encourage residents accustomed to old, family-based, lifestyles, to transition to collective modes of living.’

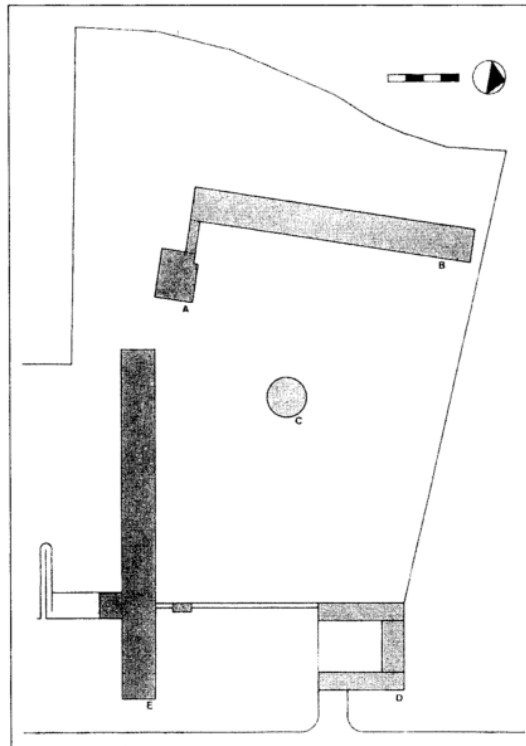


Figure 2.15 The site plan of Narkomfin. Source: thecharnelhouse.org

The narrow-long shape of the building lets in sunlight to the flats all day long (figure 2.15-2.16). Additionally, the chance of encounters with neighbors is increased in the long corridors. Strategically situating the performance of domestic work such as cooking, laundry, cleaning, and childcare, outside of the private apartments, the interaction between tenants, especially women, was designed to increase, while the load of the housework was supposed to decrease through the collective distribution of responsibilities. Women were limited in terms of daily life, activities, or interactions with people because of domestic work, therefore the goal was to use housework as a tool for enhancing community activity and interaction (mos.ru, 2017). In this way, women would achieve some level of freedom. Nevertheless, all these detailed thoughts and designs failed to transform habitual lifestyles. Over time, indeed, within an unexpectedly short period of time, all the communal spaces were abandoned. Private kitchens were built in the apartments, illegally. Kitchens and laundry rooms were used only when otherwise vacant (Cathcart-Keays, 2015).

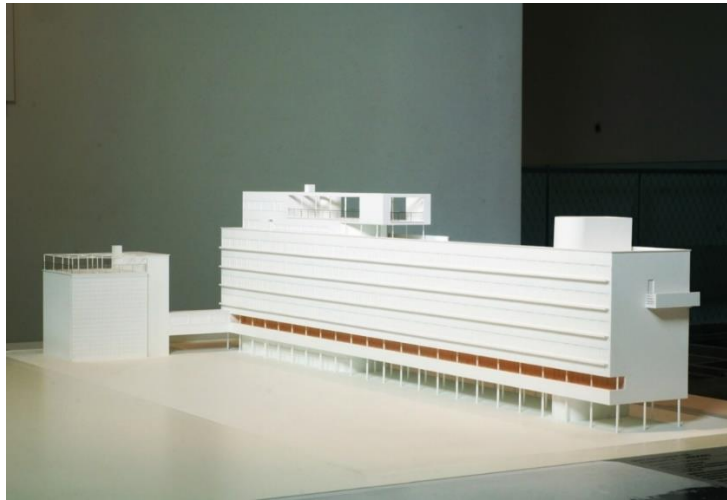


Figure 2.16 The model of the Narkomfin complex. Net area of the housing block: 1,100 m². Source: familistere.com

Overall, at the time, Ginzburg insisted on not only designing a mere ‘shelter’ for the workers, but tried to find the appropriate balances, by researching the psychological effects of space, light, color, and form. The main aim was to create a facility as standardized and as qualified as possible, incorporating as many options as possible (Vronskaya, 2017). Kagler (1992) underlines Ginzburg’s intention to provide flexibility and various options in a workers’ dwelling project. He indicates that, at some point, this mindset and concern provided people the taste of liberty without enforced obligation in architecture. Seits (2018) summarizes the intention and the result of that era with reference to Benjamin.

Designers and powerful actors tried to reform society and urban space as well. The experiments in daily life, use of place, lifestyle, and dwellings can be easily observed even today from the representative concrete forms remaining from these times. However, the production of fresh and innovative spaces ended with seeking out old habits. This loop condemned such attempts to be experiments and nothing more. In the end, the changeable elements were just time and the space itself, with renovations of space regardless of their collective aims. Ginzburg's intention was ‘the humanization of Modernism,’ which, as one of the most significant attempts, is the reason we still talk about Narkomfin today. Even though, in the end, people

abandoned more communal approaches in favor of their old habits, giving consideration and importance to the psychology of collective space creation was an essential part of the project. Narkomfin was a bridge or transition between a new understanding of the so-called socialist dwelling, and the habits of the capitalist city (Hatherley, 2018). For that reason, it can be seen as the ancestor of the shared lofts and luxury collective dwelling units of today, in which the concern for collectivism is not just a tool for reducing expenses, but also bringing domestic work into our daily life as a social activity

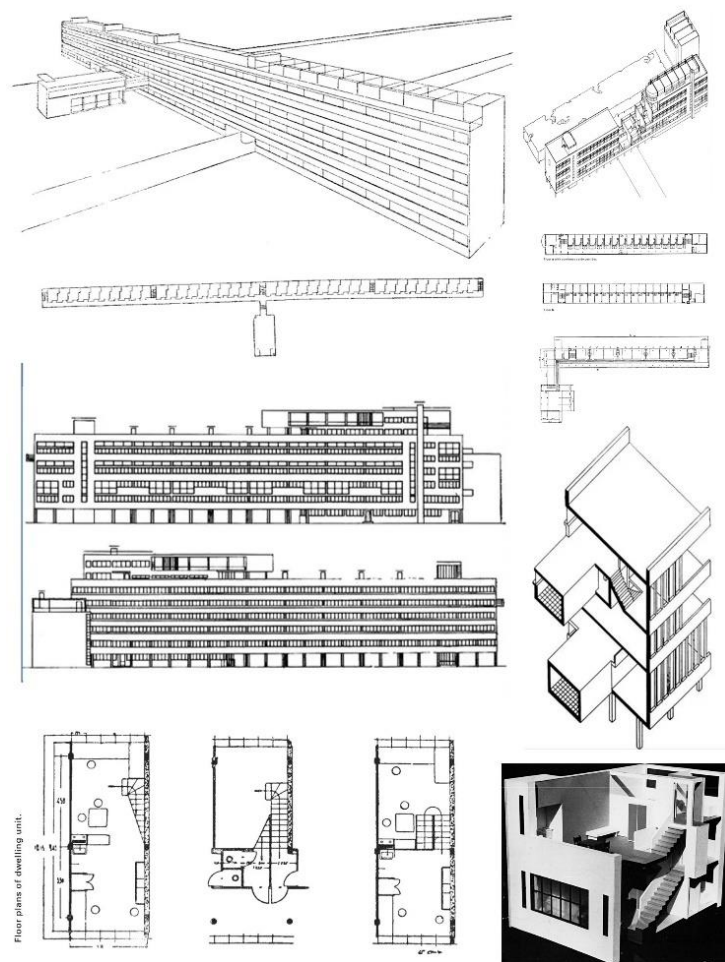


Figure 2.17 The Narkomfin project and collective house, Type F. Source: thecharnelhouse.org



Figure 2.18 photo by Vladimir Gruntal and a view from one of the dwellings.

Source: thecharnelhouse.org



Figure 2.19 The cohousing unit at John Ericsonsgatan in the beginning of the 1940s.

Women order dinner from the kitchen in the basement. Source: Vestbro & Horelli,

2012.

2.3.3 Nordic Europe and North America

In the history of communal houses, various approaches can be tracked throughout the history of Europe and the United States. Firstly, in Scandinavia, communal housing was undertaken by proponents of gender equality. Later, in central Europe, it became a part of the movement of free ideas, and resistance to the pressures of the established system. In these cases, people believed if they wished to make big changes, they had to start making them in smaller, localized environments. In this way, communal houses have been a part of a significant transition in society (Table 2.1).

Nordic Europe

In 1930s Sweden, some upper-class women who were sharing their servants in order to reduce the expenses of their services were living in a facility that had a common kitchen and a huge dining room where they could opt to spend their dinner time with other residents unless they wanted to dine in their private apartments. When they requested to be apart from society, the meals were delivered right into their units via a personal dumbwaiter (figure 2.18). Several decades later, in 1980s Sweden, a women's group named BIG took a different approach. They wanted to reduce the time that they spent on housework and in the isolated confines of daily life in the traditional house. So, contrary to the 1930s, they decided to help each other, rather than share services (Linden, 1992). They created a concept where they could share space and life by creating common areas like a kitchen or laundry and combining the dining rooms as one big room in the facility (Vestbro D. , 2013). During house works, they could communicate, help each other, and could have a meal together. This situation was quite attractive, especially for single moms (Krantz & Linden, 1994). Sargisson (2010) claims these experiments were a part of the first wave of co-housing developments. In general, groups in Denmark and Sweden have approached the concept of living together by creating more community-oriented environments.



Figure 2.20 Photo from Squatting movement in the Netherlands. Source: nieuwemeent.nl

The idea of co-housing started when society had concerns about the social aspect of everyday life. Some people wanted to combat the isolation of everyday life in a more sociable environment, especially to support the child-rearing process. In the late 1960s, these concerns lead people to be more active and revisit the spirit of More's Utopia. In fact, at that time, people were very enthusiastic about the idea of living in a community. They oriented their lifestyle with the ideology of 'living as a community.' This concept was derived from the experience of marginalized groups, their perspectives of privacy, and a total commitment to communal life (Linden, 1992). Regarding liberation, people began to question the ethics and efficacy of properties, estates, and useless private buildings (figure 2.20). However, the system and political interventions were not suitable for this ideology (Hagbert, Larsen, Thörn, & Wasshede, 2020).

Squatting became popular as a social movement, drawing inspiration from the Diggers in 17th-century England. Starting in Central Europe, it spread through the United Kingdom, and to America (Boer, Otero Verzier, & Truijen, 2019). When people began to occupy buildings to live in them, they also started to change their milieu with respect to their needs. These spontaneous user interventions have created another perspective of design, that is the Architecture of Appropriation. Such

examples exhibit the capacity for human creativity beyond environment attachment. Throughout history, there have been significant examples of handling the displacements of Squatters. Although they were somehow illegal in the system, as they had been creating their surroundings and saving them from vacancy and uselessness, they were afforded certain rights. Cases of squatting have a huge potential to inform further research on spatial design, design for communal interaction, place attachment, and belongingness. Like Central Europe and Germany, the Netherlands has followed a similar path. In the 20th century, living in a community became a basic self-living model in the 1970s. This model was adopted by critics of the nuclear family and the gender roles of the women and men normalized in this family type. In the 80s, this model was driven further by ecological concerns, eco-villages, and specific target groups such as single parents, women, etc. In the 90s, it manifested in new conceptions for senior homes. Since the 2000s, it has been developed by more mixed groups, of diverse ages, genders, and conditions, thus enlarging the target user groups (Ache & Fedrowitz, 2012).

North America

The first co-housing projects were observed in the 90s in the United States, taking cues from Denmark (Guzman & Skow, 2019). With utopian ideas, they invented co-housing models in favor of neighborly living. These projects were largely rental-based, with only limited cases to be found among privately-ownership. During the second wave of co-housing, the concept migrated from Denmark to the United States and adjusted to more environmental concerns. Senior citizens in the United States began to have a stake in this concept, and demand solutions (Durrett, 2009).

In contrast to Europe, homeownership in the United States is very common; therefore, this concept was embraced by different organizational systems. The concept was understood as an alternative way for seniors to pursue healthy aging, and affordable housing (McCamant & Durrett, 2011). Additionally, because of the strong connection between the discourses of co-housing communities such as feminism and the concept of the ideal community from the utopian movement in

Europe, the model seems more ideological and political, in contrast to the pragmatic and non-ideological American approach (Sargisson, 2010). However, this duality has engendered an ongoing debate over whether co-housing is coercing people into an ideology under the guise of co-housing, or whether it is just a democratic solution. In the case of the latter, however, that poses the obvious dilemma of whether this democracy constitutes an ideology in and of itself or not (McCamant & Durrett, 2011; Sargisson, 2010). Nowadays, there are efforts to implement community-oriented dwellings into the life cycle of society in order to provide cohesion and unity through social interaction.



Figure 2.21 Design discussion between the member of a co-housing community in the United States. Source: Durrett, 2009.

2.4 Conceptualizing the Keywords

2.4.1 The Importance of Spatial Balance in Living Together

The idea of co-housing is based on a small community that consists of people who believe they can have both their privacy and social relations by living together in a communal environment (Scotthanson & Scotthanson, 2005). Living together can include a wide network of relations. This definition embraces the relationship of individuals between their neighbors, environment, and households. Providing an

environmentally friendly lifestyle and living together encourages social inclusion (Vestbro D. , 2013). However, the reverse is also possible. Even though the main aim of this concept encourages individuals to be included in society, it might cause them to pull themselves back. Since the aim of this research is not to advocate co-housing but to assess the concept, it should be underlined that for effective results, when this is used as a healing method, balance is crucial. Unlike the temporary situation of hotels or dormitories, when it is considered a long-term living solution, it generates an atmosphere for individuals to get to know how to communicate and socialize with the rest of society. As such, the sensitive balance of community and privacy touches all, starting from the spatial concerns towards the community aspect. The question: ‘How will we live together?’, the title of the 2020 Venice Biennale, demonstrates the growing attention to the topic of communal living, reflecting the urgency felt in most societies. The curator of the biennial Hasim Sarkis (2019) opens up the discussion following the question, with these words; ‘we need a new spatial contract. In the context of widening political divides and growing economic inequalities, we call on architects to imagine spaces in which we can generously live *together*...’ From a wider perspective, living together also matters between continents, countries, and nations; co-housing projects are a tiny simulation of providing an atmosphere for individuals to be included in society while they protect their individuality.

2.4.2 From Participation to Commitment

Participation generally refers to the current process of whole communal life; from facility, issues to committed housework or attendance at the meetings. This situation makes new use of the term participation as involvement in the current social life of the community, with events like dinners, parties, coffee times, and commitment methods. As it is said, providing a sustainable community is the biggest challenge in the 21st-century version of the concept. Scotthanson & Scotthanson (2005) explain that when the aim of an inclusive society and social interaction is considered, the

keyword appears as ‘commitment’ rather than ‘participation’ in today’s understanding. With this method, people are giving effort, time, money, or knowledge to the community. This brings the idea of creating something together, moving in unison, and participating in the daily life cycle of a community.

The co-housing concept, its terms, the main intentions, facilities, etc., common areas, and shared facilities, essentially whatever has been discussed in relation to the term, are all included in the concept. Like other shared housing concepts, living together as a community is the second aspect of it. Once again, apart from other shared spaces and togetherness, one of the biggest differences is participation. ‘The interaction and involvement of inhabitants especially make co-housing different from classical condominiums or co-ownership. The notion of ‘participation’ is not only challenged but gaining new intensity through co-housing practices.’ (Tummers, 2015, p. 64). This notion of ‘participation’ in co-housing experiences is mainly in the following aspects: planning, construction, maintenance, house management, and social events. Initially, the concept of participation was about an initiative from households in the construction process including all its requirements such as planning and design decisions, selection of individuals, and even land locations (Durrett, 2009). However, with the changing housing market, and the rise of housing associations and governments, the definition of participation has extended through the post-construction process, as well (Vestbro & Horelli, 2012).

Currently, the initial process continues between individuals as it did in the 1970s. On the other hand, some countries' policymakers and public-private housing companies manage this project for an inclusionary and affordable housing solution (Hagbert, Larsen, Thörn, & Wasshede, 2020). Therefore, there is a constant flow of tenants. In other respects, with the change of flow between the residents, the definition of this concept becomes more flexible. Even though tenants have not participated in the initial planning and design process, this cannot be a reason for excluding the project from being evaluated as co-housing (Vestbro D. U., 2010).

2.4.3 The Role of Sharing and Balanced Life on Sense of Community

The concept of sharing is mostly based on sharing spaces and resources. This theory embraces the idea of sharing the occupied common spaces of an individual for his/her daily needs like cooking or socializing. Privacy is protected in the room or the apartment, but interaction is provided during the daily housework. This idea is endorsed especially by the people who cannot get loans from the bank. With this option, they reduce the size of the required common space and meet their needs. Also sharing domestic utensils that are rarely used in a house such as kitchen equipment or washing machines is another aspect of this model. Therefore, the idea is to balance the expenses of the facility and consumption by sharing. (Vestbro D. , 2013). Delgado (2010) discusses the sharing concept from the perspective of a collaborative housing resident. He expresses that one does not need to own property when one has these opportunities; by partaking in spaces and equipment with others one reduces the living cost and also, one can balance social and private life by their choice.

CHAPTER 3

THREE DIMENSIONS OF CO-HOUSING

In this part of the study, the aim is to identify the classifications of the co-housing concept and to specify a research structure that can be helpful for investigating the cases. After an overview of the previous researchers' approaches, the methods for the grouping of co-housing can be summarized into two main groups.

Firstly, Tummers classifies the existing papers in the literature which have evaluated co-housing projects. In this way, she identifies the features of the documents and their points about co-housing. Tummers' perspective is based on an understanding of the uniqueness of the existing co-housing projects and how they have oriented themselves regarding their circumstances. Her overview does not stress generalized dimensions but shows the exertion of building a community. The author (2016) illustrates 5 clusters for co-housing projects, which are *advocacy, changing lifestyles, architecture and designing community, neighborhood development, and emerging themes: financial and legal aspects*. To explain each title briefly, 'the advocacy' cluster consists of guides and brochures of housing associations. The papers under the 'changing lifestyle' cluster focus on gender or equality issues and the role of co-housing projects in changing the lifestyle of society. The 'Architecture and designing community' cluster evaluates the spatial features and their effect on generating a coherent community. 'Neighborhood development' examines the risk of gated communities and isolation instead of social inclusion. Finally, 'emerging themes- financial and legal aspects' elaborates on the potential of this topic for providing economic progress and wealth in rural areas.

Likewise, another viewpoint demonstrates 4 dimensions that can be convenient for each project in more wide-ranging aspects; *a dimension of visions and values, an organizational dimension, a relational dimension, and a spatial dimension*

(Czischke, Carriou, & Lang, 2020). The authors employ these titles referring to the projects of McCamant & Durrent in the United States. As a synthesis of these sources, these principles can be defined as a component of creating a co-housing community. For instance, values and visions refer to sharing and communing according to mutual ideas on lifestyle. The layout of the facility and how it orients the community indicates the spatial dimension, and the significant role of social interaction/ communication between the householders points out the relational dimension. Lastly, the organizational dimension shows the necessity of a group structure in the community (Czischke, Carriou, & Lang, 2020).

To understand the features of the co-housing projects, in this thesis, the dimensions are grouped under three approaches:

- 1- organization, for discussing the policies and major issues,
- 2- community, for managing and organizing the involved people with external intervention or self-management,
- 3- design, for focusing on the physical features of the co-housing facility; decisions, and design processes.

Also, given the lack of research mentioned on the topic of co-housing and healthy cities; a fourth dimension can be added to investigate sustainability and the needs or potential for combining the features of smart/ healthy cities with the possibilities that the co-housing concept provides. This assessment aims to understand the potential of the co-housing concept for increasing the efficiency of co-housing projects, including various approaches and lessons learned from historical experiments like the Utopian, Soviet, Nordic Europe, and American projects. Furthermore, it will structure the analysis method of the cases.

3.1 Organization

The organizational perspective deals with the initiatives of the co-housing projects in a country. Even though this concept has been driven by individuals who had

various aims and benefitted from togetherness and sharing, it has also been embraced by governments and policymakers as a way of conducting an inclusive society. The starters of the co-housing projects differ from country to country due to who dominates the existing housing market. For instance, in the Netherlands or Denmark, most of the cases are held by non-profit housing associations on a rental basis. Therefore, the policies and the contract system for procuring a co-housing project change. As a milestone, the increase of refugees in different countries, -or the labor migrants, status holders, etc.- has caused different countries to look for a way to keep their society coherent and avoid discrimination and alienation (Renooy & Blommesteijn, 2015; Aedes, 2016). Thus, inclusive housing models became advantageous. In countries that have ownership-based housing markets like the United States or Turkey, the co-housing projects have not been conducted by an organization or governmental investors, but by civil society itself (McCamant & Durrett, 2011; Ataman & Gursel Dino, 2019).

In the report of a workshop which took place at the 2010 Cohousing Ideas Conference, the authors illustrate three groups within the theme of organizational issues: the private sector, the public sector -as governments- and the third sector -as non-profit organizations (Bacque & Berger, 2010). From another perspective, Hagbert Larsen, Thörn, and Wasshede (2020) made the distinction between civil society and governance. Civil society and governance can be considered the two main initiators of the organization. However, in some cases, like in the Netherlands, although governments or housing associations are the initiators of a project, over time they might generate an organizational partnership with the community. People learn how to run the system and community life with their commitments and responsibilities, and the initiators can move back behind the curtains (Aedes, 2016). In countries such as the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden, because of the high prices in the city center, people are not able to afford centrally located apartments. Therefore, some housing associations prefer this concept for providing affordable housing (Delgado, 2010). Additionally, there is another type of partnership that is established from the beginning. Municipalities or governments help individuals -

either financially or by providing vacant land or property- and let them build their co-housing projects, or part of the project like the facility or the community (Scheller & Thörn, 2020).

As stated in Table 3.1 (Williams, 2007), the co-housing model has been interpreted differently across countries. For instance, in some projects in the Netherlands, social housing companies and housing associations initiate this project model in a top-down process, and, for the social context, they assign roles/ responsibilities to the tenants. On the other hand, in the United States, most of the projects are resident-led and creators are from private sectors or are local groups of people or individuals.

As Czischke (2018) mentioned, the aspect of ‘organization’ is one of the less discussed topics of this concept. Also, as is illustrated, the lack of an organization dimension is one of the reasons for people not taking a risk and initiating their projects in Germany. ‘Among the less studied aspects of these forms of housing are the collaborative relationships between user groups (i.e. residents) and established housing providers, be they public, not-for-profit or co-operative.’ Therefore, it is important to open up about this issue. In light of the various perspectives above, this thesis will examine the subject under two titles defined by the author of the study. This also informs the structure of the subsequent part:

- 1- the resident-led approach is related to the bottom-up (grassroots) model
- 2- the speculative approach is associated with the top-down model

Additionally, even though it is out of the scope of this thesis, it is important to briefly mention retrofit communities as well. According to Williams (2007), when some co-housing features are applied to an existing neighborhood it can be beneficial for creating social interaction between neighbors. It may seem like a baby step for applying a co-housing idea to a country or a culture. However, without overloading, policies, rules, and roles to people, it may prove a small but effective intervention, which can be observed in the reaction of people to the atmosphere, which is important for building a sense of community.

Table 3.1 The development model table of Davis, 2001. Taken from Williams (2007, p. 270).

The development models

Model	Resident-led model	Partnership model	Speculative model
Description of model	Entire resident group involved with the development and design process, as well as community formation	Partnership approach— developers and residents work together at all stages of the process	Developer led. Developer deals with design, development and community formation
Community visioning	All residents involved	All residents involved	Developer
Recruitment	All residents involved	All residents involved with professional help	Developer
Legal structures and financing	Resident led with professional help	Developer led	Developer
Design Process	Resident led with professional help	Developer led with resident input	Developer
Community development	Resident led with professional help prior to living in community and throughout life of community	Resident led with professional help prior to living in community and throughout life of community	Resident led once living in community

Source: adapted from Davis, 2001 (unpublished).

3.1.1 Bottom-up Model

The bottom-up model is based on the role and involvement of the residents (or potential residents), starting from the initiation phase of the project, and continuing with the execution processes (Williams, 2007). Not restricted to these initial phases, involvement continues throughout the development process, then to the community building phase, and persists for the maintenance of the community. The whole process requires effort, time, and money. The bottom-up model also requires full commitment and effort from the residents. The process of generating an organization might frustrate people and demotivate society itself. Therefore, involving consultants in the procedure to provide knowledge and expertise can help the project to be more structured and successful when it comes to solving the problems encountered during the process. That is why expert developers from social housing groups or housing associations may consult at the beginning of the process and let people be involved when building the community. Since the maintenance of such projects requires a lot of effort, this kind of organization idealizes the process of initiating the projects with

the help of experts as quickly as possible and then, in the later phases, leaves the issues of management, and selection processes wholly to the tenants (Williams, 2007).

In the literature, most of the authors discuss the role of initiating the project from the beginning of its design and construction, helping people to own it, and thus increasing the sustainability of the community. In multicultural societies, people need to participate even though it is not from the beginning of the process. Therefore, it is important not to limit the participation only to the design or developmental phase, but also to expand the meaning of this notion by maintaining and sustaining the project.

3.1.2 Top-down Model

The general control and/ or phases of the project like initiation, creation, and the process of creating the project are handled by the developers. Contrary to the bottom-up approach, the top-down model enables the tenants to be involved in the phases of the project within a certain limit. Since the process is led by professionals, it can be observed that in such projects the structural, financial, and organizational issues are solved quicker and easier when compared with bottom-up approach projects. However, as Williams (2007) indicated; it is essential to note, that developers mostly encounter problems when it comes to generating a sustainable cohesive community.

Lately, in addition to bottom-up approach projects, the top-down model is getting attention in Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. These countries started to adopt this model for taking quick action to increase affordable options in the housing stock (Ache & Fedrowitz, 2012; Czischke, 2018). The features of this model orient research to focus on the possible ways of establishing a sustainable society. The recent shift from bottom-up to top-down approaches can be observed in the words of Czischke & Huisman (2018, p. 3) from research on the discourse of Dutch Housing Associations on this topic, which states: “While the original models

of collaborative housing emerged as bottom-up initiatives, i.e., people joining forces to jointly provide housing for themselves and by themselves, in recent years we have seen the emergence of more ‘top-down’ approaches.” Although the top-down model is beneficial for creating communal houses which can be a solution for the lack of housing stock in the market thanks to its affordability; not creating a coherent society causes a dependent tenant’s system with a need for external intervention in administrative manners. Therefore, as Czischke (2018) highlighted, participation in social discourse plays a big part in academic and practical discussions.

‘The literature and empirical evidence seem to suggest that this decentralization process has contributed to some changes in policy-making, shifting from a top-down approach in planning and housing policies to a bottom-up approach focused on community development.’ (Roitman, 2016).

As a summary, we can use the definition of Bettencourt (n.d.) which is published on the website of UNHR. The author cited the bottom-up approach for the tenants who creates their targets and path for generating their desired living environment, sometimes on their own and sometimes with the support of grassroots organizations. Eventually, in both cases, tenants are at the center of initiation, creation, and the process of the project creation. On the other hand, the top-down model is mostly owned and adopted by NGOs or governments who aim to intervene in housing problems by creating communal houses. In this case, external organizations professionally design the structure of the project and clarify the regulations for initiating, processing, and sustaining the projects.

After all is said and done, as has been highlighted by Ache & Fedrowitz (2012), the organizational dimension of the project whether top-down or bottom-up, should be eventually supported by the participation and interaction of tenants for the sustainability of the project.

3.2 Community

The notion of ‘community’ is defined in the Cambridge dictionary⁸ as ‘the people living in one particular area or people who are considered as a unit because of their common interests, social group, or nationality.’ According to this definition, a sense of community is generated between individuals when a ‘common value’ is created. In light of this information, this part of the study investigates what kind of community approach can be observed in various projects.

3.2.1 Tenant Management - Self-work- Model

The idea of co-housing is based on living together as a group of people and having responsibilities in the community, which is, namely, the idea of commitment. When the differences between individuals and relations are considered, mixing people and expecting them to live together in a convenient environment is a challenge. In this context, after the associated organizations or initiators kicked off a housing project, they try to reveal how people can be oriented to handle their community life cycle and housing issues in a collective sense without the necessity of external intervention. Probably the strongest goal of this model is to achieve perfectly sustainable and self-run communities which do not require external intervention, including through their creation and executive processes (Czischke & Huisman, 2018). Lots of co-housing projects are not design-based but constituted by individuals and conducted in accordance with the self-work model (Vestbro D. U., 2010). In the literature, ‘self-managing communities, self-governance, intentional communities’ were mostly found in the writings of Mullins and Moore (2018) , Helen Jarvis (2019) and Czischke (2018). They examine the features and projects of this model.

⁸ <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/>

In contrast to top-down projects, bottom-up projects are thought to behave more in a self-managed sense since the participatory process is essential from the initiation of the project. Vestbro (2000) indicates that the self-work model can be tracked from 19th-century communal housing projects as well as Soviet Housing, and Scandinavian experimental housing projects. Additionally, Mullins (2018) highlights how the roots of the self-organized community notion go back to England, and afterward, spread out after the developments in the post-WWII era and squatting movements in the 70s and 80s. Most recently, it has become a hot topic in terms of the involvement of housing organizations in the integration of immigrants. Czischke & Huisman (2018, p. 3) indicate with the following words; ‘The ambition is to provide refugees with social and cultural tools to integrate into the host society by interacting with their peers through daily practices of collective self-organization,’ that the strength of the self-organization process is part of integration as well. Therefore, this system is currently being researched and adopted by housing associations or governmental organizations to enhance the coherence of societies with growing international communities.

In the research and papers of Czischke (2018) based on the work of Fromm (2012), McCamant & Durrett (with the 1988 version of their book), and Jarvis (2015), the author explains that the architecture of traditional Danish co-housing complexes stimulates social contact. In the projects, residents have a strong active role in the planning process, and total administration of their community, and often share weekly meals, among other distinguishing features. Furthermore, the concept of co-housing is quite limiting because the degree of resident engagement and social contact required by co-housing differs between different types of self-organized housing. The same is true for phrases like 'resident-led' or 'participatory' housing, which imply high degrees of resident leadership and/or engagement that vary greatly between different forms of self-organized housing (Czischke, 2018).

To consult people who desire to create their self-managed community, Mullins (2018) highlights an assistance program in England called ‘Self-Help Housing.org’ that supports people with various organizational, financial, and structural issues with

the help of external NGOs, grassroots organizations, and professionals. In such cases, the services try to provide a base for creating communal housing initiatives. According to his research, beyond creating a sense of community and coherence in the group, the approach of the governments toward supporting communities with external partners was found to be beneficial, improving the know-how needed for generating communities in co-housing-based projects and future developments.

Mullins and Moore claim the participatory process in the squatting movement in the 60s led people to generate more self-managed societies without any external intervention required. However, after these movements were criminalized and made illegal by state governments, they began to develop communal housing projects to confront the need for housing. At precisely this point, incoherence in the managed society appeared. Less self-organized housing projects, and the involvement of more housing associations, and co-operatives brought about the need for external intervention to reinstate order in the community. Jarvis (2015) draws attention to the link between co-housing communities and the self-managed behavior of these groups regarding their common aims, values, and efforts undertaken for creating alternative housing and lifestyle compared to the pre-designed neo-liberal market housing with broken neighbor relations.

3.2.2 Service Management Model

The service management model is based on responsible persons who are employees of a municipality or housing organization or hired individually for the management of the facility and community. They oversee financial issues, the organization of social events, and interventions in the community. This model is preferred mostly by senior housing or health care projects (Durrett, 2009). For instance in the new concept of the Netherlands 'Flexwonen' model, generally, there is a manager and the projects aim to provide private apartments and common facilities for the tenants with an inclusive environment, while some of the projects use the commitment method so that tenants can be involved in the daily life cycle in order to be a part of the

community (Aedes, 2016; Reedijk, Bronsvort, & Wassenberg, 2019). Such cases, whether for senior housing projects or health care facilities or mixing different target groups, require an approach that is sensitive to the features of the community in order to ensure harmony.

Delgado (2010) argues one of the key processes of managing a society is the selection process of co-housing. In other words, deciding who will fit in the existing community and who will be admitted. For certain groups, it's easier to define the requirements and decide who can be included in the community; for the elderly, they ought to be old enough, for the student community they'd better be students, or around the appropriate age. However, what about mixed communities? Nowadays, after some consideration on urgent housing, social integration, etc, it is sometimes desired to mix people with as high a level of diversity as possible. In this case, the priority of selection will depend on the need of that person, instead of characteristics such as age, or socioeconomic situation. One of the other points in this discussion is income-oriented housing, that is to say, that co-housing couldn't be considered just a low-middle income housing type or restricted to a particular economic profile. The main issue is sharing, interacting, and integrating.

Even though the project is initiated by an organization, it is desired that communal arrangements end up with self-managed approaches. Accordingly, while they are generating the project and choosing the tenants, announcing some keywords that might provide newcomers a starting point for connection can help set the foundation for sustainable community bonds in the future (Tummers, 2015). The growing interest in alternative housing created through top-down approaches has some inherent characteristics that must be presented to the tenants to provide them with a lifestyle that is not dependent on a manager who organizes communal relations, activities, and interactions. For such purposes investing in the environment with user participation, mutual solidarity, socio-cultural sharing, and balance are crucial (Czischke, 2018).

As an overview, we can say that the interaction between tenants affects the sustainability of the project. Regarding Jarvis' observations (2015) on 15 co-housing groups and their communal relations, it can be said that they all serve to 'focus' the shared vision. Some organizations start their regular meetings by reciting a declaration about what their community is all about, which helps them keep focused and accountable to one another. Caregiving and care-receiving are the most connected sources of support within the context and system of cohabitation. Learning circuits, peer influence, and affective awareness of a broader ethic of care also provide significant, but less obvious forms of help.

Table 3.2 An overview of Organization and Community dimensions, by author.

ORGANIZATION	<p><i>Bottom-up Model</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • resident-led approach • the role of residents, starting from the initiation phase of the project along the execution phase • from the beginning, throughout the development process, then to the community building and maintaining that community 	<p><i>Top-down Model</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • speculative approach • enables the tenants to involve in the phases of the project within a certain limit • the process is led by professionals • Quick
COMMUNITY	<p><i>Tenant management - self-work- model</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sustainable and self-work communities which are not required an external intervention • Related with bottom-up organizations, (mostly) • the strength of the self-organization process in integration • active role in the planning process, administration of community 	<p><i>Service management model</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • responsible people for managing the facility and community, financial issues, organizations • Associated mostly with top-down concept, like 'Flexwonen' model • mixing different target groups require a sensitive approach to the features of the community to provide harmony

The concept of shared intents acting as the "glue" that connects and gives meaning to community relations is critical to whether or not a co-housing community remains inclusive, independent, and inventive. All of the shared activities, rituals, and socializing associated with co-housing stem from a core sense of purpose and meaning that is dependent on habitual practice, such as taking turns preparing group meals, contributing to the working groups tasked with managing the finances, maintaining common property, facilitating group meetings, and hosting visitors who

want to learn from the project (Jarvis, 2015). A culture of openness appears to be critical in the early phases of group development for individuals to transcend their prejudices, habits, and narrow interests. It's not just an issue of holding regular meetings courteously; it's also a matter of experimenting with plans and allowing them to alter in unanticipated ways. In the early stages of community creation, balancing a creative culture of openness with a need to keep the organization going 'ahead' appears to be a primary source of tension and unraveling (Jarvis, 2015).

3.3 Design

'The beauty of cohousing is that you have a private and community life, but only as much of each as you want. – A woman'⁹

The individual components of this concept are each significant for ensuring effective relations between the residents. Hence, besides social and organizational dimensions, the facility also needs to be assessed carefully with all its spatial arrangements and design (McCamant & Durrett, 2011). Bredenoord (2016) discusses the spatial dimension of low-income housing from the perspective of material quality. According to him, there is a relationship between the organizational system and the quality of housing. The author explains how people tend to give up on sanitation elements when they have a limited budget for building their property. Additionally, when the cost is a priority, especially for low-income groups, then it is significant to orient people toward sustainable designs. This guidance must be provided by governments, municipalities, or NGOs (Bredenoord, 2016).

In a workshop at the 2010 conference, a team worked on how spatial design affects community relations and they came up with the response that 'The design can strengthen or weaken social life in the house. A clear understanding of differences in design between ordinary housing and cohousing is essential for the development

⁹ An highlighted expression of a cohousing user from Scotthansons book. (Scotthanson & Scotthanson, 2005, p. 188)

of social relations in daily life,' (Cohen & Kerovuori, 2010). They indicate the role of communal space in co-housing projects. From their examples and writing, we understand that they are not just focusing on a building perspective but also on neighborhoods as well. Therefore, these two types of co-housing can be considered in a similar approach when it comes to the need for a communal space. According to the findings of the workshop, communal space is a component for the tenants where they can build relations (Figure 3.1). For instance, in the context of the neighborhood aspect, the communal space could be an old building where they can bond over their roots. Regardless of what roots or where, the most important thing for communal space is, of course, accessibility, even if only visual accessibility, and then flexibility, and adaptability. Although in their resources they referred here to 'flexibility', I found their explanations resembled more closely the notion of adaptability.



Figure 3.1 Participatory design process, White Design. Source: white-design.com

Another point that is very important in co-housing projects is privacy (Figure 3.2). This concept aims to build sustainable communities and mixed ages, nations, etc. These groups have different cultures and lifestyles. Choosing the level of privacy

could be an option offered to residents as privacy preferences differ from country to country or even generation to generation. This is aptly expressed in Cohen & Kerovuori (2010): ‘A basic requirement for good design is to find out how ‘privacy’ is seen in the local culture: In Netherlands, many people don’t use curtains and it is possible to see through the apartment. In Italy, gardens are very private. People like to have high fences around them. Most Finnish people are believed to prefer not to see even the light from the neighbor’s window.’

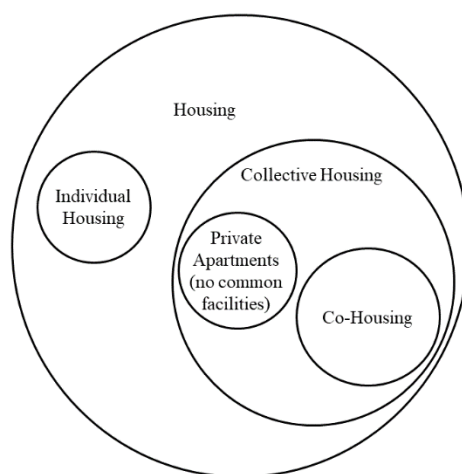


Figure 3.2 Visualization of the place of collaborative housing. Source: Delgado, 2010, p. 213.

Accordingly, to understand the requirements of an advantageous facility, two themes regarding the research on spatial design have been identified in the literature. Firstly, starting from the most general, the importance of architectural layout is assessed with all its private, common, and buffer areas. Secondly, and more narrowly, the potential of space itself is investigated in the context of structural and spatial adaptability and flexibility, which is often considered in parallel with the ‘flexibility and adaptability’ of the community. Schneider & Till (2005; 2007), Beisi (1995), Friedman (2002), and Groák (1992) are the main sources for interrogating this theme.

Table 3.3 Adapted from - J. Williams, Sun, surf, and sustainability—comparison of the cohousing experience in California and the UK, *International Planning Studies Journal* 10 (2) (2005). – (Williams, 2007, p. 272).

Factors influencing strong social networks and social cohesion in cohousing		
Factors creating strong social networks and social cohesion	Research findings	Research references
Social contact design	<p>Cohousing design (social contact design) positively impacts on social behaviour:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The centrality, size and existence of the common house influenced social interaction, participation, community support, unity and safety ● The division of space and circulatory systems in communities appeared to be the key design factors influencing social interaction ● Circulatory systems and surveillance opportunities created by design were the features most affecting security ● Densities and accessibility were the key design features influencing the strength of support networks in the community ● The common house was identified as being the key design feature encouraging both participation and unity within communities ● Opportunities for social interaction and safety were increased through social contact design whilst participatory, supportive behaviours and unity seemed to be independent of it ● Density (proximity) and layout; division of public and private space; the quality, type and functionality of communal spaces appear to be the key design factors influencing social interaction in cohousing ● Social (informal and formal) and personal characteristics appear to have a greater impact on social interaction than design ● Social, personal and design factors are inter-dependent. Social and personal factors can significantly enhance the positive impact of social contact design on social interaction 	[3–6]
Resident involvement in decision-making processes and operation	Informal and formal social factors and personal characteristics influence use of communal facilities and level of social interaction. In cohousing communities these factors operate together increasing social capital	[3,4,7,8]
Social structure: non-hierarchical structure; formalised social activities; common goals and norms within communities	<p>Informal and formal social factors and personal characteristics influence use of communal facilities and level of social interaction. In cohousing communities these factors operate together, increasing social capital</p> <p>Cohousing helps people to organise themselves as a residential group to overcome the alienation of modern neighbourhoods by building mutual support and sociable relations between households</p>	[3,7,8]

Table 3.3 above, demonstrates the importance of spatial planning in providing social connections. Likewise, the data from the survey in the cases from the Netherlands reflect the significant role of the common house/ space. On the other hand, I believe in the importance of social events as much as the physical attractiveness of the common house. Thus, the collaboration of these two elements is important. SCD¹⁰ indicates the main principles of co-housing. Like a foundation of a building, SCD creates the base/ space/ atmosphere for building a sense of community. Now,

¹⁰ Social Contact Design, please see the Table 3.3.

‘Architectural Layout’ will be interrogated with a detailed review of types of space and general perspectives on a design decision. Even though I cannot deny that the sustainability and success of a cohousing project are dependent on the harmony of at least all the components that are investigated in this thesis, I still believe the most essential factor is the architectural layout. After that topic, we will be questioning the opinions on the role of ‘Flexibility and Adaptability’.

3.3.1 Architectural Layout

The significant role of sharing and social interaction in co-housing and as well as how the individuals express themselves on the topic of arranging their private life clearly shows the importance of spatial organization. The issue most frequently considered by potential tenants is the balance between private and common life (Durrett, 2009; Vestbro D. U., 2010). Understandably, people are deliberate about having enough space for themselves, even if it is in a co-housing facility.

Jan Gudmand-Høyer, one of the pioneers of co-housing in Denmark, classified the transition of the spatial design process into four stages throughout history (Scotthanson & Scotthanson, 2005). These stages illustrate the relation between the size of private and communal areas in co-housing projects through time and their effect on the interaction between users. The first stage demonstrates the initial facilities when the co-housing concept was put into practice as a new lifestyle for society. In order to play it safe, the private areas were designed quite generously so that people could try to merge their current habits with this new lifestyle. In the second, third, and fourth stages, and the facilities of further projects, the private areas got smaller and the common areas got larger. In the first stage, the private areas were sufficient, if not too large, but by the third stage it turned out to be enough to have some privacy, some sleep, or some individuality. However, when individuals needed to have some wider areas for other functions such as laundry areas, a kitchen, etc., they were supposed to go out from their rooms to the wider common areas, the aim being to stimulate households into social interaction. The fourth stage consists of the

specified and very large communal spaces, not within the facilities but mostly in villages or neighborhoods (Scotthanson & Scotthanson, 2005). Additionally, Scotthansons (2005) indicates the significance of understanding the needs of target groups before generating the project. This process makes it possible to avoid using unnecessary units or sizes in spaces that are expected to be affordable, adaptable, and useful.

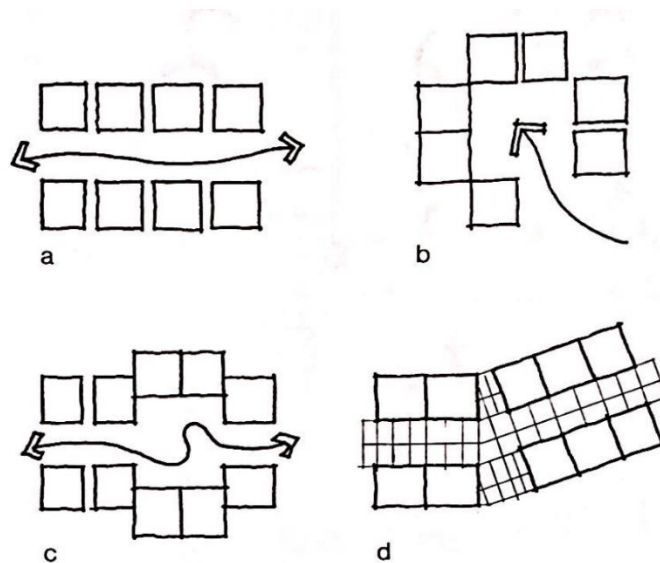


Figure 3.3 Various site plan types, a. pedestrian street, b. courtyard, c. combination of street and courtyard, d. one building. Source: Scotthanson & Scotthanson, 2005 p.175.

The balance between privacy and community is a delicate issue in the design of facilities (Linden, 1992). Moreover, when the use of space is dense; the need for certain spaces, soft edges, and borders is also significant. Besides the balance between common and private areas, the public areas for the outsider and semi-public areas as a buffer zone should be taken into consideration (Cohen & Kerovuori, 2010; Linden, 1992). Additionally, the importance of zoning for security is also a concern, specifically, for the projects which are transparent to the whole society due to the purpose of the co-housing or openness for commercial reasons (Durrett, 2009). These uses need to be supported by general layout design and public spaces (Figure

3.4). Regarding their research on shared housing in Turkey, Ataman and Gursel Dino (2019) indicate the problems of the lack of buffer zones in the unintended sharing of living projects in the interviews they made with tenants. In their research, the family house units were used for shared living purposes, and the need for transition zones and soft edges is revealed.

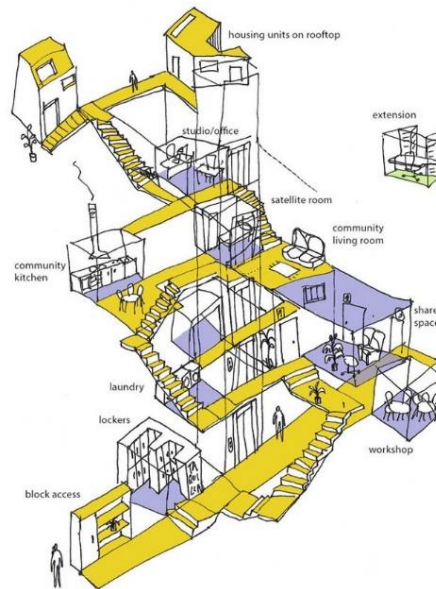


Figure 3.4 NPR Cities Project, Improvistos architects. Source: npr.org.

Tummers (2015, p. 76) explains a path for creating a successful architectural layout for a cohousing facility, posing some questions that need to be asked during the decision phase. Since the general design decisions are dependent on the characteristics of the society and the needs of individuals, that becomes an important point in defining the households and making flexible decisions concerning the changeability of the tenants. The first question the author asks is about defining the requirements for the society, and then it continues to shape the layout of the facility with questions such as, ‘What is the average number of dwellings, and which number is effective socially, for energy smart grids, or otherwise? Which kind of urban areas do they occupy: centrality/ suburban/ medium size towns/ peripheral/ rural? How does the m²/ person compare to average housing conditions? What is the ecological footprint concerning average dwelling types? Which spaces, other than housing are

shared: workshop, business, courses, guestrooms, child-play; and in how far do they substitute public facilities?’.

Moreover, Guzman & Skow (2019, p. 2) underline the significant role of the orientation of spaces for the social interaction between occupants and they discuss the structure of the layout from their perspective, noting important concepts such as ‘locating parking on the periphery, clustering private homes together, and eliminating private garages and driveways to provide more open space and communal areas.

Jarvis (2015) and Guzman (AARP, 2019) show a similar interest and picture the layout in a mostly car-free setting, defined by the clustering of 10–40 modest dwellings with a common house, and some additional units that can be used for external visitors or hobbies and shared outdoor space. Homes are organized within a site plan to create a landscape of naturally occurring encounters and interactions, which is what clustering is based on. According to the analysis of Siegelbaum (1999) on the spatial design of worker clubs and palaces, we can conclude the necessity of investigating such spaces with all their connections between private and communal areas and the importance of their effect on organizing the shared areas to create social interaction. Also, the workers club was the signature constitution of the socialist culture. In that era, the architects put significant effort into the development of this symbolic structure and improved the facilities and material qualities for serving the purpose of communal interaction and this explains the idea of the representative power of architecture (Siegelbaum, 1999).

One other factor about spatial design is that it leads people and communities to a certain perception of space. Hillier (1988) explains this with three key concepts: ‘enclosure, repetition, and hierarchy.’ When it is considered, the spatial design could be based on a culture and community identity, and flexible and adaptable spaces could orient people to be more inclusive of other cultures. Since this instinctive identity of space dominates their belonging to a specific culture, it might help people to be more open-minded. The general layout of the project leads to the initial

intention (Figure 3.4). Such decisions should be considered under certain knowledge. These kinds of designs might lead people to be included in society. For instance, detached units can be considered more efficient for land use, energy, material, and costs in comparison to clustered housing, while the latter is more efficient for mass transit and gathering (Scotthanson & Scotthanson, 2005). Clustered housing is, in this sense, preferred more in co-housing projects. The Scotthansons (2005) say that their ability to provide privacy and community spaces is in a good balance. The quote below from Hiller (1988, p. 63) clarifies this idea.

‘Architectural ideas typically associate social values with spatial concepts. In the recent past, a common social value in housing design has been that of the small, relatively bounded community, forming an identifiable unit of a larger whole. Architecturally this has been reflected in a preoccupation with linking groups of dwellings to identifiable and distinct external spaces in the hope that the ‘enclosures’ or ‘clusters’ so created would help group identification and interaction. The idea is justified spatially by invoking urban squares, courts, and village greens, and socially through notions of ‘group territory’, the ‘need for a hierarchy from public to private space’, and the assumption that space can only be socially significant if a definite group of people is identified with it (Hanson and Hillier, 1987).’

The diversity in private units led people to prefer co-housing since they could have options of mixing whatever they needed at the moment, both in terms of community life and technical private spaces. Although comfort and sufficient space are necessary for private areas, it does not equate simply too wide, undefined areas. Indeed, as mentioned, it can be observed from the historical development of the size of private units in co-houses in Denmark, that they had a rapid change in the size of the balance communal-private areas to increase socialization (Scotthanson & Scotthanson, 2005). It can be concluded that the reason is for serving the purpose of community life; after some point, users need to allow themselves space for socialization. On one hand, this decrease will help to keep energy costs at an adequate level to provide affordability in housing, and also provide people spaces for activities to gather and interact. Circulation and location of communal areas are significant in generating the desired relations between tenants (Scotthanson &

Scotthanson, 2005). Communal areas should be easily reached and most of the time on the way to private units. So that people at least greet each other on a daily basis (Figure 3.5).

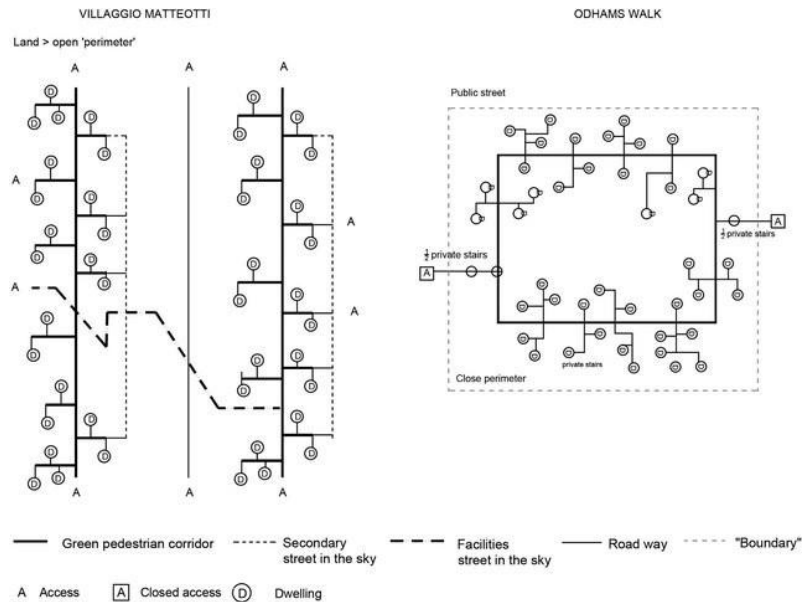


Figure 3.5 Space syntax diagrams of Odhams Walk and Villaggio Matteotti, Virginia De Jorge-Huertas. Source: Jorge-Huertas, 2018.

Spaces between buildings and private/ communal units contribute to the quality of life with their transitional use as a sitting space, and the location for spontaneous encounters, socializing, or pedestrian traffic (Scotthanson & Scotthanson, 2005). The hierarchy of spaces plays a crucial role in the relationship of people. With transitional spaces such as semi-private areas, from private to communal, the chance to generate a link between privacy and community should be provided. The clear vision that can lead people to connect with their neighbors spontaneously can be one of the key points of transitional space. From the writings of Schotthansons (2005), according to Jan Gehl's research, the percentage of the time that is spent by the residents in communal areas increases with the use of soft edge designs. Additionally, if we take into consideration the fact from the same research, that most of the time that is spent outside of the private areas is in soft-edged areas, we can claim that people tend to be on the safe side and interact with their neighbors. As a transitional step, that can

lead people to move out slowly. Transactional spaces are needed too, as buffer zones. Besides this, they must be well-defined. Communal areas are for the community. However, the psychological mood or preferences of individuals can change each day. As Ataman & Gürsel Dino (2019) found with their informal co-housing form surveys; the lack of transactional zones could affect the social relation. Cohen & Kerovuori (2010) express these points with their words: ‘The spatial design should be such that it is immediately clear whether a certain place is private, semiprivate, communal, or public space. This holds also for any entrance to the house. ‘Soft edges¹¹’ are socially better to separate the private areas.’

3.3.2 Flexibility and Adaptability

The terms ‘flexibility & adaptability of the space’ have some parallels with the ‘flexibility & adaptability of the community.’ This concept is effective when these two elements are in harmony. Flexibility refers to structural adjustments when space needs to be changed, as in widening or narrowing (Schneider & Till, 2007). Therefore, it is convenient for long-term uses like apartment sizes. On the other hand, the notion of adaptability reflects the use of social spaces that can be reused for various purposes without any structural arrangement (Schneider & Till, 2007; Estaji, 2017).

Flexibility in co-housing facility design was mentioned earlier in one of the workshops named Cohousing design, directed by Raines Cohen and Johanna Kerovuori at the International Collaborative Housing Conference in 2010. They specifically indicated the possibility of adjustment in the facility as a co-housing concept that targets tenants with various spatial needs. A combination of flexible and

¹¹ Soft edge can be used for the areas which behave like a threshold between private and communal areas, that can allow people to transition from one and other softly (Scotthanson & Scotthanson, 2005; Gehl, 1986).

adaptable space and a balanced design in the spatial spaces in the facility can be provided. In this context, it can offer a chance to arrange the changes in space with a collective production which is desired for co-housing communities (Jarvis, 2019). In another paper by Jarvis, she indicates (2015, p. 2) that the unseen emotional components like well-being and motivation, inter-relationships like people and environment, thinking, learning, practice, and performance are primarily responsible for the functioning of this social architecture. Co-housing, in some ways, represents a potentially critical post-material transition since it provides an integrated environment and system in which to practice the required behavioral adjustments to minimize consumption and wage-based production.

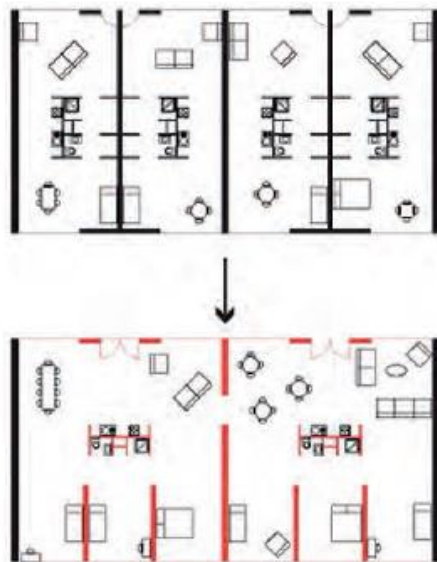


Figure 3.6 An example of a flexible layout. Source: Delgado, 2010, p. 223.

De Paris & Lopes (2018) underline the role of flexibility in their research using the reference to Leupen; ‘Flexibility was an important resource for mass social housing, which sheltered the abundant working masses and their families (Leupen, 2004).’ In most scenarios, flexibility in housing units provides a space that can meet a tenant with changing life conditions, like family size or the needs of a new tenant. As seen in Figure 3.7, the indicated project layout demonstrates flexible structures which are used for providing options for the various needs of individual tenants and spaces for communal activities.

Apart from self-managed housing, nowadays, people tend to be mobilized. Therefore, houses can change owners or be rentals for others. In both ways, it is hard to generate the sustainability of the community. However, some new concepts in design aim to provide a suitable space for this cycle of households. Additionally, De Paris & Lopes (2018) point out the renewal of buildings and how they need to adopt the new technologies and trends of the era as well as how flexibility can help with this issue. In line with this, the authors highlight the origin of the concept of flexibility by Živković et al.; ‘Živković et al. (2014) considered the flexible elements of the interior home as part of a complex system, where historical, social, and technological contexts are influenced by collective and individual lifestyles,’ (De Paris & Lopes, 2018, p. 85).

As it has been highlighted several times; sustainability is desired, both physically and socially. Affordability and social connections are among the top priorities. Danko (2013) expresses this issue from a design perspective and suggests adaptability for this purpose, defining adaptable design as; ‘essential for the design of affordable housing that is environmentally, economically, and socially sustainable. Architects must balance affordability, durability, and adaptability to design sustainable solutions that are resistant to obsolescence.’ This design method is also useful for creating a sense of community. Moreover, the ‘...increase in cultural diversity has generated a need for housing that can adapt to different privacy, space, and use requirements.’ (Danko, 2013, p. 21).

Another element of co-housing is the participation of potential users during the design and construction process. Once again, the option of adaptable design provides an environment for the collective production process. Therefore, it is suggested for especially communal areas. Another example of a project which is a regeneration of post-war social housing is a social housing facility in Denmark¹² which followed a system in which different actors, such as tenants, housing associations, governments,

¹² Based on the case study of Burak Bican in 2016.

and also professional consultants, played a collaborative role in the initiation and execution of the project (Bican, 2016). Especially when the top-down concepts are taken into consideration after the facility completes its task or needs to be transformed due to legal issues, they can be adapted to the new function easily. Hence, from such perspectives, it is not a suggestion just for communal purposes but also for sustainability.

The space that is meant to give to the tenants the spectrum of participatory design differs. It is important to mention that the role of decision-makers and the power of their decisions are essential. The inputs that are provided by users are, indeed, crucial. Additionally, being a part of the decision-making process is a significant part of creating a sense of community. However, this is not easy. When the need for practicality in generating a housing system is considered, the defined criteria and collaboratively made decisions can differ due to the features of the project. Sometimes it may involve starting the whole project again from the beginning, and sometimes it can be just a communal room, which is designed to be used by each tenant. Of course, this perspective is open to discussion.

In light of all the information above, we can claim that the living environment is certainly one of the strongest elements directing people's interactions with each other. The space should constitute a perfect balance. In this way, privacy is protected as well as the need for social interaction. Imbalanced comfort/ discomfort levels encourage people to stay in their shells and not contribute to society. Residents should have the option of being among others or alone, and this should be reflected in the design. Regarding their experiences and observations, Scotthansons (2005) highlighted the significant role of the participatory approach in the spatial design phase of the co-housing projects in creating a sense of community that can serve the long-term sustainability of the project.

CHAPTER 4

TWO CASES FROM THE NETHERLANDS

In this part of the thesis, information about two housing projects that were gathered from various sources with diverse methods will be presented. The de Nieuwe Meent (dNM), Amsterdam (2018 – ongoing), will be illustrating a co-housing project that can be considered as an organizationally bottom-up structured and self-managed community, in which the spaces are shaped in an inclusive design process through user experiences. The second case, Genderhof, Eindhoven (2014) represents the top-down organizational approach that attempts to create an integrated and coherent community located within an existing building transformed for the purpose.

Two cases are investigated regarding their target groups, facilities, and organizations. The information sources of the two cases were slightly different. Since one project (dNM) relies on funding and open communication for receiving some support, they share videos, organize meetings and openly explain all information about their community, organization, visions, and aims. Although the second (Genderhof) follows an open methodology as well, a bit more effort had to be exerted for gathering information about the project. Therefore, an interview with the manager of the Genderhof Project was arranged. Following a prepared questionnaire by the author; a semi-structured interview was made with the manager (please see the questionnaire outline in the appendices). Between August 2019- February 2020, observations and ideas/ opinions from tenants were gathered. In the last phase, a survey with thirty questions was sent to tenants. In the following sections, there will be a brief explanation of each project, with graphs stressing the average of tenants' answers as a result of surveys and gathered information from online sources. The main purpose of this research is to gather the experiences and needs of tenants from historical experiments and the co-housing case for generating a coherent society

within the Flexwonen concept in the context of the mentioned three dimensions of the thesis.

4.1 de NIEUWE MEENT, Amsterdam, Netherlands

The first case is a project initiated in Amsterdam, called ‘de Nieuwe Meent¹³ (dNM)’, which can be translated as ‘the new common’. The creators and tenants explain their intention as creating an affordable and community-oriented alternative housing solution. Cooperative housing is an important part of the fight for cheap and decent housing in the face of speculative markets. They allow renters and users to reclaim a portion of the housing market based on their requirements and concerns. Increasing the number of community-driven social housing units will help strengthen the housing market's resilience during economic downturns (dNM, 2021). By advocating their beliefs, they generate a community that builds, lives, and sustains together. They choose a way to build their environment that will be capable of replying to their development and cycles of change. Accordingly, despite uncertain futures and the possibility of dNM inhabitants shifting, they have built-in high flexibility and adaptation into the building design, making dNM robust and long-lasting (dNM, 2021).

de Nieuwe Meent is the name of a group of people who aim to center ‘commoning’ in shared housing and shared life experiences. They are concerned about high and challenging housing prices in the market that creates socio-economic inequality, the huge energy consumption involved in owning some domestic appliances that can be shared by multiple people, discrimination, alienization, segregation through overly individualistic lifestyles, and a lack of solidarity. The occupants will be selected to include individuals from various genders, nationalities, and age groups, as well as

¹³ The traditional Dutch word ‘meent’ was used to denote a plot of land shared by several farmers. It would lose its value as a communal resource if someone used it excessively. As a result, it required responsible care in the public interest to be preserved for future generations. (Reinilde, 2020).

people from different socioeconomic conditions. As they highlight on their website, the dNM aims to structure its occupancy into two groups; first, Lifelong-Commoners, namely their core occupants, who are more committed to having ‘a greater sense of stewardship’ in the project, and the second group, Starter-Commoners, which consists of the people who are considered the more ‘huursubsidie (housing benefit)’ part of the project. Indeed, this perspective provides an understanding of fulfilling the lack of social housing units in urgent needs parallel to Flexwonen projects. Moreover, with the understanding of an ‘intentional’ society, they aim to provide a sense of community within their facility (dNM, 2021). The members of dNM mentioned that they intend to build a modern version of a ‘meent’, or commons, at de Nieuwe Meent. There will be no private owners, and there will be no profit, in the homes that will be erected beside the Science Park railway station in Amsterdam in 2022. Reinilde (2020) indicates that avoiding the real estate market speculations is one of the purposes of the project in this manner.

4.1.1 Documents, Blogs, and Online Sources

The research on the dNM project relies on the documents and information that the participants, reporters, and consulting professionals shared on the web. Lots of meetings are organized to explain the project and its main aims openly. The information about the process, tenants, and their aim, is easily accessible. Therefore, for gathering information, an additional interface such as a survey, or interview was not necessary. Everything that can be collected through these sources is sufficient for understanding their vision and the approaches of people to the spatial dimension reflected in the design of the participatory design process of the facility.

The clear descriptions of the dNM organizers on their website helped establish the sequence followed during the research. They express their vision by using the titles ‘Community, Our Building, and Financing’ (dNM, de Nieuwe Meent, n.d.). When the information on these topics is interrogated, the initiation and process of the project can be clearly understood.

4.1.2 Organization and Community

The purposes of the organization can be summarized in its mission statement; ‘By combining affordable housing, shared living, social care, and solidarity economy, we contribute to a more sustainable, inclusive, and fair society.’ That leans on sharing the sources and management issues with people who believe in the same values such as a large family. As is also seen in Figure 4.1, the vision of the project is shaped by the desire for ‘communing, care, diversity, and sustainability.’ They welcome any kind of support and ideas to assist and further develop their project (dNM, de Nieuwe Meent, n.d.).



Figure 4.1 The core elements of dNM. Source: nieuwemeent.nl

In the interview that was made with Jeannine Julen, co-founder of dNM, Selçuk Balamir (2019) expresses their primary intention with these words; ‘... We don't want to make a profit. We just want an affordable house, a home actually.’¹⁴ The tenants also cite their goal of generating a community as diverse as possible. Their awareness of inequality in the systematic ideas possessed by people globally brought about the

¹⁴ Original text is in Dutch, from the interview by Jeannine Julen.

idea of creating their society in a way that is inclusive and diverse. Beyond these ideas, they devised a practical system for the inclusion of people marginalized by society, that would allow them to integrate back into life. They bear in mind and receive training on ‘white privilege, diversity, sexism, and class,’ flexibility for adapting to various needs, and emotional support in case of any tensions. One of the founders of dNM, Josta van Bockxmeer (2020) explains the idea of the project on the website: ‘A solution for people in their thirties like us, who cannot buy a house, who are not on the waiting list long enough for social housing or who earn just too much for it. The elderly are also looking at the housing cooperative as a way of living together and possibly organizing home care. Governments are therefore investing heavily in this new form of housing, with the municipality of Amsterdam leading the way.’

The organizational elements are illustrated on the website (figure 4.2):

- Assembly (*Meentvergaderin*): tenants, users, and neighbors
- Council (*Meentraad*): tenants and legal members
- Board of directors (*Meentbestuu*): self-organized committees of members
- Committee of commoning (*Comité voor de meent*): external advisors, such as the original designers of the building, affiliated housing organizations, public officials, or former residents (dNM, de Nieuwe Meent, n.d.).¹⁵

These partners aim to keep the project in order and provide an overview of the general perspective. Besides, defining the role of people in society increases the possibility of participation and clarifies the expectation of commitment of the tenants in the process.

dNM (n.d.) defines itself as a self-managed community and indicates its key principles as:

¹⁵ <https://dictionary.cambridge.org>

- *‘democratic and deliberative decision making*
- *enabling inclusion and participation of all users*
- *openness towards the neighborhood and community*
- *clear system of checks and balances with separation between political and executive bodies*
- *the balance between innovation and feasibility of the management structure.’*

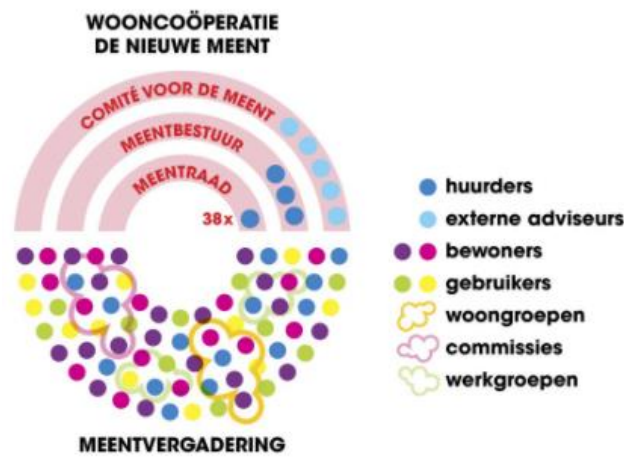


Figure 4.2 The organizational structure of dNM. Source: nieuwemeent.nl

Additionally, the organization is structured under 4 subtitles related to the principles above: assembly commons for decisions and follow-up issues; council of commons for legal decision making for member selection; Board of the Association, and administration issues, and advisory committee; external conciliation regarding social, ecological, and political missions (dNM, 2021). Each of these groups has a proper role in the organization. In their meetings, they come together, discuss, improve, make decisions, and make sure that everyone has been interacting for the sake of a coherent society. With a monthly open discussion panel, they aim to be as transparent and informative (especially about the process) to all participants, investors, or people who aim to initiate such projects in the future. Savini (n.d.) expresses his opinion on the dNM project with these words: ‘De Nieuwe Meent is one project in a growing landscape of cooperatives fighting for housing market reform in the Netherlands. It also has to deal with the issue of ongoing democratic

participation. The group is growing in size, and self-organization is a process that takes time, effort, and perspective.’

Furthermore, the community itself is structured around the workgroups in which all tenants are obligated to participate. Taking part in one or more as a part of inclusiveness allows them to take part in decision-making. These workgroups can be collocated as ‘community, design, legal, finance, media’, and all of these are supported by external professionals. This form of involvement creates an awareness of individual responsibility to society and gives tenants a role in the community. In the meantime, the makings of the groups sustain the organization, in the context of recognizability, community, and constitution.

As mentioned, several times, high prices in the Dutch housing market lead people and the government/ housing associations to seek alternative ways to make reasonably priced living units accessible. Therefore, the design of the facility shapes affordability and sustainability. Consequently, various cooperative models have popped up in recent years. As a principle of collective ownership and sharing, dNM split the expenses of the accommodation and facility by using more shared commons and including tenants in the management of the facility and community as a business model. In this business model, they include supporters in their dNM Community as dNM neighbors. The life cycle of this project will be carried by the leases of the rented units and after the compensation of the debts and expenses, this income will be used for funding other initiatives that would like to achieve similar living style solutions.

4.1.3 Design Process and Principles

‘We understand commoning as practices of producing and managing social and physical infrastructures for shared and participative use of a resource, such as land (“meent”), water, food, energy, education, housing, income, social services and care. It enables citizens to access essential resources in fair sustainable, self-organized and participatory

ways, and shape the future of their communities without being dictated by a profit driven market economy. (dNM, 2021, p. 2)

de Nieuwe Meent (dNM) is one of Amsterdam's housing cooperative experimental projects, located in East Amsterdam (Figure 4.3). It consists of forty social co-housing apartments that are co-developed, co-designed, and co-financed by the cooperative's members, who are also the building's future renters. This new development model, founded on the values of communal ownership, solidarity, and sharing, enables citizen collectives who would not otherwise have access to financing to create and build their own house. Rents range from 450€ to 750€ per month (Time to Access, n.d.).

The building is designed through a co-design process with the architects and prospective tenants. Since the initiators of the project were already living in shared housing in Amsterdam, the spatial needs reflected real-life experiences. They reflect this experience in their design with the 55-45% ratio of private to communal space. It contains 40 social housing units (15 independent social units, 5 living groups) from 40m² (individual units) to 180m² (group units), communal spaces, and non-housing functions (Time to Access, n.d.). Energy positive, it was built with a circular wooden structure, using local and upcycled materials. The zoning is a significant part of the project, and designers considered the transitional and buffer zones starting from the largest scale (like complex and neighborhood) of design through the smaller components (like common and private areas within the units, figure 4.3). This project aimed to provide flexible, inclusive, and various units in the complex, to be able to anticipate different needs within a collaborative design environment, starting from the design process. Indeed, adaptability and flexibility are aimed at the private and common areas, in order to meet the various need of different people. Also, providing space for an experimental way of living and future rearrangements are some of the most significant aspects of the project (dNM, de Nieuwe Meent, n.d.).

Architects, Andrea Verdecchia and Mira Nekova (Time to Access) in collaboration with Roel van der Zeeuw Architects focused on creating a design around open

spaces, inclusivity, innovation, and receptivity to diverse needs. These notions allow the design to be on a parallel path with the idea of the community itself.

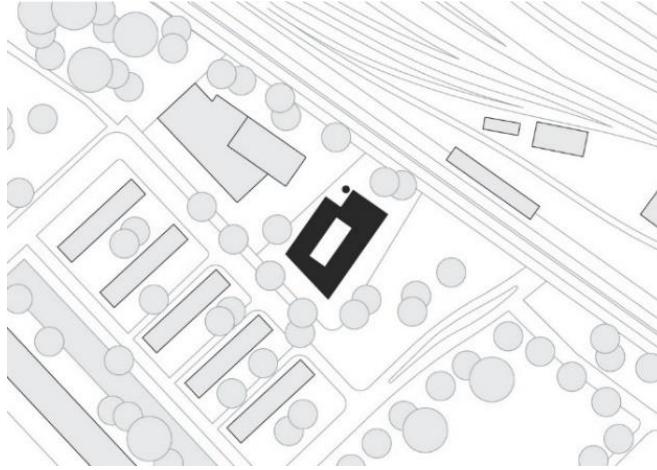


Figure 4.3 Site plan of dNM. Source: timetoaccess.com

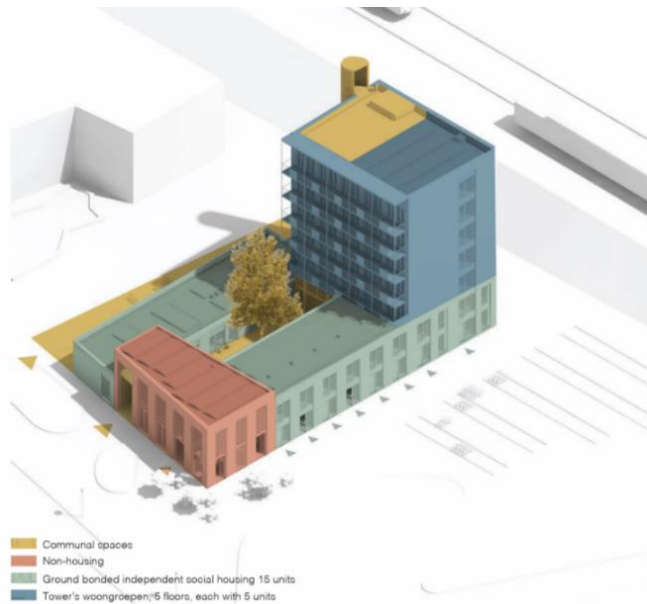


Figure 4.4 The general outline of the new dNM complex, Amsterdam 2018-on going, Architects - Time to Access, Roel van der Zeeuw Architecten. Source: nieuwemeent.nl

In the design phase, tenants were invited to express their needs for living with sketching exercises (Figure 4.4). In this way, the needs of tenants and the idea of

reflecting communal living in spatial design are combined. As a result, a huge courtyard is placed in the complex that welcomes people to the neighborhood. Besides, the total design reflects the vision of providing a spatial hierarchy regarding the public-private balance. Therefore, as an interface, semi-private areas are located between the public courtyard and housing units. Of course, the complex provides areas for communal activities like dinners, meetings, and games.

Moreover, adaptable rooms that can be used for multi-functional activities are on the mezzanine floor which can be considered also as the interface between public and private spaces, or, in other words, transitional spaces. Private spaces are designed in a way that allows people to benefit from what the climate and geographical orientation provide. Their design relies on a flexible and adaptable approach and members of dNM express their appreciation of that vision with these words on their site:

‘Thanks to a flexible and adaptive design, each living group is free to determine its ways of living, including the layout of its floor plan and the ratio between the private and shared spaces...Finally, given both the unpredictable future in general and the likelihood that dNM residents will change over time, we embed high flexibility and adaptability aims throughout the building design, allowing dNM to remain resilient and durable.’ (dNM, de Nieuwe Meent, n.d.)

The priority in the facility is communal spaces where people can interact and consolidate ‘sharing.’ In addition, the concept of ‘subunits’ provides the flexibility of having spaces such as co-working or guest-flats as needed. Communal green spaces also occupy space with courtyards, green roofs, and greenhouse concepts. As a gathering area in the inner space, a communal living room was designed to be used as an adaptable, multifunctional space in the facility. Lastly, a multi-purpose event venue (also a café and dinner venue) was designed as a transitional zone between dNM and the neighborhood (dNM, 2021).



Figure 4.6 Images of dNM facility design. Source: timetoaccess.com

Regarding all the information collected from various sources, the analysis of the project is structured around the three dimensions of co-housing. This chapter relies on the documents, theoretical research, online sources, and observations of the author. It aims to highlight the related context of the project with a clear overview.

4.1.4 Analysis of the Case

In this case, the bottom-up model builds human relations and communication between actors. The consideration of previous experiences also allowed for improvements to the structure. The effort and commitment pioneered the building of stronger bonds between people, however, a giant struggle during the process followed. Since the co-founders have needed to deal with lots of financial, legal, and professional issues; consultation is a must in the process. Therefore, although the initiators are individuals, they need the support of governments, social organizations, financial banks, or individual professionals.

This experience should not be considered as building only 'a project' but it should be considered as building 'a process'. With a continuous life cycle, the financial and organizational processes will be ongoing throughout the years. As mentioned by dNM on their website, a beneficial individual profit is not the target of this experiment, but an articulation of knowledge to create other projects and self-

organization to sustain the project are the key points that can be used as the outcome of this case.

The former relations of the tenants and founders seem to provide a strong base for solid community communication. The idea of contribution motivates tenants to be a part of the project. Even though they will not be gaining fully individual benefits or profits from their efforts, contributing to society makes people take responsibility. What is created with external professionals leads their ideas to be said, since the safe feeling of consulting might be leading people to step in.

The benefit of experience-based space production and consultation from experts provide an advantageous design process for this project. The will of the participant and the professional approaches of the architects determine a facility that can support the planned cycle of tenants and necessary rental units for financial endorsements. On the other hand, the requirements of private, communal, and transitional areas are designed with respect to the sketches of participants. Additionally, the diverse character of the project is foreseen, and spatial designs are meant to be as flexible and adaptable as possible for the sustainable satisfaction of the newcomers.

Of course, the process is beneficial for creating a community; people can choose, even create, their own spaces. On the other hand, this process needs considerable time, commitment, effort, and experience. Therefore, it can be observed that parallel to the efficiency of space creation, enough time is also necessary for concrete, desirable outcomes.

4.2 GENDERHOF, Eindhoven, Netherlands

Genderhof is located in Eindhoven. The project is run by a Housing Association. The facility itself used to be a senior house but after they built a new facility for the seniors, they had to move out of their current facility (Reedijk, Bronsvoot, & Wassenberg, 2019). Therefore, this use is the second stage of life for the facility, which rather than being demolished, has been and will continue to be used as a co-

housing opportunity for a limited amount of time. In this capacity, it has been successful in mixing various target groups and setting them up with temporary contracts. In this manner, however, there is a strict rule in their regulation; each person must have a 2-year contract without the possibility of extension (interview with S.L., October 16, 2019). During this time, tenants who live there are supposed to find permanent accommodation and move out. The main idea of this project is to provide a transitional living place for people who need a soft, albeit temporary, place to land. There are 190 tenants of varying lifestyles, coming from different conditions and cultural backgrounds living together in Genderhof, and the main criterion for having a place there is the urgency of their status (ExpertisecentrumFlexwonen, 2019).

Genderhof Eindhoven was formerly a senior house, but since 2014, it has been a FlexWohnen housing project (Reedijk, Bronsvort, & Wassenberg, 2019; Platform31, 2019). The project belongs to Wooninc housing and is run by a manager. The building will be demolished in 7 years; therefore, it is a temporary project. There are 190 apartments and 233 residents. 50% are Dutch and 11% are GGzE Dutch (have mental health conditions) and 39% represent 29 different nationalities. There are two types of unfurnished apartments: small and large. 72% of the tenants are mismatched due to their urgent accommodation needs. There are empty office spaces from the old senior housing plans, and they cannot rent them as commercial spaces due to the law or as apartments according to the parking place policy (interview with S.L., October 2019). The communal areas are not used efficiently because there is enough space for all aspects of residents' private areas. There is also a lack of social events; however, in the current situation the community can get along easily, even though there is no intense interaction. The applicants are mostly 18-year-olds (who are seeking a place for staying after they had to move out of their family houses) and young status holders (who are searching for a place apart from their crowded families since the living spaces are not big enough to meet their cultural standards). The manager believes that there must be a person in the facility management to handle

the organization and coherency of the community (interview with S.L., October 2019).

4.2.1 Interview

This information was gathered from the interview with the facility manager, S.L., on 16.10.2019 and was held by the author. The Genderhof Building was built around the 1970s and due to some infrastructural issues, the structure is planned to be demolished in 7 years. It used to be a senior house, however, 60% of the apartments were empty so in 2014 the administration of the senior house asked Wooninc to find some new tenants for the empty flats temporarily. Since Wooninc is a social housing company, they rent flats mostly to working migrants. The necessity of renting empty flats has brought about the idea of mixing the different target groups. Since the 1st of September 2014, elderly people and working migrants started to live together in the facility. The first problem was the expectation of the elderly people, which was that they wanted to be greeted when they met someone younger than them. However, people from different cultures, especially, were not greeting strangers, so this was the source of some conflicts of culture and not socializing. Therefore, the company and S.L. tried to gain some information about the culture and habits of the new target groups. They started to train people about different cultures and organized some events. When people got to know each other, these problems began to dissipate.

Afterward, the elderly people completely left the facility and moved to their new building. According to the manager, they had a good relationship with their younger neighbors so if they could have stayed it would even have been better for both sides' social integration.

4.2.2 Organization and Community

After all the elderly people moved out, different target groups started to settle in the facility. There were mostly young starters, students, status-holders, and divorcees.

Unless there is an extenuating circumstance, the housing organization is trying to rent the rooms to people without children because they believe this temporary situation is not appropriate for that age group. Additionally, there are some issues that require sensitivity as the facility hosts people with mental health conditions and former prisoners. Most of the tenants live alone in their apartments and they are not committed to doing a task for society. However, according to S.L., giving some commitments to tenants would be helpful for social integration. Since Wooninc is a housing company, they are not allowed to arrange events for the tenants (due to governmental rules). Therefore, especially in concepts like 'Flexwonen', these laws cause some strict limitations, and they might be considered obstacles to social integration.

One of the most significant questions is how the spaces answer the requirements of different target groups, so at this point, the manager indicates that 72% percent of the residents have mismatched needs because of the line regarding their urgent situation. Additionally, the apartments are not big enough for the status holders who are used to living in big apartments with their crowded families. This applies to all apartments in the Netherlands. Young refugees are willing to move out of their apartments where they can set up their new life. The manager also says there are a lot of 18-year-olds who are applying for houses because they need to move out of their parent's houses.

4.2.3 Design Process and Principles

The building has 11 floors. As is seen in Figure 4.7, the first two floors mainly serve some management, administrative, communal, and residential functions. The upper floors are mostly residential. One of the two types of apartments is studios which are approximately 30-45 m². These contain a small kitchen, private bathroom, and living space. The residents can use the machines in the laundry room without charge. The other type is a one-bedroom apartment measuring app. 45-65 m². These have a small kitchen, private bathroom, medium-size room, and living space (some of them have

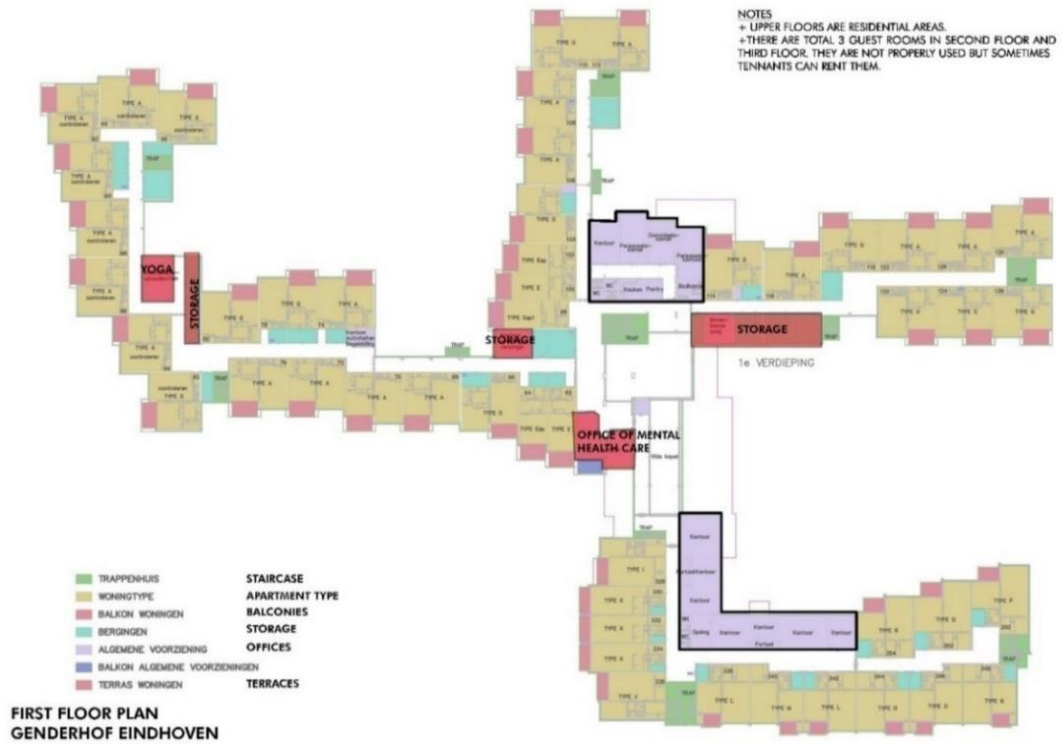


Figure 4.7 Ground and first floor plans of the Genderhof facility, with functional zones. Source: plans are received from facility manager, adapted by the author.

equipped with a balcony and are unfurnished (but there is a room where residents can collect free stuff).

On the ground floor, a former church is used as a sports room and music room. Also, there is a large communal area with a kitchen where residents can interact. Three days a week an organization on mental health uses the communal area for organizing some meetings. As mentioned, the construction of Genderhof Flexwonen was transferred from a facility for elderly people. Therefore, there are a lot of offices for people who are responsible for the management or taking care of residents, etc. After the change in target groups, these functions were unnecessary and could be utilized for other uses such as more apartments. However, because of the policy about balance on parking plots and the number of apartments, Genderhof could not obtain permission from the municipality. Also, they have not allowed the use of these spaces for commercial purposes. Currently, some of the offices are used by social organizations in return for their services to residents. Nevertheless, there are still plenty of empty offices.

4.2.4 Survey

The graphs which are given below show the randomly selected 43 tenants who have been living in Genderhof.

Table 4.1 Age & Gender of tenants

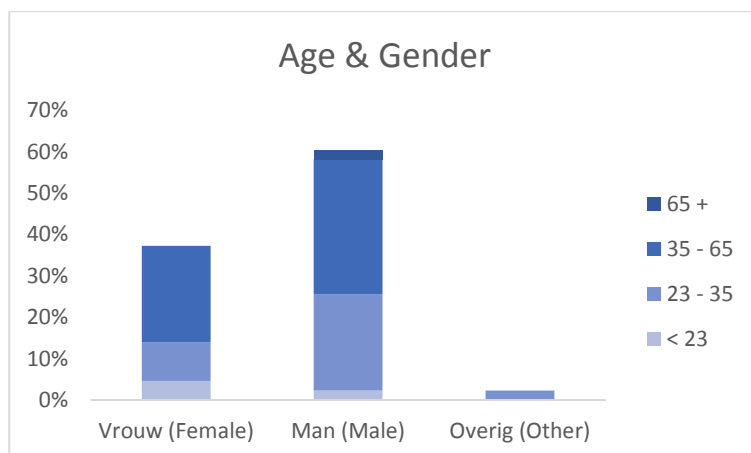


Table 4.2 Occupation & Length of stay

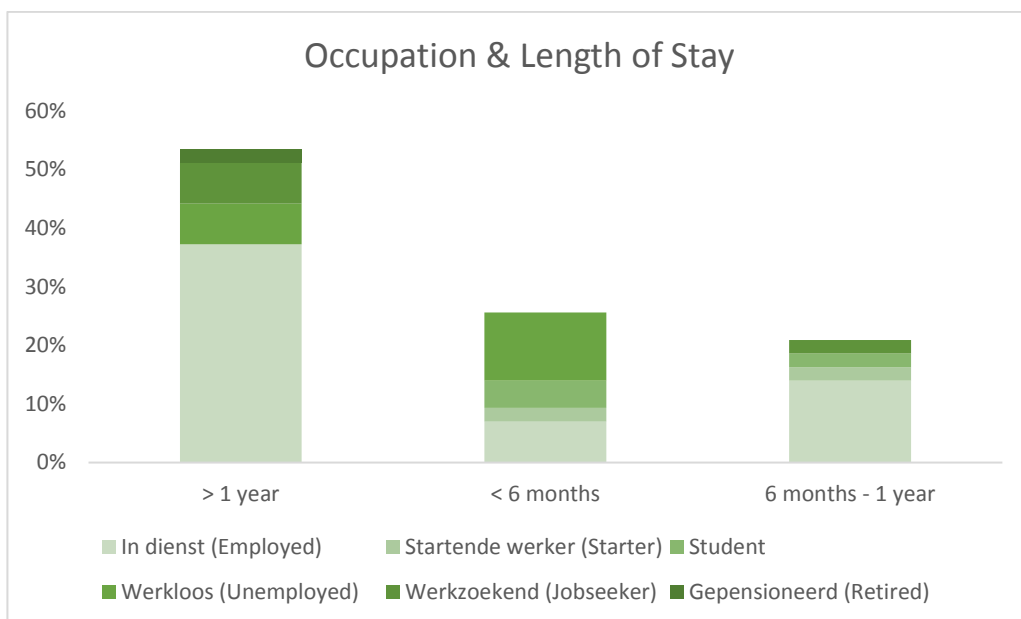


Table 4.3 Do you find common spaces useful? & How many hours do you spend in communal areas in Genderhof in a week?

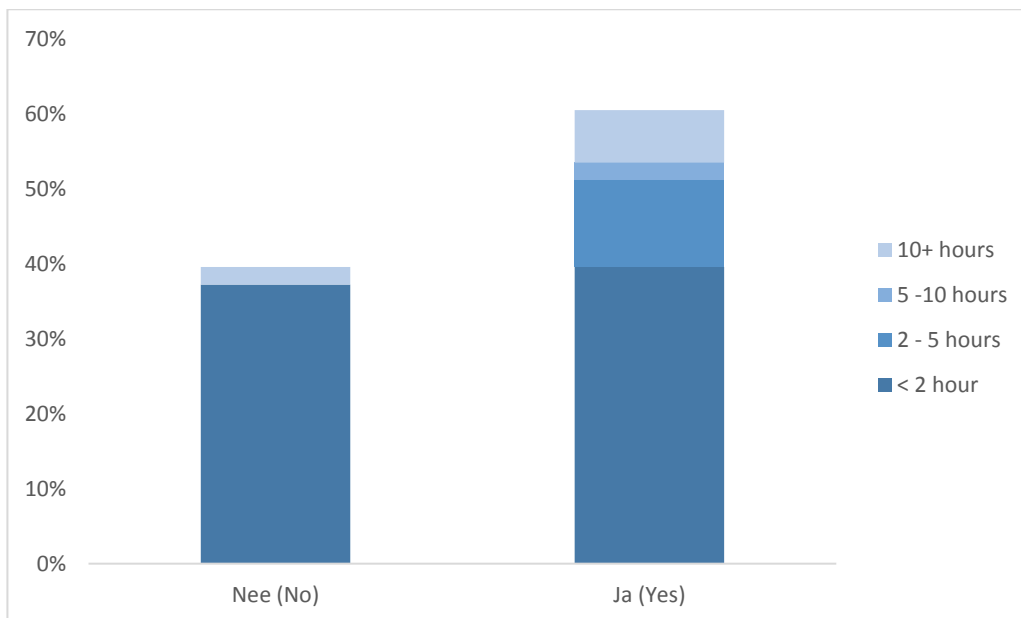


Table 4.4 How many of your neighbours do you know? & Where did you meet your neighbours for the first time?

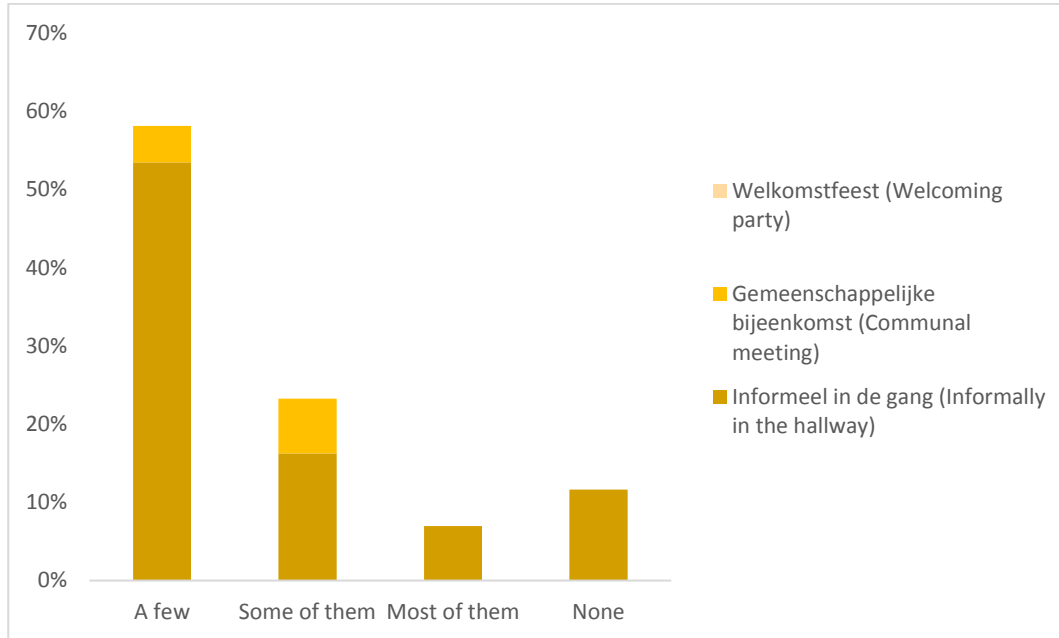


Table 4.5 Do you feel at home living here?

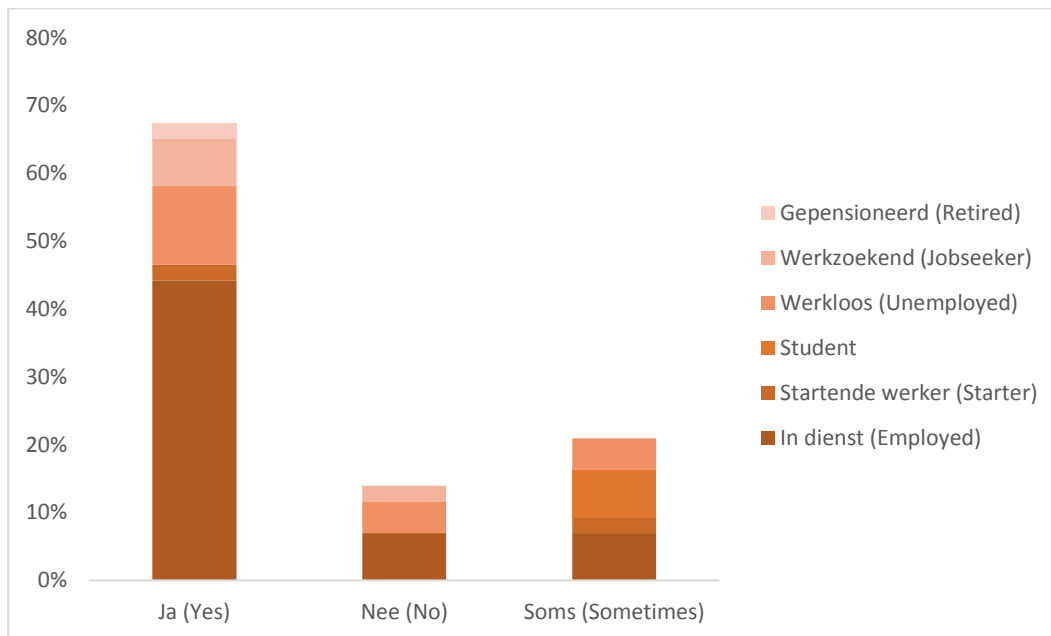


Table 4.6 Evaluation of Private Spaces

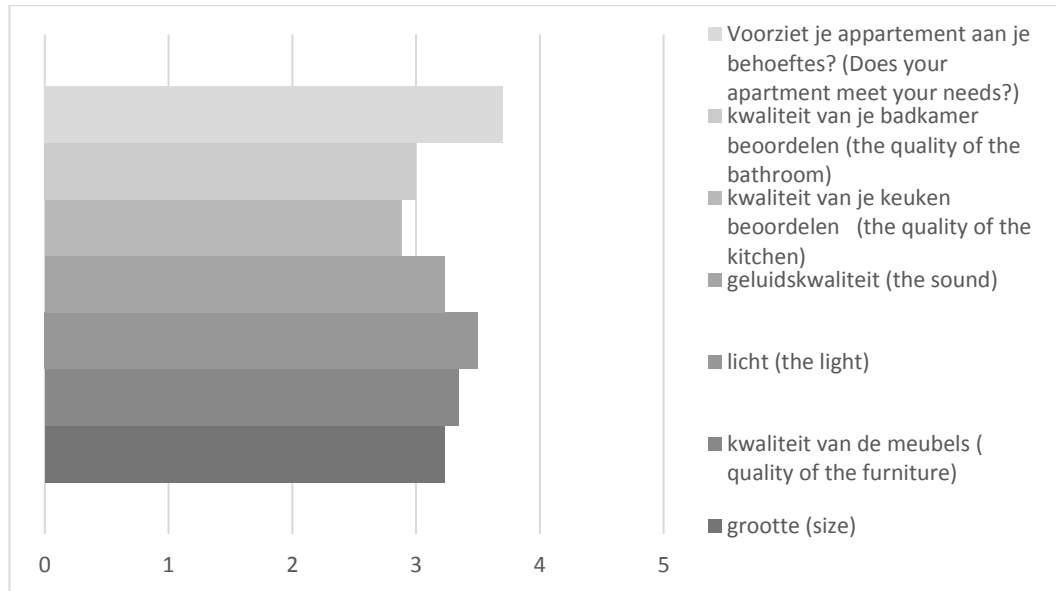


Table 4.7 Evaluation of Communal Spaces

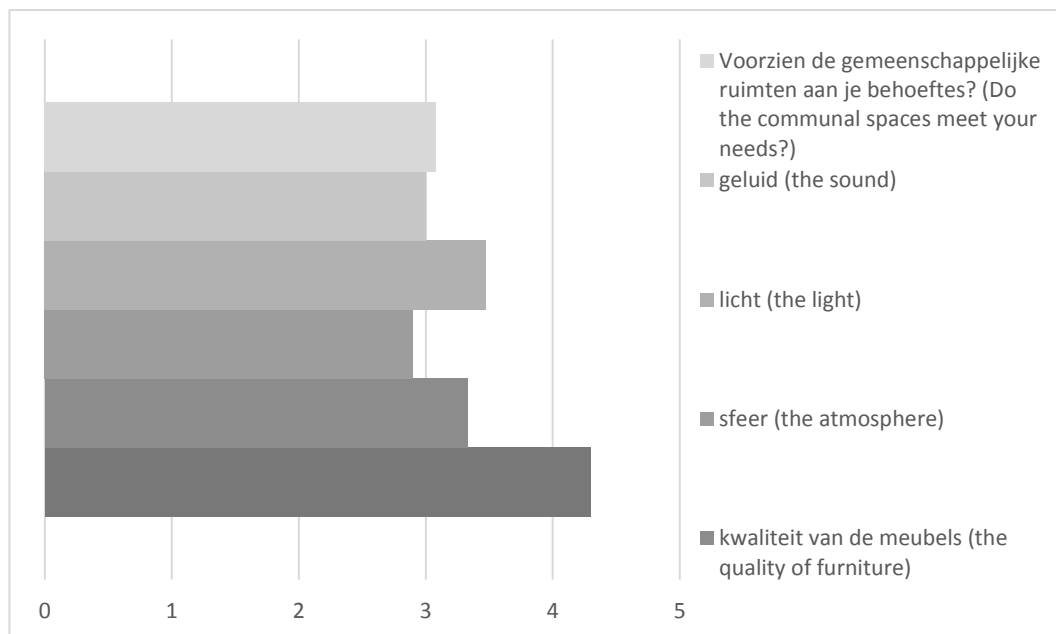


Table 4.8 Direct quotes from questions in the survey in Genderhof.

<p>Ben je tevreden met je appartement? Wat zou je willen veranderen of toevoegen? (Are you happy with your apartment? What would you like to change or add?)</p> <p>I would have liked it to have been cleaner and that the rent would be lower. Everything was broken and it took quite a while to get it repaired. Besides, the bathroom was full of hair and mold spots were visible. The rent is very high for a studio. It is nice that it is spacious and has a storage room.</p> <p>Better curtains; mirrors and better light on the toilet and bathroom; more sound isolation; tv and couch; art on the walls; more and better cabinets and shelves; better cistern;</p> <p>Heating</p> <p>I would like to have other windows in my apartment. And a better quality of cleaning corridors and stairs in 300 parts</p> <p>Good windows, bigger kitchen</p> <p>satisfied</p> <p>I would like more daylight and a view from the kitchen. There are now only windows on one side of the apartment. It is now a full indoor kitchen.</p> <p>Refurbish kitchen and bathroom.</p> <p>Larger living room. Larger storage room. Better insulation due to noise</p> <p>Better sound insulation</p> <p>Sport</p> <p>The coffee moments at the weekend stimulate use. I (re) know neighbors which makes me talk faster in the corridors. The common corridors/hall are spacious so that I can tinker well with my bike. The fact that the corridors are dirty and often smell musty stimulates more frequent use.</p> <p>The stairwell near the elevator in particular is very musty because of the air outlet that comes in between BG and 1st fl.</p>
<p>Voor welke bezigheden gebruik je de gemeenschappelijke ruimten? (For what kind of activities do you use communal areas?)</p> <p>The wash/study when I didn't have wifi yet</p> <p>Nothing</p> <p>Meeting people</p> <p>Communal dinner meetings</p> <p>I make coffee in the morning and I do the necessary work (volunteer)</p> <p>Read</p> <p>I don't use them</p> <p>sports, entertainment</p> <p>Talk to others</p> <p>drinking coffee</p> <p>Drinking coffee with neighbors, tinkering with my bike, chatting with neighbors</p> <p>I don't use it, think the spaces are large</p> <p>Social contacts.</p> <p>Use only the laundry</p>
<p>Wat zou er voor zorgen dat je de gemeenschappelijke ruimten gebruikt? (What would make you to use the common spaces?)</p> <p>I don't see many people around there so from my perspective, for example, more activities or programs would be good</p> <p>Organized activities with people of my age</p>

Table 4.8 (continued)

<p>I do not know Eating together. Educational activities. Movie spending quality time more facilities Sport More shared ownership of corridors/hall by residents. Close ventilation grille in the stairwell. Ventilate corridors. Library or a game evening Make the space cozier if more is organized Nothing because I don't need this</p>
<p>Wat is uw mening over de tijdelijk karakter van dit woning? (What is your opinion about the temporary character of living here?)</p> <p>This is a good idea, but perhaps there could be more options via Wooninc for faster transfer to a regular residence Enough I have been helped a lot with the fact that there was flex housing after the breakup of the relationship and an abandoned joint home. I would like to continue living there if that was made possible. temporary is better than long term ... it seems to me that there is less rig living than at the start of the project Not bad to live at Unfortunately helpful project I would like to live here not only for 2 years for a longer contract Satisfactory I am very happy and grateful that it exists, but it is above all an emergency solution for me/us for the (huge) shortage of social/affordable rental properties for starters in Eindhoven. Average waiting time of 8 years; registration possible from 18; how should you ever do that differently as a starter? I just hope that the temporary nature of two years is long enough. My opinion is that the current housing market is crap, I would like to make this my home. the house with all those corners is difficult to clean and there is dirt that will not come off. Great concept. It suits the needs of those who'll be living here for a short time. If you're not scared off by other tenants that are... I would never choose this. This is only out of necessity. Several neighbors had to leave without finding a new living space. Now sit with someone in a room. People are constantly moving there. Always new neighbors. You do not build relationships. Weird community because, for example, no children and no pets are allowed to live. Too many single people and foreigners. No normal mix of society.</p>

The answers given to interview questions demonstrate the low ratio of communal inclusiveness. People encounter each other in passing areas such as stairs and elevators and use these areas for interaction.

4.2.5 Analysis of the Case

Regarding the survey results, people are satisfied with the place that they are accommodating, their space, and their sense of home. While the temporary characteristic of the project can limit social integration as well as community building since it is not permanent, from another perspective, it creates a dynamic for social interaction and can provide tenants with a lively environment.

Although the temporary nature of the project disappoints people, almost all of them appreciate the quick answer to their need for accommodation. Especially in the Dutch housing market, which struggles with affordable and available housing stock, this model meets the urgent needs of some people. Related to the character of the project, there is a constant tenant cycle, which makes it even harder to create self-organization without the existence of a fixed manager role. Timewise, the top-down model allows a beneficial process phase for answering the urgent requests and needs of people.

As with the organizational dimension, the community is also managed by an external organization in this project. In this way, people have the option of not being involved in the processes and community. Therefore, once they are in, they can choose not to act as a community as long as they follow the rules. When the priority is inclusiveness, responsibility might motivate people to participate more.

At large, the quality of spaces satisfies the tenants. However, they are still willing to express ideas for improvement and changes. Most of the tenants are satisfied with the size of the spaces and storage options. On the other hand, the quality of bathrooms and the need for more light are some of the common points of the complaint as well.

In general, improvements can be made, of course. However, the focus points of this survey will be the use of communal spaces and the interaction between tenants. A substantial percentage of the tenants are unemployed. They needed to be led in networking and communication more than ever. Regarding personal observation, the existing communal spaces are used very minimally. Likewise, the survey results also

support this observation. Although the idea of Flexwonen is social inclusiveness and social interaction, and spaces are provided for these purposes, the interaction is limited to spontaneous encounter activities in hallways and elevators.

4.3 Comparison of Two Cases

Both cases are based in the Netherlands. Both models take unique paths to initiate and sustain their projects. They share the intention to create an alternative to the traditional housing system that focuses on profit and investment in housing and home ownership. These two cases are generated or have been generated by/ for people who are suffering from a lack of quality and affordable housing for themselves. On top of this main aim, being in a community, and interacting with society corresponds with the idea of communal houses.

dNM is created by individuals who have already been living together for some time in a co-housing project that they were willing to be a part of. This kind of community shares their life, experiences, expenses, decisions, and materials with other people who have the same values and lifestyles. Participants defined the use of spaces since the creation of the project was based on the experiences of tenants and the design took place in a collaborative environment.

On the other hand, Genderhof is a top-down project which was initiated and managed by external intervenors and housing associations. It is reusing an old, pre-existing facility. The project aims to provide a home beyond just a shelter for people who need to be integrated into society and improve their communal interactions. To provide urgent housing to a greater number of people the length of stay in Genderhof is limited. Organizations and events are organized by management, and tenants are expected to participate. All necessary spaces are provided, and there is room for adaptable functions.

The Flexwonen concept aims to provide urgent housing as an opportunity to start over for people who are struggling in their lives. As was mentioned, because of the

lack of affordable and accessible housing stock in the Dutch housing market, it supports people by giving them a better accommodation situation and offering an inclusive approach to community building. To serve this purpose both efficiently and quickly, the processes of the self-made co-housing concept can be beneficial. Both concepts have different management and policy systems, however, the idea of spatial organization and how the communal environment affects social interaction can be used as a guide. This comparison aimed to clarify the differences and potential of this top-down system by adapting some features from the bottom-up model.

Table 4.9 The comparative table of two cases, drawn by the author.

<i>dNM</i>	<i>Genderhof</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-housing project, bottom-up project • Participatory design process • individuals who are ready to take responsibility and make commitments to the community • Participants are willing to be a part community, experiences, expenses, decisions, and materials • Participants defined the use of spaces since the creation of the project • Needs time and patience • Needs professional support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Flexwonen project, a top-down, reuse of existing facility • initiated and managed by external intervenors and housing associations • Urgent housing solution for people who need to be integrate with the society • the length of stay is limited • All necessary spaces are provided, and there is room for adaptable functions • Needs to be urgent and sustainable • Needs commitment and interaction

Probably the biggest difference between these two cases is, that in dNM, the tenants already knew what they were stepping into, and they were willing participants in this experiment and alternative lifestyle. Therefore, they were ready to take responsibility and make commitments to the community. On the other hand, in the Flexwonen projects, such as Genderhof, the tenants also knew what they were stepping into, but with a different willingness to be a part of a community. In these cases, it is significant to reiterate that the tenants who joined the Flexwonen projects were in urgent need of accommodation. For this reason, their participation was not part of the initial process.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This section of the thesis examines and summarizes the research findings generated in the preceding chapters. After providing an overview of the theoretical and practical approaches, the chapter concludes by looking at future forecasts for the research topic based on the findings from previous experiments and cases. This may be used to drive future research on co-housing projects and support the theoretical considerations of researchers who are willing to contribute to theories of alternative housing. Finally, and practically, it aims to reveal the potential of the Flexwonen model as an urgent accommodation solution to the questions of affordability and social inclusiveness in the Dutch housing market. The final section will be structured according to the research questions.

5.1 General Findings of the Study

Co-housing as an alternative living model provides individuals with more community-oriented daily life. Although there are many other types of shared living arrangements, in this model, the interaction of individuals and the sharing of responsibilities, as well as the sharing of resources, take center stage. This thesis aimed to conduct a comparative literature review to comprehend the organizational, communal, and spatial elements, as well as a practical investigation on the topic to comprehend the potential through case studies.

Co-housing is a wider term for collaborative housing which is not required social interaction but living together to reduce living expenses. In collective housing it is essential to share housework in shared facilities, but not as inclusively as in co-housing. Co-housing projects are centered on intense inclusive attempts at generating

a sense of community using the key concepts of sharing facilities, experiences, responsibilities, and resources, as well as living together in participation.

By criticizing the current housing markets, it touches on the living habits, spatial issues, community management, the facility itself -including the construction process-, social and gender discrimination, social cohesion, environmental issues, sustainability, etc. Co-housing models are preferred for different purposes such as creating a safe and supportive environment, opportunities for social interaction, contribution, sharing resources, raising children, environmentalism, the preservation of green space, lower living costs, saving time, resident participation, and diverse intergenerational community (Scotthanson & Scotthanson, 2005). They may also be preferred in order to be a part of a society, reduce consumption, achieve a socially oriented life, and create an inclusive environment and coherent society.

How have co-housing ideas changed throughout history?

In the historical experiments, the co-housing topic is investigated from the perspective of Utopian Socialists, the Soviet Avant-Garde, and Nordic European and North American contexts. As a general summary of this section, it can be concluded that in the examples of Utopian Socialists and the Soviet Avant-Garde context, this theme was used by one central generative ideology for the purpose of shaping the society and behavior of individuals in their daily life. One of the most significant results of this part of the research is that it highlights the crucial role of ‘responsibility to others.’ Both projects made use of the feeling of being observed and the need to behave according to the standards of the community. Even the spatial organization served this purpose, limiting privacy and increasing the potential for spontaneous interaction. Although it could be viewed as negative, it does help us to understand the effect of design on individuals and society. This finding can reveal the role of the facility in providing a balanced spatial organization for shared facilities.

The second part of the historical review presents a shift in the ideology of the cases. Contrary to the earlier phases, it can be observed in this period that the communal living concept was adopted by individuals who had a common ground and pursued

an alternative lifestyle in contrast to certain issues that they were facing. They, together, made an effort and generated opportunities for their community. The shifting nature of values might have led individuals in separate ways that reflect cycles in the community. Nevertheless, these examples are valuable for understanding the significant role of common ground and values in generating togetherness and communication between individuals.

Besides advocating for further investigation, a deeper understanding of the implications and the pros and cons is needed (Tummers, 2016). Creating a community or being a part of one brings a lot of positive thoughts and feelings to many people. However, there is also the potential that the concentration of similar values might enhance the risks of developing more distinguished, island communities, gated communities, and even rebellious movements, as has occurred in history. Ache & Fedrowitz (2012) discuss today's co-housing developments as a kind of segregation in the context of 'lifestyle' or 'quality of life'. They highlighted the power of marketing in this era and the potential of over-encouraging youth, who might cause alienation which is the opposite of what is desired. Some co-housing initiatives have an inclusive purpose in their overall idea, such as mixing people from different economic levels by combining social housing with owner-occupied flats or incorporating apartments for handicapped persons. The islands, on the contrary, may have an unknown influence on the region's present societal balance. Depending on one's point of view, the positive effect of 'alternative' can easily shift to a negative effect, for example, gentrification, in that same neighborhood (Ache & Fedrowitz, 2012).

Furthermore, in the era of technology and instant changes in the lifestyles of societies, the co-housing model provides the opportunity to share and adopt a living style together. With the use of the various tools now provided by technological developments, this model has the potential for both solidarity and the adaptation of the required habits for living a sustainable life, whether in a smart city or beyond. However, the extent to which this is a positive scenario must be discussed. From another perspective, the togetherness of individuals might reflect prejudices and

stereotypes and make harmful generalizations about a nation, gender, or type of person. The key point is to push the project into the background and keep the quality of life and accommodation of the individuals the priority. Additionally, as Tummers (2016) indicates the relation between co-housing and healthy cities is still unclear even though researchers have prescribed this model as a way of creating healthy cities and societies.

In light of the information above, revisiting co-housing topics and practices has allowed for broadening the knowledge of viable housing development for different user profiles. The suitable and flexible characteristic of the model is essential for answering different needs and adapting to different economic, and cultural systems. The openness, sharing, and community-oriented concepts of the model will provide a strong basis of accumulated know-how, which is necessary for alternative housing production in Turkey.

What are the major aspects that characterize the process of co-housing?

After these reviews, the elements which create a co-housing project were examined and this research also provided important information for understanding the smaller elements of the projects to learn from.

First, the **organization** is related to the investors of the project, not just financially but also through any other kind of professional support such as design, marketing, choosing tenants, maintenance of the projects, and even mental support, namely, how to initiate and run the project. The *bottom-up model* that emphasizes the individuals who prefer to live their life in a unified community, generates a project with their efforts, most of the time with professionals in a consulting role. They mostly follow the projects starting from the design process with a fully participatory approach. Although this model can discourage people when the required time and effort are considered, it also strengthens communal bonds, communication, and participation. The *top-down model* requires an initiator from the housing associations or governmental interventions, and they provide the land, projects, funding, and construction process, in addition to running the projects. They professionally

organize everything about the project, sometimes even the community activities. As opposed to the bottom-up model, the top-down model is beneficial for quick and professional solutions, however, external intervention might extend well beyond consulting most of the time. Therefore, someone or something like an organization might need to take responsibility for the project, even as far as sustaining it.

Secondly, the **community** is relevant to the management of the community, sharing responsibilities or deciding on new members, etc. This concept has two titles; *tenant management*, and *the self-work model*, which aims to form an intentional community that manages itself without any required intervention. The desired high communal interaction is required for this model. Generating such a system, especially in top-down projects is still a huge topic for researchers. Especially for some housing organizations, starting a project with their experiences and opportunities is faster, but maintaining the project in the communal aspect could be an inconvenience. Alternatively, *the service management model* is shaping the community with the intervention of an individual or housing organization, which means they are active in the field. This model provides faster solutions and an overall controlled project. Yet, since the contribution of individuals to the community is less, some additional arrangements to encourage people to take responsibility and show their existence as a part of a group can be useful to create a sense of community.

To what extent does spatial design affect the success of co-housing projects?

The **design** dimension indicates the *architectural layout* which is significant in the spatial design of the facility in terms of providing a private-communal life balance to the tenants without compromising their individuality. It should be noted that providing the option to tenants to be able to protect their privacy and allow them to reach communal areas easily are some of the essential points. The inclusiveness of the design of the facility can be increased through integration into the neighborhood through the use of courtyards, and the inclusion of inner gardens. These parts will serve as interaction points and semi-private areas and buffers. The balance between the size of private and communal areas and their transition the semi-private areas

shapes the use of space, which also affects communal and individual activities. Furthermore, it illustrates the significant role of connection in the facility, the pathways, and hallways, and it refers to the reflection of relation to the spatial dimension and integration of the circulation network within the facility. Besides this general perspective, functionality is essential as well. *Flexibility and adaptability* are considered in order to allow the opportunity for diversity in the private spatial requirements; therefore, flexibility in the private areas should be applied and for the variety in the use of communal space, an adaptability is a good option for the common spaces. From the design phase, the flexibility concept produces long-term solutions for suitable spatial arrangements. Similarly, adaptability provides the opportunity for functional variants in communal areas with changeable spatial organizations for different activities.

As it is considered in the design of the Familistère building with the mergeable units, the flexibility of the private units provided sustainability for the different family structures of the users. Also, the housing environment was used to generate a community sense between individuals and families. Even though tenants in the Familistère do not have a common value at the beginning, by the time it is intentionally created by using the common use cases of gigantic middle space for celebrations or rituals, or education of children, etc. As it is observed in Narkomfin, the level of privacy and integration of communal life was provided with alternatives by considering singles and families. Since the main goal was to generate collectivity, to some level the spaces such as the laundry, and the kitchen were created for allowing households to have a gently forced social interaction. In the phase of Scandinavian or squatting examples, again the interventions of the users created alternatives for various spatial requirements.

Moreover, giving the users the option to rearrange their communal spaces, and leave room for the participatory design process might contribute to the interaction and communication within the community, as a simulation of participatory design.

To what extent does the design process affect the sense of community?

Co-housing communities are known for their strong social networks and social cohesiveness. Residents' engagement in the production, recruitment, and operational activities, as well as the social structure, all contribute to the formation of these strong social relationships such as 'common goals and non-hierarchical structure' (Williams, 2007, p. 271). Indeed, to generate a coherent community, these values matter. According to Ruiu (2014), since the key requirements are a cohesive society, common values, and a location, generating a co-housing project requires a long time. Both the physical structure and the interior tasks are defined by the participants: Interaction and engagement in everyday life are essential factors. It is necessary to highlight the potential use of the participatory design process, especially in critical top-down projects like Flexwonen models, which need to be quick, practical, and also highly effective. As one of the pioneers in co-housing, Denmark also generates strategies to produce housing facilities through public participation (Bican, 2020). This represents the relation between production and community (Figure 5.1). Inclusiveness in the process of design provides inclusiveness in communal life as well. As it is observed in the dNM project, when people are committed to the project, starting from its design phase, they are willing to be committed even more. Although this is an ideal scenario, since it needs a giant effort and time, it is not easy in each case. In such examples, as is observed in the Narkomfin project, creating a common value for the community can be determined.

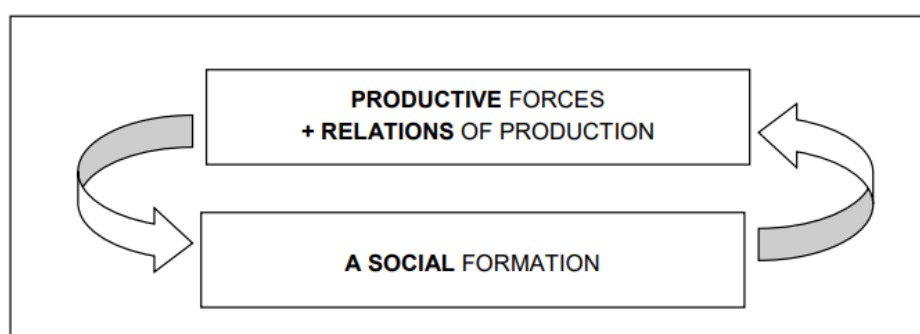


Figure 5.1 graphical illustration of the 'a sustainable life-cycle of social formation' by Bican (2016).

What are the common points of the co-housing and Flexwonen concepts that are prevalent in the Netherlands?

As a result of the case studies, it can be said that both projects have various advantages. In Genderhof, the major part of the satisfaction is fulfilled with the quick response to the people who seek an urgent house. Coupling personal observations with survey results allowed for the analyses of the balance of spaces. The satisfaction with the private spaces and the lack of definition in large-scale communal areas lead people to stay in their private places, which exacerbated the lack of interaction. Tenants tend to use common areas only when something is needed, such as Internet, light, and laundry. The dNM reveals the potential of the whole practice of co-housing and the contributions of the participatory spatial design process. Even though it might not be able to answer an urgent need for accommodation, it meets the essential needs of being a part of a community and living together. The activities and ongoing efforts of some people encourage future tenants to participate. The feeling of owning the idea and belonging to the community motivates and inspires individuals. This can be related to the spatial orientation in Utopian designs that make individuals feel responsible towards society by putting them in the position of the observer and observed. For generating such coherence, a balanced method of encouraging 'responsibility to others' and 'sharing responsibility' helps people to produce and sustain. The spatial organization of the new facility illustrates the experiences and communal design process. That can be of substantial value for top-down models that are not able to include tenants in the design process. The spatial organization of the facility, created through collaboration with the voice of users and the experiences of professionals is a powerful way to generate a facility that needs balance in spatial order and requires sensitivity.

On the whole, creating a coherent community is one of the main purposes of both projects. Especially, without external intervention, the self-work model can be beneficial for housing associations and external initiators as soon as they are convinced that what they started is sustained by the tenants. Likewise, since this model contains communication and participation as core elements, it increases the

interaction and participation of the individuals for the sake of the community. Although it is hard to set the system at the beginning, once it starts to roll, it could be very advantageous.

The overwhelming demand in the housing market leads people to seek alternative solutions. Besides, from day to day, the number of people who believe houses are not only a shelter but also a lifestyle increases. Parallely, Delgado (2010) suggests having more housing forms, regardless of their definition or category, to challenge the ‘uneven development in the cities and social exclusion.’ The challenge for all of us who have seen the many cases of collaborative housing during the conference (from Sweden, other European countries, and the United States) is to realize that “cohousing” need not only be a way to “escape” and “retreat,” but that it can also be a way to confront the current problems of our cities’ (Delgado, 2010, p. 221). As Delgado highlighted, discussing, asking questions, researching the cases, and understanding the sub-elements of co-housing provide various perspectives that can enrich our cities and the way how we approach the spaces of houses and their relationship with communities.

In conclusion, the study highlights the necessity of alternatives for the housing market in Turkey and the need for a know-how flow for encouraging individuals to be a part of the creation of these concepts. has shown the potential of commonality in housing and guides the possibilities of spatial organization. A variety of combinations for generating a project can provide a wide range of potential for contributing alternative housing for people with diverse requirements. Two case studies from the Netherlands demonstrate the strong potential for embracing diversity through different goals and methods.

5.2 For Further Work and Research

This thesis aimed to discover the potential of the co-housing concept as an alternative housing solution for the creation of coherent societies and the provision of affordable

quality housing environments. Therefore, the topic was addressed through its application in existing cases, historical experiments, and literature surveys. It can be considered a preliminary study and a steppingstone for deeper research. Additional to the findings that are demonstrated through this thesis, some other further relevant topics can be found below.

To start, the co-housing model is highly discussed for being an approach to creating sustainability for healthy cities and societies. This topic can be combined with technologies and passive energy solutions or smart city methods, in the context of affordability. When this model is considered as an alternative way of creating social inclusion and social cohesion, it can be useful for generating new applications in daily life.

Additionally, as a specific example, the need for a co-housing project can be examined in the Turkish housing market. Since there is a massive lack of co-housing experiments in the Turkish context, the existing solutions, and the necessity of alternative solutions should be investigated in detail. This research topic could take the form of a literature review based on Turkish cases or could be broadened to include additional case studies, which would provide many opportunities to understand the approaches and interpretations of users in the existing conditions.

Other aspects arising from the pandemic, which affected the world at the beginning of 2020, are social isolation, sanitation, and possible precautions which became a crucial part of these discussions. As such, it has shifted the perspective of societies on a number of topics, and the approaches of people and their experiences through that time could provide troves of valuable information for the understanding of spatial needs and communal relations.

The last potential future aspect is going deeper into the potential of the Flexwonen concept and more cases in different countries. Such research can provide an understanding of the adaptability of the concepts in different economic and cultural systems, and various aspects of housing markets, and is highly expected to reveal many other potentials.

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APPENDICES

Interview Questionnaire

OPENING

- Could you tell me a bit about yourself?
- How long have you worked here?
- What does your role in the organization entail?
- How much time does the management of the house take? What do you do?

POLICY

OQ: Are you involved in the contracting and selection of tenants' part of running this house? Can you tell me how do you select tenants for this development?

- Do you have some criteria for selection?
- What are the conditions of renting here? What is written in the contract?
- What is the length of stay? How long do people usually rent here? What is the turnover of tenants?
- Is there any limit to staying?

Next, can we talk a bit about the building itself? Can you tell the story of how the idea of come into existence?

- What ideas did the initiators have about the shared spaces in this building? And how they might function?
 - Do you think that they work the way that they were meant to?
 - What works well? What works not so well?

DESIGN

OQ: What do you think about the interior of this building? Do you like to be inside? Do you like your workspace?

- What about the rooms? Quality of materials?
- Do you know what tenants think about their rooms and common space designs?
- Are the spaces common and private enough for the needs of tenants? Are they asking for some changes or additions?
- Do you think there might be some changes and improvements needed for the communal spaces or rooms?
- If you enter this building, what would you call here? (like home, hospital, school...)
- Are rooms and common places bright enough?
- What do you think about the efficiency of the building on insulation cooling, heating, and sound?
- What requirements for different people/ target groups have you noticed?

- How do you answer these requirements?
- Do you think that the communal areas are used effectively?
- What kind of activities do tenants do in communal areas?

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

So, the most important thing I believe, how is the relationship between tenants? Are they mostly getting along together? What are you doing for providing it? Or do you need to do something?

1. Organization

OQ: What kind of activities and events are organized for social integration?

- What is the preference for a variety of target groups? (similar interests or various)
- Do tenants contribute to the organization? (work, part-time jobs, commitments)
- Are there any conflicts? How do you solve conflicts?
- What is your observation/ opinion on the current organization system?

2. Interaction of tenants

OQ: How is the relationship between residents?

- What do they do when they meet?
- Do they specifically use the communal areas for meeting/ interacting?
- Have you ever witnessed the progress of an individual after he/ she communicates with other tenants?
- What is your opinion/ observation on the relationships of tenants with each other?

COSTS

Let's move on to the beginning a bit, how was the construction process of this? (age/ reconstruction/ new construction)

- How much was the initial investment?
- How much money do you need to spend on facilities (such as?)? For what kind of things?

If you would like to add or indicate something about the facility or the system, I would appreciate it. Thank you!